"FOR HOW LONG WILL TEACHERS ENDURE?" – REPRESENTATION OF TEACHERS IN NEWSPAPER HEADLINES PRE- AND MID-PANDEMIC

Juha-Pekka Kousa
Master's Thesis
English
Department of Language and
Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä
Spring 2023

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Tiedekunta – Faculty	Laitos – Department
Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos

Tekijä – Author
Juha-Pekka Kousa

Työn nimi – Title
"For how long will teachers endure?" – Representations of teachers in newspaper headlines pre- and mid-pandemic

Oppiaine – Subject	Työn laji – Level
Englanti	Pro Gradu -tutkielma

Aika – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Number of pages
Toukokuu 2023	78

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Opettajat ovat ammattikuntana ryhmä, josta jokaisella on jonkinlaisia kokemuksia. Näiden kokemusten perusteella ihmiset luovat käsityksen siitä, millaisia opettajat ovat. Myös medialla on oma roolinsa eri ihmisryhmien, myös opettajien esittämisessä ja representaatiossa. Media sekä luo representaatioita että heijastelee yhteiskunnan arvoja ja niiden muutoksia. Opettajat ovatkin yhteiskunnallisesti merkittävä ammattikunta koulutusasemansa takia, mutta myös siksi, että jokaisella on tai on ollut henkilökohtaisia kokemuksia opettajista.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaisia representaatioita opettajista mediassa luodaan. Selvitys tarkastelee kolmen sanomalehden, *Helsingin Sanomien*, *The Indian Expressin* ja *The Washington Postin*, otsikoita kahdella ajanjaksolla: ennen ja jälkeen Covid-19-pandemian alun. Otsikoita analysoitiin kriittisen diskurssintutkimuksen ja sosiaalisten toimijoiden mallin avulla. Otsikoita tarkasteltiin sekä sanatasolla että laajemmassa yhteiskunnallisessa kontekstissa. Erityistä huomiota kiinnitettiin sukupuolien representaatioeroihin.

Tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi, että opettajat esitetään pääosin ammattiryhmänä ja harvemmin yksilöinä. Opettajat olivat otsikoissa enimmäkseen passiivia toimijoita, jotka esitettiin suhteessa koulutusorganisaatioon. Sukupuolittunut representaatio oli ennakoitua vähäisempää, eikä mediassa esitetty opettamista niin feminiinisenä alana, kuin mitä opettajien sukupuolijakauma voisi antaa odottaa. Pandemia muutti opettajien representaatiota, muttei lisännyt opettajien sankaridiskurssia, vaan vahvisti opettajien esittämistä passiivisina ryhminä.

Havaintojen perusteella voidaan todeta, että vaikka opettajien representaatio on mediassa pääasiassa melko positiivista, jäävät opettajat usein oppilaitosten ja jopa oppilaiden varjoon. Opettajien representaatiotapojen tiedostaminen voi auttaa selittämään ja myös vaikuttaa siihen, miten opettajia arvostetaan. Samalla muutokset representaatiossa tuovat esiin ammattiin liittyviä yhteiskunnallisia muutoksia.

Asiasanat – Keywords
Feminist critical discourse analysis, gender representation, media analysis, social actors analysis, teacher

Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX

Muita tietoja – Additional information

FIGURES

TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Teachers are just, understanding, emphatic, good with people, and willing to do whatever it takes to ensure the well-being and learning of their students. Teachers are also strict, unfair, incompetent, grossly violating their position of authority, and abusing their students mentally, physically, and even sexually. Or at least this is how we think of teachers based on our perceptions. In reality, teachers are all of these things, and much more. Moreover, teachers are humans with vices and virtues just like any other people working in other professions. However, teachers are a societally noticeable group of professionals. Practically everyone has or has had a relationship with at least one, most often multiple teachers. Everyone has experiences from teachers and an opinion about them. Even though everyone has their personal views, the collective perception of teachers in societies is reflected in the media. How teachers are represented in the media can tell a lot about how teachers are viewed and valued in society.

When we think of a teacher, we might often think of a woman; either a young, Jane Eyre type governess, or an old, grey-haired 'grandmaesque' figure. The teaching profession has historically been dominated by women. In fact, still today, at least in Finland and the United States, most teachers are women (Opetushallitus, 2020b; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). It can be assumed that this affects the way the whole profession and educational institutions are viewed and presented in the media. Traditionally, education has been categorized as a feminine trait, which means that women are perceived to better handle issues related to education (Meeks, 2012). Meeks argues that it also means that education is seen as less important, compared to, for example, fiscal issues or military.

During the Covid-19-pandemic that started in early 2020, teachers – among many other professions – were significantly impacted by rapid changes and Covid-restrictions in society. Teachers were exposed to the virus in crowded schools or were forced to be separated from their students and transform into online educators. Although teachers were not similarly essential workers as nurses and doctors, for example, the health and well-being of teachers was a major concern. The perception of teachers seemed to change: their struggle had increased, but they were also regarded as one of the Covid-heroes. For some people, appreciation of teachers might have increased, but midst pandemic, it was still left unclear if the overall perception of teachers really changed in societies, or how it changed in different places around the world.

