

THE BATTLE OF THE BERRY FIELDS
The Berry Picking Drama of 2013

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Humanistis-
yhteiskuntatieteellinen
tiedekunta
Jyväskylän yliopisto
Kevät 2020

TIIVISTELMÄ 1250069518

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Kevät 2020

sivumäärä: 64 sivua

Loppukesästä 2013 Suomeen saapui kolmatta tuhatta thaimaalaista marjanpoimijaa keräämään suomalaisia metsämarjoja. 50 näistä poimijoista riitautui kutsujayrityksen kanssa, mistä syntyi mediakohtu, joka kyseenalaisti alan elinvoimaisuuden ja käytännöt. Tämän tutkimuksen tehtävänä on vertailla median käyttämää retoriikkaa ennen ja jälkeen julkisuuden.

Tarkoituksena on selvittää ensinnäkin, muuttuuko thaimaalaisista marjanpoimijoista käytettävä retoriikka konfliktin myötä ja jos muuttuu, miten konflikti on vaikuttanut uuteen narratiiviin. Tarkoituksena on myös tarkastella, kuinka suomalainen media, marjateollisuus ja suuri yleisö rakentavat marjanpoiminnan kansallisen tarinan ja oikeuttavat sitä kautta toiminnan.

Tutkimuksen aineiston muodostavat Ylen ja Helsingin Sanomien uutiset thaimaalaisista marjanpoimijoista. Tarkemmin aineisto on rajattu koskemaan vuosia 2005-2014. Analyysimenetelmänä on käytetty niin Kenneth Burken identifikaatioteoriaa ja sitä tukevia käsitteitä kuten edustavaa anekdoottia. Identifikaatioteorian lisäksi Burken käsitteistä hyödynnetään syntipukin ja mortifikaation käsitteitä.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että vaikka konflikti kyseenalaisti marjanpoiminnan käytäntöjä, pysyi edustava anekdootti muuttumattomana. Tarinan syntipukkeja ovat sääntöjä rikkovat agentit, jotka eivät noudata yhteisiä pelisääntöjä. Konflikti kohdataan toisaalla mortifikaation kautta, eli kansallinen tarina luonnonmarjoistamme oikeuttaa väärinkäytökset. Pelisääntöjä uudistamalla ja syntipukit löytämällä, tämä tarina uudennettiin oikeuttamaan syksyn 2013 tapahtumat.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat myös, että kansallinen tarina yhteisistä metsämarjoista, jotka pitää pelastaa hinnalla millä hyvänsä, voi hyvin ja mahdollistaa thaimaalaisten marjanpoimijoiden poikkeuksellisen työmarkkina-aseman.

Avainsanat: siirtotyö, retoriikka, edustava anekdootti, identifikaatio, syntipukki, mortifikaatio

SUMMARY

BATTLE OF THE BERRY FIELDS

The Berry Picking Drama of 2013

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Political Science / Development and International Cooperation

Master's Thesis

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University of Jyväskylä

Director: Pekka Korhonen

Spring 2020

pages: 64 pages

In late summer 2013, almost three thousand Thai berry pickers arrived in Finland to harvest Finnish wild berries. 50 of these pickers ended up in conflict with inviting company, creating a media hype that questioned the vitality and practices of the industry. The purpose of this study is to compare the rhetoric used by the media before and after publicity.

The first is to determine whether the rhetoric used by Thai pickers will change with the conflict and, if so, how the conflict will affect the new narrative. The aim is also to examine how the Finnish media, the berry industry and the general public construct and legitimize the national story of berry picking.

The material for the study is news from Yle and Helsingin Sanomat about Thai berry pickers. More specifically, the material is limited to the years 2005-2014. Kenneth Burke's theory of identification and supporting concepts such as representative anecdote have been

used as analytical methods. In addition to identification theory, Burke's concepts utilize the concepts of scapegoat and mortification.

Research results show that while the conflict questioned berry picking practices, the representative anecdote remained unchanged. The story's scapegoats are the offending agents who do not follow common rules. Elsewhere, conflict comes through mortification, the national story of our natural berries justifying wrongdoing. By revising the rules of the game and finding the scapegoats, this story was renewed to justify the fall of 2013.

The results of the study also show that the national story of common forest berries, which must be rescued at all costs, can do well and enable the Thai berry pickers to enjoy an exceptional labor market position.

Keywords: migrant work, rhetoric, representative anecdote, identification, scapegoat, mortification

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1. Introduction

It was early morning at Suolahti's Kansantalo, an old labor movement's people's building run by local nongovernmental institution of unemployed and workers united. People were whispering in the kitchen because nobody wanted to wake up 50 Thai berry pickers sleeping next door in the estate's main hall. There were around seven people in the room all sharing the same concern: what is going to happen to the pickers next.

Just two months ago these 50 Thais had arrived from Thailand to Finland with high hopes. They had been told about hefty profits one can make in Finland by picking wild berries in the forest. The reality was something else: working conditions, payments and cooperation with the Finnish company did not meet the expectations and what was promised in Thailand. The situation finally escalated on 8th of September when berry company Ber-Ex Oy forced Thai-pickers to move their camp from Lieksa to Saarijärvi into area already cleaned out of berries by a different group of Thai-pickers.

The 2013 berry season had been all together bad. The berry prices were already low since previous year's good harvest and this year's harvest was late. Thai-pickers started to slowly understand that in best case they would only just barely cover the debts they had taken for the trip back in Thailand. These workers were mostly small-scale farmers from rural North-Eastern Thailand, and to meet the expenses that the trip to Finland costs, they had taken loans to meet the expenses of travelling to Finland such as payments to recruitment agency, insurances costs and supplies for upcoming months. The loan is the backbone of the relationship and mutual agreement between them and the recruiting agencies: pickers wealth, land and house are usually placed as warranty for the debt. Because of the debt, their whole standard of living and livelihood depends on the result of the berry picking trip to Finland.

Charlotta Hedberg, Linn Axelsson and Manolo Abella have studied the cost structure of Thai-berry picking in Sweden. The result of the study was that, compared to the relatively short season, the costs are significant: the average picker pays 4,000 US dollars for 70 days of work. Up to 50 percent of these costs are paid to Thai employment agents. The rest of the costs consist mainly of accommodation costs, travel and food, which are paid to Swedish companies. So, the average picker returns with him for about 2,000 US dollars. According to the survey, most pickers are experienced at work and have visited Sweden several times, but the experience still does not correlate with income. (Hedberg et al. 2019, 5). This amount of debts is gigantic money for Thai-farmer especially if the loan is taken from unofficial loan sharks with high interest rate.

The Finnish berry picking industry started a big changed in 2005. This was first year ever a Finnish berry companies invited larger group of Thai pickers to Finland. According to Pekka Rantanen, who has researched the immigration work in Nordic berry picking industry for years, there are several reasons behind this shift. First, the number of Finnish berry pickers had decreased in past years, secondly the rise in living standards in Eastern European countries had decreased the number of foreign pickers in Finland and finally and thirdly, Sweden had been recruiting Thai pickers for years and showed an example Finland to follow. (Rantanen&Valkonen 2011, 6).

The pickers did so well that soon the other Finnish companies started to invite Thai people as well. The number of Thai pickers increased rapidly: in 2006, there were over 600 pickers and in 2007 over one thousand. In 2011 the phenomena reached its' peak and over 3,000 pickers arrived Finland. Since 2011 the number has kept the same with only small changes in visa quotas given by Finnish embassy and Ministry of foreign affairs. Today most of forest berries are collected by foreign pickers. (Rantanen&Valkonen 2013, 8.)

After pickers started to realize that they would not meet their goals, the situation in Suolahti started escalating quickly. Negotiations were held between the Thais and pickers voted not to follow the orders of the company, if they were not moved into area which had berries. The company refused. Their response was that either the pickers go pick the

berries as the company demands or they go home. On the 9th activists arrived to help the pickers. No reconciliation was reached, and police was called to the camp to kick striking pickers out from the company's premises. Without a place to go or any help from the embassy or Finnish officials they ended up to Suolahti with the help of the local volunteers and leftwing activists. On the 10th pickers marched to local police headquarters and raised charges on human trafficking.

On the morning of 14th 50 pickers voted once again. This time the vote was about whether to leave according to plan given by the Thai embassy and the Finnish recruiting company or stay on their own and demand for payments and compensations. The vote is almost unanimous: pickers refuse to work in cooperation with company and Thai-officials, they refuse to go back before they get their payment for the work already done and they refuse to be silenced by embassy and the industry. By this stage on I myself started to work as the group's publicist. This meant organizing interview requests, spreading information via online and sharing press releases since the media was widely interested in the situation of the pickers.

This was not the first time Thai berry pickers were mentioned in the public debate. Since the first Thai pickers arrived in 2005, there had been some public debate on the phenomena. Debate mainly focused on 'Every man's rights' and the relationship to organized commercial picking, local people's right to the berries and the question of the economic entrepreneurial risk taken by the pickers. (Peltola & Hallikainen 2011, 12). There were also some concerns about abuse of the pickers, but mainly the debate was carried out in opinion pieces published by local newspapers where people argued whether Thais were sufficiently enough trained for Finnish berry picking and Every man's rights.

In December 2009 the Finnish Ombudsman for Minorities, Johanna Suurpää, stated in her recommendation that more comprehensive monitoring of the conditions of forest berry pickers should be carried out in 2010. In her statement she was especially concerned of the employee position of the pickers, since the office had had numerous contacts concerning pickers and their problems. Problems were observed in recruiting, working conditions,

lodging and in returning home. Ombudsman also raises concerns that debt taken for the trip back in Thailand and their juridical position as entrepreneurs makes their position extremely vulnerable: A problem has been the vulnerability of berry pickers, which may expose berry pickers to human trafficking and related exploitation. Berry pickers are not employed but are considered to pick up berries on their own entrepreneurial risk. However, they are unable to assess the risks and rights of Finland as unknown and possibly language-poor and may therefore find themselves in a very vulnerable position. Likewise, pickers may not understand working for an entrepreneurial risk, but may perceive themselves as being employed. The reports also recognized the debt taken in Thailand and noted, that the berry picking in Finland may lead to a spiral of debt for vulnerable people. (Vähemmistövaltuutettu 2010, 139).

Thai-pickers were again in the news in 2011, when University of Lapland published a final report of the research project where the structure of the business in Finland was researched profoundly. The report pointed out problems especially in monitoring the industry: there were several public officials who handled monitoring, there was no auditioning of the companies that got the permits to recruit the pickers and the data monitoring was producing was not comparable. (Valkonen & Rantanen 2011, 79-81). The industry's response came quickly and was same as usual. According to the industry, the long-term development of the business is no longer considered possible based on the willingness of the Finns to pick berries, but by bringing foreigners to pick berries in Finland. Companies were increasingly dependent on foreign pickers and therefore defend the necessity of foreign pickers who had quickly become the main source of the berries. (Rantanen&Valkonen 2008). This was very much the same outcome that the researcher had reached in their study.

Back in Suolahti the following days were spend negotiating with the company on salaries, return tickets with the embassy and answering to countless requests from journalists. The case was all over the headlines. The resources in Suolahti were starting run low and we moved quietly from Suolahti to Helsinki where we once again lodged in one of the people's house. The pickers visited the Finnish Parliament, their case was discussed in prime time talk show and the case even went viral in Thailand where issues concerning the

migrant work are widely neglected. How the 50 pickers would return home and when, was yet a mystery.

Soon after all the media coverage and public demands for better working conditions for the Thai pickers the Ministry of labor launched an investigation on the wildlife berry picking. The report made by special investigator of the ministry Markku Wallin was published in the beginning of 2014 with multiple proposals how to develop the industry. In his report Wallin states that: The chain through which the Thai people come to Finland to pick wild berries is a versatile and from several aspects confusing in relation to normative thinking of Finns. Many players benefit from pickers in a way that involves some questionable features and the only one that has significant personal risk in the whole process, is a picker. (Wallin 2014, 2).

In the awe of the berry-picking season of 2014 a meeting between industry and Labor ministry was held. Berry-pickers or their supporters were not present in the meeting. Due to publicity and pressure from the government, private sector and the berry industry agreed on a Letter of intent – a document signed by the industry – to ensure that certain standards on working conditions were met. Also, Finnish ministry of labor requested more precise and transparent yearly reporting how the terms were met and opened a survey for the pickers review the season. (Ulkoministeriö 2014).

