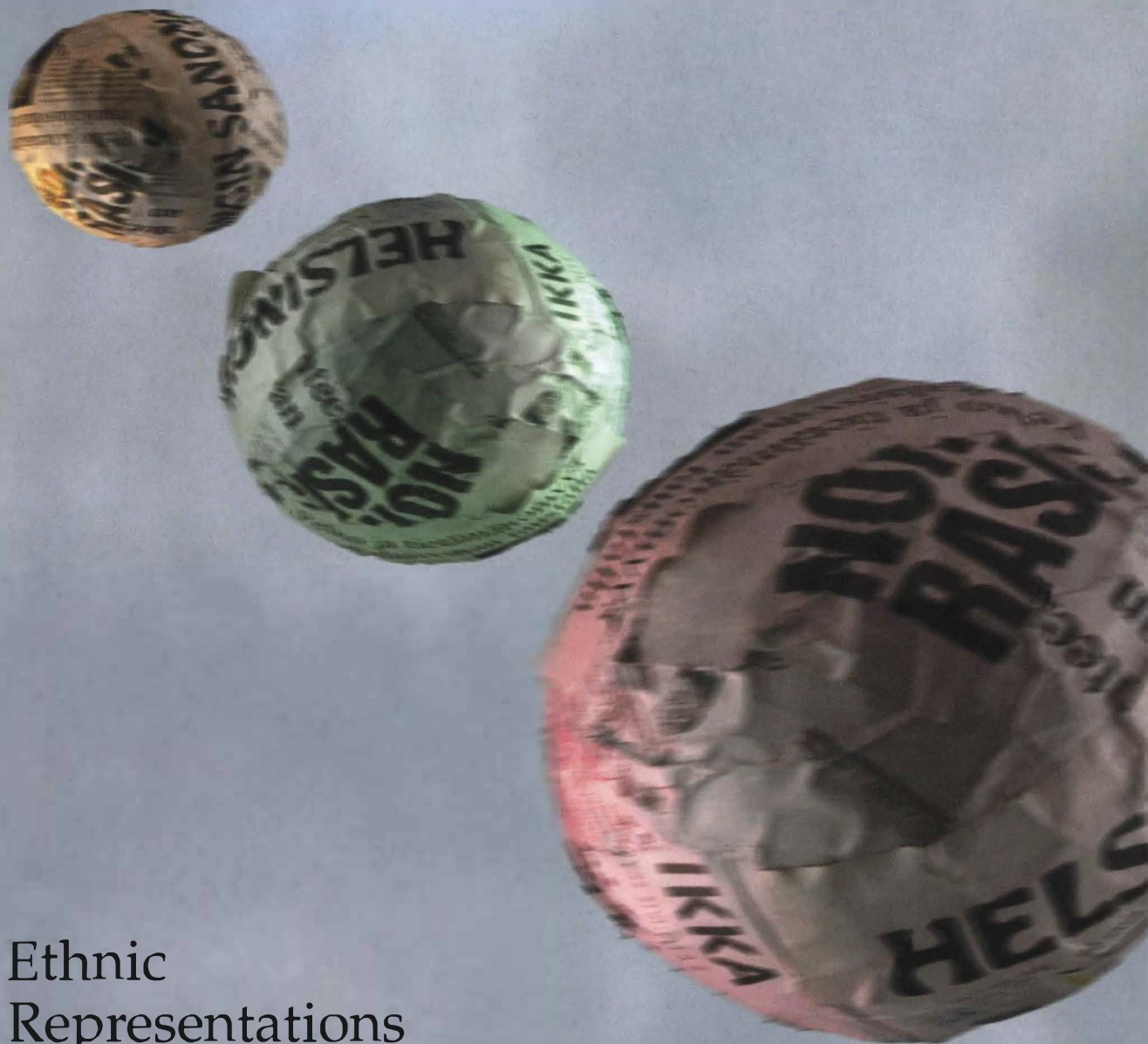


Sari Pietikäinen

Discourses of Differentiation



Ethnic
Representations
in Newspaper Texts

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Sari Pietikäinen

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ABSTRACT

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The study investigates the ways in which difference between ethnic minorities and majority is discursively constructed in press news and editorials. Theoretically, ethnic difference is seen as constructed and newspapers as an influential actor and forum for these constructions. Discourse is considered as an important aspect of difference making and news practices. The data came from *Helsingin Sanomat* domestic news coverage and editorials on ethnic minorities in 1985-1993. The methods of analysis combined concepts developed in news studies, discourse analysis and systemic-functional linguistics. These were integrated into a critical discourse analytical framework. More specifically, analyses of contents of the newspaper texts, discourses drawn on in them, wording used to denote participants and transitivity features of the texts were carried out.

The findings partially supported results by previous studies on ethnic representations in newspaper: ethnic minorities were marginalized in texts about ethnic and immigration issues. Also the linguistic choices made in news texts indicated that difference between the groups was clearly marked. Importantly, the linguistic analysis indicated that besides this dominant representation, the ethnic minority examined, the Sami, were also represented as a politically active group fighting for their rights. This raises an interesting question of the role of news language in a social phenomenon. Another important issue to be considered is to what extent newspaper representations of ethnic minorities are heterogeneous and changing over time.

Keywords: construction of difference, critical discourse analysis, ethnic minorities, the Sami, press news, journalistic practices

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Discursively constructed ethnic difference in news

Making difference between myself and others, between Us and Them, and between groups of people is both necessary and dangerous. A sense of uniqueness, belongingness and sameness is an important building block for any identity including that of an ethnic group. However, constructing identity inevitably means constructing difference at the same time (Hall 1996:56, Jenkins 1996:4, Woodward 1997:1-2). Identity is about sameness and differences, about Us and Them, and defining one means defining also the other. Making difference can entail practices of inclusion and exclusion, taking in and leaving out, belonging and not belonging.

Making difference between Us and Them among ethnic groups and the ways in which this is discursively constructed in newspaper texts are in the focus of the present study. In short, I am interested in discourses of differentiation. This is to say that rather than examining how a national or a group identity is constructed or how various ethnic groups interact together or how they are constructed similarly to one another, in this study I am focusing on a question of how difference between ethnic groups is discursively constructed in press news discourse.

To capture some dimensions of the interplay between difference, news and discourse, I have three theoretical points of departure: firstly, ethnic difference is constructed rather than predestined. Secondly, news is a significant arena of ethnic identity and difference constructions, which, in turn, are underpinned by news making practices. Thirdly, discourse is an essential aspect of the construction of ethnic difference and of news in that it is a central tool for both: difference is symbolically made and news can be seen as discourse including visual, written and spoken aspects. I will next briefly discuss each starting point in turn.

The first point of departure is that *the difference between groups of people is one of constant change and transformation rather than fixed and predestined* (Grossberg 1996, Hall 1996, 1999, Rattansi 1994, Solomos and Back 1995a). This view of ethnic difference means that the ways in which people are classified, and the criteria used in this, may vary according to specific historical time and context. In other words, within any society, alternative criteria, varying from citizenship or religion to lan-

guage or physical appearance, may be used to define who constitutes 'Other' and who are 'Us'. Furthermore, one and the same group of people previously defined as 'Other' can later be included in the in-group and vice versa.

Hence, no line drawn between groups is definitive but is rather constantly changing, reconstructed, and struggled over. The difference may be construed on various grounds, such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexuality, or gender. The mobilization of groups by evoking the difference between them calls for an investigation of the social and political motivations involved (du Gay 1997, Soja and Hooper 1993, Solomos and Back 1995a). This means that the construction of difference is also political. Regardless its type or grounds it may entail discrimination. People belonging to a specific group or having one or some of the features typically associated with that group may be disadvantaged, marginalized, and discriminated against in social, political, economical terms. Ethnic differentiation may ultimately be life-threatening, and serve as a cause for war, as the recent examples in Ruanda and Bosnia show.

One way of constructing ethnic difference between groups of people is the process of racialization, with its own particular social and political motivations. This means that the categories of 'race' and ethnicity are evoked or drawn upon to legitimate the projects of inclusion, exclusion, and discrimination (Barker 1999:61, Fenton 1999:66, Miles 1993:42, Rattansi 1994:58, Solomos and Back 1995a:32). Instead of using terms like 'racial discrimination' or 'racial practices' or just 'racism' per se, I have followed scholars like Goldberg (1992) and Rattansi (1994) and used here the term racialization to underline the ongoing and changing nature of defining groups along racial lines. Importantly, the benefit of using the term racialization is in that it emphasizes that racialized difference does not just exist naturally but it is made and remade. Furthermore, the emphasis on the process of racialization calls for an investigation of the underlying social and political processes and motivations, since, as Malik (1996:10) notes, the racialization of groups of people emerges out of real social and economic mechanisms and out of dialogue and struggle between different groups.

To sum up, differentiation between ethnic groups is part of the politics of difference and identity. In the present study, I will examine the construction of difference between *the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities in Finland*. The focus is two-fold: on the one hand, I am interested in the ways in which the difference between the Finns and different ethnic minorities in Finland is discursively constructed in the press. The subject is interesting as during the last 15 years Finland has undergone a change from an ethnically rather homogeneous country to an increasingly multicultural society, a change mainly brought about by new immigrants and refugees from e.g. Russia, Somalia, former Jugoslavia, or Kurdistan.

On the other hand, I will pay special attention to the differentiation from the ethnic majority of *the Sami*, the indigenous people of Finland. The Sami are particularly interesting in terms of ethnic differentiation for at least two reasons. Firstly, the Sami have, at least potentially, hybrid identities: besides being Sami, they are also Finnish by citizenship and speakers of Finnish. Over the time, due to mix marriages, for example, or to jobs found in southern Finland, the ethnic border between the Sami and the ethnic Finns has become blurred. Consequently, the ethnic border cannot either be made at all or is, in contrast, clearly marked. Secondly, the socio-political and juridical changes, particularly the recent claims concern-

ing the rights of the Sami as regards land ownership, have boosted the struggle for and over Sami identity. Obviously, the criteria of Sami identity are in transition and contested. Consequently, construction of Sami identity and the difference between the Sami and ethnic Finns are highly political issues.

The second starting point of the present study is *the power of the news media as a place and as an actor in the construction of ethnic difference*. Although the construction of ethnic difference take place in various environments and in multiple ways, the media is today one of the most powerful arenas of the construction, contestation, and struggle for identities and differences. Moreover, among various media formats and products, the news has a special position. There is different kinds of news and news journalisms if one take into account tabloids and news magazines etc. In this study I focus on texts in quality newspapers, which may be considered to provide powerful truth-alike representations of reality, about the world, its events and people (Allan 1999, Berkowitz 1997). Besides describing the events, the news thus convey representations of people, and relations between them. These representations contribute to the construction of identities of people and differences between them. The news has, as Fairclough (1995:2) puts it, signifying power - a power to represent things in particular ways and to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and identities of groups. The news is able to draw attention to a particular issue from a particular perspective and thus thematize a certain phenomenon or subject in a certain way. One result is that some topics are widely debated, while others are ignored - some viewpoints get expressed and some left out.

Moreover, bearing in mind the small proportion of ethnic minorities in the population in Finland, it can be assumed that the media, in particular the news, are an important source for the majority of Finns to learn about ethnic minorities and related issues. Even in countries with very large ethnic minority populations, such as the Netherlands, the news has remained one of the main sources of information about ethnic issues (van Dijk 1987, 1991, 1993).

News coverage of ethnic minorities has often been accused for biased and partial reporting in favour of majority groups, thus reproducing racism (Allan 1999, Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1988, 1991). Many minority groups have continuously expressed their worry about negative and biased reporting. At the same time, however, national and international journalistic associations have pronounced their commitment to fair reporting, especially when reporting ethnic events, in order to prevent and to resist racism (Husband 1995, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996). Moreover, media coverage does not necessarily have a negative impact on ethnic relations alone. There are cases in which the media attention given to a specific ethnic conflict or minority problem has benefited the ethnic minority concerned and urged to political action. In addition, the way in which this coverage takes place is also linked with media economics, institutional practices, and professional norms of journalism. On the whole, a certain ambivalence in relation to the role of the media in ethnic and immigration issues seems to prevail.

Although the representations of ethnic minorities in the news has been studied for a long time (Barker 1999, Campbell 1995, Hartman and Husband 1974, Löwander 1997, Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991, Wodak 1996a), Finnish studies are rare (see e.g. Raittala and Kutilainen 2000, Rekola 1996, Sandlund 2000, for review Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996). Longitudinal studies are lacking altogether.

Therefore there is clearly a need for studies of the relation between the Finnish news media and ethnic minorities, particularly in view of increasing multiculturalism in Finland (see e.g. Helander 1999, *Rasismi ja etniset suhteet: tutkimuksen kehittämistarpeet* 1999). By examining the ways in which the leading Finnish daily *Helsingin Sanomat* deals with ethnic and immigration issues over a period of nine years, the present study hopes to contribute to the knowledge about these issues.

The third theoretical starting point is *discourse analytical*. It allows me to combine the idea of constructed ethnic difference, the significance of news representations in such constructions and the role of discourse in the representation. Drawing on previous work on *linguistically* oriented (Pennycook 1994, Schiffrin 1994), *socially* oriented (Hall 1997a, 1997b, Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen 1993, 1999, Mills 1997), and *critically* oriented discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992a, 1995, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Kress 1993, 1996, van Dijk 1991, 1993, van Leeuwen 1996, Wodak 1996b, Wodak, de Cilla, Reisigl and Liebhart 1999), *I understand discourse as socially constitutive use of language, constrained by the social and institutional contexts in which it is produced and consumed*. Thus, for instance, news discourse of ethnic minorities may be seen to entail aspects of the overall socio-political context as well as to contribute to it, for instance by challenging, legitimizing, or maintaining ethnic difference. News discourse is also constrained by journalistic practices, such as news values, practices of news gathering, use of sources, writing conventions, or temporal and spatial limitations. Yet, the ways in which the news is made contribute to these same practices, maintaining some and slowly changing others.

Finally, a central feature of news discourse is *the actual use of language*. Previous research has suggested (Goldberg 1993, Rattansi 1994, van Dijk 1991, 1993) that one major way in which social difference between groups of people is made, signified, challenged, neutralized, and legitimated is through the use of language whether visual, spoken, or written. Thus examination of the construction of ethnic difference in news discourse calls for investigation of the use of language. The present study seeks to highlight how language is used in the news about ethnic minorities and how it contributes to the construction of ethnic difference.

To sum up, as a theoretical context for this study and as the basis for its framework, I draw on earlier research in the fields of identity, difference and ethnicity, news studies, and discourse studies. I focus on such approaches as deal with politics of identity and difference, news making practices, and the role of discourse and language therein. Also the social context in which the news discourse and ethnic relations are embedded is of importance. Therefore I will also give a short introduction to the ethnic and immigration situation in Finland during the time studied.

1.2 Aims

The aim of this study is to examine discursive construction of ethnic difference in newspaper texts. In the context outlined above, the study addresses the following research question:

How is the difference between ethnic minorities and the Finns discursively constructed in the texts about ethnic and immigration issues in the Finnish national daily Helsingin Sanomat during the period 1985-1993?

This question can be broken down to several subquestions each attempting to address different aspects of news coverage and their bearing on the construction of ethnic difference. The more specific question regarding the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage is (1) *How can the news discourse of ethnic and immigration issues during the period be characterized?* The purpose is to examine the overall coverage in the paper in terms of presentation, topics, participants, and discourses. By investigating these features my aim is to get an overview on how ethnic minorities and the Finns are represented in the texts and to discuss how the representations may contribute to the construction of ethnic difference.

The aim of the present study is also to investigate linguistic manifestations of ethnic representations in the news discourse. Consequently, the study seeks to answer the question: (2) *How does the use of language in news discourse contribute to the construction of difference between ethnic minorities and majority, especially in the case of the Sami and the Finns?* The aim is to investigate how the Sami and the Finns are linguistically represented in the texts, particularly in terms of lexicalization and transitivity.

Finally, the present study is explorative in the sense that it applies some aspects of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to the examination of ethnic difference in that it tries to bring together social, discursive and linguistic aspects of the construction of ethnic difference. Thus the final research question is the following: (3) *What are the strengths and limitations of the CDA approach in the study of news discourse about ethnic minorities and the majority and the constructions of the difference between them?*

1.3 Data and methods

The data consists of 1,189 texts, mainly domestic news reports, but also editorials, articles and columns about ethnic affairs published in the leading Finnish national daily, *Helsingin Sanomat*, during the period 1985-1993. *Helsingin Sanomat* was selected since it is the largest Finnish daily, regarded as the leading quality newspaper and widely respected. In terms of its resources, both as regards the financial ones, and the number of journalists *Helsingin Sanomat* is often considered superior. On the whole, *Helsingin Sanomat* has almost an institutional position in Finnish society, and it acts as almost an official voice in the public sphere (Pietilä and Sondermann 1994). In brief, it is to be supposed that given the position and resources of *Helsingin Sanomat*, its coverage of ethnic minorities are significant and powerful, and can be expected to be reported according to the best journalistic standards.

The methodological approach in the present study is *qualitative, discourse analytical, and exploratory*. A qualitative approach is needed to identify and describe aspects of ethnic representations in coverage, journalistic practices impinging on them, and their linguistic manifestations. However, quantitative methods are not totally excluded: methods of quantification were used to examine frequencies and

patterns of ethnic representations in the texts. The discourse analytical point of departure means that the central interest in this study is the ways in which news discourse contributes to ethnic representations and is constructed by journalistic practices in particular, and by other social and institutional practices in general. Finally, the exploratory nature of the present study is manifested particularly in its attempt to link the examination of news discourse, journalistic practices, and ethnic representations and in the combination of the methods used.

The study makes use of a variety of methods, namely *content analysis*, *analysis of discourses*, *lexical analysis*, and *transitivity analysis*. Content analysis is used to get an overview of the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage regarding ethnic minorities. As the data comprised over 1,000 items, it was analyzed using quantitative means. Such analysis provides general information about the coverage, in terms of e.g. frequency of topics, participants, and quotations. Analysis of discourses will complement content analysis to illuminate what kinds of discourses are drawn on in the texts and how they contribute to the construction of ethnic representations. The way in which content analysis and analysis of discourses is combined is explorative in nature.

Due to the detailed and time-consuming character of lexical and transitivity analyses, the number of the items under scrutiny had to be limited. Since one of the focuses of the present study is on the Sami, an analysis of the lexicalization of people living in the Sami domicile area in the news about the Sami (n=51) was carried out. The naming and labelling of ethnic groups is a basic way to mark and construct ethnic difference.

Finally, a transitivity analysis about six news texts of the Sami was carried out. The final focus of the analysis was on representational aspects of the texts through transitivity analysis. By analysing processes types, distribution of participant roles, and circumstances attached to the processes, I hope to highlight the linguistic realization of ethnic representations and to illuminate the ways in which they contribute to the constructions of Saminess and Finnishness.

As an experiment, I try to use the CDA methodological approach to bring together the results obtained by the use of various methods and to seek possible links, relations, motivations and explanations between linguistic realizations of ethnic representations, journalistic practices of ethnic reporting, discourses embedded in the news about ethnic minorities, and their content characteristics. As a whole, I hope that this study is a dialogue between the theories, methods, results, the analyst and the reader all motivated by a desire to explore how ethnic difference is discursively constructed in the news.

1.4 Ethnically changing Finland

1.4.1 From emigration to immigration

To give some background to the social context of the present study, I will next give a brief introduction to Finland's minority situation with a special attention to the Sami during period under study.

Finland with its 5.1 million inhabitants has a reputation of being, together with Albania, ethnically the most homogeneous country in Europe. Whether this

is the case or not, it is true that traditionally Finland has been a country of emigration rather than immigration. Previous periods of immigration were in the 1920s and after the Second World War when Finland faced the task of resettling of c. population of 450 000 evacuees, mostly from the eastern areas of Finland.

The traditional Romany (appr. 6,000), Sami (appr. 6,000), and Tatar (appr. 900) minorities as well as the 'new' and 'old' Russian minority (appr. 15 000) and other new ethnic groups are without much political, economic or juridical influence (for more details on these minorities, see e.g. Lehtola 1997, Kortteinen 1996, Torikka 1996) while the largest minority of Swedish-speaking Finns (appr. 300,000) has been able to exert a great deal of influence on Finnish society.

The period under investigation, 1985-1993, is particularly interesting in terms of ethnic difference. This was a *period of gradual development in Finland from a relatively homogenous country to a target of immigration and destination for asylum seekers*¹. Before 1985, Finland had accepted refugees only at a special request of UNCHR, the refugee organization of the United Nations. In 1985, only 25 refugees arrived in Finland. In the same year, Finland agreed for the first time to receive an annual quota of 100 refugees per year, which meant that various issues of immigration and asylum seekers were faced for the first time. At the time there was no legislation, and no authorities or organizations had been set up to deal with matters related to refugees. Public discussion over assimilation, conflicts between various ethnic groups and cultures, prejudices, and discussions about Finnishness started.

The changes in and finally the collapse of the former Soviet Union effected also ethnic situation in Finland. In the words of Kuusisto (2000:33) "A new passage for asylum seekers was opened" and since then most of the asylum seekers have come via the former Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Finland's principles, legislation, and attitudes towards immigration and refugees were tested for the first time. Issues relating to asylum seekers such as official procedures, the criteria for granting of residence permits, and the length of time needed for official decisions had to be solved quickly because of the rapid increase of the number of applicants: in 1985 there were 18 applicants for asylum, in 1991 the number of applicants was 1,366 and in 1993 2,023.

Even though the number of the asylum seekers was not great in comparison to those in Sweden, which had 84,018 asylum seekers during the same period (Jaakkola 1996), it was nonetheless the first time that asylum seekers came to Finland in any large numbers. Moreover, the rapid growth in numbers led the government and the people in Finland to believe that there would be many others to come, which urged the Finnish Parliament to pass stricter legislation concerning asylum seekers and the processes involved. The new law came into force in 1993, the last year of the period under scrutiny here. Also a deep economic recession and a high number of unemployed characterized the last few years of the period studied.

¹ The number of foreigners in Finland increased in 1985-1993 from 12,154 to 55,587 people (Ulkomaalaiset ja siirtolaisuus, Tilastokeskus 1995).

1.4.2 The Sami: a nation between borders

The history of the Sami people is familiar from many accounts of the history of other indigenous people. The culture and way of life that once were widely spread have slowly and without armed resistance receded to a remote area where the majority culture has not that much interest. Although the Sami were the first inhabitants in the whole of Scandinavia, the new settlers, whom we now call Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, and Russians, with their cultivation culture, pushed the Sami, living in traditional hunting and reindeer herding culture, to northern areas, where there still were animals to hunt and pastures for reindeers. The ancient Sami domicile was reduced to the extent that today the Sami homeland, Sápmi, stretches over five different state borders reaching from Central Norway and Sweden through the northernmost part of Finland to the Kola peninsula (see for example, Carpelan 1994, Seurujärvi-Kari 1994). Another interpretation of the history of the Sami is that the Sami have stayed in their original homesteads around Scandinavia, and gradually became accounted for as majority members via marriages or language shifts (Lehtola 1999:25, Pääkkönen 1999:38). From a historical point of view (see Salvesen 1995:106) the Sami are a people whose roots in Scandinavia stretch so far back that it is impossible to say with certainty where they have come from and at what time after the last Ice Age they arrived in the area.

Today, the Sami domicile area in Finland consists of the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari, and Utsjoki and the northern part of the municipality of Sodankylä. This area covers 35,000 square kilometers and includes a special region reserved for the Skolt Sami, who came to Finland from areas lost in the war to the Soviet Union after World War II (see for instance Lehtola 1997:8). As for instance Grellel (1996:7-9) notes, it is difficult to define the modern geographical distribution of the Sami today, mainly because of migration to and from the traditional Sami areas. For instance, c. 8,000 Sami live in Oslo, which is located outside of the Sami domicile area. In Finland, around 30 % of the Sami live outside the Sami domicile area.

The Sami are the only indigenous people in the area of the European Union (Aikio 1999:56, Pääkkönen 1999:34). Besides being an indigenous people, the Sami are also an ethnic minority with their own languages and culture. Consequently, they also have a different political position both in comparison to the majority and to each other, depending on the state they are living in. In relation to the majority groups, i.e. Finns, Swedes, Norwegians and Russians, the Sami have, to say the least, been the losing party, territorially, economically, and culturally. To put it more strongly, the Sami have continued to experience oppression by the majority manifested, for instance, in the questions of land right, in the right to use of their own languages, and in the right to participate in the political and social decision-making related to their position.

Partly, the Sami and the settlers, i.e. Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, and Russians, lived, and still live, side by side. To a certain extent, the groups have intermingled (Carpelan 1994:40, Isotalo 1994:78-79, Pääkkönen 1995:45-47). Due to the difficulties of drawing ethnic borders there are no precise figures of the Sami population available. Depending of the criteria used, such as first language, home language, self-identification, and family history, different figures are given. In addition, the base for calculation may vary from state to state and time to time, but

today's approximation, at least in Finland, is that there are altogether 64,000 Sami people, out of whom 40,000 are living in Norway, 17,000 in Sweden, 5,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia (see for example Myntti 1997:116, for a slightly different numbers see for instance Lehtola 1997, Salvesen 1995). The Sami Parliament² in Finland reports that almost 7,000 Samis were registered for the election in 1995³. Furthermore, the criteria for definition of the Sami used, for instance, in the latest Sami bill, is under dispute and created tensions between the two groups living in the Sami domicile area (see e.g. Pääkkönen 1999).

In Finland, the Sami form a third of the total population living in the Sami region. Before World War II about one half of the population were still Sami. Now the Sami are a majority only in the municipality of Utsjoki and a minority in the other areas (Pääkkönen 1995:48). Furthermore, the Sami are not a homogeneous group as such; there is variation in different areas. A linguistic dispute is going on how many Sami languages or dialects there are (for more details see Greller 1996:23-30). The number given of the dialects or languages varies between 8 and 11, while the consensus is that the variants of the Sami fall into three main groups, often referred to as three Sami languages (Greller 1996, Carpelan 1994, Kulonen 1994). Half of the Sami speak Sami languages (Aikio 1999:57).

The traditional livelihood of the Sami has been closely connected with the territory they are living in. Sami culture is based on the sustainable use of their territory to fulfil the basic needs of people. Reindeer herding, fishing and hunting, gathering nature products, and making handicraft are traditional Sami sources of livelihood, and the usual way to provide a living has been to practise a mixture of these. Culturally and economically, reindeer herding has been the most important source of income for the Sami. Even today, some 40 % of the Sami in the Sami region rely on these traditional livelihoods for their income. For an equal number of Sami, service industries are the main source of livelihood. Traditional handicrafts and tourism are a source of an additional income to many and the main income to some. However, a rather large number of the Sami live outside the Sami domicile pursuing various professions (for details, see for instance Isotalo 1994, Pääkkönen 1995, Torikka 1996).

The indigenous status of the Sami has officially been acknowledged in ILO convention 169 and in the Finnish Constitution. However, the ILO convention has not been ratified by Finland because the question of the ownership of the Sami homeland is still not solved (Corbett 1996:51, Myntti 1997:58, YK:n kaikkinaisen rotusyrjinnän poistamista koskeva kansainvälinen yleissopimus 1997:25). However, these acts of recognition together with the political activity of the Sami have resulted in a change, albeit slow, in the social, political and legal position of the Sami.

One indication of the changes has been the new legislation concerning the rights of the Sami. For instance, Tuulentie (1997) reports that over the past ten years, three draft acts have been given, namely those of (1) the linguistic rights of the

² About the position and jurisdiction of the Sami parliament, see the web-pages of the Parliament <http://www.saunalahti.fi/~samedigg/>

³ A discussion with Heikki J. Hyvärinen, the secretary for legal affairs for the Sami Parliament, 26.6.1998.

Sami in 1988, (2) the ownership of land in the Sami domicile in 1990, and (3) Sami cultural autonomy in 1994. Out of these three the right to use the Sami language with authorities became effective in 1992 and the bill about the Sami cultural autonomy in 1996.

For the time being, however, the issue of the ownership of the traditional Samilands remains unsettled (Myntti 1997, Scheinin 1996). Proposals have been made to return the Sami domicile area, presently owned by the state, back to the Sami as special kind of collective land owned by Sami villages (see for instance Scheinin 1996). None of the proposals has proceeded as far as legislation, and even the proposals have raised much discussion and strong reactions among the people living in the area (Myntti 1997, Pääkkönen 1995, 1999).

Most of the traditional Sami domicile in Finland is still officially treated as state-owned land administered by the Forest and Park Services. However, historical and legal studies (Korpijaakko 1989, Korpijaakko-Labba 1994) support the view until the beginning of the 20th century the Sami actually owned these lands and were also recognized as owners by the authorities at the time. On no known legal grounds, the state started to control the public land left outside the homesteads. The Sami have the right to use the lands for reindeer herding and their other traditional activities. However, this right is equal to all permanent residents of the area regardless of their ethnic origin. In other words, the Sami do not have any privileges in their traditional lands. The present situation has been disputed and even given rise to court cases as the National Board of Forestry has conducted logging activities within the Sami homeland (Scheinin 1996:94). The Sami consider themselves as the rightful owners of the land presently administered by the state and they continue to fight to get their land back.

In brief, the arrival of a larger number of refugees and increased self-awareness and political activity among the traditional minorities, particularly the Sami, resulted in the issues of discrimination, racism, and the rights of ethnic minorities becoming a domain of public discussion. At the same time, the discussion about Finnishness was re-engaged more forcefully than for years. One of the major arenas for these discussions was provided by the media, particularly the largest national newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*. Besides offering an arena for discussion, *Helsingin Sanomat* provided much of the basic fuel for that discussion by its coverage of ethnic affairs in Finland.

There are number of reasons why this study is of considerable importance. To begin with, the issues are now more actualized than before in Finland, but not much research has been carried out. Moreover, the changes in attitudes towards ethnic minorities, as is shown by studies of Jaakkola (1989, 1996, 1999), calls for an investigation into the relations between the ethnic majority and the minorities. The centrality of the news and its use of language to the intergroup relations points to the need for a close scrutiny of news discourse. However, little attention has been paid to the discursive and linguistic side of journalistic performance, particularly in relation to ethnic relations.

2 POLITICS OF IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE

2.1 Contested identities, constructed differences

Questions of identity and difference characterize a great deal of contemporary discussion, debate, politics - and warfare as well. Without much exaggeration, everything and everybody is seen through identity. Identity is an issue when we are concerned with such questions as globalization of economics and culture, political changes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the emergence of the European Union, religious issues such as Islam within Europe, migration of labour, unemployment, changing sexual and gender positions and finally, conflicting ethnic and national identities, like those in former Yugoslavia and in Ruanda.

Difference is a counterpart to identity because constructing identity means inevitably constructing difference, too. To simplify, identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share a particular position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not. In other words, *identity is about sameness and difference, and defining one means defining the other as well*. Thus identity helps us to comprehend who we are, but by doing so, it unavoidably differentiates 'us' from 'them'. Consequently, identities are often marked by polarization, and the definition of insiders and outsiders entails patterns of inclusion and exclusion. (Hall 1996:5-6, Jenkins 1996:4, Woodward 1997:1-2.)

Identity and difference are central in the discussion of modern/postmodern transition (du Gay 1996, Grossberg 1996, Rattansi 1994, Woodward 1997). For instance, Bauman (1996:18) argues that whereas the modern problem of identity is how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern problem of identity is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep positions open. And as Jenkins (1996:7) notes, modernity, self-identity, and a singular identity are often grouped together whereas post-modernism's emphasis is more upon differences, multiple identities, and fragmentation of identities.

Regardless of the frame of reference, the relatively sudden break-ups, shifts, and changes in political, cultural and economical structures and allegiances have foregrounded identity and difference questions, particularly the struggle to assert and maintain national and ethnic identities (Woodward 1997:18). The term 'identity crisis' (Woodward 1997, Grossberg 1996) attempts to capture the tension that

is present in the simultaneous tendencies to maintain a solid, already constructed identity on the one hand and to dislocate, split, and fragment such a construction experienced at individual, social, political and cultural levels on the other. Furthermore, this movement within and between identities gives also rise to the politics of identity and difference. As, for instance, Woodward (1997:18-19) remarks: "Whereas, in the 1970s and 1980s, conflicts were explained and discussed in terms of conflicting ideologies, that terrain of contestation is now more likely to be characterized by competing and conflicting identities, which tend to support the arguments that there is a crisis of identity in the contemporary world."

The current concept of identity aims to capture these changes and shifts characterizing contemporary times. The task is hefty, since the struggle over, and negotiation of, identities takes place at several different levels: global, national, local and personal. They also deal with the multiplicity, fragmentation and fluidity of identity in relation to, say, ethnic, linguistic, sexual, religious, or professional features. In other words, identities derive from a multiplicity of sources which may conflict with the construction of the dominant identity position (du Gay 1996:301, Kivikuru 1998b:319-321, Wodak, de Cilla, Reisigl and Liebhart 1999:10, Woodward 1997:1).

It is important to realize, calculating the relationship between identity and difference, sameness and otherness, is not only a descriptive but also intrinsically *a political operation*. It is political in three senses at least: firstly, definitions have consequences and effects on people's lives in terms of their rights, positions and roles in society, for instance. Secondly, if identity and difference are taken as constructed phenomena rather than as given, natural, unchanged facts it follows that the criteria of an identity or a difference are a political decision underpinned by personal, social, historical, economical, or cultural motivations. Thirdly, identity and difference can be seen as consequences of and contributors to the wider social, political and cultural changes. Consequently, formations of identity and difference are sites of struggle, contest, and negotiation. (Grossberg 1996, Hall 1996, 1999, Ivanic 1998, Keith and Pile 1993, Penrose and Jackson 1993, Woodward 1997.) This is how discourse and news intersect with the concept of identity and difference: *discourse* is one of the ways how identity and difference are constructed and *the news*, in turn, is a powerful social, cultural, and political practice. On the one hand, the news creates one of the most visible arenas for constructions of identity and difference, and, on the other hand, also one of their most powerful constructors.

Identity is often called upon whenever *political unity* or *group solidarity* is discussed, whereas *difference* is used to refer to *the uniqueness* of a particular group or *a boundary* between groups. In other words, identity is a fundamental part of how groups comprehend their kinship and difference and how they set themselves apart from the others. Du Gay (1996:302) argues that both identity and difference become a question of power and authority when a group seeks to realize its identity in a political form, whether it be a nation, a state, a movement, a class, or some unsteady combination of these. Reasons behind such campaigning may vary from survival and preservation of one's own culture to a right to utilize natural resources, take over a territory, and so on. In the struggle of the Sami for their political and cultural survival, particularly in their attempts to regain the control over their traditional land, the issues of power and authority are manifested in an un-

equal distribution of resources between the Sami and the state of Finland.

The importance of identity and difference for people's political mobilization is often discussed under the heading of *the politics of identity and difference*. The underlying assumption is that contemporary politics are and should be organized around struggles over identity and difference. (Grossberg 1996:87, Solomos and Back 1995a:35.) Furthermore, current attempts at coming to terms with the mixture of new global configurations, new political movements, and subjectivations of individuals foreground the politics of identity and difference (Woodward 1997:247). As Weeks (1994:12) points out, the politics of identity and difference is not to be seen as a struggle between natural subjects, but rather as a struggle for the very articulation of identity and difference. The various articulations, in turn, are open for political values which can validate both diversity and solidarity. This, in turn, emphasizes the importance of representations of different groups and relations between them and the role of discourse in these processes.

To put it roughly, the politics of identity and difference may be interpreted and used in two different, although related, ways. Firstly, it can be characterized as a hegemonic or order-maintaining attempt to (re)discover an already existing identity which is considered as given and distinct from identities of other groups. Attempts of a group or a nation to seek their particular identity fall into this category. The second type of politics can be labelled as counter-hegemonic or resistance politics, which in turn attempts to transform the prevailing constructions of identity and difference - constructions which often draw on rather fixed binary opposition and marginalization and oppression of certain groups. Here the oppositional redefinitions of identity are central, and consequently, this type of identity politics is very much part of an emancipatory politics of opposition. Many of the new social movements, i.e. the gay, feminist, black, etc. draw on the latter identity politics. (Bondi 1993:86-87, Soja and Hooper 1993:184-185, Woodward 1997:24.)

Soja and Hooper (1993) also distinguish between modernist and post-modernist politics. The modernist politics of identity and difference is characterized by the binary ordering of difference, such as capital/labour, self/other, subject/object, colonizer/colonized, white/black, man/woman, majority/minority, heterosexual/homosexual. It tries to reveal the ways in which such constructions produce and reproduce systemic patterns of domination, exploitation, and subjection. Instead, the post-modern politics moves towards multiplicity of identities and differences that exist simultaneously. The key process in post-modernist politics is to break off from a binary structuring of identity and difference and also to take differences as the basis for a new cultural politics of multiplicity, appealing to those who are peripheralized, marginalized, and subordinated. (Soja and Hooper 1993:187.)

The politics of identity and difference may be interpreted as arising primarily from *the workings of power*. That is, the struggle for identity is simultaneously a struggle for power. This power includes the capacity to set the parameters for negotiations and struggles, the freedom to define difference, and to enforce this vision through hegemonic institutions of government, law, education and media. In a system where sameness and conformity are rewarded, the power to define difference becomes therefore also the power to disadvantage and disempower. Consequently, those who reject this vision of society, or who are being marginalized

by it, are likely to offer the most significant resistance to it. (Penrose and Jackson 1993:207-208, see also Soja and Hooper (1993:184-185.) This kind of power-based view of identity and difference may, at least partly, offer an explanation for ethnic struggles and conflicts taking place.

Thus the construction of identity in a group of people, and of differences between groups, may be seen as a process in which real or assumed features or elements are taken to mark sameness or difference and are therefore significant. Any particular construction may be politically motivated and thus also politically, socially, or legally consequential. These potential consequences tie constructions to issues of power, and to politics of identity and difference. In other words, the process of identification and differentiation can be seen to happen in a matrix of power relations in the sense that the attempt to regulate and to control social relations is at its core.

In this study, I will investigate the ways in which *difference* is constructed between ethnic minorities and the majority. For this purpose I examine the discursive construction of ethnic difference in the newspaper texts. Since the focus is on ethnic relations, I will discuss, to a certain degree, the widely debated notions of 'race' and ethnicity and the issue of racism. The interwoven and overlapping phenomena of 'race relations', ethnicity, and racism are difficult to separate and define independently. These terms are used, both in everyday discussion as well as in academic studies, in variable and unstable ways. In this chapter I attempt to come to terms with these concepts in a way that would be helpful in studying the discursive construction of ethnic difference in the news discourse.

Although issues of nationalism and national identity are closely related to the questions to be taken up here, they would have brought up the majority point of view, which is not on the focus of the present study. In other words, questions of nationalism would have broadened up this study to deal more extensively with the issues of majority identity construction, which is not the primary focus of this study. Rather, *I focus on construction of ethnic minorities and ethnic boundaries through differentiation based on 'race' and/or ethnicity.* Therefore I have limited the following theoretical discussion on issues of 'race', ethnicity, and racism. This is not to say that nationalism does not have bearing in construction of ethnic difference, but merely points to the focus of the present study and the choices I have made in doing it.

I will first discuss the concepts of identity, otherness, and difference and then move on to introduce the concepts of 'race', ethnicity, and racism in the context ethnic relations. Finally, I will discuss the politics of representation and stereotyping as related to ethnic minorities before concluding with an example of contested identity, namely that of the Sami.

2.2 Questions of identity and difference

2.2.1 Approaches to identity

As the discussion above has already illustrated, identity has diverse meanings and functions, and therefore hard to pin down. Identity has been studied from several points of view, such as social, cultural, psychoanalytical, biological, symbolic, or

constructivist, each focusing on different aspects of identity (see for instance du Gay 1996, Grossberg 1996, Woodward 1997). Identity can be seen as a way of understanding the interplay between our subjective experiences and the cultural and historical settings in which that subjectivity is formed (du Gay 1996:301). Hall (1996) refers to identity as a meeting point between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to locate us into place as social subjects and, on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities which construct us as subjects. Identities are thus a point of temporary attachments to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. (Hall 1996:5-6.)

Underpinning different views of identity are two different ways to conceptualize it, namely essentialist and non-essentialist (Bondi 1993, Grossberg 1996, Hall 1996, Woodward 1997). The *essentialist* understanding of identity suggests that there is one relatively clear, authentic set of characteristics, all of which a specific group of people share and which do not alter much across time. Identity is defined in terms of one shared culture, a kind of collective true self which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Thus identity reflects the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as one people, with a stable, unchanging, and continuous frame of reference and meaning. In sum, the essentialist view of identity assumes that there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is defined by either a common origin or a common structure of experience or both. (Grossberg 1996:89, Hall 1990:223, Woodward 1997:11, 25, 28.)

Much of political solidarity and activity can be translated into essentialist claims. For instance, the celebration of a group's uniqueness, the (re)instalment of the essence of, say, Saminess or Finnishness, is a powerful and creative force in political activity. Essentialist claims of belongingness and sameness are often based on 'race', and on kinship in some versions of ethnicity, but also on an essentialist version of history and the past. (Hall 1990:223, Woodward 1997:12.)

Non-essentialist definitions of identity focus on how the definitions of what it means to be, say, a mother or a Finn changes across centuries. The non-essentialist view emphasizes that identity is unfixed, unfinished, fluid, fragmented, multiple, constantly in the process of change and transformation, constructed across times, places, positions, practices and discourses. Thus identity contains different elements which can be reconstructed in new cultural conditions instead of being fixed essences locked into differences which are permanent for all time. (Hall 1990:226, 1996:3-4, Woodward 1997:3, 11, 26.) Thus the emphasis is on the multiplicity of identities and differences rather than on a singular identity and on the connections of articulations between the fragments of difference (Grossberg 1996:89). The non-essentialist conception of identity can be seen, as Hall (1996) puts it, as strategic and positional. In the words of Hall (1990:225):

. . . identity. . . is a matter of becoming as well as of being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery of the past which is waiting to be found and which when found will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within, the narrative of the past.

The non-essentialist position regards identity as contingent, that is, a combination of different components, of political and cultural discourses and of particular histories. This kind of conceptualization of identity poses, however, a problem for social movements and political projects. Although multiple and transforming identities open up new political possibilities and allegiances, at the same time maintaining a sense of solidarity and belonging becomes increasingly difficult. Woodward (1997:28) also points out, that in an increasingly fragmented world, it is tempting to assert new fundamental truths in response to the break-up of one set of certainties. This, in turn, can contribute to future conflicts.

In addition, the non-essentialist view of identity does not entail a singular theoretical position. Rather, it has been conceptualized in different, overlapping and even conflicting ways in an attempt to cover, or deal with, some aspects of the multiple nature of identity. Grossberg (1996) summarizes the various positions under five headings: namely those of (1) *différance*, (2) *fragmentation*, (3) *hybridity*, (4) *border* and 5) *diaspora*. Each of these five approaches to identity can be seen as different, although related, and overlapping ways to get a grasp of the multiple, fluid nature of the non-essentialist understanding of identity. Furthermore, since identity always entails difference, each of the five angles also deals with difference. However, even though identity and difference are intertwined, I will concentrate here on identity for the sake of clarity and will discuss difference in detail later on.

Not surprisingly, the first approach to identity focuses on *difference*. Identity construction, as was mentioned above, is often based on what it is not. Hence to define an identity is to define 'the Other' or subaltern, who represents an inherent ambiguity or instability at the centre of any formation of unified, stable identity (Grossberg 1996, Hall 1997a, 1997b, Jenkins 1997). To describe the particular constitutive relations between identity and the other, Grossberg (1996:90-91) uses on the concept of *différance*, originally introduced by Derrida. According to Rattansi (1994:30), Derrida coins the term *différance*, which combines the sense of 'to differ' with that of 'to defer'. Thus the term introduces elements of temporality and highlights the mobility of language, meaning, and identity. The embeddedness of the Other in identity incorporates negation in the construction processes, and this, in turn, emphasizes the importance of language and signification needed in the marking of the *différance*. (For further discussion of the Other and difference, see the following section.)

The second approach to identity centres on the concept of *fragmentation*. It emphasizes the multiplicity of identities and positions within any apparent identity. Identities are situational, made up out of partial fragments (Grossberg 1996:91) and can, therefore, be contradictory. Fragmentation of identity can be seen as an indication of wider social changes and dislocations resulting from the fact that people are drawing on multiple sources of identity. Consequently, instead of one identity people have several identities, with and without an overlap (Bradley 1996:33, Soja and Hooper 1993:186).

Hybridity, the third approach to identity, captures a mixture of elements of which identity is constructed. For instance, Gilroy (1993) argues that black culture and black identity respectively is a hybrid, a mix of elements from Western culture, from the Caribbean, and from the homelands of African slaves. Black culture is shaped by journeys - actual, spiritual, and symbolic - between these areas.

Bhabha (1994) points out that we are all living in cultures and societies that are more or less hybrid, but it is the particular position and history of many ethnic groups that make their identity particularly hybrid. Thus the concept of hybridity helps us especially to explore the complexity of the ethnic dynamic in contemporary societies (Bradley 1996).

The fourth approach to identity, and simultaneously a more subtle distinction of hybridity, consists of three images of *border*, namely those of *liminality*, *border-crossing*, and *third space*. Each of these concepts describes how hybridity exists, manifests, and is altered between various elements of identity. The concept of liminality concentrates on the border itself. Grossberg (1996:91-92) argues that the subaltern is seen as living, as it were, on the border. It is neither one nor the other, but defined by its location in an unique spatial condition which constitutes it as different from either alternative. In comparison, border-crossing marks an image of between-ness which does not construct a place or condition of its own, other than the mobility, uncertainty and multiplicity of constant border-crossing itself. (Grossberg 1996:91-92, see also Rampton 1995.)

The concept of third space can be understood to be an in-between place which gives some distance to previous constructions of identity and difference and, by doing so, offers alternative ways of constructing them. For instance, Bhabha (1994) argues that third space provides a freedom from total submission to a set of cultural values, from which a critical stance or an opposition to hierarchy can develop. Soja and Hooper (1993:198), while discussing the binary ordering of difference and identity, argue that third space might be a key step to recognize and overcome the binary order. Finally, the concept of third space connects the issues of identity and difference to discussions of space, new (radical) geography, and politics of place (see for instance Keith and Pile 1993).

Closely related to images of border are the concepts of *boundary* and *boundary marking*. These concepts are used in the examination of the process of differentiation among ethnic groups. The notions date back to Barth's (1969) notion of ethnic boundaries, which for him were real or symbolic, visible or invisible. Ethnic boundaries that people can draw on may include territory (nationalism), history, language, economic considerations, or symbolic identifications of one kind or another (Cohen 1994:199).

Finally, the fifth approach to identity via the concept of *diaspora* brings forth the idea of a non-place-based identity. Taken from its Jewish context and applied to black post-slave circumstances particularly (Gilroy 1987, 1997, Hall 1990, 1996) diaspora attempts to offer a basis for re-assessment of the idea of essential and absolute identity and its political demands by focusing on particular historical circumstances of which identity is formed and on how it is constantly produced and reproduced through transformation and difference (for details, see e.g. Fenton 1999:30, Gilroy 1997:337, Grossberg 1996:92, Hall 1990:236-237, Woodward 1997:3).

Diaspora is considered to be a valuable concept because it problematizes the cultural and historical mechanics of belonging. It challenges the fundamental power of territory and common memory in determining identity by breaking the simple sequences of explanatory links between place, locations, and consciousness and by drawing attention to the dynamics of commemoration. In addition, diaspora acknowledges a relational network, characteristically produced by forced dispersal and reluctant scattering. Thus diaspora provides a means, for instance,

for black people to comprehend the complex dynamics of identity by providing a cultural basis that is not determined by shared territory alone. Furthermore, diaspora can help to comprehend the novel of a new millennium, in which displacement, flight, exile, and forced migration are likely to be familiar and recurrent social phenomena transforming the terms in which identity needs to be understood. Diaspora is also part of a new vocabulary that registers the formative constitutive power of space, spatiality, distance, travel, and movement in human sciences. (Gilroy 1997:318, 328-329, Hall 1996:271-274, Keith and Pile 1993:17-20.)

The non-essentialist view of identity has been criticized. Grossberg (1996:92) summarizes the critique under three main concerns: firstly, ignoring the fragmentary, heterogeneous and conflictual nature of the discourses of power and power itself and reducing these complex issues to discourses of representation; secondly, ignoring material realities of identity; and thirdly, ignoring the positivity of subalterns (Grossberg 1996, see also Woodward 1997).

Here, *I consider identities to be unfinished and in process*. To examine how difference between ethnic groups is constructed implies the non-essentialist view of identity. However, it may well be that in the construction process, essentialistic views of Finnishness or Saminess are drawn on. The notion of identity, as for instance Jenkins (1996:3-4) notes, establishes two possible relations of comparison between groups of people: similarity, on the one hand, and difference, on the other, I will next turn to have a closer look at the concept of difference, as it is on the focus of the present study.

2.2.2 Difference and the Other

What is seen and constructed to be different varies in time and place, as du Gay (1996:303) puts it: "The threshold between sameness and difference is not fixed; they can be moved and furthermore, identity and difference making has a history, even though often unspoken." The means of marking may alter from a concrete wall or fence to an imagined border, but on the whole, marking a difference takes place both in the symbolic system of representation and in various forms of social exclusion (Grossberg 1996:94, Woodward 1997:29-33).

Similarly to identity, the constructed character of difference gives rise to politics of difference. The criteria of difference may vary across time and place thus influencing, for instance, such questions as citizenship, rights, and access to social, economic, and political capital. Politics of difference is also politics of power. In the words of Soja and Hooper (1993:184-185):

Hegemonic power does not simply manipulate naively given differences between individuals and social groups, it actively produces and reproduces difference as a key strategy to create and maintain modes of social and spatial division that are advantageous to its constituted empowerment. At the same time, those subjected, dominated, or exploited by the workings of hegemonic power and mobilized to resist by their putative positioning, their assigned otherness, struggle against differentiation and division.

Hall (1997b:234) says that *difference is both necessary and dangerous*. It is a necessary concept for at least three reasons. Firstly, all identities are constructed through difference: it is only in relation to the Other that identity can be identified and

constructed, and therefore difference is essential for identity. Secondly, difference, particularly the difference from the others, is needed for a group's sense of uniqueness, self-identification, solidarity, and political motivation. Difference can be celebrated as a source of diversity and heterogeneity, and it can contribute to positive change in the social and political conditions of a group. Finally, underpinning the whole construction of difference is the fact that meanings and significations require difference. Difference is necessary for the production of meaning, the formations of language and culture, not only for identities. (Hall 1996:5, 1997b:238, Woodward 1997:35.)

Difference is dangerous because it sets off one group or one feature from the others, thus resulting in negativity and exclusion. Difference can marginalize those who are defined as the Other or as outsiders (Woodward 1997:35). To cite Hall (1997b:238): "Difference as such can be negativity, threatening, a site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the other". Through difference, identity has a capacity to exclude, to leave out. Consequently, every identity has its margins and every identity has its Other, even if it be a silenced and outspoken Other, that which it lacks (Hall 1996:5). On the whole, then, difference is ambivalent with its potentially positive and negative consequences.

As a result, there are various approaches to, and theoretical accounts of, difference. Brah (1992) suggests four ways to conceptualize difference: difference as *experience*, difference as *social relations*, difference as *subjectivity*, and difference as *identity*. The first approach concentrates on individual experiences, personal feelings, and a person's own understandings of her or his daily life, whereas the second approach refers to the collective histories and the structural, political, and historical basis of that collectivity. Difference as subjectivity focuses on the domain of mental life including the innermost feelings, emotions, desires etc. Finally, difference as identity refers to the non-essentialist view of identity, which, as discussed above, emphasizes the non-fixed character of identity in which the marking of difference is central. (Brah 1992: 140-144.) Among these approaches, the last is emphasized in the present study.

Hall (1997b), in turn, summarizes the theoretical accounts of difference under four headings: *linguistic, social, psychoanalytical, and anthropological*. The *linguistic* approach to difference draws on works of de Saussure, and the main argument is that difference matters because it is essential to meaning. Meaning is relational, and it is only by contrasting one meaning to its opposite that meaning can be detected. Thus meaning depends on difference arising from binary opposition. However, binary opposition is also open to the charge of being reductionist and oversimplified. (Barker 1999:24, Hall 1997b:234-235.) For instance, while talking about non-neutrality of binary oppositions like Us/Them, Derrida (1972:41) argues, "We are not dealing with. . . peaceful coexistence. . . but rather with a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms governs. . . the other has the upper hand". Thus there is always a relation of power between the poles of a binary opposition.

The *social* approach to difference also comes from the theories of language, but from a different quarter. Drawing on the works of Bakhtin and Voloshinov, Hall argues here that difference is needed because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with others. Meaning does not belong to any one speaker, but it arises in the give-and-take between different speakers. This enables us to

enter into a struggle over meaning, breaking one set of associations and giving words a new inflection. Thus meaning is fundamentally dialogic and the other is essential to meaning. (Hall 1997b:235-236.)

The third kind of explanation to difference is *psychoanalytic* and relates to the role of difference in mental life. The argument here is that the Other is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity. Our subjectivities depend on our unconscious relations with significant others. However, we are never fully unified as subjects. Our subjectivities are formed through a troubled, never-completed, unconscious dialogue with this internalization of the other. (du Gay 1996:315, Hall 1997b:237-238.)

The fourth kind of account of difference is *anthropological*. The argument here is that culture depends on giving people, things, and events meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. Drawing on the classical works on symbolic systems by Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss, this approach emphasizes the idea that binary oppositions are crucial for all classifications. The system of classification applies a principle of difference to a population in such a way that all their characteristics are divided into at least two opposing groups (us/them, self/other). The most common form in which this construction appears is in binary opposition. (Hall 1997b:236-237, Woodward 1997:29-31, 36.)

Marking of difference is thus the key component in any system of classification and the basis of the symbolic order of culture. However, it can also give rise to negative feelings and practices when things or people do not fit into categories, particularly if the requirement is that people and things should stay in their appointed places. Symbolic boundaries keep the categories pure, giving cultures their unique meaning and identity. (Hall 1997b:236-237, Woodward 1997:29-31.)

Hall (1997b) argues that all these approaches contribute to the understanding of difference, and they are simultaneously present. In addition, they are not mutually exclusive, since they refer to different levels of analysis, the linguistic, social, mental, and cultural levels respectively.

In the process of constructing difference between an ethnic minority and a majority, the differentiation from the Other has a powerful constitutive force (Hall 1997b:239, Jenkins 1999:85, Rattansi 1994:29). The concepts of *the Other* and *'Us'* are used to emphasize the interplay between the ingroup and the outgroup. The Other is often negatively attributed and represented as a threat to the *'Self'* or *'Us'* (Cohen 1994:198, Hall 1997b:234, Miles 1989:112). This justifies and naturalizes actions undertaken to protect *'Us'* or in-group interests. Moreover, the Other can be constructed to be so different from *'Us'* that *'They'* can be regarded as belonging elsewhere, or *'They'* are denied resources such as education or employment, or, in extreme cases, freedom or the right to exist at all (Miles 1993:13, see also Goldberg 1993).

The discussion of the Other - as alien and strange - has a long history in Europe (see e.g. Cohen 1994, Jenkins 1999, Miles 1989, 1993, Rattansi 1994). The notion of the Other has been used by Europeans to distance themselves from people from the other regions of the world. These processes are well described by Said (1985) in his study of Orientalism. At different times in the history of Europe, Jews and Romany people, for example, have been among the populations that have been signified as the Other in a number of nation-states (Miles 1993:13). The conditions and definitions of the Other change, are transformable and, consequently, the con-

structions of the Other are not unitary nor fixed.

Due to the transformable nature of the Other and difference respectively, the divisions between 'Us' and 'Them' can have various grounds and vary in their firmness or weakness. For example, Cohen (1994:199-200) suggests that the difference between the British and 'the Others' is constructed by using aspects of 'race', religion, language, ethnic origin, nationalism, and symbolic identifications of many sorts (dress, appearance, accent, manners, the flag, the monarchy, etc.) Thus, some groups may differ from the ingroup in only one or two respects - and hence be perceived less alien - whereas other groups may differ in all respects and thus be constructed as highly alien.

It is important to see that, like identity and difference, the process of constructing the Other is dialectical. When defining the Other on the basis of certain criteria, e.g. colour, language or religion, the 'Self' is inevitably defined by the same criterion (Jenkins 1996:80-81). As Cohen (1994:198) notes, in the process of defining an asylum-seeker as a foreigner and thus an alien, Britons are defining aspects of themselves. It is through these processes that their national identity is constantly cumulatively defined and redefined. Thus both the 'Self' and the Other are enclosed in the same world of meaning (Miles 1989:112).

In brief, the constructions of 'Them' and 'Us' between ethnic groups are created by using notions of a common origin or destiny. The boundaries set up often involve mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and individuals are categorized into those who do and those who do not belong to a particular population or a grouping. As concerns ethnic minorities and majorities, previous research suggests that ethnic differentiation is mostly negative and results in discrimination and disadvantage. This view of difference locates the present study among studies on 'race', ethnicity, and racism, since 'race' is one way in which the boundary between ethnic minority and majority is constructed and ethnicity is another (Anthias 1992b:421, Brah 1992:125), and both ways can lead into racism.

2.3 At the intersection of 'race', ethnicity and racism

2.3.1 Race/ 'Race' - biological, social, political

'Race' is not a static concept with a single given meaning. It has a complex history and several overlapping and even conflicting meanings, and it is used to serve different functions (for a history of race and racism, see Isaksson and Jokisalo 1999). However, all usage of the concept of 'race' is a classification of groups of people and, through such classifications, articulation and naturalization of relationships between groups of people, often disadvantageous for one and advantageous for another (Alcoff 1999:33, Goldberg 1992:559, 1993:61-63, Penrose and Jackson 1993:3-6).

From its inception, *'race' has referred to those perceived and constructed as Other.* 'Race' was actually used in two senses: first, to refer to a group of persons, plants, or animals linked by a common origin or descent, and second, to denote a group having some features in common. Since its early meaning, then, 'race' has referred to a pedigree and the formation of the population of a region, to a taxonomy of people based on some characteristics, and to different 'classes', and connected with

an ethnicity of people and with a nation. (Goldberg 1992, 1993, Penrose and Jackson 1993.)

Historically, the concept of 'race' first appeared in the English language in the early fifteenth century to describe how nations and nation-states were formed in Europe. In this historical context the notion of 'race' originally referred to the groupings which formed the basis of nations such as England and France. Particular characteristics were attached to these groups, and they became national symbols. (Miles 1989, 1993.) In the context of expeditions in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the term 'race' also started to reflect the discovery and experience of groups very different and strange to the Europeans (Goldberg 1993:62). Isaksson and Jokisalo (1999:9-10, 16-19, 23-26) have found racialized thinking in such early documents as Indian Vedic hymns, Greco-Roman texts of the Classical Period and Biblical texts.

The next meaning of 'race' developed during the seventeenth century along with the developments in natural sciences and their conceptual apparatus. More systematically than before, 'race' was used as a means to identify and categorize people. The criteria for this categorization were by and large biological. In other words, characteristics of phenotype, particularly skin colour, form of nose and eyes, and hair type, were used for the identification of different 'races'. (Fenton 1999:3-5, Miles 1989:56, Goldberg 1992:558-559.) Moreover, particular mental abilities were connected to a particular phenotype, and thus a connection between appearance and mental capacity was made. This laid out, as Barker (1999:60-61) points out, the basis of superiority and subordination between 'racialized' groups, which, in turn, served the interests of mercantile and industrial capitalism as it moved into its expansionist phase through the development of the overseas empires (Jackson and Penrose 1993:4) and of economy based on slavery.

In this way the logic of 'race' was that of biological determinism: from this period onwards appearance and inherent phenotypical characteristics were seen to determine the intellectual, physical and cultural capacity of individuals and, ultimately, the position of particular groups in a society (Fenton 1999:3-5, Miles 1989:52-53). By the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant theory of 'race' asserted that the world's population is made up of a number of distinct 'races', each of which has a biologically determined capacity for cultural development. A hierarchy of 'races' was institutionalized and the relative positions of groups within this hierarchy were naturalized. The notion of 'race' was used to name and explain certain phenotypical differences between human beings (Goldberg 1992:545, Miles 1993:28-29) as well as differences in the cultural, social, and economical positions of groups of people. This meaning of 'race' exists even today.

However, as early as at the beginning of the twentieth century the accumulation of scientific evidence started to challenge the 'race' theory (Alcoff 1999). Yet, it was only the use of the notion 'race' by the National Socialists in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s that stimulated a more thorough critical appraisal of the notion of 'race' in Europe and North America. In the United States the civil rights movement brought about a new appraisal for the use of and struggle over 'race' (for the unique status and history of 'race' in the United States see for instance Lee 1993). Part of this critical evaluation of the use of 'race' led to the creation of a new concept - that of racism (Miles 1993:28-29).

As a result of the critical re-evaluation in the 1940s there was a *shift away from*

the prior uses of the notion of 'race' as a 'fact' to 'race' as a social construction. This new approach emphasized the social origin of the concept of 'race'. As for instance Miles (1989:106, 1993:42) points out, 'races' are socially imagined, not biological facts. This, however, does not make the concept any less powerful.

This line of argument is supported by many contemporary scholars (see e.g. Anthias 1992a, Bradley 1996, Bulmer and Solomos 1999, Gilroy 1987, 1993, Goldberg 1993, Jenkins 1997, Solomos and Back 1995b). For example, Goldberg (1992) notes that the minimal significance that 'race' bears in itself is not biological but that of naturalized group relations. Alcoff (1999:30) compares 'race-making' to map making arguing that both have a strong historical and conceptual relationship: the ordering and labelling of a natural terrain, the classifying of natural types, and the typologies of 'natural races'.

However, although 'race' has to a large extent lost its scientific credibility, it is still powerful as a particular, historically and culturally located form of human categorization involving visual determinants marked on the body through the interplay of perceptual practices and bodily appearance (Alcoff 1999:32-33). Since *the concept is used in the mobilization and categorization of groups of people*, it is important to examine when and in what contexts it is used. For example, Gilroy (1993:313-323) argues forcefully that we have to see the modern history of 'race' as a product of complex historical processes. These processes have involved contact with and theorizing about the Other, which have been at work from the very beginning of modernity. Consequently, the meaning of 'race' varies from one time and place to another (Alcoff 1999:33, Fenton 1999:3, Goldberg 1993:206).

All this underlines the importance of looking at the grounds and conditions of the processes which lead to the various uses and meanings of the notion of 'race'. Thus 'race', just as any other social construction, is constantly under transformation and a site of struggle. Hence the possibilities for resistance are also present in the social nature of this concept. In other words, 'races' are created within the context of social struggles. Therefore 'race' is above all a political construct (Jackson and Penrose 1993, Miles 1989, Solomos and Back 1995b). In consequence, its meanings are negotiated and struggled over. In addition, similarly to any powerful social construct, also 'race' has real, tangible, and complex effects on individuals and on societies (Alcoff 1999:31). By stating that the 'race' is a social construction, the aim is not to minimize its social and political reality, but rather insist that its reality is, precisely, social and political rather than inherent or static (Frankenberg 1993:11).

Today, the notion of 'race' is still used, by and large, to denote difference in phenotypical characteristics between people and to explain cultural, social, and economical differences between them. Thus some social relations are named 'race relations' and a number of governments, for instance, have prescribed laws to regulate 'race relations' (Miles 1989:61) and categorize their citizens according to 'races' (Fenton 1999, Goldberg 1997, Lee 1993). Thus the idea of 'race' even seems to be reinforced by legislation.

Van der Berghe (1994:266-267) distinguishes three contemporary uses of the term 'race'. The first is biological and is applied to both humans and other species, as in the meaning of subspecies distinct from others. The second meaning of 'race' is a synonym for what is usually called a nation or an ethnic group, as, for example the French 'race'. Finally, a 'race' can mean a group of people who are

socially defined in a given society as belonging together because of physical markers such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, facial features, stature, and the like. This last meaning is sometimes referred to as social 'race'. The concept of 'race' is still often used, argues Goldberg (1997:56), since it codes past and present discriminations, offering a rough and ready indication of opportunities that were (un)available at different moments in time.

Thus different groups of people can be '*racialized*'. That is, a phenotypical or cultural difference can be taken as an indicator of different 'race' and thus the group is 'racialized'. The term itself refers to a political and ideological process by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to real or imagined phenotypical characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the populations can only be understood as a supposedly biological unity. This process usually involves the direct utilization of the idea of race to describe, or refer, to the population in question. (Barker 1999:61, Malik 1996:252, Miles 1994:274-275.) Fenton (1999:66) points out that racialization is the process of turning physical difference into a social marker and, typically, enforcing it in a regime of oppression. Thus a formation of ethnic identities may be regarded as part of a ritualization when categories of 'race' are explicitly invoked (Rattansi 1994:58).

The use of the concept 'race' divides researchers. Some writers (see e.g. Manson 1994) are opposed to the use of the notion of 'race'. In their view, it is not helpful to use a concept that does not have scientific validity. They also argue that the use of the concept contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of the belief that the human kind is divided into various, hierarchically ordered 'races'. Another view is that 'race' as a social construction has tangible social, political, and economic consequences.

By insisting that 'race' is, precisely, a social construction, a contribution to the belief that 'race' is a biological and natural concept is avoided. While I acknowledge the possible biological connotations related to the concept of 'race', I still see its usefulness as a widely used and powerful tool in the construction of difference between people. Therefore *the concept of 'race' will be used here to refer to a social construction*. To mark a difference between the biological and social views to the concept, the current practice is to place quotation marks around the term 'race' to indicate that it is used in the sense of social construction. Racial difference is here seen as socially produced, and the discourses that naturalize 'race' are not considered adequate (see for instance Bradley 1996:17, Henwood and Phoenix 1999:112).

In sum, even though it has been demonstrated that in a biological sense 'race' is an invalid notion, the idea of different 'races' is still very much part of the common - and at times even scientific (see examples given by e.g. Goldberg 1997, Manson 1999, Isaksson and Jokisalo 1999) - understanding of humankind. Thus 'race' as a social construction is part of the discursive and political domains, rather than of biology. Barker (1999:61) argues that 'races' do not exist outside of representation but are formed in and by it in a process of social and political power struggle. As the discussion above already indicated, also the concept of 'race' itself is struggled over. The notion of 'race' becomes embroiled in discussions about identity, difference, nation, class, gender and citizenship, among others (see for example Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Fenton 1999, Goldberg 1993, Hall 1997a, 1997b). It is also used by anti-racist and civil rights movements to mobilize and

unify their aims and powers, and to point to existing disadvantages (Gilroy 1987, Miles 1993). Hence the meanings of the notion of 'race' are at least as multiple as those of other closely related concepts, such as ethnicity and racism. Like them, 'race' is a historically situated and culturally and discursively constructed concept. In the words of Alcoff (1999:31):

There is an emerging scientific consensus that 'race' is a myth, that the term corresponds to no significant biological category, and that no existing racial classifications correlates in useful ways to gene frequencies, clinical variation or any significant human biological difference. . . . However, at the same time. . . . in the very midst of our contemporary scepticism toward 'race' stand the compelling social reality that 'race', or racialized identities, have as much political, sociological and economic salience as they ever had. 'Race' tends toward opening up or shutting down job prospects, career possibilities, available places to live, potential friends and loves, reactions from police, credence from jurors and presumptions by one's students. . . .

As Goldberg (1993:6) summarizes, "'race' is irrelevant, but all is 'race'."

2.3.2 Twin-faced ethnicity

Ethnicity is a concept closely related to 'race' and is sometimes used as its synonym. Ethnicity is a complex and multilayered phenomenon, and the concept is used in a multitude of disciplines. Ethnicity is generally characterized as a sense of belonging to a community (Bradley 1996:112), as a social elaboration of collective, e.g. social and cultural, identities whereby individuals see themselves as one among others like themselves (Fenton 1999:6) or as a collective identification that is socially constructed with reference to putative cultural similarity (Jenkins 1994:197, 1997:76). Thus, in the crudest sense, ethnicity binds people together.

Ethnicity varies in terms of scope, scale, and formations. The scope of ethnicity may reach from the most local to the global, the scale can vary from the macro-social to the interpersonal exchanges, and ethnicity may be a matter of regular but informal practice or formalized into legal and constitutional principle (Fenton 1999:12). Thus it seems that many of the contemporary social and cultural changes can be accounted for in terms of ethnicity.

Consequently, ethnicity is not a homogeneous phenomenon (Fenton 1999, Jenkins 1999). Different social contexts give rise to different types of ethnicity (Eriksen 1993:13). For instance, Fenton (1999), while elaborating the work by Eriksen (1993), presents five types of ethnicity, namely *urban*, *proto-nation*, *indigenous*, *post-slavery*, and *ethnic groups in plural societies*. Fenton (1999:x, see also 32-42) describes:

Urban minorities are the product of global patterns of migrations of both labouring and trading populations. . . . the proto-nations are found in established nation-states within which cultures were imperfectly integrated and people were marginalized but not to the point of disappearance. . . . the land dispossession societies are marked by historical marginalization and the cultural devaluing of indigenous peoples. . . . slavery and post-slavery societies have given rise to one set of ethnicities, commonly marked by discourse of racist difference. . . . the plural societies of the colonial and post-colonial world are ones in which migrant worker populations have taken root, compete with each other for economic and political space, and compete with groups with a claim to being indigenous.

Historically, ethnicity is a relatively recent term, coming into conventional usage

in the early twentieth century. Particularly after the disreputation of 'race', associated with the Nazi usage, ethnicity became reinforced by Barths's (1969) influential work on ethnic boundaries. This has resulted in a gradual shift of the analytical framework, from 'tribe' and 'race' to 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. In the post-World War II and post-Cold War world, which is ethnically, culturally, and politically diverse, ethnicity has become a central concept in the politics of group differentiation and advantage and in the discussion of nation and national identity (Gillespie 1995:10, Jenkins 1997:18-24, 1999:87). As Anthias (1992a:11) points out, modern nations typically try to constitute themselves as ethnic units to exclude others, but at the same time, the dominant ethnic group often adopts the strategy of concealing its own ethnic status and attributing ethnicity only to 'Others'.

The term ethnicity derives from the Greek word *ethnos* meaning people (Jenkins 1997:9, Rattansi 1994:53), and the word ethnic, in turn, from the word *ethnikos*, originally referring to cultural strangers, others, and outsiders (Gillespie 1995:9). The very etymology of these words spells out their dual character; namely ethnicity and ethnic can be understood, firstly, as a recourse to a belongingness to a group and, secondly, as a device of social categorization and differentiation. Thus ethnicity can be conceptualized both from the inside and the outside of a group, it can be self-constructed or imposed, and it can be both positive or negative in terms of its consequences.

An inside view of ethnicity emphasizes it as a means and resource of self and group identification and identity construction (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:6, Anthias 1992b:427-428, Gillespie 1995:9, Hall 1996:446). *Here, ethnicity is interpreted as belonging to a particular group, which shares some combinations of cultural characteristics, common descent and ancestry, and political conditions* (Bradley 1996:17, Fenton 1999:23, Rattansi 1994:53). Cultural characteristics can vary from language to traditional livelihoods, ways of living, traditions, religion, etc. Common descent or ancestry, in turn, can be either real or mythical. In both cases, it contributes to the sense of uniqueness of a group. The idea of shared origin may be based on religious texts, historical events, myth, the idea of a (sometimes) lost homeland, or a mixture of all these. Thus the real or imaginary origin may be located in diverse ways, historically, culturally, or territorially. (Anthias 1992a:11, Barker 1999:62, Bradley 1996:121-122.)

In addition, ethnicity does not merely mean (perhaps an idealized) cultural resource for identity building, but it also involves, at least according to some accounts (Anthias 1992b, Fenton 1999, Gillespie 1995), sharing the conditions of existence of the ethnic group. For instance, Anthias (1992b:428) argues that sharing the conditions of existence includes not only the credentials for membership, but also the ability and the will to muster ethnic resources, including economical, territorial, cultural and linguistic resources, among others. This view can be interpreted as a requirement for an explicit display of an ethnic identity.

On the whole, the crucial point in *ethnicity* is that it *binds the members of a group together in a sense of belonging and constructs a boundary between them and the rest of the world* (Anthias 1992a:11, Bradley 1996:121-122). Awareness of the uniqueness of a group is considered a source of richness, a heritage which is preserved, rearticulated in new cultural and political contexts, and passed on to the next generation. In short, ethnicity is considered valuable, and it is valued.

This view of ethnicity is shared by many ethnic minority groups, and used

within ethnic studies, where the central focus is on questions of cultural sovereignty and survival of an ethnic group. In addition, those promoting the idea of multiculturalism and plurality in society usually subscribe to this view of ethnicity. The strength of the conceptualization of *ethnicity as a valuable and valued resource* is that it underlines its value as a resource for identity construction, sense of belonging, solidarity, and political mobilization for gaining rights, for instance (Gillespie 1995, Jenkins 1997).

The downside, however, is that questions of power and racism are often sidelined similarly to more subtle issues of cultural adaptation, integration, or assimilation (Gilroy 1997). Actually, ethnicity can be deployed to suggest that social formations operate with plural and equal rather than hierarchical racialized groups. Giving much prominence to culture, the concept of ethnicity easily disregards the issues of racism and can even be used to blame the victims of discrimination. Therefore, some scholars, for instance Gilroy (1987), prefer the concept of 'race' to ethnicity, not because it corresponds to any biological or cultural absolutes, but because it connotes, and refers to the investigation of issues of power (Barker 1999:63, Bradley 1996:112).

The second approach to ethnicity centres more on the discrimination and marginalization involved in ethnicity and regard as a means of social categorization and differentiation (Fenton 1999:6, Jenkins 1994:187-198, 1999:88). Here, *ethnicity is understood as having been constructed outside the group itself, often imposed and negative in consequences in terms of discrimination, marginalization, and racism.*

Although ethnicity per se is defined in the similar way with the inside view on ethnicity, i.e. in terms of distinctive culture, common origin, and shared conditions of existence, this distinctiveness and difference of a group of people is used for the differentiation of 'them' from 'us', often to exclude or to marginalize. In this case, the ethnicity is often defined outside the group, indeed even imposed on it, and the way it is done may differ from the criteria used by the group itself. For instance, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992:8-9) argue that "Ethnicity may be constructed outside the group, by the material conditions it faces and by its social representation by other groups or by the state. At any specific time, there may be a dominant view of what defines the essential character, needs or interests of an ethnic group." Consequently, the definitions and representations of an ethnic group given by its own members may differ drastically from those held by members of the majority group.

Therefore there are political, legal and economical reasons that may result in the categorization of some people as members of a particular ethnic group against their own will or the will of the ethnic group in question. An ethnic group may also be denied the ethnic status they are seeking for. Thus ethnicity is used also to regulate and control groups of people and their access to cultural, economical, territorial, or political resources. In an ideal case, the aim and the will of an ethnic group harmonize with the aims and will of those in power. Conflicts arise when there is a disagreement or a complete denial of the rights of an ethnic group - or even denial of their existence. In this context, the term ethnicity may evoke associations which are negative. Reference can here be made to the revival of racism in Europe, for instance, as directed towards particular ethnic groups, or the rise of ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe. (Gillespie 1995:9.) The most notorious examples are the ethnic cleansings in the former Yugoslavia and in Ruanda.

This conceptualization of ethnicity has a strong parallelism with the concept of 'race'. As discussed above, ethnicity may in some contexts replace the term 'race', and the two terms are currently used more or less interchangeably (Bradley 1996:112, Fenton 1999:3-4, Jenkins 1997:167). Consequently, for some, 'race' and ethnicity mean the same thing, i.e. a sign of cultural difference or a boundary marker and one way of constructing an ethnic boundary. Many, however, regard them as related but basically different phenomena (Anthias 1992a, Jenkins 1997, 1999). The latter view is adopted in this study.

To sum up, regardless of their many similarities, 'race' and ethnicity are considered separate because they have different histories, partly different uses and consequences, and finally, they are different as regards their volition. Basically, 'race' is more about physical differences between people, whereas ethnicity is more about cultural differences (Jenkins 1997:74). In other words, the usage of 'race' refers to a physical or visible difference, conveying the idea that populations marked by a characteristic appearance are constitutionally or biologically different. By contrast, the term ethnicity is primarily used in a context of cultural difference and associated above all with an actual or commonly perceived shared ancestry and cultural markers. Thus the reference to the physical/biological ('race') and the cultural/ancestral (ethnicity). However, as for instance Fenton (1999:3-4) notes, there is also a high degree of inconsistency in the usages.

It seems evident that racially defined groups are more likely to suffer exclusion, marginalization and subordination within social hierarchy than ethnic groups (Bradley 1996:112). That is, while ethnic social relations are not necessarily hierarchical, exploitative, and conflictual, race relations would certainly appear to be. Although ethnic boundaries involve relations of power, and social categorization is inherent to the internal-external dialectic of ethnic identification, hierarchical difference is not definitive of ethnic relations. Race, unlike ethnicity, seems to be much more a matter of social categorization than of group identification. Furthermore, while ethnicity seems to be a ubiquitous social phenomenon, situations which we describe as race relations are not. (Jenkins 1997:74-75.)

Moreover, identifications of race are typically rooted in categorization rather than group identifications, and in ascription and imposition rather than subscription in the external rather than the internal moments of identification (Jenkins 1997:167). Furthermore, ethnicity is, particularly when looking from a point of view of identity building, voluntarily embraced and maintained, while a racial identification is in the most of the cases imposed (Anthias 1992a:13, Jenkins 1999:92).

However, besides associations with a valuable cultural resource and richness of ethnic plurality, ethnicity retains connotations of migrancy, minority status, and lower class and an implication of hardness of boundaries (Gillespie 1995:9), and race, in turn, associates with biologically ordered hierarchy between groups of people, phenotypical differences and, at times, belief in differences in intellectual and cultural capacity between groups of people. Thus both concepts belong to the broader framework of differentiation and can function as a discriminatory category. Jenkins (1997:9) argues that, for instance, ethnic cleansing stands shoulder to shoulder with earlier euphemisms such as 'racial hygiene' and 'the final solution'.

Whether ethnicity is understood and used as a valuable cultural resource or as discriminatory category for differentiation, it is in both cases a highly *political con-*

cept. Through its classificatory character, ethnicity is tied with the issues of power and is used as a tool in allocating or denying resources, mobilizing people, guaranteeing or denying existence, or creating a sense of solidarity.

Moreover, ethnicity is articulated around culture and ancestry, and conditions of existence, and these all are subject to change, redefinition, and contestation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:9, Fenton 1999:10). Consequently, *ethnicity* is not best understood in terms of cultural characteristics per se, but like for instance Barker (1999:62) argues, *as a process of boundary formations which are constructed and maintained under specific socio-historical conditions*.

Thus ethnicity relates to the politics of collectivity and boundaries, dividing the world into 'us' and 'them' (Yuval-Davis 1994:182). Ethnicity often entails processes of struggle and negotiation and the pursuit of political projects (Yuval-Davis 1994:193), or it can be a driving force for resistance and in political struggles to gain rights.

It is also used in the categorization and mobilization of groups of people (Jenkins 1997:13-14, 1999:88, Gillespie 1995:8). Moreover, since the criteria of ethnicity are transformable and constructed, the very definition of ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic boundary are key areas of struggle, contestation and negotiation. Ethnicity, as Gillespie (1995:10) argues, bears therefore the traces of the historical forces which continue to shape the world's ethnic mosaic still today - nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, and involuntary or voluntary migration.

To sum up, ethnicity is a heterogeneous phenomenon. It is seen to be based on a group common cultural ancestry and on shared political conditions. It can be a valuable and valued cultural resource for the articulation of individual and group identity, their political aims and motivation, and a force for resistance and for change. At the same time, ethnicity may be used for differentiation and as a discriminatory category, imposed and forced, to regulate and to control boundaries between groups of people and the extent and quality of their existence.

Instead of considering ethnicity either as a positive resource or a negative discriminatory category, both aspects are regarded as its integral elements in this study. Similarly, ethnicity is not considered either material or symbolic, either real or constructed, but involving all aspects. This view is put forward, for instance, by Fenton (1999:x-xi), who writes:

Ethnicity is materially grounded, socially and discursively constructed, it is material and symbolic. It is possible to show that ethnicity is constructed by showing how ethnic categories shift their ground, import and content as circumstance change. But ethnicity also has a real social basis in the enduring significance which people attach to ancestry, cultural difference and language. These ethnic differences are not merely cultural but are organized and mobilized within contexts of political and economic structure. Ethnicity is manifested as a dimension of cultural meanings and as a dimension of social structure: ethnic formations are material, symbolic and social facts.

It is clear that the notion of ethnicity is problematic in many ways. It is not always clear how it is to be distinguished from the concept of nationality or racial divisions (Wieviorka 1995:192), or how it is articulated in relation to different political interests (Gillespie 1995:8). There is also the problem of defining the boundaries of an ethnic group in any concrete case (see below the discussion of Sami identity). Furthermore, in many cases, the concept of ethnicity is used to refer to Other only. Thus, for instance in the United States of America, Asians, Africans, and

Hispanics are regarded as ethnic groups, whereas the white majority is not. However, as Hall (1990, 1997b) has argued, we all are ethnically located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are. The definition of an ethnic group is a contested area as the definition of ethnicity remains a contested term (Anthias 1992a:11, Barker 1999:63).

In brief, ethnicity as a social phenomenon is embedded in social, political, and economic structures, which form an important element of both the way ethnicity is expressed and the social importance it assumes. At the same time ethnicity is an element of individual consciousness and action varying in intensity and importance and depending on the context of action (Fenton 1999:21). Or, in the words of Gillespie (1995:8),

Ethnicity is a contradictory term of contested meanings, ever sliding to encompass new meanings and variously articulated in relation to different political interests. It derives its meanings from its relationship to other discursive formations - particularly those of culture and nature, 'race' and nation. Ethnicity presents itself both as a natural given and as an accident of history and contingency. It may be contrasted with, but is often confused with, or used euphemistically to replace, the term 'race'. Despite its paradoxes, contradictions and slippage, it is indispensable to our understanding of modern societies and contemporary cultural trends and transformations. It has the power to mobilize and to destroy: it bears many important historical traces and encodes key cultural and political contradictions. It is term which we cannot abandon, but which needs to be deconstructed, in order to prise open questions of cultural, historical and political difference, and to challenge biological definitions of 'race' and assumptions about the ethnic homogeneity of nations.

2.3.3 Racism/s

Racism, along with other -isms, such as sexism or nationalism, involves the construction of difference between groups of people. In contrast to other practices of differentiation, the particularity of racism is in that difference is constructed according to racial or ethnic characteristics resulting in a particular kind of inequality and discrimination. Thus the link with the race and ethnicity is that racism bases its arguments on racial and ethnic difference between people.

The development and manifestation of racism has been argued to be connected to modernity (Wieviorka 1995), development of nation states (Miles 1989, 1993), colonialism (Fenton 1999), and expansion of capitalism and given the scope and duration of 'western' domination of the modern world, maintained to be portraying 'westernism' (Fenton 1999, Rattansi 1994). On the one hand, racism has been characterized as an ideology or dogma of races and people's position within racial hierarchy. On the other hand, new socio-political changes have challenged the previous rather monolithic views of racism and lead to the idea of heterogeneous, multiple racisms.

In the broadest sense, the *term racism denotes various types of discrimination and inequality based on real or imagined difference in 'racial' and ethnic characteristics*. Racism is also a label which can be used to describe or evaluate actions, behaviours, beliefs, and practices. Thus a political party can be called 'racist' or some conduct or talk labelled as 'racist'. Thus racism is understood both in terms of an ideology or doctrine and in terms of a specific practice or behaviour. For example, Fenton (1999:61) notes that racism, like other ideologies, involves a creation of categories with an implication that those within the category have certain natural and inherent characteristics. The central features of racist thought are then *the cat-*

egorization and attribution of qualities regarded as inherent. Using a socio-psychological standpoint, Jackson, Brown and Kirby (1998:110-111) define racism as negative beliefs and behaviours toward racially categorized groups or members of such groups involving strongly held beliefs about the superiority of one's own group. As Anthias (1992b:433) sees it, racism occurs when 'race' or ethnic categorization is accompanied by discourses and practices of inferiorization and subordination.

The use of the term racism varies considerably. Sometimes, all discrimination based on e.g. age, gender, or education is labelled racism (Hargreaves and Leaman 1995:15, Wieviorka 1995:2). At the other end of the continuum, racism is reserved only for such discrimination as is based on a belief that there is a 'race' and 'races' are hierarchical. In the latter case, discrimination based on ethnicity, i.e. cultural characteristics, on a belief in the superiority of one's own culture (ethnocentrism) and fear or dislike of strangers or outsiders (xenophobia) are separated from racism (Anthias 1992b:433). Here, *discrimination is understood to be an overarching term referring to all types of discrimination, whether based on ethnicity, 'race', age, education, or gender. Racism, in turn, is used to denote discrimination based on 'race' and/or ethnicity.*

The complexity and the ambiguity of racism are reflected in academic research. Research work has been done from various theoretical backgrounds, focusing on, for instance, attitudes, practices and effects of racism at the economic, educational, and personal level. Racism has been studied in relation to culture, class, gender, power, and identity and its manifestation at work, popular culture, law, politics, etc. Research has shown that racism may be found everywhere where there are groups of people living together.

At the moment, there is no one theory or approach that has a dominant position in the description or explanation of racism. Until the 1980s, the 'race relations' approach dominated this field of study, but after that the focus of the studies moved to the examination of racism, power, and inequality (Miles 1993, Solomos and Back 1995b). During the 1990s, researchers' interest has centred on the multiple facets and manifestations of racism together with questions of identity, ethnicity, nationalism, and group boundaries.

All this implies that the concept of racism does not have a single meaning either in academic research or in everyday use. Although there is a wide agreement that racism is harmful and to be condemned, the nature and the definition of racism itself are disputed and controversial. Multiple and different uses of the concept of racism have caused, according to some researchers (Hargreaves and Leaman 1995, Miles 1989, 1993), the loss of its analytical value.

The various understandings of racism are contested and disputed to the extent that, today, one of the main disputes revolves around how to define racism. This is not only an academic problem but also a profound social and political issue. Together with concepts of 'race', ethnicity, or nation, racism is used to form, regulate and transform social relations, exert influence on individuals' and groups' rights, and their position in society and in issues of legislation. These potential or real consequences of racism make it a key area of conflict and struggle. In addition, racism is a dimension of social life which gives rise to profound questions about humanity, equality, and justice. It is quite natural that debates about racism are multifaceted, conflictual, and never-ending.

Historically, the appearance of the concept of racism was connected, on the

one hand, with the challenge posed to the scientific validity of the notion of 'race' and, on the other, the rejection of fascism and Nazi dogma in Germany (Miles 1993:81, Wieviorka 1995:2). By developing the concept of racism further, it was possible to distance oneself from the idea of 'race' and Nazis. Up to the late 1960s, most dictionaries and textbooks defined racism as a doctrine, dogma, ideology, or a set of beliefs. The core element of this view was a belief in different 'races' as a biological and scientific fact and in a hierarchy between them.

Different changes and developments, such as the civil rights movement, the changing refugee situation, the process of migration, and 'ethnic cleansing' have led to new definitions of racism. In the 1960s, for instance, the use of the word racism was expanded to incorporate not only beliefs but also practices and attitudes. In this sense, racism referred to a whole complex of factors which produce racial discrimination (Banton and Miles 1994:276). Moreover, discrimination based on such cultural characteristics as language, religion, or habits started to be labelled as racism. This meant that also the category of ethnicity was taken to be an element of racism, which added to its meanings and uses.

In addition, racism can be examined from either the individual or the institutional points of view. The former concentrates on prejudices held by an individual towards out-group members which involve beliefs in the racial or ethnic inferiority of the target group. The latter refers to the system of laws, politics, and political, economical, and institutional arrangements that perpetuate and maintain subordinate and dominant group positions in a society. (See, for instance, Jackson, Brown and Kirby 1998:110-111.)

All these multiple meanings and uses of 'racism' have resulted in a continuous dispute about its ontological and epistemological status: what is it really about, how does it differ from other types of discrimination or inequality, what does it have in common with them, that can be characterized as 'racist'? Is racism to be understood as one phenomenon or multiple phenomena? Is there one single racism or many racisms? Or, simply, how restricted a definition is preferred? (Banton and Miles 1994:277-278).

On the whole, the debate about racism and its nature can be summarized in three points. Firstly, the role of 'race' and ethnicity is to be considered in the conceptualization and analysis of racism.

Secondly, the relationship between old and new racism has to be examined. Finally, the question has to be asked whether racism should be understood as one single dogma or as a set of heterogeneous, multiple racisms. I will next look at each of these points in turn.

In its oldest and strictest sense, the word racism is limited to an ideology based on a belief in the existence of different biological 'races' and their hierarchy. In this context, racism refers to a belief in a racial order, used to justify and legitimate discrimination, unequal treatment, exploitation, and even the determination of the 'lower races'. This version of racism is often called *old, biological or scientific racism* (Bradley 1996, Fenton 1999, Miles and Benton 1994, Wieviorka 1994).

This view of racism is in line with the biological 'old' understanding of 'race' discussed above, and sees different 'biological races' and their hierarchy as a 'scientific fact' (Bradley 1996:135). An example of such a definition of racism is given by Hargreaves and Leaman (1995:16):

Racism can therefore be defined broadly as an ideology which stigmatises other groups of human beings according to perceived physical differences, which are taken to denote distinctive cultural characteristics and imply to the impossibility of successful integration/assimilation into the superior racial groups of the racist and the need for exclusionary practices of one form or another.

As Rattansi (1994:54) points out, scientific racism has two enduring characteristics:

First, a biological definition of race therefore racializing the body and conceiving of populations having a commonality of stock and phenotypical features, such as colorations, hair types, shape of nose and skull, and second, attempts to create a hierarchy of 'races'.

This conceptualization of racism entails problems which centre round the concept of 'race'. Firstly, the challenge of 'race' as a biological and scientific fact has consequently challenged this view of racism as well (Hargreaves and Leaman 1995:16). As Goldberg (1997) points out, some have drawn a dangerous conclusion that racism has ended since 'race' is not a valid biological or scientific concept any longer. At the same time, the belief in 'races' as a fact still lingers on, voiced recently by, e.g., Herrnstein and Murrey (1994), who have argued that intelligence is genetically transmitted and that African Americans are innately less intelligent than whites (Bradley 1996:136). There is also disagreement on whether racism should be defined by biological grounds only or whether various ethnic and cultural dimensions should be included as well. The latter point has led to a debate over 'old' and 'new' racism.

The '*new*' racism refers to discrimination based on ethnicity, which means that cultural racism is also included - a rather crucial extension of the original use of the word, disapproved by some and celebrated by many (Banton and Miles 1994:278, Fenton 1999:51, Rattansi 1994). Instead of focusing on racial difference, new cultural racism involves ethnic difference and cultural incompatibility (Miles 1994, Modood, Beishon and Virdee 1994, Wimmer 1997). According to Bradley (1996:135), in the United Kingdom this view of racism developed by the New Right and employed by the Conservative Party and by ultra-right nationalist groups, suggests that it is natural for people to wish to live only among their 'own kind'. While biological racism aims at justifying discrimination on the basis of racial order, subordination, and difference, cultural racism justifies an unequal treatment of the same groups on the basis of language, religion, habit, and even territory.

This definition of racism does not presuppose or reify the (real or attributed) biological characteristics which become the identifying feature of the group that has objected to racism. Consequently, racism is not an ideology which has only people with other than white skins as its object. Racism can be used to describe also how, for instance, both Jewish or Sami people are considered in terms of their alleged biological or cultural characteristics and, additionally, have been negatively evaluated and treated. It is also a definition that specifically allows for the way in which racism takes different empirical forms in different societies at different points in time. It encourages a historical analysis of the emergence of sets of meaning and evaluations of particular populations (Banton and Miles 1994:278-279).

In sum, merging the 'old' and 'new' racisms means that not only the biological but also the cultural bases of discrimination are labelled as racism. Both

categories, 'race' and ethnicity, are used as devices to discriminate groups of people on the basis of socially determined signifiers. When talking about 'race' the signifiers are usually the characteristics of phenotype, whereas the signifiers of ethnicity are language, religion, habits, or even geographical location. In new racism, ethnic content has come to facilitate the construction of racial differentiation and the naturalization of discrimination.

The extension of racism beyond the biological criteria for discrimination has brought some other concerns with it. Whereas some writers (Manson 1994) have been opposed to the idea of severing 'race' and racism, the most common concern has been the loss with the analytic force of the extended meaning of racism (Banton and Miles 1994, Miles 1989, 1993, Solomos and Back 1995a). In addition, as Rattansi (1994:54-55) notes, the difficulty of extending scientific racism to contemporary forms of inferiorization, discrimination, and exclusion to redefine racism is evident in the controversy over new racism and in the attempts to provide legislative and judicial protection to populations subjected to discriminatory practices.

The novelty of 'new' racism has also been questioned, since as is noted, for instance by Brah (1992), Bradley (1996) and Rattansi (1994), cultural incompatibility is an aspect of the biological view of 'race', and hence of biological, old, scientific racism as well. Thus it can be claimed that new racism is not, actually, new (Manson 1994:849-850), and neither are the cultural or differentialist perspectives of racism respectively (Wieviorka 1995:182-183).

All this points to a need for multiple understandings of racism. As Bradley (1996:136) argues, rather than talking of a shift from one type of racism to another, we need to grasp that many forms and contexts of racism coexist. The need to take into account the historical, political, and societal contexts of racism is clear when, for instance, segregation in the United States, apartheid in the South Africa, the racist anti-immigrant rhetoric in post-colonial immigrant-receiving Europe (Bradley 1996), the anti-refugee discourse in Europe are considered. The contextual influence is clear also in the light of the position of national minorities, like the Romany in Romania and Yugoslavia. There have also been attacks in various countries against specific ethnic groups, such as Turks in Germany, Muslims in France, or Somalis in Finland. These examples may show that there is a rise of multiple racism in Europe: a revival of anti-semitism in many countries or neo-Nazi dogmas of skinheads.

While certain writers (Miles 1989, 1993) limit racism to a strictly ideological meaning, others (Gilroy 1987, Goldberg 1993, Rattansi 1994, Solomos and Back 1995a) promote *the idea of racisms*. Due to the historical and social nature of the concepts of racism, 'race', and ethnicity, racism may be seen as an elastic phenomenon. Racism varies from one time and place to another and so do its manifestations and its vehicles (Goldberg 1997:20). There are no grounds for taking racism as a monolithic, undifferentiated phenomenon, and the varieties of racism are not a new idea in itself, since racism has always been multi-dimensional and context-specific (Bradley 1996:136). Thus different versions of racism bear marks of their historical location (Fenton 1999:48-49).

The tension arises, on the one hand, from a need to have a general understanding of racism for the purposes of legislation, jurisdiction, or political solidarity. On the other hand, a need to be specific enough may arise from a wish to tackle racism in practice. This suggests that two kinds of conceptualizations of

racism are required. In this study I adhere to the view that *the concept of racism in a singular sense should be reserved to denote the discrimination and inequality that results from constructions of difference based on biological or cultural characteristics*. This broad definition allows us to deal with the general characteristics of racism over time and place. But, there are no grounds for limiting the issue of racism exclusively to biological reference. Discrimination and inequality which have a cultural basis are parallel to biological forms of discrimination and inequality, and it can be agreed that also discrimination on ethnic grounds should be labelled as racism.

Nevertheless, *the term racisms in the plural form is used here to refer to various manifestations of racism*. In other words, racisms are seen here as rooted in racism in the sense that they are manifestations of discrimination rooted in cultural or/and biological determinants. However, racisms in this plural sense allows us to spell out the variety of contemporary forms of racism.

To summarize, the general concept of racism refers here to discrimination and inequality based on biological and cultural characteristics. This general definition of racism is important, firstly, to distinguish it from other types of discrimination and, secondly, to allow us to address issues and problems across particular historical contexts. It may be important to note, however, that a broad definition like this is not particularly valuable in an analytical sense. Therefore, also the concept of 'racisms' will be used, to take into account specific historical, spatial and temporal factors.

2.4 Identity, difference and representation

2.4.1 Politics of ethnic representation

Representation enters in to the discussion of identity and difference, on the one hand, and of questions of race, ethnicity and racism, on the other, in that it is seen to contribute to the construction of each of these elements. Hall (1990:222) argues that *identity and difference are seen to be constructed within representation, not outside it*. Representations of a specific group at different times may vary and draw on aspects of 'race' and ethnicity to a variety of degrees so that representations of a specific group may be racist.

Consequently, representation itself has become a site and an object of struggle in identity and difference contestations and negotiations. Underpinning the importance of representation is the idea of *politics of representation*: the ways in which people are represented have real consequences to their lives, rights, and positions in society - and to their identities and the differences between them (Hall 1992). Representation does play a constitutive role, not merely a reflexive or after-the-event one. This is why ethnic minorities, for instance, suffer from inaccurate, negative, and one-sided popular representations of them. To take an example, the Sami Parliament expressed its concern for the anti-Sami representations in the Finnish media in its comments on Finland's report to UN International Convention of Eradicating Racial Discrimination (1997) (YK:n kaikkinaisen rotusyrjinnän poistamista koskeva kansainvälinen yleissopimus. Suomen 13. ja 14. raportti).

Representation is a complex and a multilayered term (see, for instance, Hall 1997a, 1997b, Grossberg et al., Lehtonen 1996). In this study, I will discuss repre-

sensation from the point of view of cultural studies, linguistics, and media studies. That is, representation is looked at in relation to the construction of identity and difference (cultural), as influenced by particular institutional and professional practices (media) and as a product of linguistic resources (linguistic).

Here the relationship between construction and representation is interpreted as subordinate, so that the construction of ethnic difference is seen to take place in different ways, the representation of ethnic groups and relations between them being one of them. In this chapter, I will concentrate on representation as cultural practice (for representation as media practice, see Chapter 4 and as a linguistic practice, see Chapter 3).

Representation refers to the production of meaning through language or other possible means of symbolic signification to an object, event, or people. At the same time, representation alters its object, the one being represented. Thus representation involves making claims on and about reality without being the same as realism (Grossberg et al. 1998:179). Hall (1997a:16) argues that representation describes something and calls it up in the mind, by a description, a portrayal, or an imagination. Representation also symbolizes or stands for something. Representation refers both to the material and to the imaginary world. In addition, representation also involves new ways of organizing, clustering, arranging, and classifying concepts and of establishing complex relations between them (Hall 1997b.) Therefore, ethnic representations are powerful.