The media possess a significant amount of power when it comes to spreading information. They offer people information of events and societal issues, but in doing so, they also

influence the outgoing message. As news is crafted by people, who are innately incapable of being objective, and controlled by media organizations, who always have some kinds of political and economic affiliations, news is never neutral. Every piece of news of merely a reflection of reality and the same issues can be presented in multiple ways (see for example van Zoonen, 1994; Fairclough, 1997; Macdonald, 2003). Different kinds of ways of talking about things, discourses, can be used. Additionally, issues and people can be represented in different ways. These discourses and representations can be used to construct identities, both by the individuals themselves, and by the media. Thus, Representations of individuals are beyond their own control. However, even though the media have this kind of power to represent events and people in different ways, this power is not absolute. Media messages are always reciprocal in nature, and they can be contested by the audience. This restricts the power of media and forces them – at least on some level – to mimic the common conceptions is issues in society. To be able to better understand how these conceptions are negotiated and how much and what kind of discursive power the media use, it is important to pay attention to the way events, issues, and people are represented in the media. This way, it can also be determined that the societal picture painted by the media of teachers actually looks like.

In research, media and headlines have been analyzed to great extent. Different representations, including gendered representation has been studied in different contexts, for example politics and sports. Teacher representation has also been examined, especially concerning a long period or a specific topic. Contemporary teacher representation in different countries, especially acknowledging the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, however, have not yet been examined. Analyzing headlines as the condensed form of media representation and examining teacher representation in pre- and mid-pandemic news coverage can unveil the way in which teachers are perceived in modern societies and if the pandemic has changed the common conception of teachers.

The aim of this thesis is to bring forth the ways in which the media choose to represent teachers. Gendered representation is an important part of this due to the traditional conceptions of teaching as a feminine profession. To do this, three newspapers from three different countries – Finland, India, and the United States – were chosen. Headlines from these three newspapers were analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Actors analysis to determine what kind of representations of teachers are common, how gendered the representation is, are teachers in different education levels represented differently, and if the pandemic changed these representations.

The thesis introduces theoretical background of media analysis before discussing the current research. In Chapter 2, discourses, different methods of discourse analysis, and representation are discussed. News media and the way they are constructed linguistically and as a process are introduced in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 scrutinizes some prior research concerning representation, gender, and teachers before moving on to current study. The study is introduced in Chapter 5 with research questions, data collection procedure, and analysis methods. After this in Chapter 6, the findings are analyzed in sections, concentrating on Critical Discourse Analysis focal points, Social Actors analysis, and common teachers discourses. Differences on teacher education levels and effects of the pandemic are also discussed briefly. Finally, conclusions of the findings are drawn, and possible future study points are discussed.

2 DISCOURSE, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, AND REPRESENTATION

Analyzing elements of news is a form of analyzing discourse. This specific type of discourse is social interaction between the media and the audience. The key element of discourse is that it is crafted to meet an end. As discourse has functions, attention must be paid to those functions when analyzing discourse; discourse is not mere words. In this section, the term "Discourse" and various forms of Discourse Analysis are introduced as well as the theory of Social Actor analysis introduced by van Leeuwen. Additionally, gender and representation in general are explained.

2.1 Discourse

The word 'discourse' holds distinctive meanings. First, it can be described as a system of communicative practices (Macdonald, 2003, p. 1), as forms of semiotic human activity (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3), or social action between people through some medium (Fairclough, 1997, p. 31). It consists of social, cultural, and historical patterns and practices, which together form a way of thinking (Macdonald, 2003, p. 1; Blommaert, 2005, p. 3). Second, the word 'discourse' can be defined as a set of linguistic features used in a particular context (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3) or ways of talking about things, social constructions, that include ideologies, motives, beliefs, and values (Fairclough, 1997, p. 31). For example, political discourse is a collection of language and ways of speaking that is used in and around politics. As different contexts and situations have different discourses, discourse creates meaning in the world around us (Blommaert, 2005, p. 4). Both these meanings can be analyzed through discourse analysis, but the latter definition is what Discourse Analysis is mostly interested in.

2.2 Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

To be able to scrutinize the meaning behind communicative practices and context-specific linguistic features, discourses need to be analyzed appropriately. Discourse Analysis (DA) investigates texts and social interaction in detail to determine what is said, and how things are talked about (Macdonald, 2003, p. 3). Blommaert (2005, pp. 14-15) lists the five principles of DA. First, discourse analysis is interested in how and in what way language matters to people. Second, language is dependent on context and works differently in different situations. Third, language in this case is a vague term, and should be regarded more appropriately as contextualized forms of social occurrences that involve linguistic features. Fourth, the use of discourse by people is limited due to their capacities and repertoires; not everyone has the same capability to say things and get their voices heard. Fifth, the surrounding world and society affect forms of communication, which means that time and place must be acknowledged. Discourse Analysis can then be useful when determining what was said and how. However, if the aim is to examine the way in which messages function as a medium of power, a more specialized tool of Critical Discourse Analysis is required.