Despite the changes the system very much remains the same: companies apply for a permit from the Ministry of foreign affairs and get their visa-quota based on the size of their operation and previous years experiences. To understand how strict the regulation is, the Ber-Ex Oy, that was responsible on inviting the 50 pickers who eventually refused to work, did not experience any downsizing on their quota in 2014, year after the incidents. After receiving the quota, the company contacts labor exchange companies or business members in Thailand and simply asks for certain number of workers. The business continues as usual: the entrepreneur risk is outsourced to pickers who take debt to pick berries in Finland.

Even though the system did not change significantly, did something change and if not why? The primary question of this study is whether the incidents of fall 2013 had any effects on the public view on Thai berry pickers? Even though the industry remained relatively same with only minor changes, was there a change in a public opinion? How did the summer of 2013 affect on the bigger narrative of Thai-pickers? In this study I try to understand what this change was by analyzing mainstream media outlet's news on Thai-pickers and comparing the narratives before 2013 and after it.

The study is structured in following manner: In this introduction I explain the phenomena itself and how this study was found in the first place. In the next chapters I will explain the context of Thais compared to global immigration trends and the mechanisms that enable the industry to continue its' practices. I will also introduce the research material, previous study on the subject and write few words concerning the research ethics of this study and my own position. In following chapters I will introduce the Burkean reading I use as a base of my analysis and explain dramatic analysis I use to analyze the material. Last, I will conduct my conclusions and ideas for further study.

1.1. Global immigration, EU and Finland

The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 also led to a revolution in migrant work. In 2004 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus joined the EU and in 2007 Romania, Bulgaria. As the frontiers unfolded, new groups of people entered the labor market of the Union, which fundamentally altered labor migration in the economic area. Indeed, many years after the enlargement of the Union are called 'the new era of European immigration'. (Friberg 2012, 316).

In the past, immigration to Europe was largely based on post-colonialist structures, asylum seekers and humanitarian aid, and guest labor with families, now migrant labor was

determined by short distances, employment agencies, labor encounters, and low-cost travel. (Strockmeijer et al., 2019, 2442). This change has raised the importance of migrant labor in the European labor market, even to the extent that the debate has turned to the question of whether the mobile workforce is replacing a group of immigrants who come to work permanently? We read news about the Philippines and Filipino nurses, Thai berry pickers and eastern European construction workers. Is it a real megatrend, or is it a problem facing a small margin that is highlighted in the public debate?

In the past, migrant workers who came to Europe were mainly made up of people who came to Europe on a permanent basis. Now, thanks to the free movement of labor, migrant workers were right next door, with short distances and recruitment channels. In the 60s and 70s, Turkish and Moroccan workers made up a large part of Central European migrant workers. These people stayed in the country for a longer period, although many returned homes after years of work history. This was largely due to work permit practices, long distances to home, and expensive travel. With the accession of the Eastern European countries in 2004 and 2007 to the economic and Schengen area, the labor market opened to millions of workers whose domestic wage levels were lower than those of the rest of the economic area and were adjacent to higher wage levels. (Strockmeijer et al. 2019, 2431).

In 2014, there were slightly over 140,000 foreign workers in Finland, most of whom were Eastern Europeans - Estonians and Russians. Anita Strockmeijer, Paul de Beer and Jaco Dagevos, who have studied Eastern European migrant work in the Netherlands. Researchers write in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*: "The 'new' forms of migration that are currently manifesting themselves in Europe are more diverse and changeable than the old 'Migration and characterization by temporary and return migration.'" (Strockmeijer et al., 2019, 2431).

While the role of short-term migrant workers has been emphasized, new patterns of migration can also be identified in the labor market. Strockmeijer, de Beer and Dagevos examine the demographic and non-population labor data for five years. The data showed that about a quarter of the workforce coming from Eastern Europe comes from

employment agencies. The offices handle all the practical arrangements, which significantly reduces the threshold for going abroad. These migrant workers tend to spend a short time in the labor market and work seasonally. About 13 percent of workers experience strong ties both in their country of origin and in their country of work. In practice, this group lives permanently between two countries. Of the workers, 22 per cent stayed permanently in the country of employment and 41 per cent did not experience strong ties to either country and did short-term seasonal work. (Strockmeijer et al., 2019, 2443).

The study by Strockmeijer, de Beer and Dagevos found four categories into which migrant workers can be divided based on their behavior. The breakdown is largely based on the employee's relationship and ties both in the country of origin and in the country of employment. The first group is the population registered and short-term workers; second-time registrants who work long-term; third, unregistered workers with short-term employment relationships and finally unregistered workers with a long employment history. (Strockmeijer et al., 2019, 2443).

Nearly 40 percent of the workers belong to the first category, i.e. the rotating workforce, which was not registered in the population register and worked in the country for up to five years. Most of workers registered in the population register remained permanently in the labor market, while most of the unregistered workers worked for short periods but long before leaving the country. research shows that women are more likely to miss men. On average, those who stay are older and earn better wages. This may also be due in part to the increase in wages and career advancement afforded by longer working lives. Most of the short-term and unregistered workers, on the other hand, are young people with low wages and employed in the agricultural sector. Although the majority leave the labor market within five years, it is noteworthy how small the number of migrant workers who do short seasonal work is. Only 6 percent of all employees were in this last category, although the role of this group of workers is often highlighted in the debate. (Strockmeijer et al., 2019, 2441).

Finland follows European megatrends. Even though the pattern of Thai-pickers does not follow the mainstream, it was at the same time the legal change that made arrangement of flying Thai-pickers to Finland possible. In 2004 the Law on foreign people went through a general reform. The reform allowed the pickers to enter the country without the worker's residence permit. The law stated that harvesting of forestry grapes and berries is usually never done in the employment relationship because otherwise the wage income from picking wild berries would be considered as taxable income under the Income Tax Act. In other words: if there was an employment relationship, the work would be taxed, and it might be considered industrial picking which might collide with Every man's right. To prevent this, Thai-pickers were considered as entrepreneurs.

Since there is no employment relationship, pickers can enter Finland with a Schengen visa for a maximum of three months. The same time limit applies to a visa-free national. A foreigner must, though, meet the entry conditions even if the employee's residence permit is not required. For example, the law requires that the person has the necessary means of subsistence both for stay and to travel back home. (Ulkomaalaislaki 2004, 11). To meet up these conditions, pickers need to have enough funds, training, insurances and flight ticket out. All this takes money which farmers from North-East Thailand do not have, so they need debt. In other words, the 50 Thai pickers stuck in Suolahti were merely tourists who had picked tax-free wild berries for the company as entrepreneurs.

Approximately 2,000 Thai berry pickers arrive in Finland each year. Considering that the country has 140,000 foreign workers every year, it is a relatively small group that works under a seasonal work permit for short periods. In 2004, the law concerning foreigners was revised regarding to seasonal work, which allowed Thai berry pickers to enter the country without a worker's residence permit. (Ulkomaalaislaki 2004). According to the law, when harvesting wild berries is not done in an employment relationship, otherwise the wages from harvesting wild berries are considered taxable under the Income Tax Act. In other words, if there was a job, it would be taxed and could be considered as an industrial pick that could strike every man. To prevent this, the Thai pickers were considered as entrepreneurs and were being interpreted as entrepreneurs who, however, arrive in the country as seasonal workers. The Schengen visa issued to Thai pickers and the picking

under it is not based directly on the Aliens Act (Ulkomaalaislaki 2004), but on the then-established and subsequently established interpretation that picking is possible without a residence permit for up to three months. (Rantanen 2011, 6). In practice, this means that pickers in Finland are self-employed.

If forest berry growers are self-employed, the Employment Contracts Act and other labor laws such as the Working Time and Annual Holidays Act do not apply. In the summer of 2010, the Labor Council issued an opinion on foreign natural berries and third countries. In the Labor Council's opinion on the application of the law on annual leave to foreign wild berries, it was felt that there was no agreement between the collectors and the companies inviting them to commit to work. In the absence of an employment relationship, the pickers arrive in Finland on a Schengen visa for a maximum period of three months. The same deadline applies to the visa-free citizen. (Työneuvosto 2010, TN1438-10).

The alien will probably have to fulfill the entry conditions even though no residence permit is required. For example, the law requires that a person have enough means to stay and to return home. (Ulkomaalaislaki 2004, 11). To meet these requirements, applicants must have enough funds, training, insurance and airline tickets. However, control and activity in the industry are often overlooked, as companies in the industry openly admit to being dependent on foreign pickers and therefore defend the necessity of foreign pickers. This practice has become an established way of getting berries to production lines. (Rantanen 2011, 9).

Thai berry pickers are an older phenomenon in Sweden. About 5,000 pickers from Thailand arrive in Sweden each year. While in the summer of 2013, Finnish berry pickers were discussed in Finland after 50 pickers quarreled with a company that had invited pickers to the country, Sweden was working to avoid further berry picking problems and clarify responsibilities. Although Sweden employed berry picking, it did not eliminate the sector's problems or improve the vulnerable position of pickers.

According to a study published by the University of Umeå, problems in the berry industry are not primarily crystallized in leading Swedish companies or vague operators, as is usually claimed, but rather in a corrupt recruitment business in Thailand. Instead of regulating the sector or putting pressure on the key players in the sector, the authorities have accepted that demand fluctuations, poor harvests and regulatory risks have been outsourced to migrant workers. (Eriksson et al. 2019, 51), The situation is very similar to that in Finland, although picking is an employment relationship. According to the study, berry picking is colored by nostalgic thinking, where cheap berries are seen as part of the Swedish cultural heritage. The berries are part of a larger story based on narratives of localism and tradition. Because the Swedes themselves do not want to pick berries commercially, the global workforce gets its legitimacy as a continuation of tradition. (Eriksson et al. 2019, 51). Unlike other seasonal and migrant workers who use one-off employment services, berry pickers pay half of their income each year to recruitment agencies.

Anniina Jokinen and Natalia Ollus discuss the structures of labor migration exploitation in a joint European study. Ollus and Jokinen distinguish between the mechanisms by which exploitation most commonly works. The first mechanism is the seemingly self-employed, i.e. false or forced entrepreneurship. The model allows the victim to register as a self-employed person in the target country, either by misleading, deceptive, manipulative or violent means, even though they are still working under the control of their employer. Another way is to link the workforce through long supply chains of different types of mergers, thus obscuring the real employer and costs. (Ollus and Jokinen 2016, 21).

The third method used in the context of labor exploitation is circumvention of posted workers regulations. In some cases, workers from lower-wage European countries, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, Albania and Northern Macedonia, are recruited from one EU country and posted to another. In many cases, companies posting workers enter into a legal contract with some employees, while others either have a fake contract or no contract at all. Occasionally, employees work on temporary agency contracts. (Ollus and Jokinen 2016, 22).

The berry pickers make up one of the most vulnerable migrant workers in Finland. They are not even protected by employment, unlike most workers coming to Finland. The berry picking business has all the problems described by Ollus and Jokinen: recruitment, and partly business, is partly linked to the responsibility of the recruitment firms in Thailand, which blurs both the total costs of pickers coming to Finland and the status of employees. Rantanen, who has also studied berry picking more broadly, has come to the same conclusion: “The key issues in the position of pickers are the work of the coordinators between pickers and the companies that call them. Many ambiguities also return to this.” (Rantanen 2011, 72).

Some pickers believe that they will enter into a contract with a Finnish company, although these are the various pre-contracts required for the permit process. There is, therefore, a close working relationship between companies and coordinators to the benefit of both parties. For Coordinators, the recruitment of pickers is businesslike, which guarantees a steady stream of work for Finnish companies. However, companies are less willing to take direct responsibility for the activities of their coordinators, although they recognize their dependence on their contribution to the berry chain. (Rantanen 2011, 73).

It is difficult to say whether berry pickers are among the losers or winners of the global job market. At the very least, pickers are very different from other Schengen migrant workers: they work for a relatively short period in the country of employment, enter repeatedly through established recruitment channels and always leave after the visa has expired. They have little to do with the locals, even though their legitimacy comes from a traditional culture. Due to licensing practices, they have no real opportunity to work as a calling company for a short period of time. Given the sector's special characteristics: cyclical sensitivity, costly recruitment process and employee risk in relation to corporate risk, the question inevitably arises whether it is more of an exception scheme than a vibrant industry or a new European trend.