Woodward (1997, see also O'Sullivan, Hartley, Sanders, Montgomery and Fiske 1994) points out that besides the production of meaning through signifying practices and symbolic systems, representation also positions us as subjects. It helps to make sense of our experiences and of who we are, and it also creates the possibilities of what we are and what we can become. However, representation may also limit the possibilities by building the difference to others so wide that those that are different cannot co-exist, at least in harmony. Representations of a specific group may also be so one-sided and negative that the group itself does not recognize itself in them. However, there is the possibility, as for instance in the case of ethnic minority, that the majority takes these representations at face-value and acts accordingly.

Thus representation as a cultural and political process contributes to the construction of individual and collective identities and differences. The production of meaning and the identities positioned within and by representational systems are closely interconnected. Representation can also be seen to refer to issues of authorities and accountability in the articulation of communal views and interests. It poses questions about who is authorized to speak for whom and to whom (Rattansi 1994:58).

Hall (1997a) presents three different theoretical approaches to representation, namely those of *reflective or mimetic*, *intentional*, and *constructionist* approaches. The first approach considers language as functioning like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it exists in the world. In the intentional approach the speaker or the author imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. The third approach recognizes the public social character of language, and acknowledges that things do not mean in themselves but that we construct meanings, using representational systems - concepts and signs. This approach foregrounds the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning, and

language operate. (Hall 1997a:24-25, 62.) In the present study, *I am drawing on the constructivist approach to representation since it harmonizes with the view of identities and differences being in process and foregrounds the role of discourse and language.*

All signifying practices that produce meaning involve relations of power, including the power to define who is included and who excluded (Woodward 1997:15). It is the power to define, describe, exclude, include, make a difference, and make the sameness. Hall (1997a:245) argues that one of the main representational strategies is naturalization designed to fix difference and thus to secure it forever. It is an attempt to halt the inevitable slide of meaning to secure discursive or ideological closure (Hall 1997b:245). Furthermore, as Lehtonen (1996:46-47, 117-118) points out, representation is never neutral but always produced from a particular angle, it is a product of choice and inevitably it always leaves something out.

The power of representation makes it a critical arena of contestation and struggle and interweaves it closely with the questions of identity and difference and, finally, of the politics of representation (Hall 1997b:256-257). For instance, Grossberg (1996:90) argues that the struggles over identity no longer involve only questions of adequacy or distortion but of the politics of representation itself. That is, politics involves questioning how identities are produced and taken up through practices of representation. Furthermore, if identity and difference are considered never complete but always in process, it foregrounds the importance of representation, since then identity and difference are constructed within, not outside, representation (Hall 1990:222).

Hall (1996:4) elaborates this by arguing that identities are a process of becoming rather than being:

Identities are actually about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than beings; not who we are or where we came from so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on who we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representations. They arise from the narrativization of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity, even if the belongingness, the structuring into the story through which identities arise is, partly, in the imaginary as well as the symbolic and therefore always partly constructed in fantasy or at least within a fantasmatic field.

This understanding of identity and its relationship to representation focuses attention on the constant re-creation of identities through the production of images and narratives in visual and written texts: newspapers, novels, television documentaries, drama, cinema, music, painting and photography (Rattansi 1994), everyday talk etc. Also in the present study, this understanding of the relations between ethnic identity and difference, on the one hand, and the news representations of them, on the other, is employed.

Representations are also challenged and contested. For instance, Hall (1997b:270) argues: "This is based on to the proposition that meaning can never be finally fixed. Ultimately meaning begins to slip and slide, it begins to drift or be wrenched or inflected into new directions. New meanings are grafted on to old ones. Marginal or submerged meanings come to the surface, allowing different meanings to be constructed, different things to be shown and said." Further, Brah

(1992) points out “what is represented as the margin is not marginal at all but is a constitutive effect of the representation itself. The centre is no more a centre that is the margin.”

Embedded in the unfixedness of representation lie the possibilities for a change. If representations are never fixed, it follows that they can be changed, challenged, new elements can be inserted and old ones extracted. Consequently, various groups are interested in the ways in which they are represented and try to influence it and may offer alternative representations. For instance, Hall (1997a) gives examples of how representations of the black have been contested by the blacks. Hall identifies three strategies: reversing representations (‘black is beautiful’), substitution of positive images of black people, and finally, usage of ambivalences of representation itself by making, for instance, explicit and often joyous representations of combinations of representations of whiteness and blackness and stereotypes connected to them. (Hall 1997b:272-274, see also Grossberg 1996:89.) Similar contestations of dominant representations can be found also regarding representations of homosexuals, women, and ethnic groups.

‘Race’ and ethnicity are dominant elements in representations of the Other and the making of difference (Hall 1997b:234). Rattansi (1994:58) argues, borrowing Anderson’s (1983) concept of *imagined community*, that ethnic identity is a social imaginary: that is, among other things, a collectivity bonded together by forms of literary and visual narrative which locate it in time and space, in history, memory, and territory. Representations are also constructed both within and outside a group, and in the case of an ethnic group, it is usually the outside representation that is prevailing to the extent that it will harm and limit the existence of a group. Thus there is usually a regime of representations of one group, often heterogeneous, possibly conflicting, one or some of the representations being more dominant than the other, and some more familiar to, say, group members, and some more familiar to outsiders.

In this study, my aim is to examine *the construction of ethnic difference* by looking at representations of ethnic minorities with a special attention on the Sami in the Finnish press news texts. Here, difference are considered to be constructed. One way to do it is through representation and these representations may draw on concepts of ‘race’ and ethnicity to the extent that the representations of ethnic minorities may be racist.

2.4.2 Ethnic stereotypes as a representational practice

One particular way of representation is stereotyping. Mundane everyday cognitive processes of perception and making sense of the world are based on typing, classification, and uses of stereotypes (see for instance Jenkins 1996), but stereotyping can also be negative and harmful.

In the context of ethnic relations, stereotypes are particularly dangerous. Stereotypes of different ethnic groups are typically negative (van der Berghe 1994:323). By definition, *stereotype is an overgeneralization about the behaviours or other characteristics of members of particular groups* (van der Berghe 1994:323). In other words, stereotypes can be regarded as vivid but simple representations which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, common, negative, characteristic traits (Barker 1999:75).

Typical racialized stereotypes of ethnic minorities, indigenous people, and non-whites refer to them in terms of devilish savage or child-like (Anderson 1993, Pieterse 1995). These stereotypes also emphasize their laziness, joyfulness, and indecisiveness, their being beyond control, they are needing a firm hand, and their not knowing their own best. Each group is characterized by its typical stereotypes, so that for instance the Sami are, according to long-held stereotypes, represented as child-like, mystic, pagan, greedy, or prone to excessive drinking (for further details, see Isaksson and Jokisalo 1999, Lehtola 1999). Similarly, Finns are stereotypically represented as having drinking habits that lead to both drunkenness and knife-fights (Peltonen 1996) and as no true Europeans (Kemiläinen 1998:274).

Hall (1997b:257-258) argues that stereotyping of groups of people differs from other kinds at least in three ways. According to him:

It reduces everything about the person to few traits, exaggerates and simplifies them, and fixes them without change or development to eternity - so stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes difference. Secondly, stereotyping deploys a strategy of spitting. It has a practice of closure and exclusion, it symbolically fixes boundaries and excludes everything which does not belong. Thus stereotyping is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It sets up a symbolic frontier between the normal and the deviant, what belong and what does not or is other, between insiders and outsiders and us and them. The third point is that stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group.

Stereotypes are thus used in the construction of identity and difference, and particularly in the drawing of a boundary between the two or between 'us' and 'them'. Jenkins (1996:123) notes that stereotypes of the inhabitants of either side of an identity boundary demarcate its contours with a particular, albeit illusory, clarity. Stereotypes can thus be seen as condensed symbols of collective identification and differentiation.

Similarly to representation, stereotypes are at best partial and always constructed from a point of view. This, together with the real and potential consequences, relates stereotypes to the issue of power. Stereotypes, as Barker (1999:75) argues, have an exclusive role within the social, symbolic and moral orders.

Moreover, *stereotypes are powerful symbols* (Jenkins 1996:123) *of identity, difference, and boundaries between them*. Stereotypes can provide ideological justification for the oppression of entire groups and contribute to the unification of a group and its political agenda. Particularly stereotypes based on power differentials between groups have the most potential to harm. Stereotypes focus on those thrown out from the normal order of things and simultaneously establish who belong to 'us' and who to 'them'. Stereotyping as a signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference (Hall 1997b:257). Stereotyping has essentializing, reductionist, and naturalizing effects. It will reduce people to a few simple characteristics, which are seen as fixed in nature.

In sum, stereotyping has its own ways of working and its own politics. These are often invested with power, which has to do with the construction of identities, differences, and boundaries between them. As Hall (1997b:263-254) points out, the power of stereotypes is similar to that of representations: it is a hegemonic and discursive form of power, which operates through culture, language, representation, and production of knowledge.

2.5 Contested identity: the Sami

2.5.1 Changed/Changing identities

Sami identity with its on-going struggle illustrates well how identity can be considered as a process and how the representations possibly underpinned by stereotypes, will effect it. For centuries, the Sami have struggled to maintain their identity in the changing socio-political context despite their oppression and cultural colonialization. More recently, due to the recent social and political development the Sami identity is also struggled over: now an increasing number of people wish to access Sami identity, even though they do not have a Sami heritage. In short, Sami identity is becoming more and more contested and partly (re)constructed, due to the various political aims of different groups of people, viz. the Sami themselves, the Finnish people living in Sami domicile area and the official Finland.

In a situation like this, the representations of the identity become the central site and target of struggles. Thus it becomes important to examine how the Sami and the identity struggles are represented. An influential arena is to be found in a media and news discourse. In this study, I will be examine representations of the Sami in *Helsingin Sanomat* news discourse and representations of Finns in the same news to highlight these struggles, constructions of identity and difference, and the role of discourse and journalistic practices in these processes. I will first discuss the definitions and labels of the Sami as a discursive strategy to maintain, contest and struggle over an identity.

Under the pressure of majority cultures and in danger of linguistic and ethnic extinction, the Sami people have engaged in an active struggle for their survival as indigenous people. Particularly since the early 1970s, coinciding with the global awakening for the rights of indigenous people, the Sami have been politically active, initiating, for instance, new legislation and promoting the Sami languages, arts, and media. In addition, an increasing amount of co-operation exist over the state borders in an attempt to reinsert the agenda for Sami politics. This co-operation is manifested in, for instance, a change in Sami political discourse: today, an increasing number of the Sami will refer to their own nation, Sápmi, that spreads across four state borders. The nation has its own flag and national anthem (see e.g. Lehtola 1999:21-22) although not an official status.

The changing political, social and economical conditions contribute to a change in Sami identity as well. For instance, Lehtola (1999:16, 21), a leading Sami researcher in Finland, argues that since the end of the 1960s, the identity has developed in a direction in which the traditional has been combined with the contemporary. One of the main tenets of this development has been the demand that it should take place in terms of the Sami people, not the majority. Rather than seeing this as a fragmentation or hybridity of Sami identity it can be interpreted as how identities are. As Hall (1990) points out, identity means becoming as well as being and also (re)articulating identity in changing situations.

The growing awareness of Sami identity, the political rights of the Sami, and the rearticulations of 'Saminess' have not occurred without conflict and tension, either among Finns or Sami. The struggle for Sami survival has resulted not only in a growing pride among the Sami themselves and an increasing awareness among the majority but, importantly, also in a juridical recognition of Sami rights. How-

ever, the rights already gained or potential land owning together with political activity among the Sami have also increased the tension between the Sami and majority members living in the Sami domicile area, and also among the Sami themselves. Among the Sami, there are different political views (Lehtola 1999:26) and it is to be remembered that from the majority point of view it is perhaps for the first time that it is both attractive and economically beneficial to be recognized as a Sami (Pääkkönen 1999:35). Consequently, some of locals of the Sami domicile area wish to be so recognized.

In short, the questions of who is to be recognized as a Sami and, more significantly, who is to decide upon it are highly complex and political issues at the moment. In other words, the boundaries between an ethnic minority and a majority are blurred and new boundaries are drawn. Where such boundaries should be drawn, on what criteria and by whom, is being struggled over. Besides ethnic boundaries and their grounds, the question is also about the sovereignty of an ethnic group and about the difficulty to draw an ethnic borderline in any concrete case (Anthias 1992a:11).

The practices of inclusion and exclusion are part of the relationship between an ethnic minority and the majority. One central way through which these practices are exercised is the use of language: the ways in which people are categorized, labelled, and named, what characteristics and rights are attached to them and what is required from them. In a rapidly changing Finland, national identity is changing too, and simultaneously, the borders between the ethnic majority and minorities redrawn and redefined. The definition of the Sami is part of this wider process and offers an interesting case to study the politics of definition. As discussed above, the definition of one, i.e. the Sami, the Finn, 'us', the 'self', unavoidably means definition of the other, i.e. the Finn, the Sami, 'them', the Other. Thus the definition of the Sami entails the criteria of non-Sami as well.

To be a Sami, in the eyes of the Sami themselves, lies in many complex and interrelated ways of existing, such as a sense of belonging to a district, to a way of life, to a group, and to a family (see e.g. Lehtola 1997, 1999). This definition of Sami identity comes close to definition of the ethnic identity discussed above, emphasizing ideas of shared origin, own homeland, shared cultural characteristics, and shared political conditions.

Individual cultural characteristics and ways of articulating one's indigenous identity such as language, terminology, traditional dress, and music are further ways of pinning down characteristics of being a Sami (Salvesen 1995, 114-115). Pääkkönen (1999:36) also points out that the recognition of the Sami community is required for an individual to be acknowledged as a Sami. On the basis of my experience from many discussions with Sami and Finns living in the Sápmi, it seems that the locals do not find it difficult to distinguish who is Sami and who is not. When asked what the distinction was based on, I was referred, for example, to their knowledge of the family trees going back for many generations. However, as Pääkkönen (1999:36) notes, taking family trees as one criterion for Sami identity is problematic, since almost all families are bound to have Finnish ancestors and relatives and, vice versa, many Finnish families will have Sami ancestors. Thus besides Sami ancestors an important criterion is a connection with the Sami community and its ways of living.

In contrast, the legal and official definitions and the general consensus of

Saminess have varied depending on the country and time. One indication of this is that the number of the Sami population differs. Traditionally, in Finland, Norway and Sweden, the definition of a Sami was based on self-recognition and language, i.e. the person or one of her or his parents or grandparents having spoken Sami as their first language (see e.g. Lehtola 1997). At the moment, the definition of a Sami and Saminess seems to be in flux particularly in Finland. Some of the indigenous rights of the Sami are recognized, such as linguistic rights, whereas some, particularly those regarding the ownership of the land, are not. Crucially, it seems that *at the heart of the debate*, both regarding the right to land and more broadly the whole socio-political situation of the Sami, *is the definition of a Sami*.

In the latest Sami bill, which became effective in 1996, the criteria of a Sami were defined more broadly than ever before. In this bill, a Sami is defined as follows (see e.g. Myntti 1997, 126):

The term Sami means a person who considers herself or himself to be a Sami provided:

- 1 that herself or himself or at least one of her or his parents or grandparents has learnt Sami as her or his first language
- 2 that she or he is a descendant of a person who has been entered in land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp or
- 3 that at least one of her or his parents has or could have been registered as a voter for an election to the Sami delegation or the Sami Parliament.

Thus, out of the possible criteria of ethnic identity, this Sami definition includes those of shared cultural characteristic (language), shared origin (reference to Lapp), and shared (past) political condition (previews or possible vote registration). It is problematic that the taxation and population register have been done by the majority - thus not necessarily reflecting the ethnicity of the practitioners of the 'Lapp livelihoods', but merely establishing those who practise these livelihoods. As mentioned before, in Finland these livelihoods are not reserved for the Sami only. Instead, the Sami vote registration has been and is done and decided by the Sami.

In comparison, according to the earlier legislation, persons could be defined as Sami if they considered themselves so, provided that they or any of their parents or grandparents had learnt Sami as their first language (see for instance Myntti 1997:125). It is important, then, to see that in the latest legal definition also the descendants of Lapps are included in the beneficiaries of the political rights associated with Sami cultural autonomy. This extension of Sami definition has caused heated debates and attempts to resignify the terms (Lehtola 1997:86, Myntti 1997:126-127, Pääkkönen 1999:39, Tuulentie 1997:70). In this way, the meaning of ancestry and shared origin are extended as criteria of Saminess.

Thus if a person can legally prove that she or he is a direct descendant of a person who has been registered as a Lapp, she or he qualifies as a descendant of a Lapp and is, for the purposes of access, a Sami with the right to vote and to be elected at the election of the Sami Parliament. Paradoxically, then, it is the Sami who try to defend their right to set the ethnic boundary and a group of majority members who are claiming that they have a right to have access to Sami identity as well. Fortunately, the historical registers of the population of the Sami domicile area are fairly complete, making it easier to determine who are descendants of Lapps. Furthermore, in the end it is the Sami Parliament that decides on the access to the present records of the Sami. Thus, the Sami still have their say in the

definition of Saminess. This is in accordance with the Geneva declaration of the rights of the indigenous people. However, the final word is with the Supreme Court, who in the end will make the decision whether a complaint about the decision of the Sami Parliament should be made¹. In 1999 such complaints were made, but the Supreme Court held the Sami Parliament decisions valid (Pääkkönen 1999:41).

Now there are people living in the Sápmi who, according to the official records, are descendants of Lapps and are recognized as Sami by the Sami community. But there are also those who have lost their heritage of Sami culture or have never had any close connection to Sami culture and yet are descendants of Lapps by the official records. Thus they do not, usually, share cultural characteristics, their ancestral connections are distant and minor, and their families have not, for long, shared the social, political and cultural conditions of being Sami. The Sami community see that these local people, ie. ethnic Finns or finlandized Sami, do not have any Sami identity and are not therefore considered as members of the community. Lehtola (1997) argues that although the definition of the identity may be difficult in the legal sense, to be a Sami is not arbitrary. Quite the contrary: the Sami identity does not just include language, or livelihood or living in a specific area, but it means a deeper and more complex sense of belonging to a culture, family, and tradition stretching over the North and crossing the centuries.

2.5.2 (Re)signifying labels, claiming the identity

To shed light on the complexity and intertwined nature of the new and old definitions of Sami and its political implications, I will next discuss the historical and present usages of the term 'Sami' and closely related terms, such as 'lappalainen' (Lapp) and 'lappilainen' (Laplander). Everyday language use, the naming and labelling of events and groups of people particularly, is not only interesting but also highly political and often ideological (Fairclough 1992a, 1995, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Kress 1996, van Leeuwen 1996). To name a group also means signifying its members from a particular point of view, since every instance of the use of language is embedded in a larger discursive and social context. Therefore, the examination of the wording of the events and the labelling of the groups of people do not only describe the usage of linguistic resources but give an indication of the discursive and social practices embedded in the situation.

Naturally, each term, i.e. *Lapp*, *Sami*, *Finn*, or *Laplander*, can be seen either as a more neutral or a more political one, depending on the point of view and the context. Each term is used in various contexts and for various purposes, and the terms have changed and are undergoing changes in their meaning. However, the main focus here is on the public use of language, particularly media language, and therefore the labelling of the group is particularly powerful in the constructing of the knowledge about them and the relations between the groups.

¹ I am indebted to Heikki J. Hyvärinen, the secretary of legal affairs for the Sami Parliament for explaining me the situation.

The term *lappalainen* (Lapp) is a traditional Finnish term for the Sami, whereas the term *saamelainen* (Sami) in turn is a Sami term. According to Pääkkönen (1995:97), the term Sami occurred in a Finnish text for the first time in 1952 in the work of the Committee of the Sami affairs, and since then it has gradually become part of everyday use in Finnish. In brief, Sami is the term originating among, and preferred by, the Sami. Historically, the term Lapp referred to a person who practised the Lapp livelihoods, i.e. reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting (Pääkkönen 1999:38). From the Sami point of view, the term Lapp is given by outsiders. Due to the long history of oppression, it is often conceived as insulting and as carrying a derogatory tone (Lehtola 1997:86, 1999:15-16). Therefore, many prefer to be referred as Sami². Whether to refer to the Sami as 'Lapps' or 'Samis' is not just a matter of choice of a word or a label, but crucially a choice of a perspective - just as in a conflict, the choice between 'a terrorist', 'a freedom fighter' or 'a soldier' reveals a great deal about the perspective adopted. By using the term Sami, one is giving space for the Sami to be defined in their own terms and recognizing their right as an independent and self-righteous group.

Regardless of the historical origin and the derogatory flavour of the term Lapp, and the explicit wishes of the Sami, the term Lapp is still widely used. For instance, in Finnish dictionaries both terms are given as synonyms (see, for instance, Suomen kielen perussanakirja 1993). Even if the use of the word Lapp is not meant as derogatory, it does show ignorance over Sami identity and the present socio-political situation of the Sami.

On the whole, there is ambivalence in the use of the terms Sami and Lapp interchangeably. The term Sami seems to be the term preferred by the majority of the Sami, and also one that does not carry any negative implications, whereas the term Lapp can be either neutral or derogatory. The Finns living in the area differentiate themselves from the Lapps, i.e. the Sami, by using the term *lappilainen* (Laplander) of themselves. In comparison, the Sami may use, besides *Finns* and *lappilainen*, words like *lantalainen* (non-Sami) or *valtaväestö* (majority population) to refer to the ethnic majority.

The recent legal definition of a Sami - particularly the connection to the use of Lapp as one of the criteria for qualifying as a Sami - has caused a new kind of political debate over the term Lapp. After the legislation was adopted, some of those who originally were opposed to Sami cultural autonomy formed a politically active group. The group comprises Finnish-speaking local people, and its aim is to protect what is called traditional Lapp culture (Pääkkönen 1995, 1999, YK:n kaikkinaisen rotusyrjinnän poistamista koskeva kansainvälinen yleissopimus, Suomen 13. ja 14. raportti 1997). In the political campaign of this group, one main discursive strategy has been an attempt to resignify the term Lapp to mean also Laplander. Hence the term Lapp, which traditionally has mainly referred to the Sami, would come to refer to Finns living in Sápmi as well. By occupying the term Lapp this group presumably hopes to gain access to political and economical benefits connected to the Sami (Aikio 1999:62, Pääkkönen 1999:39-40).

² However, the preferences are not altogether clear, since some studies have suggested that there is also varying opinions amongst the Sami (see Pääkkönen 1995:97).

However, a more emphatic interpretation of their aims is offered by Stoor (1999), who argues that this group involves an in-between identity between the Sami and the Finns and that they now seek new identification. On the whole, this group has been rather successful in gaining public attention and has managed to a certain extent to represent themselves as representatives of the Sami (YK:n kaikkinaisen rotusyrjinnän poistamista koskeva kansainvälinen yleissopimus, Suomen 13. ja 14. raportti 1997:26). Now some Finns living outside Lapland have had difficulties to differentiate the original Sami and the new group of regional people.

Irrespective of how regional or temporal the resignifying of the meaning of the Lapp might prove to be, it illustrates powerfully how the use of language functions as a tool to reinforce or shift identities and signify the difference and border between them. In addition, this particular case also highlights how a single term may be part of social, political, and juridical struggle. When a discursive construction of an identity like this gets much media attention, becoming widely circulated and perhaps reinforced rather than criticised, it can have a real impact on wider socio-political structures, such as legislation and political decision-making. Thus it becomes important to examine how the Sami and the Finns - particularly the difference between them - are discursively constructed in media discourse.

A variety of official and public discourses contribute to the construction of Sami identity. School books (for educational colonialization of the Sami, see for instance Aikio 1999:57, Kuokkanen 1999:100, Lehtola 1999:22), literature, historical texts, political debates, advertisements, music, art, and legal texts - they all offer representations of the Sami and also contribute to the construction of Sami identity. For instance, the tourist industry is both nationally and globally very influential. For a long time, the Sami have been represented in tourist brochures dressed in their traditional costumes in front of their huts surrounded by reindeers. Such representations may be seen to construct Sami as a peaceful villain, and as Greller (1996:46-47) notes, romanticize the Sami as illiterate, nature-dominated aborigines. In addition, as for instance Lehtola 1999 and Saarinen 1999 have pointed out, the Sami have often been represented for the purposes of tourism as a primitive, dirty people with addiction to alcohol. Such constructions are still vital and they are employed, for instance, in television commercials and entertainment shows. A sign for a change towards the nonacceptability of such representations was the ban imposed by the Finnish Ombudsman as a result of the complaint made by the Association of City-Sami in 1998 against a television commercial which employed a negative stereotype of this kind.

In future, when an increasing number of Sami will be working in tourism, a richer variety of Sami constructions can be expected to be found also in tourist brochures. Also new Sami literature (see, for instance, Kuokkanen 1999), art (Jauhola 1999, Lohiniva 1999), and research (see for instance Lehtola 1997, 1999) contribute to the expanding gallery of Sami representations. The media is also a powerful producer of representations, and this study will examine what kind of representation of the Sami is found in the news about the Sami.

3 DISCOURSE(S): LINGUISTIC, DISCURSIVE, AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

3.1 Heterogeneous discourse analysis

3.1.1 Multidisciplinarity of discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is neither a single methodological or analytical framework nor a homogeneous theoretical approach. It refers to such a variety of approaches across disciplines all interested in the use of language in context that it might be more accurate to talk about discourse studies than discourse analysis. In this chapter, I will introduce and discuss such aspects of discourse analysis as are relevant for examining discursive construction of ethnic difference in the news texts. *This study is discourse analytical in that questions of construction of ethnic difference, practices of news making, and representations of ethnic minorities in news texts can all be seen to have discursive dimensions.* The focus of this study is on this *discursive aspect*. I will draw on certain theories of discourse analysis and on previous research. Since the field of discourse analysis is multidisciplinary and heterogeneous, I have attempted to create a path which would help me in the examination of discursive construction of ethnic difference in the news texts.

The path I have followed starts from the points of departure of discourse analysis and continues to *critical discourse analysis (CDA)*, which, in turn, is applied here in an attempt to bridge various approaches and disciplinary boundaries. Within CDA, I will pay particular attention to the work by Fairclough and van Dijk, who both have contributed to the study of media discourse and questions of identity and relationship between groups of people and power and have significantly influenced this study. I will start by reviewing two main points of departure, linguistic and social, and then move to discuss critical discourse analysis in more detail. By reviewing and discussing various approaches to discourse I hope to add to the understanding of discourse relevant for the analysis of the construction of ethnic difference in news discourse.

Historically, discourse analysis emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s from developments in various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, all interested in the analysis of communication. The major contributing disciplines

were philosophy, anthropology, ethnography, linguistics, literary studies, poetics, psychology, sociology, speech communication, mass communication, history and political science. (Schiffrin 1994:5, Renkema 1993:2, van Dijk 1988:17, 1991:44-45, 1997:25-27.)

Scholars who have been working in various fields and have studied different aspects of discourse have defined the concept from their own theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. As a result, *there exists a set of conflicting and overlapping definitions of discourse and discourse analysis*. Thus the field of discourse studies is very heterogeneous and diverse (see, Schiffrin 1994:3, 1994:5, Tannen 1990:109, van Dijk 1997: 25-27). This is to be expected, however, considering the complexity of the subject, i.e. language and its use in context (see e.g. Stalpers 1988:91).

It follows that the term discourse cannot be pinned down to one meaning only. It can refer to a particular kind of theoretical view of the study of language use, or it can be used to describe one type of on-going communication in a specific situation. Sometimes the term is used to label an entire conversation within a discipline or a society. As a result the meaning of discourse can vary from overall interaction to a specific unit of language use (for different definitions of discourse and discourse analysis see for instance, Fairclough 1995a:135, Mills 1997: 2-6, Renkema 1993:86, Schiffrin 1994:41-42, van Dijk 1997:3-4, Wodak 1996a:12). Since discourse is multidimensional, its analysis often involves a multidisciplinary approach.

3.1.2 Forms, functions, structures and meanings: linguistic approach

Within linguistics, the move towards the study of discourse was, at least partly, a result from a consensus that some basic assumptions of Saussurean-Bloomfieldian-Chomskyan linguistics must be questioned, especially the view that grammar is sentence-based and context-free. In contrast to grammar, dealing with phrases, clauses, and sentences, *discourse analysis was concerned with the use of language beyond sentences*, e.g. texts, conversations or interviews. In this way the social context of language use and language as a specific form of social action were given emphasis in the analysis. (see for example Pennycook 1994, van Dijk 1985.)

While focusing on the use of language in social context instead of isolated sentences, discourse analysis found a new object of inquiry in the domain of linguistics. Discourse analysis challenged some aspects of the dominant way of language study and provided new directions to the study of the use of language in context. There exists a fairly extensive consensus that discourse analysis marked a change in the study of language. The development has been regarded as a general epistemological shift towards a more empiricist and pragmatist view, which stresses actual communication. (Pennycook 1994:117-118, see also van Dijk 1985:4-6.)

In linguistics the term discourse was used to refer to these larger units of language use in their context. As Tannen argues (1990:110), the term discourse analysis was developed to make legitimate such types of analysis of language that did not fit into the established subfields of linguistics. The core of these new types of analysis was language beyond the sentence.

The basis for diversity was laid out. The study of language beyond the sentence inspired research in a wide range of disciplines, particularly outside con-

temporary mainstream linguistics. Some of the main contributions, constituting also the main approaches of contemporary discourse analysis, came from anthropology, in particular ethnography (Gumperz, Hymes), sociology (Goffman) and ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson), philosophy (Austin, Searle), artificial intelligence and cognitive psychology (Winograd), sociolinguistics (Labov), pragmatics (Leech, Levinson), text linguistics (de Beaugrande), and stylistics (Ullmann, Enkvist) (Fairclough 1989:6-8, Schiffrin 1994:6-12, van Dijk 1988:20-23, 1997:23-27). In other words, most disciplines interested in human communication have influenced the study of discourse and, conversely, discourse analysis has had an effect on them.

The diversity is partly caused by the *two foci* that are embedded within the definition of discourse. Discourse refers to language beyond the sentence but at the same time it also means the use of these larger units. The analysis of the former kind focuses on the linguistic regularities that characterize texts, while the latter type emphasizes the social and cultural functions underlying language use. According to Schiffrin (1994:20) this dual definition derives from the impact of two linguistic paradigms, viz. *formalist* and *functionalist*, which are, in many respects, opposite in orientation. The formalists (e.g. Chomsky) were concerned with the *structure* and *form of language* and see language as a primarily mental phenomenon with universal regularities and as an autonomous system. The functionalists (e.g. Halliday) regard language as a societal phenomenon and study it in relation to its *social functions*. (For more information see Graddol 1994:2-17, Luukka 1995: 27-30, 2000:135-143, Schiffrin 1994:21-23.) Thus, *discourse analysis inspired by formalist approach focuses on structures and forms of discourse whereas the functionalistically oriented approach centres on functions, variations, and uses of discourse*.

A classical formalist definition of discourse is given by Stubbs (1983:1): "Discourse means language above the sentence or above the clause." Formalistically driven discourse scholars are typically interested in the structures and units of discourse, ways in which various units are linked to each other, hierarchies between them, regularities underlying combinations of units, and rules governing them (Schiffrin 1994:23-24, 42).

A functionalist definition of discourse regards it as a system through which particular functions are realized. Brown and Yule (1983:1) provide a classical functionalist definition: "A functionalist analysis of discourse, is necessarily, analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the descriptions of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs."

Functionalists tend to focus on the ways in which language is used for certain purposes in a particular context and how social contexts impinge upon language. Thus the aim is to identify and analyze such purposes and interpret social, cultural, and personal meanings involved. Functionally based approaches also characteristically make use of a variety of analytical methods, often including not just quantitative measures but also interpretive efforts to replicate the actors' own purposes or goals. They rely less upon the strictly grammatical characteristics of utterances than upon the way in which utterances are situated in a context. (Schiffrin 1994:22, 32, 42.)

The duality of the linguistic definition of discourse is also reflected upon in the literature. The concepts of discourse and discourse analysis are often intro-

duced in the literature (e.g. Renkema 1993, Stubbs 1983, Fairclough 1989, 1992, van Dijk 1988) with the help of pairs of concepts such as form and function, production and interpretation, meaning and structure, local and global, micro and macro, surface level and deep level. All these pairs attempt to describe the essence of discourse and thus refer to the focus of analysis chosen. Consistent with the differences between formalist and functionalist paradigms, the approaches to discourse analysis vary in terms of how deeply they pursue problems of sequential structure and in terms of their willingness to delve into interpretations of meaning and use (Schiffrin 1994:41). Van Dijk's work, for instance, is an example of discourse analytic drawing on formalist tradition while an example of functionally oriented work is provided by Fairclough.

Many scholars, however, try to combine the two traditions. For instance, Schiffrin (1994:42) argues that in any actual analysis an interdependence between structure and function is revealed. Both impinge on each other, and various approaches to discourse can be characterized as moving from form to function or vice versa. In addition, a more negotiated position helps avoid some pitfalls of taking either a strong formalist or functionalist approach to the definition of discourse (Schiffrin 1994:23, 339, 360). According to Schiffrin (1994:360), the limitations of the formalist approach may lie in the identification of the units of analysis, the criteria used for their selection, and the assurance that the chosen units and criteria are both relevant and used by actual language users. The problems of the functional approach, in contrast, may be associated with its use of the concept of context. By emphasizing the importance of context and its possible impact on a use of single linguistic units, the functionalist approach faces a never-ending range of interpretations out of which it may be difficult to find the most relevant and consistent. (Schiffrin 1994:360.)

Evidently, neither the radical structural nor the radical functional analysis is appropriate. Combining facets of both types of analysis may help balance the weaknesses of one mode of analysis with the strengths of the another (Schiffrin 1994:361). As Luukka (2000:142-143) points out, however, the two approaches may be difficult to apply simultaneously, since their basic assumptions about language and its description are so different. *The availability of two different perspectives - stemming from two different ways of defining discourse - is partially responsible for the tremendous scope of discourse analysis.* Dealing with either structure or functions alone is a hefty task, but dealing with both can take us into two different analytical worlds that are often difficult to integrate. (Schiffrin 1994:42.) Nonetheless, it is a worthwhile goal.

Pennycook (1994) argues that in linguistics a commonly held view of discourse is to regard it as a fundamentally two-level construct. On the one hand, it involves a microlevel, that is, language forms (lexical, grammatical, intonational, phonological), and a macrolevel, which refers to the context of utterance (speaker's intentions, background knowledge, text structure). Pennycook stresses the fact that also this view of discourse, no matter how valuable and innovative, also has a number of limitations. Attempting to repair the linguistic/semantic split occasioned by structural linguistics, as Pennycook puts it, this view of discourse focuses on the relationship between form and function. Then the issue is to find ways in which the meaning of language in use can be explained in terms of a relationship between the meaning of words and sentences (forms) and the meaning sup-

plied by the context (function). Pennycook suggests that this is done in three ways: by looking at the intentions or purposes of the language user, at the adherence to conversational rules, and at general forms of inferencing from the context or background knowledge.

In these shared devices used for the examination of the relations between text and context, the influence of the classical foundations of discourse analysis, viz. speech act theory and Grice's maxims and cooperative principle, is obvious. As Renkema (1993:21-22) points out, speech act theory has had a strong influence on discourse studies because of its focus on the question of what individuals do when using language. Thus studies of the relationship between form and function have been greatly influenced by speech act theory. In addition, as soon as we start to study how language is used in social interaction, the underlying assumption is that communication is impossible without shared knowledge between speakers and hearers. Stubbs (1983) points out that much of the fascination of discourse analysis actually comes from the realization that language, action, and knowledge are inseparable. Focusing on the question of what people do when they use language, speech act theory regards behaviour as rational, intentional activity. Furthermore, it is presupposed that language has conventions and people follow rules for accomplishing verbal acts (see e.g. Renkema 1993). Thus the production and perception of discourse are seen to take place according to certain basic rules or maxims, which are, in turn, based on the cooperative principle. This principle governs the manner in which speech acts are exchanged in discourse. (Renkema 1993:198.)

Within theoretical linguistics, discourse analysis has been criticized for a lack of a coherent theoretical, methodological or empirical framework. Many aspects of language phenomena are dealt with and various analytical and descriptive systems are employed, but conceptual as well as methodological inconsistency remains. This is why the field is characterized by the absence of a clear definition of its parameters (Kaplan 1990:201). Frawley (1987) accuses the field of eclecticism, and Staples (1988) calls for a theoretical clarification of especially its central concepts, the place of the field in the overall system of language, and its relation to pragmatics. Some critics (Frawley 1987, Staples 1988) have even argued that discourse analysis is not mature enough to be theoretically and methodologically monolithic.

In contrast to criticism, Tannen (1990) celebrates precisely the diversity of discourse analysis and finds the goal of a homogeneous discipline with a unified theory pointless and destructive. Also Beaugrande (1990:25) points out that attempts to establish just one framework over all the rest are unproductive. Tannen (1990) argues that being interdisciplinary by nature, discourse analysis will never be monolithic. Thus criticism concerning the heterogeneity of the field is inevitable where we are dealing with interdisciplinary endeavours. Widdowson (1988:185) illustrates the criticism concerning multidisciplinary enterprises, such as discourse analysis:

The conventions of the paradigm not only determine which topics are relevant. They determine too the approved manner of dealing with them: what counts as data, evidence and the inference of fact; what can be allowed as axiomatic, what need to be substantiated by argument or empirical proof. The paradigm, therefore, is a sort of cultural construct. So it is that the disciplines which concern themselves with language,

from their different epistemological perspectives, constitute different cultures, different ways of conceiving of language phenomena and different ways of using language to convey their conceptions. . . . This means that those who try to promote cross-cultural relation by being inter-disciplinary are likely to be ostracized by both sides and to be stigmatized twice over as amateur and mountebank.

As a multidisciplinary approach, *discourse analysis entails various kinds of theoretical points of departure and methods*. Discourse analysis will hardly ever be paradigmatic (Tannen 1990). Kaplan (1990:202) also points out that, on the whole, there are conflicting developments and movements emerging in linguistics. He also regards diversity as an advantage, because it provides a myriad of ways to examine the myriad faces of the object of inquiry, i.e. language. Similarly, Beaugrande (1990:25) emphasizes the multiple nature of discourse and sees this as a reason why discourse analysis can be put to multiple, possibly conflicting, uses. Kaplan (1990) stresses, however, the fact that the necessary bridges between versions of discourse analysis and of the whole field of applied linguistics still to be built. He also points out that discourse analysis has been available for long enough a time now that some of the diversity ought to be diminishing.

To sum up, linguistically oriented approaches to discourse share, at least implicitly, a common set of concerns (see e.g. Fairclough 1992a:3, Pennycook 1994:116-117, Renkema 1993:1-2, Stubbs 1983:1). They all are concerned with the study of *naturally occurring language in use* and *of elements of language use beyond sentence*. However, the dependence on the theories of language from which the discourse analyst is drawing the theoretical and analytical frameworks may vary considerably, since the formalist/functionalist difference is reflected in discourse analysis.

Some scholars are of the opinion that discourse analysis may also be taken to be an umbrella term covering various kinds of approaches to the study of language use in context (see, e.g., van Dijk 1997). But, discourse analysis may also be perceived in a more narrow way, as one approach among others to studying language, its uses, contexts and organization. In addition, particularly in linguistics, the terms discourse and text have been used both synonymously or in reference to two different phenomena. A useful way to think about the relation between text and discourse is Hiidenmaa's (2000:169) suggestion that they are different points on the same continuum. *I understand discourse analysis as a broad term which includes various kinds of theoretical and methodological approaches*. As regards to discourse and text, I consider them separate but related in the way that *discourse refers to the use of language* and *text refers to the product or materialization of the use of language in a specific context and it may be spoken, written, or visual*.

3.1.3 Constructing you, me and the world: the social approach

The second approach to discourse analysis can be labelled as social. The realization that language is not simply an expressive, transparent, or straightforward one-to-one vehicle of communication opened up new venues to explore the relationship between what is social and language. In social sciences, discourse studies developed out of post-structuralism, semiotics, and French philosophy. The central claim was that *the use of language is also part of social practice and vice versa*. The social and language are interrelated, since the use of language constructs the so-

cial, on the one hand, and the social underpins, constrains, and manifests itself in the use of language, on the other. This idea derives from constructivism - that 'reality' is seen as constructed. One of the main tools of construction is the use of language (Alasuutari 1995:36, Bazerman 1990:77, Jokinen et al. 1993:17, see also Suoninen 1999).

Consequently, meanings are not born out of a vacuum, but are a constructed part of social practices. Therefore, meanings are not fixed or unhistorical, but in a constant, although relatively rapid or slow, transition and deeply engraved in a particular historical, social and interactional context. Meanings are, therefore, as Pennycook (1994:116) argues, products of social and cultural relationships and are realized in the use of language. Thus for scholars working in social sciences within discourse analytical frameworks, the intriguing question is how meanings are constructed, within which constraints, and with what consequences.

The use of the term discourse signalled this new focus of research. O'Sullivan et al. (1994:92-93) argue that the concept of language proved inadequate to account for the historical, political and cultural fixing of certain meanings, and their constant reproduction and circulation via established kinds of speech and forms of representation and in particular institutional settings. Therefore new vocabulary and conceptualizations were needed, and discourse and discourse analysis were a partial answer to this. The benefit of the term *discourse* in contrast to *language* is in that the term discourse itself is both a noun and a verb thus referring to both the process and the end results of such a process. While talking about the construction of social reality, Alasuutari (1995:36) argues that the concept of discourse seeks to unravel the juxtaposition between reality and conceptions of reality: it refers both to meaning systems and to practices or entire institutions organized by those systems or perceived within their framework.

One of the most influential scholars within the socially oriented discourse studies has been Foucault. Although other scholars, such as Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Kristeva, and Pecheux, among others, have also influenced the work of many discourse analysts, there are nonetheless traces of the work of Foucault that can be found in almost all of the work conducted under the rubric of *socially oriented discourse analysis*. Out of his work, reactions to it, and further developments and applications of it, has developed a huge and somewhat conflicting area of theories of discourse. Even Foucault's own definition and use of discourse was not simple. As Foucault (1972:60) comments: "Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word "discourse", I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements."

According to Mills (1997:7-8), the first meaning of discourse presented by Foucault, i.e. the general domain of all statements, is frequently used to deal with discourse at the theoretical level. The second definition, i.e. an individualizable group of statements, is employed in attempts to identify discourses. A discourse is defined, in turn, as groups of utterances which seem to be regulated in some way and which seem to have a coherence and a force to them in common, such as discourse of racism or feminism. Foucault's third definition of discourse, i.e. a regulated practice which accounts for a number of statements, is, according to Mills, perhaps the one most frequently used. Mills interprets this definition of dis-

course as the way that it refers to the rules and structures which produce particular utterances and texts. Within most discourse work, these definitions are used almost interchangeably.

Thus the use of the concept of discourse in a Foucaultian sense typically entails three interrelated perspectives. Firstly, *discourse* is considered practice that systematically *forms the object of which it speaks* (Foucault 1972:49). Thus the term discourse emphasizes the fact that every social configuration is meaningful (Laclau and Mouffe 1990:100). The concept of discourse is not about whether things exist but about where meaning comes from. But since all social practices entail meaning and meanings shape and influence what we do, *all practices have discursive aspects* (Hall 1992:291).

Secondly, in terms of thinking of *discourse as having effects*, the relations between discourse, power and knowledge become interesting. Since discourse is constrained by practices and has effects on new and old practices as well as on the object it is dealing with, aspects of *power* and *knowledge* are present. Discourse can be seen as a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at particular historical moments (Hall 1997a:43, Mills 1997:18). As Foucault (1980:100) states: "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together."

Thirdly, rather than being interested in true or accurate representation of the 'real', Foucault was concerned with various discourses and their internal relations and order. Discourse is always historical, produced and perceived in the matrix of social relations. What interested Foucault, according to Hall (1997a:43), were the rules and practices that produced meaningful statements and regulated them in different historical periods.

Since discourse is about making sense of the social, it follows that there are always various views and, consequently, *different discourses* about the social. *Discourses are structured and interrelated*: some are more prestigious, legitimated, and perhaps more obvious than others, while there are discourses that have to struggle to get any recognition at all. Thus *discourses are power relations*. Both institutional and social practices are connected to discourses, which makes some of the discourses dominant, whereas others are treated with suspicion or silenced altogether. (Alasuutari 1995:115, 137, Hall 1997a:44, Mills 1997:19, O'Sullivan et al. 1994:94.)

Thus discourses are products of social, historical and institutional formations. It follows that the potentially infinite sense that any language system is capable of producing is always limited and fixed by the structure of social relations which prevails in a given time and place and which is itself represented through various discourses. (O'Sullivan 1994:94.) This is in the interest of socially oriented discourse analysis.

Out of these starting points, the social and Foucaultian understanding of discourse has given growth to a huge area of discourse studies that can vary considerably in terms of theoretical orientation and of methods and data used. *Rather than being one specific way of doing research, also in social sciences, discourse analysis mostly refers to a rather general orientation to the study of constructions of social phenomena, underpinning social elements, historical embeddedness, and consequences in terms of representations, constructions, identities, and knowledge*. Under the rubric of discourse analysis it is possible to find studies about environment discourse, representation of motherhood in women's magazines, construction of various identi-

ties in different discourses, among others. Data can be drawn from media, literature, politics, or interviews. Analytical methods can include, for instance, various types of content analysis, narrative analysis, word counts, analysis of metaphors, etc.

In contrast to more linguistically oriented approaches to discourse analysis, socially driven discourse analyses do not usually draw on linguistic theories or do linguistic analysis. The analysis makes use of social theories on the construction of identity, subject positions, power, and knowledge and theories explaining the phenomena in question. Qualitative methods are used to describe how cultural, social, political and historical factors, on the one hand, and the phenomenon in question, on the other, are constructed in discourse and vice versa. Impinging upon theoretical and methodological points of departure is the idea of constructed reality. Limitations of socially oriented discourse analysis may indicate that broad social conclusions drawn on the basis of the data may seem far-fetched, if the analyses do not seem to offer enough grounds for such conclusions. From the linguistic point of view, social discourse analyses often disregard many important aspects of language. Similarly, from the social point of view linguistic discourse analyses do not pay enough attention to social questions or the context even.

To sum up, socially oriented approaches to discourse analysis can be seen to share at least the following concerns (see Jokinen et al 1993, 1999, Mills 1998). Firstly, they all rely on an assumption of *the constructive nature and effect of the use of language*. That is, the use of language constructs 'reality', and while doing it, it has an impact on that 'reality'. Therefore, it is in the interest of a researcher both to study the underpinning constraints and motivations shaping how language is used and to explore the possible consequences of certain uses of language. Although the methods used in the analysis can vary considerably, the data used is always from the naturally occurring use of language. Secondly, common to all socially oriented discourse analysis is the interest in *the relationship between language and the social*, which are seen as interrelated and dialogical. In other words, the use of language is also part of social practice and vice versa. Consequently, meanings are also social, historical, and political. By examining the use of language, also aspects of the social are revealed. Thirdly, the discourse analyst is interested in *the institutional and social nature of discourse*, rather than in the intentions and motivations of individuals.

The present study shares many points of social discourse analysis. Above all, my point of departure for a study of discursive construction of ethnic difference in the news is grounded on the idea that reality is socially constructed. As discussed in Chapter 2, I am in agreement with scholars who regard both *identity and difference as socially constructed, and one main way to do it is through discourse*. As social discourse analysis underlines, discourse is socially conditioned, impinged upon by practices and contributing to them. In this study, I will both pay attention to *the journalistic practices of news making and examine the consequences of these practices in terms of news coverage of ethnic minorities*. However, as I am also interested in *how all this is manifested in the actual use of language*, I draw on linguistic approaches to discourse analysis, particularly critical discourse analysis.

Many scholars have attempted to overcome the split between the socially and linguistically oriented approaches to the study of discourse. Many interesting attempts have been made in various disciplines such as feminism, cultural

studies, conversation analysis and, notably, critical discourse analysis (CDA). *CDA is a heterogeneous enterprise attempting to combine aspects of linguistic and social approaches*: the fine grain and systematicity of linguistic analysis and the theories of identity, power, ideology and knowledge. Thus CDA can be seen as a promising approach to the study of discursive construction of ethnic difference in news reports. However, the present study is not an application of any specific CDA framework but rather *I take CDA as a theoretical and methodological resource in exploring questions of ethnic difference, discourse, and news*. I will next discuss selectively those aspects of critical discourse analysis that are relevant for the present study. I will pay particular attention to the work of Fairclough and van Dijk, who both have contributed to my own understanding of CDA and this study.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis: bridging linguistic and social approaches

3.2.1 Language and power

Critical discourse analysis is a broad term for heterogeneous work in sociology and linguistics, which shares an interest in the examination of the relationship between language and the social from a particular point of view. In the broadest sense, this particular point of view entails incorporation of linguistically and socially oriented approaches to discourse analysis, at least to a degree, on the one hand, and interest in socially conditioned and consequential discourse, most often from the point of view of power relations, on the other. The word *critical* underlines this particular point of view and sets this type of discourse analysis apart from the vast range of other types of discourse analyses. Next, I will discuss some of the central tenets and claims of CDA relevant for the present study (for overviews of CDA see, for instance, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Pietikäinen 2000, van Dijk 1993, Toolan 1997).

Although explicitly attempting to bridge linguistic and social approaches, CDA is, however, linguistic by its premises. That is to say that like all the other linguistically oriented variations of discourse analysis, CDA shares the overall goals of DA, i.e. it is interested in the actual use of language in its social context, and it makes use of linguistic theories, categories, and methods of analysis to explore discourse (Kress 1990, Fairclough and Wodak 1997). In practice, this means that regardless of the research design or data in question, CDA work is expected to use linguistic theories and categories in the analysis of actual language use. This *linguistic tenet of CDA*, similar to other linguistically oriented approaches to DA, differentiates it from socially oriented approaches to DA. However, this dimension can have very different manifestations in CDA work, which can be either formalistically or functionalistically oriented, focusing on sociolinguistics, cognitive studies, text structures, etc.

In addition, CDA wants explicitly to incorporate social theories and concerns in its theoretical and practical enterprise to an extent that is not typical for most linguistically oriented approaches to DA. Similarly to socially oriented approaches to DA, CDA also emphasize the *constructive nature of language use*, i.e. the social,

political, institutional, and historical embeddedness of language use, and underpinning constraints of the use of language. The heterogeneity of CDA is manifested also in the range of social theories that it drawn on, varying from critical theories to theories of postmodernity and having links to other areas of research, such as media studies, women's studies, and cultural studies. Although from the point of view of sociology, the debt to social theories in much of CDA work can be rather modest, it is, nevertheless, an attempt to bridge linguistic and social theories.

Despite this theoretical and methodological heterogeneity, some central claims are characteristic of CDA research. One of the very fundamental claims of CDA relates to the *centrality of language*. That is, the ways in which language is used fundamentally construct the phenomena that are talked about and the identities of language users and the relations between them. This argument is, as Fairclough (1992:64) puts it, the import from Foucault's discussion of the discursive formation of objects, subjects, and concepts. In addition, the social context in which language use always takes place constructs the ways in which language is used through conventions, norms, social structures, and interactional elements, for instance. In CDA literature, this particular view of the relationship between language/discourse and the social is referred to as language/discourse as social practice (Fairclough 1989:22-23, 1992a:62-65, 1993:134-135, Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258-259, Kress 1990:85-86, van Dijk 1993:249, van Leeuwen 1993:193, Wodak 1996a:15).

It follows that language is not seen as an independent and autonomous phenomenon, but as an essential part of the social, whether it is conceptualized in terms of users, interactional context, political or historical context, social structures, or social phenomena, but in the same way social phenomena have linguistic aspects, and therefore language constructs the social and vice versa. This view of language is in accordance with the claims of the symbolic construction of 'reality' discussed in Chapter 2 and offers a fruitful point of departure for the examination of how ethnic difference is constructed in news discourse.

Language as social practice as a starting point has several consequences for CDA research. Firstly, to mark this particular point of departure, the *term discourse is defined as language use as social practice*. This definition entails both the linguistic and the social understanding of discourse. I will make use of this definition of discourse in the present study.

Consequently, the focus is, similarly to other DA approaches, on the social, institutional, historical, and political aspects of discourse rather than on individuals' intentions or competencies. Embedded in this view of discourse is also a conception of language as action. That is, to use language is one way to act in this world view derived from speech act theory. Seeing discourse as social practice also entails a time dimension and, consequently, discourse is always historically located. Finally, discourse as social practice then is not only about representing the world, but also about signifying, constituting, construing, and possibly changing it.

In brief, *in CDA, discourse means language use as social practice, and it is seen as non-individual, action, historical, and constructive*. This view of discourse gives it a highly powerful position. Discourse is seen not only as representing the world, but also as constructing it. Because it is action, it also has certain consequences and conditions. Since the world also constructs discourse, social phenomena, struc-

tures, and events are partly manifested in discourse. It is therefore possible to study such aspects of social phenomena as racism or sexism, current political and social conditions, and historical events also in discourse. This explains why discourse is considered to be a salient feature of contemporary societies and, as such, an interesting area of research.

This conceptualization of discourse leads us to the second central tenet of CDA, namely that of criticality. For CDA practitioners, the word *critical means studying the relationship between discourse and power* (see e.g. Fairclough 1989, 1992, van Dijk 1993). This particular focus of study derives from the realization that discourse is socially consequential and conditioned. Thus, on the one hand, CDA practitioners choose to study how discourse contributes to the construction, maintenance, reproduction, and legitimation of often unequal relationships between groups of people, institutions, capital, knowledge, etc. On the other hand, CDA scholars are also interested in exploring how existing power relations shape discourse, that is, which ways of using language are possible or available for the language user in a particular context and which are not. A particular application of this is critical language awareness projects (see e.g. Clark and Ivanic 1997, 1999, Fairclough 1992b, Janks 1993) which aim to make the power of language more visible for its users, particularly in educational settings. Finally, CDA practitioners are interested in how discourse can be used as a resource in struggles for a change (see e.g. Fairclough 2000), i.e. to change and challenge existing power relations. This aspect has been less studied so far.

The roots of the critical orientation of CDA may be found in critical theory, which, in turn, is a broad label for theories interested in the critique of ideologies and power, particularly of dominance and power abuse. The best known representatives of critical theory are the scholars of the Frankfurt school and the work by Habermas. In short, critical theories are motivated by two central ideas, viz. the transformation of philosophical problems into questions of political praxis and potential emancipation. The latter means that critical theorists believe that an awareness of the existing conditions and structures of power would contribute to the emancipation of people. Here critical theory echoes the central idea of the Enlightenment, i.e. that knowledge will bring along a change for better. (Fairclough 1994, Ray 1993.)

Sharing these goals and aims of critical theory, CDA concentrates on the *discursive side of power*. Certain discursive practices and discourses can become neutral and legitimate, whereas others can be marginalized or even forbidden. Processes of naturalization, legitimation, or marginalization are seen as power-related. In addition, discourse itself, such as media discourse, can be seen as an arena where power struggles take place. Furthermore, some discourses are considered to be so valuable and powerful that people struggle to get access to, or control over, them. Discourses of science, law and politics are examples. To sum up, for critical discourse analysts, critical means studying power of, in, and over discourse.

This critical tenet gives its own character to CDA, differentiating it from other approaches of discourse analysis. Furthermore, criticality partly defines the focus of study and research interest and even guides the data selection. However, individual CDA practitioners emphasize different aspects of criticality in their work. Fairclough, who is interested in theorizing discourse as social practice, defines his approach to CDA and criticality as follows:

By critical discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes, to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough 1993:135, see also 1992:12, 1995:54.)

For van Dijk (see e.g. 1993, 1999a) the critical means not only the study of power relations, but an exploration of them from a particular point of view, namely that of those who are disadvantaged. He illustrates this aspect of CDA, as follows:

... such analyses are aimed at uncovering injustice, inequality, taking sides with the powerless and oppressed. CDA... wants to uncover and de-mystify certain social processes in this and other societies, to make mechanisms of manipulations, discriminations, prejudice (van Dijk 1993).

The critical tenet of CDA also entails a *political aspect*. For some CDA practitioners the study of power is political enough. However, many CDA scholars have taken a more personal approach to what being political means. They, for instance, actively take part in various social movements or political groups, or make serious attempts to make their research results available and useful for those studied to change things for the better. For example, on the basis of such research, non-discriminatory language is promoted or new guidelines suggested for journalists, teachers, editors of school books, doctors, etc. In addition, CDA has also been used for expert opinion in court. (See for instance Clark and Ivanic 1997, Janks 1993, van Dijk 1991.) One of the most explicitly politically committed CDA scholars is van Dijk, who characterizes the political nature of CDA as follows:

... unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large. Although not in each stage of theory formation and analysis, their work is admittedly and ultimately political. They hope, if occasionally illusory, to change through critical understanding. Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality. Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality an injustice. That is, one of the criteria of their work is solidarity with those who need it most. Their problems are real problems, that is the serious problems that threaten the lives or well-being of many, and not primarily the sometimes petty disciplinary problems of describing discourse structures. . . In this sense, critical discourse scholars should be social and political scientist, as well as social critics and activists. In other words, CDA is unabashedly normative: any critique by definition presupposes an applied ethics. (van Dijk 1993: 249-253, 280.)

This kind of promotion of politicality has been criticized from various points of view (Widdowson 1995a, Stubbs 1997, Toolan 1997). Firstly, scholarship has traditionally been regarded as a non-committed enterprise, and therefore openly political research may be considered dubious. However, as for instance Kress (1990) argues, no science is value-free and CDA, like other critical research, only differs from the others by explicating its goals. The second criticism centring on the position of the analyst is, in my opinion, more serious. If the ultimate goal of CDA is to contribute to a change for the better, who is to determine the quality and direction of the change and the actions required - and, finally, who would profit from it? Even though CDA specifies its focus on the discursive side of power, and on the consequences and conditions of discourse for those less advantaged, there is a

danger to see the analyst as a person with a privileged access to such knowledge. If however, the aim is simply to add knowledge about the discursive aspects of power in a specific research context with the hope that the results will increase awareness and perhaps also contribute to change, the aim is quite similar to many other approaches that wish to add to knowledge and results in a change. Perhaps the confusion and grounds for criticism arise from the fact that both understandings co-exist in CDA work.

Finally, critical and political aspects of CDA both presuppose *self-reflectiveness*. That is, CDA practitioners should be explicit about their goals, theoretical and methodological orientations, research and political interests and background assumptions and explicate their merits and limitations. In my opinion, CDA practitioners have been very clear about their goals, aims, and commitments but they have paid less attention to the explication of the criteria used in the selection of theoretical concepts, analytical categories, and data examined. Nor have they waged the very ideology of CDA or explicated the possible and very likely links of CDA to other critical enterprises.

To sum up, within CDA discourse is conceptualized as use of language and as part of social practices. This means that even a small fragment of language use is socially consequential and conditioned. It is consequential in terms of power relations, subject positions, identity formation, and representations, and conditioned by social, political, historical, institutional and ideological conventions, norms, routines, and practices. Since criticality is a particular characteristic of CDA, scholars within this approach often take the discursive side of power relations and ideological work of discourse as the focus of their study. This means that the ways in which discourse contributes to the construction of the knowledge of a particular event, phenomenon, or group of people and to the construction of the identity of a group of people and to the relations between addressee and addresser are examined.

In many respects this study belongs to the category of critical discourse analysis. I take discourse as social practice as my point of departure. Consequently, by discourse I mean the use of language constructed by, and constructing, the social. In this study this refers particularly to the assumption that discourse about ethnic minorities contributes to the construction of ethnic difference and identities of and relations between ethnic minorities and the majority. At the same time, social, political, institutional, and other norms, values, and practices construct how discourse can be used. Here, I focus on journalistic practices and the ways in which they contribute to the ways in which ethnic minorities are covered in news discourse. The critical dimension in this study means that while studying representations of ethnic minorities in news discourse, I look at these representations from the point of view of power, i.e. power relations between the ethnic majority and the minority and the power of news discourse. I hope to contribute to the awareness of the power embedded in news discourse and of the significance of the representations of ethnic minorities, aiming also at results that could be useful for ethnic minorities and journalists. Finally, by trying to explicate the theoretical and methodological choices made and their limitations, I try to be both transparent and reflective.

As CDA is a heterogeneous enterprise, there is no single way to do it. *To me, CDA as a point of departure for this study can be best described as a vista at discourse,*

constructions, power, identities, relations between people, media, linguistic features, and the relations between them. To give an idea of the various possibilities that CDA opens up for research, I will next briefly introduce the practice of CDA work. I will concentrate on Fairclough's and van Dijk's views, which have served as significant influences for the present study.

3.2.2 CDA in practice

3.2.2.1 Analysis in CDA

The analytical processes of CDA vary considerably. Some analysts concentrate on a detailed textual and linguistic analysis, while others focus on intertextuality, concept of genre, or configurations of discourses, for instance. However CDA ideally refers to the incorporation of three different levels of analyses: (1) *linguistic/textual analysis*, (2) *analysis of production, comprehension, and usage of discourse*, and (3) *analysis of social practices*. Borrowing Fairclough's (1992) terminology, CDA entails analysis of textual practices, discourse practices, and social practices. Thus CDA tries to map not only three different kinds of analysis but also three different dimensions of discourse.

Characteristically CDA research makes use of linguistic categories and theories in its detailed analysis of texts, and then links these findings to the analysis of discourse practices. This may mean concentrating on intertextuality, cognition, processes of understanding, conventions of writing, etc. Finally, the findings are then located in the wider social context in an attempt to produce further interpretations and explanations. Characteristically, these interpretations and explanations stem from theories of power and ideology. The analytical process may start from any one of these analyses. The process may not often be this linear or clearcut; instead, all these types of analysis are interrelated and overlap. Ideally, any text under scrutiny is analyzed as a linguistic product, as part of discursive practices, and as part of social practices.

The aim of the linguistic analysis of a text is to identify and describe features of the text. The features are chosen on the basis of a theoretical framework, the data in question, and a decision of the analyst. Linguistic analysis is often considered unproblematic. The usual assumption is that the chosen theoretical and analytic frameworks tell you also what analytical categories to choose and what linguistic features to concentrate on. Although the background frameworks certainly guide the choice, as do the focus of the study and the data, the decision is, after all, the analyst's task. Also the analysis of the linguistic features is often believed to be straightforward and unambiguous. This is, however, not always the case: linguistic features can have multiple meanings and functions, and many features overlap. Moreover, within the constructivist frame of reference, the value of linguistic analysis often manifests only when the results are considered against a wider context. The findings of linguistic analysis often need to be contextualized, the data in question localized, and the phenomena that the linguistic elements are part of, or constitutive of, explained. In addition, for researchers without linguistic training, mastering the linguistic analysis in a satisfactory way may prove to be a challenge. At its best, however, linguistic analysis can provide rich and systematic evidence of the linguistic manifestation of the phenomena under scrutiny.

In this study, this would refer to how the language of news reports represents the ethnic minority and majority, and how it may contribute to the construction of ethnic difference between groups.

The analysis of discourse practices can be concerned with a variety of things, such as intertextuality, production or understanding of texts, cognitive processes, or institutional practices. Each of these foci can, in turn, entail various kinds of analyses and methods, starting with interviews, ethnographic methods, observations, focus groups, etc. The problem with the analysis at this level is its huge variety of possibilities. Previous research does not give an answer to what to focus on or what method to use. Depending on the aims of the study and the data under scrutiny, it is up to the analyst to decide what and how to study discourse practices. Then, however, the ground and criteria for selection is called upon. The analysis of discourse practices may offer important information about how the texts under examination were produced, used, or understood, and what kind of chains of transformations they might have undergone. *As my aim is to study how journalistic practices of news making construct the ways in which ethnic minorities are represented in news discourse, the link to the linguistic level may be in that journalistic practices may shed light on the linguistic choices available and executed in the news texts.*

The analysis of social practices tries to offer explanations of why a certain type of discourse is employed or why it is either dominant or marginalized. Also, the consequences of such practices in terms of power relations, identities, and relations between people can be considered. The analysis of social practices entails at least two foci. On the one hand, it means investigation of the social phenomenon in question, ie. drawing on theories and previous research to describe it. *In this study, I have thus discussed identity, difference, and ethnic minorities, as well as news and discourse.* On the other hand, analysis of social practice in the CDA framework means analysis of consequences and conditions of language use and discourse practices studied, examination of power relations and ideological underpinnings, and the way in which language use has contributed to it. Consequently, *I will attempt to discuss the possible consequences and conditions of particular ethnic representations in terms of their effect on the position and rights of ethnic minorities, and relations between the minority and the majority.*

In practice, the analysis moves simultaneously at all three levels. The overall aim of the analysis is to ultimately link all findings to each other. To map different levels of analysis may be problematic as such (see for instance Rajagopalan 1999a). In addition, no clear-cut answers as to what and how to study are found in the work of CDA practitioners, who often leave the grounds of their own choices and criteria unspecified. As argued above, *CDA is seen here as a point of departure rather than as a strictly analytical framework.* As such, it is the task of every individual CDA practitioner to make necessary operationalizations and analytical decisions herself.

Above all, CDA work is an example of qualitative research and the findings are results of interpretation. Thus, the value of the findings is, according to the qualitative tradition, precisely in the interpretations and connections that the analyst makes. However, the explication of the analytic processes and the grounds for the decisions made enable the readers to evaluate the soundness of the analysis. Whether the experimentation combining different types of analysis will finally prove satisfactory or not, it is important, nonetheless, to try to study discourse as

the challenging, multidimensional, multidisciplinary phenomenon it is.

This attempt is differently realized in the works of CDA practitioners, reflecting the heterogeneity of the field. Nevertheless, there are scholars with long-standing contributions to CDA who can be considered its major figures. Under the rubric of *critical linguistics*, Fowler (1991, 1996) developed the legacy of early critical linguistics (Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew 1979, Kress and Hodge 1979). In *social semiotics*, Hodge and Kress (1988) and van Leeuwen (1993, Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 1998) have called attention to the multi-semiotic character of texts. Numerous studies by Ruth Wodak represent yet another version of CDA. She has used CDA to study, e.g., speech barriers in court, institutional discourse at school and in hospital clinics, racism and anti-semitism in news, processes of understanding the news, gender in discourse, and construction of national identities (Wodak and Matoucheck 1993, Wodak 1996b, Wodak et al. 1999). Van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1998) has applied his version of CDA particularly to the study of racism in everyday talk, in the news and in relation to ideology. Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1995a, 2000) can be regarded as a theoretically oriented critical discourse analyst, who attempts to develop a social theory of discourse. (For a review of various approaches, see e.g. Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Pietikäinen 2000, Gee 1999, Wetherell 1998, Williams 1999). I will discuss the views of Fairclough and van Dijk in particular because both have influenced the present study in important ways. I will introduce my own reading of such aspects of their work as are relevant for the present study.

3.2.2.2 A three dimensional view on discourse: Fairclough

Fairclough may be characterized as a CDA theoretician who wants to develop a social theory of discourse. In several publications he (1985, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) has developed his version of CDA, which combines insights of social theories with close textual analysis.

Similarly to other work in CDA, also Fairclough combines linguistic, discursive and social levels of theorizing and analysing discourse. What is particular for Fairclough is that he uses resources, that are not used or combined in a similar manner elsewhere. Fairclough's work offers an insightful and inspiring way to explore discourse. It is important to notice, however, that since his early publications on CDA (Fairclough 1985), Fairclough has developed his framework and tried out different things, and continues to do so (see e.g. Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 2000). From a reader's point of view, this presents a challenge: in his publications he draws on different theories, his terminology varies, and he introduces new definitions. Thus the whole framework comes across as not only interesting but also as elastic and changing. It may be impossible to say that there is one clear framework for Fairclough; instead, his thinking can be characterized as a set of central ideas and claims that are revised and tried out differently with different questions and data.

The core of Fairclough's work on CDA is his three-dimensional view on *discourse* (see e.g. Fairclough 1992a:73), which is conceptualized as *text*, *discourse practice*, and *social practice*. Fairclough thus draws on three traditions to conceptualize discourse. Many other critical discourse analysts and other discourse analysts see discourse as having the same three dimensions and also emphasize the socially

constitutive character of language, on the one hand, and the linguistic aspects of the social, on the other. In my reading, the particularity of Fairclough's work is to be found in the ways in which he theorizes and explains all the levels and the links between them.

Fairclough (1993:138, 1995a:55, 1995b:57) defines discourse from three different points of view. To begin with the *linguistic* view, discourse is seen as written or spoken language produced in a discursive event. The difference to the definition of discourse as language use is in the level of abstraction: a text refers to a product of language use, whereas discourse itself denotes language use on a more abstract level. Another point that Fairclough includes in the framework is that texts are "increasingly multi-semiotic" (Fairclough 1995a:55). With this, Fairclough emphasizes the importance of visual images and nonverbal communication and thus defines linguistic analysis as part of social semiotics (Hodge and Kress 1988, Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Fairclough's own contribution in this area has been modest so far even though some attempts to analyze nonverbal communication are included in his books (Fairclough 1995a).

Fairclough takes a *multifunctional view to texts*, drawn from Halliday's (1978, 1994) systemic-functional theory of language. Halliday conceives language primarily as action rather than as knowing and promotes the idea of multifunctionality of language. Halliday's model is functional in the sense that language has three main functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The first function makes the representation of the world possible, the second facilitates social interaction, and the last takes care of the functionality of language in a concrete situation. All have an effect on the linguistic product. The word 'systemic' in Halliday's notion of 'systemic-functional' refers to the assumption that each level of function forms its own system within which language users make their choices. Thus it represents language as a resource for making choices. (For more details see Chapter 7.)

Fairclough (1995b:58, see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:139-140) argues that the value of the systemic-functional approach to language from his point of view is that it harmonizes with the constitutive view of discourse and critical social research. Therefore the multifunctionality of language in texts can be used to operationalize theoretical claims about the socially constitutive properties of discourse. Thus the multifunctional view of text provides a way to investigate the simultaneous constitution of systems of knowledge and belief (ideational function) and social relations and social identities (interpersonal function) (Fairclough 1995b). Any text makes its own small contribution to the shaping of these aspects of society and culture. Language use is, moreover, constitutive both in conventional ways, which help reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways, which help transform them. Whether the conventional or the creative predominates in any given case will depend upon social circumstances and on how language is functioning within them (Fairclough 1995a:55.) Any part of any text can fruitfully be examined in terms of the co-presence and interaction of these constitutive processes (Fairclough 1995a:6-7). In the analysis of news text, I will be drawing on Halliday's systemic-functional theory, particularly on the ideational metafunction as it allows me to combine the social view of representation with its linguistic manifestation (see Chapter 7).

The second conceptualization of discourse in Fairclough's work defines it as *discursive practice*. This entails two broad issues, namely the processes of text production and text consumption (Fairclough 1992a:72-73). Although many other CDA and DA scholars are interested in the very same issues, Fairclough pays particular attention to the underlying organizing or structuring principles or conventions, which might contribute to the question of why texts are produced, transformed, and used in a particular way rather than in another way. The production aspect tries to capture the conventions and resources that text producers make use of when producing text. Correspondingly, the consumption aspect tries to capture the conventions and resources that interpreters bring into the interpretation process. The processes of production and consumption are part sociocognitive, part social in nature, in that they involve cognitive processes to text production and conventions (Fairclough 1992a:71, 78, 1992c:269, 1995a:13). In this study, I will pay particular attention to the conventions of journalistic practices of news making which impinge upon the ways in which news get done (for further details, see Chapter 4).

So far Fairclough has paid more attention to text production and its social character with the help of two concepts, viz. *intertextuality* and *order of discourse*. His analysis of discourse practice has two foci: the analysis of production, distribution and consumption of a particular text at stake and the analysis of the broader conventions that language users make use of in the production, distribution, and consumption of a particular text. Fairclough labels the former as an analysis of a discourse event, and the latter, borrowing Foucault's term, orders of discourse (Fairclough 1992a, 1995a, 1995b).

The twin focus of analysis implies the existence of two simultaneous systems - the system of language and the system of orders of discourse. The analysis of language is concerned with the linguistic manifestations of the processes of production and consumption, whereas the analysis of orders of discourse links them to a broader context of socio-cultural practices. The cognitive side of these processes is not Fairclough's primary interest. Actually, the role of the socio-cognitive processes varies in the course of Fairclough's work. Whereas these processes were described with the help of members' resources in the 1989 book and even partly in the 1992a book, this concept has disappeared from the latest works. Alongside with these changes, the concept of interpretation (1989) has been modified into the concept of consumption. These developments may be interpreted as a choice to orientate towards the social aspects of discourse practices.

The concept of intertextuality originates in Bakhtin's idea reinforced by Kristeva, that texts are shaped by prior texts that they are responding to and by subsequent texts that they anticipate. This means that texts are inherently intertextual, constituted by elements of other texts. Fairclough defines intertextuality, echoing Bakhtin and Kristeva, "as the property texts being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth" (Fairclough 1992a:84, 101). In other words, intertextuality is seen as a property of text.

Fairclough (1992a:84-85) incorporates intertextuality with processes of production, distribution, and consumption. According to him, since the intertextuality perspective stresses the history of texts, it can also highlight processes of production. In terms of distribution, an intertextual perspective is helpful in exploring

relatively stable networks along which the texts move, undergoing predictable transformations as they shift from one text type to another. Finally, in terms of consumption, an intertextual perspective can help to shed light on how other texts are drawn on in the interpretation process. (Fairclough 1992a:84-85.) This conceptualization of intertextuality emphasizes it as a property of the processes of production, distribution, and consumption.

Furthermore, Fairclough (1992) makes a distinction between two different types of intertextuality, manifest and constitutive. The two are fairly equivalent, but the point that Fairclough wants to make is the difference at the level of abstraction between them. In the case of manifest intertextuality, particular texts are overtly drawn upon within a text, and in the case of constitutive intertextuality, the primacy is given to configurations of conventions. Fairclough labels constitutive intertextuality as interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity may be seen to extend intertextuality in the direction of social conventions. In the words of Fairclough (1992a:85): "On the one hand, we have the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts (manifest intertextuality); on the other hand, the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of order of discourse (interdiscursivity)." This duality of intertextuality can be interpreted as an attempt to bridge more linguistic (manifest intertextuality) and more social (interdiscursivity) approaches to intertextuality and to the study of discourse on the whole.

Fairclough uses intertextuality as a general term for both manifest and constitutive intertextuality when the distinction is not at issue, but uses the term interdiscursivity rather than constitutive intertextuality when the distinction is needed. This distinction has not been made in all work by Fairclough (1995b). Intertextuality can be a fruitful concept in the study of texts, particularly their past and present uses, and it also has a link to other concepts often used in text analysis, such as quotation or reference. Since I do not examine chains of texts but only published news reports, I will not draw on the concept of intertextuality as an analytical concept in this study. I only take it as an important point of departure underlying the potential heterogeneity of texts.

For Fairclough, an essential counterpart for intertextuality is the concept of order of discourse, which he (1995a:12) defines as an ordered set of discourse practices associated with a particular social domain. The point of this concept is to highlight the shifting relationships between various elements constituting the order of discourse. Fairclough (1995b:55-57) is particularly interested in whether these relationships and boundaries between various elements are rigid or easily mixed. Thus intertextuality links a text to discourse practice, whereas the order of discourse links the discourse practice to socio-cultural practice. Vice versa, socio-cultural practice shapes the discourse practices of a particular text, and these in turn are manifested in linguistic features.

Fairclough offers a set of elements constituting orders of discourse, on the one hand, and intertextuality, on the other. Moreover, the concepts also function as an analytic framework for the analysis of intertextuality and order of discourse, and ultimately, discourse practice in the Faircloughian sense. Problematically, however, the configuration of the elements varies in Fairclough's publications in the course of time. For instance, in 1992 Fairclough (1992a:124) distinguishes genre, style, register, activity type, and a discourse whereas in 1995 Fairclough (1995b:76)

presents categories of genre, a discourse, activity type, style, mode, and voice. Especially the concept of genre has been under construction, while the concept of a discourse has been fairly stable throughout. Genre and discourse are presented as the main categories, whereas the other concepts have been more varied.

Fairclough uses the term genre to denote a use of language associated with social activity (Fairclough 1992a:25, 1993:138, 1995a:14, 1995b:56). Fairclough points out that although a particular text may draw on only one genre and thus have a generic schemata, texts may also draw upon different genres and be heterogeneous in this sense (Fairclough 1995a:13-14, for other views on genre, see e.g. Ridell 1994). The latter approach is emphasized in Fairclough's own examples. However, as the criteria of how Fairclough recognizes the genres present in the text are left unexplicated, the question remains of how the analyst knows the characteristics of a specific genre: are the typical features seen as results of interpretative work, or as a priori conceptualizations? In this study, I will not examine a text in terms of the various genres it may include. Instead, in order to highlight the news making practices structuring news texts I will take the concept of news genre in a more generic sense to characterize the features of news texts and conventions of making them in terms, for instance, of the structure of news and its meaning. (for further details, see e.g. Bell 1991, and Chapters 4 and 6).

Another central notion in the analysis of discourse practice for Fairclough is that of a *discourse*. By a discourse, Fairclough means the use of language in representing or signifying experience and knowledge from a particular point of view (Fairclough 1993:138, 1995b:56). Thus discourses are involved in the construction of knowledge, and in this way Fairclough brings a sociological use of the concept of a discourse in to his framework. Another link made here is to a more traditional account of topics/subject-matter/content. Fairclough argues that a discourse can denote both the constructing of subject-matter and a particular way in which the actual product is constituted (Fairclough 1992a:128, 1992c:28, 1995b:76). Discourses carry with them the social construction of experience and knowledge manifested in actual texts. This kind of conceptualization of a discourse comes close to the definition used in the social approaches to discourse analysis. I will use the concept of a discourse in the sense above, to shed light on the perspective and ways in which ethnic minorities are represented.

In his analysis Fairclough identifies different discourses, such as official or colloquial discourses. However, the criteria for identifying and labelling the discourses are left unexplicated. Consequently, although the analysis of genres and discourses is interesting, the ways in which Fairclough has arrived at a particular interpretations are often fairly implicit.

From the intertextual point of view, these same elements are intertextual categories (Fairclough 1995b:78), upon which text producers and interpreters draw when producing and interpreting texts. The investigation of the display between these elements is a priority for Fairclough. Even though the task of looking at these elements from two points of view at the same time, ie. orders of discourse and intertextuality, strikes one as somewhat confusing, it is in line with of Fairclough's argument. Essential to his view of language use is the twin focus of analysis (Fairclough 1995b:76) - a particular discourse event and, at a more abstract level, the orders of discourse. The analyst is investigating both of these foci simultaneously. Thus the categories could be looked at starting from the abstract and pro-

ceeding to the specific or vice versa. The difference between these two can be described with the help of a time scale. Whereas intertextuality accounts for immediate combinations in a text, the intertextual elements contribute to the configuration of the orders of discourse only in the course of time, together with all the other texts. Nonetheless, the variety of concepts and their relationship and the value for the conceptualization of discourse may also be seen as somewhat confusing.

Fairclough sees that the advantage of using these categories is in that they make it possible to analyze differences between the elements of the orders of discourse. However, at the same time, he also acknowledges the difficulties in identifying them (Fairclough 1992a:124). Indeed, using Fairclough's discourse practice dimension as a framework for analysis is problematic. Just the mere number of the concepts coming from various backgrounds and, moreover, their altering uses and definitions suggest that this dimension of Fairclough's model of discourse is still under development and an arena for an exploration of ideas rather than a completed analytic framework. Fairclough (1992:231-232) himself says that "in any particular analysis some of the categories are likely to be more relevant and useful than others, and analysts are likely to want to focus upon a small number of them." However, the basic problem remains. Although the interpretative nature of this kind of analysis means that there cannot be a definite list of categories, the overlapping categories are hard to apply and their use for analytic purposes difficult. Since Fairclough's model already contains multiple facets and alternative foci, consistency in its operationalization would be crucial. Leaving the reasons for changes and modifications implicit, and grounds for selection unexplained, Fairclough does not make the application of his work easy.

However, even though his terminology changes, Fairclough's work is never random or chaotic. There is a degree of stability in it that makes its understanding and dialogue with it possible. The central idea throughout his work is that the discourse practice dimension functions as a *mediator* between text and socio-cultural dimensions. The assumption is that there are no direct links between the text and socio-cultural practice, but that these links are made through discourse practice. Underlying this assumption is the idea of dialectics, i.e. the mutually shaping relationship between language and the social. Fairclough (1995b:59-60) argues that the properties of sociocultural practice shape the processes of discourse practice, and these reshaping are manifested in the features of text. Vice versa, properties of text reshape discourse practice and contribute, in their small way, to the transformation of the socio-cultural practices.

The third conceptualization of discourse in Fairclough's framework defines it as *social practice*. This dimension brings in, on the one hand, the relevant theories of the phenomenon under scrutiny, and interweaves, on the other, a particular text with wider institutional and social contexts and practices. As applied to the context of the present study, theories of the construction of identity and difference, news and discourse shed light on the phenomena examined. The news reports I examine are produced within the media institution and within the particular social and political context.

Within this dimension, Fairclough is particularly interested in power, ideology, and hegemony. He is concerned with the ideological work of discourse in terms of its effect on knowledge, social identities and social relations (Fairclough 1992a:238) and how this is achieved through hegemony. In addition, in his attempt

to link all the three different dimensions of discourse, Fairclough ties power, ideology, and hegemony in with the concept of discourse practice. For instance, intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, which is socially limited and constrained by power relations. Since the theory of intertextuality cannot account for these social limitations, it needs to be combined with the theory of power. The concept of hegemony is useful, since it accounts also for the possible hegemonic struggles in the sphere of discourse. (Fairclough 1992a:103, 1992c:270-271.)

A major source for Fairclough's social theory, especially concerning the concepts of power and ideology, is to be found in the works of Althusser and Gramsci. Consequently, Fairclough links his work with the Marxist-based view of late modern capitalist society. To theorize the orders of discourse, Fairclough (1992) has drawn on the work by Foucault. Fairclough also makes use of more recent work of social theorists, such as Habermas, Beck, Bourdieu, and Wernick to deal more extensively with the suggested link between discourse, power, and cultural and societal changes. Presumably related to this interest in cultural change, there have been attempts in his recent work at integrating cultural criticism and use of cultural theory with the Marxist view of society. However, Fairclough (1995a) is still explicitly relying on Marxist thinking. More recently, apparently influenced by post-modernist research on identity, Fairclough seems to have backgrounded the concept of ideology and focused more on questions of identity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 1999). A new opening is also the incorporation of issues of rhetoric (Fairclough 2000). Finally, the social practice dimension brings in also the phenomena under scrutiny and for Fairclough, these have been, for instance commodification of public services (1993) and language of New Labour (2000).

To sum up, in his three dimensional account of discourse, which attempts to offer a theoretical basis of discourse, Fairclough draws on a vast range of classic works in various traditions, for instance, those of linguistics (Halliday), literature (Bakhtin, Kristeva), and sociology (Foucault, Althusser, Gramsci, Giddens). Methodologically, Fairclough has used detailed textual analysis drawing on Halliday's systemic-functional grammar, analysis of intertextuality in terms of discourses and genres, analysis of orders of discourse and, finally, social explanations and location with the help of theories of ideology and hegemony. The aim of the analysis is not only to investigate each of these facets but to *map* these three dimensions on one another and the three forms of analysis respectively. The text dimension calls for linguistic analysis, whereas the dimension of discourse practice focuses on the analysis of text production, distribution, and consumption. The third dimension connects a particular discourse event to a wider social matrix and thus needs cultural interpretation, particularly in terms of power, ideology, and hegemony. Fairclough (1992a:65) argues that this is possible by seeing the relationship between language and the social in terms of dialectics - language use can be both socially shaped and also socially shaping. This dialectical view on the relation between language and the social seems to correspond to the constructivist approaches to discourse analysis (see e.g. Suoninen 1999).

Fairclough's framework has been praised for showing promise as an attempt to connect the macro and micro aspects of social life (Mills 1997:157, Wortham 1996:565), for being inspiring and provocative, and for a contribution to our thinking about language and society (Widdowson 1996:58). Analytically, the framework

offers interesting vantage points to explore discourse and the complex relationships between language and the social (Kovala 1994:109, Luukka 1998:90). The use of the framework also seems to be fruitful in combination with other approaches, such as cultural studies (Kovala 1994) and media ethnography (Pöntinen 1995), and therefore presumably helpful also in the study of the discursive construction of ethnic difference in news. Above all, the framework helps us see discourse not only as a linguistic, but also discursive and social phenomenon. It functions as a kind of crossroad or bird's eye view allowing us to take various dimensions of discourse into account. By drawing on various research traditions and works by different scholars, Fairclough has made more visible the possible links between the linguistic, discursive, and social aspects of discourse. It is now easier to see what questions are possible and relevant.

Despite the potential of Fairclough's framework, it has also been criticized from various quarters. Generally, it has been conceived as rather daunting and often demanding to understand (Bell 1995:33). Even though his attempt has been appreciated, the bridging of the macro and micro levels has been considered rather unconvincing (Wortham 1996:566). In addition, although emphasized in his theory, Fairclough himself has not actually studied processes of production and consumption (Widdowson 1996:61-69).

Probably a more serious criticism has been focused on the theoretical and analytical value of the framework. Critical comments have been made on the conceptualization of the theoretical claims in terms of analytical categories and Fairclough's own analysis of example texts that aim at explaining and validating the analytical value of the framework and, ultimately, his theory.

Thus it has been often pointed out that the concepts in Fairclough's framework are often rather vaguely defined (Luukka 1998:90-91) and that there is a lack of theoretical grounds for the distinctions made or left unmade (Widdowson 1995b:510). As discussed above, there seems to be some truth in this. The rigor of the textual analysis by Fairclough in his examples (Stubbs 1997, Toolan 1997, Widdowson 1995a, 1996, 1998) is also questioned. For instance, Wortham (1996:565-566) discusses Fairclough's analysis of Oprah Winfrey Show (Fairclough 1995a), Widdowson (1996:61-69) comments on Fairclough's analysis of a booklet about pregnancy (Fairclough 1992a) and on a news paper article (Fairclough 1995a), and Toolan (1997:93) reviews several analyses of media discourse by Fairclough (1995). In short, not enough linguistic evidence or explanation of the analytical process is presented by Fairclough. Thus it is claimed that the framework remains elusive (Widdowson 1995b:512).

Fairclough's framework can be regarded as an interesting but a challenging marriage of traditions, mixture of old, new, resignified and changing terminology and ever changing and expanding framework. Although the combination of linguistic and sociological traditions in the study of discourse may prove out to be rather problematic, Fairclough's work does, nonetheless, facilitate looking across traditional boundaries of discourse studies. However, since the framework is theoretically loaded and constantly under construction, it follows that it has to be considered with care. Furthermore, since Fairclough has not been involved, to any greater extent, with empirical work on the basis of his framework, it follows that the practice of analysis has not helped in the ruling out of various concepts. Fairclough's own analyses are exemplary highlighting a particular theoretical point

or claim and not systematic in the sense of either applying all categories and levels or of applying a set of categories across a body of texts. Hence Fairclough's analyses are, even though appealing and interesting, somewhat unsatisfactory in terms of systematization and explication. As a result, most applications of Fairclough's work have either used some parts of the framework only or assumed a general idea of the framework and developed the analyst's own analytical concepts.

This also applies to the present study. *I find Fairclough's notion of three dimensional discourse appealing and a good starting point for the present study.* It offers a synthesis of linguistic, discursive, and social aspects of discourse analysis, which helps me to bring together and combine aspects of *news language, practices of news making, and construction of ethnic difference.* Also a more broadly based understanding of discursive construction in news discourse is possible. I also agree with Fairclough on the importance of close textual analysis, a need for a mediating level of discourse practice and, finally, the explanatory aid of social practice. Thus I will have these three dimensions in my framework as well. In addition, like Fairclough, I will be drawing on *systemic-functional grammar* in my textual analysis. However, where my framework differs most from Fairclough's is on the level of discourse practice. *Instead of using categories provided by Fairclough extensively, I will be focusing more on journalistic practices to account for the process through which representation of ethnic minorities is produced in press news.* In the social practice dimension, I agree with Fairclough's claim that discourse is part of social practice, and thus consequential and conditioned action, and therefore I locate my analysis in the matrix of power relations. *To me, relationships between ethnic minorities and the majority, access to the news, and news representations are all impinged upon by issues of power.* Potentially, there can be an ideology or ideologies working in these constructions, and the representations may well be an object of hegemonic struggles.

3.2.2.3 Discourse structures: van Dijk

Van Dijk's work presents another version of CDA which is dissimilar to that of Fairclough's. Van Dijk has published in the area of discourse studies since the early 1970s, when he started with an interest in semantic structures (van Dijk 1972), particularly with macrostructures (van Dijk 1980), and then moved on to study processes of text production and understanding through the examination of cognitive processes (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983). However, during the 1980s van Dijk became increasingly interested in the social aspects of cognition, such as attitudes and opinions, particularly in how ethnic and racist attitudes are reinforced, manifested, and legitimated in society through text and talk. A series of studies around these questions was published during the 1980s and early 1990s, notably about the relationship between prejudice and discourse (1984, 1987), about news structures (1988), and racism in press (1991), and about elite discourse and racism (1993). More recently, van Dijk has become interested in the wider questions of power, ideology, and discourse (1998, see also Montgomery 1999).

Throughout these works, van Dijk has contributed not only to discourse studies in general but also developed his own CDA approach. Van Dijk's version of CDA is a distinctive work in several respects. Firstly, in contrast to most of the other CDA practitioners (except Wodak), van Dijk emphasizes the *role of cognition*

in his work. In other words, along other CDA practitioners, van Dijk is interested in linguistic details of text and talk and in wider social structures, particularly power relations, ideology, and discrimination, but, he adds a mediating link between text and the social and this link is cognitive. In this way van Dijk tries to examine mental processes and structures of individuals, on the one hand, and cognitive aspects of social phenomenon and structures, on the other, and, finally, how all this is related to discourse.

The second difference is embedded within the first one. Van Dijk draws on quite a different realm of theories from the majority of CDA practitioners. While emphasizing the role of cognition, van Dijk makes extensive use of psychology and social psychology (see for example van Dijk 1998b) and pays little attention to, for instance, the works of Foucault and Bahktin, who are central to many other CDA practitioners. Unlike most of other CDA scholars, van Dijk also draws on a more *formalistic linguistic tradition* instead of functionalist. Consequently, the linguistic theories and categories are different.

As a result, the third difference between van Dijk and most of the other CDA scholars can be found in *research methods*. Because of a different theoretical background, van Dijk's methodology is quite different. Unlike most of the CDA practitioners (except, again, Wodak), van Dijk makes use of extensive data, incorporates various kinds of analyses starting from content analysis to detailed analysis of grammar in the formalist sense, and also analysis of style, argumentation, and micro and macro structures. Consequently, the research questions and designs are different from the majority of other CDA studies, which make use of the functionalist approach and often analyze only a few texts.

Van Dijk is also, in my opinion, the researcher most passionately committed to the critical and political mission of CDA, as his quotation above illustrates. In many respects, van Dijk has lived through what he has been arguing for by actively taking part in anti-racist activity. He also acts as an editor of the journal *Discourse and Society*, among others, the leading journal for CDA, thus being able to bring up particular theoretical, methodological, and political issues. Indeed, van Dijk's editorials have been a source of vivid discussion and debate.

The quantity of van Dijk's publications and their multidisciplinary nature has made them influential in various areas of research. One is the analysis of news discourse about ethnic minorities. Also the present study draws on some aspects of this part of van Dijk's work and findings regarding news discourse of ethnic minorities. The latter will be discussed in the next chapter. I will next turn to discuss background of and some key concepts in van Dijk's work, particularly those relevant to the study of news discourse about ethnic minorities and to some extent, for the present study. Although I am not using van Dijk's framework as such and not at all the cognitive aspects of it, I think it is worthwhile to discuss some aspects of his work, since it has been influential in news studies, particularly on ethnic minorities, and because the findings of his studies will be presented in the next chapter. Thus the next account may provide a background for that discussion and spell out some of the limits and strengths of it.

While acknowledging the wide use of the concept of discourse and its "fuzziness" van Dijk notes that discourse means language use and defines it primarily as "a specific communicative event. . . (that) involves a number of social actors. . . in a specific setting. . . and. . . other contextual features" (van Dijk 1998b:

193-194, see also van Dijk 1997). This definition of discourse is rather similar to that in discourse analysis and CDA in general. Furthermore, van Dijk (1998b:194-195) notes also the typical social approaches' definition of discourse by stating that

discourse... is used to refer to particular objects or tokens, that is, to unique occurrences involving particular social actors in a particular setting and context. This uniqueness is for instance defined in terms of the unique combination of these words, intonation, gestures, meanings or acts being accomplished no by these participants. To mark this specific use of the notion of 'discourse', we use indefinite or definite articles or demonstratives... that is, 'discourse' is a count noun here.

Van Dijk does not discuss the constitutive character of discourse or its relations to knowledge production, identity position, etc. Consequently the possible links to social approaches to discourse analysis are left implicit.

To put it crudely, in the area of discourse studies van Dijk is interested in *structures of discourse*. Discourse contains different elements related to each other, and questions of meaningfully structured and well organized discourse are often dealt with the concept of *coherence*. This concept describes those elements of discourse that constitute its semantic consistency, its belonging together. Thus coherence captures connections and elements in discourse that hold the discourse together and result in a meaningful entity. The implication is then that the meaning of a discourse does not solely depend on the meaning of the words and the sentences but also on the ways in which the parts of the discourse are linked together. This assumption calls for related concepts such as structure, well-formedness, and predictability (Stubbs 1983:85-86). The focus is on how discourse progresses and what kind of schemes or models are involved in this process. The idea of the existence of connections between sentences forming the meaning of a discourse also refers to processes through which discourses are produced and interpreted. Renkema (1993:40) describes coherence as a connection based on knowledge that is in the mind of the reader or listener. The scope of interest lies then in the examination of what kind of schemata or scripts language users make use of in these processes.

A variety of theories have been proposed to explain how coherence is achieved. Parallel to the general distinction of the macro and micro levels of discourse, also these theories can be divided into two groups of local and global principles or the *local* and *global structures of discourse*. The first group of theories explains coherence in terms of a connection between adjacent statements, whereas the latter focuses on rules that relate a given statement to the broad meaning of a larger segment of the discourse (van Dijk 1985:55). At the same time, the theories of coherence differ in terms of the explanatory mechanism used and they can be divided into three different types, namely, propositional, sequence and pragmatic approaches. *Propositional* theories explain coherence by referring to the meaning of the statements. The underlying assumption is that the meaning of one sentence must somehow relate to, or be consistent with, the meaning of the other sentences or the whole discourse respectively. The *sequence* approach looks for the rules governing the kinds of acts that are permissible after other acts, whereas the *pragmatic* approach relies on rules for accomplishing actual intentions. In brief, coherence is a matter of the consistency of meaning in propositional theories, an issue of syntactic organization in sequence theories, and a question of appropriate practical action in pragmatic theories. Correspondingly these approaches try to capture

major aspects of discourse - those of meaning (semantic), sentence forms (syntax), and speech acts (pragmatics).

A very influential example of a propositional approach (Brown and Yule 1983:18) is van Dijk's work on *macrostructure* (1980) and on *strategic discourse comprehension* in collaboration with Kintsch (1983) and applications of the central ideas in studies of stories (1984, 1987) and news (1988a, 1988b, 1991) about ethnic affairs. Basically van Dijk's analytic approach has its origins in attempts to produce a text-grammar but has later developed towards the study of text comprehension and examination of discourse content in terms of macrostructure. Studies of stories and news about ethnic affairs summarize, to a large extent, central ideas of van Dijk's approach, yet at the same time they shift the focus of analysis towards more critical orientation. Altogether, the concepts of global structure and process of interpretation are present in van Dijk's studies. As Boyd-Barret (1994:26, see also Hoikkala 1990) points out, van Dijk is concerned with the integration of the dimensions of production, content and comprehension with the concept of discourse.

It is fundamental to van Dijk's conceptualization of discourse that it has aspects that cannot be defined in terms of semantics, syntax, or pragmatics as applied to isolated sentences. The aspects that van Dijk is referring to are part of a more *global level* of the discourse as a whole. On the grounds that a text is usually said to have a theme or a topic and, in addition, that people make rather similar summaries of one specific text, van Dijk infers that text has a *global meaning structure*. This structure helps language users form central information of text, which facilitates the interpretation and comprehension of a text. For the purposes of describing this global level of text, van Dijk introduces a framework including the concepts of *topic, macroproposition, macrostructure, and superstructure*.

Even though a rather ambiguous and conflicting concept (Brown and Yule 1983), the *notion of topic* is frequently used in the analysis of discourse. The distinction between topic and related concepts, such as theme-rheme, presupposition-assertion, given-new, foreground-background (Renkema 1993:62-63), has remained unclear and causes confusion. Van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1988, also van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) uses the term topic and, at times, the terms theme and gist to describe the overall global meaning of discourse. According to van Dijk, topics express the most important information in a discourse and form a hierarchical thematic structure, which also underlies the summary of the text. Moreover, this overall meaning of discourse, the topic, requires explications in terms of semantic structure (van Dijk 1984:56-57, 1987:48, 1988:30-31). To provide an abstract semantic description of the global meaning of discourse, van Dijk (1980) introduces the notion of semantic macrostructure. In short, macrostructure is the theoretical account of what we usually call the gist, theme, or topic of a discourse.

The semantic *macrostructure* is derived from discourse with the help of propositions. Consequently, the macrostructure of the discourse is both characterized in terms of propositions and organised by a set of propositions (van Dijk 1984:56, 1985:115-116, 1988:31-32). The concept of proposition comes from philosophy and logic and is used in a general sense in discourse studies, namely to denote the minimal unit of meaning. Propositions can also be understood as abstract representations of meaning, which ignore grammatical and lexical forms. The concept is used in an attempt to represent semantic content of discourse. (Renkema 53-54,

Stubbs 1983:203, Brown and Yule 1983:107.) This emphasizes the psychological reality of propositions and is the perspective that van Dijk makes use of.