Blommaert (2005, p. 2) describes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a means for investigating power and ideology in language. The main areas of interest for CDA are political discourse, media and advertisement, ideology, racism, and institutional discourse (Blommaert, 2005, p. 21). According to Blommaert (2005, pp. 24-25), because discourse is an instrument of power, CDA aims to shed light over the structures through which said power is instrumented. He continues that with CDA, it is possible to analyze relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control, which are present in language. According to Fairclough (2015, pp. 5-6) CDA has three main functions: it analyses and criticizes discourse, but also suggests change. He adds that criticizing discourse is also criticizing society at large, because discourse is connected to power, ideologies, strategies, and policies. As a result, CDA has been mainly used to research discourse of and around politics, ideologies and how they produce discourses, racism, economics and globalization, language of media and advertisement, gender and representation of women in the media, institutional discourses, and education (Blommaert, 2005, p. 26).

As Fairclough (2015, pp. 26, 49) puts it, power in discourse is both overt and covert, which requires both normative and explanatory critique of discourse: normative analysis focuses on discourse on the textual level, whereas explanatory analysis pays attention to the underlying factors influencing the discourse. This way, it is possible to recognize both the manipulative power of the discourse itself and the ideological power behind it. Fairclough reminds that the latter is particularly important since it is the "hidden" ideological power in discourse that keeps the societal

structures intact. Even though CDA also aims for change, Fairclough (2015, p. 14) reminds that the connection between analysis and action is not straight-forward, and analysis itself does not guarantee change. However, Fairclough adds that the analysis functions as a practical argumentation that justifies change. In essence, Critical Discourse Analysis offers a wide range of points of view for analyzing the power dynamics of language use.

Despite its flexibility, Critical Discourse Analysis has been criticized for its incapability to offer accurate analytical models. Blommaert (2005, pp. 31-33) emphasizes that CDA is always subjective and prone to project analysts' personal biases on the analysis. It also disregards the ways in which a text can be interpreted in different ways and concentrates solely on what was said. According to Blommaert, in a way, it states the obvious. In addition, CDA is inherently tied to a specific time frame and society, thus disregarding historical dimensions, and making it impossible to apply worldwide (Blommaert, 2005, p. 34). Fairclough (2015, p. 25) debunks this critique and states that part of Critical Discourse Analysis is also to consider the social constraints of the discourse even before it takes place, forcing the analysist to pay attention to more than just the actual utterances. Fairclough also notes that CDA does consider historical effects in discourse, as discourse is "dialectically related to social structures" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 25): discourse is shaped by social structures, but also reshape and reproduce them. As such, CDA has a high critical sensitivity for language (Blommaert, 2005, p. 33) and does manage to link linguistic analysis with societal issues, making it an interdisciplinary tool and especially useful in analyzing contemporary, local forms of language and power connections (Blommaert, 2005, p. 34). Although Critical Discourse Analysis can never be completely universal or objective, it can be highly useful in studying individual and meticulously limited situations, especially if the scope of analysis broadened to include not just the Western world, but all kinds to different societies.

The reason for choosing Critical Discourse Analysis as the main analytical tool for this study was due to CDA's capacity to combine the scrutiny of media language and gender representation with ideological and economical aspects of language. As emphasized by Fairclough (1997, p. 50), at the center of critical media discourse analysis should be how the change in society and culture are reflected in the discursive practices of the media. This requires analysis on multiple levels. Even though CDA itself offers an appropriate tool for analyzing gender dynamics in discourse, such elements can be even more accurately be investigated with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. To better understand the feminist point of view, it is necessary to discuss the patriarchal society and the development of feminist research.

2.3 Patriarchal Hegemony and Feminist Research

Carter and Steiner (2004, pp. 2-3) discuss Gramsci's definition of hegemony that describes the phenomenon of dominant social classes renegotiating power over the subjugated classes. They clarify that in a democratic system, this also means that there must be public consent for the system that benefits the dominant classes. Gledhill and Ball (2013, p. 344) add that, according to Gramsci, persuasion and consent are used – along with force – to negotiate the hegemonic positions, and that makes hegemony inherently unstable and the dominant system subject to change. In feminism, this notion of hegemony has been used to describe the patriarchal system in modern societies (Carter & Steiner, 2004, pp. 2-3). Patriarchal ideology is seen as all-encompassing and "neutral" and "non-gendered". One way of changing the representation of women has been the establishment of alternative media forms to present counter-hegemonic narratives. Carter and Steiner state that main-stream media have come to adopt these points of view in some cases, especially when is has proven financially profitable, and thus, unbeknownst advocated oppositional gender representations and viewpoints. Gledhill and Ball (2013, pp. 344-345) argue that the source of hegemony is ultimately the power of definition, which makes representation a key site of struggle. When this is acknowledged, they add, it is possible to understand how unequal power relations and negotiations and contestations of representations are present in media discourse.