Activists who have followed the pickers for longer time have estimated that 100 million euros invested in the sector in Finland has come largely from pickers' pockets due to

various types of compensation, middlemen and recruitment allowances. The claim cannot be directly confirmed, but if we consider the volume of pickers and recruitment costs in Sweden, the figure is plausible. However, in Finland the costs of pickers have never been accurately estimated and the figures reported are based on the companies' own figures. However, these figures repeatedly miss a significant part of the costs borne by pickers in Thailand. It is safe to say that entrepreneurs in Finland have outsourced a significant part of the season's risk to Thai pickers. It remains to be seen whether Finland, like Sweden, will be employing picking or whether it will continue to apply visa practices that, in their view, are self-employed and berry tourists. The new government has promised to fix the position of the pickers but while writing this, no new openings have been introduced.

As early as the spring of 2013, Rantanen wrote before berry picking had become headlines: "It may even be that this particular forestry area is entering a state of conflict because there have been many different and divergent conflicts in recent years." (Rantanen 2013, 90). Although the rules of berry picking have been clarified in both Sweden and Finland, while the main problems have not disappeared, it is safe to assume that this specific forestry area will continue to be free of conflicts. Unfortunately, the cost of conflicts is almost always paid by the picker.

1.2. Previous Study

Even though berry industry has worked with foreign labor for years, relatively little study has been made concerning the phenomena. The reasons might be several. First, for a long time no conflict or problems emerged, which supported the story that everybody was benefiting out of the arrangement. Secondly the language barrier between the Thai pickers and researchers is wide and the pickers are difficult to get in touch. After the summer and fall 2013 a lot of new studies emerged as the topic got more controversial and was brought to the public debate.

Sociologists Pekka Rantanen ja Jarno Valkonen have been studying the berry industry and especially it's effects on local societies and how foreign berry pickers and Finnish

countryside meet in practice. In 2008 they published a case study of wild berry picking in Finland, which also included several practical proposals for measures the Industry and official should consider.

The industry held the major responsibility on monitoring the pickers and companies. Natural berry picking industry had researched especially the attitudes towards the foreign pickers. Rainer Peltola ja Ville Hallikainen published in 2011 a study on land use problems in the natural products sector and attitudes towards foreign berry pickers. The study concentrated on the topics the companies were interested in: how did the recruitment of foreign pickers affects on the public image of the companies and was there an juridical issue concerning the industrial picking in regard to every man's law. Arktiset Aromit and Kiantama, one of the biggest companies of the industry also produced continuous flow of publications mainly concerning the company's economical benefits and every man's right.

While the industry and independent researchers had been monitoring the attitudes towards berry picking, the first-time government officials noticed some issues in the arrangement was in December 2009 when the Finnish Ombudsman for Minorities, Johanna Suurpää, noted the Thais legal position in National human trafficking Report of 2010. The pickers legal position was mentioned as human trafficking related phenomena. On the same year parliament's working council handled the phenomena. The council was asked to clarify the juridical position of the workers. In other words, the council was asked to investigate whether the pickers are de facto workers or tourists who come to pick berries as independent entrepreneurs.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had also followed the industry for the past year. The first mentions on their meeting papers are form 2009, when the number of the pickers started to increase. Before that the officials were included in the process only on the embassy-level, since the main concern was providing pickers the visas. While more and more pickers arrived, the trade unions got as well interested on the pickers since they created a group of self-employed workers whose juridical position was far from clear.

Before 2008 only few activists were covering the phenomena despite at the same time the berry pickers rights were widely discussed in Sweden, where Thai pickers have been used far longer than in Finland. It seems that if there were no problems in between the industry pickers and the locals, nobody even noticed the Thais crouching in the forests. After conflict of 2013 several studies were made on conditions the Thais face in Finland. In the following year the special investigator of the labor ministry, Markku Wallin published his report on berry picking and Thais, which was ministry's resolution to public debate the events had caused.

Since 2013 at least three master's theses had been done concerning the berry industry and the Thai-pickers. Thesis were concerned in foreign pickers fundamental rights and obligations, attitudes of forest owners based on their right to pick berries and in European Union Seasonal Workers Directive and its implementation Finnish law.

1.3. Material

For the study I have selected articles from Helsingin Sanomat (HS), which is the biggest national newspaper in Finland, and from Yle, the national broadcasting company. The first articles concerning the issue are from 2004 and the latest are from the end of 2017. There are overall 100 articles consisting news reports, background articles and opinions. I have not limited selection to any specific genre, since all the debate has somewhat affected the way the pickers are viewed today. By analyzing the selected articles, I wish to portray how the narrative of the foreign berry pickers has changed during the past years and especially after the fall 2013.

While the Thai picking berries in Finland has caused a lot of local debate, I have limited the material to national mainstream media outlets. This is since the local debate has been mainly from the local view, which as interesting as it is, is not the topic of the study. Local conflict can affect the national narrative vice versa but this study is concerned on overall picture and how the phenomena is explained in the public debate. To analyze the material I

have selected, I use Kenneth Burke's idea of representative anecdote and his study on dramatism.

1.4. Research Ethics

I came across with the berry picking industry while travelling in Thailand for the first time in 2007. In a border village of Nong Khai I met a local media fixer who had just finished working for Swedish public broadcasting company which was back then covering Swedish berry-picking scandals. Once she mentioned that similar arrangement was ongoing in Finland as well, I started to follow up news about Thailand and berry picking. In 2012 the Left Youth of Finland started a solidarity campaign to raise awareness on the picker's rights. Despite being a member, I never participated this campaign, but followed it closely.

In fall 2013 a good friend of mine from the Left Youth invited me to meet the pickers just after the fight between company and them broke out. I was a freelancer looking for story, so I decided to take the offer. Soon after arriving to Suolahti I realized that pickers needed more help with the media rather than news coverage itself. Since then I've been helping them with their ongoing legal dispute as a publicist and a person responsible for media connections – as well as a member of the support group that consists the 50 dispute pickers, political and human right activists, few Thai-expats and several average Finnish people who got caught in a hustle. Even though all the work done has been voluntary, I am a participant in the dispute and have been since the beginning.

This study itself does not value whether the phenomena is acceptable or not. Neither this is a study which will explain or portray on overall image of the phenomena. This study is strictly interested in how Finnish society and media confronts the issue and explains it. What kind of stories were told and how the phenomena was explained? Because of my involvement I have decided not to handle the narrative of the activists I myself represent but to limit the topic to Thai-pickers. Therefore I have chosen to only analyze only the voice of media, not the conflicts counterparts press releases or outcomes. This way I try to avoid all the possible conflicts of interests. None of the articles I cover in this study are written

by me and if I do not analyze any publication produced by me or the activists that I worked with to prevent any bias.

2. Methodology – Burkean rhetoric

I have selected the work of Kenneth Burke as a basis of my analysis. Burke is known as a critic, theoretical thinker and rhetorician who concentrated in the study of human interactions and human motivation. For Burke human existence is "an unending conversation", an ever-evolving negotiation. (Burke 1957, 94-96). Burke was one of the first to stray away from more traditional rhetoric and view literature as "symbolic action." Burke defined the rhetorical function of language as "a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."

Burke suggests that news reports, conversations and other forms of communication function as mechanisms through which certain emotions, such as fear, can chain out through society. (Jasinski 2011, 249). In other words, Burke's unending conversation affects the society and explains the complex reality it describes. I have selected Burke's rhetoric as a guideline for my analysis because for Burke rhetoric is not only a theoretical framework but also a critical method of analyzing rhetorical contents such as news articles I have selected to use as material.

In following chapters I will explain more carefully the key concepts of this study: representative anecdote, dramatism and otherness. I first explain Burke's idea of representative anecdote, then how dramatism can be used as a representative anecdote and finally connect some basic principles of creating otherness rhetorically to analysis.

2.1. Representative anecdote

In his book *Grammar of Motives*, Burke describes his "search" for a "representative anecdote" that would enable the study of human relations and human motivation. An anecdote is something around which an analytic vocabulary is "constructed". An anecdote "contains in the terminological structure that is involved in conformity with it". According to Burke, representative anecdote for studying human behavior "must have a strongly linguistic bias" and "must be supple and complex enough to be representative of the

subject matter it is designed to calculate". (Burke 1969, 59-61, 323-325). Representative anecdote must express phenomena unilaterally and at the same time aptly (Summa 1996, 54–55; Palonen 1997, 15).

Burke suggests, "If one does not select a representative anecdote as an introductory form, in conformity with which to select and shape his terms of analysis, one cannot expect to get representative terms" (Burke 1969, 324). Burke's concern is that while there are many anecdotes which may be chosen for an analysis, few of the anecdotes will fully represent the text. If the anecdote is not sensitive of its accompanying terminology, the critic's analysis will not adequately explicate the text.

So, what is representative anecdote? Is it linguistic act that represents the whole text or form that can be found within the text? David Williams's suggests, however, that the representative anecdote may be both act and form: "The representative anecdote is thus both a theoretical construct, a statement of what a motivational complex is, and a methodological procedure, or a way of discovering the motivational complex" (Williams 1986, 4).

Madsen points out that representative anecdote as itself is not a critical method. "The representative anecdote is part of the process of developing or generating an analytic terminology or a critical method" (Madsen 1993, 209). For Madsen the anecdote is a lens, filter, or template through which the critic studies and reconstructs the discourse. The critic represents the essence of discourse by viewing it as if it follows a dramatic plot.

If the anecdote is just a filter analyzing the text, what would be the representative anecdote in case of Thai Berry pickers? The first and most obvious anecdote for Burke was the idea of dramatism. Burke states in his book *Grammar of motives*, that: "By selecting drama as our representative, or informative, anecdote..., the vocabulary developed in conformity with this form can possess a systemically interrelated structure while at the same time allowing for the discussion of human affairs and the placement of cultural expression in such typically human terms as personality and actions [with personality and action being

terms that evolve from the dramatistic anecdote]. (Burke 1969, 60). I have selected dramatism as representative anecdote for analyzing news article concerning the Thai berry pickers.

2.2. Dramatism as a representative anecdote

Maybe the most well-known anecdote is life itself. We all have heard the phrase “life is a drama.” Drama is a theater where the theoretical position is to understand the motives associated with human activity. For this reason, Burke is interested in the symbolic use and interpretation of language. Language symbols are representations related to experiences, actions and intentions, and thus take on a linguistic expression. (Overington 1977, 132).

In Burke's view, drama is part of a person's social experience, combined with symbolic interaction (Corrigan 2015, 7). Burke called the social and political rhetorical analysis "dramatism" and believed that such an approach to language analysis and language usage could help us understand the basis of conflict, the virtues and dangers of cooperation, and the opportunities of identification and consubstantiality. Dramatism is a method for analyzing human relationships. This theory compares life to a drama and provides the most direct route to human motives and human relations. (Overington 1977, 132).

Burke emphasized that all the aspects of life make up a composition (Burke 1984b, 264). In his entry for the term in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Burke explained, “Dramatism is a method of analysis and a corresponding critique of terminology designed to show that the most direct route to the study of human relationships and human motives is via methodical inquiry into cycles or clusters of terms and their functions.” (Burke 1968, 445). In other words, dramatism for Burke is a method of analysis but also a critique of alternative approaches. Instead of promoting motion Burke’s dramatism focuses on action, or as himself puts it: “The difference between a thing and a person is that one merely moves whereas the other acts” (Burke 1966, 53).

Burke's idea is that a symbolic action is not reducible to terms of sheer motion. Dramatism is aimed to capture the compositional quality of human existence. Burke was not interested in the "propositional negative (It is not)" and much more concerned with the "moralistic" or "hortatory" form of the negative ("Thou shalt not"). (Burke 1968, 447). It is the linguistic negative that makes conditions of humans so dramatic as they are. Human action is rather purposeful and ethical. Unlike non-symbolic motion it involves choice between thou shalt (yes) and thou shalt not (no). (Burke 1970, 41). Guilt arises from the inevitable human failure to heed the moralistic negative. (Jasinski 2001, 188).

The case of berry picking, drama can be found everywhere. There is the personal drama of the pickers, the national and communal drama of the berries that rot in the forest and the drama of the industry trying to cope with change and save the berries. It has a plenty of ethical aspects of drama that makes us estimate the ethicality of the industry in comparison with the representative anecdote that was challenged in the turmoil of summer 2013. To analyze this drama and hierarchies within, we need dramaturgical analysis to continue.