Characteristically, propositional analysis is described as a list of minimal meaning units showing which ones are directly related. In discourse studies, the focus is mainly on the relationships between propositions (Renkema 1993:54, 56). According to van Dijk, discourse consists of propositions, which in turn can be constructed into more general propositions - *macropropositions*. Here van Dijk (1988:32) makes a distinction between propositions in discourse in general and propositions used to build the macrostructure of a discourse. The latter proposition is called macroproposition for it is subsumed from sentence level propositions. These macropropositions are hierarchically organized (van Dijk 1987:48-49, van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:190) and constitute the *macrostructure of discourse*.

Van Dijk presents three macrorules to describe the procedure of how local level propositions are subsumed into macropropositions (see van Dijk 1980, 1984, 1987, 1988). *Macrorules* represent what we intuitively understand by summarizing (van Dijk 1985b:116, 1988:32, see also Boyd-Barret 1994:26-27). Formally speaking, macrorules are semantic mapping rules, which link lower level propositions within higher level macropropositions. The topics are derived from the local level of meaning by means of the macrorules, and consequently these rules help to define the most important information in a text. (van Dijk 1985b:116-117, 1988:32, van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:190.) In other words, macrorules are a vehicle to transform local to global.

Above all, *macrorules reduce information*. The first rule, the deletion rule, eliminates details and propositions that are not relevant or necessary for the interpretation or understanding of other propositions. Only propositions essential as building blocks for higher-order macropropositions are to be included. With the second, generalization, rule, series of specific propositions are converted into a more general proposition. This rule does not just eliminate irrelevant details but specific predicates and arguments in series of propositions are replaced by more general terms so that finally just one proposition may suffice. This rule helps communicators find general concepts that hold individual propositions together. By means of the third rule, the construction rule, one proposition can be constructed from a number of propositions. Details are constructed into one macroproposition which denotes the act or event as a whole. In this way a general proposition should combine the elements of the lower-level ones. (see for example Renkema 1993, van Dijk 1987, 1988.)

These rules leave out the irrelevant details, combine similar meanings to higher-level abstract meanings, and construct different meanings constituting higher-level abstract events or action concepts. These macrorules are also recursive. At higher levels they may be applied again, until one or two macropropositions subsume the text as a whole. In this way the overall macrostructure presents for the text not only what can be called the thematic organization of the text, but also its global coherence. The reapplying of macrorules means the macrostructure of a discourse is also a hierarchical structure. (van Dijk 1985:117, 1988:32-33, van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:190-191.)

The means of reducing the discourse content have been exposed to critical discussion. The macrorules have been considered to be inconsistent and unsystematic. Furthermore, they are compared to the just ordinary ways of pro-

ducing a single sentence summary. If we can do the same thing anyway, then there is no point to make use of a complex procedure to determine the topics of discourse. (Brown and Yule 1983:110.) Yet, it is exactly van Dijk's aim to describe this ordinary, but complex process of how people determine topical elements and to consider the special processes involved in comprehension. Thus it has been hypothesized in van Dijk's and Kintsch's approach that cognitive processes reduce all the propositions contained in a discourse to macropropositions and thus ideas in a text to manageable tasks for long-term memory. With the global, propositional approach van Dijk also aims to examine the relations and hierarchy within discourse and between different parts of discourse. Renkema (1993:60) summarizes these ideas as follows: "Macrorules are not rules which can be used in order to trace the meaning structure of discourse. The rules only describe the procedures with which a meaning structure can be assigned."

Van Dijk also states that discourse contains form structure. This form structure is a conventionalized schema which provides a global form for the macrostructural content of discourse. This is called *superstructure* (van Dijk 1987, 1988, van Dijk and Kintsch 1983, Renkema 1993). Such a schema consists of a series of hierarchically ordered categories which may be specific to different discourse types and conventionalized and thus different in various societies or cultures (van Dijk 1988:49). While macrostructure deals with the global meaning, superstructure deals with the global form of discourse. By means of the concept of superstructure van Dijk moves from local sentence level syntax to global level syntax parallel to his attempts to move from the local meaning to the global meaning of discourse. Both of these macro level structures are related to the local level, since both of them are derived from the local meaning of words and sentences (van Dijk 1985:15). These two could be related to each other, if the form of the macrostructure were based on schematic superstructure. In the derivation process of macropropositions, it is assumed that propositions are first differentiated according to their relevance to the topic of the discourse. To do this, comprehenders must use expectations about what sorts of things are relevant to the topic. Occasionally this refers to the employment of a schema to deal with a particular type of text. This could be one relation between these two global structures of discourse. On several occasions, however, van Dijk (1988, 1991) has stressed that the theory of discourse schemata is still in its infancy. A general metatheory is lacking as well as the integrated theory of types of structures of discourse (van Dijk 1988:50).

The benefit of this kind of superstructure is, according to van Dijk (1988), that it gives readers a set of criteria by which they can determine what type a particular text represents. Conventionalized text types facilitate comprehension since they activate particular schemata in readers, and they help the reader recognize the units of the text and determine what information in each unit is relevant for construction of the macrostructure of the text (Leppänen 1993:89-90). The conventional basis of the superstructure guides both the organization of discourse and the comprehension process. Through his global propositional approach van Dijk offers tools for the description of the global meaning structure and global form structure of discourse. The concept of superstructure seems to have at least some similarities with the concept of genre in the sense, for instance, that it has an effect on ways of producing and understanding texts. However, van Dijk does not make any connections between the two concepts. By introducing separate concepts for

the meaning and for the form of a text, van Dijk reinforces the idea that theoretically and analytically a text has separate meaning and form. Although this is left unexplicated by van Dijk, this conceptualization of text links his work with the formalist linguistic tradition.

Furthermore, while connecting the propositions with the procedure of reduction of information into the global, summarised meaning of discourse, van Dijk makes a connection between the elements of discourse and the mind of the reader. *The propositional analysis is not only an analysis of a discourse but an analysis of the mental processes involved in text comprehension.* In this way the analysis will not only offer an account of the linguistic features of a discourse but also of what people have in their minds while reading the text. Thus, the point of view underlying the macrostructure, macroproposition, macrorules and the whole procedure of defining topics with the help of these concepts have a clear cognitive basis. (For further details of van Dijk's work on text comprehension and production see e.g. van Dijk and Kintch 1983, Leppänen 1993, Renkema 1993.)

Apart from the cognitive processes of text processing, van Dijk has also developed the cognitive aspects of his work towards the concept of social cognition. Actually, the ultimate task, which van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:19) wish to accomplish, is to make a connection, with the help of a cognitive model, between a linguistic theory of language and discourse, on the one hand, and a theory of social interaction, on the other. This line of thought, especially in terms of social cognition, van Dijk (1987, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1998b) advances in his later works. By social cognition van Dijk (1998b) refers to shared social, ideological cognition which makes it possible to explain prejudices, for instance. Van Dijk (1998b:126) says: "Ideologies are socially acquired, shared, used and changed by group members, and hence are a special type of socially shared mental representations." He argues that ideologies are not only social but also mental, and therefore cognitive theories are needed.

To sum up, *van Dijk's approach may be described as a combination of social, cognitive and linguistic approaches to discourse.* Similarly to Fairclough, van Dijk conceptualizes discourse three-dimensionally, i.e. text, cognition, and the social. Similarly to Fairclough, van Dijk grounds his analysis on linguistics but, differently from Fairclough, draws on a more formalist tradition. Van Dijk suggests that discourse has an overall, global meaning, which can theoretically be accounted for in terms of semantic structures, namely that of macrostructure. This structure consists of macropropositions, which are constructed from local level propositions. These macropropositions are derived from the local level of discourse by reduction, which procedure is described with the help of three macrorules. In this way van Dijk describes the procedure how people end up with summaries of a discourse. However, a single text can be rather heterogeneous and include various meanings and mean different things for different people. Thus van Dijk seems to be suggesting a view of text in which it is rather homogeneous. The tension between different views of text, and consequently of language, is unexplicated in van Dijk's work and remains problematic.

For van Dijk, the mediator between the text and the social is cognition, which helps, on the one hand, explain processes of production and understanding of texts, and, on the other hand, the effects of discourse in terms of shared beliefs, prejudices, and ideologies. Compared to Fairclough's conceptualization of discourse

practices, van Dijk's mediator is quite different. Van Dijk also has the social as the third dimension and both are interested in issues of power, ideology, and identity, but, the two CDA scholars theorize this dimension quite differently: while Fairclough draws on the research on late modernity, social change, and hegemony, van Dijk focuses on the research done within social psychology on groups relations, prejudice, and cognitive approaches to ideology (see e.g. van Dijk 1998b). Van Dijk's work may be characterized as an attempt to combine a global propositional approach to meaning structure of discourse and a cognitive approach focusing on cognitive operations concerned with the processing and comprehending of discourse with questions of prejudice and ideology, such as racism.

A number of critics have taken issue with the propositional approach in general and with van Dijk's approach in particular, mainly on the grounds of subjectivity and inconsistency. Forming propositions, macropropositions, macrostructures and thus a topic of discourse is based on subjective interpretation. Although being intuitively appealing, the concept of proposition has not yet been defined in such a way that a definite listing of the constituting propositions of a text can be drawn up (Renkema 1993, Stubbs 1983). It follows then that there are hardly any criteria that could be given to test the accuracy of the analysis, even though there is typically reasonable agreement between coders. Thus the number of possible topics and correspondingly the number of ways expressing the propositions and macrostructure for any text can be interpreted in terms of the inconsistency of the whole approach. In addition, even if it has been shown that some people recall propositional or topical elements better than others, the central information has to be selected and the basis of this selection is usually implicit. Thus the ways in which the representations of discourse content are arrived at remains unsolved. In short, the proposition-based analysis of language represents a single interpretation, which cannot be tested. (See e.g. Boyd-Barret 1994:29, Leppänen 1993:91, Renkema 1993:54, Stubbs 1983:214, Brown and Yule 1983:107, 114.) Propositional analysis is therefore an alternative interpretation of a discourse rather than a definition of its content or meaning. Patently the assured meaning of discourse will always be unattainable, and the best possible solution that we have is an alternative, but explicit interpretation.

In spite of its limitations propositional approach is useful for the explanation of the semantic sense of an utterance or document - what it means or refers to. A study of the semantic macrostructure (topic, theme) of a text may show how propositions are ordered in hierarchical networks of importance, relevance, or conceptual dominance (van Dijk 1993:33). A macrostructure can be used to denote the global level of meaning of a text. Even though macrostructures and derivation of the topic from them can slightly vary from one individual to another, the consensus is usually rather large. Thus this procedure can be used as an alternative way to analyze discourse content. In addition, this approach can be employed to describe the knowledge and procedures individuals make use of in the derivation of essential information from larger pieces of discourses. Concurrently with the subjective nature of topics, they also offer an element for the analysis of language users' own attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies.

Van Dijk has extensively applied the global propositional approach in the studies of stories (1984, 1987) and news reports (1988, 1991) on ethnic affairs. Parallel to the news making routine and journalistic practices, van Dijk found out that

also in terms of macrosemantics and macrosyntax, the headline expresses the central information of a news report, the topic of news discourse, and the essential macropropositions are in the lead. The novelty of this finding may be questioned, however, since it is a basic news writing convention that the headline expresses the most relevant information and the lead a kind of summary of the news (Boyd-Barret 1994:27).

Van Dijk (1988) argues that since headlines function as a topic of news report constructed by journalists or the newsroom, this topic also defines the situation as seen by the media. As topics are constructed by a subjective reducing procedure, individuals' or institutions' values, ideologies and beliefs can be analyzed in topical elements. Due to the societal position of the media, the definitions of the situation made by the media, in the case of ethnic affairs for instance, are crucial. If people recall topical elements better than other elements in discourse, people can be expected to remember headlines best. Then headlines would have a central role in the processing of news discourse. (van Dijk 1988.)

Van Dijk (1988) also points out that the macrostructure of news discourse has a hierarchical structure. Usually the main acts and participants that are politically relevant come first, followed by details of main participants /consequent/manners of acts, time, and location details, etc. An early paragraph even explicitly states why this issue is so important politically (van Dijk 1988: 41, 48.) Thus the topics of news are organized by news-specific schemata or superstructure (van Dijk 1988b, van Dijk 1993:251). Such schemata, which have a hierarchical structure, consist of a number of conventional categories, of which headline and lead are the most familiar. The concepts of news genre or journalistic writing conventions attempt to capture the structure of a news report as well.

The point made by van Dijk, however, is that the way how social and ideological phenomena are organized in a news report is supposed to have an effect on the selection of contextual items for inclusion and exclusion and eventually, for remembering. In short, in his studies of news discourse, van Dijk has shown how the journalistic practice of news writing is textually manifested and how such practices may have an effect on reading practices and on how news events are recalled.

In practice, the application of several rules and a hierarchical step-by-step procedure as suggested by van Dijk is time-consuming and technical. Moreover, the analytical benefit of the use of this procedure to summarize topics can be questioned, if it only explicates what the reader would have been doing anyhow. Furthermore, by following the rules rather than concentrating on the summarizing of the texts, the consistency of the analysis may waver and consequently lessen the internal validity of the analysis. In addition, the genre of a text often gives much information about the organization of the topics, structure of the text, processes of production and interpretation - possibly even about the likely contents of it.

In this study, I will use van Dijk's findings about news discourse and particularly about the representation of ethnic minorities in news as a point of reference and not draw on them as an analytical framework. Van Dijk's content analyses and statistical conclusions about representation of ethnic minorities in press news in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands will offer an interesting point of comparison in terms of for instance the most frequent topics, and quotation patterns (see Chapter 6). Van Dijk's findings on how headlines and leads are best

remembered in conjuncture with news making practices provide a fruitful starting point to study news discourse. In my analysis, I will not make use of van Dijk's concepts of macrostructures, macrorules, schemata, etc. as such for two main reasons. Cognitive aspects of discourse is not within the scope of the present study and, as argued above, such concepts assume a rather homogeneous view of text and its meaning, which is not in accordance with the point of departure of the present study.

3.2.3 Diverse and dissonant critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a diverse, topical, political and provocative enterprise. Despite wide agreement that it is important to study the relationship between language and society, to bridge the macro and micro level, and to combine the linguistic and social approaches to discourse, CDA has been criticized fairly extensively.

The criticism centres on three issues, namely, on *theoretical blurring*, *vagueness of analysis*, and *justification of interpretation*. The theoretical grounds of CDA stretch over many disciplines and differ considerably among its practitioners. As a result, CDA runs the risk of theoretical blurring and theoretical and methodological fragmentation (Toolan 1997:94,99). Stubbs (1997:3) criticizes CDA for being conceptually circular. It is clear that CDA has been around long enough to have established a unity concerning its theoretical concepts and methodology. Nevertheless, at the moment CDA seems to be a collection of works by various individuals who share political and critical goals but differ in their theory and praxis. As Widdowson (1998:149) argues, most of the CDA work seems essentially unprincipled and inconsequent in the absence of a clear conceptual scheme. He (1996:149, 1998:159) points out that CDA does not make a connection with other areas of inquiry such as literary criticism, sociolinguistics, or psycholinguistics.

The critical comments on empirical CDA have also been severe. The plausibility of the analyses at the textual, discursive, and societal levels has been questioned. In other words, the combination of the descriptive, interpretative, and explanatory levels has been unsatisfactory. The leap from micro to macro is quite often apparent, or the far-reaching theoretical or social claims are not sufficiently supported by empirical analysis. (Stubbs 1994:202, Toolan 1997:93.) In many CDA studies even a single level is not fully examined although argued for in theory. Stubbs (1997:6) and Widdowson (1998:142), as well as Fairclough himself (1995:9), have pointed out that the processes of production and consumption are seldom studied and not adequately operationalized.

Particularly the linguistic/textual analysis of CDA has been subject to criticism due to its lack of rigorosity, systemacy, and explicitness (Stubbs 1997, Toolan 1997, Widdowson, 1995a, 1996, 1996, 1998). According to the critics, CD analysts typically focus on some linguistic features only and unsystematically analyze certain features in one text and others in another one. According to Widdowson (1998), this gives an impressionistic flavour to the analysis and raises the question of potential partiality. He argues that the analyses provided by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1996) are biased and therefore a textual confirmation is sought to support their own ideological position (Widdowson 1998:143-147).

A similar point has been made by Schegloff in his debate with Billig and Wetherell about CDA and conversation analysis, particularly about the practice of analysis (see Schegloff 1998, 1999a, 1999b, also Billig 1999a, 1999b, Wetherell 1998). Schegloff (1998, 1999a, 1999b) argues that unlike conversation analysts, critical discourse analysts deploy terms which preoccupy them and impose their own frame of reference on the object of the study practising thus a kind of intellectual hegemony. Schegloff (1999b:577) also argues that the prior theorizing that underlies CDA suggests that its authors know basically how things work and this allows for genuine learning with the parameters of the already known, but taking those parameters (race, gender, power etc) as given and as inescapably relevant. According to Billig (1999a, 1999b), Schegloff is implying that critical discourse analysts find what they want. In their comments to Schegloff, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:7-8) point out that all analysts and ways of analysis are historically and socially located and thus all involve their own preoccupations.

Furthermore, the lack of explicitness about the methods of data collection, choice of texts for detailed analysis, choice of analytical categories, practice of analysis, ways in which particular interpretations are arrived at, and limitations of analysis and conclusions undermine the credibility of CD analyses (Stubbs 1997:3, Widdowson 1998:142). Stubbs (1997:3) also points out that CDA does not use large quantities of data but as often restricted to textual fragments, which raises the question of whether the data can be considered representative. He also notes that not many linguistic features are analyzed either. All this, according to him, makes the analyses unconvincing. Again, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:16-17, see also Fairclough 1996) argue:

Given our emphasis on the mutually informing development of theory and methods, we do not support calls for stabilising a methods for CDA. . . While such a stabilisation would have institutional and especially pedagogical advantages, it would compromise the developing capacity of CDA to shed light on the dialectic of the semiotic and the social in a wider variety of social practices by bringing in to bear shifting sets of theoretical resources and shifting operationalizations of them.

The third area of criticism is interpretation. Stubbs (1997:3) says that CDA has not made explicit its claims about the relation between features of text and their interpretation (see also Widdowson 1995a:169, 1996:60). In his opinion, the relations between the features of texts, ideology (power), interpretation, and the position of the analyst are highly problematic. Stubbs (1997:3-4) argues:

On the other hand, it is emphasized that ideology cannot be read off texts in a mechanical way since there is no one-to-one correspondence between forms and functions. . . if it is not possible to read the ideology off the texts, then the analysts themselves are reading meaning into texts on the basis of unexplicated knowledge which they already have (the circularity problem).

Also Widdowson points out when discussing the work by Hodge and Kress (1993) that

The assumption in their work is that meaning is contained in text, but deeply embedded and not readily accessible to the reader. It has to be prised out by linguistic analysis, and the more detailed the analysis, the more meaning is revealed, subtly implicated in syntactic structure. . . the idea that reading is a matter of linguistic analysis is itself something of a fossilism. It is curious that this essentially formalist notion should

be restored to life in an approach to language description which claims to be functional. . . There is the insistence that you cannot read significance straight off from the text, but that it is a matter of relating texts to their conditions of production and consumption. They say but do not do. (Widdowson 1998:142).

Widdowson (1998:146) is also troubled by the claim that all linguistic features are potentially ideologically significant. He argues that

if all language is so loaded, so ideologically saturated, then there is no redundancy: every feature of the text carries its ideological charge, and this will interact with others in all manner of ways. So how do we know under what textual or contextual conditions one feature takes on particular saliency and overrides the other.

These critical comments point to the most vulnerable features of CDA work, which are to be found in the theorizing language and interpretation, the practice of analysis, and the justification of interpretation. All CDA analysts insist that issues like ideology or power cannot be mechanistically read off from a text and no linguistic feature carries a fixed ideological meaning, but, nonetheless, all language is potentially ideologically significant. Thus it is the interpretative, and subjective, work by the analyst, that weighs the detailed linguistic evidence, findings of the production and consumption practices and the knowledge (both theoretical and experience) about the social phenomenon, and on the basis of all this, the analyst offers her or his account of the object of the study. This is a rather standard procedure in qualitative research (Alasuutari 1995, Mäkelä 1990) and in the hermeneutic research tradition, and as such it may not satisfy more positivistically oriented researchers. Thus much of this criticism can be accounted for by the epistemological and ontological differences between the qualitative, including critical, orientations and the other approaches in applied linguistics (for further discussion, see for instance Brumfit 1999, Rajagopalan 1999a, 1999b).

However, what many CDA analysts obviously fail to do is to meet the criteria of explicitness in qualitative research work. CDA analysts rarely explicate their practice of analysis, the choices made, and the limitation involved or reflect upon the conditions and limitations of their interpretations to any greater extent. According to Widdowson (1996:150), the overall impression is often that there are no problems at all. In this respect, CDA is uncritical of its own discursive practices. In this way CDA fails to meet its own criteria of self-reflectiveness.

A further critical comment on CDA relates to its emancipatory character. Toolan (1997:88), for instance, argues that it is not self-evident that a CDA analysis will lead more directly to a change than, for instance, a traditional literary critical commentary. Toolan calls for more concrete examples of alternative texts that could be emancipatory. On another level, Widdowson (1998:150) credits CDA for good intentions but for bad scholarship. He states that this puts anybody who questions the validity of CDA in an invidious position, for if the means are justified by the end, when criticizing the linguistic analysis, you can be accused not only for being beside the point but also, more seriously, for undermining the moral cause and siding with the enemy (Widdowson 1998:150).

Against the rather extensive and multidimensional criticism it could be asked why CDA should be used. Personally, *despite its limitations, I find CDA more than just an interesting opening between the linguistic and social approaches to discourse.* Although the organizing principle of CDA, guiding both its theory and practice,

may still be lacking and is perhaps impossible to find, the studies by individual CDA researchers such as van Dijk and Wodak offer useful frameworks for analysis or theoretical approaches with analytical implications, as is the case with Fairclough. Being a serious attempt to bridge the social and linguistic approaches in the study of discourse, CDA is, even though far from complete, a valuable approach which offers a good point of departure and tools for analysis.

3.3 Linguistic, social and critical aspects of discourse

If the linguistically and socially oriented discourse analyses are contrasted to each other to spell out their differences, they could be characterized as opposite approaches to one and the same phenomenon, i.e. the use of language. Linguistically oriented discourse analysis starts with the actual use of language. Linguistically oriented discourse analysis starts with the actual use of language, makes use of linguistic theories and analytical categories while unriddling the question of how language is used in a specific context about specific matters, and ultimately, but not necessarily, draws on social theories while explaining and interpreting the significance of particular linguistic features found in the analysis. In contrast, socially oriented discourse analysis starts from the opposite point of the same continuum, from the construction of a social phenomenon in a given social, political and historical context. Relevant social and political theories are made use of to explain the phenomenon and the context of the phenomenon, on the one hand, and to interpret the underpinning constraints of the particular constructions of the phenomenon and the consequences of the constructions, on the other. The analysis of the construction of a social phenomenon is often an interpretative enterprise making use of various theoretical concepts. It is based on a variety of methods such as content analysis, narrative analysis and word counts. However, a full linguistic analysis is rarely accomplished. CDA tries to cover all this from a particular critical point of view, by focusing on relationships between discourse and power. It goes without saying that such an attempt is a complex enterprise in terms of relevant theories and concepts, the extent and levels of the analysis needed, required data and methods.

For the linguistically oriented discourse analyst, the term discourse means use of language beyond the sentence, whereas for the socially oriented discourse analyst discourse is a broader term referring to culturally embedded meaning making. For the critical discourse analyst, discourse means language use as social practice entailing various conditions and consequences arising from their use. In other words, the linguist connects discourse with actual linguistic manifestations whereas the sociologist prefers connecting it with social, political, and institutional practices. Critical discourse analysis links discourse with actual linguistic manifestations, social, political, and institutional practices, and practices of power. All analysts are interested in exploring the use of language from their own points of departure. They use different theories and methods and the quantity of the data varies in their analyses. All of them also call their work discourse analytic. Table 1 illustrates the differences and similarities between the approaches.

Since the relationship between language use and social practices is highly complex, no study alone can manage to cover all and everything of this relation-

ship. The tendency seems to be that scholars start with the tool most familiar to them. Consequently, researchers with a linguistic background offer detailed accounts of language use but rather narrow explanations of the social, while sociologists enter a broad discussion of the social, political, and historical underpinnings of a specific construction but do not usually have much to offer in terms of linguistic analysis. CD analysts aim to do both, but as the discussion of CDA above illustrates, there is still much work to be done before this goal is achieved. All this is called discourse analysis.

TABLE 1 Three approaches to discourse analysis.

	Linguistic	Social	Critical
Starting point	language use	construction of social	discourse
Focus	use of language	construction of social	conditions and social consequences of discourse
Background	linguistic theories	social theories	linguistic, social and critical theories
Data	texts, speech visuals	texts, speech visuals	texts, speech visuals
Methods	linguistic and textual analysis	analysis of contents style, rhetoric etc. social analysis	linguistic, textual discourse and social analysis
Results	interpretation of linguistic features	interpretation of social, political and institutional constructions	interpretations of the role of discourse in social phenomenon

Many scholars attempt to overcome the fragmentation of the socially and linguistically oriented approaches to the study of discourse. Many interesting attempts have been made in various areas of study, such as feminism, cultural studies, and conversation analysis and in various approaches to discourse studies, notably in critical discourse analysis. As the discussion above shows, CDA has many problems but has also been able to make promising attempts to overcome the division between the linguistically and socially oriented approaches. However, since discourse is such a complex and multilayered phenomenon, it cannot be analyzed by one discipline alone. Shiffrin (1994:418-419) makes this point concisely: "To understand the language of discourse then we need to understand the world in which it resides and to understand the world in which language resides, we need to go outside of linguistics."

4 ETHNIC MINORITIES AND NEWS DISCOURSE

4.1 Disputed workings of ethnic news

The role of ethnic news¹ to ethnic relations is ambiguous and disputed. News have been accused of being biased against minorities and covering only issues relevant to the majority, particularly to the elite of the majority. The journalists, for their part, have defended their independence and referred to the impossibility for a journalist to function as an advocate of any particular group or ideology. Below, I discuss the importance of news publicity for ethnic minorities and some aspects of news making practices. Then I will review the findings of previous research on ethnic minorities in press and finally discuss some suggestions given on how to develop practices of ethnic reporting. As the majority of the researches, the present one included, has focused on quality newspapers, this discussion mainly deals with the *news reporting of ethnic minorities in quality newspapers*. Further, I will limit my discussion mainly on news journalism although also editorials, letters to editor and other aspects and sections of newspaper have a role in representation of ethnic minorities.

The little there is about ethnic minorities in the news is claimed to be stereotypical, often negative, and sometimes racist (e.g. Allan 1999, Campbell 1995, Hall 1995, van Dijk 1991). On the whole, the mainstream news, controlled and produced by the majority and designed for the majority, do not always seem to recognise the continuum of various identities of their audience and the increasing multiculturalism in a society which they report about and function in (see e.g. Kivikuru 1995).

¹ By *ethnic news* I here refer to newspaper texts dealing explicitly with ethnic minorities and issues related to them at least a length of a paragraph. In other words, a mere mention of an ethnic group or a member of an ethnic group is not considered sufficient. However, different researchers have used different criteria in data collection. It is also important to bear in mind that in different countries the concept of ethnic minority may also be defined differently. The discussion here may not do justice to all this variation as my aim is to give an overview of the research results regarding ethnic minorities in press.

As a reaction to such claims, many journalists have explicitly dissociated themselves from racist intentions and defended their right and duty to report what is happening in the world including problems and crimes related to ethnic minorities (see e.g. Hyttinen 1991, Hyttinen and Tuomarla 1992, Luostarinen 1996, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996, Tuominen 1991). They have defended their independence to choose a perspective, topic, or source. They have also emphasized the practical limitations and conditions of their daily work - lack of money, time, and other resources - which, in their opinion result in the absence of minority topics and voices. The point often made is that the media, news included, only mirror the society. According to this line of thought, a journalist only reports about racial inequality or marginalization of ethnic minority rather than creates it. Many journalists also seem to find it peculiar that the media should have such a great influence on the public atmosphere and on the position of minorities as the minority members themselves think. (see e.g. Helminen 1996, Hyttinen and Tuomarla 1992, Phillips 1995.)

Views concerning *the role of the news media* in relation to ethnic minorities seem to be in conflict with one another. A heated debate on a Finnish TV programme "Rikos ja karkoitus" (Crime and deportation), dealing with Zairian asylum seekers who were suspected of crimes², serves as an example of a case where journalists, ethnic minorities, researchers, and the Finnish Press Council all seemed to have different views of the nature and consequences of the programme (see e.g. Helminen 1996, Mokko 1995, Pemberton 1995, Vuortama 1995). It is common for a journalist to say that they are 'just' doing their job (see e.g. Hyttinen 1991, Hyttinen and Tuomarla 1992). Yet, at the same time, members of ethnic minorities have argued that they find the news about themselves to be one-sided or irrelevant at best, but often also negative and discriminatory. Consequently, it seems that the rules of ethnic reporting are very much under dispute.

Both views can be justified by reference to freedom of speech, which includes the right to be heard and represented on one's own terms (Encaho 1995, Husband 1994, Nordenstreng 1997). For instance, Kivikuru (1998a:235) argues that although in principle there is a wide agreement among all participants, e.g. journalists, legislators, and consumers, on the values that the media should not promote, e.g. war or racism, to reach an agreement in any given practical situation is still difficult to achieve. This is because the definitions of what racism means vary (see the discussion in Chapter 2 above).

A long-standing issue in the discussion about the news and ethnic reporting is the power of the news, particularly in terms of its effects (see e.g. Boyd-Barrett and Newbold 1995, Grossberg et al. 1998, Lehtonen 1998). Although the effects of the news - and the media on the whole - on the behaviour and opinions of individuals may be controversial, it does not follow that they do not have any effect at all (Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996:171). Typically, media effects are assumed to be long-term, accumulative, and socially significant (Kunelius 1997:132). The media are assumed to contribute to the ways in which we see the world and what we see in it.

² To which they were proved guilty later on.

A particular strength of the news media is its ability to shed light on, limit, and silence topics discussed in news publicity. This aspect of news power is often discussed under the label of agenda setting. The idea is simple: the media give us a sense of what issues are important and salient by featuring some issues prominently and some less prominently and by ignoring some totally. In this way the news media participate in the structuring of the public debate and awareness. The news have the power to focus public attention on a defined and limited set of selected issues. In the first instance, agenda setting refers to what topics are chosen to be represented to the audience, and, in the second, how the information about such topics is presented. Thus agenda setting is related to the dynamics of coverage: what spectrum of viewpoints, symbols, or questions is selected to construct a particular news item and how they are ranked or accorded legitimacy and priority. On the whole, it seems to be a common view that the media does not simply dictate what people think but it rather shapes the issues that they think and talk about. (see e.g. Grossberg et al. 1998:346-347, Kunelius 1997:127, O'Sullivan et al. 1994:8.)

Framing is another concept that may help in the evaluation of the effects of the media. It is meant to capture the ways in which the media favours some perspectives or conceptions, while downplaying others. Kunelius (1997:128-129) argues that political journalism commonly constructs politics as power play, according to which motivations and reasons behind politicians' actions are explained as an attempt to gain power. When examining the news about battered women, particularly those dealing with a murder of a wife by her husband, Meyers (1997) noticed that rather than using domestic violence and battering as framing which would have involved themes of power control, obsession, oppression, and fear, the news typically used frames of 'tragedy', 'blaming the victim', 'provocation', or 'personal stress'.

Besides its potential effects on individuals' behaviour, the media also contribute to their sense of belongingness. That is, the news and other media products contribute to the sense of belonging to a particular group of citizenship, identity, or region (see e.g. Hall 1997a, 1997b). For example, Kunelius (1997:17-18) shows how TV news position their audience as citizens and gather them together as one nation for a few moments while reporting on political issues. Hujanen (1998,2000) illustrates how regional newspapers contribute to the construction of the local community and identity.

The inverted effect of the creation of social belongingness among the ethnic majority is that in many cases ethnic minorities feel themselves to be outsiders. If news coverage is expected to deal with topics, voices, and perspectives of interest to the 'people' and if ethnic minority members do not find themselves or their interests covered, they feel excluded. *Besides 'usness', the news contribute to the construction of 'otherness' and ethnic difference.* As was discussed in Chapter 2 above, when we define who 'we' are, the criteria of 'themness' are simultaneously set up too. An aspect that is brought up by many ethnic minorities is that they do not find themselves in the mainstream news regardless of the time they have spent in the country or despite their citizenship. From the ethnic minority point of view it seems that news - instead of contributing the sense of belongingness - contribute to the separation and differentiation of groups of people. As is argued by Kunelius (1997:169), one function of the media seems to be to reproduce the distinction be-

tween Us and Them: in a way, the media constantly tell us new versions of the myth of Our origins and the difference between Us and Them. The power to define Us and Them is significant and even more powerful when it is done in the news since the news is commonly considered truthful, important, and legitimate.

In contemporary mediated society, media constructions are significant. For any interest group, let alone a minority, media publicity is a means to gain wider attention to their agenda, to make their voice heard, and perhaps to make difference to the issues important to them. Today, the media and news can be regarded as one of the most important and influential public spaces of contemporary society (see e.g. Allan 1999, Hartley 1996, Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Zelizer 1997). Political and juridical decision making, economical affairs, and the lives of citizens are displayed and imposed through media attention to the extent that the elements of the public and private domains are inseparably intermingled. A considerable part of contemporary life, whether public or private, is mediated by this traffic of knowledge and points of view.

Naturally, the constructions that the media make can be regarded as 'only' media constructions. The direct impact of media coverage on a particular event or a group of people is difficult to isolate from other possible factors. Nevertheless, the media are a highly influential and valued forum and actor of decision-making in contemporary society. Within media contents, news is considered particularly important because of their status as an impartial 'vehicle' of facts. Consequently, *news is a much desired arena for various groups with a variety of interests to try and bring about a change, to make their voices heard, and have an impact on issues close to them.* News is also a highly controlled vehicle and for many groups, due to their lack of political or economical status, hard to access. This is often the case with ethnic minorities (see for instance Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1997). Furthermore, news practices do not only enhance the flow of ideas and information but also inhibit it. In fact, there is no guarantee that all valuable information will find its expression in this public forum. Which views are covered, and in what way, depends on the economic and political structure, the institutional role of the press, and the characteristics of the media themselves. (Lichtenberg 1991:102-103.) Consequently, news media reveal a great deal about the society and the power relations in which the media are embedded.

Evaluating news performance can lead to different kinds of results depending on *what is the role that journalism is expected to fulfil*: is the news to be a public arena for public discussion, a vehicle of information, or profit seeking economic entity? (For a further discussion see e.g. Cottle 1998, Kunelius 1997, McQuail 1992, for a critical overview on presuppositions in news assessments, see Kieran 1997.) Thus the difference between the views of news practices that journalists and ethnic minorities may have may also be explained by means of different views of the role of journalism on the whole. Whereas journalists may emphasize their independence, ethnic minorities may consider the news media a public and influential site for the construction, maintenance, and reproduction of the 'social world'.

Journalists, who are possibly guarding their independence, are not, according to Zelizer (1997), very open to criticism which is levelled at them in journalism reviews, academic conferences, books, and in the alternative press. But journalists' self-criticism can also be rather harsh (see e.g. Heinonen 1996). By explicating the conditions, limits and consequences of journalistic work and products,

it is, however, possible to enhance awareness of the underlying practices, rules, norms, and effects. Media and journalism critique is, as is for instance discussed by Luostarinen (1996a) a customary practice among scholars, journalists, and consumers. Although awareness of news making practices per se does not necessarily change anything, it at least offers grounds for discussion about what the news is, can and should be.

4.2 News making practices

4.2.1 Making news, constructing reality

News making practices can refer to the daily work of journalists and to wider professional, institutional, and social dimensions. Regardless of the definitions, they all try to explain how news is done and gets to be done in a rather conventionalized way. In this study, *by news making practices I refer to ideals and conventions, such as news values, conditioning and framing news work and to day-to-day routines and choices made in news work, particularly in terms of the use of sources and quotations, and the use of language.* I will first discuss news values and news criteria and then deal with the use of sources, quotations and language in relation to the findings about ethnic representations. However, I will first briefly address a point of departure essential for this study and in studies of news practices, namely that of the *constructive nature of news.*

An assumption is made here that the *news is made* rather than 'merely' reported. This study draws on constructivist and, more particularly, on cultural and discursive approaches to news studies (see e.g Allan 1999, Berkowitz 1997, Fairclough 1995a, Grossberg et al. 1998, Kunelius 1996). The conceptualization of news as made rather than just reported -even if self-evident for many journalists and researchers - offers both topical and fruitful viewpoint to study news, particularly as regards ethnic representations. For instance, Berkowitz (1997:xi) points out that "news is a human construction that gains its characteristics through the social world from which it emerged", and Tuchman (1976/1997:97) observes: "To say a news report is a story, no more, but no less, is not to demean the news, not to accuse it of being fictitious. Rather, it alerts us that news, like all public documents, is a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity."

Conceptualization of news as made constructions has several implications, two of which are particularly relevant here, viz. news as discourse and journalistic practices impinging upon the news. *News as discourse* refers, firstly, to news as a discourse of its own, i.e. having its typical conventions and characteristics, and on the other, news is a mixture of linguistic, textual, graphic, and visual elements manifested in a tangible product of language use. In other words, there is embedded in news as made constructions the idea of the centrality of discourse. This, in turn, underlines the importance of not only the configurations of various discourses in news but also the linguistic manifestations of these mixtures and underpinning practices. After all, it is through language that representations are made. (see also Chapters 3 and 7).

Considering news as constructed also implies that *individual, institutional, and cultural practices such as norms, values, conventions, and routines are employed in news*

making. News is not done arbitrarily but through regulated, controlled, and structured performance. To be able to make sense of the flow of events taking place in the world and to report on it in a more or less comprehensible manner by a deadline and with the resources available, news work needs clear-cut routines and conventions (see Mörå 1996). Consequently, the coverage of topics, the use of sources, the representation of the news is relatively conventionalized and also surprisingly global and slow to change. These conventions do not set a limit to news coverage only but also to the ways journalists work, as is for instance discussed by Kantola (1998) and Malmberg (1998).

The power of conventions lies in that they naturalize and legitimate the ways in which things are done, up to the point that it is difficult to change, challenge or even notice them. To maximize saving the cost, efforts, and time, news making practices are highly conventionalized. Although in this study journalists themselves are not studied - a limitation typical to many discourse analytical studies on media (see e.g. Bell and Garrett 1998) - news texts themselves, as a product of news making practices, give some indication of how news is done.

4.2.2 Subjective objectivity

The concept of *news values* captures, on the one hand, an abstract ideal of what a piece of news ought to be and, on the other hand, the practical professional ways in which the news is done. News values refer to the professional codes used in the selection, construction, and presentation of news and in the justification of these choices. The image of ideal news provides a norm or criteria against which news stories and journalistic practices can be evaluated. (Allan 1999:61, O'Sullivan et al. 1994:201.)

Objectivity is one of the most appreciated, but also the most controversial, values attached to news. This stems from the 'factual' character of the news. By definition, news is supposed to be factual accounts of recent events. Conversely, the basis of sound journalistic work is to be found, according to the Finnish Code of Ethics (Journalistin ohjeet 1998), in a truthful, relevant, and many-sided reporting of the events and the people in the world. This is, however, a more complex task than first appears. What counts as truthful and accurate or recent information is not a simple question. Knowledge is always tied to the wider values and ideologies of a society and there may often be different kinds of knowledges, even contradictory information available (see e.g. Kunelius 1997, McQuail 1992, Keane 1991). There is no one reality out there to 'merely' report on but a spectrum of competing accounts of realities, different perspectives, knowledges, and opinions, out of which the news maker composes a version, a representation of events.

This particular, and often peculiar, relation between reality and its news representations can be discussed within the frame of objectivity and bias. Ideally, news would be objective when it reports reality just as it is. The news should consequently act as a mirror of reality or a window to it. Objective news would thus be accurate, impartial, neutral, balanced, and fair, and it would also distinguish between an opinion and a fact. Partiality, non-neutrality, and propaganda are considered a violation against the objectivity of the news and a distortion of reality. (See e.g. Allan 1999:24-26, McQuail 1992:184-187.)

An example of how objectivity is defined is given by McQuail (1992:72-73),

who argues that objectivity is

A form of media practice and also a particular attitude to the task of information collection, processing and dissemination. It means adopting a position of detachment and neutrality from the object of reporting (impartiality). It calls for attachment to accuracy and other truth criteria (e.g. relevance, completeness) as well as lack of ulterior motive or service to a third party. The process of observing and reporting should not interfere with the reality being reported on.

This definition spells out many controversies embedded in the concept of objectivity. Some goals are more easily accomplished, such as lack of ulterior motive or service to a third party. A journalist can do her or his best to report something as accurately as possible. At least, such goals can be achieved, if a continuum of *not very objective - relatively objective* is used and reference is made to a degree of objectivity. A far more problematic goal is the requirement that observing and reporting should not interfere with the reality being reported on. This implies that news could be a 'mere' report of the events/reality rather than its construction and that language could function as a mirror. Such a goal also implies that there is a certain unambiguous reality to report on. It also ignores the obvious fact that many events are done for the media or, at least, with the media in mind. The messiness of realities and newswork is not visible in this kind of concept of objectivity.

The concept of objectivity is, however, often used to evaluate news and journalistic performance since objectivity is, regardless of its ambiguity and idealism, a central way how news and its functions are understood. To concretize objectivity, and to make it more plausible, many models have been presented (see e.g. Allan 1999:24-25, McQuail 1992, Westerståhl 1983). Objectivity is often seen to build on *factuality* and *impartiality*. Factuality can further be divided into *truthfulness* and *relevance*, and impartiality into *balance* and *neutrality*.

Factuality refers to an equivalence between news contents and nature of events. News is expected to report on real events as completely and accurately as possible. In this sense, news is about facts, about what has taken place (for the development of fact-based news, see e.g. Allan 1997, Bird and Dardenne 1997). Kunelius (1997:18) points out that journalistic work often involves a simplified conception of 'reality' in that things are seen happening in reality and journalists are merely reporting them. News making is metaphorically understood as packaging up the facts and sending the package to the audience. To unpack factuality further, the concepts of truthfulness and relevance are employed. Truthfulness means the combination of accuracy and completeness, while relevance, in turn, refers to a process of selection and presentation (see e.g. Allan 1999). These short descriptions alone spell out the subjectivity embedded in objectivity.

Subjectivity undermines the other cornerstone of objectivity, namely *impartiality*. The main issue in impartiality is whether news favour one side over another systematically and thus lead the receiver consistently in a certain direction. The norm of impartiality requires that reporter should maintain a distance and not take sides. News media are expected to take various interests into account and do justice to the complexity of matters representing divergent values and points of views. In practice, impartiality is expected to be achieved through a combination of balance and neutrality. Thus balance refers to an equal access to news in terms of quotations and source, time or space given, selection of topics, etc. Balance calls for even-handed allocation in texts of the relevant sides, actors, or inter-

ests. Balance also refers to the selection and substance of news, since the topics of the news with which the actors are associated, especially when commendatory or pejorative values are implied, may give a direction to the news. (Allan 1999, McQuail 1992.)

Objectivity can be evaluated with the help of its opposite concept of *bias*, which is equally slippery, but most commonly used to refer to a systematic tendency to favour one side or position over another. McQuail (1992:192) presents four different types of bias: open and intended partisanship, open but unintended selectivity, hidden and intended propaganda, and hidden but unintended ideology. The cross-classification of these biases identifies the four main types of non-objective news practice. Possible bias in ethnic affairs coverage could be found in, e.g., an one-sided focus in topics covered, an unbalanced access to the news as regards the source and quotations, and a tendency towards a negative association of ethnic minorities in terms of general content and lexical choice. Presentation of false facts is also considered a violation of objectivity.

The ideal of objectivity also presupposes the independence of the news media. That is, the choices and emphasizes made in news work are to be grounded on independent journalistic criteria. To begin with, journalism is not supposed to work as a mouthpiece of any interest group or ideology but is granted a freedom to choose its topics, perspectives, and viewpoints within the limits of legislation and good journalistic conduct. Historically, journalists have fiercely guarded their independence and, as Husband (1995) notes, for good reasons. Consequently, various PR services are treated cautiously. The aims of fair and balanced coverage achieved through news-making practices give, as it were, a guarantee that news is trustworthy (Kunelius 1997:19).

As regards ethnic minorities and their claims that ethnic issues are given partial and unbalanced reporting, journalists defend themselves by referring to their freedom to choose their topics and their independence of a particular ideology or issue, in this case anti-racist and pro-ethnic plurality. Many ethnic minorities insist that adherence to journalists' own criterion of objective news would be enough.

The news making process entails subjective judgements, and finding a perspective to an event is similarly subjective. A single news report can also be placed in a wider frame of reference and visualized in a way that gives it an evaluative meaning. Omissions, gaps, and silences and the vocabulary used may also reflect implicit and subjective judgements on relevance and assumptions about the event and the groups associated with it. Total objectivity is impossible because of the social and changing character of meaning. It is also impossible because of the changing nature of 'reality'. Finally, as the news is embedded into social, political, and economical institutions, it cannot be fully objective. The news reports vary, however, in regards to how many sources they make use of and how carefully the backgrounding is done etc. Naturally, then, the news reports vary in terms of the spectrum of people, issues and view points they present.

Nonetheless, the idea of objective news is vital among journalists and their audience. Hujanen (1998:83-84) in her study of regional newspapers, points out that although journalists, on the one hand, hold the view that regional issues are and can be promoted in news coverage, they insist, on the other hand, that the news is impartial since the facts and opinions are carefully kept distinct.

A study by Arant and Meyer (1998) shows moreover that, regardless of the recent suggestions for the role and practices of journalism in terms of public journalism (see e.g. Glasser and Craft 1996, Kunelius 1997), the majority of newspaper journalists still cherish the traditional values of fairness, balance, and impartiality. Although the journalistic values and practices may vary according to countries and to medium, it seems, however, that 'fair' reporting in news making is valued.

There seems to be an agreement between journalists and their audience that news is done in the best possible way and they can be expected to be accurate, truthful, and impartial as far as possible. Actually, the powerful position of news in society is largely based on a trust on the media being as objective as possible (McQuail 1992:73). Although the concept of objectivity is controversial and problematic, it is nonetheless vital. The conventions relating to objective news products and practice imply that the news can be trusted upon without the need to 'read between the lines.' These suppositions about the news provide also the main guidelines for the evaluation of the quality of media performance. They offer the criteria for the ways and means to distinguishing relatively objective news from such forms of information as propaganda, gossip, and ideology.

Although totally objective news can never be obtained, the degree of objectivity in news can be evaluated. One purpose of research work is to make some limitations of news coverage visible. The concept of objectivity and its evaluation remain a complex and uncertain issue, despite the apparent straightforwardness of the unwritten rules and of the expectations concerning objectivity. Conclusions can be drawn in a given case on the grounds of contextual knowledge only, which makes the application of objectivity as a criterion of performance less than fully objective. In the context of quality newspapers, the ideal of objectivity exists as a highly potent frame of meaning, interpretation, and reference both among the audience and journalists themselves. They share the belief that a version closest to the 'how the things really happened or are' is told.

There is an important connection between objectivity and fundamental values. It is likely that without freedom media objectivity is not possible. The practice of objectivity also involves diversity in the recognition of alternative points of view, and vice versa. (Allan 1999, McQuail 1992.) If there is freedom of expression in a society, different voices should be heard, and everybody should be treated on equal terms. The media is supposed to act according to these high ideals.

4.2.3 Worth of news

News criteria and newsworthiness are further examples of slippery concepts. *Newsworthiness or news criteria* commonly refer to the practical aspects of how certain events or groups become news in the first place. The concept of newsworthiness is closely linked to the ideal of news values, but it also captures the partial, everyday decision making of the journalists. That is, if news values is a notion that attempts to capture the overall, perhaps implicit and subconscious, guidelines of the conduct of journalists, the concepts of news criteria refers to the grounds on which an event becomes news.

Typically, journalists say that news is something that "they know when they see it". Some journalists are said to have a "good nose" or a "hunch" or a "gut

feeling" for good news. (Grossberg 1998 et al., Allan 1999, O'Sullivan et al. 1994:202.) Kunelius (1997) and Mörä (1996) note that everyday news work quite quickly teaches journalists the news criteria, but it is, still, difficult to make them explicit.

In an attempt to illuminate the reasons why some events are selected to be covered in the news while others are not, various lists of news criteria have been produced by several researchers starting from the classical news criteria presented by Galtung and Ruge (1965) to the more recent ones (e.g. Allan 1999, Bell 1991, Grossberg et al., 1998, Kunelius 1997). In most lists, the following factors are included.

Timeliness. Recent events are favoured in news, especially those that have occurred within the previous 24 hours and which can be easily monitored as they unfold in relation to institutional constraints and pressures. In some cases, however, timeliness is relative: an event may have occurred in the past but is only learned about recently or has an anniversary.

Relevance. News centres on events that impinge, however indirectly, on the audience's lives and experiences. The proximity - territorial or cultural - of the events is a related factor. That is, closeness of the occurrence to the audience may be gauged either geographically or in terms of the assumed values, interests, and expectations of the news audience. Also cultural specificity may add to the impression of closeness: events which conform to the maps of meaning shared by newswriters and their audience have a greater likelihood of being selected. This is a form of ethnocentrism which gives priority to news about people like Us at the expense of those who do not share 'our' way of life.

Simplicity. Events which are relatively unambiguous and entail clear actor roles, preferably heroes, villains and victims, are favoured. A diversity of potential interpretations may then be kept to a minimum.

Impact. The greater the consequences and the larger the number of the people for whom an event is important, the greater its newsworthiness.

Unexpectedness. An event which is out of the ordinary, or is likely to be novel, has good chances of being caught in the news. The bizarre, the unusual, the unorthodox, and the unexpected attract news media attention.

Conflict. Various conflicts and open clashes are considered newsworthy and invite news attention on their own, almost regardless of what the conflict is about. Conflicts, controversies, or disputes which are perceived to involve two participants fall well into news reporting patterns and are relatively easy to report on.

Personalization. An emphasis on human actors 'coping' with life is preferred over abstract descriptions of faceless structures, forces, or institutions.

Composition. As a mixture of different types of news must be produced on any given day, events are chosen in relation to the news hole to be filled. Divisions between, for example, international, national, and local news are usually clearly marked in newspapers and newscasts. Thus on a day when nothing unexpected or otherwise particularly newsworthy happens, 'smaller' events have a better chance to become newsworthy.

Reference to elite nations and persons. News give priority to events that take place in countries regarded as directly affecting the audience's well-being, such as the United States and other states of the Western world. This is at the expense of events taking place elsewhere, particularly in the Third World. Similarly, ac-

tivities performed by politicians, entertainment and sports celebrities, corporate leaders, and so forth are more salient in news than those of ordinary people. Ordinary people get in the news only when they commit or witness something exceptional, most commonly a crime or accident.

Negativity. Bad news is ordinarily favoured over good news because the former usually are comprised of a higher number of the above factors.

Presumably, the more categories or dimensions any potential news story incorporates, the more newsworthy it is. Thus it seems that recent, sudden, simple, predictable, relevant, close, negative conflicts involving elite persons and countries will most certainly become news. These factors may contradict each other thus illuminating the various criteria of newsworthiness.

However, events involving some of the factors mentioned above take place all the time without becoming news. Although there is different kind of news media and journalists, O'Sullivan et al. (1994:202) argue that within the news criteria discussed above, the following features often enhance the chances of getting into news:

- 1 Priority is given to stories about the economy, governmental politics, industry, foreign affairs of state, domestic affairs. . . less agreeable news criteria can often be shown to be in play, including metropolitanism (the world stops beyond London) racism, patriarchy (news by, for and about men) naturalization (representation the cultural/historical as natural) consensus (everyone share the world view of the sub-editor and the middle managements)
- 2 News stories have to appeal to the supposed interest of the readers/viewers so they must be commonsensical, entertaining, dramatic, like fictions, glamorous, visual, about showbiz, about television.
- 3 Stories must be compatible with institutional routines, so event must be diary events (party conferences, anniversaries, annual reports and so on) or already covered in another news outlet, in press releases or in agency reports

The economic reality of the media makes audience targeting an important part of news making. The supposed news interest of the audience is taken into account in news making, as the news criteria above indicate. Kunelius (1997:82-83) points out that consequently there is a danger of mixing freedom of speech with an ability to consume: the media cover effectively news topics in the interest of the part of the audience who are taken to be consumers of the products of the major advertisers in the media. McManus (1997:5) argues, in an ironical manner, that news making is governed by three universal commands: "Do whatever it takes to maximize audience; minimize cost; don't embarrass big advertisers or the owners' own interest".

While looking at the formation of news coverage from the perspective of daily newsmaking practices, Grossberg et al. (1998:329-330) present three characteristic origins and developments of news stories. First, there are news about naturally occurring events, such as disasters, floods, and fires, and journalists respond after such events have taken place. Here the news criteria of unpredictability, negativity, timeliness, impact, and relevance are often met. This kind of news follows a predictable pattern: early reports, which frequently overestimate the severity of the disaster, rely on common people, because they are frequently the only witnesses, while later stories, assuming the story is newsworthy enough to become developing news over several days, tend to rely on officials, such as mayors and governors, insurance company representatives, disaster relief agency officials and

the like, which is another way in which news becomes routinized (Grossberg et al. 1998:329-330).

The second type of news is created and subsidized news, which come up because a person, group, or organization either does something newsworthy and/or seeks and gets news attention. Many scholars have suggested (e.g. Allan 1999, Bell 1991) that the more 'pre-existing texts', written in news format, are offered to news media, the better chances the PR material and the issues, organization, or a group have to become news. However, it is also true that the majority of material received in newsrooms ends up in the wastebasket. Factors contributing to whether an item ends up in the news and not in the wastebasket are, for instance, timing, current interest and the way in which the item fits into the criteria discussed above: those who direct news towards satisfying one or more of the values listed above are more successful at making news than others. (Grossberg et al. 1998:332.)

Finally, enterprise news is made when journalists act rather than react, as they do to accidents and disasters. In enterprise news, an editor or reporter takes the initiative for the story (Grossberg et al. 1998:330). Consequently, in the last two news types, the news event does not 'just happen' but it is designed.

On the whole, news making involves a great deal of standardization. There are several reasons for this: journalists are constrained by the values that they share for what news is. Each works for an organization with routines that constrain what news is. Such an organization operates in a larger news environment, in which other organizations are making their own news decisions. In this environment, each relies on common suppliers of news such as wire services. Each journalist lives in a social and cultural environment that exercises its own influences on reporters, editors, and organizations for which they work (Grossberg et al. 1998:334). This is not to say, however, that every journalists or every newspapers functions in totally similar fashion. The variation comes, besides individual journalists, also from different target audience, different goal in reporting etc. Also within a paper, goals of reporting may vary. In short, news making is highly conventionalized and standardised practice. It is often profit-seeking, but is also value-oriented and allows room for according to individuals and media.

4.3 Troubled and troubling news representations of ethnic minorities

4.3.1 Silence - then crimes, conflicts, disturbance: typical topics of ethnic news

News representations of ethnic minorities have been examined in a wealth of studies for decades by now (e.g. Barker 1999, Campbell 1995, Hartman and Husband 1974, Löwander 1997, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1997, Raittila and Kutilainen 2000, Rekola 1995, Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991, Wodak 1996b, Wodak and Matouschek 1993). This is to be expected given the powerful position the news has today - as a source of information and representations, as a site of identity and difference constructions, and as a public sphere for citizenship. The motivation that underlies many of these studies is that news representations of ethnic minorities are influential, especially when the ethnic majority members do not have much prior knowledge or personal experiences of ethnic minorities. News can also

be considered to contribute to the discussion about and representations of such issues as human rights and position of ethnic minorities in the society at large. Furthermore, studies of attitudes towards ethnic minorities - often shown to be negative and associated with crime or welfare abuse - have shown that people name the media, particularly the news, as one of the main sources of information about ethnic minorities (Augustinos, Tuffin and Rapley 1999, Laari 1994, Pälli 1999, van Dijk 1987). News has been shown to have an important and influential role in constructing Otherness, difference, and Usness.

In this section, I will discuss news representations of ethnic minorities. I will focus on how ethnic minorities have been represented in the news, particularly in the press news. This may not do justice to all the details discussed above but helps get an impression of the multiple ways the ethnic minorities have been represented in the news. However, it is important to remember that the studies vary considerably in terms of, for instance, their theoretical positions, definitions of ethnic minorities or ethnic news, the methods and data used, and the social and political contexts studied. The studies can be divided into two categories. The first types of studies examine the ethnic representations longitudinally and commonly rely on extensive data, using content analysis as their primary method. The second type consists of detailed case studies employing relatively restricted data and focusing on a particular event or moment and often relying on linguistic or discourse analytical methods. Finally, I will also discuss the early research done in the area trying to illustrate possible changes over time.

Many longitudinal studies which use extensive data and content analysis provide information regarding the frequency of the news about ethnic minorities. There is no absolute criteria for the comparison of the quantity of the ethnic news as the total number of news varies daily and from a newspaper and a country to another. However, some kind of indication is the fact that every newspaper includes different sections each including tens of news items. Another question is what would be 'good' or desirable number of news items about ethnic issues. The question is impossible to answer, but one point is that without access to the news it is impossible to participate in the public discussion taking place there. Thus no news items or only one or two news reports on ethnic issues every now and then may be considered as scant coverage. On the other hand, many ethnic news reports daily may be considered as frequent coverage. This rough dipstick in mind, I will next discuss findings of the frequency of the news about ethnic issues.

A prevailing feature in the news coverage of ethnic minorities seems to be the lack of it. On the whole, the news media do not report on ethnic minorities to any large extent or with any frequency. For instance, as early as 1981, Troyna argued in his study of the reporting on race in the British press in 1976-1978 that the news coverage of race was scant: on the average there were only 1.3 news items on race per copy. Similarly, van Dijk (1991) discovered that, on the average, the British press reported on ethnic affairs in at least three items per copy in 1985 and in about one item per copy in 1989. As an explanation for the more frequent coverage in 1985, van Dijk refers to the racial riots that occurred at the time. In Sweden, ethnic issues and immigrant and refugee questions only accounted for a small percentage of all news items in the first three years of the 1990s (Löwander 1997). Raittila and Kutilainen (2000) examined ethnic coverage in 16 Finnish newspapers in September and October 1999 and found that in about 700 issues 916 re-

ports on ethnic minorities were included. This would mean on average 1.3 reports per copy.

The findings in a number of case studies are parallel. Brookes (1995), for instance, studied the news on Africa in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* in June 1990 and found that although these newspapers published, on the average, 3.5 and 4.9 articles respectively daily, the number constituted a relatively small proportion of their total international news coverage. Wilson (1988) studied the media coverage on Native Americans³ in her study of the press coverage in the United States in 1950s and showed that there was little to no coverage of the legislative actions that were undertaken to remove American Indians' institutional rights, privileges, and federal services and of the dissolution of their tribal structures and liquidation of their land holdings. Shah and Thornton (1994) discovered that in 1980-1992 there were only 21 articles dealing with Black-Latino interaction in news magazines. Rekola (1995) studied the news coverage of ethnic minorities in nine Finnish daily newspapers during one week and found that the overall average frequency was 2.2 items per issue. Thus, in terms of quantity of coverage, the news media do not devote much room to ethnic minorities.

There are also exceptions to the scarcity of the news about ethnic minorities. For example, Hurri (1992) examined the news coverage during one week on refugees in three Finnish newspapers. During this week, a group of Somali asylum seekers arrived at Finland, there was a bomb attack at one of the refugee centres, and the Mayor of Helsinki discussed the refugee situation in Finland in his New Year's Eve speech in disparaging terms. Hurri's findings indicated that the coverage was rather extensive, i.e. on average 5 news items per copy.

These studies seem to suggest that *ethnic minorities do not attract news media attention to any greater extent*. Only exceptional or dramatic events seem to attract more extensive news coverage (see e.g. Lule 1995). This kind of invisibility of ethnic minorities in news can be interpreted as an indication of their very position as a minority in terms of the audience, consumers, or political actors. Accordingly, ethnic minorities are not extensively covered in news since they have a marginal position in the society as a whole. Although this may well be a reflection of a practical, profit-oriented approach to the news, it is important to remember that the news is also expected to articulate the whole spectrum of issues and concerns and relate to different groups of people in a society. Few news items about ethnic minorities contributes to the reproduction of their position: marginal, barely visible, scarcely existing.

The small number of news items about ethnic minorities emphasizes the importance of each published news item as a contribution to the relations between the ethnic minority and the majority. The small number of news items of ethnic minorities lends more weight to each single item. Therefore, it is important to consider not only the quantity of the news items about ethnic minorities, but also the quality of them. It is important to wage what kind of information and representations the ethnic news provide and how the news intersects with the social, politi-

³ The naming and the definitions of the various ethnic groups varies according to writers, countries and time. I have followed the labels used by original authors.

cal, cultural and information needs of the minorities. At least a partial answer is provided by studies examining the topics, source practices and language of ethnic news.

In this light, the finding frequently reported that the news of ethnic minorities is negative and focuses on social problems, disturbances and crime is even more concerning. The classical study of the news coverage of race in the British press in the 1960s by Hartman and Husband (1974) established that the topics most frequently covered were *immigration*, *race relations*, and *crime*. This finding is repeated in several studies across decades, countries, and medium. For instance, Critcher, Parker and Sondhi (1978) examined three British newspapers in the West Midlands in the 1960s and found that the three topics most frequently covered were crime, human interest, and race relations. Human interest stories focused on runaway teenagers, domestic accidents, black beauty queens, family instability and racialized sexual attitudes (Chitcher et al. 1978:97). Similarly, Troyna (1981) studied British national daily newspapers, with a special attention to *Leicester Mercury* and to the Manchester newspapers in 1976-1978 and discovered that the topics most frequently covered were the National Front, immigration, and crime.

In a study of the British and Dutch press van Dijk (1991) found that in 1985 the British press most frequently reported topics that involved 'Urban disturbances', 'race' relations and politics, while the Dutch press focused on immigration, discrimination, and crime. Shah and Thornton (1994) discovered in their study of the news magazine coverage of Black-Latino interaction in 1980-1992 that the most common topics included conflicts, racism, and violence. Löwander (1997) observed a similar pattern in the Swedish media in the first three years of the 1990s. Racial violence and refugee policy were among the top topics.

Butterwegge (1996) argues that the German media deal with Germany's approximately seven million immigrants similarly to the news about foreign countries. Both are taken up only if there is a spectacular and catastrophic event. The news published focused on crimes, particularly asylum cheats, and threats of various kinds, thus associating the migrants with disorder, violence, and chaos. (Butterwegge 1996:205, see also Weiss 1997.) The Austrian media also discussed various ethnic minorities, whether new incomers from Eastern European countries or members of the Jewish community in terms of difference, deviation, or perceived threat. The same elements were repeated in various other discourses too, such as political discourse and everyday communication. (Wodak and Matouschek 1993, Mitten and Wodak 1993, Wodak 1996b.) More recently, Austria has hit international news headlines, quite ironically, because of the popularity and governmental work of the anti-foreigner 'Freedom Party' (FPÖ) and its leader Heider (Wodak 2000).

The findings of various case studies are consistent with these results. Gray (1995) examined one CBS news report about the black underclass in the United States, called "The Vanishing family: crisis in the Black America," aired in January 1985, and argues that the ways in which the report portrays, in terms of its visual representation, points of view, interviews, topics, and word choices, draws on and evokes images of crime, drugs, riots, menace, and social problems. People and communities were labelled as problematic and undesirable.

Similarly, crime, problems, and conflict formed half of all the news topics in a study by Rekola (1995) of the Finnish press and magazines in February and March

1995 and in a one-month study of the Finnish press news coverage in 1995 (Helminen 1996). Järvinen (1992) discovered in a study of refugee news in the Tampere regional and local newspapers in 1989 that the most popular topic was the Finnish refugee policy. A typical news item covered the issues from a Finnish point of view: whether Finland should accept refugees, and if so, how many, where they should be located, how much they would cost and how the Finns would react. The news coverage of the Somali refugees focused on the notion of the 'flood' of refugees, threatening social problems, and Finns' reactions towards the newcomers (Hakala 1992). Raittila and Kutilainen (2000) found that the most frequent topics in the Finnish newspapers for two months in 1999 were the state of legislation or the actions of the authorities. Koironen (1993) compared the refugees news in *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and in *Neue Züricher Zeitung* during the last century and points out that refugees hit the news regardless of their number; geographical or cultural proximity and worldwide and particular media attention in the United States made refugee news newsworthy also in the newspapers studied.

Day-to-day tension and problems crucial to minorities are seldom covered in news. Many topics, such as employment, education, health, and culture, minority experiences, that are important for minorities and would, in addition, contribute to a more varied representation of ethnic groups, are rarely found in the mainstream news. For instance, Chitcher et al. (1977) concluded as early as the 1970s that the British press has nothing to say about what it is like to be black in the United Kingdom. Minorities' own experiences are seldom reported, whether they deal with majority culture, society, background of minority members or positive effects of multi-cultural society. The same concerns minorities' experience with violence and discrimination. A discussion of the negative effects of racism and discrimination in a society as a whole is also often missing (Hakala 1992, Helminen 1996, Hurri 1992, Koironen 1993, Luostarinen 1994a, Raittila and Kutilainen 2000). When discussing the news coverage in the United States of non-white Americans Campbell (1995:127) argues that "Criminal activity is portrayed as the endeavour of choice among African Americans, while everyday life outside of the white community is largely invisible."

The point often made is that news is made for a large audience and the assumption is that members of the audience would not be interested in issues of ethnic minorities, that is, disturbance, conflicts, and crimes are perceived to 'touch' ordinary readers while the conditions and restrictions of the everyday life of ethnic minorities are not. Nonetheless, in any society the lives of the ethnic minority and majority intersect and intertwine. A case in point is the increasing number of multiethnic school classes. Consequently, there certainly may be an interest, a need even, to learn about ethnic minorities. And, all news is not about things that directly involve, influence, or interest all members of the audience.

Another prevalent feature of the news about ethnic minorities seems to be *stereotyping*. For instance, Wilson (1998) studied media representations of Native Americans in the 1950s in the context of the policy of "termination", i.e. the United States government's proposed withdrawal from the Indian business. In this coverage, typical stereotypes represented Native Americans as childlike, needing protection, and needing to take responsibility for themselves. Rhodes (1995) examined representations of race in the history of the media and argued that Native

Americans were portrayed as savages and barbaric to justify the westward expansion. Bird (1999) examined representations of American Indians in popular media and found a set of opposite stereotypes frequently used: characteristically males were described as Doomed Warriors or Wise Elders, and females as Indian Princesses or Squaws. Tan, Fujoka and Lucht (1997:267) argue that, according to the stereotypical media image, a Native American rode horses, wore headdresses, and stood on Hilltops "looking for wagon trains under the flat of his hand."

In the study of the press coverage of Mike Tyson's trial, Lule (1995) discovered that the portrayals drew from the powerful, archetypal stereotypes of the African American: the animal, sex-obsessed savage and helpless, hapless victims. According to Shah (1994), the American mainstream news media coverage portrayed East Indians and, in some cases, Latinos and Haitians as undesirable immigrants who should be excluded by legislation from the United States. Latinos, East Indians, and other Asians were represented as people choosing to live apart and unwilling to assimilate, not wanting to belong to the nation. Helminen (1996) notes how refugees may be characterized as helpless, needing 'our' protection, and yet also as thefts and cheaters.

Stereotypes also function through generalizations. Acts of individuals belonging to an ethnic group are generalized to refer to the whole ethnic group (see Chapter 2). Generalizations are often used in the case of newcomers, i.e. immigrant and refugee groups. An example in the news media is given by Teo (2000), who studied Australian press news about a Vietnamese gang. Teo argues that the crimes of the gang were extended via generalization to the entire Vietnamese community in Australia and even Asians as a whole. He (2000:23) argues that the often irrelevant references to perpetrators as Vietnamese or Asian, repeated often enough, give the impression that being Vietnamese or Asian is synonymous with crime.

Apparently stereotypes are 'economical' for newsmakers in that they carry a great deal of associative meaning: not only do they label the groups of people in question, but also describe their character, their behaviour and the relationships between Them and Us. In this way stereotypes pack much information into few words, which is helpful in the newsmaking process. Stereotypes can also be regarded as keywords or slogans needed to enliven news texts. However, just because of their loaded meaning, ethnic stereotypes are potentially harmful. They lock, so to speak, the ethnic minorities within the stereotype and 'doom' them into acting in a certain way without a possibility of change. Similarly, the relationship between Us and Them is prescribed in ethnic stereotypes. The truth status of the news reinforces the potential harmfulness of stereotypes.

In sum, the findings suggest that the predominant ethnic representations in news are *negative* and focused on *conflict*, *crime*, and *problems*. They are one-sided and lack alternative points of view. By extensively covering negative topics, news of ethnic minorities may further contribute to the distinction between Us and Them. It is to Us that the crimes and alleged threats present a problem, and the problems could be solved if They were not here. This is the majority point of view. The problems attached to crimes and social disturbances involving ethnic minorities often look totally different from their perspective. The news of ethnic riots and crimes often lack a minority perspective or a backgrounding representing the relevant social conditions. Although the (hard) news genre cannot be expected to offer much background, a detailed coverage of protests, riots, and crimes without reports of

their causes may contribute to the trouble-oriented and conflict-centred representation of ethnic minorities (Downing and Husband 1994:8, Kivikuru 1995:11).

As early as 1968, The Kerner commission concluded in its report about the role of the media in race relations, particularly in riots, that the news media had kept itself for too long in the white world, looking at the world from a white perspective (Campbell 1995:4, Kennedy 1998:76-77, Newkirk 1998:58-59). Similarly, Hartman and Husband (1974) concluded that the press had continued to project an image of the United Kingdom as a white society in which the coloured population were seen as an aberration, a problem, or just an oddity, rather than members of the society. Also Chritcher and al. (1977) concluded that the ways in which race-related material was handled by the media served to perpetuate negative perceptions of blacks and to define the situation as one of inter-group conflict. The perception of blacks as a threat and as a problem emphasizes the particular belief that too many black people have been allowed to settle in Britain. Similar conclusions are also arrived at in a number of more recent studies (e.g. Allan 1999, Barker 1999, Campbell 1995, Shah 1994, van Dijk 1991). Moreover, as Kennedy (1998:79) puts it: "Many race-relations pessimists maintain that the Kerner report's forecast of racial polarization has, unsurprisingly, materialized."

It may seem obvious that news, regardless of the topic and the group concerned, is made from the majority point of view to majority, given that the vast number of journalists and the members of the audience belong to the majority. However, the issue is more complex: on the one hand, news is made from a particular economical or political point of view, not just from the majority or everyday one. On the other hand, the ideals of the news underline the idea that news should represent the whole spectrum of society, bringing up also alternative points of view and listening to different participants. Therefore it could be expected that the news about ethnic minorities would also include points of view, voices, and perspectives of ethnic minorities.

Many journalists have argued against the generalization that the news representations of ethnic minorities are often pejorative. They say that it is not their job to function as an advocate of ethnic minorities and that there are other kinds of news of ethnic minorities as well (e.g. Hyttinen 1991, Hyttinen and Tuomarla 1992). Although there is some truth in these arguments, I would like to point out that the journalists are not supposed to work against minorities either. They are expected to give a fair and balanced account of whatever they are concerned with, which would necessitate the inclusion of the minority perspective.

4.3.2 Voiced majority and voiceless minority in ethnic news

One more way to examine the news representation of ethnic minorities is to look at who is given voice in the news through *source* and *quotation practices*. Getting into the news can be concretized with the help of two concepts, those of access and gatekeeping. *Access* focuses on the factors which make it possible for a citizen, an interest group, or a company to get into news or prevent them from achieving it, whereas the concept of *gatekeeping* centres round the action of journalists when they control who gets in the news and when (for information see e.g. Heikkilä and Kunelius 1997, Rosengren 1995). The two concepts can be regarded as complementary highlighting the same practices from a slightly different point of view.

The journalist-source relationship is a widely examined area of news making, most typically represented as a power relationship (see e.g. Berkowitz and TerKeurst 1999) tied with the question of balance and impartiality (McQuail 1992, Grossberg et al. 1998). The same viewpoint is adopted for the present study.

To get into news through being a source, or through a quotation, is considered valuable, since it gives an opportunity to define, explain, argue for or put forward, your own view. The examination of the use of sources and quotations draws on the news ideals of balance and fairness, according to which both sides ought to be presented in an equal, balanced manner. Who is used as a source and quoted is also taken as an indicator of who the newsmaker considers an appropriate spokesperson for the topic, knowledgeable and trustworthy enough (see e.g. Grossberg et al. 1998, Kunelius 1997). To be used as a source or quoted in the news is therefore considered important and valuable - the thriving industry of PR services is a living proof of it. It is, however, worth while bearing in mind that diversity of sources as such does not necessarily result in diversity in the news report.

Voicelessness of ethnic minorities seems to be characteristic of the news coverage about them (Downing and Husband 1994). For instance, van Dijk (1991:154-163) discovered that minority organizations, leaders, and spokespersons had less access to the media in terms of quotations than their white mainstream counterparts, even when the topics concerned them directly and even if there were minority experts available to give their opinions. Similarly, Teo (2000) found out in his study of the Australian press coverage of a Vietnamese gang that ethnic minority members were quoted less than one-quarter of the time as compared to white members. Löwander (1997) noticed an interesting difference in the use of news sources by Swedish television broadcasters when reporting on racism and anti-racism. When the news coverage dealt with racial violence, racism and Nazism, the broadcasters used the police as their main informant, whereas, in the case of anti-racism, they tended to use politicians. Immigrants or anti-racist activists were rarely used as information sources in either case.

The results of Finnish case studies are similar. For instance, a study by Järvinen shows that in Tampere newspapers the police was solely quoted more often than members of ethnic minorities together. According to Rekola's study (1995), as much as 82 % of the major sources were either authorities or members of the majority populations. Laakso (1991) examined the news coverage of Islamic issues, particularly the Rushdie affair in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the *Times* and the *Sunday Times*, discovering that no muslims were interviewed in any reports. Not one of the articles mentioned the fact that almost all muslim organizations in the United Kingdom condemned the use of violence (see Männistö 1999 for visual analysis of Islam in press). Also Hurri (1992) has noticed the extensive use of various authorities in contrast to the infrequent use of refugees as sources in Finnish newspapers. More recently, Raittila and Kutilainen (2000) found that various authorities, among them juridical officials and the police, were the sources that were given voice in the news most frequently.

The small proportion of minority quotations, and restricted use of minority members as sources may be partly explained by language problems and security reasons, which may contribute to the voicelessness of refugees in the news. This explanation does not, however, apply in the case of traditional ethnic minorities

and such ethnic groups that have the command of the language used. Here, the most likely explanation is in easiness, economy and credibility. Journalists tend to make use of organized and ready-made materials, and to interview people who can be reached quickly and with the minimum of effort. Besides being more easily available, authorities and representatives of organizations may be considered more objective experts in ethnic issues than members of minority groups. (Hurri 1992:118-122, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996:181.)

Regardless of the topic and the group in question, news rely extensively on official sources. Grossberg et al. (1998) summarize the findings of several content analyses showing that three quarters of all sources quoted in the news is public officials. They argue that, in part, officials 'make news' because they do newsworthy things, but also simply because they know the journalists, and vice versa. Furthermore because of its familiarity to reporters and editors, official news starts off with an assumption that it is legitimate (Grossberg 1998 et al. 330-331, see also Allan 1999). Similarly, Kunelius (1997:91-92) points out that the extensive use of the police and officials as news sources may be explained exactly because they are considered trustworthy, they are easily reached, and they usually have good PR services. To seek and use other news sources is often time-consuming and thus more risky economically.

Consequently, there are differences in the access to news according to education, income, institutional position, and power (Kunelius 1997:195) and, in the light of the results discussed above, certainly according to ethnicity. Kunelius (1997:195) argues that the media listen powerful sources willingly because they are considered to be significant to the community and are therefore in the interest of the audience. Moreover, it is considered professional conduct by journalists to follow up and report on powerful actors (Kunelius 1997:203-204).

However, it is obvious that majority authorities and experts can also be wrong, and give partial or misleading information. Seppälä (1993) gives an example: in 1993 some Finnish authorities claimed that the arrival of Kurdish asylum seekers was a case of illegal entry, although an asylum seeker may enter a country without a visa or other commonly required documents providing that she or he reports to the authorities. The incorrect piece of information given by the authority circulated in the news media without being corrected.

Besides institutional or organizational positions, expertise is also valued as a news source. To make news, journalists often turn to sources who are in a position to have information about, or valuable insights into, current events (Grossberg et al. 1998). It would seem obvious that members of ethnic minorities would be considered as experts in ethnic issues. The results discussed above imply the opposite. However, perceiving members of minority as experts simply because of their ethnicity is problematic for journalism: personal experiences, however dramatic, cannot be verified in the same way as the numbers and statistics of the officials. This is why the gist of the news is built on 'indisputable' facts, which are coated by eye-witnessing stories or personal minority or majority experiences.

As Grossberg et al. (1998) point out, the key characteristics of a media expert are not to be found in their expertise only but also in their accessibility and reliability. The accessibility factor favours experts in places where journalists are abundant, especially in the key news centres, like the capital Helsinki in Finland. The reliability factor favours people who have already been in the news, whose infor-

mation has been found to be solid, and who can deliver a quick, understandable 'sound bite'. Because journalists are always in a hurry, they tend to rely on sources who appear in the list of sources already known about. (Grossberg et al. 1998:333.)

There seem to be different conditions for media publicity for different groups of people (for further details, see Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996). In the light of the results discussed above, the news values of balance and fair presentation in terms of the use of sources and quotations do not seem to come true in ethnic news reporting. Instead, majority voice is favoured, particularly that of various officials. Although practices of news work may partly explain the extensive use of various officials in ethnic news and in news as a whole, it does not mean that the goal of a more balanced news coverage regarding ethnic issues should be forgotten. On the contrary, as Kunelius (1997:205) suggests, journalists can be expected to be aware of and sensitive towards the points of views and motivations of powerful news sources instead of taking them at face value. At the practical level, power manifests itself in the choices made by journalists and in legitimated and naturalized views of news actors presented as natural.

An inverse consequence of the extensive use of official sources is the dependence of news media on organizations, companies, or groupings that produce information that is easily made into news. The more news-like material is provided, the better chances there are to get access to news. For instance, Kunelius (1997:202-203) shows how a news item which presents a press release, without either adding comments to it or marking the boundary between the release texts and the journalist's words, will make the traces of the news source fade away. In this way, Kunelius argues, news makes a point of view into a fact.

Allan (1999:75) describes the media strategies adopted by PR services as follows. They hand out advance copies of talks or speeches to news workers, schedule press conferences well before deadlines, give news releases in ready-to-go formats, provide a prompt access to bureaucratic personnel and opportunities to attend informal chats or special events. Grossberg et al. (1998:332) conclude that potential sources who go to the trouble of providing information to journalists in a form that they can use with relatively little repertoire 'legwork' or in-house editing work of their own will have greater success in making news than others (see also Sipola 1998). This is no small achievement. Indeed, there are cases where journalists actually feel that they have been used (see e.g. Heikkilä 1998).

Both journalists and PR personnel work to get on friendly terms with the other side to guarantee an easy 'flow' of information. Journalists seek for 'deep throats' within companies and organizations, wishing that they would provide them with fast and exclusive information, while PR people try to make friends with journalists, who know the background and whose way of making news is in accordance with the wish of the company in question. Both sides try to create a network of people who could be relied on to function according to similar practices and goals (see for instance Mörä 1996). It is hardly a coincidence that former journalists are wanted personnel for PR services.

Clearly, the ability to shape news in this way favours such groups as are in an already advantageous position - companies and organizations skilful in public relations - and conversely, is less favourable to those who do not have such services. Ethnic minorities, not to talk about refugees or other newcomers, are hardly ever in a position to produce their own PR services, not at least to the extent that

majority institutions and organization are. Consequently, it seems that to have minority voice in the news about ethnic affairs would require more 'leg-work', time and effort from the journalists. For the time being, in the light of the findings discussed above, it seems that minority voice is rather small in the news related to them.

4.3.3 Discursive and linguistic marginalization

A further way to study news representation of ethnic minorities is to examine the *use of language in news*. The ways in which language is used are assumed to contribute to the construction of knowledge about the issue and to the subject positions of both the addresser and addressee. Language use does not merely mirror 'reality' but contributes to the construction of it (see Chapter 3). In addition, language is a vital part of representation and a central working tool for journalists. Although not within the limits of the present study, an important aspect of news language and ethnic representations is their visual representation (see e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 1998, Pietilä 1995, in regard to ethnic minorities see Hall 1997a, 1997b, Männistö 1999, Saraste 1992, and for cartoons Hakala 1992, Kortteinen 1992).

During the last ten years, language and discourse in news has been studied extensively from various points of view (see e.g. Bell and Garrett 1998, Hartley 1996, Kunelius 1996, Pietilä 1995, for theoretical discussion of various approaches to discourse, see Chapter 3). The studies have focused, for instance, on news structures (Bell 1991, 1998 van Dijk 1988, 1998), reception of news (Richardson 1998, Ridell 1998), recalling of news (Findahl 1998, van Dijk 1988, Wicks 1995, Wodak 1996a), news language (Bell 1991, Fowler 1991, Kuusisto 2000), news genre (Kunelius 1993, Ridell 1998) intertextuality in news discourse (Fairclough 1995b, Luukka 1998) and linguistic aspects, such as grammar and lexicalization in news (Brookes 1995, Fairclough 1998, Heikkinen 1999, Hodge and Kress 1993, Kalliokoski 1995, van Dijk 1998a, Wodak 1996b, Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart 1999).

Research concerning different aspects of news confirms that news is a highly conventionalized text type, which comprises elements familiar both to journalists and to the audience. A news item typically includes at least the following elements: a headline, a lead, and a specific order or structure of the text. Certain linguistic devices are also characteristic of news texts.

Headlines represent the main topic (van Dijk 1998a) or the 'key fact' in question in the account (Allan 1999) as the newspaper sees it. It is an abstraction of the story within a strictly limited space. Limited space means that all details are omitted and often verbs are not used (Bell 1991). The headline may function as a slogan or an alert to catch the reader's attention. The headline is often read even when the rest of the news item is not, and it is also best recalled (Wodak 1996a, van Dijk 1988). The headline may set the interpretative frame or the orientation according to which the reader interprets the rest of the account. Because of its visibility and significance, the headline is considered an important element of news texts. Although the headline is expected to represent the main point of the news account, some studies suggest that there may be considerable difference between the headlines and actual news accounts (e.g. Immonen 1995). The possible inconsistency may result from the practices of news writing. As, for instance, Bell (1991:186)

points out, although news is read in the headline-lead-body-copy order, it is written in the lead-body-copy-headline order, the headline being typically produced by other newswriters than the journalist writing the rest of the news report, which, again, may well be edited after the journalist has finished it.

A news lead consists typically of an opening paragraph or two, which provide for the account's essential 'peg' or 'hook', which projects 'the story' in a particular direction or 'angle' (Allan 1999:90). The lead paragraph is the journalist's primary abstract of the story (Bell 1991:150) and it characteristically represents the most interesting or important event or actors.

Traditionally, a news report is written so that the most important or newsworthy events, issues, and protagonists are at the beginning of the account. Consequently, the reporting order indicates, on the one hand, the most newsworthy elements in the news and allows, on the other, to shorten the report without affecting the coherence of the text. (Allan 1999:90, Mörä 1996:111-113.) The news story structure can be characterized with the help of the five W's (who, what, when, where, and why), which represent the basic facts and are usually concentrated at the beginning of a story, but possibly also expanded further down. They can be followed by evaluations, comments, details, backgrounding, etc. (Bell 1991:151). News accounts are sometimes compared to narratives and stories since there are similarities in their structures (see e.g. Bell 1991, 1998, Pietilä 1995). Regardless of the structural solutions, *the assumption is that the most relevant and important aspect of the news is at the beginning of a report.*

As regards ethnic minorities and news, the knowledge about elements of news reports, their functions, and internal journalistic division of labour provide further indicators for how ethnic minorities are represented in the news, and for the significance of what is expressed in headlines, who or what is reported at the beginning of the news report, etc. For instance, van Dijk (1988, 1991) found out that news makers typically selected topics related to crime and conflict for the headlines rather than other aspects of ethnic issues.

As discussed above, a news report does not include the journalist's own discourse only, but also other people's comments, opinions, and quotations, to a varying degree. Characteristically, a news text includes a mixture of various discourses resulting from journalistic news-making practices. Thus, the analysis of *intertextuality* of the news (Fairclough 1995b, 1998) may complement the analysis of news source usage by highlighting the voices, discourses, and positions worked into published news stories. Such an analysis may shed light on the 'hegemonic struggle' of the various discourses (see e.g. Allan 1998, Fairclough 1992a) in their competition to be heard and to acquire a dominant position expressed in the news.

From a journalistic perspective, examination of intertextuality in the news may highlight source practices applied but also other aspects of news making. For instance, Kunelius (1997:61-62) illustrates the strategy of ritual objectivity: "A journalist cannot, according to ideal of objectivity, write that nuclear power is safe and more powerplants should be built. Instead, she or he can write "Nuclear power is safe and more power plants should be built", says Dr. X, a professor in nuclear physics. Thus the journalist is only responsible for reporting that the professor actually said this, and the expressed opinion is on responsibility of the professor. In the examination of ethnic representation in news, intertextuality may illustrate, on the one hand, the discourses drawn on and, on the other, the journalistic work

done to articulate them together.

Metaphors, collocations, 'catchy' wording, and short sentences are typical linguistic devices used in news reports. For instance, typical metaphors such as 'floods of refugees' or 'refugee waves' in news about refugees are linked with natural catastrophes. From a discursive and linguistic point of view, an important aspect of news representation is *the choice made at the level of language use*: which words are chosen, how they are put together, how the allocation of activity and responsibility is indicated or implied, etc.

One important element of the news representations of ethnic minorities is how the groups of people in question are called or labelled (see e.g. Kuusisto 2000). The *names and labels* given to ethnic groups indicate the position that the language user - in this case the journalists and the media as an institution - take towards an ethnic group, their self-determination, and their rights. Journalist usage in labels like Negro (neekerri)/Black, Gipsy/Romany or Lapp/Sami, for instance, indicates several things. To begin with, it tells about how aware journalists are of the label preferred by the group in question, who have possibly expressed their choice through their organizations or spokespersons. This is a fact that, in most cases, could be relatively easily checked. There is a basic rule that any group or organization should be called by the name chosen for them by themselves. To label a group against their explicit wish suggests ignorance of the developments in the human rights and in the position of various ethnic groups. Naming the group also contributes to the news perspective. The choice between such terms as refugee, immigrant, asylum seeker, or economical refugee inevitably creates a certain angle in the news (Leiwo and Pietikäinen 1996:104-105, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996:184).

Detailed linguistic analyses have also shed light on how language works subtly in terms of, for instance, allocations of activity, cause and effects, and objects of activity, etc. A great deal of the linguistic study has been done by means of grammatical analysis on the allocations of roles, i.e. who is represented as an active or passive actor, who is the receiver of what kind of actions and whether some actors are omitted; in brief, who is doing what to whom.

A good example of how a detailed linguistic analysis can highlight the subtle mechanisms of linguistic representation of Otherness is provided by Brookes (1995) in her analysis of the representation of Africa in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian*. Her analysis of the wording of Africa in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* revealed that both newspapers drew upon a lexical grouping around three pairs of key concepts: violence and peace, repression and democracy, and helplessness and help (Brookes 1995:471-473). Western participants were consistently constructed as agents/doers in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* which was achieved grammatically by assigning roles to them as actors or sayers. African participants were grammatically constructed both as actors and as affected participants. The general trend in terms of agency was for African participants to be consistently structured as direct agents of such processes as violence, repression, verbal wrangling, and requesting of help. When describing processes of peace and negotiation, the agency of African participants was generally backgrounded by attenuation or omission. African participants were victims of African agents, and they also received verbal processes by African sayers. African states were portrayed primarily as agents of violence, repression, and verbal wrangling. African sayers invariably had their statements described except in the case of African civilians and the church. This was achieved

by using verbal processes such as 'allege', 'deny', 'claim' whereas Western sayers confirmed and evaluated events and statements and actions of African participants. (Brookes 1995:474-478, 482-483.)

Van Dijk (1991) analyzed implications, presuppositions, and disclaimers and such figures of style and rhetoric as alliteration, parallelism and metaphor in relation to the ways in which the press described events, actions, and people when they were involved in race relationships. He concluded that in the news articles examined both minorities and anti-racist groups were systematically associated with conflict, crime, intolerance, and unreliability, whereas the disparaging actions of majority authorities and organizations tended to be ignored or minimized. Ethnic minorities and anti-racist groups were often described in a pejorative manner, sometimes subtly by means of rather irrelevant side remarks. Their claims of racism were also often doubted or discredited. Implications, suggestions, presuppositions, and other implicit, indirect or vague means of bringing forth meanings further underlined this point of view. (For details, see van Dijk 1991.)

Detailed analysis may also spell out variation in ethnic representations. For instance, Teo (2000) analyzed how the police and a Vietnamese gang were represented linguistically in terms of grammar, thematic organization, and lexical cohesion in two Australian news texts. He discovered two opposite constructions of the relationship: while the first news text painted a picture of the police as a silent and absent participants, whose words and actions appeared insignificant and inconsequential in relation to those of the gang, this portrait was dramatically reversed in the second text, where the police were depicted as a formidable fighting force, exerting their dominance in the most concrete and palpable ways.

Finally, many studies have shown how the news representation of ethnic minorities is impinged upon by the bi-polar *discourses of Us and Them*. For instance, Teo (2000) argues that the discourse of Us and Them structures many news texts about ethnic minorities, and gives, as it were, both a starting point and the end of a news story. Further, as was discussed in Chapter 2, this kind of discourse typically contributes to the construction and maintenance of ethnic difference. Consequently, as for example Haverinen (1992) and Järvinen (1992) have noted in their analysis of Finnish news texts, the refugees, also those having a Finnish citizenship, were perceived as Them, not Us. Further, 'Us Finns' were portrayed as a unitary, homogeneous group, with a common, unitary will. As Wodak et al. (1999) have noticed, the personal pronoun 'we' is central in the discourses about nation and national identities. Hartley (1996) notes that the discourses of 'Wedom' and 'Theydom' pertain to news representations of ethnic minorities. However, it is important to bear in mind, as is argued by also Sipola (1998) that dramatization in terms of good and bad, or heroes and villains, is part of news-making, regardless of the topic or the group of people in question.

To sum up, the use of language in press news is rather conventionalized, particularly in terms of structure and essential elements. The richness and multidimensionality of language use gives a fair amount of space for journalists' own choices and, for example, for the wording of events and participants. Although the choice of the labels for ethnic groups may seem an unimportant, it can, however, reflect a position taken by journalists and the media institution and contributes to it.

4.3.4 Alternative news and views

News media are not a homogeneous entity with one aim, one practice and one outcome. Besides the prevailing, dominant coverage of ethnic minorities discussed above, *there are also other kinds of news of ethnic minorities and different ways of doing newswork*. Despite research results, Husband (1994:vii) writes optimistically:

The last three decades have seen significant changes in the representation and employment of ethnic minority populations in the mainstream media of a number of Western democracies in response to pressure from ethnic communities, liberal pressure groups, academics and some non-governmental organizations. Stereotypes in the media have been reduced and in a number of cases it is now possible for ethnic minorities to have access to some media channels.

As discussed above, the situation mentioned in the statement may not have been achieved yet, but it is certainly true that some development has taken place. As to ethnic minorities, alternative news different from the dominant negative coverage can be found in the everyday news flow and especially in the minority media news. However, there are not many studies on how the mainstream news media have contributed to the minimizing of ethnic conflicts or the maintaining or strengthening of ethnic identity. The considerably consistent results presented above indicate that the mainstream news media does not seem to work in this way.

The potential that the mainstream news media have in relation to ethnic minorities is *'attention' power*: they could cover important topics relating to ethnic minorities, give access to minority voices, bring up public discussion on ethnic issues and, ultimately, provide alternative ethnic representations. As is argued by Husband (1995:7), the media can also be regarded as a vehicle for challenging existing stereotypes, extending knowledge of self and others, and stimulating a richer vision of the human condition. To a smaller extent, this may happen in the news media and more so in the popular media (Hall 1997a, 1997b). In brief, since the media are believed to have the power to marginalize and silence minorities, they can be expected to have power to bring them in focus, at the centre respectively.

An example of how the mainstream media may contribute to a positive change is given by Wilson (1998) in a study of 'the Indian problem' in the 1950s in United States. In her study, Wilson illustrates how rather scant, often disparaging and stereotypical reporting was transformed into more varied coverage also involving minority voices and agenda. This kind of coverage contributed to the resistance of the suggested change in legislation and, ultimately, to the withdrawal of it. The resistance was first shared among Native Americans and pro-Indian activists but with the help of the media impact grew to a 'public outcry' mobilizing people to political and humanitarian activity. Wilson emphasizes the turntaking influence of one particular programme, the TV documentary 'The American Stranger' in 1958. Wilson (1998:40) points out how the media, particularly this documentary, played a crucial role in making the 'termination conflict' as a legitimate political debate. Many accounts credit the television show for mobilizing national support needed to effect eventual changes in federal policies and practices concerning Native Americans. (Wilson 1998:53.)

As to more contemporary media performance, it is only possible to hypothesize about the role that the international media attention has played in restraining, possibly preventing some of the human rights violations. A Finnish example

is provided by the Finnish media publicity on the racist attacks and subsequent police action in the small towns of Joensuu and Mikkeli, which showed how the media can illustrate the disadvantages experienced by ethnic minorities, open a forum for discussion, and put pressure on politicians. A similar purpose was served by an article on everyday racism against the Romany people, published in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Although the media are not able to change the world by themselves, they certainly can evoke public discussion.

Parallel with the mainstream news media coverage of ethnic minorities are, as Husband (1994:vii) notes, individuals and ethnic minority communities who also participate in the production of media content, mainly in the *minority media*. The minority media provide ethnic minorities with access to media production, participation, and consumption in their own language and with their own agenda. Consequently, the minority media are valuable for ethnic minorities in many respects. To begin with, minority media can be a link between the 'old' and 'new' homeland providing linguistic and cultural resources (Ngui 1994). For newcomers with no command of the language(s) of the new homeland, the ethnic minority media can in practice be the only link to news, events of the world, etc. For the second and third generation, the ethnic minority media may be a valuable resource for building and maintaining their (multi) ethnic identity (Gillespie 1995). In addition, the minority media may have an impact on the survival and development of ethnic minority languages and on the political mobilization of ethnic groups (Ananthakrishnan 1994, Lehtola 1997). Ethnic minority media can thus be a very important, even vital, lifeline and a source for the survival of ethnic identity in new and changing socio-political conditions.

Minority media may also contribute to minority visibility among the majority. As Moring (1998:27) shows, the Finland-Swedish media function to increase the visibility of the Finland-Swedish minority in the Finland. Moring refers to the audience ratings of the programmes of the Finland-Swedish TV indicating that quite a substantial number of the Finnish-speaking majority watches these programmes. It can be assumed that Finland-Swedish culture and language have become familiar to majority members. It has to be noted, however, that this particular minority has a distinctive position in Finland for historical and economic reasons and is relatively visible in the society.

The success of Finland-Swedish media among the majority is not a unique case of minority media impact. Bovenkerk-Teerink (1994:49) points out that certain ethnic minority programmes draw large audiences in the Netherlands and bridge the gap between the white majority and various ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority programmes broadcast in the mainstream media may also attract majority audiences as well (see e.g. Cottle 1998).

Minority media usually face several problems: financing, journalist training, segmentation, and diversity of the audience, and language problems can be mentioned here (Husband 1994, Ngui 1994, Bovenkerk-Teerink 1994). These obstacles, often serious, can paralyze ethnic minority media to the extent that their programmes become powerless 'language' programmes. Bovenkerk-Teerink (1994, see also Phillips 1995) sees that there is a danger that the ethnic minority media becomes a 'ghetto'. Cottle (1998:304) notes that many producers working for the BBC minority programmes in the United Kingdom have had the experience of 'ghettoing'. Contents of minority media can also be criticized. For instance, Ngui

(1994:79) argues that

... ethnic media in Australia continue to reflect the model of cultural pluralism of the 1960s and 1970s with its emphasis on languages, the key to understanding any culture. This model of public policy is dysfunctional in the 1990s, except in relation to the new communities that recently joined the 5 million immigrants to Australia. The second generation children of immigrants are English - or Australian- speaking, and are concerned with issues of equity, access to power, discrimination, identity, education, employment and interest rates like other Australians.

To sum up, alternative news and representations can be found in the mainstream media and particularly in the minority media. The hopes invested in the potential of media, particularly in minority media are considerable. Husband (1994:15) says that the ethnic minority media have three main tasks: to speak for and to their own community, to generate a dialogue between ethnic minority communities, and to create a dialogue between these minorities and the dominant ethnic community audiences. All minority media may be able to fulfil the first task, and many ethnic minority media also co-operate (for an overview of ethnic minority media and minority programmes in the mainstream media in Europe, see Frachon and Vargaftig 1995). Minority media may also contribute to the mutual understanding between majority and minority groups. New media, particularly the internet, hold a promise for new alternative news and the ethnic minority. Despite the importance of minority media, an important goal for ethnic minorities is to get access to mainstream news, exactly because they are mainstream and thus the most widely consumed, the most widely recognized, and the most powerful. To change the news criteria and the news making practices requires, as is for instance pointed out by Sipola (1998:97), a reorganization, such as hiring more journalists to lessen haste.

4.3.5 The Sami in the news world

The relationship between an ethnic minority and the news media can be illustrated by the news publicity of the Sami in Finland. Potentially, the Sami could easily be in a position to attract media attention, given that they are the only indigenous people living in Europe. They are also engaged in a highly interesting socio-political struggle (see Chapter 2 above), they speak majority language Finnish and, they live in the North, far from the cities of the South, they have their own organization, the Sami Parliament with its spokespersons. In terms of minority media, it is evident that a small minority that lives in the sparsely populated Sápmi needs media of its own for the maintenance and development of the Sami languages, their own community, and their identities.