Carter and Steiner (2004, p. 37) explain the evolution of Feminist studies over the past few decades. In the 1960's and 1970's, the focus was on quantitative media content analysis of stereotypical images of women. In the 1980's, attention shifted towards the reproduction of male dominance in the media. The 2000's brought viewpoints of wider cultural aspects of gender in modern society, and how texts do not exist in isolation from the society. Davis (2014, pp. 17-18) adds that this shift has lifted Intersectional Feminist at the center of modern feminist thinking and research. She points out that the intersectional viewpoint tries to better include different 'intersections' of inequality by broadening the scope of advancing the cause of white women to all women and all genders. This way, different struggles of, for example, black, racialized, non-able bodied, and trans women are brought to light. To find these elements in texts, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis can be used.

2.4 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Lazar (2005, p. 2) explains that due to Critical Discourse Analysis' nature of dealing with political issues, social inequality, and injustice, it intertwines tightly with feminism. Discourse can be viewed as a site of struggle, and as such, CDA and feminism both include an element of emancipation, as well as political critique (Lazar, 2005, pp. 4-5). Van Zoonen (1994, p. 12) notes

that representation has traditionally been – alongside physical struggle – an important site of conflict. Lazar (2005, p. 5) explains that Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) takes a political perspective on gender. According to her, its main goal is to dismantle the mystification surrounding interrelations of gender, power, and ideology in discourse, and to achieve just social order. Social justice remains to be achieved as the reigning patriarchal social order keeps disadvantaging women through relations of power as gender is defined as a social construct (Litosseliti, 2006, p. 62) that affects social relations (Lazar, 2005, p. 5). Litosseliti (2006, p. 54) explains that the emphasis of FCDA is on ways of 'doing' gender, and how people construct gendered relations and identities through discourse. Also, gender is an ideological structure that divides people into classes (Lazar, 2005, p. 7). This stems from the view of the naturalness of two sexes, which is used to create contrast and justify the different treatment of genders (Lazar, 2005, p. 7). Gender-based inequality can be seen permeating entire societies because it has been institutionalized through advertisement, news media, education, work, associations, and politics (Lazar, 2005, p. 8). FCDA offers means to better understand discursive power in relations to gender.

The task of FCDA is to examine how power and dominance are produced in discourse. This includes scrutinizing textual representations of gendered social practices and interactional strategies of talk. According to Lazar (2005, p. 10), while FCDA acknowledges questions of gender, it regards matter of race, class, sexual orientation, age, culture, and geography as well. Discourse is viewed as social situations, institutions, and structures. This is due to them being the means with which social order is reproduced and maintained, but also resisted and transformed. Thus, according to Lazar, the focus of FCDA is in the three domains of power in representation: social practices, relationships between people, and identities. This way, FCDA also takes distance from the concept of "gender as a performance" and emphasizes gender's quality of being hierarchy between people. It also acknowledges that the actions of women are not the one and only way of approaching equality: even though women can find solidarity within their gender and advocate feminism, women are also partly perpetuating sexism through their actions due to internalized misogyny (Lazar, 2005, p. 12). FCDA examines pieces of text, clauses, sentences, conversations, genre, and interactions to bring out the complexity of the relationship between power relations, gender, and equality (Lazar, 2005, p. 14). Due to its gender perspective, FCDA gives useful additional research capacity for examining gender-related power relations in discourse.

2.5   Social Actors

Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 23) introduces social actors as participants in discourse. Social actors are included in the discourse active members with agency, passive objects of action, or participants who are affected by the action negatively or positively. (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 149). The active or passive role of the actor relies not solely on grammatical agency but demands a sociological perspective (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23). For example, possessive pronouns can render grammatically active agents as objects of possession. Van Leeuwen goes into detail in how different social actors are presented in text, and how the lack of representation is equally meaningful. Thus, the analysis of social actors is divided into two parts: exclusion and inclusion.

Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 28-32) explains that exclusion can be visible in two ways: suppression and backgrounding. When the actors are suppressed, no trace of them can be found in the text. This is done using passive voice and nonfinite clauses. This is often seen in news about events where the police have been involved but are not mentioned directly (Fairclough, 1997, p. 109; van Leeuwen, 2008), for example "Ten Protestors Apprehended". In backgrounding, the social actors are mentioned, but only in relation to the action (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 28-32). Actors' existence is acknowledged, and they can be mentioned even in the same clause, but they are represented through action. According to van Leeuwen, this is visible in nonfinite *-ing* and *-ed* clauses and infinitival *to* clauses, for example "Volunteering at a soup kitchen". To conclude, actors can be excluded either to diminish their responsibility or to render them less important.

Inclusion, as explained by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 52), is present in a myriad of ways. Inclusion can be visible through nine different modes of representation: (1) Role Allocation, (2) Genericization and Specification, (3) Assimilation, (4) Association and Dissociation, (5) Indetermination and Differentiation, (6) Nomination and Categorization, (7) Functionalization and Identification, (8) Personalization and Impersonalization, and (9) Overdetermination.