2.3. Dramaturgical analysis

Besides being a critique dramatism can be used also as a method of analysis on its own. As a method of analysis dramatism reconstructs the symbolic drama of social redemption, embodies in victimage through scapegoating. What dramaturgical analysis allows, is an understanding of the discursive composition of the process of victimage through scapegoating as well as the essentially ethical resources that provide a way of critically subverting the most dangerous and insidious manifestations of the victimage process (Jasinski 2001, 188)

"A dramaturgical analysis shows how the negativistic principle of guilt implicit in the nature of order combines with the principles of thoroughness (or "perfection") and substitution that are characteristic of symbols systems in such a way that the sacrificial principle of victimage (the "scapegoat") is intrinsic to human congregation... Dramaturgical analysis stresses the perennial vitality of the scapegoat principle. (Burke 1968, 450)

Burke continues: “[It] invites one to consider the matters of motives in a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action (Burke 1969, xxii)

Burke suggests that critics should follow three phases of dramatistic analysis in examinations of rhetorical practice. One of Burke's "rules of thumb" is to examine the dramatic alignment, or what goes with and against what. This is a "statistical" process involving the charting of the text and the relationships contained within it. (Madsen, 1993).

One of Burke's "rules of thumb" is to examine the dramatic alignment, or what goes with and against what. This is a "statistical" process involving the charting of the text and the relationships contained within it (Burke [1941] 1973, 69 and 18–35). Conrad indicates this phase is "statistical analysis of the verbal structures which comprise symbolic acts" (Conrad 1984, 95). Statistical analysis is "an inductive, constrained search for the dramatic alignment of a work, for the unified and opposing principles that are present in a text" (Conrad 1984, 96).

A second rule of thumb is to examine the "underlying imagery (or groupings of imagery) through which the agonistic trial takes place" (Burke 1973, 83). This phase includes "a search for a symbol (or symbols) which represent the essential character of the acts" (Conrad 1984, 95). This means that the critic identifies a hierarchy within the text, which logically contains the text's principles, relationships between the principles, and any sources of ambiguity in those relationships (Conrad 1984, 102). At the apex of the hierarchy "is a central, synthetic construct which logically contains the matrix of conceptual interrelationships revealed through statistical analysis" (Conrad 1984, 97). The construct at the apex of the hierarchy is a "title of titles," a concept which "sums up" all the particulars contained within the hierarchy. After identifying the title of titles, other subclasses seem to emanate or radiate from the construct (Burke 1961, 25-26). The central construct from which other elements radiate is the representative anecdote.

The third principle is the examination of critical points within the work. This includes examination of beginnings and endings, as well as other critical moments such as the introduction of new qualities, changes in alignment, and so forth (Burke [1941] 1973, 78). This phase of dramatic criticism is "pentadic analysis of the interrelationships among the multiple dimensions of symbolic action... a process through which a critic examines the interrelationships among the constituent elements of symbolic acts" (Conrad 1984, 95 and 99). This phase of analysis is both logically and temporally posterior to the selection of a representative anecdote (Burke 1969, 59). The critic represents the essence of discourse by viewing it as if it follows a dramatic plot.

Berry picking involves several anecdotes. First of all there is the win-win -anecdote: Finnish berries benefit everybody, the pickers who make more money than back home, the Finns who get their berries picked and the growing industry. It is story that divides the agents in us and them but finds similarities with we can build common story. It is also a drama of conflict, otherness and braking the rules, but more over a story of reconciliation and overcoming trouble as a nation.

We act dramatically when we make choices in different kind of situations we encounter. To conceptualize this symbolic action, we need drama. We tend to see and interpret social situations in different kind of roles we enact and acts we conduct in different scenes and scenarios. We communicate with different audiences, use symbols to give meanings to the world; and we play and change roles, enact different patterns of action in different situations and use dramatic "masks" according to current scene. The symbolic order is born in this scene from conflict, problems and sefevaluation. (Burke 1957, 310–311) These dimensions are conceptualized in the dramatic pentad.

2.4. Dramatistic pentad

Kenneth Burke's "pentad" is based on his theory of dramatism that symbolic action is "dramatic." Dramatism is the study of action, where action refers to both symbolic and concrete acts.

Dramatic pentad is a term describing elements of a drama, which has five parts: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. Act describes what happens and the scene where or when it happens. Agent describes the operator, i.e. practically asks who or what. The agency describes how or by what means the activity takes place and the purpose or purpose of the activity. (Burke 1962, xvii.) Elements are always interlinked, that is, even though they represent different aspects, they always go together (Burke 1962, xvii-xviii).

“Any complete statement about motives will offer some kind of answer to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose).” (Burke 1969, xv)

Burke illustrates this by using, as an example, five fingers that are separate from one another but nevertheless connected in the same palm (Burke 1962, xviv). In addition to these, there is the attitude Burke took in later production, which reflects the way in which he or she behaves. Burke gives an example where the difference of attitudes to agency, for example in construction, would be that attitude would illustrate, for example, diligence and the tool used in agency work. (Burke 1962, 443.)

Pentad elements can change and allow different perspectives on words. Burke illustrates, among other things, war as a term that can be seen, for example, as an agency, as a tool of politics, as an act, meaning a larger action or purpose of various activities, in which it declares the cult of war. The elements may also have adjacent or opposite elements, such as a co-agent or counter-agent. Burke makes it easier to internalize the pentad with the

example phrase: "The Hero (agent) with the help of a friend (co-agent) outwits the villain (agent) by using a file (agency) that enables him to break his bonds (act) in order to escape (purpose) from the room where they have been confined (scene)". (Burke 1962, xxii)

Burke has highlighted the elements of drama in the example, making it easier to make different observations that can lead to different conclusions. For example, in this case, when a hero's relationship with a friend is analyzed, it can be assumed that escape is influenced by the hero's social origin. (Burke 1962, xxi-xxii.)

In case of berry pickers, the act is the berry picking, the scene is obviously the Finnish forest, the agents are the pickers, the industry, the activists involved and the officials. The agency is in many ways surviving and purpose is to pick berries. Despite the act been obvious the agencies and actors' positions change depending on who tells the drama. Next, I will analyze more closely the articles selected for the thesis by using dramatisitic analysis and Burkean reading.

3. Analysis

In this chapter I will analyze the events that took place in fall 2013. I will analyze the research material by using principles of Burke's dramatic pentad. Burke's Dramatic pentad is a term describing elements of a drama, which has five parts: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. Act describes what happens and the scene where or when it happens. Agent describes the operator, i.e. practically asks who, who or what. The agency describes how or by what means the activity takes place and the purpose or purpose of the activity. (Burke 1962, xvii.) Elements are always interlinked, that is, even though they represent different aspects, they always go together (Burke 1962, xvii-xviii).

The story of the 50 berry pickers takes place in the middle of Finnish forest in late summer and beginning of fall 2013. As Yle's headline puts it: "Ulkomaalaispoimijoita alkaa virrata metsiin".¹ The article reports that 2 100 of them are from Thailand. (Yle 16.7.2013) The scene unfolds in front of an old school building where Thais hold their camp. It is beginning of fall and the berry season is at its' peak, yet the first news expects the harvest to be poor. Article from Helsingin Sanomat is an prime example:

"Kansakoululle Kainuuseen on kokoontunut kirjava sakki kiistelemään thaimaalaisista marjanpoimijoista. Orjatyövoimaa vai oman onnensa seppiä? Poimijoita ei koululla näy – jäljellä on vain tyhjät varvut." (HS 18.8.2013, Marjanpoimijat – orjatyövoimaa vai oman onnensa seppiä?)²

The scene is very traditional Finnish cultural view except the Thais. The agent of this act are the Thai pickers, the activists supporting them and the company executives and their employees. Despite taking part in the same act, these agents are only randomly seen in the same scene. Thais are the busy "working bees" collecting the berries while activists

¹ "Foreign pickers start flooding into the woods".

² A varied punch of people has gathered in an old primary school at Kainuu to argue about Thai berry pickers. Slave labor or blacksmith's of their own fortune? There are no pickers at school - there are only empty crows left.

according to HS article: “Kun puheet on pidetty, aktivistit katoavat tupakalle ja saunaa lämmittämään. Pian heitetään löylyä.”³

The agency of the activists is to criticize the industry, the agency of the pickers to pick berries and the agency of the company and its’ employees is to buy and sell the berries. As critics of the industry, activist’s purpose is to raise awareness and contemplate changing the system while bathing in sauna, the purpose of the industry is to survive in ever changing world. “Maatilojen määrä on romahtanut. Kaikkeen työhön on tartuttava. Marjabisnes on Kainuussa yksi harvoista kasvavista teollisuudenaloista,”⁴ Explains a local farmer who is renting an old school to Thais. (HS 18.8.2013, Marjanpoimijat – orjatyövoimaa vai oman onnensa seppiä?) The purpose of the pickers is very similar to one with the companies. As Jaturont Maneekan puts it in Yle’s article: ”Toivon saavani hieman, tai oikeastaan paljon rahaa. Minun pitää elättää perheeni ja saada tyttärenti opiskelemaan. Avustan niin paljon kuin pystyn.”⁵ (Yle 4.8.2013, Vihainen suomalainen on marjanpoimijan pienin huoli)

According to Burke’s second rule of thumb is to examine the "underlying imagery (or groupings of imagery) through which the agonistic trial takes place" (Burke 1973, 83). This phase includes "a search for a symbol (or symbols) which represent the essential character of the acts" (Conrad 1984, 95). This means that the critic identifies a hierarchy within the text, which logically contains the text's principles, relationships between the principles, and any sources of ambiguity in those relationships (Conrad 1984, 102). At the apex of the hierarchy "is a central, synthetic construct which logically contains the matrix of conceptual interrelationships revealed through statistical analysis" (Conrad 1984, 97). The construct at the apex of the hierarchy is a "title of titles," a concept which "sums up" all the particulars contained within the hierarchy. After identifying the title of titles, other

³ “After the speeches are made, the activists disappear to smoke and heat the sauna. Soon the steam is thrown.”

⁴ “The number of farms has collapsed. All work must be seized. The berry business is one of the few growing industries in Kainuu,”

⁵ “I hope to get some, or really a lot of money. I have to support my family and get my daughter to study.”

subclasses seem to emanate or radiate from the construct (Burke 1961, 25-26). The central construct from which other elements radiate is the representative anecdote.

The story which was written in media before fall 2013 was a story about partnership and cooperation. Article published on 26.8.2011 by Yle is a prime example of the title of titles on berry picking. It is a story of Thai travelers, who travel all the way to Finland to "Mahdollisimman suurta tilipussia tavoittelevat thaipoimijat"⁶, who "ei laske työtunteja"⁷ and thanks to whom "arvokkaita marjoja jää vähän vähemmän metsään mätänemään"⁸. Despite the grueling work and long hours "Keski-Suomen metsiä koluavat thaipoimijat eivät kuitenkaan valita oloistaan, vaikka päivät ovat pitkiä ja tuntipalkka jää meikäläisittäin vaatimattomaksi."⁹ Actually the long hours are not that bad at all since "Thaimaan kuumuuteen tottuneet nauttivat Suomen viileydestä."¹⁰ (Yle 26.8.2011, Thaipoimija ei laske työtunteja)

The drama in this act is not between the company and the pickers rather than between the locals and the foreigners. In the article the conflict is explained in a following way:

"Kotimarjastajia kismittää silloin, kun poimijat osuvat omille, tutuille marjamaille. ...ulkomaisia marjastajia syytetään metsien sotkemisesta ja siitä, että he tulevat liian lähelle asutusta."¹¹ Even though the conflict is visible it is more or less downplayed as accusations that the entrepreneur shoots down by simply saying: "Mitään kielteistä ei ole minun korviin kantautunu."¹² (Yle 26.8.2011, Thaipoimija ei laske työtunteja).

⁶ "seek the large payday"

⁷ "do not count hours"

⁸ "little berries of valuable berries are left to rot in the forest."

⁹ "Thai people who roam the forests of central Finland do not choose their living conditions, even though the days are long and the hourly wages are modest for us."

¹⁰ "Those who are used to the heat of Thailand enjoy the coolness of Finland."

¹¹ "Finnish pickers get annoyed, when pickers hit their own, familiar berry spots."