The findings seem to be twofold: *the Sami have managed to establish a strong Sami radio station whereas their access to other media or the mainstream media has been less successful.* The mainstream media coverage of the Sami is characteristically scant. This seems to apply to all four countries having a Sami minority. In all four states, there are only a few television programmes about and for the Sami, whether broadcast or subtitled in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, or Russian (Frachon and Vargaftig 1995:221, Greller 1996:46-47). Mainstream television and radio programmes about the Sami, with the exception of (nature) documentaries and movies utilizing the theme of a 'mythical Lapland', are rare in Finland (for a review of

the Sami in Finnish media, particular in popular media, see Lehtola 2000). The press coverage does not appear to be much better.

It seems that the mainstream media do not give much attention to the Sami, except the regional newspaper *Lapin Kansa* in Lapland (Raittila ja Kuttilainen 2000:78). A group of mainstream media journalists were asked what would make them write a news report of the Sami. The journalists said that there would have to be something special or exceptional before they would write a news item about Sami people and culture, which they found interesting as such. Apparently the on-going struggle for ethnic identity does not seem to entail aspects that meet the news criteria. As one of the journalists summarized: "It is not easy for Sami to get access to mainstream media." (Pietikäinen 1998.)

Mainstream media publicity is scarce but limited and unjust, according to the Sami representatives. In their comments on the Finnish report on the *UN Resolution on Prevention of Discrimination*, the Sami Parliament express their concern for the media coverage of the Sami, which, according to them, has been biased in some cases and has been anti-Sami (YK:n kaikkinaisen rotusyrjinnän poistamista koskeva kansainvälinen yleissopimus. Suomen 13. ja 14. raportti 1997:93). A further indication of Sami dissatisfaction with media coverage can be found in the complaints made by the Sami to the Finnish Press Council about the conduct of *Lapin Kansa*, the biggest regional newspaper of the Sami domicile area. In their complaints, the Sami described the news in the paper as "unfair, inaccurate and presenting them in a negative light."⁴ A further illustration of the tension between the mainstream media and the Sami was a heated discussion between a *Helsingin Sanomat* journalist and two Sami. The debate took place in the Finnish journal *Hiiidenkivi*. While the journalist, the *Helsingin Sanomat* correspondent in Lapland, claimed that he had only been doing his job as fairly as possible (Tahkolahti 1997: 20-21, 1998: 43-44), the Sami taking part in the discussion saw his news reports as one-sided, biased, and contributing to the racism against the Sami (Aikio 1998:42, Sammallahti 1998:43).

In the numerous discussions that I have personally had with the Sami about their coverage in the mainstream media, several speakers have brought up the general problem of getting the mainstream media attention. They have also pointed out the many mistakes and false information that the media coverage often includes. Many also told about the huge impact that the media constructions may have in their everyday life, e.g. in school or local politics, but also in national politics and legislation. An image once rooted is very hard to alter and the possible change is a slow process. As Grossberg et al. (1998:224) argue, the stereotypes, even if they are only images, have real consequences. The images can become a reality and determine the action of people, institutions, and governments.

Turning to look at the Sami minority media, the situation is rather uneven. While the Sami radio is a vital flourishing medium for the Sami community, the same is not the case with television or the press. The internet holds a promise for new ways to make news across the sparse Sápmi.

⁴ The Press Council decided not to submit the complaint for hearing as it regarded the news reports in question within the 'normal' newsmaking.

The development of the Finnish Sami radio⁵ within the public broadcasting company YLE is a proof of the persistent and long-term work of the Sami. The history of the Sami radio is also a story of a struggle. In his detailed account of its history, Lehtola (1997) describes the various stages of the radio station from the first, sporadic programmes in the Sami language in 1936 to the beginning of the regular Sami broadcasting on the 6th of December, 1947, and to the present dynamic Sami radio. Today, the Sami radio employs 10 to 12 permanent journalists, and it broadcasts a wide range of programmes in all three Sami languages for altogether 38 hours per week (Lehtola 1997:143).

In Norway and Sweden the development of the Sami radio has been roughly the same (for details, see for instance Ananthakrishnan 1994, Greller 1996, Solbakk 1997), in Sweden it is less effective than in the other two Nordic countries. The three Sami radios have over time established successful cooperation, and in the future, digital broadcasting can offer further possibilities. (Greller 1996:52, Nousuniemi 1998:10, Solbakk 1997:178.)

Without any doubt, a radio of their own has been important for the Sami. The radio has had a valuable impact on the survival and further development of the Sami languages, particularly Skolt Sami. The official use of the Sami languages and thus the official recognition of Sami culture have positively contributed to the vitality of Sami identity. Sami broadcasts function as a valuable source of information and as a link in the vast and sparsely populated area of the Sami domicile. The Sami radio has in many ways been a bridge - not only among the Sami themselves but also to the mediated society.

In other areas of mass communication, the Sami have not been as successful. TV broadcasts in Sami or made by the Sami are a rarity. In Finland, there are no regular television programmes broadcast in any one of the Sami languages, although some attempts in the direction were made in the late 1970s (Lehtola 1997:89-90, for some examples of Sami documents and movies, see Lehtola 1997:91-93). In Norway the situation is slightly better. Solbakk (1997:178, see also Frachon and Vargaftig 1995) reports that Sami children are offered a 30-minute TV programme once a week and, in addition, there is a monthly half-hour for adults. The cooperation between the Nordic countries and Russia has led to the exchange of a few occasional programmes produced in these countries (Greller 1996:53). Nousuniemi (1998:9), a representative of the Finnish Sami radio, sees that digital television hold a promise for more extensive TV broadcasting in the Sápmi. There was a special training programme in 1991-1994 for Sami journalists in Sami College at Kautokeino, Norway thus enhancing the possibilities for having more Sami journalists both in the mainstream and in Sami media.

Lack of resources restrict the possibilities of Sami newspapers. In Finland and Sweden there are no daily Sami newspapers. In Norway, the newspapers *Ássu* and *Min áigi* come out twice a week, and they have a subscription of somewhat more than a thousand all around the Sápmi (Solbakk 1997: 174-175). In Finland, a magazine called *Sapmelas* is published monthly and read throughout the Sápmi. In addition, there are many other periodical publications and youth and children's

⁵ The address of the web-site of the Sami radio is <http://www.yle.fi/samiradio/>

magazines published a few times a year, some of them published in Sami and others in the majority language (Greller 1995:47-48, Lehtola 1997:91-93, Solbakk 1997:175).

It seems that the Sami have gained a firm position in broadcasting in their own languages, while the overall media publicity is largely without any Sami impact. However, the Sami minority media also face problems discussed above. For instance, the subeditor of *Min áigi*, Torkel Rasmussen (1998) describes the difficulties that they have in reporting critically on the Sami community. Given the small size of the community, the familiarity of the members to each other, and the close connections of the Sami media with the central government, to the Sami Parliaments, and to Sami organizations, it is obvious that problems arise. From a journalistic point of view, Rasmussen (1998) sees three main problems: there are only a few Sami journalists who write for several publications; there is the financial dependency of the press on the government and Sami organizations; and there exists an unhealthy mixture of ownership of the Sami press and Sami politicians.

In sum, the mainstream media coverage of the Sami is scant whereas the Sami radio is a vital medium for the Sami community. At the same time, the development of Sami television programmes or Sami press has been limited. The relative absence of the Sami in the mainstream media coverage weakens their position and participation in the society in many ways. By not having access to mainstream media, the Sami are left outside one of the most influential arenas for public discussion and decision-making. As a result, it is much harder for the Sami to present their agenda and points of view to a larger audience and thus participate in the public discussion. Easily, then, the Sami and their issues are left unpublished, forgotten and ignored. Recently, when the criteria of Sami identity have been at the centre of a political and legal debate, media definitions and discussions have become even more important. As was shown above, the media, by and large, tend to represent ethnic minorities in terms of otherness, difference, threat, and conflict. Furthermore, by failing to articulate the ethnic diversity of society in their coverage, the media contribute, wittingly or not, to a one-sided construction of minority identities.

4.4 Improving ethnic reporting: some solutions

4.4.1 Ethical code of practice

Diverse suggestions have been made to improve the mainstream news coverage of ethnic minorities. On the whole, *the code of journalistic practice, the recommendations and guidelines given by various journalists' associations and press councils, and the legislation provide a backbone for the reporting about ethnic minorities*. In addition, media *hiring policy* regarding ethnic minorities is believed to have an effect on coverage. Another suggestion has been to set up an *international media monitoring net* to provide assessment of media performance.

The Finnish *code of journalistic practice* emphasizes that good newsmaking is not only relevant, accurate, truthful and balanced but never undermines human dignity; it respects fundamental human values, such as human rights, democracy, peace, and mutual understanding (Journalistin ohjeet 1998:4). As to ethnic minori-

ties, the code of conduct states specifically that human dignity and honour must be protected. Skin colour, nationality, ethnic origin, gender, and other personal characteristics are not to be mentioned disparagingly or irrelevantly (Journalistin ohjeet 1998:6). Regarding crime-related reporting, mentioning the name or some other characteristics by which a person may be recognized is valid only when it is supposed to have considerable public significance (Journalistien ohjeet 1998:6). Similarly, the international federation of journalists (IFJ) points out in its code for journalists that "journalists shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitation of discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins." (Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995, for other international guidelines, rules and suggestions see for instance Laitila 1995, McManus 1997, Nordenstreng 1992, historical development Miranda 1998, ethnic reporting Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995, Helminen 1996, Kortteinen 1992, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996, 1997, van Dijk 1991).

On the whole, watchful and respectful ethnic reporting appears to be part of most journalistic codes of practice. For instance, Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen (1995:87) compared the contents of the journalistic codes on racism and intolerance in different European countries. They found at least three basically different ways in which the prohibition of racism was expressed: prohibition of discrimination in plain terms; demand for journalists to take the responsibility for the consequences of their actions; and prohibition in positive terms by encouraging journalists to respect different ethnic groups and cultures.

About recommendations on the reporting of ethnic issues, Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen (1995) found out that they were not uniform (see, however, for instance Guidelines on race reporting, Helminen 1996, Top and Doppert 1993). A few guidelines stated that "journalists should not brand members of any groups, not to present them only in abnormal situations, to seek balanced information, not to distort facts, to avoid generalizations, to be critical when reporting on the extreme right and not to allow the spreading of racist ideas" (Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995:103). The Finnish Press Council has on several occasions emphasized the duty of journalists to report about different cultures with accuracy and truthfully. Journalists should not bring up race, skin colour, nationality or ethnic origin unless they have a bearing on the main issue. The council saw it necessary to point out that it noticed onesided and stereotypical representations of different cultures and groups of people. This is considered to be dangerous, since, on the whole, Finnish readers did not have any experiences of their own to compare media representations with. (Helminen 1996:7.)

The aim of Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen (1995) was also to study the actions of press councils against racism, but it was difficult to acquire relevant information and, in the end, the work of only three press councils, namely British, German and Finnish, was reviewed. The degree of strictness varied a great deal: the German was the most severe in its action towards racist content in the media (for Finland, see e.g. Helminen 1996, in general e.g. Heinonen 1995).

Bearing in mind the values of objective, fair and balanced news, on the one hand, and the emphasis on anti-racism in the code of journalistic practices, on the other, it could be expected that news coverage of ethnic minorities is many-sided, balanced and fair. Moreover, several studies (Heinonen 1995, Kuivala 1993) have

demonstrated that journalists are familiar with the codes and take them seriously. Thus there seems to be a conflict between the values, principles, statements, and codes, on the other, and the daily practice of news making.

It has been rather generally acknowledged that it is difficult to transform the guidelines into practices in daily news work (see e.g. Heinonen 1995). For instance, Kuivala (1993) interviewed Finnish journalists in the context of the Gulf war and Finland's accession to the European Union and asked about the ethical principles they applied to their work. Although many of them acknowledged the importance of ethical questions, and all were familiar with the code of practice, many of the journalists described the difficulties experienced in translating them into practice; they blamed the haste of news work, and difficulties in gaining information. Although haste is indeed an integral part of journalistic work (see e.g. Sipola 1998), Kuivala demonstrates very well how haste is also a useful excuse for laziness, ignorance, and incompetence. It entails an assumption that journalists did their best, even though the final product, the news, may well not be the best possible. What comes out is due to lack of time, not a reflection of the action or skills of the journalist. Haste as an excuse seems to be generally accepted. (Kuivala 1993:59.) As regards objective, balanced and many-sided reporting, Kuivala shows how the journalists described in detail the difficulties they experienced to gain information and use multiple sources and acknowledged that the reporting one-sided as a result, but ignored the power and possibilities of the ways in which they represented the information gathered. In the words of Kuivala (1993:55): "The ethic (of news reporting) is above all a matter of how the gained or offered information is handled."

Helminen (1996) interviewed Finnish journalists about the reporting about ethnic minorities and concluded that on the whole they were aware of the ethical problems involved in ethnic reporting. This finding is supported by a study by Heinonen (1995) in which he examined journalists' self-regulation and found that as regards the importance of different rules in the code of journalistic practices, Finnish journalists considered the rule concerning human rights as the third most important and the one concerning irrelevant references to skin colour as the seventh out of fourteen. It is difficult to tell why, despite all awareness that exists, ethnic news coverage still tends to be, by and large, one-sidedly negative, and conflict-oriented, lacking alternative points of view and minority voices. On a general level, Heinonen (1996:99-102) suggests an alternative explanation for this contradiction between the principles and the actual practice: the ideals of a journalist do not meet the real reasons why a person chooses to become a journalist, and the code of practice has been created as a self-protective device against outside pressure, while daily practices prohibit journalists to achieve the higher goals.

On the whole, the guidelines and the codes of practice are not without problems either. It is for instance difficult to see how their effectiveness is measured (Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995), who should compose them and how they should reflect the practical problems and the most serious moral issues in contemporary journalism (Heinonen 1995, McManus 1997). However, the specific emphasis in the codes of practice against anti-racism in news reporting is a clear sign of growing awareness of the problems related to ethnic reporting and perhaps also an indicator of a willingness to develop news reporting in this respect.

4.4.2 Ethnic journalists

Another suggestion to improve ethnic reporting is to hire more journalists in the mainstream media from among minority groups. Globally, the number of minority journalists working in the mainstream media is low. In the United States, for instance, only 5 % of the reporters are black (Campbell 1995), and only 11 % of the daily newspaper newsroom workers were members of minority groups (5.4 % African American, 3.3 % Latino, 2 % Asian American and 0.04 % American Indian, Grossberg et al. 1998:66, see also Downing 1994:22-24, for the historical development Newkirk 1998).

The tendency in European countries seem to be similar. For instance, Bovenkerk-Teerink (1994:48) reports that in the Dutch media there are only a few journalists with an ethnic background. Similarly, Boucaud et Stubbs (1994:90-91) note that the situation in France is much the same: minority members have only limited access to media as professionals. Also in the Finnish mainstream media there are only few journalists from ethnic groups (Helminen 1996:18). Similarly to other minorities, there are few or no Sami people working in the mainstream media⁶ in the other Northern countries. Although the number of journalists on the whole has increased and there are a few ethnic journalists working in the mainstream media, they are nonetheless, in the words of Phillips (1995:13), the head of Current Affairs, London Weekend Television, "visitors, not part of the national fabric."

More ethnic journalists are needed to cover issues relevant to ethnic minorities for minority groups to receive a fair and accurate portrayal in the news when minorities are present in news rooms (Grossberg et al. 1998:66). The assumption is that since the mainstream media is predominantly staffed by majority members whose networks and institutional practices contribute to the marginalization and one-sided representation of ethnic minorities, hiring more ethnic journalists would bring a change in the representation of alternative practices, values, backgrounds, networks, choices of perspective, and topics (Brislin and Williams 1996, Helminen 1996, Husband 1994, Ngui 1994).

However, this suggestion entails some problems. To begin with, the position of an ethnic journalist can be difficult. A journalist with an ethnic background may be hired as a 'token' of the ethnic awareness of a media institution rather than for her or his journalistic competence. For instance, Boverkerk-Teerink (1994:52-54) discusses the position of ethnic journalists in the Dutch media, and argues that although it is not easy to pinpoint discrimination, no more than one or two members of ethnic minorities have reached a position of any importance within the Dutch mainstream media, so that the term 'token gesture' is very appropriate. In her study, one minority employee talks about himself as 'a language coolie' and feels that he has been hired for his ethnic background only and not for any particular qualities as a broadcaster (Boverkerk-Teerink 1994:49).

Moreover, the working environment and career prospects of the personnel

⁶ A discussion with Matti J. Hyvärinen, the secretary for legal affairs for the Sami Parliament 25.6.1998.

from ethnic minority groups can be rather hard. For instance, Ngui (1994:78-79) report that although more ethnic journalists are working in the Australian media, they are not occupying senior or key positions. The training and career development of these employees continue to be of low priority. Difficulties in promotion (Boverkerk-Teerink 1994:49), short-term contracts, and scarcity of benefits in terms of vacation, further education, and training and staff development courses seem all to be part of the daily life of ethnic journalists. There is a conflict between the independent nature of journalistic work and the idea that, because of the journalist's personal characteristics, the product would be different. Consequently, an ethnic journalist's working practices and products may be treated with suspicion or indifference.

Being a member of an ethnic minority and a journalist at the same time does not necessarily mean willingness to specialize in ethnic issues. Nor does it automatically follow that a news report by an ethnic journalist would inevitably be significantly different from those by majority members. After all, they all have fairly similar education as journalists and they work constrained by the same criteria and the same practices. On the basis of his case study on a series of articles in the *New York Times* that dealt with everyday life in minority communities and was written by minority reporters, Parisi (1998) argues that despite the ideal setting for the production of these stories from the minority point of view, they nonetheless reproduced racial stereotypes and suppressed evidence of cooperative social activity in the neighbourhood that would have countered the stereotypes.

The role of the ethnic minority professional is problematic. There seems to be the danger that ethnic specialization results in marginalization and disadvantages to the ethnic minority employee. As Husband (1994:145) concludes:

As long as "being professional" means shedding one's ethnic identity, then equal opportunities recruitment policies will remain inconsequential. Such policies do not of themselves guarantee that media institutions reflect non-racist, multi-ethnic pluralism in their products. Mere visibility of ethnic minority personnel is no guarantee of a more fundamental challenge to ethnic hegemony within media institutions.

4.4.3 Media monitoring

Yet another suggestion of how to improve ethnic representation in the mainstream news media has been to set up practices for media monitoring. The idea is that by monitoring media performance in the area of ethnic reporting nationally and internationally, detailed information about media performance can be produced, and this information, in turn, can be used to make practical suggestions as to how and in what way media performance could be improved. The work could draw on, and initiate, research projects, journalistic education, and publications among other things. Such a monitoring should involve both journalists, educators, minority members, and lay persons. Plans for this sort of activity exist (see e.g. van Dijk 1994, 1995), and a pilot study has been carried out in Finland (Raittila and Kuttilainen 2000).

Meanwhile, long-standing projects have not been launched, because there have been no resources. Additional problems relate to how to reach an agreement on the aspects to be evaluated and criteria used in the assessment. It is also difficult to see how to make the procedure compatible across media and countries and,

finally, how to implement the findings in daily practices of news work.

The suggestions of how to improve ethnic reporting are useful and necessary, although they do not solve the problem as a whole. It would be too much to expect because the media do not work similarly all the way through and the negative or one-sided representations of ethnic minorities are not a problem of news coverage alone. Change in the ethnic news coverage will not alone solve the marginalization of ethnic minorities in society, but it can contribute to a better chance for ethnic minorities to participate in public discussion in their own terms.

5 AIMS, DATA AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

5.1 Research questions

The aim of the present study is to examine how ethnic difference is discursively constructed in news discourse. More particularly, how ethnic minorities and the Finnish majority were represented in the texts in the leading national daily, *Helsingin Sanomat*, during the period 1985-1993. Theoretically, ethnic difference is taken as constructed rather than given. Newspaper texts were chosen as the domain of study because they represent an important location where such constructions are presented, challenged, maintained, and contested. Discourse is seen to have a central role in construction ethnic difference in news discourse.

The present study has both an analytical and an empirical aim. The analytical aim is to present a framework for the examination of discursively constructed difference between the ethnic minority and majority in the news discourse. This framework should also incorporate the relevant social, discursive and linguistic levels. The framework will be used as the analytic framework in the empirical part of the study, and it is expected to be relevant for other areas of media, discourse, and ethnic relations research. Empirically, the aim of the present study is to answer the following general research question:

How is the difference between ethnic minorities and the Finns discursively constructed in the texts about ethnic and immigration issues in the Finnish national daily Helsingin Sanomat during the period 1985-1993?

This general research question can be broken down into several subquestions relating to the overall coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* (research question 1), to the role of the linguistic features of the texts (research question 2), and finally to the methodological nature of CDA in this kind of study. The subquestions are the following:

1. *How can the coverage in Helsingin Sanomat of ethnic and immigration issues during the period of 1985-1993 be characterized?*
 - (i) *How are the ethnic minorities and Finns discursively represented in the coverage on the whole, and specifically the Sami and Finns?*
 - (ii) *What does this coverage comprise of in terms of presentation, topics, participants and discourses?*
 - (iii) *How do these features contribute to the discursive constructions of difference between ethnic minorities and the majority?*
2. *How do the linguistic features of the Helsingin Sanomat texts contribute to the constructions of difference between the ethnic minorities and the majority, especially in the case of the Sami and Finns?*
 - (i) *How are the Sami and the Finns lexicalized in the texts?*
 - (ii) *How do the transitivity features of process types, participant roles, and use of circumstantial elements construct representations of the Sami and Finns, and the difference between them?*
3. *What are the strengths and limitations of a CDA approach in the study of news discourse about the ethnic minorities and the majority, and the constructions of the difference between them?*

5.2 Data

5.2.1 The newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*

The material for the present study consists of news items about ethnic and immigration issues published in the Finnish national daily newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, during the period 1985-1993. *Helsingin Sanomat* was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, it is the largest and most widely read newspaper in Finland and the only truly national one. This means that it is both respected and regarded as a leading quality newspaper in the country. On the whole, this newspaper has almost an institutional position in Finland, and can be called an official voice of the country (Pietilä and Sondermann 1994). Therefore, what *Helsingin Sanomat* has to say, or wants to report, is valued and listened to. The majority of the ethnic minorities live in or near Helsinki. Consequently far less articles about ethnic affairs would have appeared in regional newspapers.

5.2.2 Data and its collection

The collection of the data for the present study was predominantly limited to the material published domestic news section. As I wanted to examine the construction of difference between ethnic minorities and Finns I excluded the foreign news section. Further, as my aim was to examine journalistic practices of news making I excluded the letters to editor section, culture news section and sports news. However, in order to highlight other genres published in the paper, I collected also all editorials, columns and articles published on page two in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Characteristically, these materials, may be seen to express more explicitly than news opinions and view points of the writer. Further, editorials can be considered as a

'voice' of the paper, its 'official opinion', enabling them to highlight or bring into attention aspects or events that the paper considers important. Further, I also collected background articles published in extra Sunday pages as they were often linked with the domestic news by offering background.

All news, editorials, columns and background articles published in domestic sections from 1 January, 1985 to 31 December, 1993, were examined and all the items dealing with ethnic and immigration issues in Finland longer than one paragraph, were selected. In other words, a mere mention of an ethnic group was not considered to be enough; an item to be chosen had to deal with an ethnic group or issues related to them at least for a length of a paragraph. By using this selection criteria, the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in Helsingin Sanomat amounted to 1, 189 items, which are the data of this study and to which I refer to as *ethnic news*. In other words, this data, which includes also the editorials and background articles, is here referred as *news* for the sake of brevity. Thus the term news is here used in a broad sense to refer the texts published in a newspaper. The specific genres are indicated when the results are discussed in more detail.

The data was double-checked for accuracy. Observing the same criteria as in the original selection, a colleague examined every tenth issue of Helsingin Sanomat for the same period and collected the data independently. When the products of these two collections were compared, there was only a 4 % difference. This suggests that the data collection was successful and can be considered to cover ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

5.3 Methodological approach of the study

5.3.1 Discourse analysis as a point of departure

The methodological point of departure of this study is *discourse analytic*. I am interested in *the ways in which news discourse constructs ethnic difference, how journalistic practices impinge on it, and what kind of linguistic features it entails*. Consequently, this study draws on the *constructivist* tradition. This is not to say that all and everything is constructed, or all is about discourse, but this merely points to the bare roots and the scope of interest of the present study.

In this study critical discourse analysis is applied in the analysis of the material. The overarching common interest of CDA is to try to examine and explicate the social underpinnings and consequences of discourse. Here *CDA as the point of departure* implies that the focus of the analysis is on discourse, its consequences on the representations of the ethnic minority and majority, and the difference between them, and on the conditions shaping discourse, particularly those of news making practices.

As no discourse analysis per se offers a straightforward set of methods, the analyst must select the methods that are the most suitable and appropriate for the study in question. In the present study, I will make use of *a range of methods*. The underlying focus is always on discourse, and all results are looked at in relation to how they contribute to the construction of the difference between the ethnic minorities and the majority.

The overall methodological approach in the present study can be described also as *qualitative*. By this I mean that I am interested in gaining insights into the processes of differentiation and the role of the use of language in them. This type of information is acquired through the application of qualitative methods. However, the adoption of a qualitative approach does not necessarily exclude quantitative methods.

Quantitative and qualitative methods can be complementary and are not mutually exclusive (e.g. Silverman 1993, Wodak 1996a). Both types of methods have their strengths and weaknesses. Quantitative methods answer 'what' questions, analyze countable variables in the data, and provide statistical information about regularities and frequencies. In contrast, qualitative methods seek to answer 'how' and 'why' questions by trying to gain insights into the phenomenon under study and provide explanations, conceptual tools, classifications, and typologies. Consequently, the strength of quantitative methods lies in their representativeness, and the weakness in their superficiality, whereas the strength of qualitative methods lies in their depth, and the weakness in their lack of representativeness (Alasuutari 1995). The problem of the validation of the findings is obvious with qualitative methods (Silverman 1993) and so is lack of rigour. Quantitative techniques can be used in qualitative work, as for instance Nikula (1996:67) points out, to validate qualitative research findings and to diminish possible anecdotal impressions.

Representativeness and use of extensive data are also important issues in discourse analytical work. Fairclough (1995a:15) argues that the analysis of language tends to become very detailed about very few texts, but points to the need to see language analysis as something that needs to be applied when examining media with complementary forms of analyses which can generalize across large quantities of media output. Critical discourse analysis is criticized for not having analyzed much data (Stubbs 1994), which has been reflected in the analyses tending to be fragmentary and exemplificatory (Fowler 1996). Therefore, the representativeness of the data (Stubbs 1996) and the validity of the findings have been questioned. One answer to such criticism is the use of a large body of data and quantitative methods. As Hardt-Mauntner (1995:6) puts it, "what is gained in terms of depth is usually lost in terms of breadth: the more detailed and holistic the methods, the less data one can reasonable hope to cope with."

Consequently, in this study I have collected an extensive data set of 1,189 texts items and will also use various techniques of quantification in the analysis for the following reasons: A large data set allows me to establish an overview of the coverage. Such an overview functions as a background for a more detailed quantitative analysis and helps to link detailed results with broader issues. By combining the quantitative and qualitative approaches I hope to avoid some of the criticism directed against critical discourse analysis. The methods are illustrated in Figure 1.

The broadest circle characterizes the *discourse analytical approach*. The point of departure is the news discourse constructing representations of ethnic minorities. These representations are first studied with help of *content analysis* (Chapter 6), which will provide the general information of the coverage in terms of frequency of topics, participants, and quotations. The content analysis will be complemented by the *analysis of discourses* in the texts (Chapter 6, also Chapter 7). The purpose is to describe what kinds of discourses are drawn on, to connect the perspectives

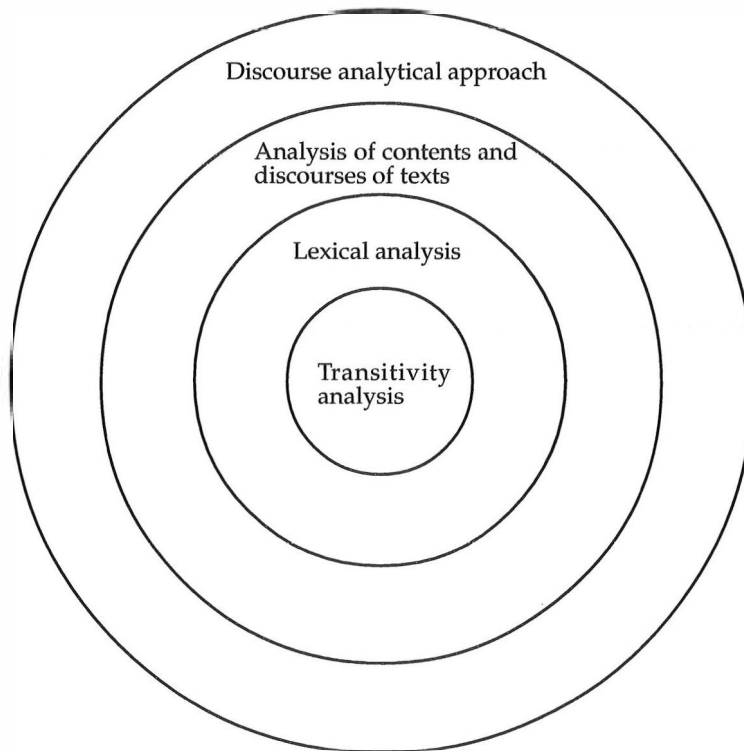


FIGURE 1 The methodological approach of the present study.

and domains from which different discourses are presented and to capture the way in which such discourses construct the ethnic representations. This kind of analysis is interpretative and is based on the analyst's knowledge about the data, the social and historical context, and the issue in question. The third method to be used is *linguistic analysis*. Out of various possible methods, I chose to use *lexical analysis* and *transitivity analysis* (see Chapter 7). Since the examination of the use of language is detailed work, the number of the texts had to be limited. I decided to focus on the texts about *the Sami* because of their contested identity in Finland (see the Introduction and Chapter 2 and for the selection of key texts, Chapter 7).

5.3.2 Content analysis

Analysis of media content has a long tradition in media studies. Studies have typically been devoted to news and have sought patterns in the reporting in terms of, for instance, topics, participants, and quotations (see e.g. Glasgow Media group 1995, van Dijk 1991). Content analysis can also provide answers to questions of diversity and equality. McQuail (1992:157) argues that diversity of news content may be accounted for in terms of topics covered, social groups given access, and content and quantity of citations of different groups among other things. Content analysis also highlights issues of balanced and impartial news coverage (see the discussion in Chapter 3) by showing the proportionate number of quotations and references to different groups and the extent to which various topics are covered.

The term content analysis refers to various ways of classifying and grouping texts according to their features. Content analysis is a method of textual investigation and is widely used, especially in the field of mass communication (McQuail 1992, Silverman 1993). Traditionally, content analysis, particularly in media studies (see for example Bell 1991, O'Sullivan et al. 1994), refers to the quantitative analysis of texts: the data is transformed into numerical format upon which systematic numerical and statistical conclusions are drawn. Sometimes content analysis is used as an umbrella term also comprising discourse analysis (see e.g. Hijmans 1996) and vice versa.

The aim of content analysis is to produce quantitative and reliable descriptions of the contents of texts (O'Sullivan et al. 1994:94, Silverman 1993:9-10). To do this, the analysis involves, firstly, charting or counting the incidence or co-incidence of particular elements of texts in relation to a set of usually predetermined categories. The frequencies of the elements are counted, and the statistical relations examined between them (Alasuutari 1995:8). By putting the emphasis on systematic and statistical conclusions, the analysis is grounded in empirical methodology. The emphasis is thus on measurable and quantifiable evidence achieved and verified by repeatable methods. To ensure this, the crucial requirement is, as Silverman (1993:9-10) notes, that the categories are sufficiently precise to enable different coders to arrive at the same results when the same body of material is examined. What content analysis loses in detail and in depth, it gains in extensiveness and in generalizability.

The analytical procedure of content analysis begins by establishing a set of categories. This involves a definition of the variables that are to be on the focus of the analysis, the range of values that these variables can have, and the key elements in the text in which the variables can be found. Forming the variables means moving from the conceptual level to the analytical one. This entails operational processes in which the theoretical concepts of the research problem are operationalized into indicators, i.e. variables that can be observed empirically (O'Sullivan and al. 1994:62, Silverman 1993:9-10). For example, the present study will examine the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in newspaper texts over a specific period of time. The coverage of the issues is then the concept that needs to be operationalized into variables which can be analyzed in the selected items to obtain an answer to the research question.

Consequently, a content analysis begins by the establishment of the variables to be used. Each of the variables focuses on only one aspect of the data. Variables which focus on measurable aspects, such as length, are known as quantitative variables, whereas qualitative variables relate to non-measurable aspects such as education, topic, etc. The number of the variables, however, is limited within a single study, since to analyze even one of them throughout the data is time-consuming and produces an excessive amount of information.

Since a variable relates to a particular aspect of a text, it needs to have an indicator to describe this aspect. This indicator is the value that a variable carries. One variable can have many values, from a minimum of two to, in principle, an infinite number. For instance, the quotation variable has two values, quoted or not, whereas the length of an item can vary from one centimetre onwards. However, usually the data themselves set some limits or the analyst does it to keep the analysis manageable. Thus the values that one variable can have will depend on

the nature of the variable, on the one hand, and the nature of the data, on the other. The terms category and range of categories are interchangeably used to denote the value that a variable can have.

Finally, the key elements of a text, i.e. the parts of the text that can be considered to indicate the occurrence of the variables, have to be identified. In other words, the units which are counted have to be defined. Examples of key elements are words and sentences, page numbers, and indications as to the writer. Thus the key elements are the elements in the text which correspond to the set of categories, i.e. variables, and their range of values. Again, what is seen as the key element depends on the operationalization of the theoretical concepts.

In brief, variables and the values that they can have form a set of categories by which key elements of texts are classified. The practical manifestation of the set of categories is a coding form on which the data is transferred in numerical form. Thus the first step of the analytical procedure of content analysis manifests itself as a coding form. This form is then used in the actual analysis of the data.

How to choose the variables and key elements in texts is the most crucial and often rather problematic part of content analysis. Texts can be categorized in a potentially infinite number of ways, and the selection of the variables inevitably involves value judgements by the analyst (O'Sullivan and al. 1994). In addition, whereas some variables, such as gender or page number, are rather clear, other variables, e.g. topic or prominent participant, are much more ambivalent and dependent on the judgement of the analyst. Furthermore, not only is the number of variables limited within one analysis, but the variables also have to be chosen prior to the analysis. Once the decision has been taken, they cannot be changed during the analysis. This is due to the nature of content analysis: each value that the variable will have has a specific place allocated in the coding form and this cannot be changed. If changed, the quantification of the data would not be accurate.

The formation of the categories and the decisions upon the key elements underline the way in which content analysis includes an interpretative component. This interpretative element is even more evident in the interpretation of the results of the content analysis: the numerical information as such is not meaningful. Thus it is important to bear in mind that content analysis, similarly to any other method dealing with semantic aspects of texts, involves a human subject. Moreover, the choices made during the analytical process, particularly those regarding variables and key elements, have to be explicit and identifiable enough to ensure that others could arrive at the same classification. This is important because the reliability of the content analysis leans on the verification of the procedure, and this is grounded on the repeatability of the analysis. For content analysis, therefore, the explication of the analytical procedure is a precondition for the validation of the analysis.

After the establishment of the coding form, the next step in the analysis of the contents of texts is to count the numbers of instances that fall into each category (Bell 1991:12, Silverman 1993:9). In other words, the instances throughout the texts where the key elements are used are classified, and counted, and then numerical conclusions are made. In this way content analysis is based on a frequency count of predetermined variables.

The results of the content analysis can be presented as raw figures, but they are more frequently and usually given as percentages. A comparison between sets

of figures is usually necessary. The fact that 30 % of women in television advertisements are shown indoors becomes meaningful only when compared with the equivalent figure for men of 14 %. Similarly the proportion of column centimetres devoted by a newspaper to politics is interesting only when compared to the equivalent figures for entertainment (O'Sullivan et al. 1994).

The strengths of the quantification of the content of texts are many. Content analysis facilitates the processing of large amounts of data and helps classify and group the data according to the research interests in question. Since content analysis is an empirical method, it is best suited to a large data base. Providing that it is done thoroughly, content analysis also provides systematic and generalizable information about the material under study. This kind of information is valuable as an overview, and it also functions as background information for a more detailed analysis.

From the discourse analytical point of view, there are also problems in content analysis. The underlying view of language in content analysis is rather straightforward as if the 'content' of a text is clear-cut, and separable from the form, and having one meaning only. The difference between the two is, to my understanding, in that whereas content analysis takes the topics or the textual order of a text at face-value, discourse analysis typically examines the ways in which the features of a text are produced, manifested, and understood as a topic or a coherent whole. Another difference is in that content analysis can be understood as an attempt to study the phenomena 'behind' the language, while for the discourse analyst the language itself is where the things and phenomena exist. On the whole, content analysis is considered particularly useful when combined with other types of textual analysis. Content analysis often provides a necessary overview of the content of texts, whereas close textual analyses give a detailed description of the use of language (Boyd-Barrett 1994:29, Fairclough 1995a:105). Thus the former makes it possible to generalize and compare, and the latter gives rise to a rich and detailed description of the use of language. Rather than seeing these two as separate, I will try and see how these types of analysis may complement each other. I will first introduce the usage of content analysis in the context of the present study and then discuss the analyses of discourses and transitivity.

5.3.3 The coding procedure of the content

To analyze the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat*, a coding form was constructed. This form included the selected variables and their categories. The key elements of the texts were specified during this construction process. The coding form (see Appendix 1) was devised on the basis of previous research, notably that by van Dijk (1991) but also adjusted to the aims of the present study. The coding form consisted of 37 variables, which focused on various aspects of the coverage. These variables were classified to three groups: presentation variables (1-7), participant variables (8-34), and topic variables (35-37). The variables, their range of categories, and an explanation for each variable are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Variables for content analysis.

Variable	Category	Explanation
Date	010185-311293	publishing date
Length	005-662	length of a news item in centimeters including pictures
Picture	1-2	indication whether an item included picture or not
Page	3-C sec.	page on which an item was published
News type	1-6	identification of news type
Authorship	1-5	identification of writer of an item
Totality	1-2	identification whether or not an item is totally or partly about ethnic and immigration issues
1st Minority group	1-54	minority group mentioned first in an item
Details	1-6	details about first mentioned person in 1st minority group
Status	1-9	status of person first mentioned in 1st minority group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
2nd Minority group	1-54	minority group mentioned second in an item
Details	1-6	details about mentioned person in 2nd min. group
Status	1-9	status of person mentioned in 2nd min. group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
3rd Minority group	1-54	the minority group mentioned third in a news item
Details	1-6	details about mentioned person in 3rd min. group
Status	1-9	status of person mentioned in 3rd min. group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
1st Majority group	1-31	majority group mentioned first in an item
Details	1-6	details about first mentioned person in 1st maj. group
Status	1-9	status of person first mentioned in 1st maj. group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
2nd Majority group	1-31	majority group mentioned second in an item
Details	1-6	details given person mentioned in 2nd maj. group
Status	1-9	status of person mentioned in 2nd maj. group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
3rd Majority group	1-31	majority group mentioned third in an item
Details	1-6	details given person mentioned in 3rd . maj. group
Status	1-9	status of person mentioned in 3rd maj. group
Quotation	1-2	identification whether person is quoted or not, directly or indirectly
1st Prominent participant	1-51	the first participant given prominence in terms of space and hierarchy
2nd Prominent participant	1-51	the second participant given prominence in terms of space and hierarchy
3rd Prominent participant	1-51	the third participant given prominence in terms of space and hierarchy
1st Topic	1-47	first topic of an item
2nd Topic	1-47	second topic of an item
3rd Topic	1-47	third topic of an item

The presentation variables addressed the ways in which the texts were presented and the types of news comprising the coverage. The quantity of the texts and the centimetres devoted to minority issues revealed the extent of the coverage in the paper. The visual features, such as the use of pictures and the page on which the texts were published, highlighted the significance of these texts as judged by the paper. News type and authorship shed light on what kind of texts were in question. The results of the examination of whether an item was totally or partly about ethnic issues added to this information. In addition, the representation variable helped in the grouping of a large data base. Below, each of the presentation variables is explained in detail. The seven presentation variables helped to establish the extent of the coverage of the selected ethnic and immigration issues.

The first presentation variable, the *date*, indicates the year, month and day in which the news item was published. The identification of the date of publication make it possible to count the frequencies of the coverage in terms of years, months, and days. The investigation of the quantity and publishing patterns of the issues highlighted their newsworthiness. The quantity of ethnic and immigration news as such is an indication of the extent to which *Helsingin Sanomat* brought up and discussed these issues. Any publishing patterns emerging could then be compared with other events and changes in Finnish society, such as the increase in the numbers of immigrants or the collapse of the former Soviet Union.

The next variable, *length*, is also related to the quantity of the coverage, but from a different angle. Here the focus is on the length of each news item. The proportion of the centimetres devoted to ethnic and immigration issues, relative to the space in *Helsingin Sanomat* as a whole, demonstrates the importance of the ethnic and immigration issues as judged by *Helsingin Sanomat*. The results are another indicator of the extent to which the newspaper was covering these issues. The categories for this variable come from the data, ie. the range between the shortest and the longest texts.

The next two variables, *picture* and *page*, deal with the layout aspects of the presentation of items. Investigation of the pictures adds to the information about how the topics were presented. Although the images in the pictures themselves were not the object of analysis in the present study, the knowledge of whether a picture was included or not helped to illuminate what kind of coverage this was.

The page variable relates to the page on which each of the texts was published. This demonstrates the significance of the items in *Helsingin Sanomat*. This has to do with the internal hierarchy of pages within a newspaper. As regards news, the front page or the first page of each section is reserved for the most important issues as judged by the newspaper. Which topics and groups of people in the immigration and ethnic issues ended up on the front page is of interest in this analysis. The range of the value for this variable varied according to the page numbers of the newspaper. If a report was 'advertized' at the front page but the actual story was located in another page, the latter was coded.

The last three presentation variables concentrates on the description of the coverage in terms of news types, authorship, and totality. The description of the news types illuminates the composition of coverage. The proportion of coverage in editorials, hard news, columns and background articles is interesting because of the different roles of various news types and, moreover, the practices underlying each of the news types.

The news type variable had six categories. The first is the *editorial*, which was defined in the present study as a text in which the editor of the newspaper brings up and discusses a current theme. The editorial is often considered to represent the opinion of the newspaper rather than that of the editor. The second category is *hard news*, by which I mean a straightforward description current events on the basis of factual material. Hard news in particular is evaluated against the news values of impartiality and balance. The third category is the *background article*, which I refer to an article which deals with a theme or affairs less current than news, often written at some length and usually based on several sources and/or the journalist's own observations on the spot. The fourth category is the *column*, which denotes material that is often quite personal, short, and commentary by nature. By the *interview* I refer to a specific news type sometimes published in *Helsingin Sanomat* domestic news which is titled as 'Questions and answers'. There is also the sixth category *other* for material which did not fit to any of the categories above.

The page and news type variables were linked, since the editorial and all the columns, except for a few in the Sunday issues, were published on page two in *Helsingin Sanomat*. The first news page in the newspaper is three, the cover page being reserved for advertisements. The domestic news was published between page two and the following section, usually around page 20 depending on the size of the newspaper. The Sunday issue has an extra section, which was section C during the period under study and it usually contained background articles and columns. Some of the texts came from section B, which is reserved for Helsinki area news.

An indication of the *authorship* of a news item can imply the practices of news making in ethnic and immigration issues. By means of the authorship of the news, it was possible to establish to what extent *Helsingin Sanomat* used outsiders, that is, others than *Helsingin Sanomat* journalists, in the news, such as news agencies or experts. Authorship is also linked with two of the previous variables: the editorial is obviously written by the editor or associate editors or sometimes other journalists assigned to this task, whereas columns and background articles can be written by papers own journalists' or outsiders. The authorship of the news can be indicated in various ways: under the label of *HS*, under the name of a news agency, or by giving the name of an individual journalist.

The *totality* variable describes whether items were totally or partially about ethnic and immigration issues. As the term indicates, items that dealt exclusively with ethnic and immigration issues were considered as totally ethnic news and those that involved an ethnic issue as only one among others were considered as partially ethnic articles. This variable added to the information about coverage.

The *participant* variables constitute the next group. This was the largest group, comprising 24 variables, each of which focuses on the participants in the item. The participants are described in terms of their group membership and in terms of their activity with regard to quotation and prominence. The participants were coded as they were presented in the coverage. On the basis of these results, it was possible to establish who was involved in these items and what kind of role they occupied. It is important to see whether any specific tendencies or patterns can be detected.

In the coding process the participants were first classified in terms of their group membership, i.e. an ethnic minority or majority group, and according to their appearance order (1st, 2nd and 3rd participant) Next, the group membership was classified in more detail. There were participants from 56 ethnic minority groups in the news, which sets the range of values for the minority variable; there were only 31 majority groups, such as the police, Red Cross, Ministry of Internal Affairs.

If further details were mentioned about the participants in the item, they were analyzed as well. The *details* variable in the minority and majority groups focused on the gender and age of the participants. The *status* variable describes the participants in terms of to their occupation or status. Since the range of values for this variable was based on the data, it had the same number of values but different categories for the minority and majority groups. In the minority group, the range of the values for the status variable were *journalist, medical staff, farmer, refugee or immigrant, artist, leader or director, political prisoner, teacher or student, and others*. In the majority group the range of the values were *a director or head, the authorities, lawyers, medical staff, politician, police and customs authorities, worker/employee and researcher*.

Quotation variable relates to the quantity and frequency of the quotations from news participants. Both direct and indirect quotations were included. The former means direct reports of participant words in quotation marks, while in the latter, participant words are rendered in indirect form with the help of reporting formulas, such as *X tells, says, observes, emphasizes, or according to*. Quotation patterns reveal who was given access to news, ie. who was seen to be important or trustworthy enough to be quoted. In addition, by means of the quotation patterns it was possible to infer about the use of sources in ethnic and immigration news. The range of the values for this variable was two - either quoted or not.

The predominant participants variable was used to study who were represented as the most important or central participants by being given a privilege or emphasis, for example, in terms of space, quotation and hierarchy. This had to be evaluated rather subjectively, since there was no single key unit in the text that would have indicated prominence. However, examination of the prominent participants highlighted the internal hierarchy of the texts and gave some indication of the reporting angle. Particular attention was paid to whether any patterns emerged. In addition, the investigation of the prominent participants shed light on the role of participants in the news. In the present study a maximum of three variables per all these group variables was set. This was because the number of variables has to be limited in any case and on the basis of the pilot analysis three variables were considered to be sufficient enough to provide an accurate picture of the coverage.

In addition, to get a more detailed picture of the group variables, the order of the mentions of groups of people was coded throughout the analysis. The ethnic group that was mentioned first was coded as the first minority group, the second as the second, and so forth. The same was also done for the majority groups and the prominent participants variables. The order of the mentions was significant since, as was discussed in Chapter 4, according to the news reporting practice, on the one hand, and the reading practices, on the other, the most important participants are often mentioned first. Thus what comes first in the news is typi-

cally what the press, i.e. *Helsingin Sanomat* in this case, considered to be most relevant and important.

The topic variables are the final group of variables in this analysis. The focus is on the topics of the texts, i.e. the theme or subject-matter, that the coverage dealt with. The topics and their particular patterns or tendencies highlight what events or actions regarding immigration and ethnic issues got media attention in *Helsingin Sanomat*. The topic variables were limited to three similarly to the group variables, and like them, they were coded according to their order of appearance.

Thus the first topic is the topic of the lead of an item, the second topic is the next presented, and so forth. The order of the topics is important, because in the practice of news production the information that is assumed to be the most interesting to the audience is expressed at the beginning of news reports, whereas less relevant and more detailed information is presented towards the end of a report (Bell 1991, Hemánus 1989, van Dijk 1988). Although editorials, other commentary texts and background articles do not necessarily follow the structure of the news text, the assumption of the importance of the beginning of the texts was applied to all texts. Analysis of the topics and their order of appearance gave information about the events and affairs which were considered the most newsworthy in ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat*, about the frequencies of topics and about how these topics were hierarchized. The range of values of the topic variables was the 47 different topics in the data.

The number of the group and topic variables was a limitation in this coding system. Since it was possible to code the first three groups and topics an item, it was also possible that some other groups or topics were left out. However, most of the items were sufficiently described with the three group and topic variables, since only the longest texts would have required more variables in this respect. Moreover, since the data was extensive, the assumption was that, on the whole, three variables per group and topic gave a picture that was accurate enough.

One of the benefits of a content analysis is cross-tabulation. It means that various aspects of the data are organized according to two and more variables so that they can be analyzed together. In this study, for example, it was possible to cross-tabulate any of the variables. For instance, as an answer to what topics were associated to which group, the topic variables were cross-tabulated with the group variables. More detailed information about how the various variables were grouped for cross-tabulation is presented in the results section in Chapter 6. Through cross-tabulation it was possible to get a richer view of the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues. The numerical data was statistically analyzed by SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). To study *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage of the Sami, the findings related to the news and editorials about the Sami (n=51) was extracted from the larger body of results. These findings form the basis for the examination of the representations of the Sami and Finns in the *Helsingin Sanomat* news language and is discussed in Chapter 7. The results of the statistical analysis is complemented by analysis of discourses.

5.3.4 Analysis of discourses

There is no straightforward way or method to analyze discourses. This is hardly surprising given the multiple meanings and uses of the concept of a discourse (see

Chapter 3). As discussed above, *by a discourse I mean use of language in representing experience and/or knowledge from a particular point of view*. To simplify, analytically a discourse may be seen to include a domain of experience or knowledge and a perspective from which this domain is looked at. Thus, we can have, for instance, an 'ethnic minorities as trouble' discourse and an 'ethnic minorities as richness' discourse. In this analysis I focus on discourses that are drawn on in the texts about ethnic minorities and that seem to play a role in constructing representations of ethnic minorities and the majority.

My starting point for the analysis of discourses is that they are realized in actual texts, and a single text may draw on one or many discourses. However, to actually identify discourses in news texts is a complex procedure. To me, it means a mixture of simultaneously looking at actual texts and their linguistic features, using background and theoretical knowledge about the domain, i.e. ethnic minorities, Finnish society, press news, the data, and about the perspectives that could be used to approach the domain. In other words, I made use of the findings of the content analysis, theories of identity and difference, and discourses discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and previous researches reviewed in Chapter 4. In addition, I also relied on my own experience in this particular coverage on ethnic minorities when making the interpretations of discourses used in the news. The potential for various discourses can be drawn on, for instance, matrix of discourses or order of discourse (see Chapter 3). Here, *the concept of order of discourse emphasizes the potential of different kinds of discourses, implies the conditions and limitations that constrict the variety, and underlines the idea of selection among various discourses in making news about ethnic minorities*.

One consequence of this kind of conceptualization of a discourse and analysis of discourses is that although the findings of the discourses in the *Helsingin Sanomat* articles are data-driven, some idea of what discourses might be drawn on is found in by previous studies, theories, and my knowledge of that data that I have gained through collecting and categorizing it. In other words, an idea of the selection of possible discourses - order of discourse - is built before the actual analysis, and then modified and changed during the analysis. Furthermore, in the analysis of discourses I made use of the findings of the content analysis: the findings of the content analysis grouped the data into specific topic areas according to their frequency. Thus, I have besides the general domain of ethnic minorities, also more specific domains of Residence permit decision, Immigration to Finland etc.

As it was not possible to analyze all discourses in the whole data, I have focused my analysis on discourses that seemed to have a role in constructing Otherness and Finnishness and which were featured in the news reports and editorials dealing with the most frequently covered topics, and in news articles and editorials about the Sami. Deducing an existence of a particular discourse from the data available was based on the linguistic manifestation: sometimes a word, some the whole wording of a text, together with passive voice suggested to me what kind of a discourse was drawn on. It is, however, crucial to bear in mind that the analysis of discourses is highly interpretative and makes use of theoretical and experimental knowledge besides textual evidence.

To explicate how I have arrived at a particular interpretation regarding discourses, I will discuss and illustrate them together with the findings regarding the most frequently covered topics. Another solution would have been to intro-

duce the discourses here, but as they are above all data-driven findings, their characteristics and role in representation are best, in my opinion, discussed together with findings of content analysis and with extracts of data.

5.3.5 Linguistic analysis

5.3.5.1 Wording the participants

After the analysis of the *Helsingin Sanomat* articles dealing with ethnic and immigration issues and the coverage of the Sami and the Finns in particular, the next step was to analyze the use of language in the texts. I started with the analysis of the lexicalization relating to the Sami and Finnish participants living in the Sápmi in the Sami articles (n=51). The naming and labelling of the participants can be very interesting and revealing. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the names and labels for groups of people reflect the choices made by language users and their awareness of ethnic naming, but they also contribute to the construction of ethnic 'Usness' and 'Themness'. There are always alternative ways of signifying participants, and each way entails a particular perspective to the participants. Ultimately, the choice constructs them potentially in different ways (Fairclough 1992a:190-192). Moreover, the label of an ethnic group is often under transition or even a target of a struggle - for instance, in the Finnish context, whether people with African descent should be called 'blacks' (musta) or 'negroes' (neekeri) or the Sami as Sami (saamelainen) or 'the Lapps' (lappalainen). Consequently, how the leading daily lexicalizes the Sami and Finns in its texts can illustrate the on-going change in the position of the Sami in Finland.

The data for the lexical analysis of the Sami and the Finns was the articles about the Sami published in *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1985-1993 (n=51). In the analysis the wording of both groups living in the Sami domicile area were examined and the occurrences in the texts was calculated.

5.3.5.2 Transitivity analysis in the context of the present study

The next step in the analysis was concerned with transitivity. This comprised three main process types, i.e. *material*, *mental*, and *relational* and the participants' roles involved. In addition, I specified *verbal* processes, i.e. the grammar of speaking and writing, since I assumed that particularly in news texts in particular speaking processes might have a role to play. For each clause, I analyzed the process using the verb as a pivot and continued to look for nuclear participant roles and the circumstances which were attached to the processes. The basic unit of the transitivity analysis was a clause, where the process is represented by the verbal group, while the typical participants for each process are represented by the nominal groups, and the circumstances by the adverbial groups. This was the basic procedure of the transitivity analysis (for further details, see Chapter 7).

Even a basic transitivity analysis like this gives access to a variety of usages. To me, the object of the transitivity analysis was to examine what processes, participant types, and circumstances there were in the *Helsingin Sanomat* news texts about the Sami, whether particular process types were favoured in the texts, and whether some elements were absent. By looking at these features in the texts my

aim was to describe how Saminess and Finnishness is constructed at the linguistic level.

Besides the transitivity analysis of the clauses, I also studied the use of the passive and active voice to establish the allocation of agency and the assignment of responsibility. Typically, the analysis of the use of the passive and active voice is based on a rather straightforward assumption that whenever the actor is clearly marked by the use of active voice, the question of responsibility and accountability is also clear. Vice versa, in the cases where the actor is unmarked by the use of the passive, responsibility and accountability are also obscured or hidden. The underlying implication has often been that the writer's intentionality has a role to play here in the sense that hiding or foregrounding the actor may involve a conscious decision.

However, the reasons for, and the consequences of the use of either the active or the passive voice are not this clear-cut. Instead, it all depends on genre, topic or convention. In Finnish, the choice between the active or passive is even more ambiguous than it is in English. Although passive and active are established categories in Finnish grammar, the distinction between them has been questioned in recent studies (for details, see e.g. Luukka 1994:233-237). For instance, Shore argues that Finnish verbs are better described in terms of 'indefinite' and 'definite'. According to Shore, these categories capture better the nature of the Finnish 'passive', which is to be described in terms of an unspecified agency than deletion of agency. Thus the Finnish passive indicates that the action of the verb is performed by an unspecified person, i.e. the agent is impersonal. This partly corresponds to the use of 'one' in English. (Karlsson 1987:146, see also Kieli ja sen kielioipit 1994:165-166, Shore 1992:304). Karvonen (1995:116-117) points out the use of the passive in Finnish foregrounds the activity or expresses how something is generally done. Luukka (1994:234), assuming an interactive perspective, interprets the indefinite nature of the passive clause as a means to delete the agent because agency is often specified by the context.

The passive/active distinction in Finnish is negotiable and there is no unanimity at the moment. Here, I will use the categories of the passive and active to capture the distribution of agency and non-agency. Recognizing the points brought up by Luukka (1994) and Shore (1992), for instance, the use of passive/active distinction was for the purpose of the present study helpful. By looking at the use of active and passive voices in news texts about the Sami and the Finns, an attempt was made at illuminating the distribution of agency and frequency of active and passive clauses, complemented with a discussion of what functions they appear to serve.

I also examined tense, mood, and modality, but to a limited extent only. Mood and modality are usually considered to belong to the interpersonal and not to ideational metafunction of language. I explored these features exclusively from the point of view of representation. By this I refer to the assumption that tense, mood, and modality do not only construe social relations in interaction, but also contribute to representation of the events and people. Tense places events and people in news texts in a temporal dimension; mood can convey meanings of obligation or conditionality; modality may express, e.g. necessity. It may be problematic to combine or crossover metafunctions like this but I think it might be important because the features are expected to affect the ideational meaning.

This linguistic analysis of media texts is not solely an analysis of the transitivity of clauses, but also linked with the critical discourse analytical approach adopted in this study. The analysis of representation via transitivity analysis together with the analysis of lexicalization of participants presents the linguistic tenet of the CDA analysis in the present study. Since CDA does not involve direct methods of analysis, it follows that it always uses a combination of methods. Moreover, the essence of CDA is actually manifested in the bridging and linking of various analyses, most often linguistic, discursive, and social. In other words, methodologically CDA is a point of departure and the objective is to seek possible links, relations, motivations, and explanations of linguistic realizations of discourses embedded in a particular socio-cultural context. Thus besides analysing the linguistic realizations of the news texts, CDA also means asking further questions besides transitivity analysis.

Consequently, after the transitivity analysis of clauses, I asked the follow questions: what factors might explain the particular linguistic choices and how do they contribute to the construction of Otherness and Finnishness, and, finally, what social, political and ideological motivation might explain the use of these particular constructions? These questions bring forth not only the possible alternatives that are always available for the language user but also the wider discursive and social conditions and consequences always present when language is used. Although the actual analytical processes are never straightforward, but constitute a dialogue, these questions helped me to keep in mind the CDA aims of the study. Characteristically to CDA, also in the present study the linguistic, discursive, and social analyses overlap with each other and are present simultaneously throughout the study. In sum, this analysis could be described as CDA oriented transitivity analysis of news texts complemented with a description of use of active and passive voice, mood, modality and tense.

5.3.5.3 Selection the key texts

How to choose the key texts for a detailed linguistic analysis is a crucial question. The very nature of the linguistic analysis makes, in most cases, it impossible to use a large number of texts: therefore, a selection of key texts is needed. In this context, the questions of the representativeness of the sample and the generalizations of the results are often brought up (see e.g. Stubbs 1994, 1997).

In this study, these questions are not of importance. The type of linguistic analysis carried out does not aim at generalizable results, and no claims are made of having representative data. The very nature of the analysis makes it impossible to incorporate large data pools or carry out massive analysis. The aim is to describe in detail particular uses of language in particular texts and give an account of how language use may contribute to the construction of social phenomena. Following the qualitative research tradition, this kind of analysis gives answers to *why* and *how* questions, suggesting new categories and classifications and perhaps providing new conceptual tools and explanations for the phenomena under scrutiny (Alasuutari 1995:114).

For a detailed linguistic analysis any text will not do - quite the contrary. To choose key texts randomly would direct the focus of the analysis to linguistic features as such. If the purpose is to examine how a social phenomenon, e.g. ethnic

difference, is constructed through language use, what kind of texts and how they are chosen becomes crucial. This is to say that the objective of the whole study, and the research questions particularly, are the first considerations in the choice of the texts for analysis. This also means that the choice is structured within the entire research processes, on the one hand, and through the experience of the analyst as concerns the data and the social phenomena, on the other. The choice of the texts for qualitative linguistic analysis is subjective but not arbitrary.

As a general guideline, Alasuutari (1995) points out that the data for qualitative analysis should be selected from a particular theoretical and methodological point of view. He recommends the use of social, cultural and background clues available regarding the phenomenon being studied. When dealing with the problem of how to select samples for detailed analysis, Fairclough (1992a:230) also recommends a careful selection that could be based, e.g. on a preliminary survey of the corpus.

My starting point for the choice the key texts was the social level of analysis. The social phenomenon that I am examining in this study is ethnic differences constructed through news representations, which are impinged on by journalistic practices and manifested linguistically. After the extensive content analysis of 1,189 news texts, where the focus of the analysis was on the ways all ethnic groups mentioned in these news were represented, I wanted to examine representations of ethnic groups in more detail, particularly focusing on the use and role of language in this process. Out of various possibilities how to sample the key texts, such as time period, genre, topic, or page number, I chose, following the overall aim of the study and the social starting point of my analysis, to focus on a representation of the Sami, one ethnic group among 47 mentioned in the *Helsingin Sanomat* news during the time 1985-1993.

The study of the Sami is interesting. The Sami living in Finland are Finnish by citizenship, and they also speak Finnish. This has various implications: the construction of ethnic difference between the Sami and Finns is likely to be complex, which gives the symbolic system of making difference (i.e. language use) a significant role. The fact that the Sami are Finnish-speaking and have their own parliament to represent them gives the Sami, in principle, the same chance for media access as is open to any social or political group in Finland. Thus it could be expected that the Sami could be active participants in the news, since no language barrier exists and there is a multitude of representatives for the group, also official ones, who could speak for the group. The increase of the political activity of the Sami along with the worldwide acknowledgement of the rights of indigenous people gave rise to a political, social, juridical, and symbolic struggle for the identity and rights of the Sami. The media coverage of the Sami, particularly during the time under study, has patently had a major impact on the way in which they are represented.

The decision to focus on the Sami limited the number of the possible key texts into 51, which was the total number of texts mentioning the Sami. Ideally, all 51 texts could have been analyzed, but considering the extensive content analysis carried out and the pioneer nature of transitivity analysis in the case of Finnish media texts this was not considered possible within the scope of this study.

The choice of the key texts was a gradual process. Instead of a priori criteria such as genre, publishing date, or writer, I chose a data-driven approach. I read

the 51 texts over and over again with a certain question in my mind: what is going on linguistically and socially? An overarching event taking place in these news was the definition of the Sami, a reflection of, and contribution to, a wider change in their socio-political position. I decided to concentrate on the texts where the process of the definition of the Sami was the most explicit. My working assumption was that whenever the definition process was the most explicit, also the difference between the Sami and Finns was also most clearly made, which would be a fruitful starting point for the analysis of the construction of ethnic difference and the role that language plays in it.

There were six texts that explicitly dealt with the definition of Saminess. Each of these items included various attempts of definition, either explicitly (*viz.* offering a Sami definition) or more indirectly (*viz.* discussing the rights of the Sami). Besides the Sami, also various participants of Finnish society, such as *the state, the juridical system, the various authorities and the local Finns* were present in these texts discussing, commenting on and debating over the nature and rights of the Sami. In my opinion, these six texts, which were chosen to be the key texts of the present study for detailed linguistic analysis, illustrate the construction of ethnic difference and ethnic identities in the news arena. These texts are described in more detail in Chapter 7.

This part of the study is an experiment to apply both Halliday's systemic functional framework and discourse analytic principles to the analysis of Finnish texts. The data can be considered sufficient to highlight some aspects of language use in the news and to give also some indication of the compatibility of the various analyses.

5.4 Analytical framework of the present study

CDA as the point of departure means that ideally each analysis is related to the others and the findings will be linked not only with each other but also with the overall objective of the study. The different means of analysis are not seen as individual spotlights on the phenomenon, but instead, different results which are brought together. The analytical framework of the present study can be visualized in the form of concentric circles. This framework connects with the methodological approach of the study illustrated in Figure 1: there, the overall methodology was presented whereas here the aim is to show how specific analyses link with the data and the aims of the study. Figure 2 illustrates the analytical framework of the present study.

The smallest circle is the linguistic realization of the discursive construction of difference between the Sami and the Finns as brought up by the transitivity analysis. The next circle represents the examination of the lexicalization of the Sami and Finns in the Sami news, and the following circle the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage of the Sami. The next circle signifies the overall features of the news discourse. Lastly, the final circle signifies the Finnish society, where it all takes place. The analytical framework can be characterized as that of critical discourse analysis, in which the overall analysis entails analysis at the linguistic, discursive, and societal levels. At all points, the ongoing dynamics, shifts, and changes are important. The

integration of all the levels finally leads to an analysis of the discursive construction of difference between ethnic minorities and majorities in the Finnish newspaper reports.

Although the various analyses overlap and in practice, the analytical process moves back and forth, simultaneously at various levels, the overall direction of the analyses in the present study has been from the widest question, (i.e. the construction of difference) to the most detailed one, the linguistic representation of difference. This is also the overall organization of the presentation of the findings in the present study.

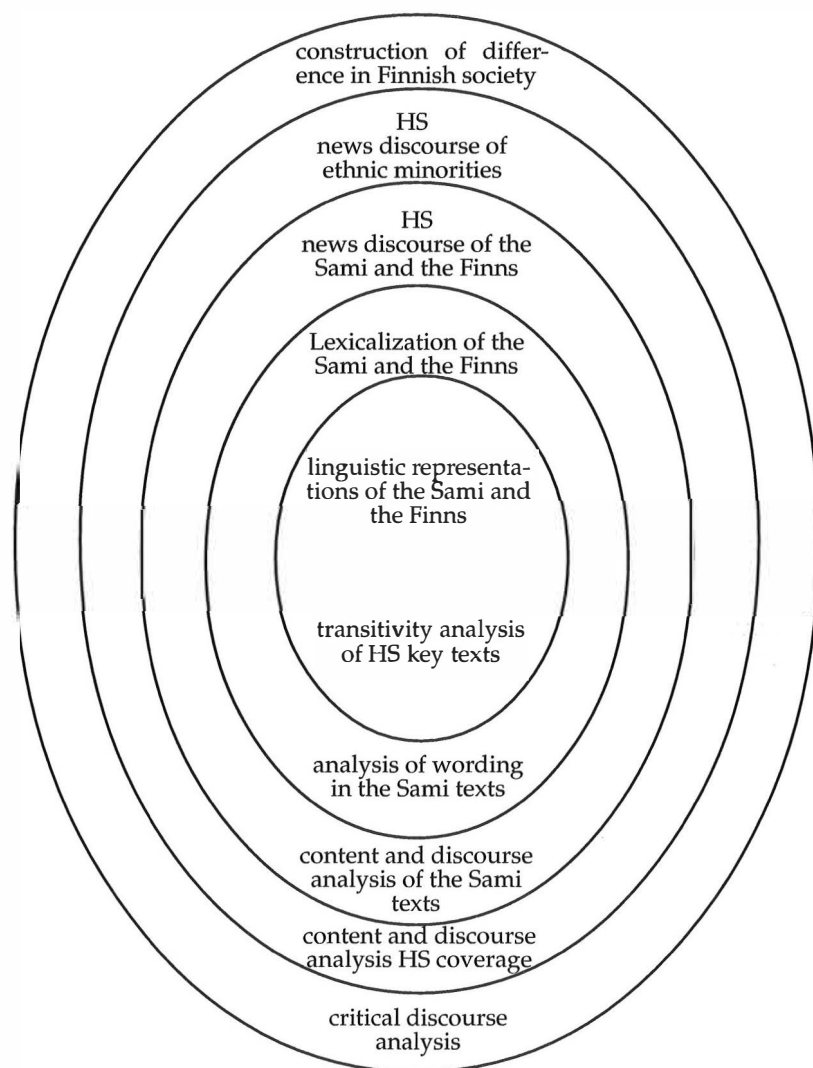


FIGURE 2 Analytical framework of the study.

6 THE HS COVERAGE OF ETHNIC AND IMMIGRATION ISSUES

This chapter will provide a survey of the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1985-1993. The results are presented in terms of the variables introduced in the previous chapter and organized into three sections dealing with presentation, topics, and participants. The results presented here will also serve as a background for later comments on the ethnic representations in *Helsingin Sanomat*. An analysis of discourses will complement the results of the content analysis.

6.1 Presentation of the items

6.1.1 Frequency and length

The frequency and distribution per year of the ethnic and immigration items were examined to establish the extent to which the *Helsingin Sanomat* covered these issues. The frequency analysis focused on the distribution of the items over each. Although the total number of items published in a newspaper varies from day to day depending on the number and importance of news events and economic situation of the paper, some indication of the quantity of material published in *Helsingin Sanomat* at the time studied is provided in a study by Pietilä and Sondermann (1994). In one day in 1987, *Helsingin Sanomat* published in its domestic news section 56 items (Pietilä & Sondermann 1994:71). For a rough comparison, it can then be assumed that *Helsingin Sanomat* publishes tens of domestic news reports per day. As regards editorials, the paper publishes two to three are published daily.

Another reference point when considering the frequency of ethnic news may be found in the number of foreigners and refugees and in their possible changes. The increasing multiculturalism in Finland could generate media attention. Therefore, the number of foreigners and applicants for asylum during the study period may be interesting. Figure 3 illustrates the number of the items per year.

Examination of the frequency of the items shows that during the first two

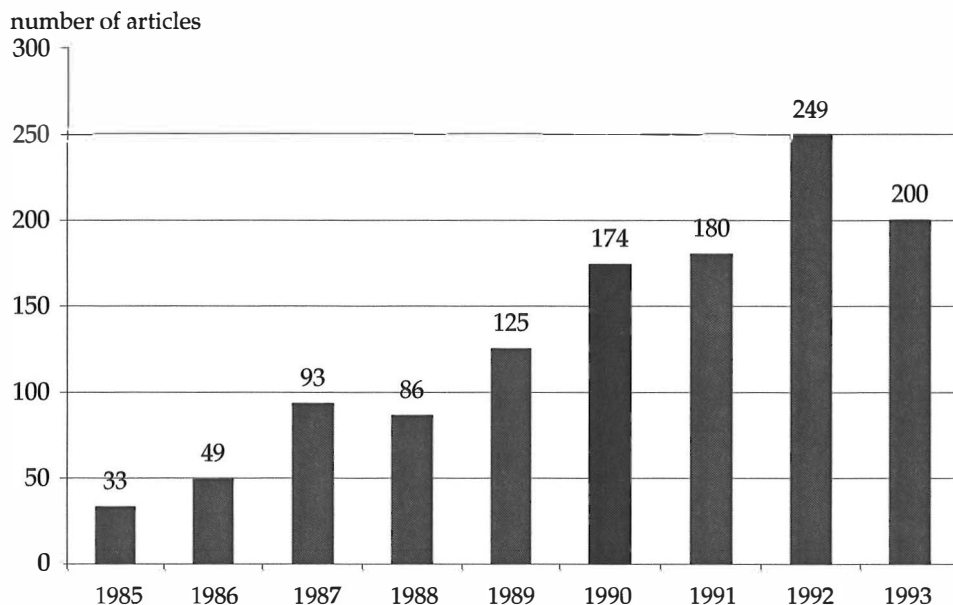


FIGURE 3 The number of the published items (n=1,189) per year.

years there were hardly any items at all about ethnic and immigration issues. Only 33 items were published in 1985, and 49 items in 1986. This means that there was less than one item published per week not to talk about per copy. At the same time, there were only c. 16,000 foreigners living in Finland, and only 18 and 23 applicants for asylum respectively. A very small number of foreigners living in Finland seems to have meant a small number of items about them.

The gradual increase in the numbers of the foreigners and asylum seekers was accompanied by a larger number of items. During the first six years only half of the total number of the items were published, while the other half appeared during the last three years. Thus in the years 1992 and 1993 both the number of the items (249 in 1992 and 200 in 1993) and the number of asylum seekers (3,634 in 1992 and 2,023 in 1993) reached their peak. Only a total of 174 items had been published in 1990, the same year when a relatively large number (2,743) applied for asylum the first time. It seems as if the newspaper became aware of this issue during the years 1992 and 1993.

The findings regarding frequency of items about ethnic and immigration issues suggest that the leading Finnish daily gave little attention to ethnic minorities, particularly before 1992-93. Comparison of the quantity of the items of ethnic minorities and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* with that of newspapers abroad indicates that the coverage in *Helsingin Sanomat* was less extensive than elsewhere. Brookes (1995), Troyna (1981), and van Dijk (1991) show that British newspapers published from one to five ethnic items on the average per copy, while the number in *Helsingin Sanomat* was less than 0.4 item per copy. Even in 1992, when the newspaper published more articles on ethnic minorities than in any other year under study, there were only about 0.7 ethnic items on the average per copy. The difference can be partly due to the difference in the numbers of the members of ethnic minorities in two countries, but the finding is indicative, particularly when

one bears in mind that even four or five items about ethnic issues per copy would not be much among tens of items. There is also a difference between this finding and the results of Rekola's (1995) and Hurri's (1992) studies; they found out that during a one week ethnic news coverage of Finnish press amounted on the average 2.2 and 5 items per copy respectively. Presumably the difference in the data collection and in the span of time examined resulted in the difference in the findings.

Another way to examine the attention to ethnic and immigration issues is to examine the space devoted to them. The frequency analysis was therefore complemented with an analysis of the length of the items. A simple measurement of the length of each of the items yielded this information. The length of the items varied from 5 centimetres to 662 centimetres. The range in the length of the items was quite large. The mean length of the items was 77 centimetres, and the median was 50 cm. Half of the 1.189 items were shorter than 50 centimetres and half longer than 50 cm.

A news item of 77 cm is relatively long in *Helsingin Sanomat* when compared to the average length of a whole page of the paper. The average column length of one page is c. 400 cm. A precise figure cannot be given, because the column space varies depending on the layout. The average length of the ethnic and immigration items accounts for one fifth (19.3 %) of one page, and the median for a little over one tenth (12.5 %). Pietilä and Sondermann (1994:71) noticed that the average length of news reports in *Helsingin Sanomat* was 31.6 column centimetres. Although a comparison like this cannot be absolute, it suggests however that the space devoted to ethnic and immigration news was considerable. It appears that ethnic and immigration news was not marginalized, at least in terms of the space devoted to these issues.

To investigate the use of pictures or other graphical illustrations in ethnic and immigration articles, a frequency count was carried out. Analysis of pictures included in items gives some indication about the ways in which the items were represented. Almost half of the items (44.4 %) included an illustration. The fact that large number of the items included an illustration is noteworthy, particularly when the economics of news making and news-making practices are borne in mind. Although pictures are an essential part of the coverage of any issue practical and economic factors impose limits on the use of pictures. Since it is not possible to have a picture with every news item, the editorial staff has to prioritize news events in terms of pictures. They also have to consider whether a picture adds anything significant to the news in comparison with a written version. Pictures can thus be expected to be a sign of the importance of news. The number of pictures in ethnic and immigration news suggests that these items were seen as rather important in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Since the analysis of the pictures did not extend to an examination of the contents of pictures, the conclusions remain tentative. In any case, *Helsingin Sanomat* chose to represent ethnic and immigration issues visually as well as textually. Pictures can convey and emphasize angles of a news event. Although the news text itself may be rather neutral, a picture of a gloomy or suspicious-looking refugee may alter its tone entirely. Moreover, connections between events and groups of people can easily be made visually, for instance writing about crime and illustrating it with a picture of a Somali refugee. A connection between crime and the Somali group is made visually, even if it remains tacit and, perhaps

even unevaluated at the conscious level (for examination between the relations of news texts and visual elements, see e.g. Männistö 1999).

6.1.2 Prioritization of items: the page

The page number is one indicator of the relative importance of news: the first page is reserved for the most important items and so forth. The frequency of the items per page was counted. Figure 4 presents the results of this analysis.

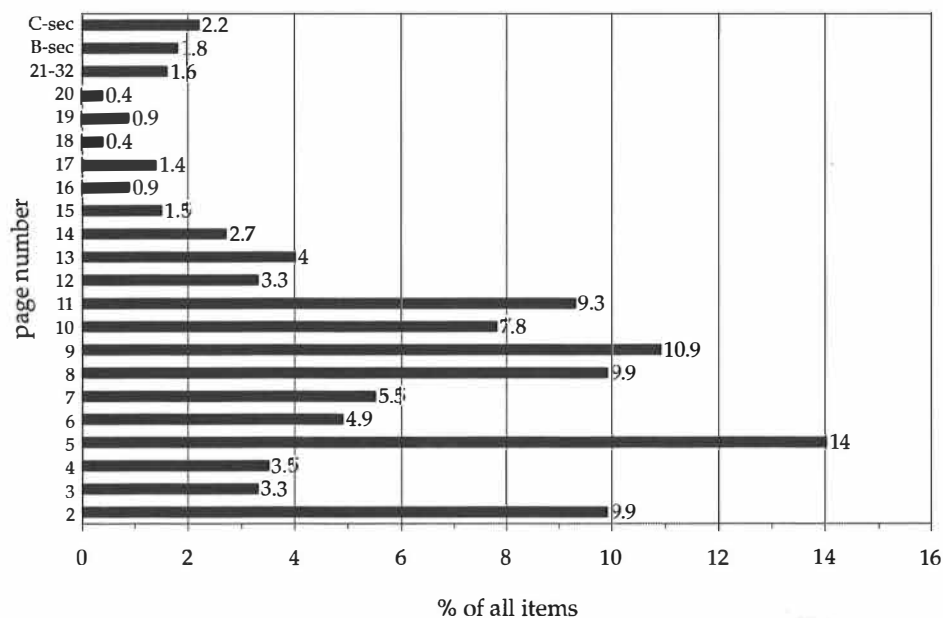


FIGURE 4 The distribution of the items (n=1,189) per page.

The items were distributed fairly broadly across the pages of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Articles about ethnic and immigration issues were published on every page during the period studied. However, study of the accumulation of the items per page showed that page five was markedly ahead of the others. Of the total of 1,189 items, 15 % were published on page five. This is significant, because page five is what *Helsingin Sanomat* calls the opening of its domestic news (kotimaan avaus). The fact that this is the page on which the significant proportion of the items was published suggests that ethnic and immigration events were considered important. Quite a large proportion of these items were thus regarded as one of the main domestic news of the day.

In contrast, only very few items (39) ended up being published on the most prestigious page, the front page, i.e. page 3 in *Helsingin Sanomat*. This implies that ethnic and immigrant news were seldom considered the main news event of the day. In addition, quite a large proportion of the items were published on page 2. This indicates that many of them were editorials and columns; only these types of materials are published on this page. Many items were also published on pages 8, 9, and 11. These are secondary news pages, which usually include short less im-

portant items. Consequently, a large proportion of the ethnic and immigration items were regarded as minor news events.

On the whole, half of the items (51 %) were published on the first eight pages. This implies that ethnic and immigration news were considered important. The newspaper put a considerable emphasis on ethnic and immigration issues in terms of publishing page. This seems to be related to the agenda-setting potential of the media. It is within the power of the media to emphasize some events over others, and the publishing page is one of the tools for this. In this sense, *Helsingin Sanomat* appears to have foregrounded ethnic and immigration news. This seems to be in contradiction to the idea that such issues are always marginalized in the news. However, it is not only the quantity of coverage that determines the significance of news but also the content of items and the ways in which they represent and construct events.

6.1.3 News types and authorship

News types and authorship highlight the nature of the coverage and shed light on the news practices underlying the coverage. The analysis of the news types found is consistent with page analysis reported above. As those results already indicated, the majority of the data was of the hard news type, and only a small proportion of the items represented other types of news material. The results of the analysis of the news types in the data are presented in Figure 5.

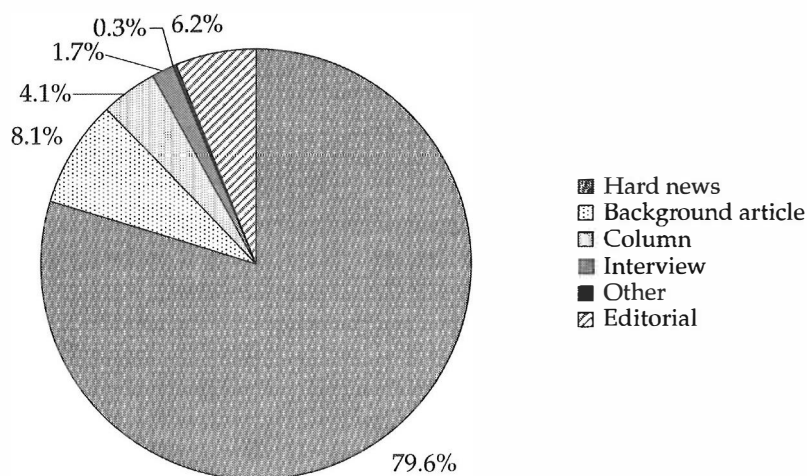


FIGURE 5 The proportion of the news types in the articles (n= 1,189).

Since the data was limited to domestic news section and editorials, it is hardly unexpected that the majority of the articles were the hard news type. Characteristically, this type emphasizes the relevance and novelty of the issue and focuses on what has happened rather than on background information about the events. A vast proportion of the hard news in the data coincides with the novelty of the ar-

rival of refugees and immigrants in Finland. As can be expected, the changing immigration situation attracted the attention of the media. After all, news about immigrants is also news about Finland changing. Conversely, the relatively small proportion of background articles was inconsistent with the novelty of the immigration situation.

The proportion of editorials is relatively large, which implies that ethnic and immigration issues were considered important and interesting enough to deserve an editorial comment. It appears that as an institution *Helsingin Sanomat* also wanted to bring its own opinion to bear on the public discussion about ethnic and immigration issues. As Figure 5 illustrates, other news types were hardly used.

The findings about authorship are in the line with the results of the news types. Given the close relation between news type and authorship this was to be expected. However, it proved worthwhile investigating the actual authorship of the items since the results provided further information about news-making practices. Figure 6 shows how authorship was distributed among the items.

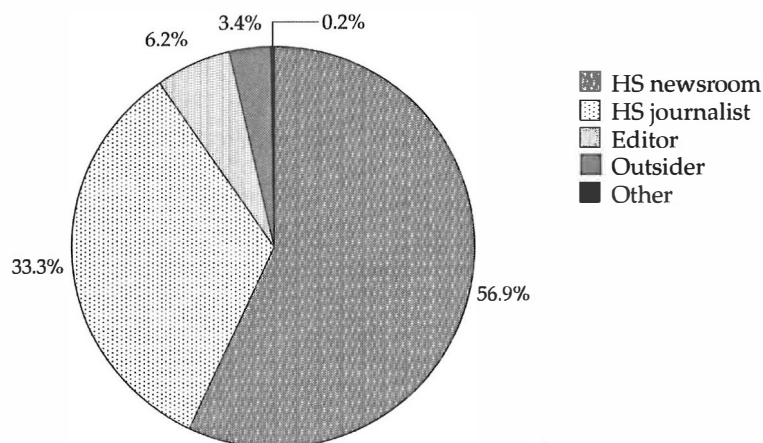


FIGURE 6 The distribution of authorship in the items (n=1,189).

Almost all of the items (95.6 %) were house products. Only 41 of the total of 1,189 items were written by outsiders. However, a closer analysis reveals different kinds of authorship among the items produced by *Helsingin Sanomat* - each of which are underpinned by the underlying news-making practices.

As Figure 6 shows, nearly three fifths of the items were produced by *Helsingin Sanomat* newsroom, and one third by the paper's journalists. The difference between these two percentages is linked with the underlying news-making practices. The label *HS* at the beginning of an item indicates that the news item in question is a joint product of the newsroom. In other words, a news item could have been composed of material from different sources, and thus the finished text could be a product by more journalists than one. Alternatively, an item may originally have been much longer, but lack of space and competition by other issues may have been the reason for restrictions. A great deal of the press release material is also edited and modified, and subsumed under the *HS* label.

Items with a by-line are mainly produced by journalists. Only slight modifications may have been made by the editorial staff. However, whether or not the

news item is signed by a journalist is an indirect way to infer the significance and importance of the news. A news story written by an individual journalist involves a laborious process including gathering the background information, conducting interviews, checking the facts, and finally, writing the article. This seems to suggest that in the case of ethnic and immigration issues, a relatively large number of items were written by individual journalists.

The names of three journalists recurred throughout the material. The three were different in style and approach. One wrote in a fairly negative way, as is obvious by her word choices (*'instant' refugees*, *'aliens'*, *'economic refugees'*) and in her coverage of news topics, which was often about the alleged abuse of social security and refugee status. The other two journalists seemed to be more sympathetic towards ethnic issues and minorities in their writing as is suggested by their choice of topics, their quotations of minority voices and their wording of the news. One of the two was more neutral, including both positive and negative aspects in the items. The third journalist wrote more about the problems and disadvantages of, and the discrimination experienced by foreigners. The difference was so noticeable that the sheer name of the journalist was sufficient to indicate the content and style of the items. Since these are my subjective impressions, this discussion remains speculative. However, this suggests that regardless of shared journalistic conventions and the requirement of impartial and balanced news reporting, the personal style and perhaps also individual preferences and beliefs seem to be manifested in the choice of topics, interviewees, quotations, and words.

It is not that unexpected that the styles vary between journalists. Journalists often specialize in certain areas and have a certain set of sources and contacts which they use in making an item out of a specific topic. The cumulative effect is that the same sources appear in items written by specific journalists. In this way the angle of the news also alters: it makes a difference whether, in the case of a refugee news item, for instance, a person from the police or the Ministry of Internal Affairs is interviewed, or whether the people interviewed are from the Red Cross and other aid organizations.

The final variable here concerns the degree of totality of the items, i.e. whether the items were about ethnic and immigration issues only or whether they were presented in combination with other topics. The vast majority of the items (94.8 %) dealt with ethnic and immigration issues alone. Only 5.2 % (62) of the items were presented along with other issues, such as legislation or Finland's foreign policy. Thus it seems that the majority of the ethnic and immigration issues were seen as separate, perhaps even isolated in Finnish society.

To conclude, the low number of ethnic items indicates that the leading Finnish daily did not consider ethnic minorities and related issues particularly newsworthy. The findings confirmed the assumption that a close relation exists between numbers of foreigners and particularly applicants for asylum and the frequency of items. This suggests that asylum seekers in particular were considered newsworthy.

Once ethnic issues attracted the attention of the paper, it seemed to find them relatively important. The analysis of length showed that a relatively large proportion of the column centimetres were devoted to ethnic and immigration issues. In addition, *Helsingin Sanomat* used a large number of pictures with these items. The emphasis was on hard news, as was shown by the analyses of page, news type,

and authorship. It appears that *Helsingin Sanomat* considered ethnic and immigration news significant once they were caught in the news net. In addition, the analysis of the presentational aspects of the coverage provided useful information for the purposes of the qualitative analysis of the textual aspects of the items to be conducted later.

6.2 The topics and discourses

6.2.1 Points of departure

The investigation of topics offers an interesting vantage point from which to examine news coverage. The events, issues, people, and their actions that are chosen to be covered and the extent to which these chosen aspects are discussed inevitably construct the knowledge about them, and position the people in question. The media have a power to focus public attention on a limited set of selected issues, as was discussed in Chapter 4 above. One result is that some topics are widely covered in the media while others are ignored. The examination of the dynamics of coverage relates not only to what topics the media choose to cover but also how the contents of those topics are presented. For example, what spectrum of viewpoints is selected to construct a particular news item and, especially, how are they ranked according to legitimacy and priority? Indications of legitimacy and priority in the news are, for instance, the access to direct quotations, headlines, and placement at the beginning of the text.

The investigation of news coverage also highlights the journalistic practices underlying news coverage. The choice of news topics, the use of news sources, and the formulation of actual news texts are all part of the journalistic profession, and thus the examination of news coverage offers an opportunity to investigate news making practices. The important underlying factors influencing all the choices are news values, news criteria, and news making practices (see Chapter 4).

By investigating the topics of the ethnic coverage in *Helsingin Sanomat*, I wanted to find out which events, persons, and issues in the Finnish ethnic and immigration scene were considered relevant, important, or interesting enough, i.e. newsworthy, to arouse attention in 1985-1993. In addition, I hope to be able to highlight the news making practices underlying this coverage. The critical discourse analytical orientation of the present study means that I try to see how the news coverage in terms of topic selection and frequency may contribute to the construction of 'ethnic otherness' and 'Finnishness' and the difference between the two.

To highlight this process from the point of view of discourse, I will explore the possibility of complementing content analysis with an analysis of discourses. The analysis of discourses in news text is two-fold: on the one hand, such features of language as lexis and metaphors make it possible to recognize a discourse. On the other hand, linking linguistic features with specific discourses is interpretative work by the analyst. In comparison with the concept of topic or content, the concept of discourse is broader and more interpretative and offers, in my opinion, a possibility to link linguistic elements to wider discursive and social elements. However, as this is an explorative attempt to combine content and discourse analy-

ses, which are usually kept separate, the findings must be regarded as tentative. Further, in order to keep the analysis manageable, I have limited the analysis of discourses to those that seem to be significant in construction ethnic difference and were featured in articles dealing with the seven most frequent topics.

By topic I mean the overall, dominant theme or themes in a single news item composed of a larger unit of a text than just a single word or a sentence. For my data, I counted as topics issues that extended over at least a couple of sentences. It is important to remember that the decision of what counts as a topic and labelling them is based on the analyst's interpretation and no absolute criteria can be given. In news studies and discourse studies, topic is widely used as a term to refer to this particular aspect of texts. (For a different use of the term topic see e.g. van Dijk 1987, 1991).

Hardly any text is about one topic only. Therefore, to account for at least some heterogeneity in terms of topics within any one news item, I decided to code a maximum of three topics per news item. This meant that the first three topics, if there were that many, were taken into account. It is obvious that some items had more than three topics, but it was necessary to make this restriction to keep the analysis manageable. A pilot analysis showed that for most items this was sufficient. In addition, the most important topics can be expected to be located at the beginning of the news. In this way the analysis can be expected to have covered at least the most important topics. Topic order can also be examined to a degree.

The coding of several topics in one and the same item accounts for the fact that there are more mentions of topics (3,124) than there are items (1,189) in the data. Table 3 gives the total number of mentions of topic. The proportion of these mentions is compared to all mentions in terms of percentages, and the average length of each topic is also given.

The analysis of the topics and their frequency in the coverage was started by forming the topic categories (for details, see Chapter 5). The topics originate in the data and were formulated within the research process. Table 3 below introduces the 47 topics covered in the items. Instead of a short list of topics, or combining various topics to topic clusters, I used an extended list of topics that captures the specifications to be found in the items. Since the topic categories were formed when the items were analyzed, they also describe the topic development of the news coverage of ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In other words, the first topics in the list are the topics that came up for the first time early in the period under study, and vice versa.

The topics seem to have changed: the early topics focused on general concerns of immigration and refugees and on issues that were not necessarily concerned with Finland, while later the interest shifted over to rather specific topics dealing with authorities' actions and Finland's aid for foreigners. This corresponds to the general development of Finland from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. The more ethnic and immigration issues became part of everyday life in Finland, the more specific matters of policy and practices were covered in the media.

The development of the topics illustrates in its own way how the changing socio-cultural situation and the growing diversity of the population in Finland became part of everyday life. These observations provide preliminary insights only on how the topics developed over the years. In this section the aspects of topic

frequency, topic order and the development of the topics during the time under investigation are discussed in turn. Next I move to discuss the results of the analysis of the topic frequency throughout the data.

6.2.2 More and less newsworthy topics

6.2.2.1 'They' are coming, arriving - but are 'they' staying as well?

The most frequently covered topics in *Helsingin Sanomat* during the period under scrutiny were those of *Residence permit decisions* and *Number of foreigners* (see Table 3). In addition, the paper regularly covered *Immigration to Finland*, *Finnish alien law*, and *Finnish refugee and alien policy*. Together these five topics yielded 1,026 mentions, which amounted to 32.8 % of all mentions and to 86 % of all items. In other words, majority of the coverage dealt with at least one of these topics. Table 3 shows the findings.

Residence permit decision, which was the most common topic, typically dealt with the question of whether a particular group or individual should be allowed to stay, and if so, what status should be allowed (an asylum, a temporary permit etc.). The following headlines of news reports illustrate this topic.

- 1 *Suomi aikoo sulkea rajansa entisen Jugoslavian pakolaisilta*
Sisäministeriön esittämästä viisumipakosta päätetään maanantaina (HS 18.7.1992)
Finland intends to close its borders from refugees from the former Yugoslavia
The Internal Affairs Ministry's proposal for obligatory visas is to be decided on Monday
- 2 *Suomeen tulleet jugoslaavit saavat oleskeluluvan* (HS 13.8.1992)
Jugoslavians arriving to Finland are granted a residence permit

This topic also generated attempts at providing a definition for a 'genuine' refugee or an asylum seeker, and also speculations on the conditions on which a newcomer was to be let to stay in the country. This is illustrated by the examples below from a news report (3) and an editorial (4) dealing with the position of Ingrians (inkeriläiset)¹. The example (3) comes from a news report with a headline *Yhä useampi itäturisti jää yrittämään inkeriläiseksi*, 'An increasing number of Eastern tourists try to pass as an Ingrian'. The excerpt (3) is a direct quotations from the statement given by Markku Leijo from a special social security office of Helsinki. The subtitle is given by the newspaper.

- 3 *Supisuomalaisista umpivenäläisiin*

"Minusta vika on paluumuuttajan käsitteessä. Perinteisestihän se tarkoitti esimerkiksi kymmenen vuotta Australiassa olleita ihmisiä, jotka tahtoivat palata Suomeen, olivat selvästi suomalaisia, heillä oli suomalaiset nimet ja he puhuivat suomea ja tunsivat suomalaisen kulttuurin. Inkerinsuomalaiset paluumuttajat voivat olla aivan mitä vain. Ilmiselvästi

¹ Ingrian refers to descendants of those Finns who moved in the 17th century to Ingria, nearby St. Petersburg, Russia. In 1990's a number of Ingrians moved to Finland as they were defined as 'remigrant' by an initiative made by President Koivisto. However, as many Ingrians had lost much of their knowledge of the Finnish culture and language, doubts about the abuse of the Ingrian status arose, and there were mixed feelings towards them. (Kuusisto 2000:160-162.)

TABLE 3 Topic frequency in the data (n=1,189).

Frequency of Mentions			
Topic	N	% of all mentions	average length in cm
Immigration, general	16	0.5	46.9
Refugee, general	19	0.6	25.3
Immigration to Finland	191	6.1	27.3
Housing	53	1.7	25.6
Health	32	1.0	33.0
Education	92	3.0	32.9
(un)Employment	72	2.3	36.5
Costs	91	2.9	30.8
Religion	12	0.4	40.9
Minority culture	109	3.5	42.7
Crime	145	4.6	23.1
Finnish alien and refugee policy	150	4.8	23.1
Finnish alien law	177	5.7	30.3
Non-Finnish views of Finnish immigration policy	28	0.9	15.0
Discrimination, racism	137	4.4	31.5
Relations between Finns and minorities	67	2.1	91.9
Race and ethnic relations	9	0.3	30.3
Racial and ethnic attacks	44	1.4	22.1
Demonstrations	29	0.9	31.4
Court actions	93	3.0	17.1
Media	11	0.4	28.9
Alien and refugee policy abroad	27	0.9	25.0
Human rights	58	1.9	30.1
Minority view of Finland	33	1.1	34.7
Adaption, assimilation	79	2.5	38.3
Other	5	0.1	41.8
Citizenship	14	0.4	48.5
Residence permit decisions	284	9.1	24.4
Numbers of foreigners	224	7.2	21.6
Welfare	18	0.6	29.9
Finland's development aid	19	0.6	34.5
Placement of refugees	131	4.2	22.0
Turn back	102	3.3	22.3
Minority life in Finland	65	2.1	42.4
Nordic collaboration	7	0.2	17.8
Authorities' responsibilities	47	1.5	30.6
Minorities' background	71	2.3	33.5
Assesment of authorities' actions	74	2.4	20.2
Finns' alien attitudes	108	3.5	30.2
Remigration	11	0.4	30.5
Ethnic history of Finland	9	0.3	54.9
Discussion on foreigners	10	0.3	26.8
Abuse of refugee position	28	0.9	21.9
Finland's defence	9	0.3	40.1
Authorities proceedings	85	2.7	24.8
Research	14	0.4	33.8
Finns' help for foreigners	15	0.5	21.8
Total	3124	100	1 468.9

suomalaisista umpivenäläisiin. Kaikista luvista huomimatta osa porukasta on sellaista joilla ei ole mitään tekemistä suomalaisuuden kanssa". (HS 31.8.1992)

From real Finns to totally Russians

"Personally, I think the problem is the notion of remigrant itself. Traditionally, it was used to refer to such people, who had stayed in Australia for, say, ten years, and who wanted to return to Finland. They were clearly Finns, they had Finnish names, they talked Finnish and knew Finnish culture. The background of Ingrian-Finns remigrants can be anything. From obvious Finns to total Russians. Despite permissions, some of them clearly have nothing to do with Finnishness".

Next day, the editorial of Helsingin Sanomat comments the same issues in an editorial titled *Paluumuttajan asema 'The position of a remigrant'*.

- 4 ... Osa heistä (paluumuuttajista) on vilpittömin mielin lupaavien huhujen perässä liikkeelle lähteneitä elintasopakolaisia. Osa taas tulee maahan harhauttamalla viranomaisia. Lisäksi joidenkin oikeiden paluumuuttajien on huomattu käyttävän väärin toimeentulotukea.

...
Jos paluumuuttohakemukset käsiteltäisiin lähtömaassa, aidoilla ja rehellisillä paluumuuttajilla ei kai olisi syytä tulla turistiviisumilla Suomeen oleskelemaan. Mahdollisuus saada toimeentulotukea turistiviisumin varassa pitäisikin poistaa. (HS 1.9.1992)

... some of them (remigrants) are economic refugees moving with sincere intentions after hearing gossips that promises them a better future. Some, on the other hand, enter the country by misleading the authorities. In addition, some of the real remigrants have been found out to abuse the social security.

...
 If the applications for remigration were handled in the country of departure, real and honest remigrants would probably not have any reason to come to stay in Finland by tourist visa. The possibility to get money from social security while staying on tourist visa should be removed.