Role Allocation (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 32-34) is about activation and passivation: who is the agent and who the patient in the text. Active members are acting, behaving, sensing, saying, or assigning in different situations. In addition to active subject position in a clause, activation can be done through circumstantialization by using circumstantial prepositions *by* or *from*, for example "Students received support from the teachers' association". Actors can also be activated through pre- or post-modification and possessivation, such as "teacher help", "impact of teachers", or "their input". Grammatical objects can also be activated in structures where the grammatical agent has been passivized. For example, in "They remained unaffected by the impact", "they" is the object of "the impact", but still activated as the behaver or senser of the action. In passivation, actors become passive members when they are subjected or beneficialized:

they are either the objects of the action or third parties who are not part of the action but either positively or negatively benefit from the action. Role Allocation can, thus, be divided into three main categories: agent, patient, and beneficiary.

Genericization and Specification is about how social actors are presented in groups or as individuals (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 35-36). Generalized actors are referred to with plural forms without articles, singular forms with or definite or indefinite articles, or mass nouns without articles. Van Leeuwen concludes that in specification, actors are identifiable individuals. Specific, individual actors ("Attorney General Garland") have more agency than unspecified groups of people ("immigrants").

Assimilation is also about how people are presented as groups (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 37-38). Individualization takes place when people are represented as individuals, assimilation when people are presented as groups using plural forms without a definite article, or mass nouns ("teachers", "community"). Assimilation can have forms of aggregation and collectivization. In aggregation, a group of people is presented more as a statistic rather than actual human beings. This is usually realized with definite or indefinite quantifiers ("million", "many"). In collectivization groups of people are still treated as people who have some common, human, nominator ("us", "the firefighters, "this country").

Association and dissociation are also related to representing people in groups (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 38-39). In association, different groups of people are presented as "allies" in some particular matter or context, although these subgroups would not normally be associated with one another. Often associations are formed in longer texts as the text proceeds. Dissociations, conversely, are about unforming associations, and can be usually found only longer texts.

In Indetermination and Differentiation, social actors are represented either as unspecified or specified individuals or groups (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 39). Indetermination is realized through indefinite pronouns ("someone"), rendering individuals anonymous and insignificant. Differentiation comes through determination: actors are portrayed as somehow differing from other similar actors or groups. The focus is on differences between self ("us") and other ("them").

According to van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 40-41), nomination and Categorization are particularly important aspects when scrutinizing representational differences between genders. Nomination is about giving individual actors unique identities, whereas categorization aims to identify actors based on identities and functions they share with other actors. Van Leeuwen distinguishes four categories of nominalization: formal, semiformal, informal, and name obscuration. Formal nominalization includes using surname, and can also include honorifics, such as "Dr. Carter". Semiformal nominalization includes both given name and surname, while

informal nominalization uses given name only. Name obscuration, conversely, replaces name with unknown, such as "Mrs. X". All nominalizations can include different kinds of titles, either honorifics ("Father") or forms of affiliation ("Grandpa"). In media, pseudo-titles as a form of nominalization are also used. These are titles or nicknames invented by the press to refer to someone who is receiving a significant amount of news coverage, such as "Golden State Killer". People who most often receive nominalization are the ones who are regarded as important, such as members of government or known individuals, while individuals and groups deemed as less important receive no such nominalization, rendering them insignificant and distant. Van Leeuwen also points out that men and women have often been nominated differently in media: while men receive more formal nominalizations, women's nominalization is more informal, and their status is presented as secondary information, unless its marital status. For example, while nominalization such as "Captain Santiago" would be usually used with a man, a woman would be more likely to be nominalized as "Amy Santiago, a captain". Categorization is based on actors' identity and function: who they are or what they do.

Functionalization and Identification are other important aspects in which the representations of social actors differ between genders (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 42-45). Functionalization represents actors based on what they do, while identification represents them based on what they are. Functionalization includes activity, occupation, or role in community of organization. Identification represents social actors based on their relationships or physical attributes. These attributes can include age, gender, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. These categorizations can also include specific categories that have specific connotations, such as referring to a woman as a "blonde", which is suggesting that her identity, personality, and/or agency is affected by a physical attribute.

Personalization and Impersonalization represent social actors with attributes that either are or are not human (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 46-47). Personalization can be represented through personal pronouns, proper nouns, or by other determinant nouns that are somehow particularly human. Impersonalization represents social actors with attributes that deprive them of human quality. This can be done with Abstraction or Objectivation. In Abstraction, actors are reduced to an abstract concept, such as referring to unplanned and unwanted children as "mistakes". Objectivation can be realized in four ways: spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization, and somatization. Spatialization represents actors through their origin or location ("Finland, "the White House"), utterance autonomization reduces the actor to a text they have uttered or crafted ("pamphlet"), instrumentalization describes an actor referring to an instrument they are using ("a hired gun"), and somatization reduces the whole person to their body

part ("a helping hand"). When social actors are impersonalized, their identity is backgrounded and instead, their actions or qualities are emphasized.

Overdetermination takes place when the representation of individual social actors includes more than one social attribute (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 47-51). Van Leeuwen determines four categories of overdetermination: Inversion, Symbolization, Connotation, and Distillation. Inversion represents actors in two social practices that are juxtaposed. Inversion has two common forms that are Anachronism and Deviation. In Anachronism, the juxtaposition allows for narration that cannot be presented directly. In Deviation, social actors receive qualities they would normally not have, such as obscuring the line between human and non-human animals. In Symbolization, social actors are replaced with fictional social actors. Connotation is a determination that includes a classification or functionalization that is covert, unconscious, and often culture bound. As van Leeuwen concludes, distillation combines generalization with abstraction by stretching the definition of categorization. For example, the classification of "People who need cars to make a living" would include truck and bus drivers, as well as rally drivers, but also people living in rural areas, mechanics, and car insurance salespeople.