"...foreign berry pickers are accused of clogging forests and getting too close to populated areas."

¹² "Nothing negative has come to my ears."

The purpose of bringing Thai pickers to Finland is as well explained by the host company's employee: "Ulkomaalaispoimijat ovat nykyisin suomalaisten marjafirmojen toiminnan selkäranka. Firmat eivät kuitenkaan anna metsämarjanpoimijoille mitään takeita tuloista, sillä ansiot riippuvat täysin marjasadosta ja omasta ahkeruudesta."¹³ (Yle 26.8.2011, Thaipoimija ei laske työtunteja) The quote gives two justification for the action: first the pickers are the backbone of the industry and on the other hand, the pickers earn little from hard work. The third justification is "no berries are left to rot in the forest". In the end the conflict is not important, because Thais earn their right to the berries by hard work and the industry needs them to save the berries from rotting. In the end there is no real drama despite everybody wanting to believe so.

Despite the peaceful environment where all the actors are trying to make best out of it, something out of ordinary is going on in fall 2013. The drama starts with the conflict that gathers all the actors in to the scene: there are not enough berries and 50 pickers camping at Saarijärvi refuse to go picking if the camp is not moved. This conflict turns the act upside down. Suddenly there is a completely new act: drama of scam and betrayal.

3.1. Two Competing dramas

Burke's third principle is the examination of critical points within the work. This includes examination of beginnings and endings, as well as other critical moments such as the introduction of new qualities, changes in alignment, and so forth (Burke [1941] 1973, 78). This phase of dramatisic criticism is "pentadic analysis of the interrelationships among the multiple dimensions of symbolic action... a process through which a critic examines the interrelationships among the constituent elements of symbolic acts" (Conrad 1984, 95 and 99). This phase of analysis is both logically and temporally posterior to the selection of a

¹³ "Foreign pickers are the backbone of Finnish berry companies today. However, the companies do not give the forest berry pickers any guarantee of income, as the earnings depend entirely on the berry harvest and their own hard work."

representative anecdote (Burke 1969, 59). The critic represents the essence of discourse by viewing it as if it follows a dramatic plot.

Once the conflict starts the agency shifts and reveals two competing stories. In the first story the hero of the story is the picker who struggles against the villain with the help of activists to get their money so they can leave Finland. In the other story the hero is the entrepreneur who tries to make his honest living by providing people berries while the Thai pickers try to scam him.

On 10.9.2013 Helsingin Sanomat published an article titled:

"Thaipojat riitautuivat marjayrittäjien kanssa Saarijärvellä"¹⁴ This was the first time the dispute went public and the beginning of the drama where two competing dramas emerged. The scene is still the same yet the purpose and act has changed. While the previous representative anecdote was survival together, now it was a struggle between two previous cooperatives to survive. Employee of the berry company explain their side of the story in the article:

"Ajoin tänä aamuna Sotkamosta tänne selvittämään tilannetta. Osa porukasta ilmoitti, etteivät he halua enää poimia. Puolet jäävät tänne majapaikkaan. He pitävät tulia pihalla ja juovat kaljaa. He sanovat, että metsässä ei ole marjoja, mutta osa kyllä löytää"¹⁵ HS 10.9.2013, Thaipojat riitautuivat marjayrittäjien kanssa Saarijärvellä)

At this stage the representative of the pickers was a Finnish activist group who explained the picker's side of the story:

¹⁴ "Thai pickers quarreled with berry entrepreneurs in Saarijärvi"

¹⁵ "I drove here this morning from Sotkamo to investigate the situation. Some people said they didn't want to pick up anymore... ...Half stay here in the shelter. They keep fire in the yard and drink beer. They say there are no berries in the woods, but some find."(

"Poimijoilla ei ole ollut mahdollisuutta tienata riittävästi rahaa Suomessa ollessaan. Majoitusolosuhteissa on ollut ongelmia ja heitä on uhattu kotimaanlennolla."¹⁶ (HS 10.9.2013, Thaipoimijat riitautuivat marjayrittäjien kanssa Saarijärvellä)

Pentad elements are subject to change which allows viewing different kind of perspectives. The elements may also have adjacent or opposite elements, such as a co-agent or counter-agent. Burke makes it easier to internalize the pentad with the example phrase: "The Hero (agent) with the help of a friend (co-agent) outwits the villain (agent) by using a file (agency) that enables him to break his bonds (act) in order. to Escape (purpose) from the room where they have been confined (scene)". (Burke 1962, xxii)

The quote of the company paints a portrait of lazy pickers who cannot find berries while other pickers are doing just fine. The villain is the lazy picker who drinks beer while other pickers (co-agents) are working hard together with the company (hero/agent). The other story is not so clear at this stage. The villain is the company who threatens the pickers (hero) who with the help of the activists (co-agent) try to make their living. The purpose of the both stories is that villain is abusing the heroes. The agency is still picking the berries, but the act is now betrayal. The purpose for company is to save the berries and the purpose of the pickers is to get home with money.

After the conflict starts to evolve the two competing stories become even more obvious. Week after the first article was published the berry pickers had accused the company of human trafficking (HS 11.9-2013, Marjayrityksen thaimaalainen agentti siirsi poimijoiden paluulennon) and the company had raised concerns that the whole conflict was a political

¹⁶ "The pickers have not had the opportunity to make enough money while in Finland. There have been problems with housing conditions and they have been threatened to be send back."

theatre to attack the industry. (HS 11.9.2013, Marjayrittäjä: Thaipojimijoiden peräkärriymajoitus pelkkää teatteria) In the same article the manager of the company continues to argue that the pickers are bad:

”Kari Jansa arvostelee kovin sanoin osaa poimijoista. Hänen mukaansa yöllä leirintäalueelle siirtyneet ovat hyviä poimijoita, mutta koululle jääneet noin 50 poimijaa rettelöitsijöitä, joita marjanpoiminta ei kiinnosta. Jansan mukaan he ovat aiheuttaneet vahinkoa muun muassa rikkomalla majapaikkoja ja varastamalla tavaroita.”¹⁷ (HS 11.9.2013, Marjayrittäjä: Thaipojimijoiden peräkärriymajoitus pelkkää teatteria)

At this stage new co-agents appeared on the stage: the industry and the public officials came to halt the conflict and public debate down. They introduce the third drama that is constructed out of previous ones. In this story the scene remains the same while the purpose is once again shifted: this time all of the participants are troublemakers who do not follow “yhteiset pelisäännöt”¹⁸:

”Selvät säännöt, vastuut ja velvollisuudet sekä poimijoita Suomeen tuoville yrityksille että poimijoille pitää Vasunnan mukaan olla, ja tähän suuntaan on hänen mukaansa viime vuosina mentykin. Pitää muistaa, että meillä Suomessa on tänä kesänä noin 3000 thaimaalaista sekä muita kansalaisuuksia. Nyt on kysymys 40-50 hengen porukasta, jotka ovat sitä mieltä, että heille on annettu väärää informaatiota tai he ovat ihmiskaupan uhreja. 2960 poimijaa on edelleen sitä mieltä, että kaikki on ihan ok.”¹⁹ (Yle 11.9.2013, 2960 marjanpoimijaa on sitä mieltä, että kaikki on ok)

¹⁷ “Kari Jansa is very vocal about some of the pickers. According to him, those who moved to the campsite at night are good pickers, but there are about 50 pickers left at school who are not interested in picking berries. According to Jansa, they have caused the damage by, among other things, breaking their lodges and stealing goods.”

¹⁸ “the common rules”

¹⁹ “There are clear rules, responsibilities and duties for both companies and pickers who bring pickers to Finland, and this is what he says has gone in recent years. It should be remembered that this summer we have about 3000 Thai and other nationalities in Finland. It is now a group of 40-50 people who think they have been given false information or are victims of human trafficking. 2960 pickers still think everything is ok.”

This was not the first time the common rules are mentioned. Already in August 2006 *Helsingin Sanomat* editorial was titled: "Marjanpoiminnalle pelisäännöt"²⁰ and Yle's article three years later in 2009: "Tutkija: Marjasota johtuu sääntöjen puutteesta".²¹ In 2010 Association of Lapland, one of the industry's co-agent solved problems with the same expression:

"Erilaiset ongelmat ovat Lapin liiton mukaan yhä ratkaistavissa pelisäännöillä. Lapin liitto velvoittaa marjayritykset huolehtimaan, että paikallisten kanssa sovittuja pelisääntöjä noudatetaan."²² (Yle 22.3.2010, Lapin liitto: Ulkomaalaiset marjanpoimijat tärkeitä teollisuudelle.)

Even the ministry took part in the conversation and went as far as saying that:

"Thaipojimijakiista pakottaa tarkastamaan marjabisneksen pelisäännöt"²³:

"Sen ohella, että ulkoministeriö käy marjafirmojen kanssa viisumeihin liittyviä pelisääntökeskusteluja, on tarpeen tarkistaa myös koko bisneksen pelisäännöt, ettei meidän tarvitse ensi kesänä todistaa tämän tyyppisiä ongelmia joiden keskellä nyt olemme, kertoo ministeri Ihalainen Yle Uutisten Suoralle linjalle. Ihalaisen mukaan työmarkkinaosapuolien pitäisi miettiä yhteisiä pelisääntöjä, jotka koskisivat myös luonnonmarjoja poimivia ulkomaalaisia työntekijöitä."²⁴ (Yle 30.9.2013, Työministeri Ihalainen: Thaipojimijakiista pakottaa tarkastamaan marjabisneksen pelisäännöt)

²⁰ "Game rules for berry picking"

²¹ "Scientist: The Berry War is due to a lack of rules"

²² "According to the Association of Lapland, the rules of the game still have different problems to solve." "The Federation of Lapland obliges berry companies to ensure that the rules of the game agreed with the locals are followed."

²³ "Thai-dispute forces in checking the common rules":

²⁴ "In addition to the visa rules being discussed by the State Department with the berry companies, it is also necessary to revise the rules of the entire business so that we do not have to witness the type of problems we are facing this summer," says Minister Ihalainen.

The act according to these agents is that: Since there were no problems before, the rules must have applied and since the problems have now occurred, some one is bending the rules. The rules are the act of the drama and by following them everything is just like it used to be. The scapegoat of the story is not either the bad pickers or the companies but both since they did not follow the rules. The purpose or the agency are not the reason of the drama, but the act itself. The business and berries are not the villain but rule benders.

3.2. Berry tourists or scapegoats?

Behind Burke's theory of dramatism, as a kind of drama plot, lies the so-called guilt-cleansing-salvation cycle, based on the principle of human guilt and the need to purify it. Language gives birth to hierarchy, which leads to the person's quest for perfection. Because perfection is not possible, it causes guilt when one is wrong. (Burke 1970, 4-5, 40-41, 300.) Burke describes this guilt with the term "categorical guilt", which corresponds to a kind of human original sin (Burke 1984, 178-179).

“A dramaturgical analysis shows how the negativistic principle of guilt implicit in the nature of order combines with the principles of thoroughness (or “perfection”) and substitution that are characteristic of symbols systems in such a way that the sacrificial principle of victimage (the “scapegoat”) is intrinsic to human congregation... Dramaturgical analysis stresses the perennial vitality of the scapegoat principle. (Burke 1968, 450)

The guilt drama consists of seven interconnected parts: negation, hierarchy, guilt, mortification, guilt, catharsis and salvation. Language creates the possibility of negation, which creates a hierarchy; the hierarchy, in turn, appears to man as contracts and rules. However, man is not capable of following all the rules, which leads to guilt. Guilt, on the

According to Ihalainen, the social partners should consider common rules of the game, which would also apply to foreign workers picking wild berries.”

other hand, necessitates catharsis, or purification, which requires a purifier, or, in practice, a sacrifice. According to Burke, there are two ways to redemption from the guilt, mortification and victimage. Mortification is the confession of guilt and request for forgiveness. Victimage on the other hand is placing the blame, or scapegoating, on someone else for everything that is going wrong. (Jasinski 2001, 188). In the drama, the elements associated with "us" are always opposed to the enemy's action, so the pursuit of better is always the pursuit of the evil caused by the enemy.

When the drama of 2013 started to unfold, so started the search for scapegoat – somebody to blame for spoiling story that before was about cooperation and win-win situation. Three different types of enemies rose from the different stories told by different actors. First there are the activists and pickers to blame, secondly there is the business to blame and finally there are rule-breakers who to blame. The guilt-cleansing-salvation cycle started to develop in the news articles during the 2013 events and following years.