Besides characterizing the most frequent topic in the news coverage, the examples above illustrate a discourse that the items and editorials about this topic often draw on. This discourse can be called as *'Genuine or false'*. A recognisable characteristic of this discourse is its lexis: *'real Finns'*, *'totally Russians'*, *'they have Finnish names'*, *'they know Finnish culture'*, *'they have nothing to do with Finnishness'*, *'economic refugees'*, *'real and honest remigrants'*. This discourse may be interpreted to set up dual representations of ethnic minorities and Finns. On the one hand, newcomers may be portrayed as *'real and honest'* and therefore entitled to enter and stay in the country. Accordingly, the Finns are represented as welcoming and assuming a responsibility of the refugees. On the other hand, however, applicants may also be represented as ones who *'mislead authorities'*, are *'economic refugees'*, or *'abuse social security'*. Finns, in turn, are then represented as *'payers'* or *'victims'*. A direct quotation of a policeman in a news about Somali refugees exemplifies the ambiguity embedded in the representation of the Other and Us conveyed in this discourse.

- 5 "Todella harmittaa se, kun meidän systeemiä käytetään väärin hyväksi. Se rahoitetaan meidän veronmaksajien rahoilla" Helsingin Poliisilaitoksen passintarkastustoimiston päällikkö Jyrki Ratia sanoo. "On eri asia, jos turvapaikanhakijalla on todella hätä. Jos turvapaikanhakijaa tosiaan vainotaan hänen kotimaassaan, niin kyllä hänet pitää tänne ottaa" (HS 20.8.1992.)

It really annoys, to see our system abused. All this is paid by us taxpayers, says the chief of the pass control office, Jyrki Ratia from the Helsinki police department. "It is different, if the asylum seeker is in real trouble. If an asylum seeker really is persecuted at her or his home country, then we surely have to take her or him here".

This discourse positions the newcomers as either genuine or false, honest or dishonest, and the Finns as helpers or as victims and payers. The articles which deal with *Residence permit decisions* may be interpreted to belong a wider frame of reference, namely that of ethnic juxtaposition, a typical characteristics to the relations between different ethnic groups (see e.g. van Dijk 1991, Hall 1997a, 1997b, see also Chapter 2). For ethnic juxtapositioning it is characteristic to set up a symbolic difference between two ethnic groups by contrasting them and referring to differences in appearance, habits, languages, or personal characteristics such honesty, trustworthiness, or working habit. The articles about this topic also illustrate how the newcomers were labelled and how they were compared to Finns and Finnish characteristics. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the definition of the Other also sets up characteristics of Us. As a result of the definitions and descriptions it typically entailed, the topic *Residence permit decision* can be regarded as a particular discursive site where the construction of Otherness and Finnishness took place.

Helsingin Sanomat also frequently addressed the topic of *The number of foreigners*. This topic involved issues such as the actual or preferred numbers of foreigners living in Finland, the actual or speculated number of refugees arriving to Finland, and the number of refugees that should be admitted into the country. Many items about this topic were full of numbers, as the news headlines (examples 6 and 7) and leads of two news reports (example 8 and 9) illustrate:

- 6 *Kaksi kolmesta pakolaisesta saa lähteä*
Turvapaikan hakijoille on alkuvuonna myönnetty oleskelulupia aiempaa kitsaammin
 (HS 7.4.1992)
 Two out of three refugees will have to go
 Fewer residence permits granted to asylum seekers in the first quarter of the year than before.
- 7 *Neljälle somalille turvapaikka Suomesta* (HS 30.8.1990)
 Four Somalis granted an asylum in Finland
- 8 *Suomessa asuvien ulkomaalaislasten määrä yli 10 000*
Suomessa asuu runsaat 10 000 ulkomaista lasta, joista puolet Uudellamaalla. Pakolaislapsia on 1 200. Heistä puolet on tullut Suomeen yksin, ilman vanhampia. (HS 4.9.1993)
 The number of foreign children living in Finland over 10,000
 There are over 10,000 foreign children living in Finland, half of them in the province of Uusimaa. The number of refugee children is 1,200. Half of them have arrived in Finland alone, without parents.
- 9 *Joka 25. helsinkiläinen on jo ulkomaalainen.*
Viidessä vuodessa määrä lähes kaksinkertaistunut.
Helsingissä asuvien ulkomaalaisten määrä on viidessä vuodessa liki kaksinkertaistunut. Vuodessa 1989 pääkaupungissa asui runsaat kymmenen tuhatta ulkomaalaista, tämän vuoden alussa jo lähes 20 000. Joka 25. Helsingiläinen on siis ulkomaalainen. (HS 26.7.1993)
 Already every 25th person in Helsinki is a foreigner
 The amount has almost doubled in five years
 The number of foreigners living in Helsinki has almost doubled in five years. In 1989, about ten thousand foreigners lived in the capital, while at the beginning of this year their number was almost 20,000. Thus every 25th person in Helsinki is a foreigner.

Many news reports and editorials dealing this topic draw on a discourse that can be labelled as discourse of 'Statistics'. This discourse can be recognized by its frequent usage of numbers 'four Somalis', 'over 10 000, 1,200, about 4 000, already 6 000', and comparisons 'fewer than before', 'almost doubled', 'every 25th', 'two out of three', 'half'. The use of the verb be, which is typical in science texts (Karvonen 1995) contributes to the 'factual' -character of this discourse. It represents ethnic minorities in terms of their quantity and increase thus implying change. The majority members, in turn, were not often featured here as individuals or institutions but rather represented through referring to a location (in Finland, to Finland, in Uusimaa, in Helsinki, in the capital).

The change in Finland's ethnic scene was in the focus of the topic that came the third in frequency, *Immigration to Finland*. The actual or potential immigration was described in relation to Finland and Finns from three different angles, namely those of *migration, changes in the Soviet Union/Russia, and global refugee situation*. The migration aspect emphasized the necessity of Finland to accept migrants because Finland's citizens are ageing. This angle is exemplified in next two examples. Example (10) comes from a background article published on the Sunday extra and example (11) is an excerpt from an editorial.

10 *Siirtolaisten tulolle ei ole enää vaihtoehtoa*

Sulkeutunut Suomi muuttuu 1990-luvulla maahanmuuttomaaksi. Ulkomaalaisia tarvitaan, jotta työt saadaan tehtyä eikä väestö kuihdu. Työvoima-asiantuntija ennustaa jopa 300 000 siirtolaisen tulevan maahan. (HS 16.12.1990)

No alternatives left for the coming of migrants

The Finland that has closed its borders will change to a country of migration in 1990s. Foreigners are needed to get the work done and to keep the population figures steady. An employment expert predicts that the number of migrants to arrive at Finland will be as high as 300 000.

11 *Kohti siirtolaisten vastaanottoa*

...

On toki tärkeätä valmentaa kansalaisia siihen, että tulevaisuuden Suomessa asuu kymmeniä - ja pitkän päälle ehkä satojatuhausia maahanmuuttajia. Menetelmäksi ei sovi sokkihoito ja mielikuvat valtaisista ulkomaalaisvirroista. Meillä on vuosikymmen aikaa sopeutua varsin rauhallisesti. (HS 22.12.1990)

Towards reception of migrants

It is, naturally, important to prepare the citizens for the fact that in future, tens of thousands - and in a long run even hundreds of thousands migrants will live in Finland. Shock treatment or evoking images of tremendous floods of foreigners cannot be a proper methods of preparing for this. We have a decade to adapt steadily to this.

The consequences of political and social changes in the former Soviet Union to Finland's situation was another angle. The following examples from news reports illustrate this.

12 *Tutkija Tomas Ries:
Suomen puolustuksen varauduttava idästä tuleviin nälkäpakolaisiin*

Neuvostoliiton sisäinen kehitys on suomalais-amerikkalaisen tutkijan Tomas Riesin mielestä keskeinen tekijä Suomen lähivuosien puolustuspolitiikassa. Suomen on otettava huomioon

sekä pakolaisaallon että Neuvostoliiton sisällä puhkeavan aseellisen konfliktin mahdollisuus.

...
Vakavampi kriisin taso olisi nälkää pakenevien ihmisten tulva Neuvostoliitosta Suomeen. Ries havainnollisti tilannetta kartalla, johon oli merkitty Suomen lähialueiden väestömäärät idässä: Leningrad ympäristöineen noin kuusi miljoonaa, Kuolan-Murmanskin alue kaksi miljoonaa, Neuvosto-karjala lähes miljoona. (HS 18.11.1990)

Researcher Tomas Ries:

Finland's defence must be prepared to hunger refugees coming from East

The internal development of the Soviet Union is according to the Finnish-American researcher Tomas Ries a central factor in Finland's defence policy for next couple of years. Finland must consider the possibility of a refugees wave but also the internal armed conflict within the Soviet Union.

...
 A crisis on a more serious level would occur if a flood of people fleeing from hunger in the Soviet Union would come to Finland. Ries illustrated the situation by showing a map with the numbers of population in the areas near Finland in East: Leningrad with its surroundings about six millions, Kola-Murmansk area two millions, Soviet-Karelian almost a million.

13 *Valtaosa suomalaisista ei hyväksy pakolaisten virtaa itärajan takaa*

*Neljä viidestä suomalaisesta on tuoreen mielipidekyselyn mukaan sitä mieltä, että Suomen viranomaisten tulisi pitää Neuvostoliitosta mahdollisesti pyrkivät suuret pakolaisryhmät rajojen ulkopuolella. . . .
 Noin puolet haastatelluista pitää todennäköisenä, että itärajan yli alkaa tulla suurin joukoin pakolaisia. . . .(HS 2.12.1990)*

Most Finns do not approve the refugee flow from the East

According to a recent Gallup, four out of five Finns consider that Finnish authorities should close the border from the large groups of refugees, possibly coming from the Soviet Union . . .
 About half of the people interviewed think that it is likely that hoards of refugees will try to cross the Eastern border. . .

The third aspect of the topic of *Immigration to Finland* dealt with the global changes in both the number and the directions of migration, and its possible effects in Finland. Somalis arriving at the borders of Finland asking for asylum were seen as a proof of this change. To exemplify this, we can look at the three news headlines below.

14 *Muuttoaalto hyökyy pohjoismaihin 1990 -luvulla (HS 11.3.1990)*

Wave of immigration will flood the Nordic countries in the 1990 's.

15 *Turvapaikan hakijat ovat vasta löytämässä Suomen*

Lappeenrannasta tulossa pakolaisten merkittävä välietappi (HS 21.2.1990)

Asylum seekers are only beginning to find Finland
 Lappeenranta becoming a significant stopping point for refugees

16 *Pakolaisvirta täytti vastaanottokeskukset*

Somaleja tulee taas Suomeen Neuvostoliitosta (HS 15.10 1990)

The flow of refugees flooded reception centres
 More Somalis coming again to Finland from the Soviet Union

These different angles to the immigration suggest that the phenomenon is complex and multilayered. Consequently, also its coverage is heterogeneous. It is worthwhile to notice that the examples above were all published in 1990 as were most of the articles dealing with this topic. Although these angles to the topic of *Immigration to Finland* deal with different aspects, my interpretation is that many

of these news reports and editorials feature a discourse that I call 'Nearing change'. This discourse is recognized by its lexis and certain types of verbs discussed below. It represents the newcomers as anonymous, numerous groups of people (*foreigners, 300,000 migrants, tens, maybe hundred of thousands migrants*) which may also be compared to destructive powers of nature, as in '*wave of refugees*', '*flood of people*', '*flow of refugees*', or '*surge of migration*'. Their disturbing effect is also conveyed by the use of verbs: although the newcomers '*come*' and '*live*', they also '*surge*' and '*flood*'. On the whole, the use of material verbs emphasizes the construction of these events as happenings, changes, and transitions. The Finns, instead, are represented as a homogeneous group of people '*citizens*,' '*population*,' '*us*,' '*Finns*,' and via the state of Finland, i.e. '*closed Finland*', '*the future Finland*'. Moreover, this discourse positions the majority at the verge of a change, such as '*The Finland that has closed its borders will change to a country of immigration, . . . to prepare the citizens. . . , we have time to. . . adapt. . .*' Briefly, the discourse of 'Nearing change' represents the newcomers as bringing a change to Finland, effecting on Us. Thus it could be speculated that since the newcomers are at times described in words usually associated with the nature catastrophes, there is also an implicit suggestion underlying this discourse that the change is for worse. A colourful and pointed column written by a *Helsingin Sanomat* journalist and published on extra Sunday pages sums up rather well, in my opinion, the central elements of the discussion regarding immigration to Finland.

17 *Pakolaisten luvattu maa*

Ulkomaalaiset eivät enää kavahda pimeää, pakkasta ja suomalaista luonnetta. Heitä tulee maalta, mereltä ja ilmasta, idästä ja etelästä. He etsivät kuka mitäkin; yksi turvaa, toinen leipää, kolmas ilmasta täyshoitoa. Annammeko heidän tulla?

Suomalaisten ei ole tarvinnut tähän saakka vakavissaan keskustella ulkomaalaispolitiikasta. Vain pikkupäskieitä maailman pakolais- ja siirtolaisvirroista on osunut Suomeen. Nyt on todellisuus saavuttamassa meidät.

Nääntyvän Pohjois-Afrikan somalit ovat keksineet pohjoisen pikkumaan, jossa kaikki ovat rikkaita. Romanianlaiset nuoret miehet etsivät täältä onneaan. Neuvostoviranomaiset pelottelevat miljoonilla elintasopakolaisilla, jotka eivät jaksu jonottaa Neuvostoliiton kaupoissa, vaan pakkaavat matkalaukkunsa ja suunnistavat Suomen rajalle. (HS 28.10.1990).

Promised land of refugees

The foreigners no longer fear the darkness, frost and Finnish character. They are arriving by land, sea and air, from East and South. They seek different things; one seeks for an asylum, another wants to earn her or his bread and a third one want to be given a living for free. Do we allow them to come?

So far Finns have not needed to talk seriously about our foreigner policy. Only minor splashes from the world's flows of refugees and migrants have hit Finland. Now the reality is reaching us.

The Somalis from the starving Northern Africa have now noticed the little country in the North, where everybody is rich. Romanian young men try to find their luck here. Soviet authorities have frightened us with their talk about millions of economic refugees are fed up with queuing in the shops of the Soviet Union and are ready to pack their suitcase and steer for the Finnish border.

Also *Finnish alien law* attracted much attention as is indicated in Table 3. The frequency of this topic was not unexpected, since the new situation revealed the obsolete nature of Finnish legislation and its inability to meet the new demands. There were also demands to change policies on the basis of Finland's EEA and EC commitments, which meant improved rights for the foreigners in Finland, concerning ownership, right to vote, etc. In the period 1985-1993, the Finnish alien legislation was changed three times, and it turned from being one of the strictest in Europe to a more tolerant one in 1988, just to be tightened up again in 1991. These changes in legislation were considered newsworthy, as is shown by the example (18) from a news report:

18 *Hallitus korjaa ulkomaalaislakia*

Hallitus aikoo korjata eduskunnan käsiteltävänä olevaa uutta ulkomaalaislakia. Keskiviikkoisessa iltakoulussaan hallitus sopi, että eduskunnan lakivaliokunnassa odottelevasta lakiesityksestä sorvataan uudelleen turvapaikkapäätösten valitusmenettelyä koskevat pykälät.

Iltakoulussa hyväksyttiin sisäministeri Jarmo Rantasen (sd) ehdotukset turvapaikkapäätöksistä. Niiden mukaan turvapaikasta päättää sisäministeriön ulkomaalaiskeskus, ja kielteisestä päätöksestä voi valittaa turvapaikkalautakunnalle. Turvapaikkalautakunnan päätöksistä ei enää voisi valittaa. (HS 18.10.1990)

Cabinet amends Aliens Act

The cabinet aims at amending the new Aliens Act which is now being processed by the Parliament. In its evening session on Wednesday, the cabinet agreed that the articles dealing with the right to complain about the asylum decisions will be rewritten in the bill that is now being kept waiting in the Legal Affairs Committee of the Parliament.

The proposals concerning the asylum decisions that were made by Jarmo Rantanen (Social Democrats), Minister of Internal Affairs, were accepted in the evening session of the cabinet. According to the proposals, the asylum decision is made by the Directorate of Immigration of the Ministry of the Interior and a complaint about a negative decision is to be made to the Asylum Board. The decisions of the Asylum Board are final.

After Finland joined the European Communities in 1995, Finnish alien law also became also subject to the common EC agreements. Although the demands to change the alien law were partly due to the foreign policy of Finland, much of the need for change came from within Finnish society. The changes were - and are - a powerful tool to regulate and control the rights and responsibilities of the immigrants in the country. A discourse of '*Legislation*' often features articles about this topic. Recognisable characteristics of this discourse is use of legal jargon: '*Alien act*', '*the cabinet*', '*processed by the Parliament*', '*the Legal Affairs Committee of the Parliament*'. This discourse also contained some long sentences and uses of passive voice. The discourse of '*Legislation*' contributes to a representation of ethnic and immigration issues as an administrative and legal question. As the people were rarely referred to, the discourse sets up the discussion between institutions.

Issues related to the *Alien and refugee policy* of Finland were discussed frequently in *Helsingin Sanomat*. This was to be expected, since the changes described above inevitably created a need to re-evaluate the policy decisions and the general direction Finland had taken or should take. Before 1985, no wider discussion about the policy existed, because by then refugees had been admitted by the re-

quest of the UNCHR only. From 1985, Finland agreed to an annual quota of refugees. Due to the changes in the Soviet Union, there had been asylum-seekers at the Finnish borders, and it became necessary to negotiate agreements between the parties concerned. In the years under investigation, the Finnish government tried to formulate a coherent guideline for Finland's official policy, but the three cabinets during the time failed to accomplish this. *Helsingin Sanomat* made news about the developments frequently and commented on them in its editorials. Next extract illustrates this topic:

19 *Pääministeri Sorsa Kööpenhaminassa:*
Suomen suunniteltava itse oma pakolaispolitiikkansa

Pääministeri Kalevi Sorsan (sd) mielestä Suomi tarvitsee oman erityisen pakolaispolitiikkansa. Sorsan mukaan Suomi voi nostaa pakolaiskiintiötään, kun valmius vastaanottaa pakolaisia paranee. . . .

. . . Sorsan mielestä pohjoismaissa käyty pakolaiskeskustelu on ollut jossain määrin hämmentävää. "Se oikeastaan alkoi, kun Tanskassa ja Ruotsissa syntyi pakolaistulvan vuoksi vaikeuksia" Sorsa sanoi. Hän arveli tällöin jollekin tulleen mieleen, että tilanne helpottuisi, jos Suomi ja Norja ottaisivat enemmän pakolaisia vastaan. (HS 5.3.1986)

The prime minister Kalevi Sorsa in Copenhagen:
 Finland plans by herself its refugee policy

According to the prime minister Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democrats) Finland needs its own special refugee policy. According to Sorsa, Finland can increase its quota for refugees, when the readiness to receive refugees improves.

. . . According to Sorsa, the refugee discussion in the Nordic countries has been, to a certain extent, confusing. "It really started, when the problems in Denmark and Sweden as a result of flood of refugees began", Sorsa said. He surmised that at the time, somebody might have thought that the situation would get better, if Finland and Norway accepted more refugees.

20 *Pakolaispolitiikan umpikuja*

. . . .
Pakolaispolitiikassa Suomen hallitus ja puolueet ovat olleet sekä muiden pohjoismaiden tullinjalalla että kotimaisen mielipiteen ristitulessa. Pakolaisten hädän tunnustajan ja auttajana Suomea on arvostelu syystä hitaaksi ja haluttomaksi. Silti osa kotimaista mielipidettä on tyytyväisenä ja vaieten hyväksynyt hallitusten niukan linjan. (HS 9.8.1987)

Refugee policy at dead end

...
 The Finnish government and political parties have been in cross-fire because of their refugee policy both in the Nordic countries and at home. In recognizing the distress and in helping the refugees, Finland has been criticized - and for a good reason - for being slow and unwilling. Yet some domestic opinions agree with the strict line of the government with silent satisfaction.

In addition, these themes brought up other topics in the news coverage. For instance, Finnish alien and refugee policy was compared to *the policies of other countries* (n=27), particularly to those of other Nordic countries. *Critical comments* on Finnish ethnic and immigration policy (n=28) coming from other countries were also reported. The strict immigration policy of Finland was described as being due to *the Finns' attitudes towards foreigners* (n=108), which were believed to be negative, but which later turned out to be more tolerant than they were believed (Jaakkola 1989).

The extracts above are examples of what I suggest is a discourse of '*Pressuring opinions*'. The discourse featured many articles about the topic of Finnish *alien*

and refugee policy. This discourse is characterized by the fact that its participants are typically named politicians, political establishments and nations. Further, an important element is 'an opinion' whether expressed the prime minister, nation, or citizens and which pressures political actors do a certain decisions rather than others. Ethnic minorities are constructed by this discourse as rather distant, even abstract masses, such as '*a quota for refugees*', '*refugee discussion*', and '*refugees*'. The majority is represented in this discourse through politicians, political establishment and nations.

In sum, the three most frequently covered topics - *residence permit decisions*, *number of foreigners*, *immigration to Finland* - can all be interpreted to be about the Finland changing ethnically, but from different points of view. Three discourses, namely those of '*Genuine or false*', '*Statistics*' and '*Nearing change*', often featured articles about these topics. Each discourse represents ethnic minorities and Finns differently, but common to all representations is that they contribute to the differentiation of ethnic minorities and the Finns from each other. The topics of *Finnish alien law* and *Alien and refugee policy* focused more on administrative aspects of ethnic issues representing via discourses of '*Legislation*' and '*Pressuring opinions*' ethnic minorities distant abstractions.

In the light of these findings it seems that out of several possible concerns, the most frequently covered questions were the following: 1) who were allowed to stay in the country and on what grounds, 2) the number of these people, 3) the reasons why they were coming to Finland, and 4) how the Finnish administration dealt with this. The most frequently covered topics can also be seen to answer the basic journalistic questions: what, where, why, how, and when.

It can be speculated how much these particular aspects of ethnic and immigration issues attracted *Helsingin Sanomat* journalists because the topics were related to the changes in the status quo. In a situation where Finland was for the first time in 1985 as a result of the pressure of other European countries, and the Nordic countries in particular, to accept an annual quota for refugees, and later the arrival of asylum-seekers, the media inevitably had a role to give information about the changing situation but also the power to act as an interpreter of these changes. By giving a clear quantitative emphasis on the five news topics *Helsingin Sanomat* news coverage constructs a dominant picture of ethnic minorities as an unidentified, non-personified phenomenon which is about to bring changes, very likely troubling ones, in Finland, affecting Finns and it is up to Finns to decide and choose what to do with it.

6.2.2.2 Crime, racism, discrimination: unrest in Arcadia

The impact of the increasing multi-culturalism in Finland was also frequently covered. Out of all possible consequences that the growing number of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the country brought along, the news coverage focused on *Crime* (n=145), on the one hand, and *Discrimination and racism* (n=137) on the other, as Table 3 shows. This is in line with the findings of previous studies (e.g. Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991, see also Chapter 4).

These topics are closely linked with the other topics frequently covered. For instance, in discussing the direction of the Finnish alien and refugee policy, among the topics that were often mentioned were the true or alleged crimes committed

by the newcomers, the discrimination and racism towards refugees and immigrants in Finland, and the Finns' attitudes, particularly the hostile and racist ones, towards foreigners. The frequent use of these arguments is reflected in the topic frequency, as the figures in Table 3 show.

The crime topic dealt with crimes committed by foreigners and members of ethnic minority groups in Finland. Among the crimes reported there were prostitution, shop lifting, organized crime, and drug crimes, as the following examples illustrate.

- 21 *Tulli takavarikoi tansanialaiselta mieheltä 100 g heroïinia (HS 2.10.1992)*
Customs seized 100 g heroin from a Tanzanian man

The articles about this topic often discussed also the crimes in a more general level, particularly their potential increase. This is illustrated by the next examples.

- 22 *Poliisi tutustunut viime aikoina moniin ulkomaalaisten rikoksiin*

Suomessa on syksyn ja menneen kesän aikana liikkunut poikkeuksellisen paljon ulkomaalaisia varkaita, petkuttajia ja huijareita. Myös yksi ulkomaalaisten tekemä laaja asuntomurtosarja on paljastunut.

Helsingin rikospoliisi ei osaa perustella näppituntumaansa tilastoilla, mutta on vakuuttunut, että lähinnä ulkomaalaisten turistien tekemät rikokset ovat lisääntyneet viime aikoina laidasta laitaan. (HS 27.10.1987)

Police has recently got acquainted with crimes committed by foreigners

During this autumn and last summer exceptionally many foreign thieves, cheaters and swindlers have been around in Finland. Also series of burglaries committed by foreigners is exposed.

Helsinki police department is not able to support its impression with statistics, but is convinced that any crimes done mostly by foreign tourists have increased lately.

- 23 *Itärikollisten teot vähäisempiä kuin huhut väittävät*
Tavallisin rikos on viinan salakauppa
Ammattikonnia tulee joka vuosi enemmän

Suomessa on alettu yhä vakaammin uskoa, että idästä tulviivat rikolliset ovat valtaamassa maata. Jokaisen maastopyörävarkauden tai hämärän surmatyön tekijäksi epäillään automaattisesti venäläisiä tai virolaisia

Kukaan ei osaa tarkkaan sanoa, kuinka monta rikosta idästä tulleet turistit tai ammattirikolliset todella tekevät Suomessa. Kiinnijääneiden joukko on kuitenkin paljon uskottua pienempi ja teot vaatimattomampia kuin suupuheet kertovat. (HS 6.9.1992)

Eastern criminals committed lesser crimes than rumours claim

The most common crime is illicit trade of spirits

The number of professional crooks increases every year

In Finland one increasingly believes that the criminals flooding from the East are about to invade the country. Every mountain bike theft or an obscure killing is automatically suspected to be committed by a Russian or an Estonian.

Nobody can say exactly, how many crimes the tourists from the East or professional criminals really commit in Finland. The number of those caught is, however, much smaller than believed and their crimes more modest than the gossips say.

Crime is a frequent topic in any news coverage. Thus it is not unexpected that crime gets its share in the case of ethnic and immigration issues. There is a dan-

ger, however, that crime news which bring up the ethnic background of the offender or connect, for example, one ethnic minority to a certain types of crimes, contribute to a representation that the whole group in question is dubious and troublesome. Minorities themselves, being marginalized, are not in a good position to argue for themselves or to bring alternative points of view to public discussion.

An interesting question is why real or alleged crimes by non-Finns were of interest to journalists and considered newsworthy. This question is even more puzzling in the light of the ethical code of practice of journalists. It is explicitly stated there that the ethnic origin of the offender, or the news participants in general for that matter should be mentioned only in cases where it is relevant (see, e.g. Journalistin Ohjeet 1998, Laitila 1995, Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995).

The problem arises from the ambiguous nature of this code: the relevance is ultimately up for the journalist to decide. Why, for instance, in example (12) above is it considered relevant to mention the foreign background of the man from whom the heroin was seized? Thus we are back to square one: why does a journalist consider the ethnic background of a news participant, particularly in crime news, relevant? No direct answer can be given here. One possible reason could be that it gives an extra feature to an otherwise 'ordinary' event, such as shop-lifting or a fight, thereby adding to the newsworthiness of an item and possibly increasing the reading rates of the news. The underlying logic could be economic and, in this sense, parallel with the coverage of politicians and celebrities. Although crime news sell well, they sell even better when an unusual element is added.

However, the logic of attention given in the news to politicians or celebrities is related to their freely chosen public role in society, but ethnic minorities are not 'public figures' nor have they chosen to be in the spotlight. Although the 'media's watchdog' role may be applied to the coverage of public figures, it is to be questioned why the same needs are to be applied to ethnic minorities. Why is it particularly newsworthy if a crime is committed by a non-Finn? Is it because different criteria of 'good citizenship' are applied to members of ethnic minorities? This line of thinking leads to the conclusion that news on crimes by members of ethnic minorities can function as a powerful tool to distinguish ethnic minorities - Them from Us.

Issues of *discrimination and racism* were also frequently covered. The common assumption is that issues of discrimination and racism will not get covered in the mainstream media. However, in *Helsingin Sanomat* news coverage this topic occurred 137 times, which means every 12th news item on average. In other words, this topic was the seventh in the order of frequency of coverage, which indicates that *Helsingin Sanomat* was also interested in issues related to racism and discrimination.

Here, it was mostly issues of discrimination and racism experienced by minority groups in Finland that were dealt with as the following extracts from news illustrates.

24 *Pakolaisjärjestöt huolissaan rasismista (HS 19.9 1989)*
Refugee organizations worry about racism.

25 *Mustalaisten syrjinnästä tehdään harvoin rikosilmoitus*
Autokaupan asiakaskarsinnasta ei poliisille ole ilmoitettu.

Mustalaisten syrjintä on meillä yleistä, vaikka syrjinnästä tehdään harvoin rikosilmoituksia tai nostetaan oikeusuttuja. Riihimäen poliisillekaan ei ole kiikutettu ilmoitusta siitä, että Hyvinkäällä ja Riihimäellä toimiva autoliike kieltäytyi myymästä mustalaisille osamaksulla ja ottamasta vastaan heidän vaihtoautojaan. . . (HS 11.4.1985).

A report of an offence regarding discrimination against Gypsies is seldom done
Police is not notified about customer selection in car dealing

Discrimination against Gypsies is common with us, although reports of an offence are seldom done or files brought up. Neither is the Riihimäki police been given a notice about a car sales shop functioning both in Hyvinkää and Riihimäki that refused to sell Gypsies by instalments and accepting their cars for change.

Also discussion over the Finns' real or assumed attitudes towards ethnic minorities were taken up. Similarly, prejudice and xenophobia in Finland were also discussed. The extracts from news reports illustrate these aspects.

26 *Asenteet ulkomaalaisia kohtaan koventuneet (HS 3.12.1993)*
Attitudes towards foreigners have got harder

27 *Suomi ei syrji pakolaisia (HS 18.10.1986)*
No discrimination of refugees in Finland

28 *Kriminaalipoliittinen seminaari alkoi Espoossa*
Sisäministeriössä pelätään rasismien lisääntymistä

Sisäministeriö pelkää rasismien lisääntyvän Suomessa. Poliisijohtaja Seppo Nevalan mukaan edellytyksiä ulkomaalaisvihan nousemiseen on jo olemassa.

"Suvaitsemattomuus on lisääntynyt. Yhteiskunnan taloudellinen tilanne on huono ja työttömyys on lisääntynyt" . . .

Seminar on Criminal policy began in Espoo
The Ministry of Internal Affairs fears the increase of racism

The Ministry of Internal Affairs fears the increase of racism in Finland. According to the police chief Seppo Nevala, conditions for an arise in xenophobia already exist.

"Intolerance has increased. The economic situation in our society is poor and the unemployment has increased" . . .

The reasons for the interest in racism and discrimination can be various. At the time under study, the phenomenon appeared to be new in Finland. Because of the small number of foreigners, issues of racism and discrimination had not surfaced to any larger extent before. It was a popular myth in the country that there was no racism. From a minority point of view, these results indicate that although the crime aspect was prominent, injustices of the situation were of interest as well. Racism and discrimination could also have been ignored or denied. A pessimistic reading is that discrimination and racism, like crime news, attract attention because of their conflict-based nature.

The frequent coverage of racism and discrimination suggests that the Helsingin Sanomat's action was not homogeneous. This diversity is also reflected in the frequency of the topics closely related to issues of discrimination and racism. Particularly a concern with how various groups would get along in everyday life was frequently expressed. Such topics, as *the relations between Finns and minorities* (n=67), *race and ethnic relations in general* (n=9), *racial and ethnic attacks* (n=44), and *adaptation and assimilation* (n=79) were covered every now and then. If

all the instances of these topics are counted up, together with the racism and discrimination topics, there were 336 instances which is clearly more coverage than any other topic received. Every third news item was about these issues. In addition, topics giving background information or discussing practical dimensions of discrimination and racism were frequently covered. These topics include *the placement of refugees* (n=131), *minority cultures* (n=109) and *the Finns' attitudes towards aliens* (n=108), and *costs* (n=91).

In addition, although at the first sight these two topics, *crime* and *discrimination and racism*, might seem to be opposite to each other, both feature trouble, disturbance, and change. In my reading, many items about these topics draw on the same discourse that can be labelled as 'Troubles' discourse. A central feature of this discourse is its lexis: 'thieves', 'swindlers', 'cheaters', 'burglaries', 'professional crooks', 'obscure killing', 'discrimination', 'report on crime', 'xenophobia', 'fears', 'increase of racism', 'intolerance has increased'. This discourse sets up a representation for ethnic minorities as linked with disturbance, perhaps even as a source of troubles that foreigners and the growing diversity of population were believed to bring along. True or alleged crimes by foreigners and racial conflicts were often brought up as an illustration of troubles and future problems. The Finns, in turn, are represented in this discourse dual way: firstly, as the ones who are effected by these disturbances but are also those called upon to act about this.

6.2.2.3 Marginalized and silenced topics

Similarly to previous research (Brookes 1995, Butterwegge 1996, Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991) it was found that certain aspects minority and immigration issues were seldom covered in the *Helsingin Sanomat* domestic news. Most topics were mentioned only in passing: 16 topics out of 47 were mentioned less than 20 times in the whole data. One group of infrequent topics dealt with such background issues as *immigration in general*, *refugees in general*, *Finland's development aid*, *Nordic collaboration*, *remigration*, *the ethnic history of Finland*, *Finland's defense*, *research*, and *media*. It is worthwhile to point out that some of these topics may well have been covered in other than domestic news sections, particularly foreign news sections, and which were not examined in this study.

Another cluster of topics given little attention in the coverage was topics closely related to immigrants' and minorities' everyday life in Finland, such as housing, health, education, unemployment, welfare, religion, citizenship, and minority cultures. Also, the relations between ethnic minorities and the majority, such as *race and ethnic relations*, *discussion of foreigners*, and *Finland's help for foreigners*, were seldom covered. The underlying factor in these topics is that they all bring a minority point of view to the issues.

Among topics seldom reported were also those that would have meant more criticism of Finland's policy or actions. For instance, topics such as *non-Finnish views about Finnish immigration policy*, *alien and refugee policy abroad*, *human rights*, *minorities' view about Finland*, or *assessment of authorities' actions*, and *authorities' proceedings* were given little attention.

The final question to ask was which topics were totally missing. In this coverage, topics such as inconsistency or misconduct of Finnish authorities were not covered; neither was the possibility of racism behind political or juridical deci-

sions. This could be an indication that nothing of the sort ever occurred. An alternative interpretation is that misconduct was not recognized or that there was no will to criticise 'the establishment'.

The findings suggest that topics that would have been important for the minorities and their agenda or which would have meant criticism of the ethnic and immigration practices of the Finnish government and administration were not frequently covered. Instead, the minorities were mostly represented and discussed through the Finnish concerns and priorities. In conclusion, the minorities themselves and their lives were marginalized in terms of topic frequency in the news coverage. This findings is in the line with the previous researches (see e.g. van Dijk 1991)

A number of explanations can be put forward to account for the marginalized position of the topics focusing on everyday life among minorities. An obvious one is the very position of minorities in society. Issues related to minorities are traditionally considered not to be of interest to the majority, and minority groups are not seen as a primary audience of the media either or economically important. Another reason is accessibility of minority groups. There may, for instance, be language problems. For security reasons, newcomers may not be willing to be exposed to media attention. However, although this line of argument may partly explain the rarity of issues specifically related to refugees in the news, it does not explain why the traditional or established minorities were missing in the news as well.

A look at the journalistic practices can perhaps help to point out the possible reasons for the scant attention given to topics concerning minorities. News media are ill prepared to cover events and issues in which the participants belong to groups which are not well-organized or which do not have funds to provide regular information services. The results of the present analysis also indicate that news media are accustomed to use pre-processed information, which is seldom possible for a minority group to produce. Because it is left to the journalist to find the minority point of view, it seems that they rarely do it.

6.2.3 The length

An analysis complementary to the investigation of topic frequency was the examination of the space devoted to each topic. This gives an indication of the importance of the topics in terms of space. Both of the two analyses relate to the emphasis given by the *Helsingin Sanomat* to each topic in terms of the quantity of attention given to them.

The length of each news item was measured in column centimetres (for details, see Chapter 5) and the average length of each topic was also calculated. Since it was possible for each news item to contain up to three topics, the length of a single news item was assigned to all of the three.

This is a limitation to this analysis, and the results must be considered tentative. Table 3 shows the average length of the items in which the respective topic occurred. Since the average length of the news reports in this coverage is known, we have an idea of which subjects tend to be dealt with at length and which not.

Table 3 shows that there were considerable variations in the average length of the items per topic. While the topic *Non-Finnish views about Finnish immigration*

policy took 15 cm on the average, the longest one, *Relations between Finns and minorities*, took 91.9 cm. The difference is over sixfold.

The average length of an item was 77 cm, and the median length 50cm. A look at the figures in Table 3 shows that the topics that were given much space were those that occurred only a few times in the coverage. For instance, the topic *the relations between Finns and the minorities* was covered at more length than any other topic in coverage but it only occurred 67 times in the data. This applies to several other topics such as *Ethnic history of Finland*, *Citizenship*, *Immigration in general*, *Minority culture*, *Minorities life in Finland*, and *Finland's defense*. In contrast, the most frequently covered topics were reported briefly. For example, the three topics that appeared the most often were far shorter than the average length or even the median of the data as a whole: the average length for the topic *Residence permit decisions* was 24.4 cm, *Numbers of foreigners* 21.6 cm, and *Immigration to Finland* 27.3 cm.

The results of the analysis seem to offer an interesting point of view into the *Helsingin Sanomat* news coverage on ethnic and immigration issues. Although the topics closely related to the everyday life of minorities were seldom covered, they were reported in detail and at some length. One possible explanation may be found in journalistic practices. The topics closely related to everyday life, such as minority culture and citizenship, were not conceived as urgent daily news. Rather than being written by newsmen, those topics were covered by feature reporters, who devote time and effort to background information and who design their articles as long feature articles.

The situation is quite the opposite for the news that are covered frequently such as the number of foreigners and immigration to Finland. They are regarded as 'hard' news, i.e. news to capture the issues that are important on a particular day and are reported immediately. Consequently, such items are produced by the newsroom and located most likely on pages 5-10 and therefore short. Of course, a question behind this is why certain events are considered more urgent and news-like than others.

6.2.4 The order of topics

As a way to highlight the internal hierarchy of the covered topics, I also examined which topics were mentioned first, second and third in a news text. This kind of analysis makes use of knowledge about news making practices, the generic structure of news and, partly, the results of studies of news reception. Usually the topic which is considered the most important comes first, the second most important as second, and so forth. Some studies have suggested a relationship between this generic structure of the news and reading practices so that readers remember the headlines and the initial part best and sometimes only read these (van Dijk 1987). Although there may be variation from these general principles and different types of articles may have different functions and structures, in this analysis I have taken as a point of departure the assumption that the most important topics come first.

In the present analysis, the number of the topics analyzed in each item was limited to three. The headline and the lead often present the first topic and are followed by other topics. Depending on the length of the topic and its content, some items only involved one or two topics. In the *Helsingin Sanomat* the items

usually involved more than one topic. Almost 70 % of the items covered at least three topics. Over 20 % had two topics, and 7 % one single topic only. Figure 7 presents the results of this analysis.

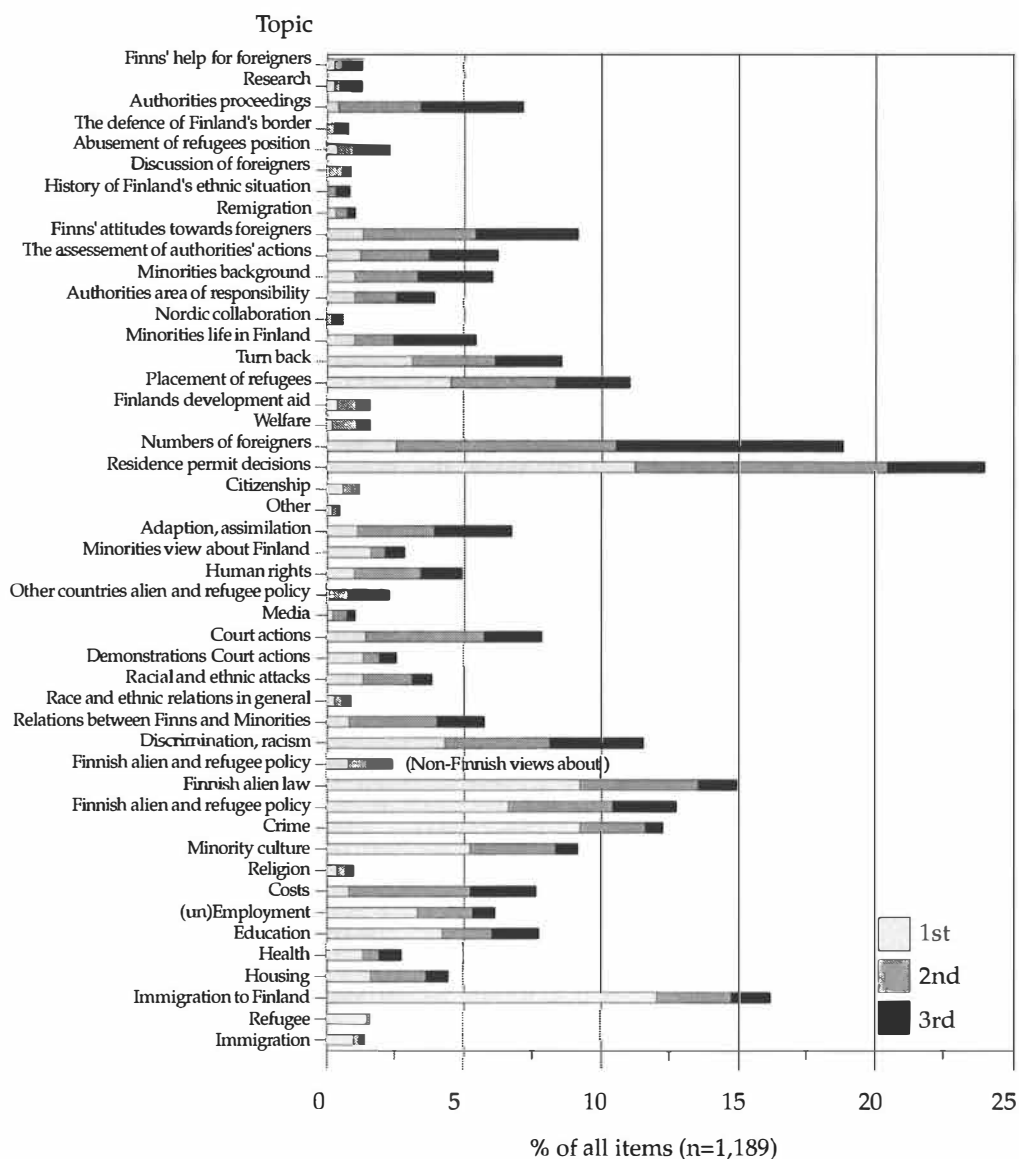


FIGURE 7 The topic order in the items.

Figure 7 illustrates how often a topic was reported as the first, second or third topic, and the overall frequency of the topics throughout the coverage. The most frequent first topics were *Immigration to Finland* (12 %), *Residence permit decisions* (11.2 %), *Finnish alien law* (9.2 %), and *Crime* (9.2 %). On the average, four items out of ten began with one of these topics. All of these topics are familiar from the results of the topic frequency analysis: the four topics were among the six topics that were the most often covered. The most frequent first topics support the earlier findings:

the newspaper was most interested in aspects of change, and control and problems in ethnic and immigration issues in Finland. The first topics were typically presented in headlines and leads, i.e. in conventions of items that are the most visible and as most valuable, the emphasis on aspects of change, control, and problems is clear, both in terms of frequency and in terms of topic order.

Naturally, the beginnings of the news reports varied in terms of topics. Nearly all of the 47 topics occurring in the data opened a news report at least a few times, but besides the four topics mentioned above, only a few other topics were given the first position in more than 4 % of all the mentions. These topics were *Finnish alien and refugee policy*, *Placement of refugees*, *Minority cultures*, and *Discrimination and racism*. Many issues focusing on the concerns of minorities were seldom considered important enough to open a item.

The results of the analysis of the topic order for the second and third positions are similar to the findings above. As shown by Figure 7, the topics which were most often reported as the second were *Residence permit decisions* and *Number of foreigners*. Actually, only these two were regularly reported as second topics ($n > 8\%$). The topic of *Costs* was the third as a second topic. Out of these three topics, the topic of *Costs* was the only one which was not among the ten most often covered. This could be taken as an indication of the importance of this topic: although the costs were not covered frequently, they were considered important when they were. The topic which was most often reported as the third was *Number of foreigners*. This topic appeared twice as often in this place as the next ones, *Authorities' proceedings* and *Finns' alien attitudes*. On the whole, the dispersion was clear in the third position.

The results of this analysis can be used to establish a probable order of topics in the coverage by looking at which of the topics were mentioned most frequently as first, second and third. Table 4 below summarizes the findings.

TABLE 4 Typical topic order.

Frequency			
Order	Most frequent	2nd frequent	3rd frequent
1st	Immigration to Finland	Residence permit decisions	Finnish alien law/crime
2nd	Residence permit decisions	Number of foreigners	Costs
3rd	Number of foreigners	Authorities' proceedings/ Finns' attitudes	Residence permit decisions

The most likely topic order for a text on ethnic and immigration issues started with the topic *Immigration to Finland*, continuing to the topic *Residence permit decisions*, and then to *Number of foreigners*. A news story depicted 'them' as coming, reflected upon whether they could be allowed to stay, and continued by counting how many they were in number.

In the second typical ethnic news report, the focus of the topic shifts from the borders into internal events. The second most likely topic order, according to the results, is *Residence permit decisions*, *Number of foreigners*, *Authorities' proceedings*, and *Finns' attitudes*. Here, the news story is based on questions of whether 'They' can stay, how many of 'Them' there are, how the authorities handle 'Them', and how Finns' react to 'Them'.

In the third type, the *Finnish alien law* and topics like *crime*, *costs* and, again, *residence permit decisions* come up. The choice of this topic order reinforces the worrying tones that were there from the very beginning. If the concern in the first type was the extent of the immigration, and in the second the internal practices and Finns' attitudes, in the third the worries are crimes and costs. Perhaps the difference in tone between these three is found in a shift from an abstract concern to a more concrete one about money and crime.

In conclusion, the three most likely topic orders in the texts reports focused on the concept of change. The topics that were considered the most newsworthy centred on whether the newcomers could settle in the country permanently and on their number. Neither the minorities' concerns nor their culture or everyday life were considered newsworthy enough to be included among the top topics. The topic of discrimination and racism, although frequently covered, was not prioritized in terms of topic order. These results also lend support to the conclusion that *Helsingin Sanomat* did not focus on issues of residence permit decisions, number of foreigners and immigration to Finland in terms of frequency only, but also in terms of topic order.

6.2.5 From outside pressures to inner tensions: topic frequency per year

6.2.5.1 Social and historical context

The period of the investigation captures the change of the Finnish 'Arcadia' to a country of growing numbers of ethnic groups with a variety of people, languages, religions, and cultures. The change from a country of emigration to a country of migration was not simply a matter of immigration flows, but it was also profoundly legislative, political, economic, and humanitarian in character.

This change in Finland was a result of several processes. To begin with, the growing number of refugees in the world increased the pressure for Finland to accept more refugees than before. Asylum seekers came to the Finnish borders for the first time. The changes and finally the collapse of the former Soviet Union had an impact on Finnish economy, defence policy, and Finnish foreign and domestic policy. It had also a huge impact on the immigration situation: in a new geopolitical situation, Finland was the first 'safe' country for refugees coming from the east. Consequently, due to her international commitments, Finland was obliged to deal with the requests for asylum instead of categorically turning them down as was done earlier. Finally, in 1985-1993 Finland's economic situation was in a state of flux: in 1985, the situation was fairly balanced, but it was followed by what were called 'casino years' of economic speculations in the late 1980s and by a deep recession in the early years of the 1990s with a high number of unemployed.

Issues of ethnicity and immigration intersect many other social and political issues. It is therefore interesting to see which topics *Helsingin Sanomat* covered fre-

quently each year, keeping the social and political context in mind. The focus of the present analysis is to look at the distribution of topics over the years against the social background and current events in Finland.

Although the frequency of a particular topic is not the only important feature of coverage, it is however very prominent. As has been pointed out several times above, the frequency of topics helps to understand what the news media considers newsworthy. The news media attention also limits choices of readers and the public discussion in the media. Furthermore, the frequency of topics highlights the news making practices by shedding light on the criteria of news.

An analysis of the frequency of the 47 topics per year provides a great deal of information. In order to shed light on the dominant topics per year, and on the actions of the Helsingin Sanomat at the time, I will next focus on the three most frequently covered topics per year. Only when it is particularly illuminating, I will refer to the other results. By doing this, I hope to offer a clearer picture of what happened during the years under scrutiny in terms of the dominant topics (The full results of this analysis are presented in Appendix 2). Table 5 shows the dominant topics per year.

TABLE 5. The dominant topics per year studied

Year	Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd
1985	Finnish alien and refugee policy	Non-Finnish views about Finnish immigration policy	Number of foreigners
1986	Finnish alien and refugee policy	Number of foreigners	Immigration to Finland
1987	Finnish alien and refugee policy	Residence permit decisions	Number of foreigners
1988	Finnish alien law	Residence permit decisions	Placement of refugees
1989	Discrimination/racism	Finnish alien and refugee policy / number of refugees	Finnish alien law
1990	Immigration to Finland	Residence permit decisions	Number of foreigners
1991	Residence permit decisions	Finnish alien law	Immigration to Finland / number of foreigners
1992	Residence permit decisions	Number of foreigners	Crime
1993	Residence permit decisions	Crime	Welfare

6.2.5.2 The first steps of the alien and refugee policies

During the first three years under scrutiny *Helsingin Sanomat* focus on Finnish alien and refugee policy. The newspaper seems to have been quite consistent in regarding this topic as the most newsworthy for the period of three years. In the contemporary social context, the interest in Finnish alien and refugee policy does not come as a surprise. The year 1985 was a turning point in Finnish immigration and ethnic policy as a result of the agreement on an annual quota of refugees, a decision with far-reaching implications for Finnish legislation, welfare, education, economics, and overall majority-minority relations. In the following years, the practical consequences of the annual quota system materialized and the discussion about the policy continued.

A significant factor behind the government's decision on the annual quota was the pressure from the other Nordic countries. The discussion on this decision was the second most frequent topic in the year 1985, as is seen in Table 5. The other Nordic countries, particularly Sweden and Denmark, had accepted a large number of refugees and continued doing so, whereas Finland relied on a strict refugee and immigration policy. In these early years, the other Nordic countries, together with the United Nation, and the UNCHR, criticized Finland's policy. The following headlines illustrate this discussion and the news about it:

29 *Ruotsalainen puoluejohtaja vaatii: Suomen on otettava osansa pakolaisista (HS 16.3.85)*
A Swedish party leader demands: Finland has to take its share of refugees.

30 *Tanskalaiset moittivat Suomen pakolaispolitiikkaa (HS 16.4.85)*
Danes reprimand Finnish refugee policy.

To remain in the line with the Nordic countries, the Finnish government gave way in the face of pressure and agreed to a small annual quota. *Helsingin Sanomat* reported:

31 *Hallitukselta periaatepäätös: Suomi ottaa joka vuosi sata uutta pakolaista (HS 25.10.85)*
Government decision: Finland admits 100 new refugees annually.

These examples illustrate the nature of the discussion taking place in the articles about ethnic and immigration issues in the first years examined in this study. The number of the foreigners also emerged as a topic and, as Table 5 shows, was extensively covered. In the early years, this entailed a discussion on the appropriate quota of refugees, whereas, later, particularly the number of those who had settled down and those who were supposed to arrive was discussed. Whatever the focus, it was always presented from the Finnish point of view: how many of 'Them' were coming and whether 'They' were allowed to stay. Out of the discourses discussed above, the discourses of 'Pressuring opinions' and 'Statistics' were drawn on in many of these articles representing these issues as a matter of logic of politics and numbers.

Although the novelty of the situation and the policy decision may offer an explanation for the extensive coverage, the question remains why many other topics were seldom covered (see Appendix 2), such as the topics dealing with the background of refugees or their country of origin, the reasons for their exile, or the general refugee situation in the world. This conflicts with one of the basic functions of news and particularly press news, which are expected to give background

information about the events and link them with a larger context. On the other hand, news about the world's refugee situation, for example, may well be found at the foreign news section. Crucially, the discussion of values was also lacking. In this coverage, the background that was given was to be found in Nordic refugee policy, Finnish foreign policy, and the United States.

The Finnish point of view was further emphasized in some of the editorials at the time in which Us were described as 'cleverer' and 'craftier' than the other Nordic countries as concerning immigration and refugee policy. At the same time, the Others were represented as unwanted, disturbing, and problematic. The following fragments of two HS editorials dated 8 of January 1986 and 12 of September 1987 serve as an illustration of this.

32 *Pakolaiset ja ilmasto*

Yleinen mielipide Suomessa lähtee siitä, että se ei ole meidän ongelmamme, jos esimerkiksi jotkut pohjoismaat ovat humanisuudessaan haksahaneet avaamaan rajansa kymmenille tuhansille pakolaisille ja sitten joutuneet niiden kanssa ongelmiin, syyttäkööt itseään. Suomeen ei ulkomaalaisia haluta -ei ainakaan ilman paluulippua. Mahdollisen omantunnon kolkutuksen voi torjua esimerkiksi vetoamalla ilmastomme epäinhimillisyyteen. Hallitus voi perustella maailmalla tiukkaa linjaamme ilmaston ohella juuri yleisen mielipiteen muikalaisvastaisuudella.

The refugees and the climate

Public opinion in Finland is based on the assumption that it is not our problem if for instance some Nordic countries have, in all their humanity, made the mistake of opening their borders to tens of thousands of refugees and thus ended up in trouble. They should blame themselves. We do not want foreigners in Finland, at least not without a return ticket. The pains of conscience can always be mollified with pleading that our climate is so inhuman. In addition to the climate, the government can justify our strict policy also with the anti-alien public opinion.

33 *Promillen vastuu maailmasta*

. . . Sorsan (ulkoministeri) käsitysten ytimen voi lukea hänen rasismia koskevasta varoituksestaan. Hän viittasi suomalaisten rassistisiin asenteisiin ja varoitti ottamasta maahan pakolaisia, jotka joutuisivat pakenemaan uudelleen täältäkin. . . viitaten Japaniin Suomi voisi ehkä jäljitellä järkevästi Japanin menettelyä menemättä loppuun saakka pelkän rahan käytössä. Ymmärrettäisiinkö maailmalla, että Suomi kieltäytyy nostamasta pakolaiskiintiötä kantavaestön rassististen asenteiden vuoksi? Lienee viisainta laajentaa kiintiötä edelleen asenteista huolimatta ja hyväksyä se tosiasia, että melkein jokainen pakolainen lähtee Suomesta mielellään parempaan ilmastoon heti saadessaan siihen tilaisuuden. Kohtuuttoman ankara ilmasto ja Suomen pienuus ajavat täältä pois ne ihmiset, joilla ei ole maahan kyllin tunnepohjaisia siteitä. Sitä ei voida muuksi muuttaa ja siksi muuttoliikkeen täytyy saada jatkua luonnollisena, kunhan pakolaisia autetaan. Antaa heidän aikanaan mennä, jos he löytävät paremmat olot muualta.

Fractional responsibility of the world

. . . The gist of Sorsa's (Minister of Foreign Affairs) opinions can be read from his warning about racism. He referred to the racist attitudes of Finns and warned against taking refugees who would have to leave this country as well. . . Maybe Finland could assume the Japanese policy without going too far with using only money. How would the world see it? Finland refusing bigger quotas for refugees because of the racism of Finnish people? It might be wiser to enlarge the quota despite the prejudices and accept the fact that nearly all refugees leave Finland for a better climate once they have a chance. The extremely harsh climate and the small size of the country drive away people who do not have emotional ties with this country. That can not be changed and that is why the migration must be kept on its natural level, as long as the refugees will have the help they need. Let them leave whenever they want if they find better conditions elsewhere.

The tone of the first fragment may be interpreted as ironic and it actually mocks the current official line of thinking at the time. For instance, the choice of word "*haksahaneet*" (made the mistake) or the argument of the inhuman character of Finnish climate may refer to this. The same arguments are, without any irony or contestation, repeated in the second editorial. Although the editor refers here to the opinion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the opinions of the Minister and those of *Helsingin Sanomat* are linguistically distinguished only at the beginning of the editorial. Thus whose opinions are represented towards end of the editorial is ambiguous. Even with their different tone, the editorials illustrate the accepted line of argumentation around Finnish refugee and immigration policy: they tell about the general atmosphere in Finland and the standpoint that Finland was assuming. The arguments often used centred on the climate and the assumed negative attitudes of Finns.

In conclusion, by reporting arguments of this kind without bringing up other possible aspects of the issues *Helsingin Sanomat* seemed to endorse the view of the politicians. Not much articles was published that would hold alternative views. The items that dealt with a positive impact of immigration were few. Instead, politicians and government officials were given a fair amount of space to express their concerns. Wittingly or not, through a coverage like this *Helsingin Sanomat* contributed to the concern for Finland ethnically changing.

6.2.5.3 Phase of turmoil

In contrast to the first years, the next three years varied in terms of the most frequent topics. As is seen in Table 5, each year had a different set of frequent topics. Thus the period from 1988-1990 can be characterized as an era of heterogeneity.

Despite its heterogeneity, the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage was shifted from a discussion of international politics and the image of Finland to the sphere of domestic affairs. The coverage dealt extensively with the consequences of political decisions previously made starting from legislation, housing, and Finland's immigration and refugee policy in relation to its own citizens and structures instead of comparing them with the immigration policies of other countries.

In 1988, the emphasis in the coverage was on Finnish alien legislation. This was a likely development: as Finnish refugee and alien policy changed, it brought along a steady increase in multiculturalism in Finland, which made it evident that the legislation was outdated. These changes caught the attention of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Such issues as non-Finns' right to vote or work and responsibilities of Finnish authorities, were debated and made news about. The following headlines serve as an illustration of the most frequent topic in 1988.

34 *Turvapaikan pyytäjä ilman ohjeita (HS 27.4.1988)*
The asylum seeker without instructions

35 *Ulkomaalaisen oikeudet yhä olemattomat.*
Esimerkit kertovat viranomaisten otteiden kömpelyydestä ja virkavaltaisuudesta
(HS 6.7.1988)

The rights of foreigners still almost non-existent.
Examples of authorities' actions awkward and bureaucratic.

It is importantly to see, however, the discussion on Finnish alien law was not entirely about the rights and responsibilities of groups of people, but it was a very influential tool for the regulation of immigration as concerns the entry into the country and its legal grounds. Consequently, topics of *residence permit decision* and *placements of refugees* were often reported.

The interest of *Helsingin Sanomat* in this topic may be attributed to its close relation to the policy discussion. Legislation is another, perhaps more practical, side of the policy discussion. Due to the regulative nature of the legislation in terms of access to the country, and the rights and responsibilities of people, it is not unexpected that *Helsingin Sanomat* was keen to report on what was going on in this area.

Comparison of 1989 with the other years indicates that it was the most diverse year in terms of topic coverage. The most frequent topic was *discrimination and racism*, as is seen in Table 5. Finnish alien and refugee policy, number of foreigners, and Finnish alien law were discussed. The topic of discrimination and racism had occasionally surfaced in the coverage before this year, but monthly the items were about the supposedly negative attitudes of Finns towards foreigners, which was used as an argument for a strict refugee and immigration policy.

In 1989, however, the situation had changed to a degree. In 1989 a pioneering study (Jaakkola 1989) of Finns' attitudes towards foreigners was published. Finns were not found to be as prejudiced towards refugees and foreigners as had been assumed. The study gave an impetus to public discussion on the refugee situation in Finland. The paper reported on the study, and a discussion followed. In the headline of the first news report about this issue Finns' attitudes and the number of refugees were brought up as if the former were conditional to the latter.

36 *Suomalaiset eivät suhtaudu penseästi ulkomaalaisiin
Kolmannes haluaa Suomeen enemmän pakolaisia (HS 2.2.1989)*

Finns not negative towards foreigners
Every third Finns wants more refugees to Finland

By the time, multiculturalism had proceeded to a stage where discrimination and racism became a more regular feature and thus more visible than before. This attracted the attention of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Particularly, racial attacks and race-related crimes were reported in the HS news. The example in (26) is a headline of a longer news article about the attacks with Molotof cocktails at refugee centres and homes of refugees.

37 *Hiipiikö rotuviha Suomeen
Muukalaisvihan oireet huolestuttavat samalla kun pakolaisten kysyntä kunnissa kasvaa (HS 9.9.1988)*

Racial hatred sneaking its way into Finland?
Symptoms of racism worry but municipalities ready to accept.

The following day, the editor wrote in relation to the before mentioned attacks with Molotof cocktails and condemned racism:

38 Eron muukalaisvihasta (HS 10.9.1989)

Erilaisuuden pelko on saanut viime kuukausina huolestuttavia ja pelottavia piirteitä. Toistaiseksi viranomaiset ja poliitikot ovat jättäneet räikeät muukalaisvihan purkaukset lähes huomiotta.

Jos ihmiset joutuvat kansalaisuutensa vuoksi rikosten kohteeksi, sivistyneen oikeusvaltion perusteet, järjestys ja turvallisuus ovat vaarassa.

Poliisin pitää kitkeä ääri-ilmiot, mutta poliitikojen, kansalaisjärjestöjen ja ihmisten on yhdessä luotava erilaisuutta ymmärtävä ilmapiiri. Väkivalta kimpoaa tietämättömyydestä, pelosta ja ahtaista asenteista . . .

. . . Asiaa (suvaitsevaisuutta) on pidettävä vireillä sopivissa yhteyksissä erityisesti kasvatuksessa ja koulutuksessa.

Getting rid of xenophobia

The fear of difference has gained frightening aspects. So far the authorities and politicians have left the bursts of racial hatred almost unnoticed.

If people become victims of crimes because of their nationality, the foundations, order, and security of a lawful democracy are in danger.

The police must cut out the extremes but it is up to the politicians and people together to create an atmosphere where differences are accepted. Violence is born of ignorance, fear, and narrow-mindedness...

...Tolerance has to be kept up in appropriate circumstances, especially in upbringing and education.

The coverage about discrimination and racism was two-fold: on the one hand, it was about the degree of discriminatory and racist attitudes among Finns towards foreigners and on the other, about what the foreigners living in the country had experienced.

The examples may help us see the two types of arguments found in the news media. The editorial in (27) is an explicit statement against racism and discrimination. It condemns violence and calls for action against racism but, at the same time, urges both individuals and institutions to assume responsibility for what is going on. It is easy to see it as a contribution to tolerance and anti-racism. The problem, however, is more complex. While calling for action and saying that it is necessary "together to create an atmosphere where difference is accepted" and that "violence is born of ignorance, fear and narrow-mindedness" *Helsingin Sanomat* does not address its own policy or the possibility that media play a role in this.

It is interesting to speculate why it was the year 1989 when the newspaper concentrated on discrimination and racism to this extent. The slowly increasing number of members of various ethnic groups living in the country may help to explain why the issues of discrimination and racism had become more visible and got more attention in media. This, however, leaves us without an explanation why *Helsingin Sanomat* had earlier been inattentive to racism and discrimination experienced by the traditional minorities. The housing problem of the Romany people or the right of the Sami to their traditional lands, for instance, had been topical for decades. A tentative interpretation might be that as a result of the established status of these minorities, these issues were not regarded as 'new events'. It is possible that these ethnic groups were not considered important enough, politically, economically, or otherwise, to deserve extensive media attention. The traditional

ethnic minorities did not meet any of the news criteria whereas the problems of the new ones were considered as a novelty, and therefore newsworthy.

In the case of the new ethnic minorities discrimination and racism was not yet part of everyday practices. There were no everyday practices for the new minorities at the time, and therefore they were easier to observe and examine. For the traditional ethnic minorities, discrimination and racism was naturalized and invisible to majority members and mainstream media. In addition, it is also possible that the good economic situation at the time facilitated a more tolerant attitude. In 1989, Finland's economy was booming.

The optimistic and humanitarian attitude was only temporary in the coverage. In 1990, the most frequent topic was *Immigration to Finland* accompanied by the topics of *Residence permit decisions* and *Number of foreigners*. In this year, the rapidly changing situation in the Soviet Union had a big impact on the situation in Finland. For the first time during the independence of Finland, people were allowed to move from and through the Soviet Union. Being the 'first western country', Finland was the closest country which was under the obligation of international human rights commitments. The rapid collapse of the Soviet Union and the unsettled situation there brought up in public discussion images of threat, and the consequences of the upheaval were expected to result in an 'uncontrollable flood' of refugees.

Against the background of the chaotic situation in the Soviet Union, tightening refugee policies, and increasing numbers of refugees around the world, *Helsingin Sanomat* was seen to emphasise immigration to Finland, residence permit decisions and number of foreigners. The following examples of news headlines illustrate the most frequent topics in 1990.

- 39 *Tutkija Tomas Ries: Suomen puolustuksen varauduttava idästä tuleviin nälkäpakolaisiin (HS 18.11.1990)*

Researcher Tomas Ries: Finland's defense must be prepared to hunger refugees from the East.

- 40 *Valtaosa suomalaisista ei hyväksy pakolaisten virtaa itärajan takaa (HS 2.12.1990)*
Most Finns do not approve the refugee flow from the East.

- 41 *Pakolaisvirta täytti vastaanottokeskukset
Somaleja tulee taas Suomeen Neuvostoliitosta (HS 15.10.1990)*

The flow of refugees flooded reception centres
More Somali coming again to Finland from the Soviet Union

The news about these topics often described the events and participants using metaphors which are often used about emergency situations or nature catastrophes. For example, in the headlines above *Hunger refugees*, *refugee flood from East* and *Refugees flooded* can all be seen to contribute to the representation of the changing refugee situation as a threat, possibly bringing along chaos and devastation. The wording used draws on 'Troubles' discourse discussed above. With hindsight, this kind of news was an overreaction. For instance, the news reports about the number of asylum seekers gave an impression of high number of them, when in fact there had only been 750 requests so far, instead of 174 in 1989. Although it was true that the number of requests had increased considerably, the rise was due to the extremely low numbers before. In contrast to the other Nordic countries,

750 asylum seekers was a very low figure. In comparison to the earlier Finnish figure only could the number be described as high.

The arrival of a large group of refugees from Somalia stirred up the discussion even further. Being African, black, muslims and mostly men, the Somali asylum seekers, who arrived via the Soviet Union, were regarded as a proof of the flood; now even Africa was at the doors of Finland.

The following examples serve as an illustration of typical headlines about Somali refugees. The first example (42) is from a news report which opened a chain of reports about Somali refugees.

42 *Moskovan juna toi 119 somalipakolaista
Kaikki hakivat turvapaikkaa Vainikkalassa (HS 27.11.1990)*

The Moscow train brought 119 Somali refugees
All applied for asylum in Vainikkala

The following day, *Helsingin Sanomat* reports about a new group of Somali refugees. This time the paper includes in the headline what the Finnish authorities were planning to do with the arrival of these refugees.

43 *Somalipakolaisia tuli jälleen
Ulkoministeriö ottaa yhteyttä Neuvostoliittoon pakoreitin sulkemiseksi (HS 28.11.1990)*

Somali refugees came again
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacts Soviet Union to close escape route.

Next day, the editorial put forward the view of the *Helsingin Sanomat* about Somali refugees. The headline of the editorial is revealing.

44 *Turisteista pakolaisiksi (HS 29.11.1990)
From tourists to refugees*

The chain of news dealing with Somali refugees continues in the following days, focusing on the turning of them down and on possible changes in Finnish alien law.

6.2.5.3 Discursive border control

The immigration to Finland has never reached a particularly high level. Although the number of the refugees grew in the next two years, it decreased rapidly after 1993. However, the number of the newcomers or ethnic minority members within the country was a frequent topic in the coverage, particularly reporting on *residence permit decisions*. During the last three years studied, *Helsingin Sanomat* wrote about this topic extensively, as is seen in Table 5. An extensive coverage of one single topic is even more significant than in the years 1985-1987, since the total of the items published in 1991-1993 was larger than before. A little over 50 % of all items were published in these years.

Characteristically, the news about this topic focused on who and how many were allowed to stay in the country, as illustrated by the headlines (45)-(47).

45 *Sisäministeriö karkoittanut sata turvapaikkaa hakenutta (HS 1.4.1991)
Ministry of Internal Affairs has deported 100 asylum seekers*

46 *Kaksi kolmesta pakolaisesta saa lähteä
Turvapaikan hakijoille on alkuvuonna myönnetty oleskelulupia aiempaa kitsaammin.
(HS 7.4.1992)*

Two out of three refugees must go
Fewer residence permits granted to asylum seekers than before

47 *Presidentti päätti viisumipakosta
Entisen Jugoslavian kansalaisten virta Suomeen pysäytettiin. (HS 21.7.1992)*

The President makes a decision on obligatory visas
The flow of former Yugoslavians into Finland stopped

The extensive coverage of this topic can be interpreted in terms of discursive border controlling. The headlines above illustrate the fact that although the topic of residence permit decisions involved different angles, *Helsingin Sanomat* mainly dealt with the question of who (*asylum seekers, refugees, former Yugoslavians*) and how many (*hundred, two out of three, the flow*) were allowed to enter the country and who was not. This seems to reduce issues of immigration and refugees to the question of legal entry to the country; it emphasises Finns' role in making decisions, and obscures the reasons for exile. The question of the right to have access to a country is legally irrelevant with refugees, who are entitled to it according to the international human rights.

The texts soon focused on the reporting on who was a genuine refugee and who was a fake one or an immigrant who could be turned back. In addition, the discourse of *troubles* may be seen to feature the coverage of this topic through the use of 'flow' of people metaphors as a result of large numbers of newcomers; the need to control their entry resulted in a representation of the situation as one requiring immediate action and careful consideration. As has been pointed out several times above, coverage on residence permit decisions functioned as a kind of discursive border control.

A number of explanations may be given to account for the emphasis on residence permit decisions: the situation in the Soviet Union, the increase in the number of asylum seekers and foreigners in Finland, the expectation and perhaps fear of a 'flood' of refugees. On the whole, immigration to Finland, no matter how small, was a reality for the first time after the Second World War; Finland had become a country of immigration. In this new situation, the earlier policy and legislative decisions were tested as were the attitudes, systems, and authorities' procedures. These changes seem to meet in the news criteria and be 'real' tangible events to make news about.

A new topic that surfaced in the last two years was crime. A tendency to focus on crimes committed by, or related to, people from ethnic minorities in media coverage is a familiar phenomenon in studies of ethnic news (see e.g. Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991). *Helsingin Sanomat* started to report about crimes related to ethnic minorities more extensively in 1992 and 1993. Crime news was about abuse of the refugee position or welfare (example 49), hostility between ethnic minorities or between minority and majority members (example 48), and organized crime among to ethnic minorities (example 50). In contrast, crimes against ethnic minorities were seldom reported.

- 48 *Somalimiehelle puukotuksesta vuosi vankeutta Joensuussa (HS 16.4.1993)*
Somali male sentenced to a year in prison for stabbing in Joensuu
- 49 *Kaksi kolmesta 'itäpakolaisesta' syyllistyi rikoksiin
Krp selvitti turvapaikkaa hakeneiden entisten neuvostokansalaisten taustoja
(HS 11.5.1993)*
Two out of three 'eastern refugees' guilty of crimes
The police checked the backgrounds of former Soviet citizens seeking asylum
- 50 *Itämafia hamuaa otetta Suomeen valtakoneistosta
Suojelupoliisi otti itärikollisuuden seurantaan (HS 1.11.1993)*
Eastern mafia is groping for a foothold among Finnish power elite
Police keeps an eye on eastern crime

These headlines illustrate the nature of crime news in the coverage. To mention the ethnic origin of a participant, particularly in the headline, is against the ethical guidelines of journalists (Journalistin ohjeet 1998). In crime news in particular, the name or other identifying features can be mentioned only when they have considerable public significance. Why then a *Somali* man or 'eastern' crime? Perhaps to attract the readers' attention, giving them a sense of novelty or the flavour of a scandal.

Even the editorial of *Helsingin Sanomat* connected certain types of crimes with an entire ethnic group. An example of this are the fragments, i.e. three first paragraphs, of an HS editorial dated July 29, 1992.

- 51 *Rikollisuus varjostaa naapurisopua (HS 29.7.1992)*

Itärikollisuus leviää kuin syöpä molemmin puolin rajaa. Poliisi ja muut viranomaiset ovat jo pitkään varoitelleet uusista häikäilemättömistä ammattirikollisista. Ongelman juuriin pitää tarrata kiinni ennen kuin se pääsee pesiytymään Suomeen. Onneksi hyväuskoiset suomalaisetkin alkavat vähitellen huomata, etteivät tavanomaiset keinot enää riitä.

Monessa kahvipöydässä keskustellaan jo seurauksista: yksi tietää, miten keskusta-asunto puhdistetaan keskellä päivää, toinen kertoo kuinka polkupyörät kannetaan pihoilta hämärään pakettiautoon tai kolmas miten sukkelasti jopa upouusi Mersu voi kadota TIR tunnuksin varustetun rekan uumeniin keskellä Helsingiä.

Venäjäältä ja Baltian maista lähteneiden konnien rikollisuus paisuu, joskin kohta sen osuus onkin vielä melko pieni Suomen rikostilastossa. Viisi vuotta sitten heitä joutui Suomessa kiinni vain kahdeksan, viime vuonna 745 ja tänä vuonna kesäkuuhun mennessä liki 500.

Rikolliset luikertelevat kierosti rajojen yli. . .

Crime shadows neighbourly relations

Eastern crime spreads like a cancer on both sides of the border. The police and other authorities have warned us for new, ruthless professional criminals for a long time. The roots of this problem have to be found before it is permanent. Fortunately even the gullible Finns are beginning to see that ordinary measures are not enough anymore.

The coffee break talk is that there are consequences: one knows how a downtown apartment gets robbed in the middle of the day, while another tells that bikes are being carried out of people's yards into a shady van, and a third knows how fast a brand new Mercedes can disappear inside a truck with TIR signs in the centre of Helsinki.

The crimes of hoodlums coming from Russia and the Baltic countries are increasing although they still can be considered only as a small part of crime statistics in

Finland. Five years ago there were only eight who were caught in Finland, last year 745 and by June this year almost 500.

The criminals are sneaking across the border stealthily. . .

In this way, *Helsingin Sanomat* contributes to a representation to the effect that there is a link between these crimes and ethnic groups of people, i.e. the Soviets/Russians and Balts. However, the HS editorial could also have presented the exact numbers representing the relationship between immigrants and crimes. The number of the immigrant crimes could also have been compared to the number of crimes in Finland at the time.

The direction that the newspaper took in their coverage of ethnic and immigration issues is clearly illustrated in the topic frequency for the last year under examination. Among the 230 items, the most frequent covered topics were *residence permit decisions, crime and welfare*. The articles focused on the access of non-Finns into the country, the crimes they were believed to bring with them, and the welfare they were using. This suggests that the leading Finnish daily covered ethnic minorities largely in the same way as newspapers abroad (see e.g. Brookes 1995, Teo 2000, van Dijk 1991): focusing on problems, threats, and crimes. By 1993, many foreigners living in Finland would have been able to inform the press about their own experience of multiculturalism in Finland. These findings suggest that, rather than writing about ethnic minorities from different perspectives, *Helsingin Sanomat* tightened its line of coverage. By focusing on issues of crime and welfare the paper repeated representations of ethnic minorities familiar from other countries. Such representations contributed to the construction of an ethnic border between Us and Them. The interests of Us needed to be protected, whereas They were the source of problems and conflicts and threats to Our way of life. Moreover, They lived on Our expense. This typical juxtaposition leaves out crucial issues such as the richness and variety of cultures or positive consequences of multiculturalism.

6.2.6 The most frequent topics

The analysis of the topics and their frequencies in the coverage in the *Helsingin Sanomat* on ethnic and immigration issues in 1985-1993 shows that the paper was interested in the ethnically changing Finland. The most frequent topics were *residence permit decisions, the number of foreigners, and immigration to Finland*.

A look at the frequency of the topics per year in the coverage illustrates reactions to this change and the gradual development in the attitudes. During the first years, the number of the foreigners and asylum seekers was low and news about ethnic minorities were infrequent. The number of refugees was globally increasing, but this was not seen as a concern of 'Ours'. A period of more heterogeneous coverage was seen in 1989-1991. *Helsingin Sanomat* wrote about the 'flood of foreigners' and discrimination and racism, but also about the political rise of the Sami. However, during the last years under study, a rather homogeneous consensus was reached on what was particularly newsworthy about ethnic minorities: crime and welfare. Thus, in a rather short period of time *Helsingin Sanomat* ended up representing ethnic minorities and newcomers as a potential source of problems. Finns were represented as those who would potentially suffer from these problems, but also as those who had the power to decide what to do about the

problem. Any other representations were less prominent.

It seems that in many respects the topics that were discussed were similar to those found elsewhere in previous research (see for instance van Dijk 1991, Hartman and Husband 1974). Topics such as immigration, crime, discrimination, or racial relations seem to attract media attention across the social, cultural, and historical context. Topics that seem characteristic only of this coverage were those that dealt with particular Finnish circumstances: immigration policy, placement of refugees, and alien law. These topics are indicative of the novelty of the situation in Finland.

The analysis of the topics shed light on news making practices as well. As previous studies (Campbell 1995, Van Dijk 1991) have shown, the mainstream news media coverage of ethnic minorities tends to be in line with the official views. Topics that are of concern to the majority, particularly to politicians and various authorities, are covered frequently, and issues relevant to the minorities themselves are not. The most frequent topics about ethnic minorities in the news dealt with novelty, threat and change. The minority position is a self-evident reason for the absence of their point of view in news and it is obvious that politicians and authorities have an easy access to news media, but an equally valid perspective is that a wide spectrum of topics should be illustrated. The findings above indicate that this standard was not met.

6.3 Participants in the texts

6.3.1 Points of departure

Studying participants in newspaper texts also means examining the power that such a position gives. Being a participant opens up a possibility to be heard, to be seen, and to be able to present points of view on the issues at hand. Furthermore, the investigation of participants gives some indication of how sources are used, i.e. who is considered a relevant spokesperson for the topics and also trustworthy, knowledgeable, and available.

Naturally, being in the news does not necessarily guarantee any particular position: it is obviously possible to appear as a passive participant. Therefore it is important to study the roles given to the participants. Here, the analysis of participants is focused on a few factors only. These include examination of who are the minority vs. majority individuals mentioned, which are the details in terms of occupation or gender that are given, who are the foregrounded vs. backgrounded participants and, finally, who of the participants are quoted (for details, see Chapter 5). My aim is to examine how all this contributes to the construction of Otherness and Finnishness.

I divided the participants into two categories, minority and majority participants. This was done to find out how the news value of balance is applied in these news. Here, the value of balance means that both groups of participants should get a relatively equal representation in, and access to, the articles about ethnic and immigration issues. At the same time, information is also acquired of news gathering practices and news values more generally.

The investigation of the participants began by forming the participants cat-

egories on the basis of the data. All mentions of any minority or majority group or a member of such a group were counted. Further, the minority and majority participants were categorized according to how they were represented in the data. As minority participants were mostly presented through their ethnic membership, e.g. the Sami, or a Somali man and the majority participants through their role or position, such as the police or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This means that already the categorization of participants gives some indication as to how the two groups were represented: majority groups having socio-political functions, while minority groups only having ethnic identity.

The number of coded participants had to be limited, however, to keep the number of instances manageable. A maximum of three participants per minority and per majority group (see also Chapter 5) were included in the analysis. This means that a maximum of six participants for a single item could be coded. If there were more participants, only the first three participants for each group were counted. This decision was supported by the results of a pilot analysis. For most items this was clearly enough since typically there were only a few participants in a single item. According to the conventions of the news genre, the participants mentioned early should be the most interesting ones.

6.3.2 Minority and majority participants

There was a significant difference in the frequency of mentions between the minority and the majority participants. As is seen in Figure 8 majority participants were mentioned a total of 2,840 times, whereas minority participants were mentioned total of 1,907. This means that majority members were mentioned 1.5 times more often than minority ones. In terms of a single text, this means that for one mention of a minority participant there were 1.5 mentions of a majority figure.

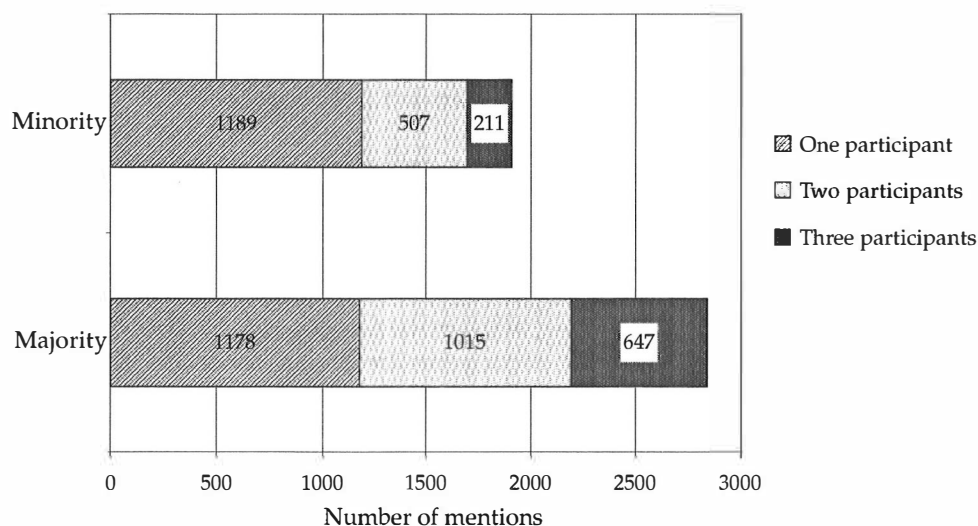


FIGURE 8 The frequency of the mentions of minority and majority participants.

There was also a rather big difference in how many participants from each group there were in a item. As Figure 8 shows, in all items there was always at least one

minority participant and almost always at least one majority participant. The difference increases rapidly when the number of participants per a items from each group is looked at. The number of the items with two majority participants in contrast to the number of the items with two minority participants was double, and the number of items with three majority participants in contrast to the items with three minority participants was triple.

Helsingin Sanomat mentioned majority participants more often than minority participants, and thus in terms of quantity, the news were more about Us than about Them, which is in line with findings in other studies (Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991). Characteristically, the news about ethnic minorities are populated by majority members. Although a more detailed analysis is needed before any far-going conclusions can be made, the result suggests the journalists perceived ethnic and immigration issues to be a concern for Finns, not for minorities.

6.3.3 Minority participants

To get a more detailed view of who the participants in the texts were, the minority participants were coded according to their ethnic membership. Majority participants were categorized according to the role in which they appeared in the data. In this way the categories serve as an illustration of the nature of the mentions. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 6 and 7.

As Table 6 shows, a total of 53 minority groups were mentioned in the texts and in the table they are listed in their order of appearance. The first minority participants mentioned in the texts were referred to as 'refugees' and 'foreigners'. Vietnamese refugees arrived at Finland, and they were compared to refugees from Chile, the only refugee group to arrive before the Vietnamese. The next group of refugees arriving at Finland were Somali and Kurds. At times, there were also news about the traditional minorities, e.g. the Romany and the Sami.

A look at various minority participant categories show, not unexpectedly, that refugees and foreigners were mentioned most frequently. Refugees were one fifth of all the mentions and this number constituted one third of the all items, i.e. 1,189. In other words, a refugee was mentioned in every third item. Refugees and foreigners together were mentioned in over half of the items. This means that most of the texts dealt with an unspecified faceless group of refugees or foreigners.

Besides refugees and foreigners only five minority groups among the 53 minority groups mentioned were mentioned at least 100 times each. These were Soviet, Somali, Yugoslavian, West European and Vietnamese. On the average, it means that every tenth item dealt with one of these groups. With the exception of West Europeans, the other four belonged to the largest groups of refugees arriving at Finland at the time studied. The term West European was used in the texts to characterise individual immigrants who typically had come to Finland to work in a position of relatively high status or because of marriage.

On the whole, most minority participants were only passing by in the news. There were 38 groups that were mentioned less than 20 times each. This means that there were only one or two items about, for instance, Iraqi, Libyan, Egyptian, Tamil, Ethiopian, or Kenyan minority members. This was to be expected because these minority groups were very small.

TABLE 6 The frequency of the mentions of minority participants.

Minority group	The frequency of mentions	
	N	% of all mentions
Refugee	411	21.6
Foreigner	270	14.2
Vietnamese	114	6.0
Chile	32	1.7
Somali	169	8.9
Kurd	70	3.7
Romany	54	2.8
Sami	62	3.3
Yugoslavian	104	5.5
Soviets ^a	184	9.7
Iranian	20	1.0
Iraqi	16	0.9
Libyan	6	0.3
Immigrant	24	1.3
Nigerian	8	0.4
Egyptian	3	0.2
Finnish-Swedish	11	0.6
Ethnic minority	10	0.5
African	18	0.9
West European	120	6.3
Tamil	5	0.3
Ethiopian	10	0.5
Kenyan	1	0.1
Zambian	2	0.1
Pakistani	6	0.4
Malaysian	4	0.2
Sikh	2	0.1
Jew	17	0.9
Chinese	11	0.6
Khmer	1	0.1
Tatar	4	0.2
Malian	2	0.1
Afghani	2	0.1
Arab	4	0.2
Israeli	2	0.1
The developing country	4	0.2
Turk	10	0.5
Indian	2	0.1
Rumenian	51	2.7
Hungarian	5	0.3
East-European	10	0.5
The Middle Eastern	2	0.1
Tunisian	2	0.1
Bangladeshi	9	0.5
Lebanese	4	0.2
Ghanian	4	0.2
Muslim	6	0.3
Ugandan	4	0.2
Tanzanian	4	0.2
Moroccan	6	0.3
Sri Lankan	2	0.1
The Third World	2	0.1
Asian	1	0.1
Total	1907	100

^a The Soviets include also the citizens from countries which used to be part of the Soviet Union, such as Estonia and Latvia

There was a correspondence between the number of the items and the number of minority members living in Finland, but this applies only to the new minorities, since the Sami and the Romany were not mentioned very often, despite the fact that their number was relatively high. People coming from Russia were treated as newcomers, even if there is also a traditional Russian minority living in Finland. The texts concentrated on anonymous refugees and foreigners rather than on identifiable minority participants. This contributes to the representation of Otherness as a faceless abstract phenomenon instead of minority members being portrayed as individuals with a name and a life. Such a representation contributes to the perception of Them as distant to, and different from, Us.

6.3.4 Majority participants

The majority participant categories were formed on the basis of the data by accounting for the role or the institutional position through which the participants were brought in into the news. By analysing how the Finns entered the news, I hope to be able illustrate who they were. Table 7 presents the results of this analysis.

The total number of the majority groups mentioned in the texts was 30. The number of the majority groups was clearly smaller than that of the minority groups ($n=53$). Comparison of the number of the mentions with the number of the groups makes the difference even more evident. While a total of 53 minority groups were mentioned 1,907 times in the news, the majority groups were mentioned total of 2,840 times. This means that the majority groups were mentioned about 50 % more often than the minority groups. The difference in this frequency indicates that the majorities who were able to access the news were able to do it frequently and far more often than the minority groups.

A look at the majority groups separately shows, the majority participant the most frequently mentioned by far was *the Finnish parliament*. This participant category also included *political parties, the government and the president*, that is the official political system of Finland. The Finnish parliament was mentioned in nearly 40 % of the items.

A variety of reasons may explain the considerable emphasis on the Finnish parliament. The novelty of the immigration situation required new political decisions on legislation, organizations, and financial matters. The changes in Finland were an important political issue, and it is evident that current political questions get reported, which suggests a correspondence between actions by politicians and the coverage. This extensive access of politicians to ethnic news may be seen to reflect conventionalized news making practices. Actions by politicians' are typically considered newsworthy, and journalists tend to have close contacts with politicians. They, for their part, tend to inform journalists frequently about what is going on (Heikkilä 1998, Korvola 1998). In the present material, politicians had a rather overwhelming role. To have a politician in nearly half of the news must have an impact on the content and perspective of the news: the most frequent topics (*residence permit decisions, number of foreigners, and immigration to Finland*) were typical concerns of politicians. If journalists had turned to, for instance, individuals working in humanitarian organizations or to minorities themselves, the most frequent topics and perspectives would have been different.

TABLE 7 The frequency of the mentions of majority participants.

Majority group	The frequency of mentions	
	N	% of all mentions
Parliament ^a	441	15,5
Office for Alien Affairs	183	6,4
Refugees authorities	90	3,2
Medical staff	18	0,6
Aid organizations	183	6,4
Municipal authorities	169	6,0
Police ^b	241	8,5
Finns ^c	302	10,6
Researchers	58	2,0
Media	23	0,8
Foreign politicians and authorities	59	2,1
Other countries	111	3,9
United Nations	80	2,8
Church	33	1,2
Juridical system	128	4,5
Foreign media	7	0,2
Foreign researcher	5	0,2
The Nordic Council	19	0,7
Employment authorities	48	1,7
Schools, universities	75	2,6
Ministry of Health and social security	168	5,9
Ministry of Internal Affairs	163	5,7
Other ministries	64	2,3
National Board of Health	7	0,2
Committees, delegations	68	2,4
Companies	40	1,4
Trade unions	13	0,5
EC agencies	14	0,5
Asylum committee	11	0,4
Others	17	0,6
New Nazis	2	0,1
Total	2840	100

^a Also Government, President, political parties, i.e. "the official political system of Finland"

^b Including Parliamentary Commissioner

^c Also We when used to refer to Finns, and to general opinion

The second majority group in terms of frequency of mention was *Finns*. Every fourth item mentioned a Finn, either as an individual citizen or generically. The personal pronoun *Us* was often used. The frequent mention of Finns may perhaps be attributed to the novelty of the situation: it was considered important that citizens could reflect and comment on the situation. The journalists positioned themselves as *Us* when writing about the issues. The frequent mentions of the Finns in these texts lend support to the central claim of the present study: the news about the Other is inevitably *Us* as well. Thus the Other and *Us* are included in one and the same discourse and have a dialectical relation between them (Hall 1997b:234, Jenkins 1996:80-81, Woodward 1997:35).

The police was a salient participant in the news. The police was the third in the order of frequency and appeared on average in every fifth item. This is note-

worthy. Although the arrival of the refugees is a police matter to a certain degree, it does not explain the frequency of the mentions. Why was the police considered that important in these news? The news making practices may offer a partial explanation. Characteristically, the police has easy access to news regardless of the topic or group in question, as they are the main news source for crimes and accidents, which are core elements of the daily news mass. An ethnic minority and crime, accidents or other police matter is a combination which meets more than one news criterion, such as conflict, negativity, and unexpectedness (see also Chapter 4) and, in the Finnish context, also novelty (Hakala 1992).

Also other representatives of the official system and various other authorities were mentioned frequently. For instance, the Ministry of Health and Social Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were both mentioned in approximately every seventh item. This is interesting since the Ministries had their own tasks in refugee and ethnic issues that are almost opposite ones. Whereas the Ministry of Health and Social Security was responsible for the education, accommodation, and social welfare of the newcomers, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the authority for residence permit decisions, asylum decisions, crimes, and police matters. To cover both views can be interpreted as a manifestation of the news value of balance. If the 'soft' side of the immigration issue was heard, then also the 'hard' side should have been included. However, the news created a scene between majority participants not between the majority and the minority.

An even-handed coverage was not, however, extended to officials who were responsible for practical everyday matters related to ethnic and immigration issues. The Office for Alien Affairs was mentioned twice as often as refugee authorities. If the value of balance had been applied here similarly to the two ministries, both of these institutions should have been mentioned as many times. The Office for Alien Affairs deals with the permits and police matters, whereas the refugee authorities deal with the practical issues of accommodation, education and welfare. Together with the frequent mention of the police *Helsingin Sanomat* gave more space for participants representing the 'harder' approach to refugees and immigration than to the 'softer' approach.

On the whole, out of 30 majority groups, those responsible for practical, everyday matters were mentioned relatively often. Aid and assistance organizations, particularly the Red Cross, the Office for Alien Affairs, or municipal authorities, were mentioned in every seventh item on average.

It is also important to see which participants were missing. In this coverage, the Church of Finland, employment authorities, Finnish companies, and human rights organizations were mentioned rarely or not at all. There is no obvious explanation for this, but it is interesting to speculate on the possible impact that these might have brought into the news and, ultimately, to the constructions of 'Otherness' and 'Finnishness'. For instance, the Church of Finland does humanitarian and charity work abroad, and it could have been expected that the Church would have had an opinion on the arrival of refugees and racism. It is not known on the basis of the data whether the Church did not seek media publicity or did not get it. The relative absence of human rights organizations is noteworthy as well, since refugee questions are of central importance for these organizations. All of these participants have established PR services and have at least the potential to access news media.

To sum up, the majority participants that were mentioned the most often were the Finnish parliament, Finns and the police. This means that political decisions, concerns of the citizens and the generic Us, and police matters, such as crime and illegality, were emphasized. If the frequencies of minority and majority participants are grouped together, the six groups of participants that were mentioned the most often were the Parliament, refugees, Finns, foreigners, the police and Soviets. Two of these six were mentioned in almost all items. These six together with the three most frequent topics (*residence permit decisions, number of foreigners, and immigration to Finland*) construct the dominant news story of ethnic and immigration issues. What do the political decision makers do when faceless masses of refugees and foreigners are coming to 'our' country, how do citizens feel about this, and what do the police says about grass-root multiculturalism.

6.3.5 Reporting order: Foregrounded and backgrounded participants

A complementary analysis was made to look at the reporting order (i.e. who was mentioned the first in the news, who the second, etc). This ties in with the news genre and news making practices and the convention of the most important and relevant event and participants being placed in an initial position. The way in which the participants were coded makes it possible to have a look at their reporting order. A possible limitation of this analysis is to be found in the coding procedure, since it was possible to code three participants per minority and majority groups only, and other possible participants remained uncoded. However, the majority of the items only had one or two participants, and thus it could be assumed that there would not have been many items with more than three participants. In the present analysis, the participants who were frequently mentioned the first were considered *foregrounded* participants. Participants who were mentioned the second were called *intermediate foregrounded* and participants mentioned the third were *backgrounded* respectively. Appendix 3 shows the findings of this analysis in detail.

The minority group that was the most frequently foregrounded was that of refugees, who were the first participants in every third item. This indicates that an item about ethnic and immigration issues typically began by an overall reference to refugees instead of, for instance, indicating the specific ethnic background of the refugee in question.

The majority participant that was foregrounded the most often was the Finnish parliament. More than every fifth item began with mentioning the Finnish parliament. This means that characteristically the texts started by mentioning, first, refugees and, second, the Finnish parliament. By frequently foregrounding these two, the items suggest a link between anonymous and abstract refugees and reactions and opinions by the official political system of Finland. Thus refugees and their issues were primarily constructed as a political issue.

The vast majority of minority participants were seldom mentioned. Consequently, there was no pattern of foregrounded or backgrounded positions. On the whole, minority groups were usually mentioned only after a general label of 'refugees' or 'foreigners' was presented, which means that they functioned as a further details in the news. Soviets, West Europeans, and Rumanians were an exception. They were quite often mentioned the first in items, and were represented as

members of a particular ethnic background rather than under the overall heading of foreigners or refugees. It is only possible to speculate on the underlying reasons for this. Perhaps Soviets, as a result of the drastic social change in the Soviet Union, and as Finland's neighbours, were seen as a newsworthy group. West Europeans were usually represented as individuals with an interesting job or some other connection with Finland. Romanians seem to be an exception in the coverage in this respect; it may be the news about the internal situation in Romania that made them interesting also when they arrived at Finland.

Also the majority groups, the police, judicial system, aid organizations, and municipal authorities were foregrounded rather often. All these represent an official, authoritative side of the Finnish system, and each has a section of ethnic and immigration issues that they are responsible for. Thus it is likely that the items where these majority participants were foregrounded were about these particular segments.

On the whole, there were much fewer second and third participants than first participants, particularly among minority groups. Thus, many of the minority groups only experienced a very short publicity in the Finnish media. The most frequent second participants among the minorities were Vietnamese, Chilean and Somali. The finding suggests that those who were initially abstract refugees or foreigners at the beginning of items were later described as Vietnamese, Chilean and Somali. An interesting issue is that these people were first described through a general label. A possible explanation is that, by using a general label, the journalist aims at readability and intelligibility. Another explanation could be that the Vietnamese, Chileans and Somalis were perceived as refugees, not as members of particular ethnic groups.

The most frequent second majority participants were the Police, Ministry of Health and Social Security, and Ministry of Internal Affairs. After the Finnish parliament and the citizens had expressed their opinions, these authorities were brought in next. It is worth pointing out that the police was often a second participant, which indicates that their view was considered relevant. Aspects such as crimes, and overall police matters were emphasized. It was then left to the Ministry of Health and Social Security to bring in other aspects related to these issues.

Consideration of the backgrounded participants shows that the most prominent feature is the lack of third participants, particularly among minority groups. It seems that the coverage brought in only one or two minority participants at a time. Thus, the items were about refugees and foreigners in general and, at times, one minority group was specified. Instead, there were third majority participants in the news. These backgrounded participants were most frequently the asylum committee, EC agencies, and the National Board of Health. These participants appeared as less relevant and less important majority participants.

6.3.6 Individuals and masses: details and status given to the participants

A way to study the manner in which the minority and majority groups were represented in the news was to analyze the frequency and types of details and status given to them in the items. Such details and status, (e.g. gender and occupation), give a more precise picture of what kinds of participants there were in the news. In addition, whether or not the details or status were given, and to whom they

were given, will highlight certain aspects of news making illustrating who were considered significant enough to be provided with further descriptions.

As could be expected, majority participants were described in far more detail than minority participants. In over 70 % of the items there were majority participants who were provided with further details, while the number in the case of minorities was a little over 40 % (see Appendix 4). This suggests that majority participants were presented as individuals whereas the minority participants were often represented as a group. Next, the types and frequency of details given to both minority and majority participants were examined. The findings of this analysis are illustrated in Figure 9.