2.6   Representation

At its simplest, representation is using language to produce meaning. Hall (2013a, p. 1) defines representation as a connection between meaning, language, and culture. As such, as Hall (2013a, p. 3) notes, language is used to make sense of the world around us, and representation functions as the link between the conception of an object and the actual physical object. This also reflects the objects and issues that are important to people, coming back to the importance of what is not mentioned in addition to what is.

When language is used in assigning meaning, coding is required. As representations are not exactly the same as their physical counterparts, there is always some amount of coding surrounding representation (Hall, 2013a, p. 7). Language being a social system, these codes must be shared for mutual understanding. Therefore, as Hall reminds, meaning making and representation is always a matter of cooperation and negotiation, which also allows for the modification of previous representations.

Meaning in representation exists on two levels. Hall (2013a, p. 23) explains that the first level, denotation, is the superficial level of description that explains what things mean through commonly shared conceptions. The second level, connotation, requires decoding of meanings that are connected to larger semantic fields. According to Hall, there it is possible to find fragments of ideologies, and connections to culture, history, and the surrounding world. Recognizing

connotations requires cultural knowledge as they are covert and unconscious classifications that have meaning only in certain contexts.

Fairclough (1995, p. 104) discusses methods of interpreting representation in texts. According to Fairclough, there are two significant viewpoints of representation: the structuring of propositions (or clauses) and how these propositions and combined and sequenced. Structuring concerns the representation of events, situations, and relationships. This structuring is done through process, participants, and circumstances, presented in the text with verbs, nouns, and adverbs. Fairclough also states that structuring is dependent on how these aspects have been chosen to be represented in the text: the action can be emphasized by omitting the agent, or events can be represented through different vocabulary: a violent death can be represented as "killing", "murder", or "slaughter", for example.

Fairclough (1995, p. 105) continues that in representation, it is also important to examine how sequencing affects the text, what follows what, and for what reason. As a combination of these, the analysis should pay attention to the representational choices in the texts and what has instigated these choices. Additionally, microanalysis of grammar and vocabulary should be included, but should not remain the only level of analysis. Macrolevel analysis can include viewpoints of differences in coverage between media outlets, for example. Fairclough reminds that even before focusing on what can be found in the text, it is crucial to acknowledge what is missing, as exclusion is an important aspect of discourse.

As representation is about making conscious decisions about assigning meaning to objects, people, and events, it is very much linked to using power. According to Hall (2013b, p. 249), the power of representation stems not only from physical and economic aspects, but also the possibility to represent someone or something in a specific way. Fairclough (1997, p. 10) adds that the media have powerful influence on audiences' knowledge, values, and identities through the use of language and discourses in assigning meaning to through representation. On an individual level, this can become concretized in reputation, and especially the loss of it. On a broader level, such power can be used to ostracize and slander entire groups of people through stereotyping.

Hall (2013b, pp. 247-248) describes stereotyping as a form of representation that is used to categorize the world. He continues that typing is the basic organizational method through which people classify objects, people, and events by gathering information from individual situations. Typing comes naturally to human beings as it helps to process information in daily life. It allows individuals to use their past experiences to navigate new situations more efficiently. Hall (2013b, pp. 247-248) explains that in stereotyping, however, the classifications are simplified so that the individuals are reduced to simple characters that are often exaggerated. Stereotyping has

three central qualities: is naturalizes and consolidates difference, it forms a division between "normal" and "abnormal" are, and it most prone to happen when power inequalities exist, so that it is used "against" those in subject positions. As such, stereotyping is a form of using discursive power.

Representation, then, is always subjective. When natural objects and phenomena are assigned meaning, the party doing the assigning always influences the process. Usually, however, in societies these meanings are negotiated through mutual understanding and misunderstanding. Still, certain representations, even false or stereotypical, can remain dominant if enough people believe them to be accurate. As such, meanings in representations change slowly, but they are malleable. As Hall (2013a, p. 34) reminds, representation, discourse, power, and knowledge are all connected, and power flows in multiple directions. Foucault (as cited in Hall, 2013a, p. 34) described power as something that is in constant circulation and has no one center point. For discursive power, this can be seen clearly in the digital era and in social media, where more parties can get their voices heard and offer representations that differ from the commonly shared view. These changes can gradually make their way into mainstream media outlets as well.

2.7   Gendered Representation

The contemporary agreement on defining gender is its performative nature. Gender is not fixed or static and is conveyed through behavior in social interaction: gender is not something people "have" but something they "do". As such, gender is constructed through language, discursive action. (see for example Eagly & Wood, 2012; Goddard & Patterson, 2000; Lazar, 2005; Litosseliti, 2006; van Zoonen, 1994) According to Goddard and Patterson (2000, p. 34), gender is about how people understand how men and women, respectively, are meant to behave. The understanding of this social knowledge is bound to culture but not static. Eagly and Wood (2012) also note that gender roles arise from people's perceptions of what male or female behavior looks like. As these attributes are assigned to people based on their assumed gender, gender stereotypes are formed.