Immediately after the first news concerning the dispute went viral, the company started to give statements undermining the pickers and blaming them to be “problem causer” and “stealers” who brake their lodges and whose outcries are merely theater. They are “not interested in picking berries” rather they drink beer at the camp. These are the “lazy pickers” who want easy money. Eventually the story of the company evolved to the stage that the whole conflict was blamed to be a political show staged by the leftwing party.

”"Marjanpoimijat ovat vain Hoikkalan ja vasemmistonuorten pelinappuloita, jotka ovat johtaneet marjanpoimijoita harhaan. Kaksikymmentä thaimaalaista marjanpoimijaa on nyt menettänyt paluulippunsa Thaimaahan. Kuka heille maksaa uudet liput", Jansa kysyy. "Olen lopen kyllästynyt asiaan. Viisumisääntöjen mukaan poimijat on heitettävä pois maasta, jos he eivät tee työtä, eivätkä asu kutsujan osoittamassa majapaikassa. Kainuun radiossa on ilmoitettu, että poimijat on siirretty salaiseen paikkaan turvallisuussyistä. Herkkäuskoiset poimijat ovat lähteneet aktivistien kelkkaan. Heille jää tässä

luu käteen. Minä pesen käteni""²⁵, (HS 14.9.2013, Marjayrityksen johtaja syyttää vasemmistonuoria huliganismista)

The second story is about the company to blame. Activists blamed the company since the beginning for not taking care of their responsibilities, abusing the pickers and finally accused the company of human trafficking. The argument was, that the whole business is responsible not only one company and its' malpractices. As chairperson of the Left Youth helping the pickers puts it:

"Olen koko ajan sanonut, että annetaan poliisille rauha tutkia asiaa. On ikävää, että tämä on henkilöitynyt yhteen marjayrittäjään, vaikka kyse on laajemmasta poliittisesta ongelmasta."²⁶ (HS 16.9.2013, Marjayrittäjä tekee tutkintapyynnön poimijoiden avustajista)

Or as one of the pickers puts it in characteristic Thai-way:

"Jos puhveli tekee työnsä hyvin, sille annetaan ruohoa ja rehua. Mutta jos puhveli ei tee työtään hyvin, se lähetetään teurastettavaksi. Meidän tapauksessamme se tarkoittaa kotiin lähettämistä velat niskoissamme, Mungobae vertaa."²⁷ (Yle 19.9.2013, Thaipoimijoiden tulevaisuus yhä epäselvä)

²⁵ ""The berry pickers are just the pawns of the Hoikkala and Left Youth who have misled the berry pickers. Twenty Thai pickers have now lost their return tickets to Thailand. Who will pay them new tickets," Jansa asks? "I'm sick to death of the matter. The visa rules, the pickers must be thrown out of the country, if they do not work and do not live in caller's appointed accommodation. Kainuu radio has reported that the pickers have been moved to a secret location for security reasons. Gullible pickers have left activist's bandwagon. They will remain in this bone I wash my hands, "Jansa says."

²⁶ "I have always said that peace be given to the police to investigate the matter It is unfortunate that this is personified in one company, although it is wider political problem."

²⁷ "Munbogae does not see pickers treated as human beings, but rather as buffalo. - If the buffalo does its job well, it will be given grass and forage. But if the buffalo does not do its job well, it will be sent for slaughter. In our case, that means sending home debt in our throats, Mungobae compares."

Finally after the two competing stories have failed to provide any legitimization for either of the dramas and the audience was left alone with two quite opposite stories, the government officials rushed to explain, that it was the arguing opposites that caused the problems, not the system or the industry.

”Molemmat kiistan osapuolet ovat vedonneet ulkoministeriön arvovaltaan oikeuttaakseen omia näkemyksiään. Ulkoministeriöstä toivotetaan ykskantaan jäitä hattuun molemmille osapuolille. Ulkoministeriö ei ole aktiivinen osapuoli tässä asiassa, muistuttaa ulkoasiainsihteri Kim Kuivalainen.

- Poliisi tutkii asioita, ja jos tutkinnassa löytyy hutkittavaa, sitten hutkitaan. Ei yhtään aiemmin.

Kuivalainen muistuttaa heidän mahdollisuutensa olevan siinä, kuinka monta viisumia millekin marjayritykselle myönnetään. Määriin voi tulla muutoksia, jos jonkun yrityksen toimintatavoista löytyy epäselvyyksiä.”²⁸ (Yle 16.9.2013, Marjanpoimintariidan umpisolmu kiristyy)

”Ulkoministeriö ei ole tässä asiassa toimivaltainen Suomessa. Keinomme ovat vähissä - voimme kunnella osapuolia, mutta meillä ei ole mitään mahdollisuutta toimia tuomareina tai täytäntöönpanoviranomaisina. Tällaisessa asiassa toimivalta on poliisilla, joka jo toimikin, Blinnikka

²⁸ “Both sides in the dispute have invoked the authority of the State Department to justify their own views. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is welcome to keep the hat on both sides. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is not an active party in this regard, recalls Secretary of State Kim Kuivalainen.

- The police are investigating, and if there is something to be discovered in the investigation, then they will be. Not before.

Kuivalainen reminds them that their chances are how many visas are granted to a berry company. Amounts can change if there is confusion about how a company operates.”

sanoo.”²⁹ (Yle, 23.9.2013, UM: Ber-Ex:in ja poimijoiden riita ei kuulu meille)

The final act of the 2013 drama was played before the pickers had even left the country. On 23 of September the industry had a publishment to share:

”Marjanpoiminnan pelisäännöt uusitaan

Ulkomaisten marjanpoimijoiden kutsumisen ja käytön sääntöjen uusiminen alkaa tällä viikolla Luonnontuoteteollisuusyhdistyksen ja ulkoministeriön palaverilla. Yhdistyksen puheenjohtaja Vernu Vasunta korostaa, että Ber-Exin ja 50 thaipoimijan kiista ei ole syynä sääntöjen uusimiseen. Kiista kuitenkin kertoo sääntöjen vanhentumisesta, sanoo Vasunta.”

- Tänä kesänä poimijoita kutsui 19 yritystä. Thaimaasta on Suomessa yli 300 poimijaa, kun pelisäännöt ovat muutamaa yritystä ja pientä poimijamäärää varten. Sääntöjen uusiminen on ehdottomasti tarpeen.”³⁰ (Yle 23.9.2013, Marjanpoiminnan pelisäännöt uusitaan.)

The industry did not sacrifice anybody of it’s own: it simply notified that system that had previously been the backbone of the whole industry needed a change that was already on

²⁹ “The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is not competent in this matter in Finland. Our means are low - we can respect the parties, but we have no chance of being judges or executives. In such a case, the police are already in charge, and Blinnikka says.

³⁰ “The rules of berry picking are renewed”

“The renewal of the rules for inviting and using foreign berry pickers will begin this week with a meeting between the Natural Products Industry Association and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs... ..It is absolutely necessary to renew the rules.

The State Department and the Natural Product Industry Association are meeting for their first meeting this week to renew the rules.

- Each company is in principle responsible for its problems. A dispute usually requires two parties. In this case, third parties seem to be further confused. I know that Jansa has been trying to resolve the situation with patience, but the current rules do not seem to be enough now. Other companies have not been informed of similar problems.”

its way. The conflict of 50 pickers was mentioned several times, but according to industry's regulators, it was not the reason for the change of the rules. Even though the officials openly condemned the conflict they introduced a new story: common rules that needs to update to meet the standards of future.

”Työministeri Lauri Ihalaisen mukaan myös työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö on valtiosihteeri Metsämäen johdolla kutsunut koolle eri ministeriöiden edustajia keskustelemaan siitä miten marjabisneksen pelisäännöt saadaan niin selkeiksi, ettei tällaisiin ongelmiin enää törmätä. - Sen ohella, että ulkoministeriö käy marjafirmojen kanssa viisumeihin liittyviä pelisääntökeskusteluja, on tarpeen tarkistaa myös koko bisneksen pelisäännöt, ettei meidän tarvitse ensi kesänä todistaa tämän tyyppisiä ongelmia joiden keskellä nyt olemme, kertoo ministeri Ihalainen Yle Uutisten Suoralle”³¹ (Yle, 30.9.2013)

For company and pickers this was a devastating blow. Since the government did not reclaim or legitimize any side of the story, the self-claimed heroes suddenly became all villains. At this point the pickers were on they way to airport, tired of moths struggle in Finland and the entrepreneur called the game:

”Me on kaikkemme tehty ja niille ei kelpaa mikään ja kasvoille heittävät rahapussinsa. Lähetämme rahat, kun saamme niitten osoitteen Thaimaahan tai Thaimaan suurlähetystöön Helsinkiin. Meidän kohdalla tämä näytelmä on

³¹ ”According to Lauri Ihalainen, Minister of Labor, the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, led by State Secretary Metsämäki, has also convened representatives of different ministries to discuss how to make the rules of the berry business so clear that such problems will no longer be encountered. - In addition to the visa rules being discussed by the State Department with the berry companies, it is also necessary to review the rules of business for the whole business so that we do not have to prove this type of problem that we are facing this summer.”

päättynyt, sanoo Jansa.” (Yle 23.9.2013, Marjayrittäjä: tämä on ihan mahdotonta.)³²

News about the changes in the system came just a few days before the first group of conflict pickers left Finland. While the system change had several headlines reserved, the pickers who caused the turmoil had simply title: “Poimijat ovat lähteneet maasta”³³. Meanwhile the official in charge of the industry had they own investigation going to change the rules and the company was “pleased with the season”. While the actors were disappearing from the scene, the owner of the berry company said the last word.

”Katsotaan, kuka teki mitä ja missä, kun poimijoita villittiin Saarijärvellä. Tutkintapyyntö tullaan joka tapauksessa jättämään aktivisteja, asiamiesta ja näitä vasemmistolaisia vastaan. Se on tehtävä myös oman ja läheisten mielenrauhan vuoksi, muuten jää mielikuva, että Ber-Ex on se suuri rötöstelijä. Siihen pitää saada viranomaisen sanomaan, miten se asia on, sanoo Jansa.”³⁴ (Yle, 1.10.2013)

Everybody was blamed but in the end the pickers left without money, company had a good year and the industry realized it had to change. The scapegoat of the drama that unfolded in front of the Finnish was eventually the ones who started the conflict, not the industry nor the officials in charge. Despite the hierarchy was challenged, it survived by introducing a common drama to explain the conflict.

³² “-We are all done and they don't like anything and throw their money bags in the face. We'll send the money when we receive it to Thailand or the Thai Embassy in Helsinki. For us, this play is over, says Jansa.”

³³ “Pickers have left Finland”.

³⁴ “Let's see who did what and where when the pickers went wild in Saarijärvi. In any event, the request for an investigation will be filed against the activists, the attorney and these leftists. It also has to be done for the peace of mind of one's own and those of others, otherwise the impression remains that the Ber-Ex is the great rapist. It needs to get the authority to say how that is, says Jansa.”

3.3. Our berries and otherness

“If men were not apart from one other, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man’s very essence.” (Burke 1950, 22)

One of Burke's central rhetoric concept is identification, which combines confrontation, difference, sameness, and unity (Burke 1969a, 20–21). For Burke identification is even more central rhetorical process than persuasion (Palonen & Summa 1996, 56).

Identification is a basic process of rhetoric for Burke, through which the rhetoric seeks to convince its audience. Identification occurs when, for example, a person, his or her goals or activities, identifies a wider entity, another person or group. It is an inevitable division because there is no such thing as absolute communication. (Palonen & Summa 1996, 57.)

” Identification is thus a term used to describe the "relative placement" of seemingly separate things in the space of human activity. Any kind of membership to a group is basically rhetorical, and at the same time requires differentiation from something else.” (Palonen & Summa 1996, 59)

But the human essence as, it seems, is negative; people are divided from each other and must use language, or rhetoric to promote identification or overcome the division. (Jasinski, 305). Since Burke suggested that we can only momentarily and always incompletely share the substance. Yet, they can become consubstantial, which is means that people are “both joined and separate”. In case of the berry pickers different rhetorical identities and actors meet in the same scene among the same act, but yet they are carefully identified. When we talk about berry pickers, we talk about the “Thai-pickers” or “foreign pickers”, not the average Finns harvesting the berries or Schengen citizen who work in the industry. This is usually underlined already in the title of the article such as in Yle’s first article concerning the Thai pickers: "Thai berry pickers fill the forests of Eastern Lapland" (Yle, 1.8.2006).