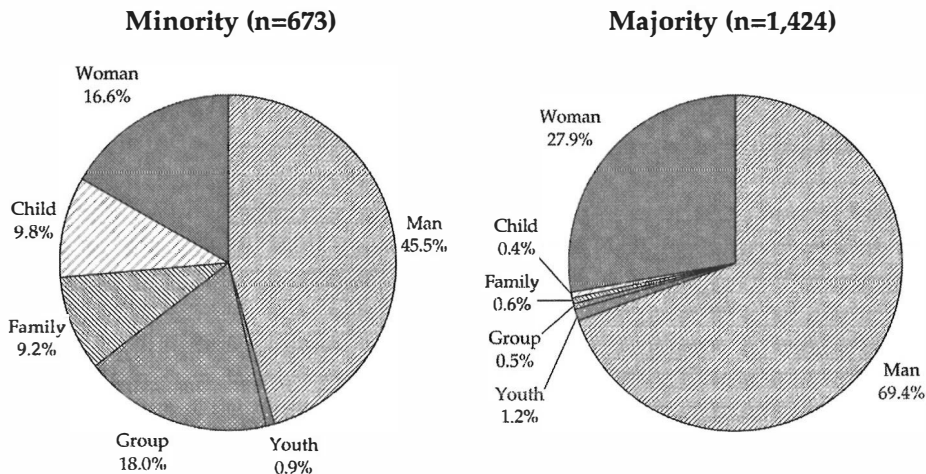


FIGURE 9 The frequency and distribution of the mentioned details related to minority (n=673) and majority groups (n=1,424).

Minority participants were described in a more varied manner, whereas the most frequent detail given to majority participants was gender. The high proportion of gender as a feature of majority participants may be due to the fact that it could be inferred from their names, as from the headline in a news report on 18 November, 1993: "*Lipponen: Ilaskivi on rasisti.*" ([the leader of social democrats] Lipponen: [presidential candidate] Ilaskivi is a racist). Instead, minority participants were usually described explicitly as a man or a woman (*Somali man, example 36*) or alternatively through group identification (*former Yugoslavian, example 37*). Often the names of minority participants were not mentioned at all, which in some cases might have been their own wish for security reasons, for instance. However, this can be interpreted as an extension of the overall manner in which the paper was covering minority and majority groups. As discussed above, the minority participants were mostly referred as refugees and foreigners, and the next category of description, almost equally common was gender and family relationships. Majority participants, in contrast, were introduced through their professions or positions and then specified through their names. Characteristically *Helsingin Sanomat* reported about a certain authority by name and a refugee group consisting of this many families, men, and women. Here again, the familiar construction of individual Finns and

faceless 'Others' was manifested.

The status of the participants was also examined. The term status is here used in a broad sense referring to an occupation or a role of an individual. As expected, there was a considerable difference between the minority and majority groups in frequency of status indicated in the news (see Appendix 5). The status of a minority member was mentioned in only 16.1 % of the items, whereas for the majority groups the status was described as often as in 67.2 % of the items. This means that only every sixth item included any status description for a minority member, but two out of three items included a description of majority members' status. In this way the news constructions of majority participants leaned heavily on their status, whereas the minority participants were mainly represented through their ethnic membership. Although the data selection attributed to the description of the minority participants through their ethnic membership, the tendency to describe majority members as individuals and through their profession is nonetheless evident. A Finn was typically a professional, an individual with a name, while the Other is without an identity, history, or background.

The occupations of both groups that were in the texts were also examined. This sheds light on what kind of professionals or occupation holders were considered newsworthy. Whether there was a division in occupations between majority and minority groups was also examined. As mentioned already, the majority members were usually presented through their socio-political function whereas the minority members mostly through their ethnicity. Consequently, this analysis can only be indicative since occupation of ethnic minority members were mentioned far more seldom than those of majority members and therefore the figures cannot be directly compared. However, the considerable difference in the number of mentions is already indicative of a clear difference in the description of the minority and majority groups. The findings of the analysis are presented in Figure 10 below.

The main occupation of a minority representative was related to education. One third of all minority occupations mentioned were those of a teacher or a student. This is not surprising since many items dealt with the education of members of minorities, particularly their learning of Finnish language or their mother tongue instruction. The mentions of these two occupations were counted here together, since in these items the minority members were often described simultaneously as teachers and students, so that they were described both as a teacher of Somali language for Somali children and as a student of Finnish culture and language.

As for majority occupations, one third of all the mentions referred to a director. This indicates whom the journalists asked for information when writing about ethnic issues: the director of a refugee camp, the director of the Alien Office etc.

The second most frequent category that was mentioned for the minority participants was that of miscellaneous occupations, which indicates two things: there was a large variety of occupations mentioned in connection with the minority, and the categories that were chosen were not entirely successful. This certainly limits the interpretation to a certain extent. Politician was the occupation that was the second in the order of frequency for majority participants. Every fifth mention turned out to be a politician. This implies the immigration and ethnic issues were considered highly political, as was pointed out in connection with some of

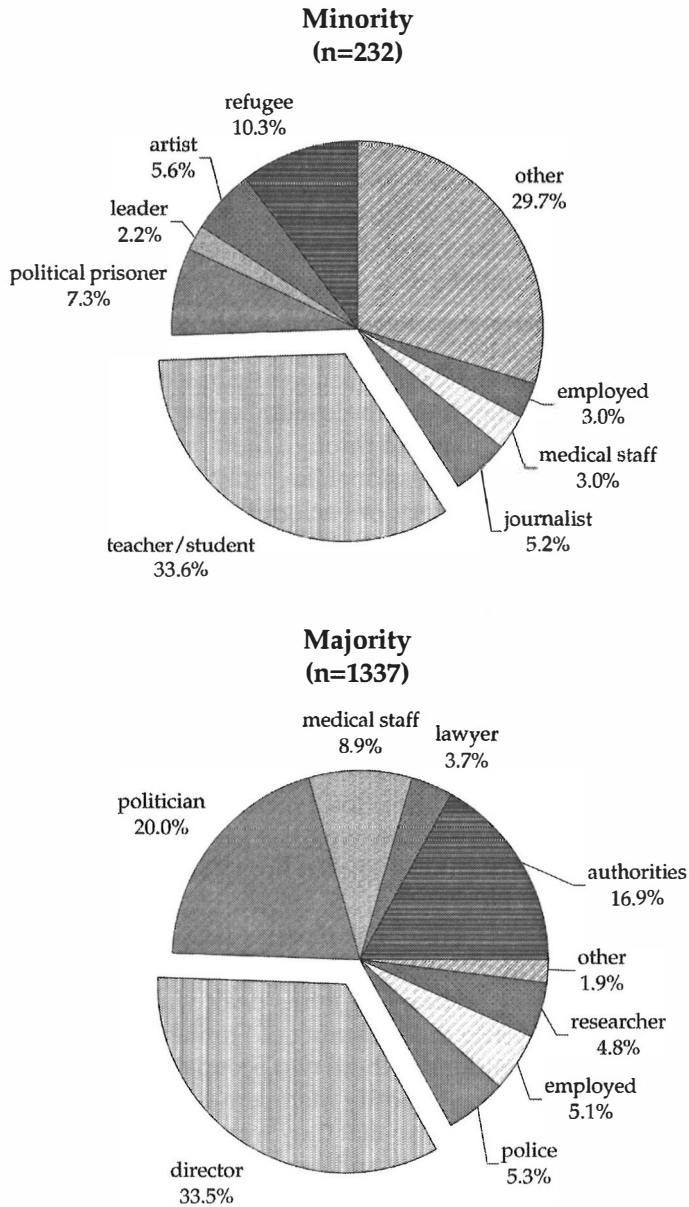


FIGURE 10 The frequency and distribution of the occupations mentioned for the minority (n=232) and majority groups (n=1,337).

the earlier results above. Quite a few minority participants were described as refugees. I find this noteworthy: If a news report described the participants beyond the overall characterization of the ethnic background, why were the individuals characterized as refugees rather than in terms of their professions?

To sum up, majority participants were not only far more frequently mentioned in the *Helsingin Sanomat* texts, but their gender, occupation and status were presented far more often than those of minority participants. Minority participants,

in turn, were typically described through their group membership, if some details at all were given. In this way, Finns were given an identity and a personality whereas the Other remains as an unfamiliar, distant, and abstract refugee or foreigner. As the texts dealt with ethnic minorities, it would have been natural to expect that the background of the minority participants would have been given. In the texts about ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* that took place for majority members and only rarely for minority members.

6.4 Participants, quotations, topics, and representations in the coverage

Below I will discuss the quotation patterns of the participants, interrelations of specific topics and participants and, finally, predominant participants. These aspects of the coverage offer a link between the topics and participants, one the one hand, and news making practices, topics, and participants, on the other.

6.4.1 Silenced and voiced participants

As was discussed above, quotations are prestigious. People who can access news and are allowed to comment on things in their own words are privileged. Quotations also tell about whom journalists turn to for information and whom they consider trustworthy and important (see also Chapter 4). In this study, quotation patterns do not only tell who were quoted but they also highlight the source practices of journalists.

Consequently, three aspects of the quotations in the texts were examined: the total frequency of quotations by minority and majority groups; the reporting order of quotations of the foregrounded and backgrounded minority and majority participants, and frequency of quotations per group for various topics. The analysis of the quotations was two-sided in that also the participants who were not quoted were considered, that is, the analysis focused on whether or not the participant was quoted or not. A non-quoted participant means that there was a participant mentioned in the items who was not quoted. It is significant to count them as well because they are the silent participants in the texts. A quoted participant was quoted either directly or indirectly. Table 8 summarizes the results of analysis of the frequency of quotations per the minority and majority groups in the data.

The total number of mentions was 4,747. This means that on the average there were almost four participants mentioned in every item. Among them nearly every second participant was quoted, i.e. 40 %. The total number of the quoted participants in the data was 1,894. On the average this means that every item had 1.6 quoted participants and, conversely, 2.4 participants who were not quoted. Considering the fact that the average length of the items was quite long, 77 cm, it could have been expected that there would have been more quotations.

There was a significant difference in the frequency of the quotations between the minority and majority groups, as Table 8 shows. To begin with, majority participants were mentioned in the text, with or without quotation, far more often than minority participants. Of all mentions (n=4,747) the minority members ac-

TABLE 8 The frequency of minority and majority quotations.

Frequency of Quotations				
Quoted	Minority		Majority	
	N	% of all mentions	N	% of all mentions
Yes	392	20.6	1502	52.8
No	1490	78.1	1318	46.4
Missing	25	1.3	20	0.8
Total	1907	100	2840	100

counted for only 40 % in contrast to the majority's 60 %. The results also show a clear difference in the distribution of the quotations between the minority and the majority groups. While majority members were quoted on the average 1.3 times per item, minority members were quoted in every third only. This indicates that the majority members were given a privileged position in the news. This is in line with the previous results about the coverage of mainstream media on ethnic issues (e.g. Campbell 1995, Downing and Husband 1994, van Dijk 1991): texts foreground majority members both in terms of quantity and quality, while minority members are backgrounded.

Majority members were turned to for comments and opinions. In most items, the other significant participants, i.e. the minorities themselves, were left aside. Although language and PR problems may partly account for this imbalance (Hurri 1992, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996), its magnitude remains nonetheless unexplained. Possibly minority members were not considered actual participants but rather passive objects of the news. Regardless of the reasons, this sets up the discussion between Finns rather than between Finns and minority members.

The reasons for the demands of a more active role for minority participants are to be found in the news values of balance and impartiality. Accordingly, all participants that have a say on the issues should be heard, and all relevant points of view should be presented (see, e.g. Allan 1999, Journalistien ohjeet 1998). These guidelines were not always followed in the coverage under study.

The frequency of the quotations of foregrounded and backgrounded minority and majority participants in terms of reporting order was examined to see whether a foregrounded position also meant more quotations and vice versa. Appendix 6 shows the findings.

Predictably, a foregrounded position guaranteed more quotations. In both groups, the first participants were more often quoted than the second and third participants. The difference between minority and majority participants in quotation frequency according to the reporting order is evident. Even the third (i.e. backgrounded) majority participant was quoted twice ($n=327$) as often as the first (i.e. foregrounded) minority participant ($n=160$). The difference in the frequency of quotations between the first minority and majority participants is fourfold. Thus, there is an overwhelming dominance of the majority quotations over the minority ones. These results also lend support to what has been argued above: they underline the importance of foregrounded participants and privileges attached to them.

The next step was to examine for which topics minority and majority participants were quoted and how frequently. This gives information about who were considered relevant, knowledgeable, and important individuals, and for which topics. Figure 11 illustrates the results of this analysis.

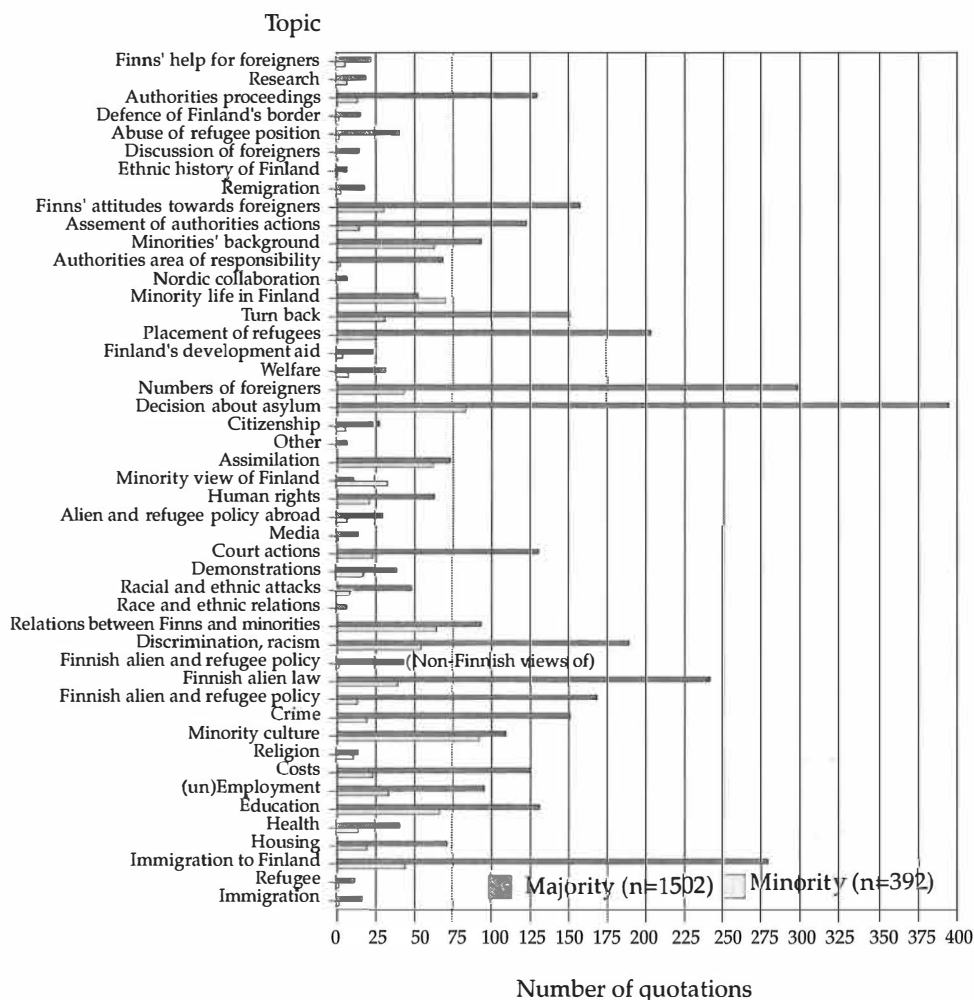


FIGURE 11 Minority and majority quotations per topics.

There was a striking difference in the number of quotations between the minority and majority participants throughout the topics. Out of the 47 topics, only in two (*Minorities life in Finland* and *Minorities view about Finland*) the minorities were quoted more often than the majority participants. The two topics could hardly be commented on by Finns. In all other topics, majority participants were quoted more often, often many times, in comparison to the minority participants. For example, in the three most frequent topics (*Residence permit decisions*, *Number of foreigners* and *Immigration to Finland*) the minority quotations were only a fracture in comparison to the majority ones. This imbalance in the quantity of the quotations between the minority and majority participants is partly a consequence of the low

number of the minority participants in the news. This, in turn, underlines the importance of being perceived by journalists as a participant in a given issue.

Even in the topics related very closely to the lives of the minorities, such as *Minorities background*, *Racism and discrimination*, and *Minority culture*, the majority participants were quoted more frequently than the minority participants. This is against the established news making practices, according to which comments are asked from all those who are considered knowledgeable and most relevant for the topic in question, who in this case would have been the minority members. Thus the use of majority members, along with the quotation patterns and frequency, suggest that in any topic the comments, opinions, and knowledge of majority members were considered more important, relevant, and trustworthy than those of minority members. This imbalance is partly explained by language and availability problems, but this does not cover the magnitude of the difference.

6.4.2 Linking participants with specific topics

The next step in the analysis of participants and topics was to investigate whether there existed a pattern in the association of a particular group to a specific topic. Minority members themselves often say that they are reported only in relation to one or two topics, which often are either negative or unwanted from the minority point of view. Similarly, some minorities may be associated with specific topics, such as a particular religion, a habit, or a crime. Here, it was examined whether such patterns appeared in the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage.

The analysis of the relations between the participants and the topics means cross-tabulation in practice. There were 47 categories of topics, 31 of majority participants and 54 of minority participants. This means that the analysis resulted in a wealth of results. The main findings are presented in Table 9, while all detailed findings are shown in Appendices 7 and 8. This analysis has certain limitations. It should be noted that only the three minority and majority participants mentioned first were coded and the results present only the frequency of the mentions of these participants. Although the overall information about the relations between the topics and the participants may be useful, the sheer amount of the data makes it rather unaccessible.

Therefore I will present here a summary of the findings based on the most frequent topics and participants and only when the results are particularly interesting, draw on the overall results. The summary consists of the findings of three analyses: First, I will discuss the relations between ten topics most frequently mentioned and the minority and majority participants most often mentioned in these topics. Second, I will look at the ten most frequently mentioned majority participants and the topics that they were most often associated with, and third, run a similar analysis with the minority participants. These three interrelated analyses will highlight the patterns between the topics and the participants in the coverage. Table 9 presents the results of the analyses.

The parliament and refugees were the most frequent participants in the five most frequent topics. The majority dealt with the changing ethnic situation in Finland and its legal consequences. Quite predictably, the Finnish parliament, being one of the central institutions in this activity, was also the most frequent participant. In addition, the tendency of the journalists to report on the actions and opin-

ions of the politicians seems to apply here. The emphasis on the Finnish parliament was very clear, as is seen in the results in Appendix 8. Only with the topic of Residence permit decisions, the Office for Alien Affairs was mentioned almost as often as the Parliament.

However, the fact that the Finnish parliament was the most prominent majority participant in the topics dealing with the changing ethnic situation in Finland constructed it, above all, as a political issue. An alternative perspective would perhaps have focused on the actions of the Finns, aid organizations, or the United Nations, which would have contributed to a different kind of representation.

A minority counterpart to the Finnish parliament among the five most frequent topics was Refugees and Foreigners. These two were the most frequent minority participants in all the top five topics (see Appendix 7). This suggests that the coverage about ethnically changing Finland was about anonymous, non-identified, and uncounted refugees and foreigners. For *Helsingin Sanomat* the ethnic changes in Finland was a political issue which dealt with anonymous refugees and foreigners.

The five topics that came next in the order of frequency differ from the first five in the sense that, rather than focusing on the on-going or impending changes in Finland's ethnic scene, they concentrated on the changes that had already taken place, such as crimes, discrimination, and racism, placement of refugees etc.

Next, each one of these topics will be examined more closely. The topic of crime was typically linked with the police and Soviets. It is quite obvious for the police to be mentioned frequently, but this is not the case with Soviets. As Appendix 7 shows, Soviets were clearly more often mentioned in connection with crime than any other minority group. It can be argued therefore that the texts in *Helsingin Sanomat* constructed a representation of Soviets as prone to crime. Many of the items about crime, on the one hand, and about the changes in Finland, on the other, dealt with crimes that were assumed to be committed by organized criminals from the Soviet Union/Russia. Example (40) above illustrates the fears typical for this representation.

The most frequent participants in the topic of discrimination and racism were Finns and foreigners. Two things can be noted: firstly, the texts focused on the reactions and attitudes of the Finns towards the newcomers. If discrimination or racism was to be found, it could be found among ordinary citizens rather than in the Finnish official system, such as the juridical system, the police, politicians, etc. Secondly, by associating the anonymous 'foreigners' as victims of discrimination rather than naming and identifying the minority member, *Helsingin Sanomat* moved the issues to a level of abstraction. The same applied to Finns' attitudes towards foreigners when they were written about.

The topic *Placement of refugees* was quite expectedly associated with municipal authorities who were responsible for the placements in practice and with refugees who needed the place to live in. The topic *Minority culture* is more interesting. Here the most frequent participants were Finns and the Sami, as seen in Table 9.

The fact that Finns were the most frequent majority participants indicates that majority culture was portrayed through the experiences and opinions of citizens rather than those of, for instance, educators, legislators, or politicians. Interestingly, the Sami represented minority culture on behalf of all the other mi-

TABLE 9 The relations between the ten most frequent topics, the minority participants, and the majority participants.

Relations between the most frequent topics and participants					
The most frequent topics in the data	The minority and majority participants most frequently associated with this topics	The most frequent majority participants	The topic most frequently associated with this participant	The most frequent minority participants	The topic most frequently associated this participant
Residence permit decisions	Parliament Refugees	Parliament	Number of foreigners	Refugees	Number of foreigners
Number of foreigners	Parliament Refugees	Finns	Discrimination and racism	Foreigners	Finnish alien law
Immigration to Finland	Parliament Refugees	Police	Crime	The Soviets	Crime
Finnish alien law	Parliament Foreigners	Office for Alien Affairs Aid organizations	Residence permit decisions Placement of refugees	Somali	Number of foreigners
Finnish alien policy	Parliament Refugees	Municipal authorities	Placement of refugees	West European	Turn back
Crime	Police the Soviets	Ministry of Health and and Social Security	Number of foreigners	Vietnamese	Number of foreigners
Discrimination and Racism	Finns Foreigners	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Residence permit	Yugoslavian	Residence permit decision
Placement of refugees	Municipal authorities Refugees	Juridical system	Court actions	Kurds	Residence permit decision
Minority culture	Finns Sami	Other countries	Residence permit decisions	Sami	Minority culture
Finns' attitudes	Finns Refugees	Refugee authorities	Immigration to Finland	Romany	Minority culture

norities. As the figures in Appendix 7 show, the Sami were mentioned almost twice as often as the second group (the Romany) under this topic. It could have been expected that the new minority groups and their culture would have aroused more interest.

Next I turn to look at ten majority participants that were most frequently mentioned and the topics which they were typically associated with. Table 9 shows the main results and Appendix 8 all findings. Many results are similar to the findings discussed above. On the whole, majority participants were typically associated with topics related to their profession or to the role that they had in relation to ethnic and immigration issues. Thus the Office for Alien Affairs was mostly related to the topic *Residence permit decisions*, whereas the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Juridical System to the topic *Court actions*, and so forth. This implies that majority participants mostly functioned as experts or decision makers in the news. Having experts give their views is a typical feature of news. The pairs in Table 9 illustrate who were considered the most well-informed experts in each topic.

Finally, the relation between the ten most frequent minority participants and the topics is examined. Some of these findings were already discussed above. On the whole, the topics that the minority groups were connected with were most frequently topics emphasizing their outsider status. By this I mean that instead of reporting, for instance, about the background of a minority group or about their everyday life in Finland, the journalists wrote far more about the number of them in Finland or their residence permits. This is shown in the case of the texts about Somalis. The topic that was the second in frequency associated with Somalis was *Immigration to Finland* and the third *Residence permit decisions*. Thus Somalis were newsworthy in terms of numbers, their coming to Finland, and the stay in Finland. Information about their background, the reasons for their exile, or particulars of their culture were covered infrequently in the domestic news section. For instance, there were only four items about Somali minority culture among the 146 Somali items.

Also the Vietnamese were mostly written about in terms of their number, next in terms of their placement, and thirdly, in terms of immigration to Finland (see Appendix 7). A similar pattern was found about Yugoslavians and Kurds. These findings suggest that the newcomers were considered newsworthy particularly when they entered the country and when their future stay in the country was discussed. In contrast, their everyday experiences did not appear to be important subjects. The focus in the news was on topics that dealt with change, and its consequences particularly from the point of view of numbers. Topics dealing with human experience were left aside.

An exception to the above style of reporting was the coverage of the Sami and Romany people. As Table 9 shows, both of these traditional minorities were written about in terms of their culture. In this way these minorities seemed to represent minority culture on behalf of all the other minority groups. A partial explanation for the emphasis on Sami minority culture was their political activity (see Chapter 2). The topic that was the second in the order of frequency topic in the Sami texts was *Human rights* and the third *the Finnish law* support this interpretation. Instead, the Romany were discussed in relation to *discrimination and racism*, and *education*.

To sum up, the results discussed above tell a familiar story. The topics that

were frequent centred round the ethnic changes in Finland. Frequent majority participants spoke in the texts as experts or authorities in accordance with their occupation or position in relation to ethnic and immigration issues. Typically, ethnic minorities were represented as anonymous refugees and foreigners. The texts emphasized the Finnish point of view, and concerns and issues relevant to the minorities were marginalized.

6.4.3 Predominant participants

The last participant feature to be examined was the distribution of the position of predominant participants in the texts. The predominant position means that a participant is noticed and given importance more than the others by, for instance, devoting more space to her or his opinions by presenting this participant at the beginning of texts. This also means that this analysis is more subjective and interpretative than the other aspects of the coverage analysis. Although the analysis above already gave evidence of predominance, this analysis was carried out to gain a more extensive view of predominant participants (for details of the coding system, see Chapter 5).

To keep the analysis manageable, only 19 first minority groups were included in this analysis. This was decided on the basis of the earlier results indicating that only the first minority groups were mentioned relatively often, whereas the rest of the minority groups were mentioned only a couple of times throughout the data. The twentieth category of Other included all the other minority groups beyond the 19 first ones. By limiting the number of the minority categories to 20 and by adding the majority participants, the analysis of the predominant participants still included 50 groups. Table 10 presents the distribution of the predominant position among the 50 groups.

The results are similar to the previous findings in this study regarding the most frequent participants, quotations patterns, and foregrounded participants. The Finnish parliament was most frequently given the predominant participant position. Every fourth item had the Parliament as the predominant participant. The second most frequent predominant participant was the police, and third, perhaps unexpectedly, Finns.

The findings substantiate the arguments presented above that the opinions and actions of politicians were considered the most important and noticeable in *Helsingin Sanomat* and that ethnic and immigration issues were above all perceived to be a political issue. That the police were given such an important role is also noteworthy. In the light of the results it appears that journalists saw ethnic and immigration issues also as a police matter. The fact that Finns were the third in predominance bring in the opinions and experiences of the ordinary citizens. This means focusing on the opinions and experiences of politicians, the police, and citizens, in this order. These participants were thus seen as the most important and noticeable, and ethnic and immigration issues were considered above all a political issue, a police matter, and a matter of public opinion. A construction like this underlines the view of ethnic and immigration issues as an internal question of Finland. As a result, Finns and the Finnish system and agenda were regarded as the most important and, consequently, the concerns of minorities were backgrounded.

TABLE 10 The distribution of the predominant participant position.

Predominant participant	The frequency of mentions	
	N	% of all mentions
Refugee	91	3.2
Foreigner	63	2.2
Vietnamese	33	1.2
Chile	11	0.4
Somali	79	2.8
Kurd	36	1.3
Romany	29	1.0
Sami	42	1.5
Yugoslavian	45	1.6
Soviets	95	3.3
Iranian	6	0.2
Iraqi	1	0.0
Libyan	1	0.0
Immigrant	10	0.4
Nigerian	5	0.2
Egyptian	1	0.0
Finnish-Swedish	3	0.1
Ethnic minority	2	0.1
African	7	0.2
other minority groups	175	6.1
Parliament	313	11.0
Office for Alien Affairs	151	5.3
Refugees authorities	62	2.2
Medical staff	11	0.4
Aid organizations	137	4.8
Municipal authorities	135	4.7
Police	204	7.2
Finns	199	7.0
Researchers	44	1.5
Media	14	0.5
Foreign politicians and authorities	42	1.5
Other countries	67	2.3
United Nations	57	2.0
Church	24	0.8
Juridical system	113	4.0
Foreign media	5	0.2
Foreign researcher	5	0.2
The Nordic Council	16	0.6
Employment authorities	33	1.2
Schools. universities	52	1.8
Ministry of Health and Social Security	168	4.6
Ministry of Internal Affairs	138	4.8
Other ministries	38	1.3
National Board of Health	6	0.2
Committees.delegations	57	2.0
Companies	8	0.3
Trade unions	8	0.3
EC agencies	7	0.2
Asylum Committee	6	0.2
New Nazis	2	0.1
other majority groups	13	0.5
Total	2870	100

The predominant participant that was the fourth in frequency, and at the same time the first minority group mentioned, was the mixed group Minority other. A total of 175 mentions, equivalent to almost 15 % of the items, was from this group. However, this is not very illuminating, since this category combined all the other minority groups except the first 19. This was a limitation of this analysis.

The first minority group given a predominant participant position was the Soviets/Russians, and they did not appear before the 11th position. Between the top three cases and Soviets/Russians there were many authorities and officials involved in ethnic and minority issues, such as the Office for Alien Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, The Ministry of Health and Social Security and Refugee authorities. In other words, various officials were placed before the minorities themselves which further emphasized the representation of this matter as one of Finns.

On the whole, minorities themselves were rarely given a predominant position in the news. As Table 10 illustrates, out of all cases, only 25.6 % signified minorities. The number of the majority figures given a predominant participant position was triple in comparison to minorities. As regards minorities, Soviets/Russians, refugees and Somalis were most often given a predominant position. Soviets/Russians and Somalis were both relatively large ethnic groups and *Helsingin Sanomat* covered them fairly regularly. The category of the refugee functioned as a general label for various groups, and it was also used in a more abstract sense. Apparently, *Helsingin Sanomat* considered the actions and opinions of these three groups as the most interesting and noticeable among the minority groups.

Finally, a cross-tabulation between the topics and the predominant participants was carried out to investigate who was the predominant participant in which topic. This analysis was similar to the one carried out with the minority and majority participants and discussed above. All the findings of this analysis are presented in Appendix 9, and some of the main findings are summarized below.

The results of this analysis echo arguments presented above. Majority participants were given predominance in topics related to their profession or role in ethnic and immigration issues. Consequently, the Parliament was a predominant participant in topics such as *Immigration to Finland, Finnish alien and refugee policy, Human rights, Numbers of foreigners, and Nordic collaboration*. It was also given the predominant position on the topics that were under parliamentary jurisdiction. Similarly, the police was predominant in topics of *Crime, Racial and ethnic attacks, and Demonstrations*. Finns were predominant in the topics of *Discrimination and racism, Relations between Finns and minorities, and Finns' attitudes*.

There were only three cases where a single minority group exceeds the majorities in terms of predominance. These were the Sami for the topic of *minority culture*, the Somali for the topic of *Remigration*, and Soviets/Russians for the topic *Abuse of refugee position*. In most cases, the predominant position was given to majority members and only very rarely to minority members.

6.5 Characteristics of the coverage

In this chapter I have discussed the findings related to the *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage of ethnic minorities. Table 11 summarizes some of the main characteristics of this coverage.

TABLE 11 Characteristics of the coverage.

The most frequent topics	Discourses drawn on	The most frequent majority and minority participants
Residence permit decisions	'Genuine or false newcomer'	Parliament/Refugees
Number of foreigners	'Statistics'	Parliament/Refugees
Immigration to Finland	'Nearing change'	Parliament/Refugees
Finnish alien law	'Legislation'	Parliament/Foreigners
Finnish alien and refugee policy	'Pressuring opinions'	Parliament/Refugees
Crime	'Troubles'	Police/The Soviets
Discrimination and racism	'Troubles'	Finns/Foreigners

All results discussed so far show that the coverage centred round the ethnic change taking place in Finland and the needs and means of controlling it. The most frequent topics have this focus in common. Furthermore, the perspective in the texts was that of Finns: the most frequent participants in terms of mentions, quotations, and predominance were all Finns, typically the Parliament, the police, and Finns in general. The texts about ethnic changes in Finland was typically set up between Finns. Moreover, the considerable emphasis on politicians in the texts constructed the ethnic and immigration issues above all as a political matter.

The findings also show that the minorities themselves were backgrounded in the news about themselves. This was evident both in the choice of the most frequent topics, mentions of participants, quotation patterns, and the distribution of the predominant position. The essential participants, the minorities themselves, were marginalized. Discourses of '*Genuine of false or true newcomer*', '*Statistics*', '*Nearing change*', '*Legislation*', '*Pressuring Opinions*' and '*Troubles*', features many articles about the most frequent topics. These discourses may be seen to contribute to the construction of ethnic difference by representing the Other as anonymous and distant, on the one hand, and as a change bringing along troubles, on the other. Finns, in contrast, were positioned as Us, who have the power over 'Them', but who are the ones to suffer from the problems caused by 'Them'.

Giving minorities such a secondary role in the news so closely related to them gives rise to a number of questions. In some previous studies (see for instance Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991) this kind of marginalization has been interpreted as an indicator of racism in the sense that journalists have not considered minori-

ties as trustworthy, newsworthy, and important enough to give their concerns, agenda, and voice access to any news. Although this can be true with some individual journalists, I do not believe in any collective racism against minorities among journalists. It seems that the marginalization of minorities in news about themselves is rather embedded in a complex matrix of indifference, ignorance, news making practices and economics of news media.

Journalists patently favour majority members at the cost of minorities, and by doing this, construct the issues as majority issues rather than also minority one. In this way they fail to apply their own criteria of news making, namely that of balance and equal treatment of the participants involved. The reasons for this, however, are many. First of all, the news making practices, constrained by time and economic pressures as well as various routines, favour the use of well-organized and ready-made PR services (Grossberg et al. 1998:339-331), familiar sources, or sources easily at hand (Kunelius 1997:91-92). Ethnic minorities, particularly refugees, do not fit in these practices and routines. The news are products meant to be sold and to make a profit. Consequently, the news are made for an 'average' consumer, and in the case of *Helsingin Sanomat*, certainly for majority members. Journalists, being majority members themselves, write news to other majority members, which may partly explain the emphasis on Finns' point of view.

However, although these practices and conditions partly explain the tendencies in the coverage of ethnic minorities, plenty of questions remain unanswered. One of the tasks of the news, and the media in general, is to provide accounts of actual daily events and to do this in a fair, balanced and trustworthy manner (Allan 1999:24-26, Kunelius 1997:17-18). After all, the economic requirement of the news is that they can be trusted, at least to a certain extent. The findings of the analyses of the frequency of topics, the mentions and the quotations of participants and the predominance given to participants suggest that the coverage on ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* did not meet the criteria of balanced and many-sided news, but focused on a few topics and a few majority participants. The coverage predominantly constructed ethnic and immigration issues as a matter of changing Finland, and as a such, as a political and administrative question. The Finnish majority was predominantly represented by politicians and other officials and ethnic minorities by faceless unidentified refugees and foreigners.

In the case of ethnic minorities, as well as other minorities or marginalized groups in society, media publicity is often one of the few, if not the only, places where the other people will learn about them. Therefore news publicity is both important and potentially harming for them. The portrayal of an entire ethnic group as potential criminals is clearly harming. It is the smallness of the minority that makes it so vulnerable. Although it is not the task of the journalist to be an advocate of minorities, the criteria of balanced and equal treatment should also be applied to ethnic minorities. In the light of the findings above, it seems that journalists are either not aware of, or do not care about, the tendencies in news that they write about ethnic minorities and their consequences. In my opinion, the demands for a more cautious way of reporting about ethnic minorities are justified. This kind of blindness or ignorance also suggests that perhaps there is a degree of structural racism embedded in the structures of society, the news world, and news making that hinders us from seeing the consequences of populating the news about ethnic minorities with representatives of the majority.

7 REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SAMI AND THE FINNS

7.1 Point of departure

The aim of this chapter is to extend and to complement the analysis presented in the previous chapter by focusing on texts on the Sami, on the one hand, and by carrying out a more detailed linguistic analysis, on the other. The findings of the content analysis indicated that the Sami together with the Romany was covered in a rather unique focusing on topics of minority culture and human rights issues. As discussed at many point of this study, the Sami is an interesting group to examine due to its particular socio-political position and struggle. In terms of data and the number of ethnic minorities the scope of this chapter is narrower than in the previous chapter.

Examination of the representation of the Sami comprises three interrelated analyses: (1) an analysis of the coverage of the Sami texts in *Helsingin Sanomat* (n=51) drawn on the same lines as the analysis presented in the previous chapter; (2) an analysis of wording the people living in the Sami domicile area in the Sami news; and (3) a transitivity analysis of six texts about the Sami. By conducting these three analyses my aim will be to examine the representations of the Sami and Finns from a variety of view points. The analysis will also be linked with the analysis of the overall coverage of ethnic and immigration issues. In this way different methods, sets of data and findings will be examined concurrently to provide a rich picture of the phenomenon under examination. At the same time it is also an exploratory application of CDA through the combination of a linguistic analysis and other types of analysis.

7.2 HS coverage of the Sami

7.2.1 Attracting media attention

A study of newspaper texts about Sami is intriguing for several reasons. *Helsingin Sanomat* with its resources and ambitions as a quality paper is a news medium which could be expected to cover Sami issues in multiple ways. Furthermore, the

newspaper has a correspondent in Lapland, whose job is to cover regional issues. Thus it could be expected that also Sami issues would be covered. In addition, the typical obstacles attached to new ethnic minorities do not apply to the Sami: all Sami are fluent in Finnish and they have established organizations, e.g. the Sami Parliament. All these factors could be expected to facilitate communication between Sami and journalists and contribute to a fair amount and manner of coverage. Therefore it is interesting to see how HS covered the Sami and whether constructions of ethnic difference took place and if so, to what extent and how.

The historical and social context of the period under investigation is particularly interesting. In 1985-1993 the political activity of the Sami in Finland became stronger and resulted in the legal recognition of the linguistic rights of the Sami. On the whole, it was a period of great changes in Finnish society, as was discussed in the Introduction.

Out of 1,189 items published about ethnic and immigration issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* in the period, only 51 items dealt with the Sami. The number is very low. On the average, there were only fewer than 6 items a year about the Sami. In comparison, there were, on the average, 17.2 items per year about the Russian minority and 15.5 items about the Somali minority. In contrast, the Romany, a traditional minority were reported on even more seldom, in only 4.4 items a year. Most minority items were about non-identified refugees (34 % of the items) and foreigners (22.5 % of the items) as was shown in the previous chapter. The relative absence of the Sami shows the leading daily did not pay much attention to the issues, culture or life of the indigenous people in Finland.

As has been extensively discussed in Chapter 6 above, a crucial aspect of any coverage is the topics, persons and actions of persons that are reported on. Investigation of these aspects of coverage will also be indicative of journalistic practices applied. Next, I will discuss these aspects of the Sami items in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

7.2.2 Minority culture and human rights: Sami topics

Here I will compare the overall frequency of the topics discussed in the previous chapter with the topic frequency in the Sami news. The topic frequencies are also constructed for the topics in the texts about the Somali minority, which will give information on the specificity of the texts about the Sami. In many respects these two groups are very different: the Sami are traditional indigenous people and Finns by citizenship, while the Somali were among the latest groups of refugees to arrive in the period under study. The two groups could be interpreted to represent the opposite ends of an ethnic continuum of Finnishness. Figure 12 displays the frequency of the topics.

The texts with an explicit reference to the Sami dealt with a limited set of topics in comparison with all the texts on ethnic issues. Out of the total of 47 topics covered in the news, only 19 included references to the Sami. Among these 19 topics, *minority culture* and *human rights* were covered more often than any other topics. The instances relating to the Sami cover one half of the total number of mentions for these two topics. For *Helsingin Sanomat* the Sami seem to have been representatives of minority culture and human rights issues. The headlines in (1) and (2) illustrate how the Sami were represented as active participants fighting

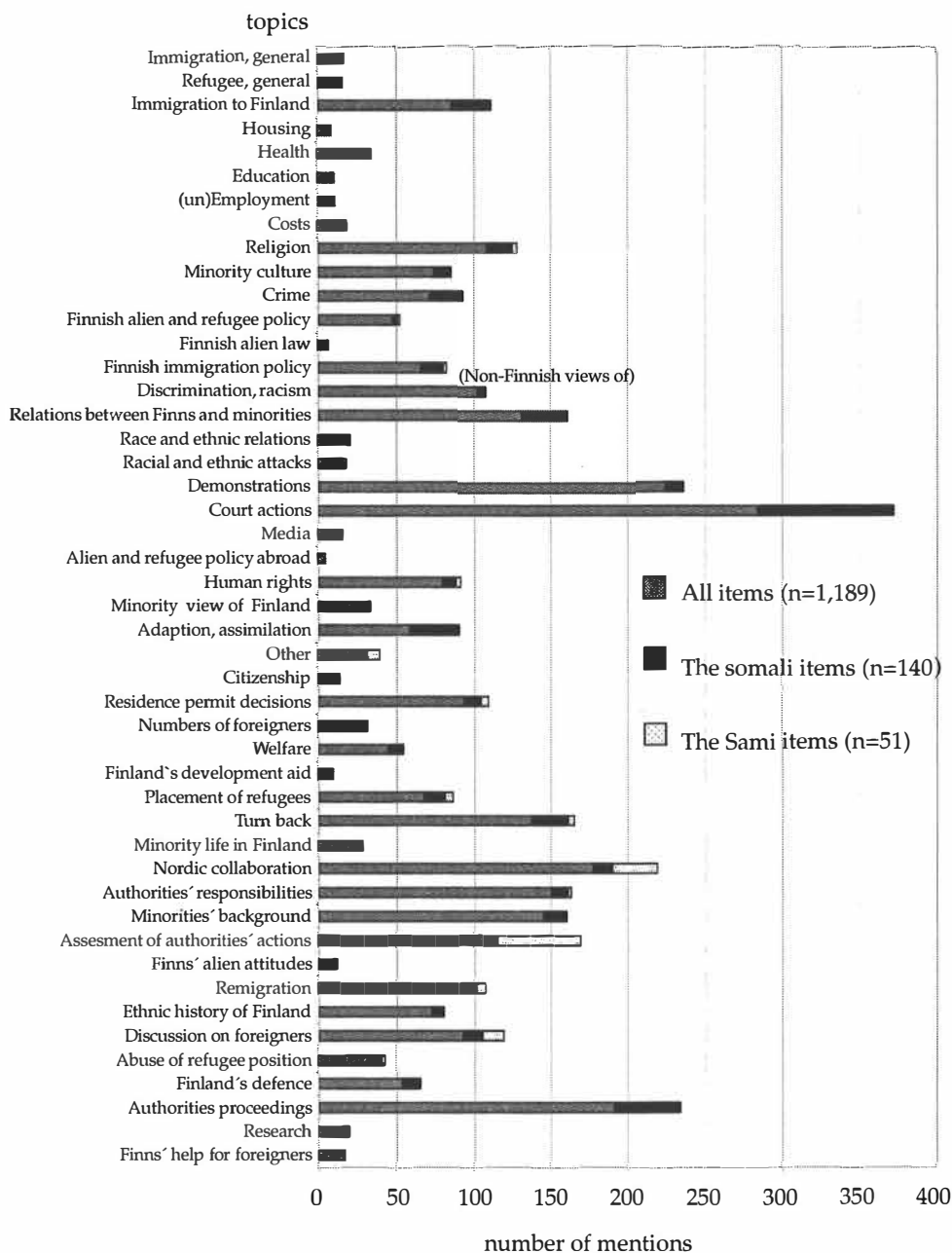


FIGURE 12 The topics and their frequency in the texts about the Sami, about the Somali and in the whole data.

for their rights and their culture by giving them the actor role in processes of appealing and defending.

1 *Saamelaiset vetoavat oikeuksiensa puolesta (HS 4.11.1989)*
The Sami appeal for their rights

2. *Saamelaiset puolustavat alkuperäisyyttään*
 Maatalousministeriön mukaan heimo ei täytä YK:n sopimusta alkuperäiskansoista
 (HS 7.2.1990)

The Sami defend their status as indigenous people
 According to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the tribe does not qualify as
 indigenous people in the sense of the UN declaration.

These headlines illustrate the discourses that the texts about the Sami often drew on and which is, in my opinion, relevant for constructions of Saminess and Finnishness. One can be called '*Indigenous Sami*' discourse which represents the Sami through their indigenous status entailing specific culture, language, and way of life. Representing the Sami as indigenous people involves recognizing and acknowledging their specific position and status. Linguistically the discourse is recognized here by the choice of the label of Sami instead of Lapps. The former is the Sami word for the Sami and is preferred by them, while the latter is a traditional, even derogatory Finnish word for the Sami, mainly used by the majority (see Chapter 2). The use of the label Sami may be indicative of this difference and may be seen to contribute to the indigenous status of the Sami. The use of the word Lapps would have had exactly the opposite effect.

Another discourse that materialized in the two headlines is that of '*Contested Sami Identity*'. This discourse involves challenging the status of the Sami as indigenous people and the related position and rights. This is recognized by the use of the word *tribe* for the Sami in the indirect quotation by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. If the Sami were perceived as a tribe instead of indigenous people they would not be entitled to the rights attached to the status of indigenous people. The word *tribe*¹ in this context also marks a certain perspective. Indigenous people across the world refer to themselves as e.g. 'The first nation' or 'Native Americans'. 'Tribe', in contrast, typically has an association with an anthropological point of view when talking about indigenous people and implies the gaze of an outsider, evoking images of subordination, primitivity and inferiority. This opposition between 'tribe' and 'indigenous people' materialized linguistically in the last headline. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry argues that the 'tribal quality' of the Sami excludes them from the status and rights of indigenous people. Also the verbs *appeal for* and *defend* imply a situation of struggle, and competition and thus indicate the existence of the '*Contested Sami identity*' discourse.

In comparison, the texts about the Somali minority covered 36 topics, the most frequent being their *number*, *residence permit decisions*, and *immigration to Finland*. Actually, the Somali minority is a case in point when the most frequently covered topics in HS coverage is examined, since the three most frequent topics were *residence permit decisions*, *number of foreigners and immigration to Finland*. Headlines (3) and (4) illustrate the typical headlines on the Somali.

3. *Suuri somalialaisryhmä anoo Suomesta turvapaikkaa* (HS 18.5.1990)
 A big group of Somalis apply for asylum in Finland

¹ The word *tribe* - as any word - can be used in multiple ways and has different meanings. The context here is the relations between ethnic majority and minority, particularly that of indigenous people.

4 *Somalipakolaisia tuli jälleen (HS 28.11.1990)*
Somali refugees arrived again

The Sami were represented through their culture and indigenous status rather than, for instance, in terms of political decision-making or discrimination. For instance, in the texts about the Sami, Finnish alien and ethnic policy was mentioned only twice. It is important to see among the things that were absent were also any discussion of the relations between the Sami and the ethnic majority, background information of the Sami culture, and evaluation of actions by authorities. A coverage like this constructs the Sami as a politically non-active, fairly insignificant group which is presented in public only through their culture. Constructions like this are dominant for the Sami also in the tourist industry (Lehtola 1999, Saarinen 1999). The issue of human rights was covered quite often, but the way it was done emphasized either the role of the United Nations or other international organizations in the acknowledgement of the Sami as indigenous people or the indigenous status of the Sami as such without further discussion of its implications. Only the changes in the legislation concerning the Sami added a political dimension to their representations. This kind of nonpolitical representation of the Sami does not reflect the contemporary cultural, political, and legal struggles or the goals that the Sami were pursuing.

7.2.3 Participants in the Sami texts

Examination of the text population sheds light on who were considered important and relevant participants in the reports on the Sami. For this purpose the number of mentions of various participants was counted. Figure 13 displays the findings.

There were a total of 26 participants in the Sami texts. This is a rather limited number of participants, since, for instance, in the texts about the Somali minority (n=140) a total of 46 participants were mentioned.

It is obvious that the Sami themselves were mentioned far more often than any other group. Also the other traditional minorities in Finland, the Romany and the Finland-Swedes, were mentioned a few times as a point of comparison. Soviets/Russians were mentioned as were the overall categories of ethnic minorities, refugees, foreigners and immigrants. The ethnic minority status of the Sami occasionally connected then with to the discussion of the new ethnic minorities.

Similarly to the findings above (see Chapter 6) and also in previous research (see e.g. van Dijk 1991), the majority also dominated in Sami texts in terms of participants. Out of the 26 participants, 18 were majority participants. Various authorities were mentioned frequently in the news, particularly the Parliament, ministries, United Nations, Committees, etc. This is an indication of the changing position of the Sami, because points of view of various authorities dealing with the Sami issues were presented. Frequent mentions of researchers may be interpreted along the same lines: in the changing/challenged Sami rights situation; journalists turned to researchers for expert opinion.

It is somewhat unexpected that Finnish citizens other than the Sami were not frequently mentioned, although the majority population living in the Sami domicile area would have been included. This is even more noteworthy in the light

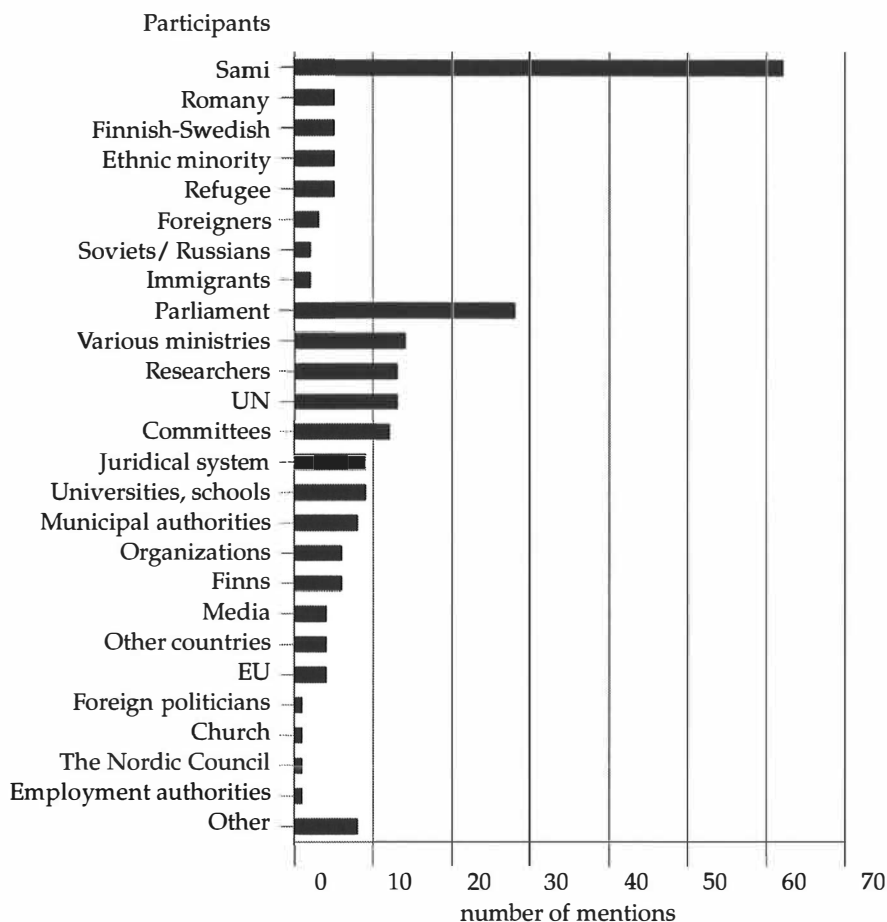


FIGURE 13 The participants in the Sami texts (n=51).

of the findings of the overall coverage. According to the overall frequencies, Finns were the third in the order of frequency among the majority participants. In the Sami texts then, Sami issues were mainly represented as a matter between them and the authorities rather than, for instance, between the Sami, the officials, and the ethnic Finns living in the Sápmi.

7.2.4 Voice given and denied

As is argued in Chapters 4 and 6, quotation is a very prestigious aspect of news. Access to news is highly controlled; who is given access and who is allowed to define events in their own words is considered valuable. Quotation patterns also describe aspects of news making practices: to whom the journalists turn to ask for comments and information. In the previous chapter, the results of the quotation patterns in *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage were discussed. Here, I will deal with the frequency of the quotations in the Sami texts and compare the results with the entire coverage (see Chapter 6). Table 11 presents the results of the quotations patterns in the whole coverage and in the Sami texts.

TABLE 12 The minority and majority quotations in the coverage (n=1,189) and in the Sami texts (n=51).

	Frequency of Quotations	
	Number of minority quotations	Number of majority quotations
Sami items (n=51)	24	45
All items (n=1,189)	392	1 490

Table 12 illustrates the great imbalance of quotations between the minority and majority groups. It shows how overwhelmingly majority members got their voices heard in comparison with minority members. On the average, there were more than one majority quotation in a single item, whereas a minority quotation appeared in every third item only. Although the Sami were given more access to the news than the minorities on the whole, the majority were quoted more often than the Sami.

Helsingin Sanomat has a journalist located in Lapland. This could - at least in principle - imply knowledge about local people and events and a wide net of contacts and easy access. However, the data shows that the Sami did not get their voice heard to any greater extent. Journalists, also when making news of the Sami, turned to members of majority. Thus even in the news about themselves, the Sami were marginalized, and the voice was given to the majority.

7.3 Wording the texts, choosing the perspective

The ways in which groups of people and the events are lexicalised is an important feature of news texts. Even a single word, particularly when used to refer to ethnic groups, contributes to the representation of the group or an event related to it. The wording of texts can be considered a choice by journalists and editors as constrained by such journalistic practices of news making as style, time, and space available. This view of lexicalisation is based on the idea of socially embedded use of language. Accordingly, an analysis of the actual language used in the news texts can shed light on the microlevel of meaning making and illustrate the discursive construction of ethnic identity and difference. Next, I will discuss the lexicalization of people living in the Sami domicile area to find out how Sami and Finns are discursively represented by means of lexical elements in the news texts. For the analysis I counted all words (n= 449) referring to people living in the area in the texts (n=51) dealing with the Sami. I also examined which of the labels were used by the Sami and which by the majority. Table 13 lists the results of this count.

There was a rich variety of words used to refer to people living in the North. The word *Sami* was more frequent than to any other word used. This word was used by both non-Sami and Sami. This result indicates that the term chosen by the Sami themselves had gained a stable position in the news discourse, even though the term *lappalainen* (Lapp) was used a few times too. As discussed above,

the two terms may be interpreted as opposite ones, the 'Sami' drawing on 'Indigenous Sami' discourse representing Sami in their own rights. The term 'lappalainen' is, instead, a traditional Finnish language term for Sami, sometimes felt to be derogatory and therefore rejected by the majority of the Sami. By using the label *Sami* clearly more frequently than *Lapp* the paper contributes to construction of Sami identity as an indigenous people with their own culture and language. The use of the label *Sami* is also politically correct because it is the explicit wish of the official body of the Sami.

TABLE 13 Lexicalization of the people living in the Sami domicile area in the articles (n=51).

Word	Frequency		
	used by non-Sami	used by Sami	total
The Sami			
a Sami	300	24	324
indigenous people	16	1	17
reindeer herdsman	17	-	17
a lapp	16	-	16
minority	7	-	7
indigenous population	5	1	6
inhabitants of the village of Angel	4	-	4
a partner of a Sami village	4	-	4
reindeer caretaker	1	2	3
the opponents of the loggings of the village of Angel	2	-	2
tribe	2	-	2
a native	1	-	1
indigenous population of Lapland	1	-	1
reindeer farmer	1	-	1
reindeer proprietor	1	-	1
a group of Northern people	1	-	1
our people	-	1	1
people	1	-	1
minority people	1	-	1
the nomads	1	-	1
a partner of a jointly owned forest	1	-	1
The majority			
the Finns	17	-	17
lantalainen (non-Sami)	4	1	5
the majority population	2	1	3
the "lantalainen"- population of the Lapland	1	1	2
the Finnish majority	2	-	2
the local population	2	-	2
inhabitant with a Finnish ethnic origin in the Upper Lapland	1	-	1
a family with a long tradition in reindeer herding	1	-	1
a Finnish farmer	1	-	1
the Finnish majority in power	1	-	1
the farmers of Finland	-	1	1
the Finnish intelligentsia	1	-	1

On the whole, there were significantly more mentions of the Sami than of ethnic Finns. Moreover, the majority participants used a richer variety of words to denote the Sami population in the Sápmi than the Sami themselves. This may be interpreted as an indication of a struggle in the construction of Sami identity manifested in the variety of words for the Sami. Although the silent role given to the Sami in these texts explains the small total number of words used by the Sami, the concentration of these words used to label Sami lend support to the interpretation of contested Sami identity by the majority participants. Many of the words used to refer to the Sami may be interpreted to draw on 'Contested Sami Identity' discourse mentioned earlier. The words by which this discourse is recognized here are, besides *lappalainen* (*Lapp*), *heimo* (*a tribe*), *alkuasukas* (*native*), *pohjoinen kansanos* (*group of Northern people*), *paimentolaiset* (*nomads*). All these labels of the Sami may be interpreted to challenge or ignore the Samis' indigenous identity.

The difference between the two groups was emphasized rather than downplayed in the Sami news. None of the participants used words that would have included both groups. It would have been possible to talk about 'citizens' for instance. Interestingly, the Sami did not use the word 'Finns' to refer to the majority. One possible interpretation may be that this is an indication of the multiple identities of the Sami, as both Sami and Finns.

The results are twofold. The findings show that although a variety of terms were used to refer to these people, no label including both groups was used. The ethnic border between the Sami and ethnic Finns was thus clearly marked. The construction of the Sami as an indigenous minority with their own culture seem to have been the dominant construction, although the mixture of the other labels used, such as *Lapp*, *native*, or *tribe* indicates that also other constructions of the Sami were, at times, used. Thus these findings suggest an ongoing negotiation and struggle over the construction of the Sami identity, and over the relations between the Sami and the Finns.

Investigation of lexicalization gave some indication of an identity struggle which was not revealed in the analysis of the topics and quotations. This struggle of reclaiming and resignifying the Sami identity is familiar from the political activity of the Sami, for instance (for further details, see Chapter 2). The fact that this struggle is manifested to some extent in the use of language rather than at the level of news making practices, for instance, is an indication of the contribution of language to transition and struggle.

7.4 Ethnic representations in clauses

7.4.1 Systemic-functional grammar as a point of departure

As a next step in the analysis of the representations of the Sami and Finns in the newspaper texts, I will concentrate on representations in the clauses of the texts. By this analysis, my aim is to highlight the ways in which linguistic features of transitivity contribute to the representation of Sami and Finns and to the construction of the difference between them. For this analysis, I will make use of systemic-functional grammar and its applications. I will first briefly discuss aspects of systemic-functional grammar that are relevant here and its applications to critical dis-

course analysis and Finnish language.

Social consequences and conditions of the use of language are of interest to functional approaches to language, and one of such approaches is Halliday's (1994) systemic-functional grammar. In it language is seen as a resource for meaning making, and it concentrates on social uses of language and related conditions and consequences. It also provides tools for a close and detailed analysis of the use of language in texts. This is consistent with the aims of the present study (see Chapter 3) and therefore I will draw on Halliday's theory of language for my linguistic analysis of the texts.

However, it is good to bear in mind that the linguistic analysis is only one of the analyses in this study and it is done from the perspective of critical discourse analysis. In terms of linguistic analysis, this means that rather than aiming to contribute to a theory of language or to linguistic analysis of Finnish language per se, the objective is to see how the use of language in texts contributes to the construction of Saminess and Finnishness, and how the linguistic realizations are linked with discursive and social aspects of the same phenomena. To do this, I need linguistic analysis alongside discursive and social analysis. Below, I will discuss some points of Halliday's systemic-functional grammar important to the present study.

Halliday functional grammar is based on meaning-making. For Halliday it is important to be able to understand the meaning-making resources of languages, and functional grammar is, according to him, a means that we can use to solve these problems (Halliday 1994:xxix). Functional grammar is essentially a 'natural' grammar, in that everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used (Halliday 1994:xvii). Thus systemic-functional grammar could be seen as an answer to the question of how language actually constructs reality.

Halliday is a successor to the European functionalist tradition in linguistics. In Halliday's (1994:xxvii) own opinion, his theory is largely based on Firthian system-structure theory, but it also derives some abstract principles from Hjelmslev and owes many ideas to the Prague School. Halliday's theory is functional in the sense that it is designed to account for how language is used, and systemic in the sense that it sees language as a potential for meaning-making which is realized in use.

The notion of functionality is important in the study of language because it helps emphasize the way in which language is much more than a tool for thinking or a vehicle for conveying information. In this way, the functional perspective stresses a range of other pressures upon language and various possibilities for its use enabling, for instance, analysis of the social context in which language is embedded (O'Sullivan et al. 1994:165). Consequently, to use the systemic-functional theory in an analysis of grammar is a way to look at grammar in terms of how grammar is used and with what consequences (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:1). As Thompson (1996:220) argues, in systemic-functional grammar, context and language are seen as interdependent so that context shapes use of language and vice versa. Therefore, through the application of systemic-functional grammar in the present study, it becomes possible to examine contextual (e.g. socio-cultural) factors shaping and being shaped by use of language. To put it boldly, to see the world in language and language in the world.

Another central concept in Halliday's theory is system; system implies a view

of language as a resource for meaning-making. System represents a choice: not a conscious decision made in real time but a set of possible alternatives that may be semantic, lexicogrammatical, or phonological, for instance (Halliday 1994:xxvii). Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice realized in use (Halliday 1994, Martin et. al. 1997, Thompson 1996).

Consequently, in any context there is a set of possible options that the language user faces. In other words, there is a number of meanings that the language user might want to express, and a number of ways to express them. However, there are factors - social, cultural, interactional, contextual, individual - that exclude, constrain, limit, or make it more likely that one kind of expression is chosen rather than another. Halliday argues (1994:xxvi) that through systemic-functional grammar it is possible to identify the socio-cultural factors that might explain why the language user produces a particular expression rather than any other in a particular context (see also Martin et al. 1997:2-3, Thompson 1996:221).

However, there are also problems related to the use of systemic-functional grammar as a framework of analysis. Since the aim of the theory is to try to understand how language works socially, it follows that the degree of interpretation will grow. Consequently, many of the categories in systemic-functional theory seem to overlap and look ambiguous. Therefore there is also a rather great degree of options available on which to concentrate and to choose as a focus of analysis. Halliday (1994:xxxii) himself spells out a variety of problems related to systemic-functional theory. According to him, apart from the obvious problem of selecting what to take in, there are also problems related to paradigms, labels, examples, and writing about the language (Halliday 1994:xxxii).

The use of systemic-functional grammar thus imposes challenges for the analysis. The openness of the framework and the great degree of interpretation involved in the analysis can be seen as a drawback of the framework. The openness is not, in my opinion, necessarily a downside, but rather reflects the nature of language itself. However, this means that grounding and defending one's interpretation is rather challenging and the best one can do is try to make the procedure of the analysis and criteria of interpretation as transparent as possible.

For the present study, a specific challenge is the Finnish language. Although Halliday's ground-breaking work has inspired research on a wide range of languages, and more recently on other semiotic systems as well (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), the applications to the Finnish language are few. So far there has only been a handful of studies (Heikkinen 1999, Kalliokoski 1995, Karvonen 1995, Luukka 1995, Shore 1992) applying Halliday's grammar to Finnish language, and no strong systemic-functional tradition in linguistics and language education exists in Finland. Halliday (1994:xxxiii) warns analysts against assuming that categories used for the English language are valid in the description of any other language.

The lack of this tradition and the scantiness of earlier research on the Finnish language from a systemic-functional perspective proposes a challenge to the present study. An additional challenge is the necessary translation of the texts in my data from Finnish into English, trying to maintain the essential features of the original text. This all means that the present analysis is, in many respects, a pioneering work and necessarily remains tentative in many respects. However, I want to anchor my linguistic analysis on systemic-functional grammar because of its

emphasis on social use of language and its close relation to existing CDA research. By using SF grammar, although in a limited way, I hope that this linguistic will open up new conceptions about my data and will also be an exploration of the applicability of systemic-functional grammar to Finnish.

To sum up, the systemic-functional view of language emphasizes the idea of language as a resource for meaning-making and provides tools for understanding why a text is the way it is. It could be summarized that central for Halliday's view is the idea of language in social use (functional) for making meaning in a matrix of choices (systemic). To use this theory of language offers me both theoretical grounds and analytical tools for studying constructions of Saminess and Finnishness in texts by enabling me to see the details of language use as part of a wider discursive and social context. Next, I will attempt to explicate links between the Systemic-Functional grammar and critical discourse analysis.

7.4.2 Systemic-functional grammar and critical discourse analysis

The relation between systemic-functional grammar and discourse analysis is close. Halliday himself states (1994:xv) that his aim has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis, one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text. According to Martin et al. (1997:2), it is therefore a grammar which provides a basic lingua franca for text and discourse analysts working in a wide range of disciplines (see Eggins 1994:23). Halliday argues strongly for linguistic analysis when doing discourse analysis. In his (1994: xvi-xvii) words,

A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to some linguistic features that are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or as bad as another. Although a text is a semantic unit rather than a grammatical one, the meanings are, nonetheless, realized through wording. Without a theory of wording - that is a grammar - there is no way of making explicit one's interpretation of the meanings of a text. Thus discourse analysis could in fact provide a context within which grammar has a central place. It is also pointing the way to the kind of grammar that is required. In order to provide insights into meaning of a text, a discourse grammar needs to be functional and semantic in its orientation, with the grammatical categories existing as the realization of semantic patterns. Otherwise it will face inwards rather than outwards, characterizing the text in explicit formal terms but providing no basis on which to relate it to non-linguistic universe of its situational and cultural environment.

Many discourse analysts, including critical analysts, share Halliday's view of the importance of linguistic analysis within discourse studies (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 1992a, van Dijk 1991, Widdowson 1995a). For many of them, systemic-functional grammar provides a theory of language and analytical tools for actual linguistic analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). Thompson (1996:224) argues that since CDA is deliberately designed to look outwards, from specific instances of linguistic choices to the socio-cultural factors, influencing their existence and use, it is a natural extension into practical applications of systemic-functional grammar.

Indeed, many CDA researchers have taken up at least some ideas or analytical categories from Halliday's systemic-functional grammar. Although there have been various linguistic models and theories of language employed within CDA

(see for instance van Dijk 1987, Wodak 1996a), much of CDA research uses systemic-functional grammar to varying degrees, for instance, theorizing and analysing representations of the world through transitivity analysis, or interpersonal or textual functions via analysis of mood, modality, or theme-rheme (for applications, see e.g. Fairclough 1992a, 1995a, Fowler 1991, Hodge and Kress 1993, van Leeuwen 1996, for a theoretical discussion on the relation between SF and CDA, see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). The point of departure of systemic-functional grammar is in agreement with the aims of CDA, i.e. to analyze the use of language in the social context and to study the links between language use and social structures and phenomena. Consequently, many critical discourse analysts make use, to a varying degree, of Halliday's systemic functional theory. This also applies to the present study; I will draw on Halliday's theory of language, particularly aspects regarding representation and transitivity analysis. Next, I will briefly discuss both in turn.

7.4.3 Representations in texts

The concept of representation has been used in, e.g. cultural studies, media studies, and literary criticism (see Chapter 2). Although in these fields representation is considered as a matter of language, the main interest lies in the social aspects of representation. In other words, representation is considered to be a result of a social process of representing, referring both to the process of signification and to the product standing for its meaning. Literally, to represent something means to take an original, mediate it, and play it back (O'Sullivan et al. 1994:265). Thus representation always includes reworking and redoing - and ultimately changing the original meaning. Embedded in the representation are also the conditions, norms, and practices, which structure, limit or enable the ways it was made. Consequently, representation of an event or group of people is a particular way to construct it. In addition, representation is organized and regulated across and within different discourses. (Grossberg et al. 1998:179, Hall 1997a:28, Lehtonen 1996:46.) Underlying such an understanding of representation is the recognition that language does not just passively mirror reality but that language is social in nature in that it constructs the phenomenon, people, and their relations.

Within the linguistic approach to representation, Halliday develops the idea of the social nature of language further and argues that all languages are organized around three simultaneously existing metafunctions, i.e. ideational or representational, interpersonal, and textual. These metafunctions are manifestations in the linguistic system of three very general purposes which underlie all uses of language: to understand the environment (ideational) and to act on the others in it (interpersonal), and how all this is textually materialized (textual). The metafunctions constitute a central claim in Halliday's theory often referred to as multifunctionality of language. Halliday argues that every bit of language use serves simultaneously these three metafunctions: the ideational function represents the world, the interpersonal function conducts social relations, and the textual function organizes the message. (for a detailed discussion of metafunctions, see, e.g. Halliday 1994, Martin et al. 1997).

Among critical discourse analysts, Fairclough is one who draws on systemic-functional grammar in his linguistic analysis. For instance, Fairclough (1992a:64)

modifies Halliday's central claims concerning ideational and interpersonal metafunctions as follows:

. . . three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which coexist and interact in all discourse - what I shall call the 'identity', 'relational' and 'ideational' function of language. The identity function relates to the ways in which social identities are set up in discourse, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated, the ideational function to ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations.

Fairclough specifies the social area upon which language use has effects and does this by linking claims of metafunctions from systemic-functional theory with claims of social construction of knowledge, social institutions, and identities originating in social constructionism, cultural studies, and social theories of discourse, as presented, for instance, by Foucault, Hall, or Grossberg. As regards to textual function, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:153) argue that there is "no construction of reality without negotiation of social relation and identities, but neither of these without the unfolding of the texts". Thus, texture seems to be a basic point of departure for Chouliaraki and Fairclough, although in his analysis Fairclough has not utilized to any large extent the analytical categories provided by Halliday for textual metafunction.

Fairclough tries to bridge the linguistically and socially oriented understandings of language, meaning, and representation. I find this bridging attempt most useful for my study, since I am not only interested in how language is used in news about ethnic minorities but also how particular ways to use language contribute to the representation of Otherness and Finnishness and, finally, what kind of journalistic practices limit or construct the ways in which ethnic minorities are represented. In this sense I am following Fairclough's line of thinking in assuming that media representations of ethnic minorities and Finns contribute to knowledge and beliefs about them and their social and political position in society. In addition, to analyze their representations linguistically, Halliday's claims about the multifunctionality of language and particularly on representational metafunction provide a good starting point.

In this study, I am focusing on representation, i.e. the ideational metafunction of language. The representation of Otherness and Finnishness in press texts is primarily accomplished through the representational metafunction, the ways in which texts represent the two groups, what they do or have done to them, who are involved, and in what circumstances. The assumption is that media texts have a central role to play in the construction of knowledge and beliefs about ethnic minorities, and the position that they have in the society. How news represent 'Others' and Finns is a central concern of the present study.

The second reason for an emphasis on the representational metafunction is the representational character of media texts as such. Underlying this argument is the acknowledgement that the media texts do not merely mirror realities but very profoundly construct a version of the world and the events and people in it. Versions of the world are affected by the social positions and interests of those who produce them. Fairclough (1995a:103-104) elaborates on how media texts construct realities as follows:

... (Media texts) do so through choices which are made at various levels in the process of producing texts. The analysis of representational processes in a text therefore comes down to an account of what choices are made -what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events and so on. Questions about the social motivations for particular choices, and about ideologies and relations of dominations, are a constant concern in the analysis of such choices. . .

By combining the ideational metafunction of language with the idea of media texts as representation, I am able to make a conjunction with two theoretical conceptualizations of representation; the Hallidayan and Faircloughian view of language constructing the knowledge and beliefs, on the one hand, and the view of cultural media studies of media texts as versions of the world, on the other hand (see Chapters 2 and 4). Both views of representation try to capture the constructive effect of media texts, but the former does it through examining language use, and the latter through looking at the institutional and medium nature of media. This conjunction offers, in my opinion, a fruitful starting point to study the construction of Otherness and Finnishness in texts. The greater linguistic understanding of representation gives me tools for detailed linguistic analysis, and the socio-logically oriented understanding links the details of the linguistic analysis with wider discursive and social aspects of the representations. Hence also the goal of CDA to map linguistic, discursive and social analyses is plausible. In this chapter, my main concern is on the linguistic side of the representation of the Sami and Finns, and through this, to discuss discursive construction of Otherness and Finnishness, and the difference between them.

7.4.4 Analysing representations in clauses

From the analytical point of view, each of the three metafunctions introduced in systemic functional theory entails typical levels of analysis. In the analysis of representation, i.e. ideational function, the analytical focus is on the grammar of the clause in terms of processes, participants, circumstances, active and passive voice, and lexicalization of events and people. In the analysis of interpersonal function, the focus is typically on mood and modality, while examination of textual function focuses on the structure of texts in terms of theme and cohesion (see, e.g., Halliday 1994, Martin et al. 1997, Thompson 1996). On the whole, the descriptive system of language provided by systemic-functional grammar is very rich and can only be put in use step by step. For instance, Martin et al. (1997:19) recommend to focus on one of the three metafunctions at a time.

Here, the focus of the analysis is on the ideational metafunction. The choice of ideational metafunction as the focus of analysis means an analysis of the grammar of the clause as representation in the systemic-functional framework, and the major system of grammatical choice involved in this kind of meaning is the system of transitivity (Eggins 1994:228, Shore 1992:37). In other words, examination of the representation of events and people in text centres on the analysis of transitivity. It is the overall grammatical resource for construing 'goings-on'. There are, of course, innumerable kinds of goings-on and ways in which they may unfold, but the grammar construes a small number of distinct types, each with its own particular characteristics. These constitute the process types. (Halliday 1994:106-

107, Martin et al. 1997:100.)

To sum up, transitivity is a way of describing the relationship between participants and processes in the construction of clauses, i.e. basically, "who or what does what to whom or what". Transitivity relations and roles of participants depend crucially on the process encoded by the main verb in the clause. A process consists, in principle, of three components: (1) the process itself, (2) the participants in the process, and (3) attendant circumstances. The process is typically realized by verbal groups, participants by nominal groups, and circumstances by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. These provide the frame of reference for the interpretation of our experience of what goes on. (Halliday 1994:108-109, Martin et al. 1997:101, Shore 1992:210-211.) In other words, the concepts of process, participant, and circumstance are semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures. However, these general concepts are broad and need to be specified through different types of processes and particular kinds of participant roles that are systematically associated with each one of them. (Halliday 1994:109.)

Halliday (1994) suggests that in the English language there are three main types of processes, i.e. *material*, *mental*, and *relational*, each with particular participant roles. Material processes construe various ways of doing and acting, mental processes focus on sensing and feeling and, finally, relational processes attempt to capture the various ways of being (see section 7.4.6 below). Besides these three main process types, Halliday also distinguishes three additional process types that are at the boundaries of the main types. These extra process types are *verbal*, *behavioural*, and *existential* (see Eggins 1994:229, Halliday 1994:106-175, Martin et al. 1997:101-103, Thompson 1996:76-79). Shore (1992:213) who has studied the transitivity system of Finnish, follows Halliday and argues that also in Finnish the major process types are relational, material, and mental. Also the subtypes, i.e. verbal, existential, and behavioural, could be identified.

In this study, I take it as a starting point that the main process types in Finnish are material, mental, and relational, and consequently, these are the categories that I will use in my analysis. In addition, I will use the category of verbal process, since in my data of texts verbal processes can be expected to have a role to play. The central participant roles in the four processes types are summarized in Table 14 below.

TABLE 14 Process types and participant roles.

Process type	Central participants	Example
Material	Actor, Goal	They paid the taxes
Mental	Senser, Phenomenon	She learnt the Sami language
Relational	Carrier, Attribute	The decision was unjust
	Token, Value	They are indigenous people
Verbal	Sayer, Verbiage	She told that the Sami are indigenous people

In what follows, I will briefly discuss the characteristic of each four process types and the participant roles attached to them. However, it is important to bear in mind that the process types form a kind of continuum overlapping each other and it is sometimes difficult to separate them from each other. Since transitivity is a complex area, the discussion here can only provide an outline for the purposes of the present study.

7.4.5 Processes types

7.4.5.1 Material processes

Material processes capture doings, happenings and actions taking place in the world. The basic meaning of these processes is that some entity does something, undertakes some action. Prototypically these doings are concrete, 'real' tangible action, as in the example *He maksoivat veroa* 'They paid the taxes'. However, besides the external world, a material process can construct an event or doing which is manifested as change, transition, or activity in the world of our imagination, as for instance in the example *Konventio turvaa heidän oikeutensa* 'The convention secures their rights'. Thus material processes cover both concrete and abstract processes. (Eggins 1994:230, Martin et al. 1997:103, Thompson 1996:79, Shore 1992:256.)

The two most typical participant roles in material processes are Actor and Goal, both manifested as the nominal group (for a discussion of participant roles in material processes, see Halliday 1994). Actor is the participant doing the actions, and Goal is the participant at whom the process is directed, to whom the action is extended, or who is affected by the action (Eggins 1994:231, Martin et al. 1997:103, Thompson 1996:79-81). In the examples above *He* (*They*) and *konventio* (*convention*) are actors, and *veroa* (*taxes*) and *heidän oikeutensa* (*their rights*) goals.

As was mentioned above, the identification of processes can be difficult. The processes can overlap or be ambiguous, the piece of text in question can be complex and thus difficult to categorize neatly. In addition, since systemic functional theory is based on meaning making, the procedure of analysing the findings of the elements in a clause and establishing which process is in question leaves much room for interpretation. Many scholars have tried to set up criteria for how to separate one process from another. As Shore (1992:274) argues, setting up a category means that it is necessary to be able to distinguish various processes from each other also grammatically. Drawing on previous research, I will in turn try to describe individual features of each process type to be able to distinguish them from each other. It is important, however, to bear in mind, that there are no absolute boundaries between the process nor language use without ambiguities.

One identification criterion for material processes is that they can be probed by asking "What did X do to Y" (Eggins 1994:230, Thompson 1996:81). The question is meant to point to doing or action. Another feature that is characteristic of almost all clauses realizing material processes is that they are related to the semantics of change and activity (Shore 1992:260). This criterion can be used to identify material processes from other process types. In this task, grammatical features typical for each process type may help.

Shore (1992:258-250) outlines the grammatical features characteristic of material processes in Finnish. She does this by contrasting the major process types

with each other. Shore presents four grammatical characteristics typical of material processes. Firstly, if there are two NPs (Nominal phrase) in a material process, the NPs will not agree in number, as is the case with relational processes. Secondly, a projection, such as *I see that she is eating* is not a typical feature of a material process but rather points to a mental process. Thirdly, if the goal is realized by a noun, this is in the genitive, partitive or nominative case. A personal pronoun is either in the accusative or partitive. Fourthly, yet another feature shared by the majority of material processes is that they can take an adverb of manner ending with *-sti* (e.g. *kääntyi nopeasti, turned quickly, hymyili ujosti, smiled shyly*). Mental processes commonly also occur with this type of adverb (e.g. *ymmärsi nopeasti, understood quickly*), which is a reflection of the fact that many mental processes have a material aspect to them. (Shore 1992:263-264.)

To sum up, material processes are processes that capture doings, actions, and changes. Grammatically they seem to differ from relational processes but in contrast, share many aspects with mental processes. Consequently, the analysis of the processes is not clear-cut but requires awareness of the text context, clause analysis, semantic analysis, and grammatical analysis to suggest the most likely category.

7.4.5.2 Mental processes

Mental processes are concerned with the internal world of human consciousness and with the ways in which human consciousness including processes of perception, cognition and affection are realized in language. Mental clauses construe a person or humanized entity involved in a conscious process of thinking, sensing, feeling, perceiving, or reacting. (Eggins 1994:240-241, Martin et al. 1997:105, Shore 1992:274.) Thus whereas material processes capture actions and happenings in the external world, mental processes focus on inner experiences of feelings, thoughts, and perceptions. For instance, in the example *Hän oppi saamen kielen* (*She learnt the Sami language*) the clause construes a cognitive process.

The two inherent participants in mental processes are *Senser* and *Phenomenon*. *Senser* is the participant involved in conscious processing, as *hän* (*she, he*) in the example above. This participant is endowed with consciousness: nominal groups serving as *Senser* which denote non-conscious entities have to be construed metaphorically as personified. (Martin et al. 1997:105, Shore 1992:274.)

In addition to *Senser*, mental clauses typically involve one further type of participant, *Phenomenon* being sensed. In the example this is *saamen kielen* (*the Sami language*). *Phenomenon* can be any kind of entity entertained or created by consciousness: a conscious being, an object, a substance, an institution or an abstraction, but also an activity (e.g. *Minä vihaan puhelimessa puhumista, I hate talking on the phone*) and facts (*Olen pettynyt siitä tosiasista, että oikeus jätti asian ratkaisematta, I am disappointed with the fact that the jury left the case unsolved*). Grammatically this means that a wide range of units can serve as *Phenomenon*. *Phenomenon* may represent the content of sensing through various combinations of linguistic elements. It may be represented by a separate clause and by a projected clause which represents an idea brought into existence by the mental process. (Martin et al. 1997:105-106, Shore 1992:274.)

For their definition, mental processes need a question different from that used

to probe core examples of material processes. For mental processes, it does not make sense to ask "what did X do to Y" but rather "what does X think, feel, know about Y". (Eggins 1994:240-241, Thompson 1996:83-86.) The different probe question is needed to tease out the semantic difference between the two types of processes. The two processes differ from one another also grammatically in a number of ways (Eggins 1994:241-243). For instance, Halliday (1994:114-117) gives five criteria for distinguishing the two processes, and other researchers have elaborated the criteria.

The first difference between material and mental processes is the nature and number of participants. In mental processes, one participant, *Senser*, who feels, thinks, or perceives, must either be a human or a non-human given human characteristics. Even if a non-human participant is represented as undergoing a mental process, a degree of humanness is bestowed on such a participant by its involvement in the process. In contrast to material processes, for the active participant at least, the choice is more restricted for mental processes than for material ones. (Eggins 1994:242-243, Thompson 1996:83-86.)

The second complementary criterion is the nature of the entity which can fill the role of the other participant in a mental process: *Phenomenon* is less restricted than the entities which can act as participants in a material process. *Phenomenon* can be a person, a concrete object, an abstraction, and so on. In addition, *Phenomenon* may be a fact or an act presented by a nominal group or by a separate clause (Eggins 1994:243, Thompson 1996:83-86). As Shore (1992:279-281) points out, in Finnish, it can be a clause equivalent.

The third difference between material and mental processes is the number of participants: while material processes can have either one or two participants, mental processes must always have two. With any mental process, there will always be two nominal type participants associated. Even when one participant is apparently absent, it must be retrieved from the context for the clause to make sense; e.g. "she believed" always implies that she believed something or in someone. (Eggins 1994:242, Thompson 1996:83-86.)

Another difference between material and mental processes is that most mental processes, except those of perception, can project whereas material processes cannot. Typically in mental processes projection has to do with quoting or reporting ideas. (Eggins 1994:247, Shore 1992:278-279.)

Finally, reversibility is another major difference between material and mental processes. Mental processes are mostly reversible; in a mental process it is equally possible to have the subject role filled by either the human participant in whose mind the processes occurs or by the phenomenon which triggers the process. With material process the second participant, the *Goal*, can be the subject but only in a passive clause. With mental processes, this constraint does not apply. (Eggins 1994:245, Thompson 1996:83-86.)

Shore (1992:276-277) presents some features of mental processes in Finnish. According to her, in terms of the grammatical features of *Phenomenon*, there are two kinds of mental processes. Firstly, there are those which are similar to material processes in the sense that, like *Goal*, *Phenomenon* is typically either in the partitive or in the nominative, genitive, or accusative case. In the second type of mental processes, *Phenomenon* is in one of the locative cases; the use of locative case thus refers to a mental process. Shore comes to a conclusion that mental processes can

be distinguished by the fact that Phenomenon is not case-marked like the object in material processes: either the NP does not display the same kind of variation in case marking as an NP realizing Goal in material processes, or it is realized by an NP in one of the locative cases. In addition, Shore argues that a mental process can also be negatively defined with respect to some features of material processes. For example, the stem of a verb that typically realizes a mental process is unlikely to occur in the syntagma *Hän on - massa/mässä* (she is in the process of — ing.) in response to the question 'what is she doing'. (Shore 1992:278.)

All this definitional discussion points to a close relationship between material and mental processes. Although in the textbook examples the difference between the two seems clear enough, in practice mental and material processes can be difficult to separate from each other and therefore lists of grammatical differences may turn out to be useful.

7.4.5.3 Verbal processes

Verbal processes are a subtype of mental processes; they share many features, including grammatical ones (Eggins 1994, Shore 1992). Instead of feeling, sensing and perceiving, verbal processes construe verbal actions, such as saying, telling, or asking. An example of verbal process is *Hän kertoi, että saamelaiset ovat alkuperäiskansaa* 'she told that the Sami are indigenous people'. In addition to different modes of saying, this process also includes semiotic processes that are not necessarily verbal (*näyttää* 'to show' *osoittaa* 'to indicate'). A verbal process typically contains two participants, namely Sayer and Verbiage. For instance, in the example above *hän* 'she' is the Sayer, while the Verbiage is the clause *että saamelaiset ovat alkuperäiskansaa* 'the Sami are indigenous people'. Sayer, the participant responsible for the verbal process, is typically a conscious entity, but it can also be anything capable of giving out a signal. Verbiage refers to the nominalized statements of a verbal process, a noun of some kind of verbal behaviour, such as a story, an answer, etc. Verbiage can also be a separate clause expressing the content of the verbal process, as in the example above (Eggins 1994:251-252, Martin et al. 1997:108, Thompson 1996:97.) Thompson (1996:97) points out that in a way verbal processes are intermediate between mental and material: saying something is a physical action which reflects mental operations. In this study, I will identify verbal processes although it is a subtype of processes, because I assume it is typical of texts to include comments and quotations about other people's actions and sayings.

7.4.5.4 Relational processes

The category of relational processes covers various expressions for 'being'. Halliday's category of relational clauses is a generalization of the traditional notion of 'copula' constructions. Characteristically, relational processes differ semantically so much from the other process types that identifying them is relatively easy. The problem arises, however, from the fact that there are two different types of relational processes. Relational processes are concerned with the setting up of two kinds of relationships: a relationship between two entities or between an entity and an attribute. Relational clauses do this in two different modes, attribution and

identification. There are thus two principal relational clause types with different sets of participants: (1) attributive clauses with Carrier and Attribute as in the example *Päätös oli epäoikeudenmukainen* (*The decision was unjust*) and (2) identifying clauses with Token and Value, as in the clause *He ovat alkuperäiskansaa* (*They are indigenous people*). (Eggins 1994:255, Martin et al. 1997:106, Thompson 1996:86, Shore 1992:256.)

The distinction between identification and attribution is ambiguous both in Finnish and English (Shore 1992:226). The fundamental difference between the two is the difference between class membership (attributive, e.g. *Jouni on energinen* 'Jouni is energetic') and symbolization (identifying, e.g. *Jouni on Angelin kylän saamelaisia* 'Jouni is a Sami of the village Angel'). Carrier and Attribute are of the same order of abstraction, but differ in generality such as member of class, subtype to type. Attributive processes describe Carrier (*Jouni*) by linking an attribute (*energinen* 'energetic') to it. Instead, Token (*Jouni*) and Value (*Angelin kylän saamelaisia*, 'a Sami of the village Angel') are of different orders of abstraction; they are related symbolically via the verb *olla* 'be'. (Martin et al. 1997:106, Shore 1992:214.)

The two relational processes differ also in their grammatical features. The main difference is that an attributive clause is not reversible whereas the identifying one is (Eggins 1994:257). The predicate in identifying processes is, in a way, equivalent to an equal sign, and it is therefore not surprising that these processes are reversible. Also other features differentiate them: if the second participant is an adjective it must be an attribute, and the process must be attributive rather than identifying. If the second participant is a nominal group, the decision can often be made on the basis of definiteness; since an attribute is typically indefinite, whereas the identifier is typically definite. In many cases, the two types of process can be probed by asking different questions: What is X like (attributive): what/who/which is X (identifying). However, as mentioned above, the two processes are not easily differentiated (Thompson 1996:88, 92-93).

Shore (1992) points out several features in relational processes in Finnish. An attributive process in Finnish is typically realized by the verb *olla* 'to be' and Attribute is realized by an NP with either a noun or an adjective as head. The head of the NP realizing Attribute can either be in the nominative or in the partitive case. Carrier is realized by an NP in the nominative case or by a bound morpheme. Another important grammatical feature of attribute processes in Finnish is that NPs realizing Attribute and Carrier agree in number. (Shore 1992:216-217.)

Identifying processes differ from attributives both semantically and grammatically. Semantically an identifying clause is not about ascribing or classifying but about defining (Eggins 1994:258). Grammatically, defining involves two participants: Token, which stands for what is being defined, and Value, which defines the token. While the most common identifying verb is *be*, other verbs are possible as (*mean, define, indicate*). Both Token and Value are realized by nominal groups. Typically nominal groups in identifying processes are definite, whereas in attributives Attribute is an indefinite nominal group. Because identifying clauses contain two autonomous nominal participants, all identifying clauses are reversible. (Eggins 1994:258.)

7.4.6 Circumstances

Besides the analysis of processes and participants, transitivity analysis can also include an analysis of circumstances. Circumstantial elements in a clause capture the background against which the process takes place. There are a few well-established categories of circumstances which correspond to our intuition about the kinds of background conditions that occur, such as time, place, and manner. However, beyond that, there is a very wide range of possible conditions that may be referred to, and no generally agreed set of categories exists. (Halliday 1994:150, Thompson 1996:104-105.) Circumstances are used across process types because they are less centrally involved in the process than participants (Halliday 1994:149-150, Martin et al. 1997:103). Circumstances are typically expressed not as nominal groups but as either adverbial groups or prepositional phrases, and circumstantial adjuncts (Egins 1994:237-239, Halliday 1994:150, Thompson 1996:104). Since there is no complete agreement on which elements are or should be included as circumstantial elements, there are a number of lists available.

Below, I will be drawing on various suggestions (see Martin et al, 1997, Egins 1994) attempting to build a list suitable for the present purposes. Table 15 lists the typical circumstantial elements with the typical probe questions and examples.

There are nine circumstance categories in English. While some of the circumstances are rather easily recognized, there are also several problems related to their identification. Since participants and circumstances are on the same continuum, it is sometimes difficult to separate them from each other (Halliday 1994:150). In addition, circumstances frequently seem to combine two different types of meanings, such as time and cause, which are often blended or manner and reason which may both be present (Thompson 1996:107). Thompson (1996:197) regards the lack of a principled way to analyse effects of circumstantial elements as a source of problems. They have been overlooked or treated in an ad hoc way. According to Thompson, this is partly because of the complexity of the issues involved, but also partly as a result of the lack of attention given to them (Thompson 1996:107).

The overlapping characteristics of circumstantial elements mean that even when relying on a set of categories such as those presented in Table 15, it is likely that it will not be easy to account for all the examples of circumstances in texts. This probability even grows in this study, when the lack of previous research both in English but even more so in Finnish is borne in mind. The analysis of the circumstances in texts about Otherness and Finnishness are to be seen as methodological exploration.

7.4.7 Working with transitivity analysis

As the short description above illustrates, transitivity analysis involves an investigation of the categories of processes, participants, and circumstances. Although there are descriptions of these elements available, they are not definite. Grammatical analysis in systemic functional theory emphasizes the role of meaning thus leaving much room for interpretation. Therefore, to achieve a principled way of analysis and to differentiate various meanings from each other, many scholars have tried to define, besides the function of each category, also their typical

TABLE 15 Circumstantial elements.

Circumstance	Specification	Typical probe/example type
Extent	Duration (temporal) Distance (spatial)	How long? - For days How far? - For ten meters
Location	Time (temporal) Place (spatial)	When? - In the Summer Where? - In the forest
Manner	Means Quality Comparison	How? With what? - With the law How? - Quickly What...like? - As soon as possible
Cause	Purpose Behalf	Why? - For the lack of recognition For who? - For the Sami
Contingency	Condition	In what circumstances? - In the event of riot
Accompaniment	Commitative Additive	With whom? - With the authorities Who else? - As well as the Finns
Role	Guise Product	What as? -As a indigenous people What into? - Into pieces
Matter		What about? - About the bill
Angle		Says who? - According to the authorities

grammatical features. However, the two approaches, the meaning of grammatical structures and the characteristic grammatical features of each category do not make an easy match. By this I mean that although there are some grammatical features that can be associated with a particular category, e.g. a process type, there is still much ambiguity and overlap between the categories because of the meaning-based point of departure assumed and, moreover, because of the nature of language itself. Thus in the actual analysis of clause as representation in texts it is neither the meaning itself nor the formal features solely that form the criteria of decision alone but the two together.

How to carry out an analysis that is solid and grounded in language when the analytical categories are overlapping and elastic? My answer is, following the qualitative approach, this can be done by explicating the ways in which the analysis is conducted and what steps have been taken to arrive at a particular interpretation. All linguistic analysis, in the end, includes interpretation, and it is characteristic of language that while parts of it are more easily captured by an analytical procedure, some parts escape its scrutiny.

Despite the challenges related to transitivity analysis, I find it valuable in many ways. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) and Halliday (1994) argue, linguistic analysis within DA is important to ground the analysis and find out more about the role of language in the construction of social phenomena. In my opinion, transitivity analysis offers not only tools for analysing language, but it also opens up possibilities to link linguistic features of texts with their wider discursive and social aspects due to its meaning-based and social nature. Examples of

this kind of linking can be found, for instance, in the work done within CDA (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 1992a, Fowler 1991, Hodge and Kress 1993).

To sum up, transitivity analysis focuses on use of language for meaning making. Different process types construe the world in different ways and from a different point of view, and give particular roles to participants. Various circumstances can also be attached to processes. It is interesting to investigate patterns of representation in terms of process types and participant roles. For instance, what elements, events and phenomena get to be represented through actions and happenings, i.e. through material processes, who or what are represented as actors of these actions, and who as those affected by these actions, i.e. goals? Alternatively, it is interesting to see whether phenomena are construed through mental processes, i.e. through feeling, sensing, and perceiving and who as the Senser and who or what as the Phenomenon to be sensed. Conversely, the analysis of the use of relational processes can show not only what events and factors are presented as a state of affairs, as fact. For instance, the value/token and carrier/attribute analysis will indicate the measures, comparison and criteria that the writer is taking when setting up a relation between two entities. The analysis may give an indication of what values or attributes the writer uses to measure the tokens or carriers that she or he deals with. The analysis of circumstances helps to illustrate to what larger or associated circumstance the processes and participants are attached. Processes and participant analysis can serve as a guide towards the broader concerns and values of the language user through the choices she or he has made or which have been available in the discursive and social context which she or he is part of. Finally, the benefit of a principled and systematic analysis of language use is that a greater degree of delicacy provides additional insights.

I will be using transitivity analysis to examine how Sami and Finns are represented in texts of *Helsingin Sanomat*. The transitivity analysis gives me tools to work out what kind of processes are used in the texts, what kind of roles are given to whom, and what kind of circumstances the processes are located in and attached to. The underlying motivation of such an analysis is the idea that each choice made at textual level contributes to the construction of the representations of Sami and Finns and, through the representations, to the social phenomenon of ethnic difference and ultimately to the system of knowledge and beliefs. As Fairclough (1992a:179-180) argues:

There are processes and participants in reality and there are processes and participants in language. A real process may be signified linguistically in a variety of ways, according to the perspective from which it is interpreted. . . . A social motivation for analysing transitivity is to try to work out what social, cultural, ideological, political or theoretical factors determine how a process is signified in a particular types of discourse or in a particular text.

In brief, in this study I investigate how the 'world' of Otherness and Finnishness in text is represented, can any patterns of representation be found, what factors might account for the particular representations and finally, how else it could have been represented. The broader questions of underlying motivations and factors of representations bring in on their part discursive and social tenets of analysis.

7.5 Analysis of the representations of Sami and Finns in six key texts

7.5.1 Locating the key texts

The next analytic step will be a transitivity analysis of six key texts about the Sami. The criteria and procedure for the selection of the six key texts was given in Chapter 5. Before moving on to the findings of the transitivity analysis, I will briefly describe the texts. One way to locate the key texts in the whole of the coverage is to look at the findings of the content analysis.

Similarly to the coverage about the ethnic minorities in general, also the majority of the Sami texts were published in the 1990s. While the small number of foreigners and immigrants in the 1980s serves at least as a partial explanation of the small number of news items about them, this does not apply to the Sami. Probably increased political activity among the Sami in the 1990s and the political, economical and ethnic changes in Finland made also the Sami more interesting for news media.

As was discussed in Chapter 6, the mean length of the 1,189 items was 77cm and the median 50cm. The length of the 51 Sami items varied from 10 cm up to 236 cm, the mean length being 70 cm and the median length 56 cm. Thus the Sami texts were more or less in line with the other news about ethnic minorities. The length of the key texts varied from 14 cm up to 92 cm thus representing the variation in length quite well.

The use of pictures in the Sami texts was similar to the other items studied. On the whole, 44.4 % of the 1,189 items included visual illustrations while a little over half (55.6 %) did not. The respective numbers for the 51 Sami texts were 43.1 % and 56.9 %. Out of the six key texts, only one included a photograph.

The page on which an item is published is one way of prioritizing a news report. Obviously, front page news are considered far more important and relevant than news published later in the paper. The texts about ethnic minorities hardly ever made it to the HS front page; they were mostly published on page 5, i.e. the opening of domestic news, or on pages 10 and 9. The Sami texts were mostly published on pages 2, 5, 7, and 9, i.e. on rather highly valued pages. This seems to imply they were considered important. The key texts were also published on rather highly valued pages, such as 2 and 5 but also on less important pages, such as 11. In terms of authorship and news types, five of the six key texts were news written by *Helsingin Sanomat* journalists, either by named or unspecified writers. One of the key texts is an editorial.