Gender roles originally stem from assumed differences between males and females, but they are consolidated by people and societies. According to Eagly and Wood (2012), people enact these gender roles, and they are further enforced by the socialization processes in societies where such roles are perceived as natural. However, although gradually, these role expectations change as societies change. Still, these roles are rather persistent since people are unconsciously conforming to them. This happens through a feedback loop of what is acceptable in each society. Eagly and Wood add that role congruity typically invokes positive feedback from other people and

13

society at large, which subconsciously directs people to stay in their assigned roles. This socialization process starts at an early age through other people, society, culture, and media and it impacts individuals' identity (Goddard & Patterson, 2000, p. 34).

Traditional feminine and masculine roles have been divided clearly. Men have been perceived as assertive, competitive, and dominant, while women have been perceived as friendly, emphatic, and emotional (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Essentially, men have been leaders and women caretakers. Having these kinds of perceptions has led to a formation of a self-inducing cycle: from an early age, boys are being raised to be assertive and active, while girls are advised to be submissive and caring (Eagly & Wood, 2012). From these roles, different societal issues have been divided into masculine and feminine categories as well. According to Meeks (2012), military, crime, and economy have been regarded as masculine issues, while feminine issues have included health care, environment, and education. These traditional ways of thinking are still very much present in societal discourses, even though the idea of multiple different masculinities and femininities, respectively, has been discussed for decades (Goddard & Patterson, 2000, p. 103). There is more than one way of being – or preforming – a man or a woman, or any other gender. These different performances have just not been as much represented in the media.

People of different genders are represented differently through language, both in quality and in quantity. Goddard and Patterson (2000, pp. 72-75) explain that men and women are not treated equally in description. Often men are described through their achievements while women are described through their appearance or their relation to a man. Also, when referred to simultaneously in collocations, men often come first: "he or she" or "husband and wife". From a feminist point of view, this calls for a reform of language use to better reflect and reproduce the changing power relations in the society. Goddard and Patterson also note that noticing and concentrating on appropriate terminology is often perceived as unnecessarily scrupulous nit-picking, but as language reflects society, fairer, more equal representation also requires changing the way we use language. Because media have such visibility and societal power, it is necessary to investigate what kind of language they use when representing different genders. Language use is changing, and some of change has been made "official" through language guidelines. One major guideline for gendered language use is the European Parliament guideline for gender-neutral language. First published in 2008, the guideline (European Parliament, 2018) has advised appropriate language use in official EU-documents, and influenced changes in language use in other organizations. For example, the use of more inclusive job titles ('police officer' instead of 'policeman') is emphasized, as well as avoiding the generic 'he' when referring to a person whose gender is unknown. Van Zoonen (1994, pp. 41-42) reminds that hegemonical values are

reproduces in the media. These kinds of official guidelines are in part impacting those hegemonical values and changing the gender discourse used in media.

2.8   Trans and Non-binary Representation

Research on gender and gender presentation has long concentrated on the man-woman dichotomy. Transgender and non-binary people have, until the recent years, been the outcasts in the gender discussion. On the rare occasions when trans persons have been represented in the media, and especially in popular culture, the representation has been mostly negative, underlining their "difference" and "deviance" (see Cruz, Sykes, Hargrave, & White, 2020; Capuzza & Spencer, 2017; Padva, 2008; and Dhaenens, Van Bauwel, & Van Haelter, 2022). Non-binary representation, on the other hand, has increased in the recent years (for example Capuzza & Spencer, 2017; Dhaenens, Van Bauwel, & Van Haelter, 2022; Medeiros, Forest, & Öhberg, 2020; Padva, 2008).

The way trans and non-binary people are still ostracized can also be seen the way official data are collected. According to Medeiros, Forest, and Öhberg (2020), official surveys often still lack the options to choose anything other than "male" or "female". However, their research suggests that adding a third option titled simply "other" did not significantly affect the answering rate of the survey, and the reactions to having three options were mostly positive. This dichotomous method of data gathering is also present in teacher statistics. The data on teacher gender division (see 4.4 Education and Teacher Statistics) only consisted of male/female options, combined totaling 100 percent. This suggests that there was no third option available. It is important to acknowledge this bias in the data to recognize that not all participants necessarily had the possibility to choose the option that they felt the most comfortable with.