One of the most common rhetorical techniques is confrontation between them and us. This confrontation thus identifies the audience in terms of content to something general, and at the same time forms a counter-concept that is easy for the audience to identify with because of its predictability. This way the identification operates on two levels: content and style. (Palonen&Summa 1996, 58). In case of the berry pickers this confrontation and division has existed since the phenomena started.

The obvious division between us and them is simple division by nationality. The most profound one. The second most obvious division between us and them is socioeconomical position. Even though articles rarely mention that the pickers are poor – rather they are described as “small farmers”, they constantly remind the income pickers make in Finland in comparison what they make back home in Thailand. Maybe the most used story in the berry picking rhetoric is “Years’ salary”.

”Lapin marjoilla voi tienata vuoden palkan. Thaimaalaiset ansaitsevat kesän marjastuksella jopa vuoden palkan.” ”Lapland berries can earn one year's salary.”³⁵ (Yle, 22.7.2009, Lapin marjoilla voi tienata vuoden palkan.)

”Lapin metsissä uurastaneet thaimaalaiset marjanpoimijat palasivat kotiin taskussaan vuoden tulot – tai niskassaan pahat velat.”³⁶ (HS, 11.10.2009, Pitkä matka mustikassa)

”Hyvinä vuosina ahkerimmat poimijat vievät Lapista kotiin vuoden tulot. Moni palaa Suomeen vuosi toisensa jälkeen.”³⁷ (HS, 2.8. 2010, Thaipoimijat tekevät hurjaa päivää.)

³⁵ “Thai berry pickers believe that berries can be found very well in Lapland. Thais earn up to a year's salary on berry picking. ”

³⁶ “Thai berry pickers who worked their way through the forests of Lapland returned home with a year's income - or bad debts in their neck”

³⁷ “In good year, the most hardworking pickers bring home the income of the year from Lapland.”

”Työ on tärkeä myös thaimaalaisille itselleen. Joillekin poimijoille on kulujen jälkeen jäänyt käteen palkkio, joka vastaa koko vuoden ansiota Thaimaassa.”³⁸ (HS, 6.1.2012, Thaimaalaiset poimivat puolet Suomen metsämarjasadosta.)

Year’s salary is a very important part of the story. It is almost like surplus mentioned once a while. This underlines the ethicality of the business. Despite the industry needs the pickers, Finland is not abusing them but helping. It is a win-win situation where the Thais are the biggest winner thanks to Finland. “Year’s salary” is also an expression which does not mean anything specific but tells a lot. Thailand is so poor that you can make “Year’s salary” just by picking berries in Finland. Even though hardly any numbers are mentioned, this expression underlines the division to us/rich and them/poor.

Another obvious division is the characteristics and behavior of the actors. Thai pickers are usually described as a group of people minding their own business and buzzing like bees. There is a “lot of talk in Thai” and maybe “exotic smell rising from the kitchen” or “strong tiger balm scent” while “pickers greet cheerfully”. (HS, 2005; Yle, 26.8.2011).

”Laukkujaan pakkailevat ja pahvilaatikosta ja kaljapullonkorkeista tehtyä tammaa pelaavat thaimaalaiset ovat kaikki yhtä hymyä. Suurin osa on riisinviljelijöitä maaseudulta.”³⁹ (HS 4.10.2006, Thaimaalaiset marjanpoimijat palaavat kotiinsa tällä viikolla.)

The position, where journalist views the pickers as other is most likely explained by the language barrier and the average daily rhythm the pickers have, yet being intentional or

³⁸ “The work is also important to the Thai people themselves. For some pickers, after the expense, there is a reward equal to the full year's earnings in Thailand.”

³⁹ “The Thai people packing their bags and playing oak made of cardboard boxes and beer bottle caps are all one smile. Most of them are rice farmers from the countryside.”

not, it highlights the division. If Thais talk, they talk via translator. Usually the comments are minimalistic and polite such as following interview with picker called Kammani:

”Eniten mustikoita poiminut Kammani hymyilee leveästi: ”Olen erittäin tyytyväinen.” Tulkki kertoo: ”Kaikki ovat iloisia ja onnellisia, ja toivovat pääsevänsä tänne ensi vuonnakin.””⁴⁰ (HS, 4.10.2006, Thaimaalaiset marjanpoimijat palaavat kotiinsa tällä viikolla.)

Even if nationality divides rhetorically, especially before 2013 conflict there were also many rehetorical and characteristic features in articles that combined pickers and Finns rather than divided. Even though pickers make a years salary, they have to pay the tickets to get here, do all the hard work and still take a risk. But the one who has enough skills and will, will be rewarded. Finnish nature is rough and unforgiving, to make it one must overcome the challenges. Articles highlight the gratitude of the pickers, who appreciate the “friendly people” and “nature” in particular.

” Erityisesti mies ihastelee Suomen runsaita metsiä ja rehevää luontoa.”⁴¹
(Yle 22.7.2009, Lapin marjoilla voi tienata vuoden palkan.)

”Meille on kerrottu, että suomalaiset rakastavat luontoa ja pitävät huolta luonnosta. Kun noudatamme paikallisia sääntöjä ja lakeja, kaikki menee hyvin, eikä meillä ole ollut ongelmia, kertoo Koillis-Thaimaasta jo kolmatta kertaa marjanpoimintaan saapunut Thirit Phanbun.”⁴² (Yle, 26.8.2011, Thaipöimija ei laske työtunteja)

⁴⁰ ”Kammani, who picked the most blueberries, smiles broadly: "I am very pleased." The interpreter says, "Everyone is happy and happy and hopes to get here next year."

⁴¹ "Especially the man admires Finland's rich forests and lush nature."

⁴² ”We have been told that Finns love and care for nature. When we follow local rules and laws, everything goes well and we have not had any problems, says Thirit Phanbun, who has come for the third time to pick berries from northeastern Thailand.”

"Foreign berry pickers sell their berries on the same terms as Finns". Successful picker is combination of similar values we Finns appreciate. Even though "the hours are long" "hardworking" pickers who "do not complain" can make good salary. (HS, 27.8.2006) They follow" the rules and laws" and" love the nature".

Besides the most obvious division by content, there can be found also more distinct style that tells more profound story. Berries in the forest symbolize Finnish the idea of the clean nature we have fought for. Somebody, foreigner taking the berries. The style resembles almost war like rhetoric. The division is made by creating a story of invasion. The berries must be saved, but rather by Finns than foreigners. Soon there will be none left for the Finns and the old way of picking berries ceases to exist and: "jos ulkomaisten marjanpoimijoiden ei sallittaisi tehdä työtään, joutuisivat suomalaiset ostamaan tuontimarjaa."⁴³ (HS, 24.7.2012, Ulkomaalaiset mustikanpoimijat suututtavat nyt Etelä-Karjalassa)

"Thaimaalaiset mustikanpoimijat aloittivat urakkansa Savukoskella. Osa paikallisista pelkää omien mustikkapaikkojensa tyhjenevän. On hyvä, että marjat saadaan poimittua. Työttömätkin poimivat paljon, mutta marja-aika on niin lyhyt, ettei se työttömyyttä poista."⁴⁴ (HS, 5.8.2005)

"Suomessa ahkerien suomalaisten marjastajien poimintahalut loppuivat muutamassa vuodessa alhaisten poimijahintojen takia. Metsiemme aarteet alkoivat jäädä metsiin mätänemään. Ei ollut muuta mahdollisuutta kuin kutsua naapurimaasta venäläisiä poimimaan marjojamme."⁴⁵ (HS 27.8.2006, Marjatalous tarvitsee ulkomaalaisia marjanpoimijoita)

⁴³ "If the foreign berry pickers are not allowed to work, Finns would have to buy imported berries."

⁴⁴ "The Thai blueberry pickers started their work in Savukoski. Some locals fear that their own blueberries will be deplete. It is good that berries get picked. The unemployed people pick up a lot, but the berry time is so short that it does not eliminate unemployment."

⁴⁵ "In Finland, the aspirations of hard-working Finnish berry pickers ceased in a few years due to low picker prices. The treasures of our forests began to rot in the forests. There was no other option but to invite the Russians from the neighboring country to pick our berries."

This story is the story of “the national treasury” which has to be saved from “rotting” in the forest. Because money is not enough for the hardworking Finns, we help the other by inviting the other to help us. This is the story of the cooperation, where purpose of the act is common.

In Quarterly Journal of Speech George Cheney introduces three key strategies of identification.

- a) Common ground techniques focusing on shared values and interests
- b) identification through antithesis, uniting in face of common enemy
- c) forms of transcendence such as collective “we” (Cheney 1983, 148-149.)

All of the Cheney’s strategies can be found in the case of Thai berry pickers. There are shared values and interest of picking as much berries as possible; there is the antithesis of rotting berries and also collective we who are driven by the interest of saving the berries. Some of the Thai pickers are included, but only those who share the values and interests. Those who do not share the values are the other/them who are abusing our berries.

After the conflict started a public debate in 2013, the identification to them and us started to change as well. A new other was introduced: “the bad companies” and the “lazy pickers”. The change was driven by the two competing dramas that needed explanation in public debate. Because it was unclear who was the victim and who was the here, the industry and officials raised to explain that it was not the institutions or industry to blame but the problem makers and those who brake “the rules”.

3.4. Mortification and Legitimization of berry industry

“National treasure” narrative can be also seen as story of legitimization the industry in means of mortification. In Burke’s rhetorics sacrifice stories can be seen as part of the

mortification, or self-sacrifice, which in turn can be seen as a kind of total purification of guilt. For Burke, martyrdom contains the idea and principles of mortification. It combines voluntary self-sacrifice with great purpose before witnesses. (Burke 1970, 248.) The divine mission of a drama obliges people to work toward a goal, where the order is repaired, and evil is eradicated from the world.

The drama of berry pickers can be separated in collective and individual sacrifices, which is ideal Burkean thinking with self-sacrifice can be read out in various forms (Burke 2003, 296; Rueckert 1969, 118, 465). In collective martyrdom, the public shares substance with the martyr, which makes sacrifices common. The idea of mortification applies here, for sacrifices are emphasized precisely as "our" sacrifices, in which they bring forth the suffering of "us," which in a Burkean way, in a way, proves martyrdom (see Burke 2003, 21). Although collective sacrifices serve as purification in the drama like mortification, mortification is incomplete when the innermost nature of the perpetrator, "us," does not actually disappear, so that guilt does not completely disappear (Burke 1989, 295). Martyrdom thus emphasizes transcendence, because in a way, it transfers the guilt of others to the "us" part, then sacrifices this part for "us," that is, a greater purpose.

Such collective sacrifices reinforce the construction of "us" in the berry picking drama. The industry and media coverage emphasize the bravery of collective sacrifices, making all the agents heroes fighting for common purpose. Shared sacrifices make it possible martyr of identification, where people share the dignity of these heroes (Burke 1961, 36). The pickers in this case are not only heroes but martyrs who sacrifice their wellbeing to gain better future by seeking the common purpose. Their heroism overcomes the obstacles and the audience identifies with the rising hero. (Burke 1966, 109.) This makes the audience accept the speculated misery of berry picking and make the circumstances feel more reasonable (Burke 1961, 35). In this sideline of the drama audience is eventually the hero since it us and our system that pays the "year's salary" to pickers. We invite them to become heroes and since this we cannot be part of the problem. The sacrifice is the hard work and martyrs are those who do it. In this sense the martyrdom is outsourced to pickers who save the day and the berries and by doing this the wellbeing of Finland.

The drama also unfolds in individual level: the agents who end up being the scapegoats of the drama, the specific pickers and the specific entrepreneur, both behaved badly not followed the common rules and ended up in troubles. The violation of the social order created by the hierarchy, in turn, causes the guilt already mentioned. Then guilt becomes a motive because we want to get rid of it. You can get rid of guilt, for example, by rhetorically sacrificing yourself. Rhetorical self-sacrifice is called humiliation. (Brummett 1980, 66) The purpose of killing is to deny part of itself (Burke 1970, 190). The culprit can be also found collectively in the whole person, that is, in all "us". (Brummett 1980, 66) The returnee can symbolically collect all the guilt experienced by the community and sacrifice himself to alleviate it.