The Sami were the most frequent minority group mentioned in the Sami texts. However, in contrast to the news about other ethnic minorities, the Sami were the only minority group mentioned in the Sami texts. The six key texts illustrate this tendency. The other news, in comparison, reported about many ethnic minorities. This seems to indicate that in most Sami news they were seen as a group that had issues, conditions, and interests of its own. They were not compared or linked with any other group.

Typical majority participants in all news items included the Parliament, the police, and Finns. They were also frequently present in the six key texts of the Sami

as were the United Nations, researchers and the juridical system. In comparison with the Sami texts in general, the key texts included a higher number of Sami quotations. These occurred in half of the key texts. Similarly to all Sami texts, also the key texts dealt with issues of human rights, minority culture, and legislation. The coverage on the whole concentrated on the topics of residence permit decisions, number of foreigners, and immigration to Finland.

To sum up, the key texts chosen for the detailed analysis represent, in many respects, the overall characteristics of Sami texts in the coverage. The particular six texts, however, were chosen from among 51 Sami items since they appeared to capture particular social moments in the political struggle of the Sami. The assumption was that at least some of this struggle is manifested linguistically as well (for the selection process, see Chapter 5).

7.5.2 Description of key texts

The six key texts were explicitly about defining Saminess. Each of these items included attempts to define the Sami, either explicitly, (i.e. by offering a Sami definition) or more indirectly (i.e. by discussing the rights of the Sami). Besides the Sami, also various participants of Finnish society, such as the state, the judicial system, various authorities and local Finns, were present in these news discussing, commenting on, and debating the nature and rights of the Sami. Thus these six key texts were seen as apt illustrations of the construction of ethnic difference and ethnic identities in the news. I will next describe each of six key texts.

The first key text (HS1) was published on April 11, 1989, with the headline *Saamelaiset vetoavat oikeuksiensa puolesta 'The Sami appeal for their rights'*. It was the first item in the data that dealt with the dispute between the Sami and the Finnish government about the land owning rights (see Appendix 10 for the item and its translation). The Sami had owned their traditional land for centuries, and only at the beginning of the twentieth century the state started to treat this land as state-owned (see e.g. Korpijaakko 1989). Towards the end of the 1980s, the Sami became politically active and started to pursue their traditional rights for the land. Being the first item that dealt with this political activity, it offered an intriguing opportunity to examine how the issue was represented.

The second key text (HS2), titled *Väitöskirja saamelaisista 'A Doctoral dissertation of the Sami'* and published September 9, 1989, comments on the same topic as the first text (see Appendix 11). The editorial comments on the research results of a judicial study (Korpijaakko 1989), which showed that the Sami had indeed owned their land in the same sense as the Finnish farmers had, in contrast to the claims to the effect that as nomads the Sami were without a landowning or taxation relation. This editorial is interesting since it presents the official HS opinion about the landowning issue.

The third key text (HS3) presents the next turn in the news about the rights and position of the Sami in Finland (Appendix 12). The headline of the news published February 7, 1990, states *Saamelaiset puolustavat alkuperäisyyttään. Maatalousministeriön mukaan heimo ei täytä YK:n sopimusta alkuperäiskansoista 'The Sami defend their status as indigenous people. According to Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry the tribe does not meet the criteria of UIN treaty of indigenous people'*. The headline

expresses the core of the dispute: whether the Sami are perceived as indigenous people as defined in the UN conventions and consequently, whether they are entitled to the rights of the indigenous people, particularly that of regaining their traditional land. At the international level, particularly by the action of the United Nations, the rights of indigenous people around the world had been recognized. Finland, as an active participant of the UN in human rights issues, had been part of this work. This recognition of the rights of indigenous people is known as the ILO convention. Many UN member countries have signed this convention and thus agreed to recognize the rights mentioned there. Even today, Finland has not agreed to sign this convention. Should Finland do this, it would mean settling the landowning issue. The news is particularly interesting since it was the first account of how the Sami themselves, various officials, and researchers reacted to the issues.

While the debate over the landowning issues continued, the Sami gained news rights in the cultural area. Among the first was the new bill about the right of the Sami to use their own language with authorities in the Sami region. The fourth item (HS4), published April 9, 1990, and titled as *Saamelaisten oikeus oman kielen käyttöön turvataan* 'The right of the Sami to use their own language will be secured' is about the preparation of this bill (Appendix 13).

The fifth key text (HS5) was published February 17, 1991. Its headline is: *Lapin lantalaissäestö sätii saamelaislakia. Onko parempi valtion maalla kuin lappalaisen metsässä?* 'The Lantalainen- population of Lapland reprimanded the Sami law. Is it better in the state owned land than in the forest of the Lapps?' (Appendix 14) As the headline indicates, this news was among the very few new items dealing with the relationship between local Finnish people and the Sami living in the Sápmi. The item reports on a meeting organized by the Sami Parliament to discuss the new draft bill concerning the land rights which, had they become true, would have returned the land rights to the Sami. In the news local Finns and Sami, various organizations, and officials express their opinions on the issues thus offering an exciting text to study construction of ethnic difference.

The last key text is a item (HS6) published August 21, 1993. It reports on one of the first court actions taken by a Sami reindeer farmer on the basis of the minority culture protection act (Appendix 15). The central claim made by the Sami was that the logging done by the Forest and Park Services harms reindeer herding, the traditional livelihood of the Sami and since Finland has agreed to protect minority culture, such as the Sami culture, the court should forbid the Forest and Park services to continue the logging in the area. However, as the headline already tells *Saamelaisten poronhoito ei saanut erityissuojaa. Oikeus hylkäsi kanteen metsähallitusta vastaan* 'The Sami reindeer farming was not given a special protection. The justice dropped the case against the Forest and Park services', the Sami lost their case. What makes this item interesting is that it reports about the first case in Finnish legal history when the Sami or any other ethnic minority for that matter sought out the reinforcement of their rights through the legal system. Should the court have ruled differently, it would have had a lasting impact on the rights and position of the Sami.

7.6 Typical transitivity features of the key texts

Next I will turn to discuss the findings of the transitivity analysis of the six items about the Sami. Here, I will focus the representations of the Sami and the Finns at clause level in terms of processes types, participant roles and circumstances. Given the rarity of the applications of transitivity analysis to Finnish and the exploratory character of this analysis in the present study, the findings must be regarded tentative. It may also be worthwhile to point out the way in which I will report the findings of the transitivity analysis. Although I have analyzed the data text by text, clause by clause and process by process, it was impossible to present findings within the limits of the present study. Therefore, I will report the findings according to the transitivity features of process types, participant roles, and circumstances across the texts giving particular focus on the use and distribution of the features between the Sami, Finns, and other parties involved. The downside of this solution is that some of the textual context of the use of transitivity is lost as well as the information on how one particular text represents the Sami and the Finns, and the difference between them. The benefit is that it allows me to examine possible patterns of representation of the Sami and the Finns systematically and highlight how transitivity features of texts contribute to representations of the Sami and Finns and the difference between the two. To overcome the possible limitations of the chosen way of reporting, I will try, when possible, to contextualize the use of transitivity features by giving examples, indicating the text in question, its topic, writer etc. I will start by discussing general transitivity patterns that run through all the six texts to give an overview of the features that characterize the key texts in terms of transitivity. Later in this chapter, each feature will be discussed in detail and illustrated with examples.

Figure 14 illustrates the use of process types in the key news, and Appendix 16 presents the numerical data regarding use of process types, participants, and circumstances, and the use of the passive and active voice and tense.

The most frequent process type in the key texts was material. The texts included a total of 223 processes, where the vast majority, 51,4 % were material processes. Journalists favoured material processes when writing about Sami issues. This choice becomes even more evident when the process patterns are looked at in each text. In each of the items, the most frequent process was material (see Appendix 17). Consequently, the world of the Sami texts was occupied with *causing, paying, using, continuing, showing, defending, uniting, disappearing, giving, protecting, rejecting, moving, securing, finishing, applying, findings, appealing, opening, happening, harming, saving, taking, doing, logging, returning, fishing, hunting, helping, developing, returning, forming, saving, and interfering*.

Frequent use of material processes means that issues, events and people are dominantly represented through actions. The world of action implies change or transition: someone is doing something to someone, which brings about a change or transition. The following headlines of three Sami news illustrate the use of material processes in the key texts.

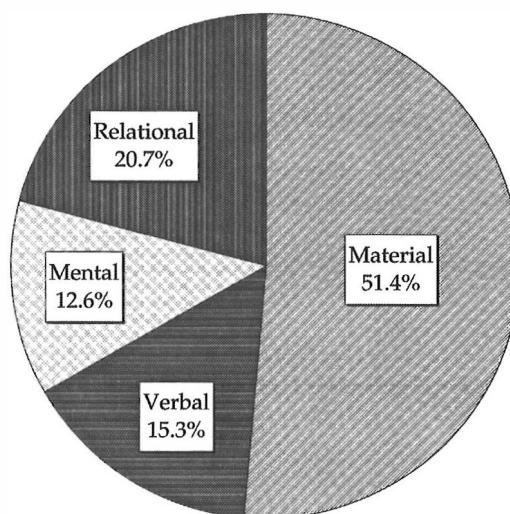


FIGURE 14 The distribution of process types in the six key news items.

- 5 *Saamelaiset **vetoavat** oikeuksiensa puolesta (HS1)²*
The Sami **appeal** for their rights³
- 6 *Saamelaiset **puolustavat** alkuperäisyyttään (HS3)*
The Sami **defend** their status as indigenous people
- 7 *Oikeus **hylkäsi** kanteen metsähallitusta vastaan (HS6)*
The court **dropped** the case against the Forest and Park Services.

All these pieces of news reported on the Sami rights and the changes and actions related to them. This was construed by using material processes. The dominant use of material processes in the Sami texts can be interpreted as an indication of the Sami and issues related to them having dominantly been seen as doings and happenings rather than perceiving them, for instance, as facts or states of affairs. This latter representation would have been achieved by using relational processes instead.

Frequent use of material processes in texts is not, however, surprising. News are by definition about events, happenings, and actions in the world. An unchanged state of affairs is not usually considered newsworthy (see Chapter 4). Thus it is to be expected that material processes come up in texts regardless of the topic or participants involved. There seems to be a link between the genre and a process

² In the examples I mark the specific feature under discussion by bold font. The initials HS and numbers 1-6 indicate the specific news text that the extract is from. The news items can be found in Appendices 10-15.

³ The translations of the examples attempt to capture the linguistic features of the original Finnish text as closely as possible. This means that the translations may not be fluent English. The more meaning oriented translations of the key texts are provided in Appendices 10-15.

type. For instance, Karvonen (1995) argues that scientific texts favour relational processes, i.e. processes of facts and states of affairs. Further study is needed to establish possible links between genres and process types.

The second process type in terms of frequency was relational. One fifth of all the processes were relational. The news frequently constructed some issues related to the Sami as facts and states of affairs. One important 'fact' that is discussed throughout the key texts is whether or not the Sami are indigenous people in the sense of the ILO convention. The third item reporting about the contradictory views of the status of the Sami, starts with an indirect quotation of a statement by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry:

- 8 *Suomen hajallaan olevia saamelaisrivejä yhdistää hämmennys maa- ja metsätalousministeriön kannasta, jonka mukaan saamelaiset eivät ole Suomen alkuperäiskansaa. (HS3)*

The scattered groups of the Sami in Finland are united by bewilderment because of the statement of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, according to which the Sami **are not** the indigenous people of Finland.

The relational process in the last clause is identifying relational, which typically relates often via the use of the verb *be*, two entities or abstractions symbolically. However, in the example above the effect is the opposite because of the negation verb *eivät* 'not'. The clause before the identifying relational gives an indication of two parties being opposed in this dispute: as is expected, the Sami disagree with the statement of the Ministry. The use of the material process of *yhdistää* (*to unite*) represents the Sami in the process of gathering their forces together.

An example of the use of attributive relational processes introduces the second continuous issue of dispute, namely that of the land rights. The example is from the middle of the first text which reported about the appeal of the Sami for their rights, particularly that of land owning. It is also an indirect quotation from the appeal of the Sami organizations.

- 9 *Saamelaisjärjestöt muistuttavat myös, että valtion omistusoikeus saamelaisalueisiin on vielä epäselvä. (HS1)*

The Sami organizations remind also that the state ownership of the Sami land **is** still unclear.

The first clause, including the mental process of *muistuttaa* 'to remind', indicates according to whom the state ownership is still unclear. The attributive relational process in the example is typical in that an entity, in this case *valtion omistusoikeus valtionmailhin* 'the ownership of the state to the Sami land' is described by the attribute *epäselvä* 'unclear' and the two are related by use of the verb *on* 'to be'.

In the key texts, the two different relational processes were used rather unevenly: an attributive relationship came up 17 times, while the relationship was identifying in 29 cases. This indicates that elements related to Sami were defined and classified more often than described.

Event and issues were presented far less frequently through mental and verbal processes, as sensing, feeling, perceiving, and saying and writing. Clauses such as *En usko edes nuorten alkavan osoittaa mieltään* (HS6) 'I don't believe that even the youth would start to demonstrate' *Isoäiti aavistelee, että...* (HS5) 'a grandmother fears

that' and *Toimistöpäällikkö Havu sanoo. . . (HS3) 'Chief of Office Havu says', Havu perustelee. . . (HS3) 'Havu argues'*. were infrequent in the texts. Mental processes covered only 12.6 % and verbal 15.2 % of all processes.

However, it is important to point out that in systemic-functional grammar verbal processes are seen as a subtype of mental processes, and when the use of the two types are added together, they cover almost one third (27.8 %) of all process types used. A look at the two process types separately implies that not many things or events were reported through feelings, thoughts, senses or speaking. Because of the changing position of the Sami, it could have been expected that feelings and perceptions of both groups would have been of interest. It is possible that a preoccupation with the external representations instead of the mental world is linked with the news genre: the news tend to focus on external facts, events, and evidence rather than subjective emotions and perceptions. Again, this finding suggests that further studies are needed in the area.

The hypothesis of the centrality of verbal processes in texts is not supported by the findings. The assumption was based on the conception of news that texts often include comments, quotations, and reported speech. The low number of verbal processes may suggest various things: it can either be an indicative of a relatively low number of quotations and interviews or the fact that Sami issues were not conceived as something that could be represented in terms of discussion, opinion, comment, and debate. It can also be a result of the reporting style of the paper or the journalists.

Circumstantial elements in a clause, as was discussed above, provide the background against which the process takes place. In the six texts, more than half (62 %) of the processes had a circumstance attached to them, and all nine categories of circumstances were used but with very different frequencies (see Appendix 16). The most frequent circumstance was location (33.8 %), which specifies the time and place where the process takes place. The frequent use of location may be derived from news conventions since news characteristically give information about when and where events or things take place. Other frequent circumstances were Manner (19.4 %), which illustrates how things are done, and Angle (15.1 %), which indicates a point of view or perspective. These three circumstances may be related to the news genre by giving information about basic news questions of where, when, how, and by whom.

Besides the actual transitivity analysis, I also examined the use of the active and passive voice and tenses (see Appendix 16). Active voice was favoured throughout the texts in all process types. Out of 223 processes, 163 (73 %) were in the active voice, and only 60 (27 %) in the passive. This is not unexpected because news writing conventions favour the active over passive. For instance, in a textbook for journalists, Bruun, Koskimies and Tervonen (1986:193-194) state explicitly that in news writing:

The active voice should be favoured whenever possible . . . The passive fades the actors from the news. . . By using the passive, the recipient is prohibited to gain knowledge who is done what, where and when. . . the recipient has, however, the right to expect that the news reporter dares or want to tell him or her, who has decided something about something. . .

The use of the active voice also means that participants who were doing, being, feeling, speaking, etc. were identified as those who were affected by the actions,

sensed, or talked about, etc. By using the active voice and thus defining active and passive roles for participants, the texts construct some participants as doers, carriers, sensors, sayers, etc. and others as those acted upon, sensed about, etc. This calls for a closer analysis of who were given what kind of participant role, and whether there is any kind of pattern to be found. The participant roles will be discussed later in this chapter.

In all texts the present tense was favoured. More than half (67 %) of all processes were in the present tense. Since press news are about events that have already taken place, the use of the past tense could have been expected to be frequent. For instance, Bruun et. al. (1986:193) point out that press news use the past tense a great deal because the stories are written today but will be read tomorrow. Perhaps the use of the present tense helps create a sense of immediacy and is therefore favoured.

To sum up, the world of the key next texts was a world of action, events, happenings. The dominant representation of the Sami was one of change and transition where some are doers and actors whereas others are effected or done to. Underlying such a representation one can infer the news world which is predominantly focusing on action, changes and happenings. By being texts and thus by definition concentrating on happenings and actions of the world, the grammatical choices preferred material processes.

The use of material processes in texts, however, was not exclusive. By using other processes, namely relational and occasionally mental and verbal processes, the texts offer alternative, although less frequent, representations of the Sami and issues related to them. In this way also facts, states of affairs, perceptions, feelings, and sayings were brought into the texts about the Sami. Consequently, the representations shift from action, change, and transition over to the world of inner experience, verbal exchange, and state of affairs.

The six texts about the Sami can be characterized by a dominance of material processes, use of location, manner, and angle, and use of the active voice and the present tense. The frequency of transitivity elements in the texts does not provide much information about the actual use of language in the texts or about the details of constructions and representation. Therefore I will next investigate the process types and their usage more closely.

7.7 Action and change in the texts

7.7.1 Making rights

Material processes characteristically capture types of doing, i.e. acting, happening, and creating. The results discussed above suggest that the linguistic world of the news texts was predominantly occupied with material processes. This is in agreement with the general nature of news. I will next look at the use of the material process type in more detail.

As expected, there were various kinds of action and happening represented in the news, such as *to pay*, (He *maksoivat veroa kruunulle omista maistaan ja vesistöihin* (HS2), *They paid taxes to the crown of their land and waters*) and *to find* (*Porot eivät löydä ruokaa* (HS6), *The reindeers don't find food*). The majority of the materi-

al processes, however, centred round rights making - either *applying, giving, denying, finding it out, securing, rejecting* it.

By predominantly using material processes in writing about issues related to the rights of the Sami, the items represent the rights as something that was going through a change or a phase of transition rather than a fact or a state of affairs. Even the first text under scrutiny, dated April 11, 1989, report on the Sami defending their rights. The example is from the middle of the text.

- 10 *Kessin ja Hammastunturin hakkuilla puututaan saamelaisjärjestöjen mielestä saamelaisten perinteisten elinkeinojen harjoittamiseen ja saamelaisten oikeuksiin. Hakkuut aiheuttaisivat suurta vahinkoa poronhoidolle ja muille luontaiselinkeinoille, jotka ovat saamelaisen kulttuurin perusta. (HS1)*

The loggings in the area of Kessi and Hammastunturi **interferes**, according to the organizations of the Sami, in the practice of the traditional livelihoods and rights of the Sami. The loggings **would cause** great damage to reindeer herding and other traditional livelihoods, which are the basis of Sami culture.

The material processes in the example above construe the changes that the Sami rights were going through. Throughout the key texts, the Sami rights are represented through the use of material processes, as the following examples illustrate *Se (maa- ja metsätalousministeriö) vastustaa konventiota yksin (HS3) 'It (the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry) rejects the convention alone', Saamelaisten oikeus oman kielen käyttöön turvataan (HS4) 'The right of the Sami for their using their own language will be secured'. Kyseessä oli ensimmäinen kerta, kun saamelaiset hakivat Suomessa kulttuuristen oikeuksiensa vahvistamista yleisessä tuomioistuimessa (HS6). 'It was the first time, when the Sami sought in Finland reinforcement for their cultural rights in the court'. The representation of the Sami rights undergoing a change run through all six key texts. The sixth item, dated 21 August, 1993, reports about the first court case relating to the rights of the Sami; its lead illustrates the use of material processes:*

- 11 *Neljän saamelaisen poromiehen ihmisoikeuskanne metsähallitusta vastaan hylättiin Inarin kihlakunnan oikeudessa. Kihlakunnan oikeus ei löytänyt näyttöä siitä, että poromiesten ammatinharjoittaminen vaarantuisi merkittävästi valtion metsähakkuiden vuoksi. (HS6)*

A human rights action by four Sami reindeer farmers against the Forest and Park Services **was dropped** at the Inari District Court. The court did not **find** prove that the reindeer farming **would** significantly **be endangered** because of the logging by the Forest and Park Services

In the example, the material process represents the phases of the development of the Sami rights, here in the form of an action in a juridical context. The case was dropped, because the court did not see that the Sami rights were endangered. The example introduces the parties involved in the Sami rights issues; the Sami themselves, the Forest and Park Services, and the legal system. In addition, the verbs used in the material processes, e.g. *puuttua (interfere), aiheuttaa (cause), vastustaa (reject), turvata (secure), hakea (seek), hylätä (drop out), löytää (find), vaarantaa (danger)*, can all be interpreted as stemming from a change, transition - a struggle over even - of the Sami rights.

An alternative way to represent the Sami and their rights would have been to use relational processes, i.e. the Sami having the rights, the rights of the Sami being unique, etc. Use of relational processes, however, would have indicated that

the matter is already solved or settled. As discussed in Chapter 4, change often is newsworthy, and it was shown above that the most frequent topics of the overall coverage of ethnic and immigration issues centred on change (see Chapter 6). Had the Sami rights been settled, they would not have interested news makers.

To represent the rights in transition is in agreement with the socio-political situation of the Sami at the time. In the late 1980s and during the whole of the 1990s, the Sami have pursued their rights forcefully, and through the new EU-legislation, they have had a better chance to argue their case. As a result, public discussion and debate about the rights of the Sami began in early 1990s and continues still.

This result lends support to the assumption often made in CDA that social changes, conditions, and struggles are manifested also in texts, and vice versa, what is found in texts, also contributes to the wider social conditions. The texts in *Helsingin Sanomat* seem to reflect the idea that the Sami rights were debated and were in transition rather than being a fact or a permanent attribute of the Sami. Furthermore, by representing the Sami rights as something undergoing a change, the texts contributed to the construction that a transition was indeed taking place. This is in practice what CDA refers to as a dialectical relation between language use and the world.

In addition, the findings indicate that besides reporting about events that have taken place, the paper also speculated about future events and recommendations, which is implied by the use of conditional and modal expressions with material processes. The main function of the Finnish conditional is to express something that is non-factive, unsure, or conditional (Leino 1997). The conditional is also the mood for imagination and planning, a way to move from reality to what is imaginary (Kieli ja sen kieliopit 1994:169).

Example (12) is from the first item reporting about the appeal made by the Sami for their rights. The conditional is used in an indirect quotation from a statement by the Sami organizations where they are speculating about the consequences of the loggings of the Forest and Park Services.

12 *Hakkuut aiheuttaisivat suurta vahinkoa poronhoidolle ja muille luontaiselinkeinoille (HS1).*

The logging **would cause** great damage to reindeer farming and other traditional livelihood.

Example (13) is from the fourth item (HS4) which reports about the new Sami draft language bill. The example is from the last paragraph of the item specifying the area where the bill would be applied.

13 *Uudistusta sovellettaisiin saamelaisten kotiseutualueella eli Enontekiössä, Inarissa ja Utsjoella sekä Sodankylän Lapin paliskunnan alueella (HS4).*

The new bill **would be applied** in the Sami domicile area, that is, in Enontekiö, Inari, and Utsjoki and in the herding co-operative area of Sodankylä, Lapland.

The texts often included expressions in the conditional mood with material processes. As Appendix 16 shows, out of 114 material processes one fifth (21 %) included a verb in the conditional mood. Characteristically, the use of the conditional was linked with the rights of the Sami and other related changes.

The use of the conditional indicates that, to some extent, the news about the Sami were not altogether about what happened, but also about possible, likely, or uncertain events. These clauses speculated about the future: what might follow if this bill or convention were accepted. It is interesting to see that speculation like this occurs in texts, which are usually considered to be reports of factual events, not of future or hypothetical ones.

The use of modality with material processes gave an interesting flavour to the news. In the six texts, modal verbs were rarely used. There were only ten instances, and all of them were with material processes. On the one hand, epistemic modality was used to express possibility *Samaten saamen kieltä voi käyttää korkeimmassa oikeudessa. . .*, (HS4), 'similarly, one *can* use Sami language also in the supreme court. . .', . . . *saamelaislaki voidaan säätää tavallisessa lainsäätämisyksessä* (HS5), ' . . . the Sami bill *can* be prescribed in the normal order', and deontic modality was used to express obligation *Kukaan ei saa käyttää tilallisenkaan maata mielikseen* (HS5) 'No one *may* use the land of the farmers as one pleases'.

The choice between of the passive and active voice backgrounds or foregrounds the actor of material processes. As Appendix 16 shows, the vast majority of the material processes in the key texts were in the active voice. In other words, the actor of the process was indicated through the use of the actor participant role rather than backgrounded through the use of the passive. This is quite unexpected since it has often been assumed, particularly in CDA work dealing with disadvantaged or marginalized groups or ethnic minorities (see e.g. Fairclough 1995a:112) that actors are often omitted through passivization, which results in who or what is responsible for the actions not being specified. Such fading out of actors was not a typical feature in the texts studied.

This does not necessarily suggest the journalists in *Helsingin Sanomat* had heightened awareness or that they made conscious decisions to make the actors visible through the use of the active voice. This linguistic choice has, in my opinion, more to do with the news genre. As was mentioned above, a basic rule for good news writing recommends use of the active voice (Bruun et al. 1986). The data here is too limited to allow any definite conclusions, but there is here an indication that the active voice is preferred to the passive, perhaps regardless of the topic.

7.7.2 Finnish establishment and the Sami: actors of material processes

The analysis of the participant roles of actor and goal in material processes provides further information about the representation of the Sami and Finns. The actor indicates who is represented as the doer and the goal who is affected by the actor's actions (see section 7.4.5. above). Although both roles are closely interlinked within one sentence to highlight the possible pattern in the texts, I will first look at actor roles in more detail and then turn to examine goal roles.

To examine the representations of the Sami and Finns at the clause level, I classified the actors into three broad groups, namely Sami, Finns, and other. Further, I divided each group into a) human and b) nonhuman participants. When the participants were referred to as human beings which was linguistically realized by personal or possessive pronouns, names or nouns, I categorized them into human participant category. The non-human participant category was thus re-

served for institutions, places and abstract entities. This is, however, a rather difficult dividing-line as human participants may be impersonalized or institutionalized and vice versa. The division into human and nonhuman participants corresponds roughly with what van Leeuwen (1996) in his framework of representation of social actors calls personalization and impersonalization of agency. Van Leeuwen argues that the personalization of social actors represents them as human beings but impersonalization does not include the semantic feature 'human'. Van Leeuwen (1996:60) points out that "More generally, impersonalisation can have one or more of the following effects: it can background the identity and/or role of social actors; it can lend impersonal authority or force to an activity or quality of a social actor; and it can add positive or negative connotations to an activity or utterance of a social actor." These possible effects are also why the examination of who and when is represented as human or nonhuman actor is interesting.

Although the classification of the actors in the data into human and nonhuman participants and further into Sami, Finns and Other categories is straightforward enough in most cases, particularly when humans are referred to *saamelaiset*, 'the Sami', Lantalainen, 'the Lantalais-population', *kukaan*, 'no one', the categorization of nonhuman actors into Sami, Finns or Other categories demands a closer interpretation and making use of the textual context. For instance, reindeer as such do not belong to any specific category, but if they were talked about in a context of belonging to or being a specific indicator of Sami culture, I will interpret them as belonging to the category of nonhuman Sami actors.

Non-human actors which belong to the majority organizations and institutions I interpreted as non-human Finnish actors. These included, for instance, different kinds of institutions, such as *the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry*, *the Forest and Park Services*, and *the State of Finland*. Although it could be argued that also the Sami, who are Finnish citizens, are represented by the actors Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry or State of Finland, in practice the 'Official Finland' is the opponent in the land owning question. Thus, in this context, they represent the majority participants excluding the Sami. To the category of the non-human others, I classified actors that did not belong to either one of the first two categories, such as *sopimus 'a treaty'*, *konventio 'a convention'*, *kansainvälisen oikeuden säännöt 'the rules of international law'*. Figure 15 represents the distribution of the actor roles between the Sami, Finns and others.

As Figure 15 shows, the distribution between the Sami, Finnish, and other actors was fairly even. The Finnish participants were given the actor roles frequently, i.e. almost in half (45.3 %) of the material processes. The Sami (29.3 %) and the other participants (25.3 %) were placed in actor roles rather evenly. This indicates that the Finnish actors were frequently represented as doers whereas the Sami themselves were less often represented in this way. This is in line with the results reported above which showed that the majority participants are foregrounded in the news in terms of topics covered, mentions, quotations, and predominant participants. Now it seems that also the linguistic choices at the clause level make majority members preferred. Given the situation of the Sami, the actor role is even more precious for them: in the political struggle for their rights, the Sami themselves would, most likely, want to assume the initiator's and actor's role rather than that of an object of these actions.

However, a frequency count of the distribution of the actor roles alone does

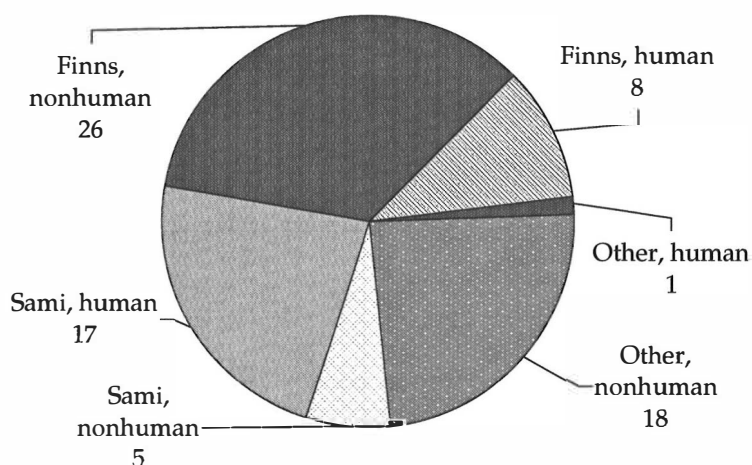


Figure 15 Distribution of actor roles (n=75).

not reveal the details involved in the use of processes and the use of language in the news. Therefore the next step was to examine who were actually placed in the actor roles and how this was linguistically manifested.

It is interesting that both the Finnish actors and those classified as 'other' were predominantly non-human participants, while the Sami were almost always human actors, as Figure 15 indicates. In other words, the Finnish and 'other' actors were mostly non-human, non-identified entities, such as authorities or official representatives of Finland, whereas the Sami actors were either individuals or referred to the whole community.

A human Sami participant referred typically to the whole community (example 14). Sometimes there was a generic reference to *poromiehet* 'reindeer herdsmen' (example 15). A personal pronoun could also indicate a human actor (examples 16 and 17).

14 *Saamelaiset puolustavat alkuperäisyyttään* (HS3)

The Sami defend their status as indigenous people

15 *Poromiehet vetosivat Suomeakin ratifioimaan YK:n yleissopimuksen kansalaisten poliittisista oikeuksista* (HS6)

Reindeer herdsmen appeal to Finland to ratify UN's treaty of the political rights of the citizens

16 *He maksoivat veroa kruunulle omista maistaan ja vesistään* (HS2)

They paid taxes to the crown for their land and waters

17 *"Tarvittaessa me viemme asian kansainväliseen oikeuteen"* (HS6)

"If needed, we will take this matter to the international court".

The examples illustrate how whenever the Sami participants were given the actor role, they were working for their rights. Here, the Sami were represented as a unanimous, politically active group knowing their rights and willing to fight for them. Also the few Sami actors classified as non-human worked for the Sami rights *Kahdeksan saamelaisjärjestöä on jättänyt vetoomuksen Suomen hallitukselle* (HS1), 'Eight Sami organizations have left an appeal to the government of Finland'.

In contrast to human Sami actors, the Finnish actors were characteristically representatives of the Finnish establishment. Particularly the State of Finland, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Forest and Park Services were frequently put in the actor role. The following examples illustrate these actors.

- 18 *Valtio ryhtyi omistelemaan pohjoisia maita ja rajoittamaan alkuperäisasukkaiden oikeuksia* (HS2).

The State started to act as an owner of the northern land and to limit the rights of the indigenous people.

- 19 *Se (ministeriö) vastustaa konventiota yksin* (HS3)
It (the ministry) alone rejects the convention)

- 20 . . . ja *Metsähallituksen hakkuut* haittaavat monella tavalla porojen laiduntamista ja kokoamista. (HS6)

. . . and **the loggings of the Forest and Park services** harm in many ways the pasture and herding of the reindeer.

The State of Finland was represented as a doer in two opposite lines of action. On the one hand, 'Finland' is an organizer of the Sami rights, 'it' may launch a Sami bill, 'it' should sign to the UN convention, and 'it' should secure the rights of the Sami. On the other hand, 'Finland' acts as the owner of the Sami land, had limited their rights or defended its own rights. In brief, Finland was represented as an entity both defending and diminishing Sami rights.

The latter representation of Finland is reinforced when the portrayal of the representatives of the Finnish government system are examined. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was represented through 'protecting its line of legislation', 'rejecting the UN convention and the Sami bill', and 'denying the indigenous status of the Sami'. In short, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was the actor in actions that are opposite to attempts by the Sami to reinforce their rights and thus, an opponent to the Sami. This also applies to the Forest and Park Services: it 'begins the logging in the Sami area', 'its logging harms the traditional livelihoods of the Sami, or 'it rejects the Sami bill'.

Thus, the material processes dealing with the Sami rights pictured the group as politically active and fighting for their rights. The State of Finland was represented as being in agreement with the Sami - in principle - co-operating with them to secure their rights. On a practical level, however, Finland and its representatives were represented as 'harming', 'limiting', and 'disregarding' the rights of the Sami. Thus the non-human majority participants were represented as Janus-faced: giving with one hand, taking with another.

Although it is possible to represent the official Finland through institutions, and it may be common in news making practices to rely on them, both because of their handy information and of their authority position, I find the implications noteworthy. The question of who actually made the decisions or was responsible for the actions is left unanswered, the very question that could have been expected to be of interest to journalists. Even though it can be inferred that individuals within the organizations were responsible for the actions, the point is that in the news representation of the Sami and issues connected with them, the journalists did not pin down any individuals but portrayed the majority side as faceless, non-identified systems and organizations.

The few human Finnish actors (n=8) included a researcher, a collective of various 'officials' (*virkamiehet*), and ethnic Finns living in the Sami domicile area. The report (HS5) about a public meeting organized by the advisory committee for Sami issues about Sami bill, dated on 17 February, 1991, includes many material processes with an individual ethnic Finn as an actor. The next example is from the third paragraph of the report, where the journalist writes about the reactions of the audience.

- 21 *Isoäiti vastustaa, kun aavistelee, ettei hänen yhdeksänvuotias pojanpoikansa kenties pääsekään toivomuksensa mukaan kalastajan ammattiin Inarin järvelle. Metsämies vastustaa, kullankaivaja epäilee - ja kun sisäministeriön hallitusneuvos lausuu sanan oikeushistoria, yleisö herahtaa pidäkkeettömään nauruun: pilkkanako heitä aiotaan pitää! Että heiltä jotain otettaisiin oikeushistorian nimissä! (HS5)*

The grandmother opposes, since she fears, that her nine-year-old grandson won't perhaps get in practice the fisherman's profession on Lake Inari according to his wish. The hunter opposes, the gold digger surmises - and when a high official of Ministry For Internal Affairs pronounces the word 'history of justice', the audience falls into fits of laughter: are they being made mockery of! That something would be taken away from them in the name of history of justice!

As this example illustrates, in the infrequent incident that human Finnish participants were given actor roles, they were represented as opposed to the actions of the Sami.

The 'other' actors of material processes were all but one non-human participants. Also many of these actors were linked with the issues of Sami rights, as for instance the following examples from the reporting on the public meeting illustrate.

- 22 . . . sitä (saamelaisten oikeuksien järjestämistä) edellyttävät kansainvälisen oikeuden säännöt. (HS5)

. . . that (= settling down the rights of the Sami) is required by the rules of the international law.

- 23 *Ruotsin skattefjället- oikeudenkäynti maksoi saamelaisille 7 miljoonaa kruunua. (HS5)*
The Skattefjället case in Sweden cost seven million crowns to the Sami.

Many of these actors were outside Finland and functioned, perhaps, as a point of reference.

To sum up, the findings above show that the majority of the actors were non-human Finnish actors. They, in turn, were characteristically various representatives of the 'Official Finland'. In contrast, the Sami actors were mostly human actors. This difference constructs an interesting representation of the Sami and Finns and particularly of the relation between them.

By representing the Sami as human actors in contrast to the non-human faceless majority actors, the texts construe a representation where the Sami as an entire group are working for their rights in contrast to the majority, whose work is done by systems and officials. An alternative would have been to use the representatives of the Sami establishment, such as the Sami Parliament, as actors, in which case the two political establishments would have been in balance. Finnish individuals could also have been named more often as actors; comparison could then have been made between two groups of people.

When the Sami were given actor roles in the news, they were portrayed as a

politically active group fighting for their rights. A juxtaposition between the Sami and the majority derives from the fact that it has been the majority who have denied or limited the rights of the Sami. However, since the Sami were chosen for the actor role more seldom than the Finnish actors, the representation of the Sami as politically active was marginal.

In addition, by opposing the human Sami against the faceless Finnish system, the texts represented the Sami as neither having a system of their own nor belonging to the Finnish system. However, it would have been equally possible to represent the Sami through their officials and organizations, such as the Sami Parliament, the Sami politicians, or the spokesperson for the Sami. Why the journalists did not use these official channels with the Sami is interesting.

Representation of the Sami as a group gives the impression, on the one hand, that the Sami were fighting on their own against the majority system and, on the other, that the Sami were outsiders in terms of 'our' system. In both cases, the representation of the Sami is centred on their marginalized outsider position in relation to the majority. The issues, rights, and the concerns of the Sami are not 'our' problem. By choosing to represent the majority side through the various systems or through the State of Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat* emphasizes the importance and the scope of these issues through including Finland as the other party. What is problematic, however, is that such broad and general categories as 'nation', 'state' or 'legal system' are easily empty of people and human responsibility.

7.7.3 Affected: The Sami identity

For the analysis of the goal role I will discuss who were represented as affected by the actions of the actors. In the texts there were 94 goals altogether. As with the actor roles, I classified the goals into three categories: those of Sami, Finns, and other. Each category was further divided into human and non-human participants. Figure 16 illustrates the distribution of the goal participant roles among these categories.

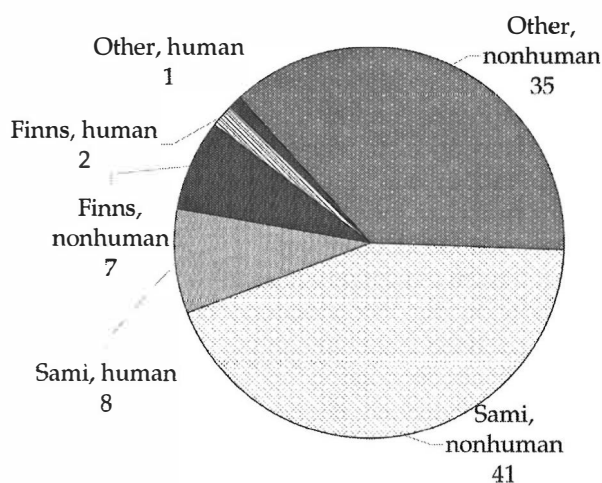


FIGURE 16 Distribution of goal role (n=94).

More frequently than anyone else, the Sami were those affected by the action described in the text. The Sami played this role in half of the material processes, the 'other' group frequently (38.3 %), and the Finns only in nine cases (9.6 %). In all of the three groups, the goals were typically non-human. This implies that rather than describing the effects of actions through individuals and people, the texts represented them via non-human participants, such as 'rights', 'land', and 'legislation'.

As a goal, many of the non-human Sami participants may be seen as belonging to the Sami identity: a typical case (n=41) referred to their rights, status as indigenous people, and way of life. For instance, in the headline of the items dated 9 April, 1990 (HS 4), the right to use the Sami language is in the Goal role.

- 24 *Saamelaisten oikeus oman kielen käyttöön turvataan.* (HS5)
The right of the Sami to use their language will be secured.

Also the land, specified as belonging to the Sami, was affected, as in the example of the item on the meeting about the Sami bill (HS 5):

- 25 ... *ettei saamelaisten maata saisi käyttää luvatta.* (HS5)
... so that the Sami land may not be used without permission.

Also the status as indigenous people was in the goal role as was the Sami way of life, as in the example of the first item (HS1) and in the headline of the third item (HS3).

- 26 *Kessin ja Hammastunturin hakkuilla puututaan saamelaisten perinteisten elinkeinojen harjoittamiseen ja saamelaisten oikeuksiin.* (HS1)

By the logging of Kessi and Hammastunturi the traditional Sami livelihoods and Sami rights are interfered with. (HS3)

- 27 *Saamelaiset puolustavat alkuperäisyyttään.* (HS3)
The Sami defend their status as indigenous people

All these elements (the rights, language, land owning, indigenous status, and way of life) imply Saminess and are indicators of Sami identity. In this sense, it was Sami identity that was frequently affected.

Also the few times when the human Sami were represented as affected was related to the issue of Sami rights as in the following examples:

- 28 *Suomessa saamelaisilla ei ole oikeuksia, koska heille ei ole annettu niitä* (HS3)
In Finland the Sami do not have rights, because they have not been given to them
- 29 *Ruotsin Skattefjället-oikeudenkäynti maksoi saamelaisille 7 miljoonaa kruunua* (HS5)
The Skattefjället case in Sweden cost 7 million crowns to the Sami.

Again, the Sami were represented as a whole group instead of individual Sami. An alternative angle to the issue of Sami rights would have been to describe the topic, its background, and consequences as they were experienced by individuals.

Out of the category 'other', various kinds of proposals, laws, and conventions were frequently presented in the goal role. These goals related to the Sami rights closely since they specified the processes of 'doing' the rights further, as the following examples from the first and fourth reports illustrate:

- 30 *Kahdeksan saamelaisjärjestöä on jättänyt Suomen hallitukselle vetoamuksen, . . . (HS1)*
Eight Sami organizations have left **an appeal** to the Finnish government, . . .
- 31 *Uudistusta sovellettaisiin Saamelaisten kotiseutualueella eli Enontekiössä, Inarissa ja Utsjoella sekä Sodankylän Lapin paliskunnan alueella. (HS4)*

The reform would be applied in the Sami domicile area i.e. in Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki, and in the area of the herding co-operative of Sodankylä, Lapland.

As Figure 16 illustrates, Finnish goals were rare. Out of the 94, only nine can be interpreted as representing or related to the Finnish majority. They were, for instance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in a direct quotation from Pekka Aikio, vice chairman of the Sami Parliament in a item about status of the Sami (HS3)

- 32 *“Maa- ja metsätalousministeriö pyrkii omituisella lausunnolla tietysti varjelemaan sitä lainsäädännöllistä linjaa, jota se on tähänkin asti harjoittanut” (HS3).*

By its peculiar statements, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry naturally tries to protect **the juridical line of action** that it has practised so far.

Also the Finnish audience of the information event organized by the Sami about the new Sami bill was in the goal role in the fifth item (HS5), in which the writer used a slightly unconventional way to report reactions of the audience.

- 33 *Pilkkanaanko heitä aiotaan pitää! Että heiltä jotain otettaisiin oikeushistorian nimissä! (HS5)*

Are **they** being made mockery of? Something would be taken away from **them** in the name of the history of law!

It is also interesting that the two Finnish participants, namely the Forest and Park Services and local Finns, who are greatly affected by the possible future rights of the Sami were not represented as affected by these actions. The Forest and Park Services, the current governor of the disputed lands, would lose their control over the land, forests and waters in the Sami domicile area and, at the same time, the other activities there that vary from fishing to forest industry. Local Finns fear that their rights to the land would be limited if the ownership were given to the Sami. It is interesting to see that the reports did not represent either as being affected, but that they were regarded as actor participants in these news.

7.7.4 Where, how, and says who: circumstantial elements used with the material processes

By definition, circumstantial elements capture the background against which the process takes place. The interest in the analysis of these elements is to see what kind of background the news gives to the actions in the key texts about the Sami. Out of the 78 circumstantial elements attached to material processes, location was the most frequent (see Appendix 16). Almost every second circumstantial element related to a location, i.e. answered to the questions of when and where. Typical locations were, for instance, *viime vuosisadan alussa (HS2)* ‘at the beginning of the last century’, *ennen kuin ‘before’ Nyt (HS2)* ‘now’, *viime syksynä (HS3)* ‘in last Autumn’, *Ruotsissa (HS3)* ‘in Sweden’.

In addition, many locations were used with the passive, which means that the location actually expressed the actor of the action indirectly. For instance, in example (34), which is from an editorial (HS2) discussing the findings of a study, the location embeds the actor, *oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Korpijaakon väitöskirjassa* 'in the doctoral thesis by licentiate in Laws Korpijaakko'.

- 34 *Saamelaisten oikeudet pohjoisen porolaitumiin ja kalavesiin on dokumentoitu selvästi oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Korpijaakon väitöskirjassa.* (HS2)

The rights of the Sami to the Northern land and fishing waters has been documented clearly **In the doctoral thesis by oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Korpijaakko**

Similarly, in example (35) the location expresses the actors indirectly. Thus location seems to be a linguistic way for an indirect expression of the actor whenever the writer does not want to be explicit.

- 35 *Osastopäällikko Timo Kotkasaaren ja toimistopäällikkö Seppo Havun laatimassa lausunnossa saamelaisen alkuperäisväestön luonne kiistetään.* (HS3)

In a statement by head of department Timo Kotkasaari and head of office Seppo Havu the indigenous status of the Sami is denied.

The circumstance of Manner was also frequently used with material processes. Manner specifies the means and quality of actions and answers to the questions of how and with what. Typical expressions of manner in the key texts were adverbs ending in *-sti* (approx. -ly) such as *selvästi* 'plainly' in example (34) above and *puolueettomasti* (HS1) 'neutrally' and *tarkasti* (HS2) 'precisely'. Other circumstances of manner specified an instrument of doing such as *saamelaislailla* (HS5) 'by using the Sami law' and *luvatta* (HS5) 'without permit'.

Also the circumstance of Angle was given at times. This circumstance specifies the sayer, answering to the question of who says or from whose point of view something is seen. In the news, various non-human participants were given voice through the use of a certain angle, for instance *oikeushistoriallisten tutkimusten mukaan* (HS1) 'according to the studies in history of law', *saamelaisjärjestöjen mielestä* (HS1) 'according to the Sami organizations' and *lakiluonnoksen mukaan* (HS2) 'according to the law proposal'. Since that the texts examined were news, this circumstance could have been expected to occur more frequently and with indirect quotations, since it makes it possible for the journalist to express who is saying or from which point of view.

In brief, the most frequent circumstantial elements used with material processes were location, manner, and angle. These may be derived from journalistic practices in the sense that they answer the basic journalistic questions of where, how, and according to whom.

7.8 Facts and state of affairs in the texts

7.8.1 They are similar and different - and that is a fact

Universal truths, facts, states of affairs, classifications, and descriptions are all represented through relational processes. They construe various ways of being and existing and do this in two different ways, by attribution and identification. In the key texts it is interesting to investigate what events and characteristics are considered states of affairs and truths, and what kind of descriptions and classifications are attached to the Sami and Finns through the use of this process type.

In the texts, relational processes scored the second in frequency after material processes. However, as Figure 14 shows, relational processes were far less frequent than material ones: the latter amounted to a little over half of all the processes, whereas relational processes were only one fifth (20.6 %) of the total.

On the whole, the most frequent verb in the relational processes was predictably the verb *olla* 'to be'. Out of the 46 relational processes, 30 included this verb. Other verbs used in the relational processes were, for instance, *merkitä* 'to mean' and *erota* 'to differ'. The emphasis on the use of *be* is not unexpected, since it is generally the most typical verb in relational processes (Karvonen 1995, Martin et al. 1997, Shore 1992). What makes its use interesting in the key texts is that news writing practices do not usually favour the use of the verb to be because of its lack of action, change, and happening. Therefore, it is really interesting to see what issues, events, and identities were described as matter of fact, states of affairs, and truths in the texts. In addition, the use of *be* can also mark naturalization of a state of affairs or something taken at face value.

A typical use of *be* in the texts was to describe a state of affairs as a fact as illustrated by examples (36) and (37).

36 *Saamelaisjärjestöt muistuttavat myös, että valtion omistusomistusoikeus saamelaisalueisiin on vielä epäselvä. (HS1)*

The Sami organizations also point out that the ownership of the State of the Sami land is still unclear.

37 *Poronhoito Ruotsissa on saamelaisten yksinoikeus, ja Havun mukaan maassa saattaa olla eräänlaisia reservaatteja, joissa asumalla alkuperäisväestö on pysynytkin alkuperäisenä. (HS3)*

Reindeer herding in Sweden is a privilege of the Sami, and according to Havu, there may be kind of reservations in the country, and by living in these the indigenous people have stayed indigenous.

As these extracts illustrate, the verb to *be* is used in a rather unmitigated way to tell how things really were, and what issues and facts were taken for granted. This is further reinforced by the choice of tenses: the vast majority of the relational processes (n=37) were presented in the present tense (see Appendix 16), which emphasized the impression of factuality and validity of the claims. The present tense is also used to express universally applicable truths, things, or claims that hold good across time (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1995:247, Leino 1997:79). In comparison, the items rarely included other moods than the indicative with relational processes. Only two modal verbs were used, one in the example (37) above and another in example (38) below.

38 *Jos kihlakunnan oikeus olisi vahvistanut poromiesten vaatimat oikeudet, päätöksellä olisi **voimut** olla huomattavat vaikutukset kaikkeen saamelaisalueella tehtävään metsänhoitoon (HS6).*

If the district court had confirmed the rights required by the reindeer herdsmen, the decision **might** have had considerable effects on all the forestry in the Sami area.

In both cases, modality is expressed through an epistemic modal auxiliary which implies certainty and possibility. In example (37), the modal auxiliary *saattaa* 'may' is used in an indirect quotation, where a ministry official is quoted when mitigating the validity of his own claim that the Sami have stayed indigenous by living in reservations that 'may exist in Sweden', whereas in Finland, according to his argument, the Sami are not indigenous. Example (38) is speculative in tone through the use of the conditional in the first clause (*olisi vahvistanut, had. . .confirmed*) and through the use of the conditional and the modal auxiliary (*olisi voimut olla, might have had*) in the second clause, about the possible outcomes of a court decision. The rare use of modal expressions with relational processes indicates that elements, issues, descriptions, and definitions represented through them were regarded as generally applicable and valid claims, the way the situation really is.

Also the use of verbal mood can express possibility and thus hedge the strength of a claim. The vast majority of the verbs in relational processes were in the indicative, emphasizing the truth-like or feasible nature of the claim. In some relational processes, however, the journalist used the conditional (n=7) as is exemplified in example (39). The example is extracted from a report on a meeting:

39 *Hämmästyttävää on nähdä, miten vieras suomalaisille on ajatus siitä, että valtio olisi menetellyt väärin tai että oikeustilassa **olisi** jotain korjaamista. (HS5).*

It is amazing to see how alien to Finns is the thought that the state could have done something wrong or that there **would be** something to repair in the state of justice.

Example (40) is a direct quotation from a statement by Kaisa Korpijaakko, a researcher, presented in the same report.

40 *"Minkä tähden **olisi** väärin, ettei saamelaisten maata saisi käyttää luvatta?" (HS5)*

Why **would it be** wrong, that the Sami land could not be utilized without a permission?

The conditional was used with a relational process to express what could exist. Example (39) illustrates the change from unmitigated claims expressed with the present tense of *be* to mitigated claims about the state of affairs expressed through the use of the conditional. In example (40), the conditional relational process in the first clause is followed by a material clause where the conditional is used with a modal auxiliary. In the texts about the Sami, the conditional mood was used to express the conditions of facts or states of affairs, on the one hand, and to express the future or imaginary consequences, on the other.

Notably, the relational processes were very rarely expressed in the passive voice. Among the 46 relational processes, only three were in the passive. When the recommendation of the use of active in news writing is kept in mind and also considering the fact that relational processes often construe abstract relations of being, it is not surprising that the journalists favoured active particularly with this process type.

As was pointed out earlier, there are two kinds of relational processes, identifying and attributive. An identifying relational process contrues classifications and identification of a token by giving it values. Attributive relational processes describe a carrier by attributes. Next I will have a look how these two relational processes were used in the key texts and how they contributed to the representations.

7.8.2 Defining the Sami: identifying relational processes

Between the two types of relational processes, the key texts favoured identifying processes over attributive ones. Out of the 46 relational processes, 29 were identifying and 17 attributive. This indicates that the texts focussed on defining the events, identities and issues rather than describing them. Shore (1992:226) points out that identifying clauses usually occur in texts far less frequently than attributive clauses. Karvonen (1995:127) found that identifying processes are typical of textbooks, whereas attributive processes were used more in scientific journals. More studies about texts are required before any general conclusions about the frequency of the types of relational processes can be drawn. It may be that frequent use of identifying relational processes is related to the topic or the genre, but, on the basis of the present study alone, this cannot be firmly established.

Identifying relational processes construe a relation between two elements by symbolizing, identifying, and defining the former through the latter. In terms of participant roles, the element that is defined is labelled as a token and the element giving the meaning, status, or classification is called a value. The token and the value are symbolically related, most often by means of to 'be'. As with material processes, I classified the participants into the categories of Sami, Finns, and other, and each of them further into human and non-human (see Appendix 18).

In the key texts, the Sami participants were mostly given both token and value roles. This indicates that the Sami were frequently identified or classified and, moreover, by values that may be interpreted as belonging to Saminess. In both roles there were human and non-human Sami participants. The human Sami participant was most frequently the entire community, referred to as the Sami or an indigenous people. The non-human participants belonged to Sami culture, such as reindeer herding. Example (41) is from the lead of a report about the status of the Sami (HS3), and example (42) from the middle of a item (HS1) dealing with the appeal made by the Sami for their rights. Both illustrate a case where the Sami were both in token and in value roles.

41 *Suomen hajallaan olevia saamelaisrivejä yhdistää hämmennys maa- ja metsätalousministeriön kannasta, jonka mukaan saamelaiset eivät ole Suomen alkuperäiskansaa. (HS3)*

The scattered lines of the Sami in Finland are united in their bewilderment at the opinion of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, according to which the Sami are not an indigenous people of Finland.

42 *Hakkuut aiheuttaisivat suurta vahinkoa poronhoidolle ja muille luontaiselinkeinoille, jotka ovat saamelaisen kulttuurin perusta. (HS1)*

The loggings would cause great damage to reindeer herding and other natural means of livelihood, which are the basis of the Sami culture.

This kind of use of identifying relational processes can be seen to contribute to the construction of Sami identity and the criteria of Saminess. The processes construe a symbolic relation between Saminess and Sami elements constructing a representation of what belongs to, or what it means to be, a Sami. However, these criteria or the question of whether the Sami meet them can be contested, as is done in the indirect quotation from the statement by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in example (41) above.

The land in the Sami domicile area was a participant which was represented in the key texts in an interesting way. It was both identified and classified, and it functioned also as a value. The way in which the land was represented symbolically identified it sometimes with a property of the Sami, sometimes described it as belonging to Finns, and at times, as being located outside both of these groups. In this way the land was related to all these three categories of participants. Example (43) comes from an editorial (HS2) which discusses the findings of the study done by Korpijaakko on the Sami land owning issues.

43 *Tutkija todistaa sadoin asiakirjoin, että lappalaiset ovat aikoinaan omistaneet maansa aivan samoin kuin muun Suomen talonpojat.*

The researcher proves with hundreds of documents that **the Lapps have** formerly **owned their land** just like the farmers elsewhere in Finland.

In the example, the Sami are referred as 'Lapps', the traditional term which is sometimes regarded as derogatory term (see e.g. Lehtola 1999). In this particular example its use can be explained by a reference to the old times when the Sami were called by the majority Lapps and the term Sami did not exist in Finnish. The identifying relational process construes a relation of an ownership between the Sami and the land, so that the land is given the value of 'the land of the Sami'. Comparison of the Sami with the other farmers in Finland further contributes to the representation of the Sami as rightful owners of their land.

Example (44) is the headline of the fifth key text, which is a report from a heated public meeting (HS5), organized by the Sami Parliament and attended by all the parties involved in the land dispute, i.e. members of the Sami community and Sami establishment, local people, who are ethnic Finns ('lantalaiset'), and the state of Finland represented by the Forest and Park Services. The example spells out the land dispute in question: whether the land is owned by the Sami, or by the state and, how, if at all, the law (the Sami bill) should be modified for the Sami to (re)gain the ownership of their traditional land.

44 *Lapin lantalaisväestö säitti saamelaislakia.
Onko parempi valtion maalla kuin lappalaisen metsässä? (HS 5)*

The 'lantalainen' -population in Lapland reprimanded the Sami law.
Is it better on **the state-owned land** than in **the forest of the Lapps**?

The headline may be interpreted as ironic: local Finns were not pleased with the new proposal, and the newsmaker asks whether the ownership of the land matters. After all, the citizens' rights⁴, i.e. the only rights the local Finns have, would

4 Jokamiehen oikeudet refers to the public right to use forests for various recreational purposes without a permission of the landowner.

remain the same regardless the owner.

The writer combines different representations of the participants involved in the land issue in the headline: the term *Lapin lantalaishäästö* (the lantalainen-population of Lapland) reduces the opponents of the Sami bill to a small group of local Finns. An alternative term (e.g. Finns) would have presented the dispute as one between the large majority and a small Sami minority. Moreover, the term itself may be used disparagingly, in a similar fashion as the term Lapp. The Sami here are referred to indirectly both as the 'sami' (*saamelaislaki, the Sami bill*) and as the 'Lapps' (*lappalaisen metsässä, in the forest of the Lapps*). The State of Finland is represented as one of the owners of the land (*valtion maa, state land*). The term 'lantalainen' is typically used by the Sami, and the 'Lapps' by the Finns. Thus both the Sami and local Finns are named by terms not preferred by the groups themselves. As a consequence, the ethnic border, difference, is emphasized between the groups. Different representations may thus be used to illustrate the antagonism between the two groups at the meeting and outside.

The heterogeneity in the representations of the Sami and the Finns can be interpreted as an indication of a struggle over who is to qualify as a Sami. It involves also the right to define. This implies that at the time when these items were published, i.e. 1990-1993, there was no consensus on the definition of the Sami; ethnic identity was reconstructed, redefined, and struggled over. The heterogeneity is thus both a sign of this struggle and a contribution to it. Alternatively, *Helsingin Sanomat* could have given only one kind of representation of the Sami or, also, remained silent.

In example (45), the Sami land is represented as a rather neutral *alue* 'an area'. The news item deals with the first court case regarding the Sami rights.

45 *Poromiesten mukaan alue on kuitenkin kymmenesosa porojen talviruokinta-alueesta, ja metsähallituksen hakkuut haittaavat monella tavoin porojen laiduntamista ja kokoamista. (HS6)*

According to the reindeer herdsman, **the area is, nonetheless, one tenth of the winter feeding area of the reindeer**, and the logging by the Forest and Park Services harms the pasturing and gathering of the reindeer in many ways.

However, by the value *kymmenesosa porojen talviruokinta-alueesta* 'one tenth of the winter feeding area of the reindeers' the area is identified as part of the traditional Sami land. This area, along with the traditional Sami livelihoods practised there, is endangered because of the actions of the Forest and Park Services, a representative of the State in the area.

The land - the area, the Sami land, the State land, the protectorate - was constructed in a variety of ways in the identifying relational processes. Besides the land itself, also its users and owners were constructed, as changes in the land owning have an impact on all parties involved. The land was identified through its use. The values given to the land emphasized how the land is or should be used. Also, the question whether the land was called a protectorate or an area for reindeer herding suggested a different point of view. What was missing was a representation of the land through tourism. This is a bit surprising since tourism is a considerable source of income in the North and obviously closely tied to the nature and land there.

However, explanations of various, often conflicting points of view of the land

in the Sami domicile area are almost invisible in the texts. Only the terms chosen to describe 'land' indicate the existence of different point of views. The reader then has to have much background information to be able to interpret the implications connected with the different uses and users of the land.

It is not to be concluded that journalists would intentionally attempt to hide the on-going political struggle over the landowning rights. Rather, the invisibility of the issues can be seen as a result of insufficient information, perhaps even ignorance, or to a certain extent, as insensitivity towards the issues. For the Sami and for many local Finns as well, the land rights were at the very centre of the on-going Sami debate. For the official Finland, the land rights in the North presented a controversial issue. By failing to represent the complexity of the issues the newspaper may have contributed to a picture in which the issues were settled or framed as a non-issues. This picture may have harmed the possibility of the Sami to make their voice heard.

The Sami rights themselves were also defined in a variety of ways. To begin with, there were general claims about the rights, illustrated by examples (46) and (47) from the news report on the indigenous status of the Sami. Example (46) is from a journalist's writing and example (47) an indirect quotation of a statement by the Sami.

46 *Poronhoito Ruotsissa on saamelaisten yksinoikeus. . . (HS3)*
The reindeer herding is a privilege of the Sami in Sweden

47 *Suomessa saamelaisilla ei ole oikeuksia, koska heille ei ole annettu niitä (HS3)*
In Finland, the Sami do not have rights, because they have not been given them.

Secondly, there were speculations about the Sami rights in Finland, for instance in the editorial on the Sami rights:

48 *Lähitulevaisuus näyttää, onko Suomi oikeusvaltio myös pienen, muutaman tuhannen ihmisen vähemmistön kohtelussa. (HS2)*

The near future will show whether Finland is a state governed by law also in the treatment of a small minority of a couple of thousand people.

Thirdly, the rights of the Sami and Finns were contrasted, as in the following examples from the news on a meeting (HS5).

49 *Lantalaisen mielestä hänen oikeutensa kalastaa valtion vedessä tai metsästää valtion metsässä on tärkempi oikeus kuin saamelaisten oikeus saada takaisin oma maansa - se, jota valtion maaksi kutsutaan. (HS5)*

According to 'Lantalainen', his or her right to fish in the state water or to hunt in the state forest is a more important right than the right of the Sami to get their land back - the land which is called state land.

50 . . . *Lappalaisten ja heidän perillistensä oikeus maihinsa ja vesiinsä on omistusoikeus ja siten yhtä vahva kuin suomalaistilallisen oikeus omaan peltoonsa". (HS5)*

The right of the Lapps and their family to their land and water is a right of possession and thus as strong as the right of the Finnish farmers to their own field.

The findings suggest that although the rights were often represented in terms of actors and goals through the use of material processes, there were simultaneous definitions of the same rights through the use of identifying relational processes.

This suggests that while the legal actions were actually taken, there was also much uncertainty on the matter.

Finally, as is seen in Figure 16, there were only very few occasions of the Finnish participants being identified or given the value role. As the examples above show, these were the cases where the land was identified as state land and the character of Finland as a state where laws were honoured was questioned. No human Finnish participants were identified or classified at all. The lack of Finnish participants in the identifying relational processes may suggest that there was no need to identify Finnishness in this context.

7.8.3 It is amazing, unclear and wrong - attributive relational processes

The second type of relational processes is attributive; they construe descriptions of carriers via attributes. The texts about the Sami included 17 attributive relational processes, which means that there was not much description in these news. Similarly to identifying processes, the typical verb realizing the attributive processes was to 'be'. Similarly to the earlier process classifications, the carriers of the attributive relational processes were divided into the three categories of Sami, Finns, and other, and human and non-human respectively. The classification was not satisfactory for the attributes, since many of them were adverbs or adjectives (*väärin* 'wrong', *hämmästyttävä* 'amazing') or particles, which are difficult to classify into the three categories. Figure 17 illustrates the distribution of the carrier role between the three groups. However, it is important to note the small total number of attributive processes (n=17).

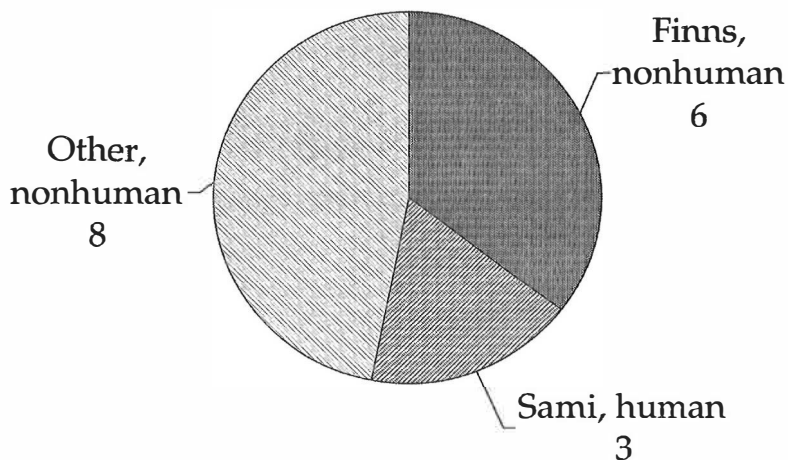


FIGURE 17 Distribution of the carrier role (n=17).

As is seen in Figure 17, participants from the 'other' group were described by the Carrier the most frequently. The carriers classified into the category of 'other' were nominals, such as *ajatus* 'the thought', *väite* 'the claim', *oikeustila* 'the state of justice'. Also indirect question *minkä tähden [se]* (why would it) or particles *tämä* (this) were

thus categorized. These carriers were described as *epäselvä* 'unclear', *hämmästyttävä* 'amazing', *vieras* 'strange', and *väärin* 'wrong'.

It is to be noted that the attributive relational processes were typically embedded in long sentences. These were often used to describe, or comment on, events, actions, states of affairs, or perceptions represented by other process types. Sentences, like example (51), which only included an attributive process were rare.

- 51 *Oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Kaisa Korpijaakon mielestä myös väite maaolojen järjestämisestä isojaolla tai oikeudella laiduntaa poroja valtion maalla on hämmästyttävä.* (HS3)

According to Licentiate of law Kaisa Korpijaakko, also **the claim about organizing the land issues by general parcelling or by a right to pasture reindeer on state land is amazing.**

Characteristically, the attributive relational process was typical in sentences including also other process types, which it described or specified, or vice versa. For instance, an attributive relational process specifies the action which is construed via a material process in example (52), which is a direct quotation of a researcher's question at the public meeting. In example (53), which is from the news report on the appeal made by the Sami organizations; a mental process frames the attribute process.

- 52 *"Minkä tähden olisi väärin, ettei saamelaisten maata saisi käyttää luvatta"* (HS5)

Why would it be wrong that the Sami land could not be used without a permission.

- 53 *Saamelaisjärjestöt muistuttavat myös, että valtion omistusoikeus saamelaisalueisiin on vielä epäselvä.* (HS1)

The Sami organizations remind that **the ownership of the State to the Sami area is still unclear.**

In contrast to identifying relational processes also Finnish participants are described in attributive processes. They were non-human participants, such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Forest and Park Services, and they were often characterized in relation to the land-owning issues. For instance, the vice chairman of the Sami Parliament depicts the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in his quotation (example 54):

- 54 *"Maa- ja metsätalousministeriö ei kuitenkaan huomaa, että se on ainakin 30 vuotta jäljessä kaikista muista"* (HS3)

The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry does not notice that **it is at least 30 years behind everyone else.**

In comparison, the reporter surmises (example 55) the reasons behind the actions of the Forest and Park Services

- 55 *Metsähallituskin vastustaa, totta kai, kun sen oma organisaatio ja 250 työpaikkaa on vaarassa* (HS5)

The Forest and Park Services oppose, of course, because **their own organization and 250 jobs are in danger.**

These examples also illustrate how attributive relational processes were used together with other processes.

Sami participants were described very seldom. There were only two cases, both of which were human. Example (56) is from the editorial (HS2), and it illustrates the use of an attributive process with a material process.

56 *Saamelaiset eivät olleet omistusoikeudesta piittaamattomia paimentolaisia, vaan he maksoivat kruunulle veroa omista maistaan ja vesistään.* (HS2)

The Sami have not been nomads ignorant of the ownership, but they paid their taxes for the crown of their land and waters.

Example (57) is from the news on the status of the Sami (HS3). It illustrates the use of an attributive process with an identifying relational processes.

57 *Poronhoito Ruotsissa on saamelaisten yksinoikeus, ja Havun mukaan maassa saattaa olla eräänlaisia reservaatteja joissa asumalla alkuperäisväestö on pysynytkin alkuperäisenä.* (HS3)

Reindeer herding is a privilege of the Sami in Sweden, and according to Havu there might be kind of reservations in the country, so that living there **the indigenous population has stayed indigenous.**

As the examples above illustrate, attribute processes typically consist of to *be* and an adjective. The length of the carrier varied, and there were also circumstantial elements attached to give further information, as the Angle in *Havun mukaan* (*according to Havu*) in the example above. Example (57) sheds light on the difference between two relational processes. The variety of linguistic features attached to attributive relational processes indicates that this process type was used in relation with other types. It seems, therefore, that the descriptions of events and people were done in these news together with, for example, actions and identifications.

The results of the analysis of attributive relational processes suggest that there was no dominant representation of the Sami or Finns over the others. Also, the number of these cases in the data was so small that it was hard to detect a pattern. The few attributive processes were used in a variety of ways. One observation is that these process features were used to describe actions and events construed by other process types. Given that such adjectives as *unclear* or *wrong* were used, there is some indication at least of the view that the actions were described as unsettled.

Perhaps it is also worthwhile to speculate why the number of the attribute processes was so low, particularly why explicit descriptions of Sami and Finns were missing. The Sami were characterized only twice (as 'indigenous' and as 'not nomads'), and Finns were not described at all. I find this interesting. After all, as Sami identity was often defined through the use of identifying relational process, it could have been expected that the Sami and Finns would have been described, too. Other elements used frequently in material and identifying relational processes, such as the legal system and land, were not described in the news items either. One interpretation could be that while the identification of Sami and their rights was felt to be necessary, more importance was still attached to events, facts and actions which were thus represented as more important than people involved.

7.8.4 Where, when, says who and under what circumstances: circumstantial elements used with the relational processes

Background for the relational processes presented was often given through the use circumstantial elements. Out of the 46 relational processes, 30 had circumstantial elements attached to them. Thus there were hardly any differences between the use circumstantial elements in material and relational processes: 68 % of the material ones had circumstantial elements attached in them, and 65 % of the relational ones.

Although a large range of circumstantial elements were used, the most frequent element was location (see Appendix 16). As has been shown by the examples above the location elements used pointed to temporal location, (e.g. *often, at least 30 years*) or situational location (e.g. *in Sweden, in Finland, in the Sami area*). Curiously, all but one of the location elements were used with identifying processes, which might be due to the fact that identifying or defining requires more background in news.

As with material processes, angle circumstantial elements were fairly often used with relational processes. This element gives the writer the means to give voice to participants. In these relational processes, voice was given through the use of angle, e.g. to the ministry (*ministeriön mielestä (HS3), according to the Ministry,*) an official of the ministry (*Havun mukaan (HS3) according to Havu,*) a researcher (*oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Kaisa Korpijaakon mielestä (HS3) according to the Licentiate of Laws Kaisa Korpijaakko*), and reindeer herdsman (*Poromiesten mukaan (HS6), according to the reindeer herdsman*).

Quite a number of contingencies were also used to specify the conditions under which the relational processes took place, such as *vähemmistön kohtelussa (HS 2) (in the treatment of minority), konvention tarkoittamassa mielessä (HS3) (in a sense of implied in the convention), tietyin perustein (HS3) (by certain grounds)*. Thus there was not much difference in the use and frequency between the circumstantial elements and the material and relational processes. In both types, frequent background elements were offered, which provided information about the basic journalistic questions of where, when, and says who.

7.9 Thinking and feeling in the texts

7.9.1 Pondering over situation

Mental processes are concerned with the internal world of human consciousness and with the ways in which human consciousness (i.e. processes of perception, cognition, and affection) is realized in language. Thus mental processes are concerned with thinking, sensing, feeling, perceiving and reacting. In the key texts about the Sami, 28 out of the 222 processes were mental; The frequency was low, only 12.6 %. This suggests that things, events and people were not represented by reference to the inner world of thoughts, feelings, and perception; instead, they were described in terms of concrete actions, which is typical of the news genre.

The characteristics of the mental processes used in the news varied considerably. For instance, there was no clear pattern for the use of a particular verb.

The majority of the verbs, however, related to thoughts and perceptions, such as *remind, accept, consider, notice, decide, believe*, rather than feelings (see however example 15). It seems that the feelings of the participants were not considered as newsworthy as their thoughts. This is in accordance with the practices typical of the news genre, and it may be characteristics of quality papers that they provide readers with topical and accurate information about events, not of emotions. In tabloid newspapers, instead, which may focus on celebrities and scandals, more mental processes could be expected.

The majority of the verbs describing mental processes were used in the active voice: the senser was mentioned, as shown in example (58), which is from the item reporting on the status of the Sami (HS3).

58 *Suomen saamelaiset pitävät Havun lausuntoa naurettavana* (HS3)
The Sami in Finland consider Havu's statement ridiculous.

A similar use of the active can be found in example (59), which is part of a direct quotation from what one of the reindeer herdsman who sued the Forest and Park Services (HS6) said.

59 *En usko edes nuorten alkavan osoittaa mieltään* (HS6)
I believe that not even the young people will demonstrate.

A mention of the Senser is to be expected on the basis of what Eggins (1994), for instance, argues: mental processes in principle require two participants, a human or humanized participant experiencing the inner world processes resulting from the phenomenon.

Six processes out of the 28 were in the passive voice (see Appendix 17). The clauses in the passive voice left the senser of the phenomenon unspecified, as is indicated by the following example (60) from the editorial discussing the latest research on the Sami rights (HS2).

60 *Viljelyn ohella käyttönä pidettiin myös laiduntamista, riistanpyyntiä ja kalastusta.* (HS2)
Besides farming, also pasturing, hunting and fishing were considered land use.

In principle, the senser in example (60) can be inferred from the context (see Appendix 11). In the example, the use of the past tense refers back in time, to the old days. However, to make sense of this reference back in time, the whole context need to be consulted. This in turn implies that to make sense of the functions of the individual linguistic features not only the whole context of the sentence is needed but also often that of the text and perhaps the social context as well.

The mental process verbs were mostly in the present tense, reinforcing the impression of the current moment. The past tense and the perfective aspect came up only three times each (see Appendix 16). As was pointed out earlier, the use of the present tense is typical for of texts, which, by definition, are about current affairs.

Thoughts and perceptions were reported in a fairly unhedged or unmitigated manner. In the key texts there was only one instance of a modal auxiliary, for instance. This was in a direct quotation from a statement by a regional forestry officer from the Forest and Park Services, in which he talks about their view of the land ownership issue in the Sápmi. The quotation is from the items reporting on

the meeting about the new Sami bill (HS5):

- 61 *“Parempi vaihtoehto olisi kehittää hoitoaluetta todellisena luonnonhoitoalueena, jossa eri väestöryhmien edut voidaan todella ottaa huomioon” (HS5)*

A better alternative would be to develop the district as a real nature reserve, where the interests of different groups of population can be really taken into account.

There was only one use of the conditional. It occurred in the first paragraph of the new item reporting on the status of the Sami (HS3).

- 62 *Joulukuussa ministeriössä määritellyllä kannanotolla yritetään torjua ILO:n, YK:n kansainvälisen työjärjestön tuore yleissopimus, jonka hyväksyminen merkitsisi saamelaisten paikallisdemokratiaa ja heidän kulttuurinsa turvaamista. (HS3)*

In December, an attempt will be made to ban the recent convention ILO, the international labour organization of UN, by means of a statement given by the Ministry, who approval **would mean** local democracy and ensurance of their culture for the Sami.

As was discussed above, in a typical mental process the participant roles are those of the senser and the phenomenon and, characteristically, the senser is either human or a humanized entity. To study the senser roles, a distinction was made between the Sami, Finns, and the other in the similar manner as above. However, as with attributive relational processes, it was not seen meaningful to classify the phenomena sensed (i.e. what was felt or thought) into these categories. This is because many of the phenomena were found to be relatively long clauses where they were accompanied by other process types as in example (63).

- 63 *Korpijaakko väitteli viime syksynä saamelaisten maanomistusoikeudesta ja tuli siihen tulokseen, että saamelaiset ovat omistaneet maansa myös nykyaikaisen omistusoikeuden tarkoittamassa mielessä (HS3).*

Korpijaakko defended her doctoral dissertation last autumn on the land rights of the Sami and came to the conclusion that the Sami have owned their land also in the sense of the contemporary proprietary right

Furthermore, in some cases, classification into categories would not have been meaningful as, for example, in (64).

- 64 *Aikion mielestä näin äärimmilleen vietyyn tulkintaan ei ole kuitenkaan välttämättä mentävä (HS3)*

According to Aikio, **such an extreme interpretation** is not necessary to reach.

Instead, the classification into three categories worked with the senser role, as is illustrated by Figure 18.

The 18 sensors were comprised of a variety of participants. Both Sami and Finnish participants were in the senser role in almost an equal number of cases. An interesting difference between them was, however, that whereas the Finnish participants were both non-human and human, the Sami participants were typically human. In addition, while the human Sami *regards, considers, learns, does not believe*, the non-human Finn *accepts, does not notice, responds, decides, takes into account* and the human Finn *considers, fears, surmises and comes to a conclusion*. Thus the processes of feeling, thinking, and perceiving were described characteristical-

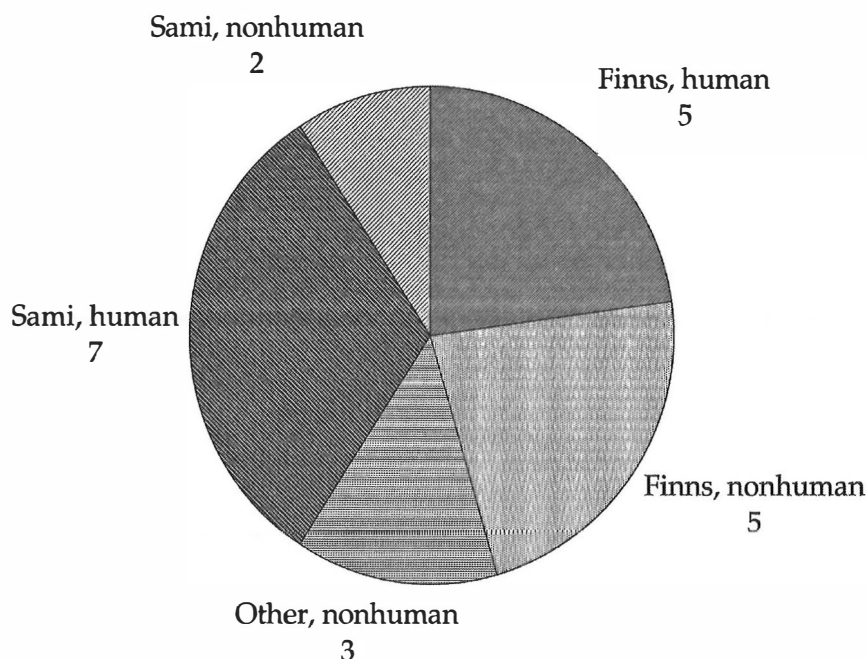


FIGURE 18 Distribution of senger roles (n=22).

ly through human participants when the Sami were talked about but this was the case only a few times with Finnish participants. Instead, a number of majority non-human participants were described as undergoing mental processes.

When the human Sami were in the senger role, they were referred to as a group, or in quotations, such as in example (64) above, they were identified by name. Many of the non-human Finnish participants were different ministries, notably the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, as example (65), which is from a quotation where the Vice Chairman of the Sami Parliament speaks about the news on the status of the Sami (HS3).

65 *Ministeriö ei kuitenkaan huomaa, että se on ainakin 30 vuotta jäljessä kaikista muista (HS3)*

The ministry does not notice, however, that it is at least 30 years behind everyone else.

Consequently, the officials responsible for, or concerned with, the rights of the Sami were constructed as human-like participants undergoing cognitive processes. It can be argued, of course, as was done earlier in this thesis, that behind a ministry or a committee there always are human participants, but the point here is that they were not mentioned. A ministry or a committee as such is not a human entity. Thus, in the same way as with the use of the passive, the majority of mental processes are institutions rather than through actual persons working in the official contexts. The human Finnish participants were individuals mentioned in relation to a specific topic. In the next example from the item reporting on the status of the Sami, a researcher is in a senger role.

- 66 *Korpijaakko väitteli viime syksynä saamelaisten maanomistusoikeudesta ja tuli siihen tulokseen, että saamelaiset ovat omistaneet maansa myös nykyaikaisen omistusoikeuden tarkoittamassa mielessä. (HS3)*

Korpijaakko defended her doctoral thesis last autumn on the rights of the Sami to land and came to the conclusion that the Sami have owned their land also in the sense of contemporary proprietary right.

What is different from the other process types discussed so far is that the distribution of the senser roles between the Sami and the majority was almost equal: like the majority, also the Sami were given a more 'active' role as the senser in mental processes.

It is quite unexpected that perceptions, feelings, and thoughts of local Finns were not expressed in the key texts. This group was referred to only three times, and all of these were in the item reporting on the public meeting (HS5). Example (67) is the first sentence of the lead, and the example (68) comes from the third paragraph of the item, where the reactions of the audience to the new Sami bill are reported.

- 67 *Jos lapin lantalaisväestö saa päättää, Suomi ei ikinä saa toimivaa saamelaislakia (HS5)*

If the lantalainen-population of the Lapland may decide, Finland will never get a functioning Sami bill

- 68 *Isoäiti vastustaa, kun aavistelee, ettei hänen yhdeksänvuotias pojanpoikansa kenties pääsekään toivomuksensa mukaan kalastajan ammattiin Inarin järvelle. Metsämies vastustaa, kullankaivaja epäilee. . . (HS5)*

A grandmother opposes since **she** fears, that her nine-year old grandson will not be able to get the profession of fisherman to the Lake Inari according to his wish. The hunter opposes, the **gold digger** surmises. . .

It could have been expected that the feelings and thoughts of local Finns would have been reported more frequently since, after all, the debate over the land rights and, ultimately, about the definition of the Sami was very intense between local Finns and Sami. Thus it could have been expected that perceptions, thoughts, and feelings of both sides would have interested both the journalists and readers. The lack of this angle in the Sami texts implies a number of things. The results of the present analysis lend support to the claim that there exists a close relationship between journalists and officials as has been established in previous research (see Chapter 4). In these particular items this seems to be manifested by being focused on officials and administrative and legal matters. Moreover, the fact that there was no reporting about the ethnic tension in Finland may be an indications of an unawareness, ignorance even, of the relations between the ethnic groups in the Sápmi.

The second participant in mental processes, i.e. phenomenon, can be any kind of entity, and grammatically it may have various forms. The phenomena sensed of or thought about were, for instance, *konventio* 'a convention', *kanta* 'a statement', *poronhoidon tarpeet* 'needs of reindeer herding', but mostly a state of affairs or an event, expressed in subordinate clauses. Out of the 28 phenomena, 15 were expressed in subordinate clauses. This suggests at least two things. A phenomenon can indeed be a variety of things, both contentwise as well as grammatically, but rather than sensing about, thinking about, or perceiving the Sami or any other specific group

or issues, the sensors were pondering the situation represented in the news. Perhaps the nature of the news orients journalists towards the situation rather than the participants. However, a result of this kind of representation is that instead of setting up a relationship between the Sami and Finns in terms of what the one is thinking or feeling about the other, the relation is constructed between rather abstract and non-human entities. This may be again attributed to the conventions of hard news (see Chapter 4).

7.9.2 How and in what circumstances: circumstantial elements used with mental processes

Not much background was given to the mental processes in the texts about the Sami. There were only a total of 11 circumstantial elements used in them. The most frequent was manner, which expressed the way in which the perception or thinking was done. For instance, in example (69) from the item dealing with the status of the Sami, the manner *lämpimästi* 'warmly' is used to specify the way ministries other than the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry had reacted to the ILO convention.

69 *Muut ministeriöt ovat ottaneet yleissopimuksen lämpimästi vastaan.* (HS3)
Other ministries have reacted warmly to the convention.

To find circumstantial elements of manner in mental processes is not at all unexpected: as Shore (1994) points out this is typical of mental processes in Finnish. Location (*vetoomuksessa, in the appeal* (HS1) *Ivalossa, in Ivalo* (HS5), Angle (*maa- ja metsätalousministeriön mielestä, according to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry* (HS3) *Aikion mielestä, According to Aikio* (HS3), and Contingency (*viljelyn ohella, besides farming* (HS2), *alueen hakkuista suunnitellessaan, when planning the loggings* (HS6) were each used twice (see Appendix 16) in the news, giving background information about place and time, conditions of the processes, and angle of the speaker.

As was found out of the use of circumstantial elements with material and relational processes above, most of the nine circumstantial elements were those of location, angle, and manner. At this point, the most likely explanation related, in my opinion, to the news genre. Basically, news is supposed to answer the questions of what, who, where, when, and why, and the location, manner, and angle partly provide answers to these questions.

7.10 Saying and writing in the texts

7.10.1 Finnish officials and experts expressing their opinions

Verbal processes are a subtype of mental processes and they share many features with them including grammatical ones. Instead of *feeling, sensing* and *perceiving*, verbal processes are constructed as verbal actions, such as *saying, telling*, and *asking*. In addition to different modes of saying, these processes also include semiotic processes that are not necessarily verbal, such as to *indicate* or *show*.

Because news are about reporting events, people's opinions, and states of affairs, it could be expected that verbal processes would frequently be used in texts. In the texts about the Sami, however, only 15 % of all the processes were verbal. The frequency is not high and implies that rather than using reporting verbs to express actions, opinions, and facts, they were represented through other processes.

Verbal processes involve rather typical reporting or commenting verbs, such as *suggest*, *deny*, *say*, *argue*, *explain*, *answer*, *ask*, and *tell*. Semiotic verbal verbs were not used in these items. Quite a number of the verbs used were in the passive voice, a total of 10 out of 24 (see Appendix 16). Examples (70) and (71) which are both from the item reporting on the public meeting, illustrate the use of verbal processes in the active and passive voice.

70 *Siksi, vastasi saamelaisvaltuuskunnan sihteeri Heikki J. Hyvärinen, että se maksaa.* (HS5)
Because, **replied** secretary of the Sami Parliament Heikki J. Hyvärinen, it costs.

71 *Ei auttanut, vaikka täpötäydelle valtuustosalilliselle kerran toisensa jälkeen selitettiin esityksen lähtökohdat. . .* (HS5)

It didn't help although the starting point of the proposal **was explained** over and over again to the people who crowded in the Council Room: . . .

Example (70) is a direct quotation, and it is represented in the text with a help of a verbal process in the active voice. On the whole, verbal processes with a verb in the active voice were often quotations from individuals. Instead, many passivized expressions were related to the legal system and the rights discussion. What happens is that the sayer of the clause is backgrounded, for instance who does the explaining in example (71). Although the person can be inferred from the context, it is still interesting that in such a 'human' activity as a verbal process, the actual sayer is backgrounded. It is possible that the journalist wanted to have some variation in the text, or wanted to foreground what happened rather than the who spoke.

In contrast to other process types, verbal processes were used in all four Finnish tenses. Out of 34 verbs, 16 were in the present tense, 12 in imperfect, (i.e. in English past tense), 5 in perfect, (i.e. in English present perfect) and one in pluperfect, (i.e. in English past perfect) (see Appendix 16). Relatively speaking, the past tense was used more with verbal processes than with the other process types. This means that the verbal processes were located at various points on the temporal continuum.

With the verbal processes, expressions of modality were not common. Among 24 processes, there was only one use of modality to express obligation (. . . *kun erilaaiset luvat joudutaan nyt pyytämään metsähallitukselta. . .*, (HS5) *while different kinds of permission are now to be asked from the Forest and Park Services. . .*).

As was discussed in Chapter 3, getting access to the news through quotation is valued. The 'sayer' role of verbal processes can be seen as a linguistic counterpart to quotations. After all, it is through the use of verbal processes that saying is manifested in texts. Therefore it is interesting to look more closely at who was given the sayer role in the key news. As with the other process types, I will classify the participants into three categories of the Sami, Finns, and other and each of them into human and non-human. Figure 19 illustrates the findings.

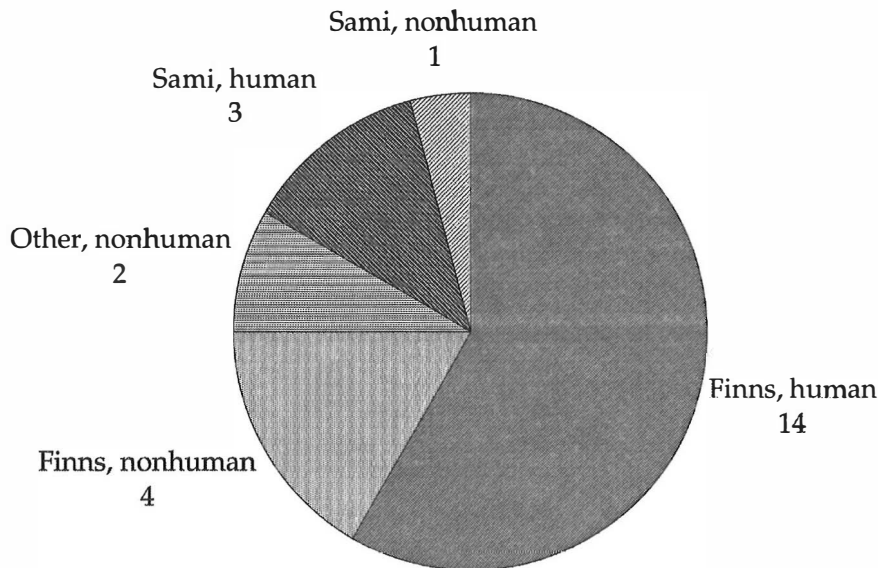


FIGURE 19 Distribution of the sayer roles (n=24).

Consonant with the findings of quotation patterns as discussed in Chapter 6, it was the majority members who were mostly given the sayer participant role. As Figure 19 illustrates, out of the 24 sayers, only 4 were Sami, and two others. This means that in the texts about the Sami, Finns were predominantly given voice. Thus the majority members were, also in this case, given the most prominent, active and valuable participant role - of the one who *says, expresses, comments, asks, suggests, replies, argues, tells, states,* etc. In contrast to the other processes types, the participants were predominantly human: the typical sayer was *a researcher, a head of department, a regional forest officer, a governor, a ministerial counsellor of Internal affairs, a doctor of laws.* The following examples illustrate typical verbal processes. Example (72) is from the news report dealing with the status of the Sami (HS3), and examples (73) and (74) from the news item reporting on the law suit (HS6).

72 *Toimistopäällikkö Havu kiistää Suomen saamelaisten alkuperäisväestön luonteen, mutta sanoo pitävänsä mahdollisena, että Ruotsin saamelaiset ovat alkuperäiskansaa konvention tarkoittamassa mielessä. (HS3)*

Head of department Havu denies the indigenous nature of the Sami in Finland but **says** that it is possible that the Sami in Sweden are indigenous people in the sense of the convention.

73 *"Se olisi avannut aivan uusia näkökulmia maankäytön ongelmiin" toteaa metsähallituksen aluejohtaja Pertti Veijola. (HS6)*

"It would have opened totally new perspectives to the problems of use of land", **says the regional forest officer of the Forest and Park Services Pertti Veijola.**

74 *Poromiehiä edustava oikeustieteen tohtori Martin Scheinin toteaa ettei kihlakunnanoikeuden päätöksellä ole ennakkopäätöksen arvoa. (HS6)*

Doctor Martin Scheinin, the attorney of the reindeer herdsman, states that the decision of the regional court does not have the value of precedent.

As these examples show, the sayers were typically various officials and experts. It seems that also a typical pattern of access in the key texts was through voice being given to official representatives and experts. The other party of the news event, i.e. the Sami themselves, was hardly voiced at all. The Sami were quoted only twice in the key texts: once in the news report about the information event (HS5), and the second time in the item reporting about the law suit. In the latter case, one of the reindeer herdsman who had originally sued the Forest and Park Services commented on the negative result (HS6). This is illustrated in example (75).

75 "Todennäköisesti valitamme päätöksestä eteenpäin. Tarvittaessa viemme asian vaikka kansainväliseen oikeuteen", sanoo **Jouni A. Länsman, yksi kanteen tehneistä poromiehistä.** (HS6)

"It is likely we will lodge an appeal. If necessary, we will take the matter even to the international court", says **Jouni A. Länsman, one of the reindeer herdsman who filed the suit.**

Verbal actions related to the Sami were described twice (*Järjestöt viittaavat vetoomuksessaan mm. . .* (HS1) *the (Sami) organizations refer, in their appeal, among others, to. . .*, *Angelilaiset poromiehet olivat kanteessaan pyytäneet tuomioistuinta vahvistamaan heidän oikeutensa. . .* (HS6) *The reindeer herdsman from Angel had asked in their suit that the court should reinforce their right to. . .*). Favouring majority members in sayer roles reinforces the majority point of view in the texts about the Sami: obviously the participant given the sayer participant role is also the one who gets access to the news to say her or his opinion.

What was also lacking is the voice of local Finns or Finnish citizens on the whole. They were given the sayer role only three times, but even then as a whole group, as the examples below illustrate:

76 **Lapin lantalaisväki** sätti saamelaislakia
The Lantalainen-population of Lapland reprimanded the Sami bill.

77 "Ja varmaan ei lapinkylä anna sitä lupaa "yleisö manasi "eikö tämä ole väärin?".

"And it is for sure the Sami village won't give that permission" cursed **the audience** "Isn't this wrong"

78 Miksi yleensä tarvitaan saamelaislaki, miksi asiaa ei viedä tuomioistuimeen, **kyseli yleisö.**

Why, to begin with, the Sami bill is needed, why the issue is not taken to court, asked the audience.

All the examples are from the item reporting on the information event organized by the Sami Parliament about the new draft Sami bill (HS5). Example (76) is the headline of the news report and the verbal process of reprimanding is used there to describe the reaction of the local Finns towards the Sami bill. In the next two examples, local Finns are referred to as the audience of the events and quoted both directly and indirectly. The use of the term 'audience' together with a quotation is interesting. There is actually no one quoted or interviewed, but rather it is the journalist's choice of style to write about the reactions of the audience in this fashion. Consequently, the journalist avoids the responsibility of actually making someone say this in his or her report. This may be interpreted as a powerful rhetorical strategy: it gives an impression of someone actually saying this but leaving the

actual personality open, which gives, in a sense, allows more room for journalist in her writing. To put some rather critical words into mouth of the 'audience' may also be a means of emphasizing the antagonism between the two sides. The representation that this use of verbal processes constructs for local Finns is that of an unhappy and dissatisfied group of people.

As with attributive relational processes and mental processes, also the verbiage of the verbal processes varied so much that it would have been useless to classify them into different categories. Various entities were given a verbiage participant role. Many verbiage elements related, again, to the Finnish establishment, particularly to the legal system, but quite a few of them were also linked with the Sami, such as the Sami bill, the Sami rights, reindeer herding, etc. Typically, however, verbiage elements were short quotations or sentences, as in the examples above, expressing the content of the verbiage. They often included other process types, too. This indicates that verbal processes were used as a means to present other activities.

7.10.2 How, where, and about what: circumstantial elements used with verbal processes

Many verbal processes were given background through the use of circumstantial elements ($n=17$). Actually, half of the verbal processes included circumstantial elements. There was no clear pattern of one type of circumstantial elements being used over others. Instead, they varied. The most frequent one was manner. As with mental processes, the expressions of manner were typically used with verbal processes to describe the way the saying was done, such as *toisin* 'differently' (HS5) and *vilpittömästi* 'sincerely' (HS5). Other circumstantial elements, such as location (*vetoomuksessa, in the appeal* HS1), matter (*esitys ehdotuksesta, about the proposal*, HS4) angle (*ministeriön mukaan, according to the Ministry*, HS3) contingency (*paljojen puheiden jälkeenkin, even after lot of talk*, HS5) and accompaniment (*ihmisoikeussopimuksella, with the treaty of human rights*, HS4) were used a few times each thus offering background of place, time, purpose, conditions, etc. The small number of verbal processes used in the texts does not give grounds for definite conclusions, but it is nonetheless interesting to notice the variety of circumstantial elements used with verbal processes. Verbal processes are perhaps more open for various grammatical elements, or maybe they take place in a variety of backgrounds.

7.11 Characteristics of the Sami coverage in Helsingin Sanomat

The findings of the analysis on the representation of the Sami in the coverage suggest that, above all, what was characteristic for the coverage was the lack of texts reports on the Sami. On the average only 5.6 items were published per year studied. This is in the line with the previous research on coverage on ethnic minorities (see e.g. Campbell 1995, Rekola 1995, van Dijk 1991) and the findings about coverage of other ethnic minorities in Finland (see Chapter 6). In contrast to many other minorities, there were less obstacles for news access for the Sami: they are Finnish speakers and they have their own parliament and PR-services. Also, a great deal

happened during the years studied in terms of politics, cultural issues, and legislation, which also had an effect on local Finns and on the state of Finland. Consequently, the explanations often used by journalists such as language problems, availability, and newsworthiness to the greater audience do not seem to apply to the Sami. Instead, the findings suggest that the leading Finnish daily was not that interested in the political and cultural struggle of the indigenous people of Finland.

The speciality of the Sami among other minorities in Finland was manifested in the topics covered by *Helsingin Sanomat*. Typically the mainstream coverage on ethnic minorities focuses on topics such as immigration, crime, and number of foreigners (see e.g. Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991). Also the coverage on ethnic minorities dealt mostly with topics of immigration to Finland, residence permit decisions and number of foreigners. In contrast to this, the few items about the Sami were mostly about their culture, and human rights issues, particularly those related to indigenous people and to Finnish law.

These topics may be interpreted to draw on two discourses present in these news. The '*indigenous Sami*' discourse represented the Sami and issues related to them from a point of view of their unique status and rights as indigenous people, secured by UN conventions and partly by Finnish legislation. The Sami were represented through their indigenous status and culture, and the Finns were represented by the state, which, in principle, was favourable for protecting minority rights. The '*contested Sami identity*' discourse focused on the conflicting interests of the parties involved to Sami rights, particularly that of land owning. This discourse represented the Sami as non-indigenous and as 'Lapps'. The Finns were represented either as upset local people or through the Finnish establishment, particularly the Forest and Park Services and the juridical system.

The voice of the Sami was marginal in the texts about themselves. Similar to mainstream coverage on ethnic minorities (see e.g. van Dijk 1991, Rekola 1995, and Chapter 6) majority members were quoted far more often than the Sami - twice as much. This suggests that news makers did not meet the criteria of balanced and impartial news coverage in the case of the Sami. Regardless of the common language and availability, the results show that the Sami were not quoted even half as often as majority members. Without any obvious reason, one can only guess why quotations of the Sami were so few - was it that they were not considered important and trustworthy enough?

Interestingly, the examination of the use of language showed more heterogeneity in the representations of the Sami and Finns. At the level of lexicalization relating to the people living in the Sami domicile area, the news discourse illustrated a rich variety of alternative wordings of the Sami, giving some indication of the negotiation and struggle over Sami identity. The Sami were labelled besides 'sami', also as *indigenous people*, *Lapps*, *minority*, *tribe*, *natives*, *reindeer farmers*, *a group of Northern people*, and *nomads*. Each label evokes, in fact, a different representation of the Sami. This implies that Sami identity was changing. Finns were most often referred to as Finns, but also as *lantalainen* (*Lantalainen-population*, *non-Sami*), *Finnish majority*, *local population*, *Finnish farmers*, *the majority population*, etc. In these labels, the 'usness' is marked either through Finnishness or through the majority position. In labelling both groups, ethnic difference is marked. Furthermore, no label which would have included both groups, such as *citizens*, was used. This

may lend support to the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2: when the identity of one group is marked, the boundary to 'others' is established simultaneously.

At the clause level, the representations of the Sami and Finns were characteristically bi-polar: the Finnish establishment in power was frequently represented as the one who were actively *doing, making, classifying, describing, thinking, perceiving* and *saying*, whereas the Sami were the participants frequently *affected, categorized, and described*. The official, non-human Finnish establishment was represented as being *busy in rights making, identifying and describing Sami identity, pondering over the Sami situation*, particularly the land owning, and *expressing its opinions*. The Sami, by and large, were represented as participants who were the object of doing, whose basis of identity was under dispute or negotiations and who were described frequently as indigenous, and for a few times, as nomads, natives and a tribe. This pattern of representations of the Sami and Finns in the news may be interpreted as an example of construction of difference between ethnic groups within representation (for details, see Chapter 2). The difference between the Other, i.e. the Sami, and Us, i.e. Finns, is linguistically constructed by giving the Sami less valued and less powerful linguistic roles and by representing them in this way as subordinate, affected by the majority.

However, besides this frequent representation of the Sami, they were also, at times, represented as a politically active, homogenous group fighting for their rights. In this representation, Finnish participants, particularly different officials, were portrayed as an opponent to the goals of the Sami. This seems to be in line with the theoretical claims presented by, e.g., Hall (1997) or Fairclough (1995b) who both argue that no representation or discourse of one particular issue or group of people is totally homogeneous. There are always other kinds of representations, although they may be marginalized.

Notably, ethnic Finnish citizens or local Finns in the Sápmi were seldom portrayed in the news. Thus the passion and extent of the opposition of local Finns was almost left unreported. The tension, if reported at all, was constructed between the Sami and the system. When local Finns were reported on, they were represented as a worried, upset and antagonistic group of people.

Many of the linguistic features, such as frequent use of material processes, active voice, present tense, location, angle, and manner circumstances seem to have been a function of the news genre too. The aim of the present study was not to study the news genre and news language as such. More research is needed to examine the relations between these two.

8 DISCUSSION

8.1 Discourses of differentiation

In this study, I have examined how the difference between the ethnic minority and the majority was discursively constructed in newspaper articles reports by analysing coverage of ethnic minorities in *Helsingin Sanomat* during a period of nine years. Building on previous research on difference and identity, coverage of ethnic minorities, underlying news making practices, and the role of discourse and language in the process of construction and in news, an analytical framework was proposed which sought to capture aspects of ethnic difference, news discourse, and discursive and linguistic construction at social, discursive and linguistic levels. Four types of analyses were carried out to study the coverage of ethnic minorities by *Helsingin Sanomat* in terms of 1) topics, quotations, and participants, 2) discourses drawn on, 3) lexicalization of participants, and 4) transitivity features of key texts. Through these analyses I attempted to identify the ways in which ethnic difference was discursively constructed in the newspaper texts.

The results of these analyses were presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Below, I will discuss some of the findings, limitations and implications of the present study. Since one of the points of departure for the present study was critical discourse analysis, I will attempt to link linguistic, discursive and social aspects of the coverage. I start by describing the overall characteristics of the coverage, linguistic features of the Sami texts and the discourses of differentiation.

8.1.1 On the fringe

Marginalization of ethnic minorities and issues related to them characterize the coverage on ethnic issues in *Helsingin Sanomat* during the period studied. In terms of quantity, the analysis of 1,189 news items, editorials, articles and columns revealed that the leading Finnish daily published on average less than one item about ethnic minority issues per copy. Among dozens of items published daily, this figure can be considered low. The finding correlates with the results of previous research elsewhere (Brookes 1995, Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991). Although possible language problems, safety issues, or difficulties in reachability may partly explain

the low number of items published about ethnic minorities, they do not explain all of it. A more probable reason is that ethnic minorities and their issues were not considered particularly newsworthy.

The most frequently covered topics were *Residence permit decision*, *Number of foreigners* and *Immigration to Finland*. These topics have in common the focus on the changing Finnish ethnic scene from a majority point of view. Discourses often drawn on in the items about these topics, namely those of 'Genuine or False newcomer', 'Statistics' and 'Nearing change', represented ethnic minorities and the Finns as different - even opposite - to each other. Ethnic minorities were portrayed through a dichotomy of 'honest or dishonest', in terms of their number and as a source of trouble and disturbance. Finns, in turn, were represented, on the one hand, as affected by these changes and sometimes even as victims. On the other hand, Finns were also represented as those in power, called upon to make decisions by themselves without a need to discuss or negotiate with, say, members of ethnic minorities or with other countries. This was materialized particularly in items dealing with frequently covered topics of *Finnish alien law* and *Finnish refugee policy*, featured often by discourses of 'Legislation' and 'Pressing opinions'.

Construction of ethnic difference between Finns and ethnic minorities was further marked by frequent coverage of *Crime* - an observation familiar from previous studies (Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991) and *Discrimination and racism*. A common factor to the topics is that they represent a potential source of disturbance or conflict in the seemingly ethnically stable Finland. Items about these topics often draw on discourse of 'Troubles', which represents increasing multiculturalism in Finland in terms of disturbances.

Similarly to previous research results (Brookes 1995, Butterwegge 1996, Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991), *Helsingin Sanomat* seldom covered aspects of everyday life among minorities, such as education, housing, and employment. Topics that were seldom reported were also those that were bound to raise criticism of Finland's policy or practices. The findings of the study showed that topics that would have had prominence from the minority point of view or that were critical of ethnic and immigration practices in Finland were not reported about. Instead, minorities were represented through Finns, their concerns and priorities.

Also the findings on reporting order give support to the conclusions discussed above. Typical *Helsingin Sanomat* articles about ethnic minorities started with the topic about immigration to Finland; it was followed by a discussion whether the newcomers were allowed to stay, and how many of them there were. Again, ethnic difference is marked by representing ethnic minorities as people coming and bringing along a change, and Finns as those who have the power to decide, on the one hand, and who are affected by the newcomers, on the other hand.

Majority views and interests were further emphasized by frequent mentions of the majority, foregrounding them in terms of reporting order and quoting them far more frequently than minority members. This suggests that journalists considered majority members more relevant participants in ethnic issues and mainly turned to majority members for comments and opinions. This supports previous arguments concerning the imbalanced and unfair treatment of ethnic minorities in news in terms of access (Brookes 1995, Hartman and Husband 1974, Troyna 1981, van Dijk 1991). In the *Helsingin Sanomat* members of ethnic minorities were left in

a marginal position. Consequently, the news values of impartiality and equal treatment of all parties involved did not materialize in the coverage of ethnic and immigration issues.

The findings indicated an interesting development of topics and coverage during the nine years studied. This was a period of change in Finland, a move from a country of emigration to a country of immigration which resulted in profound changes at all levels of society. The coverage in *Helsingin Sanomat* serves as an illustration of how people and institutions reacted to it and how they saw the changes. During the first few years, the news discourse represented a fairly unanimous consensus that the increasing number of refugees in the world was not a concern of 'ours'. Clearly more heterogeneous coverage was typical for the years 1989-1991: a 'flood of foreigners' found its way into news together with issues of discrimination and racism and the political activity of the Sami. However, during the last years studied homogeneity increased again, and particularly newsworthy topics in the case of ethnic minority news were associated with crime and welfare. In this way, in a rather short period of time, nine years, *Helsingin Sanomat* had ended up dominantly representing ethnic minorities as a potential source of problems. This is a portrayal of ethnic minorities frequently found in studies of news media in different countries (Allan 1999, Brookes 1995, Buttervegge 1997, Löwander 1997, Teo 2000, van Dijk 1991).

In many respects, the findings about the Sami were similar to the results of the overall coverage on ethnic issues in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Just like other minorities, also Sami and issues related to them were seldom covered. During the nine years under study, only a handful of items per year on Sami were published. Since the regular explanations, such as language problems, safety issues, or availability, do not apply in the case of the Sami, the possible reasons might be found in news making practices. The Sami do not seem to have been considered newsworthy, i.e. relevant, important and interesting enough for the readers of *Helsingin Sanomat*, even though a great deal happened politically, legally and culturally in relation to the Sami and their issues.

In contrast to the overall coverage, the articles about the Sami focused mainly on minority culture and human rights issues. The topics included two rather opposite pairs of representations of the Sami and Finns. On the one hand, the Sami were represented as *indigenous people with specific rights secured by international conventions*. When the Sami were represented as indigenous people, Finns were seen as *supporters and givers of rights*. On the other hand, the Sami were also represented as *non-indigenous people* and in this case they were not seen as entitled to the rights of indigenous people, primarily land owning. Embedded in this particular Sami representation was a portrayal of Finns as *limitators and deniers of the rights* of the Sami. The former was typical for articles dealing with human rights and minority culture at the international and fairly abstract level, while the latter was typical for the articles about actual decisions and disputes, particularly as concerns the land rights. The articles about the Sami illustrates well, in my opinion, how the news publicity can be diverse in one particular issue.

Also in the articles about the Sami the difference between the ethnic minority and the majority was manifested in terms of access to the news. The Sami were mentioned and quoted far less frequently than Finns, although more often than minority members on the average in the whole coverage. This seems to suggest

that journalists did not find the Sami interesting, important, and trustworthy enough.

In brief, shortage of coverage, emphasis on majority interests, and a restricted access to news as compared to the majority all applied both to the articles about the Sami and to the articles about other ethnic minorities. The specificity of the Sami was manifested in the topics in that the Sami articles characteristically focused on Sami culture and Sami rights, whereas the articles about other ethnic minorities typically dealt with refugee and immigration issues. Regardless of the minority, the news-making practices seem to have been the same, resulting in a similar pattern in terms of quotations and participants, but the topics covered varied per ethnic group.

Although the findings of this study do not offer explanations for the marginalization of ethnic minorities in the news about them, some possible reasons can be speculated. As was mentioned before, language problems and safety issues may explain partly why some ethnic minorities are not in the news or do not want news publicity. Another reason might be that few ethnic minority groups are able to offer PR services, and that may partly explain why news makers do not know about issues related or the journalists, in the time available, do not find individuals for comments. However, these are, in my opinion, minor obstacles, problems that journalists overcome on a daily basis for news about different groups of people or different news sectors, such as economy, foreign news, etc. Also the shortage of the coverage of the Sami, to whom the limitations mentioned above do not really apply, gives an indication that the main reasons lie elsewhere. One such reason might be what could be called invisibility of ethnic minorities: they are not considered part of the society or alternatively not an important part of the society in terms of the criteria of news making, i.e. important decision makers, consumers, opinion makers, etc. Consequently, they are not made news about. Although this kind of invisibility in news may also apply to many other groups of people, the very position of ethnic minorities means that they are not represented anywhere else any better. Thus their position is vulnerable, and at the same time the media publicity is even more important for them.

From the point of view of ethnic minorities, the difficulty to gain media attention, particularly on issues they considered important, can be harmful: after all, news and media are important places of presenting of opinions and they contribute to the representations of self, the group and the nation as a whole. In the words of Phillips (1995:14), “. . .the media is a place where the nation invents itself, if you are not there, you don't exist”. In the society represented in the articles of *Helsingin Sanomat*, ethnic minorities barely existed.

8.1.2 (Em)powering language

At the linguistic level of the news discourse, the ethnic difference was constructed in multiple ways. The analysis of lexicalization of the people living in the Sami domicile area in the articles about Sami indicated that the ethnic boundary between Finns and the Sami was marked rather than challenged, mitigated, or blurred. There was no label, such as *citizens*, that could have been used for both groups living in the Sápmi together.

Instead, the lexicalization constructed two frequent representations of the

Sami, both separate from Finns. The Sami were frequently referred to as the *Sami*, which is a Sami language word and preferred by the majority of the Sami. This term is an essential part of the '*Indigenous Sami*' discourse which represents them as indigenous people with their own valuable culture and identity. However, although less frequently, also terms such as *Lapps*, *natives*, *a tribe*, and *nomads* were used, and these terms may be connected with the '*Contested Sami identity*' discourse, which challenges the indigenous status of the Sami and consequently, the rights that such a status entails. Ethnic Finns were mainly referred to as *Finns*, and only a few times represented through farming or reindeer herding. The majority members were represented without much description, challenge, or change. This may be an indication of an unchallenged naturalized identity, whereas in the two rather antithetical representations of the Sami the struggle over the criteria of Saminess was manifested. It is interesting, however, that the blurring and challenges of the ethnic boundary between ethnic Finns and the Sami that have taken place through the legal dispute, for instance, were not manifested in the way in which the references to the two groups were lexicalized.

At the clause level, a frequent representation of the Sami and Finns centred on the Sami rights, which were *applied*, *given*, *denied*, *found out*, *secured*, *protected*, *rejected*, etc. The Sami rights were represented as a *unsettled* issue, which was *struggled for* and *over*. This representation of the Sami rights entailed a juxtaposition of Finns and the Sami. The inanimate, faceless representatives of the Finnish establishment, such as the state, various ministries, boards, or committees were frequently represented as *doing*, *changing*, and challenging these rights. The Sami were represented as *affected* by the actions of the majority. The representation of the relation between the ethnic minority and majority as one of *power imbalance* and *subordination* is familiar from previous studies on news discourse on ethnic minorities (e.g. Brookes 1995, van Dijk 1991), and it can be seen to contribute to the socio-political position of the Sami as a minority whose rights and position are controlled by the Finnish establishment. In this way, the linguistic representation of the Sami and Finns in the articles can be said to contribute to the construction of difference and ethnic boundary between the two groups.

Although less frequently, the Sami were also represented as a homogeneous and unanimous group fighting for their rights. This kind of representation of the Sami in the texts seems to confirm the claims that discourse or news media do not function uni-dimensionally towards ethnic minorities (Hall 1997a, 1997b, Husband 1994). Also Fairclough's (1992a) argument concerning the discursive side of hegemonic struggle in terms of the articulation, disarticulation, and rearticulation of elements seems to be applicable to the present material: in *Helsingin Sanomat* different representations of the Sami coexist, out of which the dominant one portrayed the Sami as those affected and done to. The fact that different, even antithetical, representations of the Sami were found may be considered a linguistic indication of a struggle over Sami identity.

By dominantly representing the Sami and issues related to them through material processes, i.e. through actions, doings, events and happenings, the texts represented the Sami and Sami issues in a way that implied that they were undergoing a change and transformation, and were effected. An alternative could have been, for instance, to represent these issues as facts, states of affairs, or through the feelings, thoughts, perceptions, and sayings of participants. Examples of such

representations could have included expressions to the effect that, for instance, the Sami are entitled to their rights or the rights of the Sami as indigenous people are not met. Had the Sami been given more voice, perhaps the latter type of representation would have been more common. Although the fact that the texts analyzed were texts may, at least partly, explain why material processes were preferred, it does not alter the way how the Sami were frequently represented at the clausal level of the texts.

This representation of the Sami rights coincides with their socio-political situation at the time. This finding is also consistent with the conclusions often made in CDA (e.g. Fairclough 1992a, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Fowler 1996, Kress 1996), that social changes, conditions, and struggles are manifested also at the textual level and, conversely, what happens at the textual level contributes to the identities and phenomena in question.

8.1.3 Making difference

In sum, ethnic difference was constructed in multiple ways in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Regardless of whether it was done by choice of label, distributions of grammatical roles, topics covered, or comments asked, it was common to all that they marked ethnic difference, emphasized the majority perspective, and contributed to the construction of ethnic minorities as Them as compared to Finns as Us. Table 16 illustrates the ways in which the difference between the ethnic minority and the majority was constructed in the texts in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

TABLE 16 Construction of ethnic difference in news discourse.

Minority	Majority
Invisible	Covered
Voiceless	Voiced
Backgrounded	Foregrounded
Marginalized	Emphasized
Done to	Doers
Source of change	Affected, but taking actions
Homogeneous group	Homogeneous establishment

It is important to notice that the construction of ethnic difference between the Sami and Finns, on the one hand, and between ethnic minorities and Finns, on the other, draw on issues of ethnicity, and not on issues of 'race'. In other words, indicators of ethnicity, such as different languages, ways of living, history, geographical territory, religion, and socio-political position were mentioned in the news about ethnic minorities, and they were compared to those of Finns. The idea of different 'races' or features that could have been interpreted as indicators of 'race', such as references to appearance or genetic features, were not mentioned in the news. Thus, the Otherness of ethnic minorities was described in terms of ethnicity.

Representations of ethnic minorities and the majority in *Helsingin Sanomat* are in many respects similar to those found in previous research (Brookes 1995, Hartman and Husband 1974, Troyna 1982, van Dijk 1991). The uniformity of ethnic representations in news stretching over decades and different countries may look like a worrying phenomenon: news media seem to favour similar represen-

tations in different social, political, and cultural situations and with different ethnic minorities. The frozenness of ethnic representations in news implies that the otherness of ethnic minorities may be deeply embedded in news making practices and societies where they are functioning. The coverage of the Sami, however, and particularly the language used in these news, give some indication that also other kinds of news representations of ethnic minorities exist - even if on the margins.

The findings of the present study may partly explain why ethnic minorities and the journalists perceived ethnic news so differently. The shortage of the news about ethnic minorities, clear emphasis on majority interests in the topics, and the imbalance in terms of quotations, access to news and reporting order all give support to the claims made by ethnic minorities that articles about them are unfair and imbalanced, and since they are not quoted or do not get equal attention in topics of importance for them, news and newsmakers discriminate against them. The ideals of objective news can be found underlying these arguments; according to the ideals all parties involved should be treated equally. Journalists, instead, often argue that they apply the same rules when reporting about ethnic minorities as they apply in their news about anyone else, and treat ethnic minorities in an equal manner. Apparently, the practice of news making means that issues centring on change, negativity, and people with a status are covered, and people belonging to the establishment and being in power get access to news easily. The topics, people, and points of views important to many groups other than ethnic minorities are not covered either. It may well be that journalists do not, indeed, report on ethnic minorities differently from other groups that are not seen to belong to the power elite, decision makers, or celebrities.

Consequently, in spite of the bias towards negative representations of ethnic minorities in news, I do not believe that journalists can be called racist or prejudiced. A more likely reason may be found in a combination of journalistic practices, ignorance of the situation of ethnic minorities, insensitivity to the consequences of frequent negative representation, the role and responsibility of the media in ethnic relations, and finally, structural inequality in society which the media are part of. The minority position of ethnic groups makes them vulnerable to frequent negative coverage: news is one of the main sources of information about ethnic minorities for majority members, and with their limited resources, minority groups themselves are poorly equipped for extensive image campaigns or PR services. As a minority, they are also poorly represented in various sections of society.

8.2 Methodological considerations

The present study is multidisciplinary. Three theoretical fields of research (viz. ethnic identity and difference, news studies, and discourse studies) were all considered as important in the examination of the discursive construction of ethnic difference, and they were exploited to shed light on its different aspects. However, bearing in mind all underpinnings of each approach, the work was challenging and required much explication and theoretical support. This may be a prob-

lem in that much work is required both from the analyst and potential readers. To minimize this problem, I have attempted to explicate the links between the different approaches throughout the study. A true problem in multidisciplinary research may be that the approaches, although interrelated, will never successfully intersect. To overcome this problem, I have tried, particularly in this chapter, tie together the findings resulting from the different methods chosen and the contributions of the theoretical points of departure. Despite all possible limitations, inherent in multidisciplinary work, I believe that this angle is fruitful. It can also be seen as the only way to examine an intrinsically multidimensional phenomenon such as the construction of ethnic difference in news discourse.

A more specific theoretical and methodological problem of the present study relates to CDA as a point of departure. CDA can be seen as a rather heterogeneous enterprise, and I have attempted to give an overview of CDA from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. In the context of the present study, the internal differences of CDA are manifested in the attempt to discuss the frameworks developed by both van Dijk and Fairclough. I draw on van Dijk's research and theorizing particularly in the examination of the overall news coverage, while Fairclough's framework is applied particularly in the notion of three-dimensional discourse and the detailed linguistic analysis. However, by drawing on both frameworks, I have ended up with combining a formalistically and cognitively oriented (i.e. van Dijk) and functionalistically and critical social theoretically oriented (i.e. Fairclough) approaches. Although the two are not necessarily incompatible and may be seen to be a strength of a study, this presents several problems at the practical level.

The main problem was that the two approaches entailed different views into text and its meanings. Whereas at the van Dijkian approach emphasizes the structure of text, its generic structural conventions, the hierarchical structure of meaning, and the implications of these structures for the reader, Faircloughian approach starts with a premise that a text is potentially a mixture of other texts, genres, discourses, and meanings. Thus the focus of his theorizing and analysing of texts is on the cultural and political structures and factors constructing the combinations and being constructed by them.

In terms of the present study the use of these two frameworks resulted in two rather different and somewhat dissonant procedures of analysis and findings. Although the basic idea of combining a more general overview type of analysis of the whole news coverage with a more detailed linguistic analysis of some news items worked out rather well, the analytical steps or the findings did not smoothly fit into each other.

Since the incompatibility of the two approaches was to some extent anticipated, the idea of bridging, typical of CDA, was made the point of departure of the present study. However, also in this respect, different frameworks of CDA offer different suggestions. For van Dijk, the analysis of discourse within the CDA framework means examining its social, cognitive, and linguistic aspects, whereas for Fairclough the dimensions are social, discursive, and linguistic. Since one of the theoretical starting points of the present study was news studies and particularly journalistic practices, I chose Fairclough's framework, which, to my mind, was more applicable to the study of journalistic practices of news production than van Dijk's framework with its cognitive dimension.

Consequently, I applied Fairclough's framework when analysing features of the linguistic and discursive levels and tried to bring the social level in all the time by looking at the ways in which these features may contribute to the construction of ethnic difference. Whereas the social aspect was, to my view, evident at the discursive and linguistic levels, the relationship between the discursive and linguistic levels was less explicit in the present study. This may be attributed to the fact that much of the analysis at the discursive level drew on content analysis, which is not the method used by Fairclough, who makes use of intertextual analysis instead. However, such an analysis would have been impossible, considering the amount of the data involved (i.e. over 1,000 items).

The content analysis of the news coverage gave a solid overview of the central features of the news, and in this respect it met the expectations. Its limitations are linked with the coding procedure. The choice of the factors indicating the phenomenon under scrutiny was, at best, theory-driven but nonetheless subjective. The number of the factors that can be coded is limited, and the identification of the features in the news texts is not always clear-cut. The wealth of findings, particularly when given in numerical fashion, may make it difficult to see the subjectivity of content analysis. In this study, content analysis worked well and provided an extensive overview of the news coverage on ethnic minorities.

Analysis of discourses complemented the content analysis as planned by allowing me to combine the various topics and participants, on the one hand, and to bring in background knowledge about the events and people involved, on the other hand. This was the strengt of this analysis. However, analysing discourses is highly interpretative, and since we deal with broad issues, the linguistic evidence provided may seem restricted. Naming the discourses is significant since, in a way, they condense the essence of the discourse. To provide an illuminating and appropriate, yet a short name for discourses is challenging. Although interpretation is part of qualitative analysis and analysis of discourses as well, its application to a large amount of data is uneconomical.

Looking back, the methodological experiment with a combination of content analysis and analysis of discourses seems to be an unhappy marriage. Although the analysis of discourses complemented the findings of the content analysis, the interpretive work based on the analysis of discourses was quite different from the analysis of content of texts. This is something for future studies to consider.

Furthermore, the data chosen for the present study also presents certain problems. Although the longitudinal aspect was well covered, and some elements of change were captured by it, this meant that comparisons between other news media were not possible. It was also originally decided that only written texts were to be analyzed and the visual elements in the news reports were excluded. These could have given valuable information about the representation of ethnic minorities. It was also crucial to consider the amount of the data to be chosen for detailed linguistic analysis. The selection of the key texts was based the primary goal of the study, the findings of the content analysis, and the background knowledge that I myself had about the ethnic situation in Finland. The focus on the Sami minority was, to my view, successful and the selected texts for the linguistic analysis suited to the purpose well, but the number of the texts analyzed may ultimately have been too small. The results, however, seem clearly to contribute to the analy-

sis of the linguistic representation of an ethnic minority and majority.

The analysis of lexicalization of the Sami and ethnic Finns living in the Sápmi revealed how significant the labelling of groups is and how the labels contribute to the construction of ethnic difference. A possible application would be to run a computer-aided analysis in a large corpus of texts. Such analysis might offer further ways to link larger data to individual texts, on the one hand, and find connections between linguistic, discursive, and social aspects, on the other.

Given the small number of systemic-functional applications in Finnish, the linguistic analysis was explorative. The transitivity analysis of key texts illuminated the linguistic representation of the Sami and Finns and thus offered valuable information about the significance of linguistic choices in the representation of ethnic minorities. However, the decision to report the findings of transitivity analysis according to the linguistic features across all texts examined rather than text by text meant that much of the contextual information of specific linguistic features was lost. Also the representations of the Sami and Finns in a specific text could not be explored. However, the benefit of this approach is that it highlights the wider patterns and typical ways in which the representations occur in newspaper texts.

8.3 Future research

Although the present study has shed light on aspects of discursive construction of ethnic difference in news discourse, many important questions have been left unanswered. Suggestions below are related to further empirical research.

The whole chain of news, i.e. news making, the news itself, and the consumption of news, would be an important object of a study. Such a study would involve, besides analysis of the news items, also an ethnographic study of the journalists and newsrooms as well as of users of the news. This kind of study would highlight the interrelations between the practices of news making, news products, and consumption of news.

A subject worth of a study in connection with ethnic minorities might be an examination of the possibilities and limitations of ethnic groups to gain media attention and access to news. Again, fieldwork with ethnic minorities and journalists would provide information about what could be done in terms of enriching ethnic representations in news.

Ethnic minorities in news could also be examined by comparing news coverage between media, countries, and minorities. Information about particular and general tendencies in ethnic reporting would be obtained. Projects like 'Media watch' could highlight the news coverage on ethnic minorities across countries and medium, on the one hand, and news making practices, on the other. It would be important to compare news of ethnic minorities with news of other minorities or otherwise marginalized groups, such as the elderly or women, to find out whether news marginalize all groups except those in power.

Although this study focused on news discourse, and partly on its linguistic aspects, profound empirical studies of features of news discourse and news language are required. For instance, it would be interesting to examine the relations

between news language and the news genre. Is the use of material processes characteristic of the news genre regardless of the topic or does the use of the process type vary according to the topic or the group of people involved? As the transitivity analysis of news texts also showed, more studies of Finnish from the systemic-functional grammar point of view are needed for a sophisticated view of the linguistic means of news discourse. The study of the journalistic writing process might also be a possible way to examine the interrelations of news conventions, journalistic professions, and use of language.

Discourse analysis, particularly the critical version of it, proved to be an interesting, although time-consuming and challenging, way to examine the construction of ethnic difference in news. The DA or CDA approach would seem particularly suitable for a team of researchers, each focusing on certain aspects of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

8.4 Practical implications

As one of the aims of critical discourse analytical research is to offer practical and, it is to be hoped, also useful information for those studied, I will finally discuss some practical implications of the findings for ethnic minorities, journalists and, finally, researchers wishing to apply CDA.

As the findings of the present study indicated, ethnic minorities have difficulties in getting media attention, particularly in issues of importance to themselves, and in getting access to media in terms of quotations, active participants, etc. It was suggested above that journalistic practices and routines have much to do with the way news gets done. Those groups who take the practices into account and provide information for journalists seem to have better chances to get access to news. Although lack of resources, whether they are linguistic, financial, or organizational, often limits the services that ethnic groups can offer, the following suggestions might be of use.

An up-dated list of names and contact information with the area of expertise or interest may help a journalist to find the member of the ethnic minority who they can contact and ask comments on specific issues or interview them. Also web-sites are relatively cheap and used by many for browsing and gaining information, not only by journalists but by other people too. Web-sites could also include names and information of people who journalists could make contact with for further information or comments. Informing journalists of events or issues of importance for the ethnic group by emailing, and phoning them may be helpful. Finally, knowledge of the journalistic practices might help to function within patterns of news publicity and thus facilitate the access to news. Finnish officials to whom journalists turn for comments on, e.g. refugee or minority issues, might on occasion consider it relevant to introduce a member of the ethnic group as a 'spokesperson' for issues at hand.

The findings of this study provide some suggestions for journalists and journalistic education. Impartial and balanced news is as, e.g. Heinonen 1996, has indicated, an aim shared by many journalists. The findings above show, however, that there is a contradiction between the ideals and the product of ethnic report-

ing. Is there a way to develop ethnic reporting? In news making, increased awareness in the choice of topics and attention to the way they create a balanced view of ethnic groups might be needed. As informants from whom to ask comments, members of ethnic minorities could be considered. Although it may be time-consuming, it might well pay off through a more varied news spectrum about Finnish society. The findings indicate that marginalization of ethnic minority also takes place at the linguistic level, and therefore, training in language awareness (see, e.g. Janks 1993) might be useful. A general discussion of consequences, responsibilities, and possibilities of news reporting in relation to ethnic minorities is needed as well. Various guidelines for ethnic reporting are already available (see for instance Helminen 1996, Pietikäinen and Luostarinen 1996, Top and Doppert 1993) with rather specific recommendations. The connection between guidelines and everyday newsmaking might be worthwhile to explore.

Monitoring media performance in relation to ethnic minorities, as is done in a project in progress at the moment (Raittila and Kutilainen 2000), produces baseline information about the action of the media in relation to ethnic minorities. The media has the power to generate discussion, and make important decisions transparent. It can also highlight causal relations and study consequences. It is able to affect policy and political decisions and make various points of view heard. Continuing monitoring complemented by a more detailed case analysis may offer valuable information about how the media succeed in these aims.

As a practical implication for doing CDA research I wish to share a set of questions that I found helpful particularly when working with the data and the findings. These simple questions helped me to capture certain essential aspects of CDA and facilitated my seeing of the links between them. The questions are: What is going on in these texts? What is going on socially, discursively, and linguistically? What might explain this? What can its consequences be? I also think it is important to bear in mind that CDA is one way of examining relations between social phenomena and discourse, and their linguistic manifestations - an interesting, challenging, and elastic way. Every analyst must find their way to apply it.

8.5 Concluding note

This study started from the recognition that news discourse has a power to construct, challenge, maintain, and change ethnic difference through its representation of ethnic minorities and majority. The experience shared by many ethnic minority members that they have difficulties in getting access to news and that the rare news about them are one-sided, often inaccurate, insufficient, and negative, was supported by the findings of the present study. Although it is not the task of the journalists or the media to act as a mouthpiece of minorities, it is not their task either to be advocates of intolerance, discrimination, and racism. What can and should be expected from quality news media is a rich diversity of competing views. If we agree that racism is to be condemned and that it is harmful both to individuals and society, and if we see how frequent negative representations of ethnic minorities contribute to racism, the next question is what kind of news coverage of ethnic minorities we should seek. The question is even more problematic when

freedom of press, a highly valuable and valued principle in any democratic society, is considered. The least that can be said is that a cautious way to report about ethnic minorities is necessary.

This study has examined relations between ethnic difference, news, and discourse, and it has attempted to highlight patterns, conditions, and consequences of ethnic representation. Ethnic diversity, news as an important and valuable place for common issues to be discussed and represented and the powerful and empowering character of language are all intriguing issues in contemporary society. I hope that this study has made a contribution to understanding the complex relations between them.

YHTEENVETO

Etnisen toiseuden rakentuminen uutisdiskurssissa

Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella sitä, miten etninen eroavaisuus rakentuu uutisdiskurssissa. Lähtökohtana on ajatus siitä, että eroavuus etnisten ryhmien välillä on pikemminkin rakennettua kuin annettua, ja diskurssilla on tässä rakentumisessa keskeinen rooli. Sanomalchti ja erityisesti sen tarjoamat uutiset ovat näkyvä ja vaikutusvaltainen väline ja keskusteluareena, ja siksi se on kiinnostava tutkimuskohde etnisten ryhmien representaatioiden tutkimiseen.

Eroavuuden politiikka (Hall 1996, Woodward 1997) korostaa eroavuuden ja identiteetin muuttuvaa luonnetta. Ne kriteerit, joiden perusteella ryhmät määrittelevät omaa ja toisten identiteettejä ja eroja niiden välillä, voivat vaihdella ajallisesti ja ryhmästä ja poliittisesta tilanteesta toiseen. Eroavuuden kriteerit voivat olla myös kamppailun kohteena: tietyssä yhteiskunnallisessa tilanteessa voidaan kehittää uusia kriteerejä, joiden avulla eri ryhmiä voidaan syrjäyttää tai heiltä voidaan evätä tiettyjä oikeuksia. Toisaalta perinteisten kriteerien säilyttäminen voi jollekin ryhmälle olla elintärkeää. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelen eroavuuden tekemistä etnisen enemmistön ja vähemmistöjen välillä Suomessa sekä erityisesti saamelaisten ja suomalaisten välillä. Taustalla on ajatus monikulttuuristuvasta Suomesta ja alkuperäiskansan monitasoisesta identiteetistä ja identiteetin poliittisesta määrittelykamppailusta.

Mielipiteetiedotusvälineiden vaikutuksesta vaihtelevat, mutta niillä on erityinen - joskin monitasoinen ja osin kiistanalainen - yhteiskunnallinen ja kulttuurinen vaikutus ja myös erityinen eettinen vastuu. Tiedotusvälineiden tekstit eivät ole myöskään satunnaisesti tehtyjä, vaan ne ovat pitkälti hioutuneiden käytänteiden määrittelemiä. Uutismedioita on kritisoitu etnisten vähemmistöjen yksipuolisesta kohtelusta, jopa rasismista (Allan 1999, Campbell 1995, van Dijk 1991). Toisaalta journalistit ja heidän järjestönsä ovat hyväksyneet eettiset velvoitteet, joihin on myös kirjattu pyrkimykset suvaitsevaisuuteen (Helminen 1996, Husband 1995). Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan suomalaisen laatulehden, Helsingin Sanomien, tapaa käsitellä etnisiä vähemmistöjä teksteissään.

Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin perinteen mukaisesti (Fairclough 1992, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Kress 1996, van Dijk 1993) tarkoitan tässä tutkimuksessa diskurssilla kielenkäyttöä osana sosiaalisia käytänteitä. Kielenkäyttö on osaltaan ympäröivän yhteiskunnallisen, kulttuurisen, institutionaalisen ja viestinnällisen kontekstin rajaamaa, mutta samalla sillä on vaikutuksia näihin kaikkiin. Tällainen diskurssikäsitelmä mahdollistaa etnisen eron tekemisen ja mediainstituution käytänteiden diskursiivisten puolien tarkastelun uutistekstien analyysin avulla. Tämä ei kuitenkaan tarkoita sitä, että kaikki olisi (vain) diskursiivista, vaan pikemminkin osoittaa tutkimusfokuksen. Näiden teoreettisten lähtökohtien pohjalta tämä tutkimus pyrkii vastaamaan kysymykseen, miten eroavaisuus etnisten vähemmistöjen ja suomalaisten välillä rakennetaan diskursiivisesti Helsingin Sanomissa.

Aineisto ja analyysimenetelmät

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu Helsingin Sanomissa vuosina 1985-1993 julkaistuista kotimaan uutisista, pääkirjoituksista ja kolumneista, jotka käsittelevät etnisiä vähemmistöjä Suomessa vähintään yhden kappaleen verran. Tällaisia tekstejä julkaistiin tutkimusajankohtana 1 189.

Tutkimuksen ajankohta ajoittuu murrosvaiheeseen, jossa taloudellisten ja poliittisten muutosten lisäksi väestön monikulttuuristuminen ja turvapaikanhakijoiden ja pakolaisten maailmanlaajuinen lukumäärän kasvu alkoivat näkyä myös Suomessa. Tämän vuoksi aikakausi on tärkeä ja kiinnostava. Helsingin Sanomat valittiin tutkimuskohteeksi, koska se on laajalevikkisin suomalainen laatulehti, jonka asema on lähes institutionaalinen (Pietilä & Sondermann 1994). Helsingin Sanomat on paitsi vaikutusvaltainen, myös resurssiltaan sellainen lehti, jonka voi odottaa käsittelevän etnisiä vähemmistöjä monimuotoisesti.

Tutkimuksen metodologista lähestymistapaa voi luonnehtia kriittiseksi diskurssianalyysiksi. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että analyysin sosiaalinen, diskursiivinen ja lingvistinen taso ja niitä kartoittavat menetelmät pyritään nivomaan yhteen etsittäessä vastausta kysymykseen miten etninen ero uutisdiskurssissa rakentuu. Käytetyt menetelmät ovat sisällönanalyysi, diskurssien analyysi, sanastoanalyysi ja transitiivisuusanalyysi. Sisällönanalyysillä kartoittaa yleiskuvaa Helsingin Sanomien vähemmistöuutisoinnista. Tätä analyysiä täydentää diskurssien analysoiminen, joka puolestaan pyrkii valottamaan aihepiirien näkökulmia ja niihin piirtyviä representaatioita etnisistä vähemmistöistä ja enemmistöistä. Yksityiskohtaisemmat kielelliset analyysit kohdistuivat saamelaisuutisointiin siten, että kaikista saamelaisista käsittelevistä teksteistä (n=51) tarkasteltiin saamelaisalueella asuvien henkilöiden nimeämistä. Lisäksi kuuteen avaintekstiin sovellettiin transitiivisuusanalyysia.

Erilaistamisen diskurssit

Tutkimuksen tulokset vahvistavat osittain aikaisempia tutkimustuloksia etnisten vähemmistöjen mediajulkisuudesta (ks. esim. Allan 1999, Brookes 1995, van Dijk 1991). Ulkomaisten lehtien tavoin myös Helsingin Sanomat julkaisi etnisiä vähemmistöjä koskevia artikkeleita suhteellisen vähän, keskimäärin yhden artikkelin joka kolmas päivä. Saamelaisia koskevia tekstejä julkaistiin tutkittujen yhdeksän vuoden aikana 51.

Kirjoitusten suhteellinen vähyys korostaa niiden asemaa - millaisia, mistä aiheista ja ketä lainaten juttuja tehdään. Tyypillinen vähemmistöjä koskeva artikkeli keskittyi maahanmuuttajien oleskelulupapäätöksiin, heidän määräänsä ja yleisempiin muutoksiin ja suuntauksiin Suomeen kohdistuvassa maahanmuutossa. Myös Suomen ulkomaalaislaista, pakolaispolitiikasta, rikoksista ja syrjinnästä kirjoitettiin usein. Aiheesta riippumatta enemmistön edustajia, jotka tyypillisesti olivat erilaisia viranomaisia, mainittiin ja lainattiin useammin kuin vähemmistön edustajia. Vähemmistöt olivat siis marginaalisessa asemassa etnisiä vähemmistöjä käsittelevissä teksteissä. Kuva etnisistä vähemmistöistä piirtyi Helsingin Sanomien kirjoituksissa suomalaisten, erityisesti viranomaisten ja hallinnon, näkökulmasta ja suusta. Vähemmistöt kuvattiin muutosten - potentiaalisesti ikävien - tuojina.

Ajallisesti kirjoittelu vaihteli siten, että vuosina 1985-1988 kirjoitukset keskittyivät erityisesti Suomen ulkomaalais- ja pakolaispolitiikkaan, varsinkin ulkomaiden sitä koskevaan kritiikkiin. Vuosina 1989 ja 1990 ykkösaiheeksi nousivat syrjintä, rasismi ja maahanmuutto. Vuosina 1991-1993 alaa valtasivat erityisesti kirjoitukset oleskelulupapäätöksistä ja vähemmistöihin liittyvistä rikoksista ja sosiaaliturvasta. Yhdeksässä vuodessa Helsingin Sanomien vähemmistöuutisointi kehittyi muistuttamaan läheisesti ulkomaisissa tutkimuksissa todettua uutislinjaa: vähemmistöistä kirjoitetaan ongelma- ja määräkeskeisesti.

Saamelaisia koskeva kirjoittelu oli samankaltaista kuin Helsingin Sanomien muut vähemmistökirjoitukset siten, että myös saamelaiset olivat marginaalisessa asemassa. Vaikka saamelaiset suomea osaavina ja organisoituna vähemmistönä ovat lehden tavoitettavissa ja olivat tutkittuna ajankohtana myös kiinnostava ryhmä esimerkiksi lainmuutosten ja alkuperäiskansojen järjestäytymisen takia, saamelaiset saivat vähän julkisuutta Helsingin Sanomissa. Lukumäärältään vähäiset tekstit sisälsivät enemmän lainauksia ja mainintoja enemmistöstä kuin saamelaisista. Saamelaisten erityisyys tuli aineistossa esiin juttujen aihepiirin kautta. Saamelaisia käsittelevät tekstit keskittyivät tyypillisesti heidän kulttuuriinsa ja ihmisoikeuksiin. Nämä aiheet pitivät sisällään kaksi kiinnostavaa ja keskenään ristiriitaista representaatiota saamelaisista ja suomalaisista. Toisaalta saamelaisista piirtyi kuva arvostettuna alkuperäiskansana, jolla on oma kulttuuri ja kieli, ja Suomi valtiona kuvattiin tämän kansan ainoalaatuisuuden varjelijana ja tukijana. Toisaalta saamelaisten alkuperäisyys esitettiin myös kiistanalaisena ja osa suomalaisesta virkakoneistosta sitä epäilevänä.

Saamelaisia käsittelevien tekstien tarkastelu osoitti, että etninen ero rakentui myös kielellisissä valinnoissa. Saamelaisiin ja suomalaisiin viittaavat termit rakensivat osaltaan etnistä rajaa siten, että kummankin ryhmän erilaisuutta ja erillisyyttä toisistaan korostettiin. Saamelaisten ja suomalaisten representaatioiden tarkastelu lausetasolla toi esiin kiinnostavan kaksijakoisuuden: suomalaiset kuvattiin enimmäkseen tekojen ja tapahtumien tekijöinä ja saamelaiset näiden kohteena. Toisaalta, joskin harvemmin, saamelaiset kuvattiin myös tekijöinä erityisesti kun kohteena olivat heidän oikeutensa, lakimuutokset, metsän hakkuut jne.

Tutkimustulokset tuovat myös lisävalaistusta kriittisen diskurssianalyysin soveltamiseen. Monitasoisena teoreettisena ja analyttisenä viitekehyksenä kriittinen diskurssianalyysi tarjoaa monia vaihtoehtoisia polkuja ja työkaluja. Käytännössä heterogeenisen viitekehyksen soveltaminen tuo mukanaan monia kysymyksiä ja ongelmia, vaikka se myös auttaa erilaisten menetelmien, teorioiden ja tulosten yhteensovittamisessa. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi on kuin muutamalla sanalla aloitettu virke, jonka täydentämisestä vastaa kukin tutkija itse.

Työ toi esiin useita jatkotutkimusta kaipaavia seikkoja. Lisävalaistusta kaipaavat muun muassa erilaisten vähemmistöjen julkisuuden erityisyys ja eri medioiden omaleimaisuus vähemmistökysymyksissä. Journalististen käytänteiden, tuotteiden ja niiden tulkinnan välisissä yhteyksissä olisi useammankin tutkimuksen paikka. Erityisesti etnografinen ote yhdistettynä diskurssianalyysiin voisi olla tässä suhteessa hedelmällinen. Utiskielen ja genren välisensuhteen selvittely voisi avata polkuja mediatekstin tuottamisen ja vastaanottamisen konventioihin. Pohdimista näyttäisi vaativan myös se ristiriita, joka näyttää vallitsevan toimittajien ja etnisten vähemmistöjen käsityksissä median toiminnasta ja vaikutuksista monikulttuurisessa Suomessa.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 The coding form.

number:

- | | | |
|--|---------------|----------|
| 1. Date | 2. Length | 3. Photo |
| 4. Page | | |
| 5. Genre | 6. writer | |
| 7. News are a) all b) partly about ethnic minorities | | |
| 8. Description of the mentioned minority member | 9. Quotations | |

8.1. a)	b)	c)	9.a)
---------	----	----	------

8.2. a)	b)	c)	9.b)
---------	----	----	------

8.3. a)	b)	c)	9.c)
---------	----	----	------

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 10. Description of the mentioned majority member | 11. Quotations |
|--|----------------|

10.1. a)	b)	c)	9.d)
----------	----	----	------

10.2. a)	b)	c)	9.e)
----------	----	----	------

10.3. a)	b)	c)	9.f)
----------	----	----	------

12. Active actor

a)	b)	c)
----	----	----

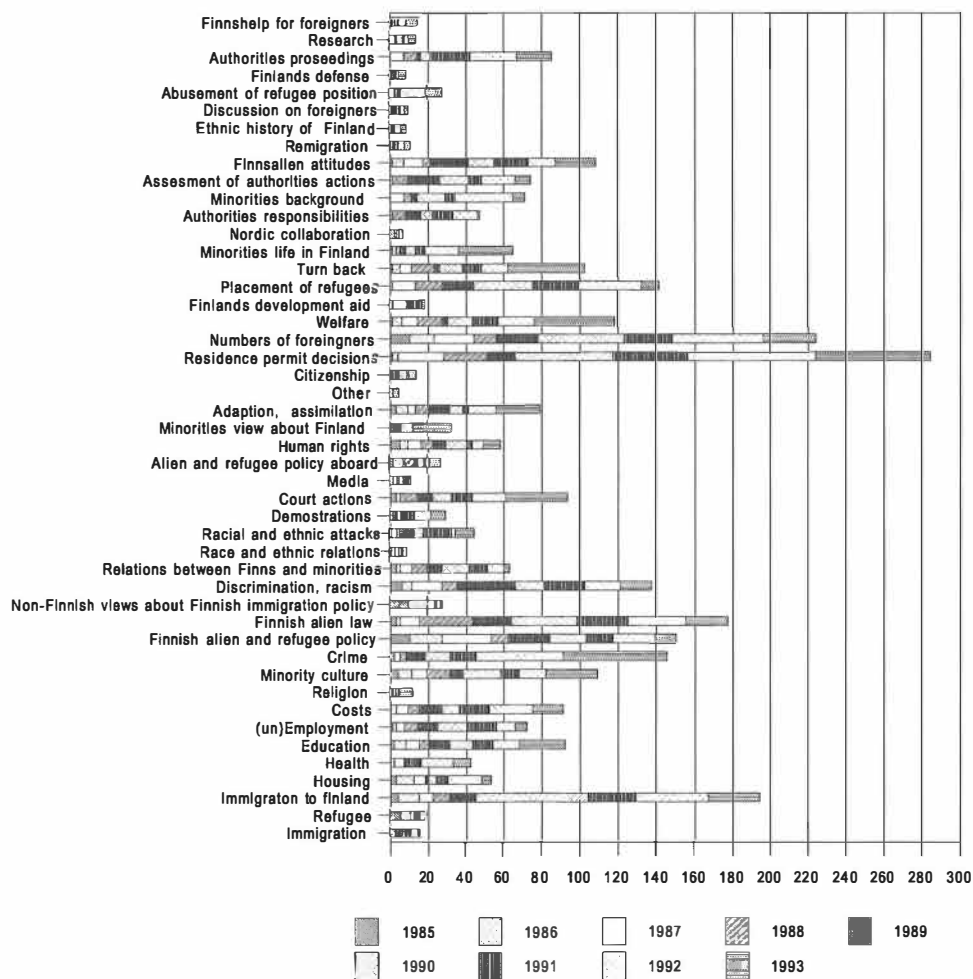
13. Subject, general classifying of content

13.1

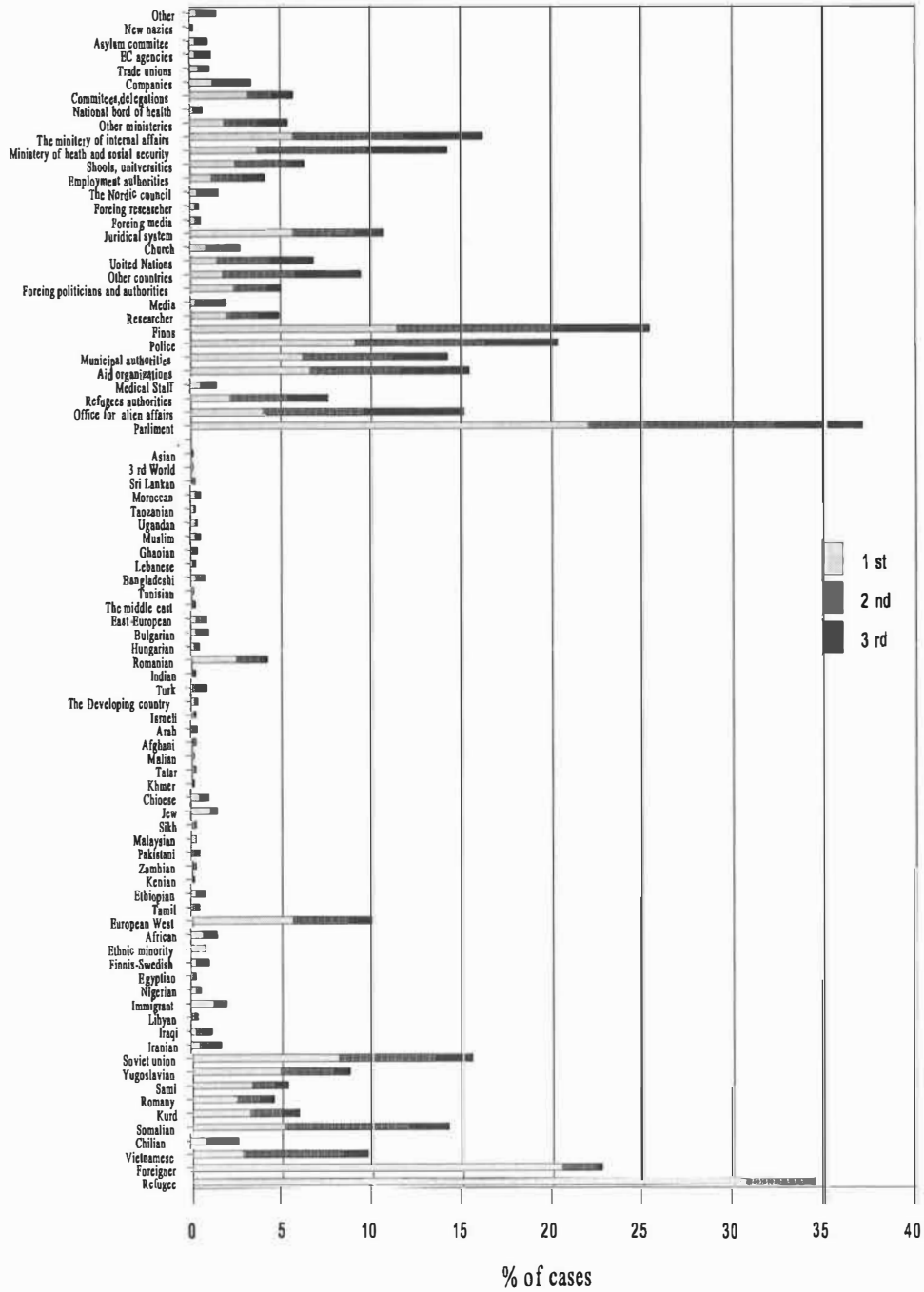
13.2

13.3

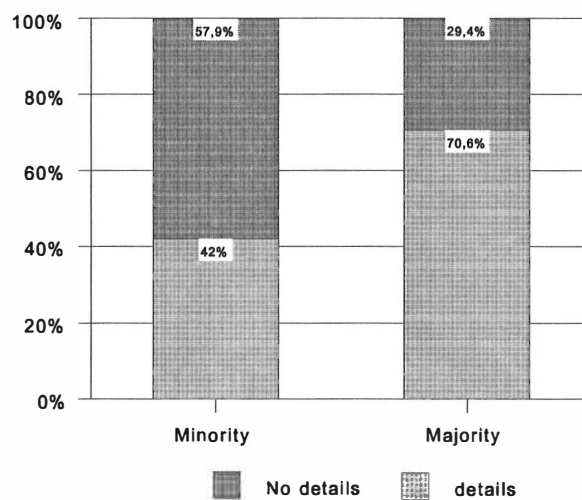
APPENDIX 2 Frequency of topics per year.



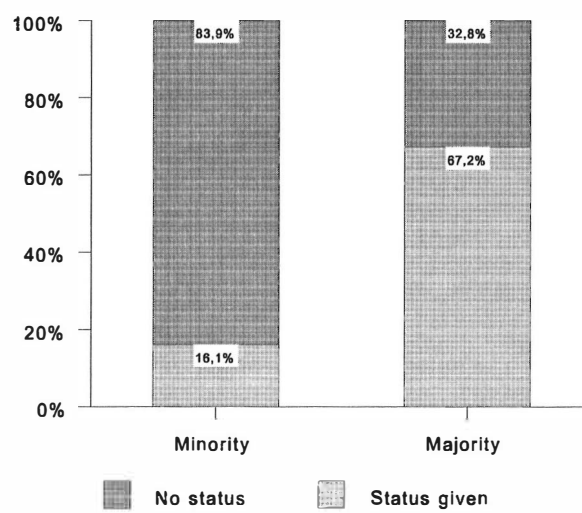
APPENDIX 3 Foreground and background participants.



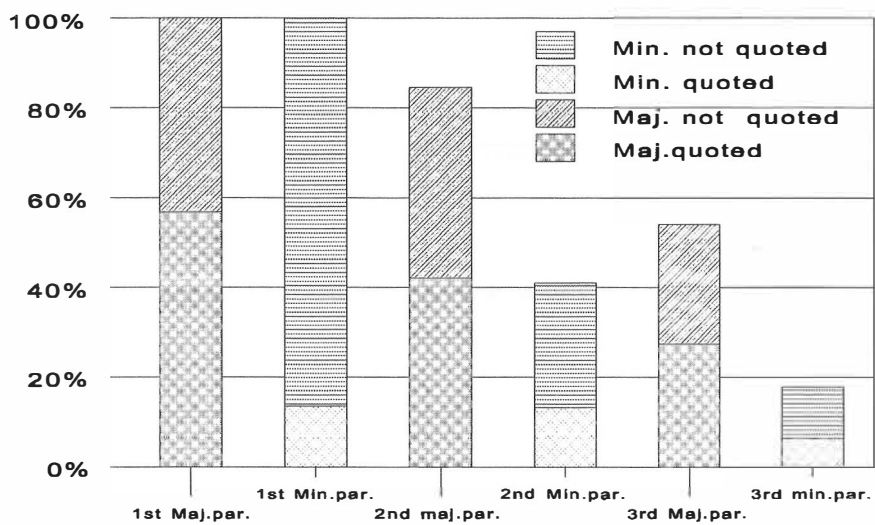
APPENDIX 4 Frequency of details.



APPENDIX 5 Frequency of status.



APPENDIX 6 Frequency of quotations.



APPENDIX 7 Minority groups and topics.

Topic	Minority group																										
	Refugee	Foreigner	Vietnamese	Chilian	Somalian	Kurd	Romany	Samu	Yugoslavian	The Soviets	Iranian	Iraqi	Libyan	Immigrant	Nigerian	Egyptian	Finnish-Swedish	Ethnic minority	African	West European	Tamil	Ethiopian	Kenyan	Zambian	Pakistani	Malaysian	Sikh
Immigration, general	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refugee, general	17	2	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Immigration to Finland	72	16	27	4	37	18	-	-	31	29	9	2	1	9	1	-	-	-	3	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Housing	23	5	18	4	9	-	4	-	8	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health	9	7	5	1	6	-	-	2	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	-
Education	18	2	11	-	7	5	15	12	4	9	1	3	-	9	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
(un)Employment	11	39	4	-	5	-	4	1	3	16	1	1	-	4	-	1	-	-	1	9	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Costs	45	21	15	2	10	2	3	6	5	16	1	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religion	3	-	-	-	-	2	11	5	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minority culture	11	8	10	2	4	2	27	43	-	3	-	-	-	6	-	-	8	6	2	8	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Crime	19	29	5	1	14	6	5	-	7	44	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finnish alien and ref. policy	85	42	13	5	11	5	1	2	10	14	3	1	11	-	-	1	2	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Finnish alien law	53	101	2	1	12	5	1	20	5	17	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	19	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1
Non-Finnish views about Finnish immigration policy	21	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	4	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Discrimination, racism	45	54	14	1	18	2	16	4	1	7	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	2	2	9	1	1	-	-	1	-	1
Relations between Finns and minorities	2	18	11	3	11	2	11	5	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	9	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Race and ethnic relations	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racial and ethnic attacks	14	5	4	-	9	2	2	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Demonstrations	2	2	-	-	1	6	-	-	4	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Court actions	18	23	1	1	9	3	5	4	3	16	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Media	4	4	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alien and refugee policy abroad	14	4	1	1	-	2	-	-	4	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Human rights	13	13	-	3	-	2	-	23	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minorities' view about Finland	2	3	3	-	1	1	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adaptation, assimilation	19	15	23	4	7	-	3	3	5	7	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Citizenship	5	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Residence permit decisions	88	40	9	13	34	30	-	-	46	44	4	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	24	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Numbers of foreigners	133	45	38	9	39	10	2	-	27	27	6	2	-	5	1	-	-	-	1	5	2	1	-	-	2	-	-
Welfare	9	2	1	1	5	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland's development aid	14	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Placement of refugees	98	9	34	8	26	7	1	-	9	3	9	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-
Turn back	23	15	-	-	6	11	-	-	14	16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Minorities life in Finland	11	5	8	1	9	5	-	2	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nordic collaboration	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Authorities' responsibilities	26	15	1	2	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minorities' background	10	2	1	3	14	12	-	-	16	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	1
Assesment of authorities' actions	24	18	2	-	10	1	-	-	5	14	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finns' alien attitudes	56	36	12	3	16	3	6	3	2	8	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Remigration	3	-	2	1	5	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ethnic history of Finland	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Discussion on foreigners	9	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abusement of refugee position	9	12	2	1	7	-	-	-	15	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland's defense	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Authorities proceedigs	25	27	2	1	21	5	-	-	8	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Research	7	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finns' help for foreigners	9	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

n = 1722

(continues)

APPENDIX 9 Predominant participants and topics.

Topic	Predominant participant																								
	Refugee	Foreigner	Vietnamese	Chilian	Somalian	Kurd	Romany	Sami	Yugoslavian	The Soviets	Iranian	Iraqi	Libyan	Immigrant	Nigerian	Egyptian	Finnis-Swedish	Ethnick minority	African	West European	Parliament	Office for alien affairs	Refugees authorities	Medical staff	Aid organizations
Immigration, general	2	1	1	1	1									4						1	5				
Refugee, general	2				1															1	13	1	1		1
Immigration to Finland	23	1	7	1	18	10		3	19	12	3	1		3					1	2	69	24	21	2	31
Housing	3	2	5		6	1	3	2	5	6				1						1	9	1	8	1	9
Health	5	2			4			2	1	1			1							7	2	1	1	5	6
Education	7	13	7		6	4	9	4	1	4	1			4			2	1	2	14	9	5	1		9
(un)Employment	1	11	3		2		3	1	1	4	1			2		1			1	9	20	8	1		2
Costs	12	8		1	4	1		2	3	11					1		1		1	6	20	4	1		14
Religion																				7	1				
Minority culture	3	4	8	1	6	1	20	26		4				3			3	2		16	15	2	2	1	10
Crime	6	16	2		12	3	5	1	2	36	1				4				3	29	8	4	3		5
Finnish alien and refugee policy	11	6	3	2	6	1		1	1	4				3						5	103	21	4		13
Finnish alien law	13	14			4	3		17		7							1			16	87	42	13		15
Non-Finnish views about Finnish immigration policy	1							1		2											21	6	1		2
Discrimination, racism	10	14	9	1	8	3	12	6		4				1	1		1	1	1	12	37	6	4		27
Relations between Finns and minorities	5	9	6	2	6	4	11	8	2	5				2						12	1		4	2	10
Race and ethnic relations		1																		3					
Racial and ethnic attacks	3		2		6	2	2	1		1										10	6	1	4	1	2
Demonstrations	1				1	6		1	4	5											4	7	1		2
Court actions	3	5		1	7	2	4	4	2	11	1				1				1	19	5	8	7		6
Media	2		1																		2		1		1
Alien and refugee policy aboard	2	1				1			1	3										2	13	5	3		2
Human rights	1	2		3		1		18		2				1						6	26	6			3
Minorities' view about Finland		1	3					1		3						1				22	6		1		1
Adaption, assimilation	6	4	15	2	6	1	1	3	2	6				2	1	1				24	10	1	9	2	8
Other		1																		1	4				
Citizenship	2	1								2										3	2	5			4
Residence permit decisions	26	3		7	16	16			28	21	2									56	83	94	15	1	37
Numbers of foreigners	31	13	4	1	13	5	1	1	12	9				2					1	10	92	33	9	3	31
Welfare	3	1		1	4				2	2										2	4	2	3	1	1
Finland's developmet aid	1				1															1	3	11			1
Placement of refugees	14	1	5	1	7	5		1	4	2	2	1									18	5	11	3	37
Turn back	5	1		1	3	5		1	8	5	1									42	22	34	7		7
Minorities life in Finland	3	2	7		8	2		3	2	8			1						1	30	3	2	3		8
Nordic collaboration	1									1											6				1
Authorities' responsibility	4	2		1	2	1	1			3											10	11			9
Minorities' background	1	2		2	13	10			9	1	1	1							1	20	14	18	10	1	11
Assesment of authorities' actions	5	2			4				3	10									1	12	13	22	10		6
Finn's alien attitudes	7	8	2		7	3	4	4	2	6					1					10	30	4	3	1	14
Remigration	1				5	2			1											1	1	2	3		2
Ethnic history of Finland		1						1	1	2							1				6				2
Discussion on foreigners	2							1		1											5	1	1		1
Abusement of refugee position	5	2	1		4					11				1							11	3	2	1	2
Finland's defence	1				1					1										5		1			
Authorities proseedigs	7	6		1	12	2			6	10	1								5	17	29	4			7
Research					1					1	1							1		4	2	1			
Finn's help for foreigners	3		1	1				1	4												1	1			4

(continues)

Below, translations of the six key texts from Finnish into English are given. For the sake of illustrating the arguments presented in the thesis, the translations do not aim at idiomatic English news texts but echo the lexical, grammatical and stylistic features of the original.

APPENDIX 10 KEY TEXT 1/HS1, a news report 11.4.1989.

Saamelaiset vetoavat oikeuksiensa puolesta

Kahdeksan saamelaisjärjestöä on jättänyt Suomen hallitukselle vetoomuksen, jossa vaaditaan Kessin ja Hammastunturin metsäerämaiden jättämistä hakkuiden ulkopuolelle. Vetoomuksessa vaaditaan myös puolueettoman asiantuntijakomitean asettamista selvittämään saamelaisten ja Suomen valtion maa- ja vesioikeuksia.

Kessin ja Hammastunturin hakkuilla puututaan saamelaisjärjestöjen mielestä saamelaisten perinteisten elinkeinojen harjoittamiseen ja saamelaisten oikeuksiin. Hakkuut aiheuttivat suurta vahinkoa poronhoidolle ja muille luontaiseläimille, jotka ovat saamelaisen kulttuurin perusta.

Järjestöt viittaavat vetoomukseensa mm. YK:n kansalaisoikeusopimukseen, jonka Suomikin on allekirjoittanut. Sopimus velvoittaa turvaamaan vähemmistöille mahdollisuuden säilyttää omat kulttuurinsa.

Saamelaisjärjestöt muistuttavat myös, että valtion omistusoikeus saamelaisalueisiin on vielä epäsel-

vä.

Saamelaiset ovat omistaneet oikeushistoriallisten tutkimusten mukaan alueensa maat ja vedet vielä 1700-luvulla, mutta heidän nykyisiä oikeuksiaan ei ole koskaan puolueettomasti selvitetty. Perusteellista selvitystä varten olisi asetettava puolueeton asiantuntijakomitea, todetaan vetoomuksessa.

Vetoomuksen ovat allekirjoittaneet Pohjoismaiden kaikkia saamelaisia edustava Pohjoismainen saamelaisneuvosto, saamelaisnuorten pohjoismainen kattojärjestö SANS, Ruotsin saamelaisnuorten valtakunnallinen kattojärjestö Saminuorra sekä viisi paikallista saamelaisyhdistystä.

Tammikuun lopussa mietintönsä jättänyt erämaakomitea on ehdottanut Kessin ja Hammastunturin metsäerämaiden hakkaamista lakimiesiä ja eräitä muita pieniä alueita lukuunottamatta. Komitean mietintö on parhaillaan huhtikuun lopuun asti kestäväällä lausuntokierroksella.

SAMI APPEAL FOR THEIR RIGHTS

Eight Sami organizations insist in their appeal to the Government of Finland that the wilderness areas of Kessi and Hammastunturi should be left unlogged. An impartial expert committee is called for to examine the Sami vs. state's ownership of land and waters.

The loggings in the area of Kessi and Hammastunturi are, in the Sami organizations' view, a violation of both the rights of the Sami to practise their traditional livelihoods and their rights in general. The loggings would cause great damage to reindeer husbandry and other traditional means of livelihood, which form a foundation of the Sami culture.

The organizations refer to the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, signed also by Finland. The covenant makes an obligation that minorities should be guaranteed a possibility to preserve their cultures.

The Sami organizations point out that the state's proprietary right to the lands in the Sami district is still unclear.

According to research in legal history, the Sami have owned their land and waters until the 18th century, but their contemporary rights have never been impartially examined. To make an exhaustive account, an impartial committee of experts is needed, says the appeal.

The appeal is signed by the Nordic Sami Council - a representative body of all Sami of the Nordic countries- , the Nordic Organization for Sami Youth SANS and National Sami Youth Association of Sweden Saminuorra, along with five local Sami associations.

The Wilderness Committee which handed its report in at the end of this January, suggests that the Kessi and Hammastunturi forest wilderness areas should be logged, with the exception of the high-altitude forests and some minor areas. At present, the committee report is being circulated.

APPENDIX 11 KEY TEXT 2/HS2, an editorial 9.9.1989.

Väitöskirja saamelaisista

SAAMELAISTEN OIKEUDET pohjoisen porolaitumiin ja kalavesiin on dokumentoitu selvästi oikeustieteen lisensiaatti Kaisa Korpijaakon väitöskirjassa. Korpijaakon perjantaina tarkastettu väitöskirja poikkeaa harvinaisen paljon kaikesta aiemmin esitetystä. Tutkija todistaa sadoin asiakirjojen, että lappalaiset ovat aikoinaan omistaneet maansa aivan samoin kuin muun Suomen talonpojat.

Saamelaiset eivät olleet omistusoikeudesta piittaamattomia paimentolaisia, vaan he maksoivat kruunulle veroa omista maistaan ja vesistään. Naapureiden ja kylien kesken on käyty rajat eikä kysymys ole ollut mistään yhteisomistuksesta. Omistus syntyi aikoinaan sille, joka maata käytti. Viljelyn ohella käyttöä pidettiin myös laiduntamista, riistanpyyntiä ja kalastusta.

Väitöskirjan mukaan saamelaisten ikimuistoiset oikeudet hämärtyivät vasta viime vuosisadan alus-

sa, kun Suomi erkani Ruotsista. Kun virkamiehet vaihtuivat ja asiakirjat jäivät entiseen emäntäajan, saamelaiset eivät enää pystyneet pitämään puoliaan. Valtio ryhtyi omistelemaan pohjoisia maita ja rajoittamaan alkuperäisasukkaiden oikeuksia. Kaivostoiminta, voimaitoshankkeet ja avohakkuut ovat usein pahasti ristiriidassa peruselinten kanssa.

Eduskunnan perustuslakivaliokunta on kehottanut selvittämään saamelaisten oikeudet, ennen kuin heitä koskevien lakien valmistelua jatketaan. Nyt ne oikeudet on ainakin periaatteessa selvitetty. Lähitulevaisuus näyttää, onko Suomi oikeusvaltio myös pienen, muutaman tuhannen ihmisen vähemmistön kohtelussa. Otetaanko saamelaiset mukaan laatimaan monia itseään koskevia, lähiellä olevia säädöksiä kuten poronhoito-, saamelais- ja erämaalakia?

DISSERTATION ON THE SAMI

The rights of the Sami to the northern reindeer pastures and fishing waters have become clearly documented in the dissertation of Kaisa Korpijaakko, a Licentiate of Laws. The dissertation of Korpijaakko which was defended on Friday formulates a highly different view to any previous ones. With hundreds of documents, the researcher proves that the Lapps have earlier owned their land precisely like the farmers elsewhere in Finland.

The Sami were not nomads, indifferent to ownership, but paid taxes of their own land and waters to the Crown. The boundary lines have been marked both between neighbours and villages and no such thing as common ownership prevailed. Back then, the ownership was his who used the land. Along farming, also pasturing, hunting and fishing were considered as land use.

The dissertation says that the ancient rights of the Sami were not obfuscated until the beginning of the last century, when Finland was separated from Swe-

den. When the civil servants changed and documents were left in the former motherland, the Sami could not defend themselves. The state started to gain possession of the northern lands and limit the rights of the indigenous population. Mining, power plant projects and loggings were often in serious contradiction with the original sources of livelihood.

The Constitutional Committee of the (Finnish) Parliament has made a request that the rights of the Sami should be examined before the preparation of the laws concerning them is to be continued. Now these rights have been examined, in principle at least. The near future will show whether Finland is a state of justice, also in its actions towards a small minority of a few thousand people. Will the Sami themselves be invited along to draft the various bills concerning them that are now being prepared, such as the Law for Reindeer Husbandry, the Sami Law or the Wilderness Law?

APPENDIX 12 KEY TEXT 3/HS 3, a news report 7.2.1990.

SAMI DEFEND THEIR INDIGENOUS CHARACTER

According to the Ministry of Agriculture the tribe does not meet the UN Convention of Indigenous People

The scattered lines of the Finnish Sami are united in the confusion they feel towards the position taken by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, according to which the Sami are not an indigenous people of Finland. The statement formulated by the Ministry in December attempts to reject the recent Convention of ILO, international labour organization of UN, the approval of which would mean a regional democracy for the Sami and would protect their cultural heritage. Other ministries have welcomed the convention warm-heartedly.

The Sami of Finland, invited by UN, have been along in drafting the convention. The convention concerns the indigenous people and tribal people in independent countries.

The Vice Chairman of the Sami Parliament, researcher Pekka Aikio argues that the convention aims precisely at stopping the assimilation of the indigenous population to the majority and the ratification of the convention would oblige the ratifying countries to take care of this issue.

According to the Ministry of Agriculture, the convention does not apply to Sami and therefore is not needed. In a statement prepared by Timo Kotkasaari, Head of Department and Seppo Havu, Head of Office, the nature of the Sami indigenous population is denied and it is told there that the Sami are distinct from other Finns mainly through their language and national dress.

The Ministry sees that in other respects the Sami have been assimilated to Finns at the same time as their racial differences have become extinguished. According to the Ministry, also the rights of the Sami to the land have been made effective.

Head of Office Havu denies the indigenous character of the Sami in Finland, but says that it is possible that the Sami in Sweden are indigenous people in the sense purported in the convention.

Saamelaiset puolustavat alkuperäisyyttään

Maatalousministeriön mukaan heimo ei täytä YK:n sopimusta alkuperäiskansoista

Rovaniemi
Helsingin Sanomat

Suomen heijailaan olevia saame-

hainveija yhdistää hämmennys-
maa- ja metsätalousministeriön
kaanngita, jotka mukaan saame-
laiset eivät ole Suomen alkuperä-
riskaansa. Joukkuvuosa ministe-
riössä määrättyillä kannanoilla
yrittään lojua II:On, YK:n
kansainvälisen työjärjestön tuote-
yhteisöpiimus, jonka hyväksymis-
nen merkitsi saamelaiden pal-
kallidemokratiaa ja heidän kult-
tuurinsa turvaamista. Muut mi-
nisterit ovat ottaneet yhteisopi-
muksen lähtökohdat vastaan.

Suomen saamelaiset ovat olleet
mukana valmistelussa koivven-

toja YK:n kutsusta. Yhteisopi-
muus koskee lienehtien maiden
alkuperäiskansoja ja heimonseel-
la eläviä kansoja.

Suomen saamelaisia edustanut
saamelaisvaltuuskunnan varapui-
heeripohjaisia tutkija Pekka Aikio,
kansoo, että konventiolla pyritään
nimeenomaan esittämään alkuperä-
riskaisten sulautuminen vähävi-
esöön, ja sopimuksen ratifiointi-
nen vetovoitaa hyväksyjämaati
huolehtimaan asiasta.

Maatalousministeriön mielestä
saamelaiset eivät kuitenkaan tule
kysymyksen eikä konventiolla niin
muodoin tarvita. Osastopäällikkö
Timo Korkkasaari ja toimisto-
päällikkö Seppo Havu laahtinas-
sa lausunnossa saamelaisen alkuperä-

peräisvektion luonne kiistettään ja
saamelaiden kerronaa etouvan
muista suomenalaisista lähtien kic-
lensä ja kansallisuuskajansa an-
siosa.

Muutkin saamelaiset ovat mi-
nisteriön mielestä sekoittuneet
suomalaisiin samalla kun rodullii-
set erot ovat kadonneet. Ministe-
riön mukaan myös saamelaiden
oikeudet maahan on toteutettu

Toimistopäällikkö Havu kiistää
Suomen saamelaisen alkuperäis-
vektion luonteen, mutta sanoo
pitävänsä mahdollisena, että
Ruotsin saamelaiset ovat alkuperä-
riskaansa konventiion tarkoitte-
massa mielestä.

Havu perustelee kääntäviä ar-
votaan niillä oikeuksilla, joi-

Ruotsin saamelaiset ovat saaneet
poronhoito Ruotsissa on saame-
laiden yksinoikeus ja Havu mu-
kanaan maassa saatava olla etäänjä-
sa reservaatteja, jossa asunnalla
alkuperäisvektö on pysyvään
alkuperäisensä.

"Ministeriön linja ajastaan jäljessä"

Suomen saamelaiset pitävät
Havun lausuntoa naurattavana.

Heidän mielestään se on laetta-
vissa myös toisiin. Suomeissa saa-
melaisilla ei ole oikeuksia, koska
Oikeustieteiden lehtimiesari Kaisa
Korpijaakko mielestä myös väite
maatöiden järjestämisestä isojo-

la tai oikeudella laudunnaa poroja
vähien maalla on hämmästyttävä.
Korpijaakko vihelti viime syky-
nä saamelaiden maanomistuso-
keudesta ja tuli siihen tulokseen,
että saamelaiset ovat omistaneet
maansa myös nykykajansa omis-
tusoikeuden tarkoituksessa mie-
lestä.

Pekka Aikio kansoo, että Suo-
men saamelaiset täyttävät II:On
määrätelmän alkuperäisvektöistä
hyvinkin tarkasti.

Nää ja metsätalousministeriön
pyrkii omistussella lausunnollaan
nuevsti varjotelemaan sitä lausua-
dännällistä linjaa, joi se on tä-
hänkin asti harjoittanut. Ministe-
riö ei kuitenkaan huomaa, että se
on ainakin 30 vuotta jäljessä kai-

kitä muista. Se vastustaa kon-
ventiolla yksin, kun oikeusmini-
steriö, säätöministeriö, työministeriö
ja opetusministeriö suhtautu-
vat siihen hyvinkin lämpimästi.

Sananhoito konventio on herä-
täny keskustelua myös Ruotsis-
sa. Siellä sen kaosaan merkitse-
vän saamelaiden omistusoikeu-
denkin tunnustamista. Osa vai-
hien kääntömiestä porolaitumista
siirtyi siten saamelaiden häli-
tään.

Aikion mielestä näin laittamii-
leen väleyn tulkitmaan ei ole
kuitenkaan välttämätöntä mentää.
Konventio rinnastaa omistuso-
keuden myös vähän käytetty-
keuden, jollaiseksi porojen lai-
dunnamisokeus katsotaan.

Havu justifies this opposite judgement with the rights the Swedish Sami have been allowed: reindeer husbandry is a privilege of the Sami in Sweden and, according to Havu, in this country there may be some kind of reservates, living in which has made it possible for the indigenous population to stay indigenous.

"Ministry line behind times"

The Sami in Finland consider the statement of Havu as ridiculous. According to them, it can read also otherwise: in Finland the Sami do not have the rights because they have not been given them.

According to Kaisa Korpijaakko, Licentiate of Laws, also the claim that the issue of land ownership was established with the general parcelling out of land, or by allowing pasture rights for reindeers on state land, is astonishing. Last autumn, Korpijaakko defended her dissertation on the land owning rights of the Sami and concluded that the Sami have owned their land, also in the sense of modern proprietary rights.

Pekka Aikio considers that the Sami in Finland do meet the criteria of an indigenous people as defined by ILO very accurately indeed.

"With its peculiar statement, The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry naturally aims at protecting the line of legislation it has practised until now. Ministry does not see, however, that it lags behind everyone else by 30 years at least. They alone

object to the convention, while the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Education have given it a warm reception indeed."

The very same convention has raised debate also in Sweden. There it is interpreted as a recognition of the ownership rights of the Sami. Some of the reindeer pastures owned by the state would thus be transferred to the possession of the Sami.

According to Aikio, such an extreme interpretation is not necessary. The convention sees ownership and strong right of use as parallel, the latter including also the pasturing rights of reindeer.

APPENDIX 13 KEY TEXT 4/HS 4, a news report 9.4.1990.

Saamelaisen oikeus oman kielen käyttöön turvataan

Oikeusministeriössä on valmistunut esitys saamelaisen kielelliset oikeudet turvaavasta erityislaista. Ehdotuksen mukaan saamen kieltä voitaisiin käyttää viranomaisten kanssa asioitaessa suomen ja ruotsin kielen ohella.

Lakiluonnoksen mukaan saamelaisilla olisi kansalaisuudesta riippumatta samankaltainen oikeus kuin suomen- ja ruotsinkielisillä Suomen kansalaisilla käyttää tuomioistuimissa ja muissa viranotoimituksissa omaa kieltään, saamea.

Hallitus on päättänyt pyytää esityshdotuksesta vielä korkeimman oikeuden ja korkeimman hallinto-oikeuden lausunnot, ennen kuin esitys annetaan eduskunnalle.

Saamelaisella tarkoitetaan

uudessa lakiluonnoksessa "henkilöä, joka itse tai jonka vanhemmista tai isovanhemmista ainakin yksi on oppinut saamen kielen ensimmäisenä kielenään, sekä hänen jälkeläistään".

Saamen kielen käytön turvaamista perustellaan mm. YK:n kansalaisoikeuksia ja poliittisia oikeuksia koskevan yleissopimuksen määräyksillä sekä Euroopan ihmisoikeussopimuksella.

Uudistusta sovellettaisiin saamelaisen kotiseutualueella eli Enontekiössä, Inarissa ja Utsjoelassa sekä Sodankylän Lapin paliskunnan alueella. Samaten saamen kieltä voi käyttää asioitaessa korkeimmassa oikeudessa, korkeimmassa hallinto-oikeudessa sekä eduskunnan oikeusasiamiehen ja valtioneuvoston oikeuskanslerin toimistoissa.

THE RIGHTS OF THE SAMI TO THEIR OWN LANGUAGE WILL BE GUARANTEED

The Ministry of Justice has drafted a bill for a special law guaranteeing the linguistic rights of the Sami. According to the proposal, along with Finnish and Swedish, also the Sami language could be used in matters with public authorities.

According to the drafted bill, the Sami - regardless of their citizenship - would have a similar right to the Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking citizens of Finland to use their own language, Sami, in courts of law and in their other business with public authorities.

The government has decided to ask the Supreme Court and the Supreme Administrative Court to comment the proposal before the bill proceeds to the Parliament (of Finland).

In the new bill, the Sami refers to a "person who either has learned Sami as his/her first language, or who has a parent or a grandparent who has done so, and to this person's descendants."

Protecting the use of Sami is being argued for by appealing to, eg., the regulations in the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and also to the European Convention on Human Rights.

The innovation would be applied in the Sami Domicile area, that is in Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki, and within the reindeer co-operative area of Sodankylä Lapland. Similarly, the Sami language may be used in Supreme Court, Supreme Administrative Court, Ombudsman's Office and in the Council of State's Office of the Chancellor of Justice.

APPENDIX 14 KEY TEXT 5/HS 5, a news report 17.2.1991.

THE LANTALAINEN [Finnish] POPULATION OF LAPLAND REPRIMANDS THE SAMI LAW

Is it better on state land than in the Lapp's forest?

If the Finnish population of Lapland is left to choose, Finland will never have a functional Sami law. The thought even that the so-called state lands actually may be returned to their rightful owners, that is, the Sami, is really painful for the people in Upper Lapland.

A public meeting organized by the Sami Parliament in Ivalo showed clearly that knowledge and opinions are far apart. A lantalainen thinks his right to fish in state waters or hunt in state forests is more important than the right of the Sami to get their own lands back - the land that is called state land.

Forest and Park Service resists as well, to be sure, since its own organization with its 250 jobs is endangered. A grandmother opposes, as she suspects his 9-year old grandson may not be able to practise the fisherman's profession on the lake of Inari as he wishes. A hunter objects, a gold miner is suspicious - and when a Councillor from the Ministry of the Interior utters the word 'legal history', the audience bursts with a hearty laugh: are they going to be made fun of? That something should be taken away from them in the name of legal history?

It is amazing to see how alien a thought it is for the Finns that the state had done something wrong or that there would be something to correct in the state of jurisdiction. It did not help that the principles of the bill were explained time after time to the Council Room full of people: that the right of the Sami and their descendants to their land and waters is a proprietary right and thus just as strong as the right of a Finnish farmer to his own field, that even the government of Finland has required that the rights of the Sami should be settled and that this is also required by the regulations of the international law.

"A better choice would be to develop the area as a genuine natural reserve, where the interests of different groups of population could be genuinely considered", said Pertti Veijola, the regional forestry officer of Forest and Park Service even after all talk heard.

"This is how a colonial master talks!" replied the governor (of Lapland province) Asko Oinas.

Lapin lantalaisväestö sätti saamelaislakia

Onko parempi valtion maalla kuin lappalaisen metsässä?

Ivalo
Ritva Liikkanen

Jos Lapin lantalaisväestö saa päättää, Suomi ei ikinä saa toimivaa saamelaislakia. Ajatuskin siitä, että niisanotut valtion maat saattavat todellakin palautua oikeille omistajilleen eli saamelaisille, on Ylä-Lapin suomalaissyntyisille asukkaille todellinen piinan paikka.

"Saamelaisvaltuuskunnan Ivalossa järjestämä tiedotus- ja keskustelutilaisuus osoitti selvästi, että tieto ja mielipiteet eivät kulje alkuunkaan samalla tasolla. Lantalaisen mielestä hänen oikeutensa kalastaa valtion vedessä tai metsästä, valtion metsässä on tärkeempi oikeus kuin saamelaisilla oikeus saada takaisin oma maansa — se, jota valtion maaksi kutsutaan.

Metsähallituskin vastustaa, totta kai, kun sen oma organisaatio ja 250 työpaikkaa ovat vaarassa. Isoäiti vastustaa, kun aavistelee, ettei hänen yhdeksänvuotias pojanpoikansa kenties pääsekään toivomuksensa mukaan kalastajan ammattiin Inarin järvelle. Metsämies vastustaa, kullankai-vaja epäilee — ja kun sisäministeriön hallitusneuvos lausuu sanan oikeushistoria, yleisö herautaa pidäkkeettömään nauruun: pikkunako heitä aiotaan pitää! Että heiltä jotain otettaisiin oikeushistorian nimissä!

Hämmästyttävää on nähdä, miten vieras suomalaisille on ajatus siitä, että valtio olisi menetellyt väärin tai että oikeustilassa olisi

jotakin korjaamista. Ei auttanut, vaikka täpötäydelle valtuustosaliiselle kerran toisensa jälkeen selitettiin esityksen lähtökohdat: että lappalaisten ja heidän perillistensä oikeus maihinsa ja vesiinensä on omistusoikeus ja siten yhtä vahva kuin suomalaistilallisen oikeus omaan peltoonsa, että Suomen hallituskin on edellyttänyt saamelaisten oikeuksien järjestämistä, ja että sitä edellyttävät myös kansainvälisen oikeuden säännöt.

"Parempi vaihtoehto olisi kehittää hoitoaluetta todellisena luonnonhoitoalueena, jossa eri väestöryhmien edut voidaan ottaa todella huomioon", arveli metsähallituksen aluemetsänhoitaja Pertti Veijola paljojen puheiden jälkeenkin.

"Siirtomaaherran puhetta!" vastasi maaherra Asko Oinas.

Metsähallitus vaihtuisi lapinkylään

Saamelaislailla saamelaisten kotiseutualueella sijaitsevat valtion maat ja vedet palautettaisiin takaisin saamelaisille. Suojelalueet pysytettäisiin suojelalueina, mutta muiden alueiden tuotto kuuluisille saamelaisille, samoin oikeus päättää niiden käytöstä. Hallintaa varten perustettaisiin niisanottuja lapinkylä, joiden osakkaiksi pääsisivät tiettyin perustein saamelaiset ja muutkin poronhoitoa harjoitta-

vat. Muut kuin osakkaat tarvitsisivat alueiden käyttöön lapinkylän luvan.

"Ja varmaan ei lapinkylä anna sitä lupaa!" yleisö manasi: "Eikö tämä ole väärin?"

"Minkä tähden?" kysyi saamelaisten maanomistuksesta väitellyt oikeustieteen tohtori Kaisa Korpijaanko vilpittömästi ällistyneenä: "Ei kukaan saa käyttää mielikseen tilallisenkaan maata. Minkä tähden olisi väärin, ettei saamelaisten maata saisi käyttää luvatta?"

Miksi yleensä tarvitaan saamelaislaki? yleisö kyseli. Miksi asiaa ei viedä tuomioistuimeen?

Siksi, vastasi saamelaisvaltuuskunnan sihteeri Heikki J. Hyvärinen, että se maksaa. Ruotsin Skattefjället-oikeudenkäynti maksoi saamelaisille 7 miljoonaa kruunua. Siksi, että lopputulos koskisi vain tiettyä maata ja tiettyä saamelaisia eikä koko asiaa voitaisi hoitaa yhdellä kerralla. Ja sen tähden, että vihdoin viimein tarvittaisiin kuitenkin laki, jotta saamelaisten asiat saataisiin kuntoon.

Lakiluonnonksen laatinut saamelaisasiain neuvottelukunta uskoo, että saamelaislaki voidaan säätää tavallisessa lainsäätämisen järjestyksessä. Sillä ei vähennetä kenenkään oikeutta eikä plututa kunnalliseen itsehallitusoikeuteen. Vain isännän ääni vaihtuu: kun erilaatuiset luvut joudutaan nyt pyytämään metsähallitukselta, ne jäisivät vastedes lapinkylän harkittaviksi.

Forest and Park Service would be replaced by Lapland villages (Lapinkylät)

With the Sami law, the state lands and waters within the domicile area would be returned to the Sami. The protected areas would be retained as protected areas, but the profit by other areas would belong to the Sami, along with the right to decide upon their use. For administrative purposes, so-called Lapland villages

would be established, the partnership of which would be allowed on certain grounds to the Sami but also to others who practise reindeer husbandry. Non-partners would need a licence allowed by the Lapland villages to be able to use the area.

"And it is for sure that the Lapland village won't allow that licence!" swore the audience. "Is this not wrong?"

"Why?", asked with a sincere astonishment Kaisa Korpijaakko, the Doctor of Laws who wrote her thesis on land ownership. "Nobody is allowed to use a farmer's land any way he chooses either. Why should it be wrong that the Sami land could not be used without a permission?"

"Why is a Sami law needed, after all?" the audience kept asking. "Why is the issue not taken to a Court of Law?"

"Because", said Heikki Hyvärinen, the Secretary of the Sami Parliament, "that it costs a lot." The Skattefjället case lawsuit cost 7 million Swedish crowns for the Sami. Because the resolution would apply in one country only and for one group of the Sami only and the issue as a whole would be left unsettled. And because of the fact that in the end a law would be needed to finally settle down the Sami issue.

The Sami Delegation who drafted the bill, believe that the Sami bill can proceed in the ordinary order. The law will not diminish anyone's rights and will not interfere with the municipal autonomy. Only the master's voice will be different: as now the various licences must be applied for from the Forest and Park Service, in future they should be left to be given by Lapland villages.

APPENDIX 15 KEY TEXT 6/HS 6, a news report 21.8.1993.

NO SPECIAL PROTECTION FOR THE SAMI REINDEER HUSBANDRY

The court of justice dropped a suit against Forest and Park Service

The human rights suit as filed by four Sami reindeer herdsman against the Forest and Park Service was dismissed on Friday in the District Court of Inari. The District Court did not find evidence for the claim that the profession of the reindeer herdsman would be remarkably endangered because of the loggings carried out by the state.

The herdsman from the village Angeli had in their suit asked the court of law to confirm their right to practise reindeer husbandry in their living area according to their own culture. The court was asked to set a conditional fine to stop the loggings planned by Forest and Park Services. The herdsman appealed to the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified also by Finland. This was the first time when the Sami sought a confirmation for their cultural rights in a common court of law.

The District Court of Inari stated that in Finland the Sami have been assimilated to the majority to a certain extent. That is why an international precedent on the rights of Canadian Indian population is not an appropriate comparison in the handling of the suit filed by the Sami. According to the court, the herdsman have

Saamelaisten poronhoito ei saanut erityissuojaa

Oikeus hylkäsi kanteen metsähallitusta vastaan

PEKKA HILTUNEN
Helsingin Sanomat

IVALO—Neljän saamelaisen poromiehen ihmisoikeuskanne metsähallitusta vastaan hylättiin Inarin kihlakunnanoikeudessa perjantaina. Kihlakunnanoikeus ei löytänyt näyttöä siitä, että poromiesten ammattinajoittaminen vaarantasi merkittävästi valtion metsähakkaiden vuoksi.

Angellaiset poromiehet olivat kantaneensa pyytäneet tuomioistuinta vahvistamaan haidan oikeutensa harjoittaa asuinalueellaan kulttuurinsa mukaisia porajoutia. Oikeutta pyydettiin asettamaan uhkasakko metsähallituksen suunnittelemien hakkuiden estämiseksi. Poromiehet va-



Jouni A. Lämsman

tasivat Suomenkin ratifioimaan YK:n yleissopimukseen kansallais- ja poliittisista oikeuksista. Kyseessä oli ensimmäinen kerta, kun saamelaiset hakivat Suomes-

sa kulttuuristen oikeuksiensa vahvistamista yleisessä tuomioistuimessa.

Inarin kihlakunnanoikeus toteasi saamelaisväestön sulautuneen Suomessa valtaväestöön jossain määrin. Siksi esimerkiksi kansainvälinen ennakkotapaus Kanadan intiaaniväestön oikeuksista ei sovellu vertailukohtaksi saamelaisten kanteen käsittelyssä. Poromiehet eivät ole oikeusistuimen mukaan esittäneet näyttöä siitä, että saamelainen poronhoito eroaisi merkittävästi alueella yleisesti harjoitetusta poronhoidosta.

Valtion metsähoidon ja paikallisen väestön poronhoidon näkökulmat ovat kihlakunnanoikeuden mielestä pitkällä yhteen sovittavissa, ja metsähallitus on

alueen hakkuita suunnitellessaan ottanut porotalouden tarpeet huomioon. Poronhoidon harjoittamista turvaa myös poronhoitolaki.

Jos kihlakunnanoikeus olisi vahvistanut poromiesten vaatimat oikeudet, päätöksellä olisi voinut olla huomattavat vaikutukset kaikkeen saamelaisalueella tehtävään metsänhoitoon. "Se olisi avannut aivan uusia näkökulmia maankäytön ongelmiin", toteaa metsähallituksen aluejohtaja Pertti Veijola.

Poromiehiä edustava oikeustieteen tohtori Martin Scheinin toteaa, ettei kihlakunnanoikeuden päätöksellä ole emakkopäätöksen arvoa. Hän pitää päätöksessä myönteisenä sitä, että oikeus toteasi poromiehillä olevan selvä in-

teressi asiassa ja että hakkuita myönnettiin olevan jonkin verran heittäen poronhoidolle.

"Kulttuuriset oikeudet ovat ylempien oikeusasteiden ongelmia. Kansainväliset läpinurrot esimerkiksi Australiassa ja Kanadassa ovat tapahtuneet yleisissä oikeusistuimissa", Scheinin kertoo.

Tärkeä talviruokinta-alue

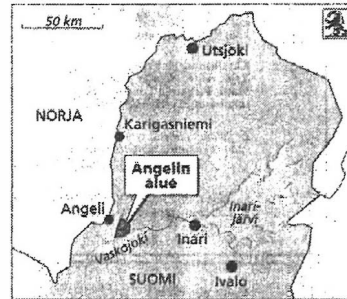
Oikeutta käytiin alueesta, joka on vain noin prosentti Muonkan paliskunnan poronhoitoalueesta. Poromiesten mukaan alue on kuitenkin kymmenesosa porojen talviruokinta-alueesta, ja metsähallituksen hakkuit haittavat monelta tavoin porojen laiduntamista ja

kokoamista.

"Todennäköisesti valittamme päätöksestä eteenpäin. Tarvitessa viemme asian vaikka kansainväliseen oikeuteen", sanoo Jouni A. Lämsman, yksi kanteen tehneistä poromiehistä.

Lämsmanin mukaan alueella jää hakkaamatta lähinnä jänkä, jota poroi eivät nuuteikkain löydä ruokaa. Jäkälaamasta hakkuilta säilyy vain noin noin kolmasosa.

Lämsman ei usko, että Angellisa alueeseen ottaa oikeutta omin käsiin ensi talvena, kun metsähallitus aloittaa hakkunsa. "Paliskunnassa on yhteinen päätös siitä, että hakkuita ei saisi tehdä, mutta en usko edes nuorten alkan osoittava mieltään. Me viemme tätä asiaa eteenpäin oikeudessa, vaikka näytetään siltä, että valtio pitää omiansa puolta."



Kiistely alue on idrked porojen ruokinnalle.

not given evidence on the fact that reindeer husbandry by the Sami would differ significantly from that commonly practised in the district.

The angles represented by the state forestry and local population are, according to the District Court, compatible to a great degree and Forest and Park Service has considered the needs of reindeer husbandry when planning the loggings. The practice of reindeer husbandry is also supported by Law on Reindeer Husbandry.

If District Court had confirmed the rights demanded by reindeer herdsman, the decision would have had a remarkable influence on all forestry carried out on the Sami domicile. "That would have opened new angles altogether to the problems of land use", states Pertti Veijola, District Leader of Forest and Park Service.

Martin Scheinin, the Doctor of Laws who represents the reindeer herdsman, states that the decision of District Court does not have a status of a precedent. He finds the decision positive in that the court did state that herdsman have a clear interest in the issue and that it was admitted that the loggings did some damage at least to reindeer husbandry.

"Cultural rights are a problem that has to be presented in higher courts of law. International breakthroughs, such as those in Australia and Canada have taken place in higher instances", tells Scheinin.

Important winter feeding area

The case concerned a district which makes approximately only one per cent of the reindeer husbandry district of the Muotka reindeer co-operative. According to the herdsman, the district makes, however, a tenth of the winter feeding area of reindeers and the loggings of Forest and Park Service hinder the pasturing of reindeer and their gathering in many ways.

"Probably we will make a complaint about this decision, appealing to higher courts of law. If needed, we will take the matter to international court" says Jouni A. Länsman, one of the reindeer herdsman who filed the suit.

According to Länsman, what remains unlogged is only moor (jämkä) where the reindeers do not find anything to feed upon anyhow. Only a third of lichen land will be spared from the loggings.

Länsman does not believe that anyone would take the justice in their own hands in Angeli next winter when the Forest and Park Service starts its loggings. "There exists a common decision in the reindeer co-operative about that the loggings should not be made, but I do not think that even the young people would start demonstrating against them. We will take this issue further in courts of law, even though it seems the state will side with its own".

APPENDIX 16 Frequency of transitivity features in the six Sami news.

	Process	Act./Pass.	Tense	Participants	Three circumstances
Material	114	75/39	74 present tense 19 past tense 21 present perfect	75 actor 94 goal	35 locations 15 manner 10 angle
Relational	46	43/3	37 present tense 4 past tense 5 present perfect	17 carrier 17 attribute 29 value 29 token	8 locations 6 angle 5 contingency
Mental	28	21/7	22 present tense 3 past tense 3 present perfect	21 senser 28 phenomenon	3 manner 2 locations 2 contingency 2 angle
Verbal	34	24/10	16 present tense 12 past tense 5 present perfect 1 past perfect	24 sayer 35 verbiage	5 manner 3 loaction 2 matter
Together	222	163/59	149 present tense 38 past tense 34 present perfect 1 past perfect	369	48 locations 23 manner 18 angle

APPENDIX 17 Process types in the key texts.

Process types	TEXTS					
	HS1	HS2	HS3	HS4	HS5	HS6
Material	10	16	20	7	39	23
Verbal	4	2	6	2	11	9
Relational	3	6	11	1	14	11
Mental	2	1	13	1	16	5
Total	19	25	50	11	80	48

APPENDIX 18 Distribution of token and value roles.