In this sense the drama it is our fault. We did not pick the berries, so the companies had to fly people from the other side of the world to pick them. Because Finns do not appreciate the berries enough, all the investments and hard work was going to rot away like the berries. As the Ber-Ex Oy manager Kari Jansa puts it in his opinion text published by HS already in 2006:

”Suomalaisia on vuosia yritetty innostaa marjametsään huonoin tuloksin. Jos näin tehtäisiin (vietäisiin ulkomaalaisilta jokamiehen oikeus poimia marjoja ja alettaisiin periä poimintatuloista veroa), suomalaisten marja-aarteet uhkaisivat jäädä mätänemään metsiin ja miljoonien investoinnit kotimaiseen marjateollisuuteen jäisivät hyödyntämättä.”⁴⁶ (HS 27.8.2006, Marjatalous tarvitsee ulkomaalaisia marjanpoimijoita.)

The mortification unfolds in three ways: first, there is the collective, the community's sacrifice: our berries are to blame, yet the berries must be saved. On the other hand, there are the pickers and entrepreneur's sacrifice. The pickers risk their livelihoods by spending fortunes to travel to Finland. At the same time the industry has invested millions of euros

⁴⁶ “For years, Finns have been trying to inspire the berry forest with poor results. If this were to be done (depriving foreigners of the right to pick berries everywhere and start collecting tax on picking income), Finnish berry treasures would threaten to get rotten in the forests and millions of investments in the domestic berry industry would be missed.”

into the system, which is depended on the pickers. The real risk for the industry is not the berry rotting in the forest but loosing the invested money. This point of view is very randomly explained. Companies avoid this story, since it positions themselves as an agent that makes the most of the benefit on our berries and by exploiting foreign workers.

”Ilman ulkomaalaisia poimijoita heitä majoittavien yritysten sekä marjojen osto-, kuljetus- ja jalostusyritysten ja kotimaan kaupan teollisuuden ja viennin tarvitsema marjansaanti ja tulo romahtavat.”⁴⁷ (HS 9.8.2009, Lapissa riittää marjoja ulkomaalaisillekin)

“Yimprasertin mukaan Thaimaassa työvoiman värväykseen liittyy suoranaista mafiaa, josta Suomessa ei olla tietoisia.”

”Suomessa pitäisi hänen mielestään enemmän kiinnittää huomiota värväyksen rakenteisiin ja thai-poimijoiden varaan rakennettuun suomalaiseen marjabisnekseen sen sijaan, että korostetaan yksittäisten poimijoiden saamia thaimaalaisittain suuria tuloja tai suomalaisille yrityksille koituvia taloudellisia etuja.” (HS 23.9.2013)⁴⁸

Finally, there are the rule benders to blame. Soon after criticism the industry woke up and started aggressively publishing statements that the rules are not made for such number of pickers and because of the recent growth of the industry, some issues occurred. By checking the rules these issues will be solved and everything can continue as before.

⁴⁷ "Without foreign pickers, the berry supply and income needed by the companies hosting them and by the berry buying, transporting and processing industries and the domestic trade industry and export will decline."

⁴⁸ According to Yimprasert, in Thailand, the recruitment of labor involves a direct mafia that Finland is not aware of.

In his view, Finland should pay more attention to the recruitment structures and the Finnish berry business built on Thai operators, rather than emphasizing the high incomes of individual pickers or the financial benefits to Finnish companies. (HS 23.9.2013)

”Tänä kesänä poimijoita kutsui 19 yritystä. Thaimaasta on Suomessa yli 3 300 poimijaa, kun pelisäännöt ovat muutamaa yritystä ja pientä poimijamäärää varten. Sääntöjen uusiminen on ehdottomasti tarpeen.

– Meillä ei käsittääkseni ole ollut tappiolle jääneitä ihmisiä, Jukka Kristo sanoo.

Jukka Kristo näkee, Suomeen voisi vielä kutsua lisääkin poimijoita, mutta kohtuudessa on pysyttävä.

– Jotta pystymme huolehtimaan siitä, että poimijat pärjäävät ja heidän olosuhteensa ovat kunnossa. Ja että he ovat tyytyväisiä, kun lähtevät pois.”⁴⁹

In the end, everyone was satisfied with the results except the actual pickers who had already left the country. Once the agents of the competing story had left, the story of the industry took over. The industry looked in the mirror and admitted it was not perfect. The audience was confronted with the problems, but the drama explained everything in its best form. Although our berries had caused the tragedy, we were able to handle it together and maintain the hierarchy. While the old structures trembled, they also strengthened: the story endured, and the drama justified the actions.

⁴⁹ This summer, 19 companies invited pickers. There are over 3,300 pickers from Thailand in Finland, while the rules of the game are for a few companies and a small number of pickers. It is absolutely necessary to renew the rules.

- I don't think we have had any lost people, says Jukka Kristo.

Jukka Kristo sees that even more pickers could be invited to Finland, but one has to remain moderate.

- To ensure that the pickers are successful and their conditions are right. And that they are happy when they leave. (YLE, 23.9.2013)

Conclusions

The Thai berry pickers drama of fall 2013 was divided into two parts with multiple competing dramas: the suffering caused by the actual berry picking and the salvation provided by the aftermath of the drama, where the audience was identified as the victims of an abuse by rule bending scapegoats and the evolving final a drama that identified the audience with the possibility of overcoming suffering by salvation. It is a story of cooperation based on demand and mutual benefit that was thrown away because of personal interests and yet, it is a story of overcoming these obstacles and recreating the story of berry pickers in Finland.

At first the drama consisted of two competing stories: the story of the pickers who as heroes come to save the Finnish berries from rotting in the forest and get abused by both company that invited them and the story of honest Finnish entrepreneur trying to save the berries but gets abused by pickers who come to benefit from “our” common goods. The final story of salvation by mortification is constructed from these competing stories. Despite competing the stories have similarities. They are both stories of saving the berries from rotting into forest by any means possible. The berries have biblical reference to story of Adam and Eve: the apple seems to lead into all the bad while eating it is wasting good money and knowledge.

In the stories the evil “them” trying to abuse the berries is neither the pickers or the entrepreneur, depending on the story that is read. The audience is “we”, the Finns, who own the berries, invite the pickers to come to pick them and allow companies to collect the common goods with the right of every man’s rights. The scapegoat of the drama are the pickers, the berries and the bad companies. In contract to Finns who either pay the price of paying the berries or pay the effort to picking them, these players abuse the common goods and try to make money out of it.

Once the drama unfolded and the conflict started, the agents became very vocal, who to blame. The company was accusing the pickers as lazy problem causers who merely drank beer while the pickers argued that the company was guilty of human trafficking.

When the drama recounted Burke's guilt-cleansing-salvage cycle, it was seen that the drama was built around two competing stories where the once to blame where neither the company or the pickers. Despite systemic problems were constantly reported and pointed out, eventually to government officials came up with a third story that held responsible those who had caused the problems. The creation of the scapegoat, and the consequent one, work first and foremost by drama of identification

Drama of identification was also created by the mortification that appeared in as sacrifices made by "us". On the other hand, the sacrifices described in the drama were mingled with guilt for participating in the industry itself, but also the individual's guilt was emphasized inaction. In example, the pickers were in the forest because of the Finns, who had no time or effort to do the job themselves. Instead the holy mission of saving the berries legitimized the use of foreign pickers. The sacrifices were manifested in two ways: "for" us as collective sacrifices, in which the "we" actor proved to be an integral element, and the sacrifice appeared to be the "martyr" who cleansed our guilt as well as the individual sacrifices, where the victim was promoted as an example of exemplary engagement with the public was ordered. The drama showed a kind of formula with an individual need for superiority was harnessed as part of a community struggle that everyone had to work for. The sacrifice done for "Our berries", set as a purifying factor that separated "Us" from rule benders and violators and led us to salvation.

Overall Thai pickers were distant, happy characters of the drama, who did not complain. Those who did, were portrayed as lazy troublemakers, who tried to abuse Finnish entrepreneurs and this way our common berries. Those who did not complain understood the value of berries and were hardworking: therefor enough like us and good enough to pick our berries and in the story. Even though these similarities between "us" and "Them" were highlighted, pickers were always in the first instance Thais, which fundamentally characterized their role in the drama: something exotic and other.

In practice, the emphasis on salvation led to the drama formed a hierarchy with common goods rotting in the forest at the bottom of the hierarchy and the collected natural resources, that is salvation as the top of the hierarchy. Salvation without braking the hierarchy. "We" was also portrayed in the drama as a sort of like-minded people as an actor who was given the opportunity to overcome all the evil by selecting wisely the ways to overcome the conflict that challenged the hierarchy. In practice hierarchy got automatic confirmation from authorities and did not need to be individually justified. Good examples act as portrays the opposites of the conflict as rule-breakers, resulting all the evil. Itself served as a justification for the separation from the enemy.

Freedom of choice in relation to human trafficking was emphasized by talking about opportunity, choice and years incomes, but at the same time the berry industry was a natural activity that involved participation and acceptance of the community whose berries it was consuming. In the end, the drama didn't really give the audience any options, because either explanation of the drama did not give any actual change of challenging the hierarchy.

The common goods and natural resources served as a kind of liaison in the berry picking drama, which in a way depicted humanity activity. At no point did the media really question the industry, but it turned into a conventional factor that was part of the world. Without pickers there would be no Finnish berries and if Finns do not pick it is the end of the traditional culture of harvesting the natural resources. Otherwise Finns would not make it as a nation and people. "Our berries" became a term that defined our society, it's way of life and future.

From a Burkean point of view, duality in drama invoked the moral side of conflict in the audience, which in a way covered all logical thinking. In Burke's thinking, conflict creates guilt, but it is that the moral side is the purifying factor that leads to salvation. Common sharing of danger, emphasis on sacrifices, companionship and the highlighting moral serve as means of communicating. The spirit of cooperation is therefore in this conflict a natural

trait that Burke seems inevitable. This is the moral aspect of the conflict – despite oppressing other people – is that brings people together, Burke believes. (Burke 1957, 274-275.) For this reason, setting up a drama that “Our berries” must be saved from the forest has served as a winning argument for industry that otherwise seems abusive in many ways.

At the same time, the drama emphasized communality and the individual freedom. People had to have alternatives and work together to achieve them. They had to act according to the rules so they could be set free. To protect “Our berries” a conflict was needed to remind us to follow the rules. Although the drama was paradoxical, it was based on Burke's thinking, it was perfectly normal, because paradox is part of the language drama. For this reason, conflict can go hand in hand with the moral story, since a greater good is pursued. If we consider the berry picking drama is motivated by communalism activities, for example, the objective of picking berries may be questionable, but on the other hand, complete anarchy would also eventually lead to Burkean thinking to a new hierarchy.

Indeed, the berry picking drama reveals a perverse linguistic distortion in Burke's thinking "Truth", where hierarchy defines consensus. It was like a grandiose version the drama between the police and the thug, in which the police rightly kill the criminal, which lead to a better world. By sustaining the hierarchy and overcoming the conflict and evil, the audience identified as something above the conflict, something good that makes the Finland the best country in the world: the order and rules created together in common understanding. This set of rules is the backbone of Finnish moral and salvation that justifies industry that otherwise has morale that not all agree on.

Despite dramatically affecting the way we see berry picking industry, summer of 2013 and the following incidents did not change the representative anecdote that was saved by creating new set of rules out of conflict. The end justifies the means: as long as the berries get picked from the forest, the industry can continue as it has. Conflicts challenged the system but eventually the anecdote corrected the narrative. Eventually the berry picking scandal was more uniting than separating conflict: our idea of berries got as well challenged but since the hero of the challenging drama was somebody other, we managed

to overcome the conflict raised by this drama through mortification and salvation, which eventually lead to even stronger self-identification of us.

In 2015 I flied to Thailand to meet the pickers I had met in Finland. Not one had received their payments. They told that they would still do it again and blamed the company instead of system or industry. Yet they had not forgiven or given up. Even though Finnish media had forgotten them long ago, they had appeals and their dignity. After driving around state of Isan and meeting old friends I run up with young couple who had been In Finland working for Ber-Ex company in fall 2014. They told me about the same issues the pickers in 2013 had told. Nothing had really changed, even though the salvation was reached. After all, the drama was never about the pickers rather than us and our berries.

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