3   NEWS MEDIA AND ANALYSIS

News is a specific type of discourse. Even though news is supposed to convey information of the surrounding world to the audience, news is not a completely unbiased description of *the* reality, but mere constructions of *a* reality. Van Zoonen (1994, p. 35) calls this "pseudo-reality" which differs from the social reality of people, and it is the reader's or audience member's role to either accept or contest this offered version of reality. As such, media are constantly evaluated based on their representation of reality by the audience, as audience members – fully or partially – accept or reject the representation based on their personal, social, and cultural surroundings (van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 36, 40). To be able to analyze this discourse of news appropriately, it is necessary to

understand the process of news production. This, according to Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 37), helps to draw conclusion of linguistic and semiotic analysis, clarifies the historical, communicative, and social contexts of news, enables to better see the complex relationship between communicative and socio-historical contexts of news discourse, and aids in recognizing the reciprocal nature of news production between the producers and the audience. The production of news is influenced both by institutional and organizational motives and values, and personal beliefs and values of the journalists. As such, news media are a form of storytelling, albeit arguably the most fact-based form. Additionally, since news is targeted to an audience, they are shaped in a way to make them more appealing to specific, supposed audiences. Simultaneously, however, news offer a representation of society and are in continuous interaction with it, altering and being altered by society. The language used in news stories, or news discourse, is a distinct way of communicating. It has particular lexical and syntactic features, and there are specific ways of presenting information through language. This is also, and maybe even more so, the case with news headlines. Examining headlines offers a possibility to investigate news discourse in its most condensed form, as one of many functions of headline is to summarize the most important information of the story to the reader. Additionally, headlines function as "an advertisement" for the news story, and as such, they aim to draw the readers' attention.

3.1 News Production Process

To appropriately analyze news, it must first be defined how they are financed, regulated, produced, developed, and consumed (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 19). It would be naïve to assume that news is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Both public and private media must abide to financial principles to gain funding, which means that commercial pressure is always present (Fairclough, 1995, p. 42). Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 33) clarify that financial aspects include cost of production, revenue from selling advertising space, circulation, and people buying the paper. They also note that newspapers have traditionally oriented towards "quality news" or "popular news". According to Bednarek and Caple, however, newspaper discourses are changing, and news is increasingly starting to mix with entertainment. When it comes to regulation, news media are restricted by law. The regulation is different in different parts of the world. There are countries that have private news media (United States), public news media (North Korea), or both (Finland). Usually there are multiple news media in a country, which promotes diversity. According to Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 36), the news media can be described as "consciousness industry" that abides by certain ethical codes. They note that media is self-

controlled, controlled by the state, but also by the journalists and their ethical codes, such as protecting their sources.

According to van Zoonen (1994, pp. 8-9), production of meaning is done both in encoding and decoding of a message, and meaning is constructed through different interpretations based on expectations and knowledge of the audience members. News discourse production is influenced institutional processes and affected by ideologies and contradictions. This message is then decoded by the audience based on their knowledge and expectations. The whole process is prone to misunderstanding, which creates asymmetry in discourse. Van Zoonen concludes that gender, likewise, is negotiated through this process of encoding, decoding, and possible misunderstandings. This underlines the reciprocal nature of news production and consumption.

Bednarek and Caple (2012, pp. 25-26) discuss how the consumption of news also affects the way in which they are constructed. There are numerous imagined audiences for different kinds of news which are targeted to different groups of people. This kind of audience design affects the language used in news and can vary between imagined audiences. In addition, Bednarek and Caple remind that internet and online news have changed the role of the audience, because audience members are able to discuss, comment, and share news instantly online. Thus, it is important to recognize the intended audience, or political standpoint, of a newspaper when analyzing its content.

Finally, Carter and Steiner (2004, pp. 16-17) note that the history of news production is gendered: in the beginning of commercial newspapers in industrialized countries, men were the main target audience, partly due to their ability to pay for the product. Carter and Steiner add that it was only later, as women started to make and have their own money, the newspapers started to see women as possible market. The changes in assumed audiences have also influenced the new production process and news values in general.

3.2   News and Society

News as a form of mass communication is inherently societal. Fairclough (1995, p. 35) explains the properties of mass communication. It deals with public issues and practices, such as economy, law, politics, and education. However, mass communication has traditionally been deficient because information flow has gone only one way: the broadcaster has not necessarily even been aware of the existence of the audience. This has changed dramatically in the past decades due to the introduction of internet and social media. According to Fairclough, mass communication is as such top-down transmission, in which only limited parties are able to get their voices heard, and the audience cannot directly participate in the communicative event. Even though audience

participation has become increasingly possible with the development of digital news media and social media – where mass media organizations are also present (Fetzer, 2014, p. 379) – it is still limited since the feedback from the audience might not always reach the original content creator. The nature of news production, distribution, and communication has become more reciprocal. Fetzer (2014, p. 372) also notes that interactivity in media discourse has increased with digitalization. Pieces of news can even be edited based on audience feedback and news media organizations are inviting the audience members to participate in the production process with calls for first-hand information, photos, and videos.

Social control and ideological influence are also reflected in the news. According to Fairclough (1995, p. 47), news media, entertainment, and cultural artifacts are all filled with different kinds of representations that reflect, reproduce, and influence the transformation of values and identities. Fetzer (2014, pp. 367-371) adds that media discourse influences and is influenced by society. She also notes that media discourse is public, institutional, and/or professional, and as such, it is constrained by the used medium, institutional requirements, and professional decisions, but also audience expectations. As a results, the media are not neutral (van Dijk, 1988, p. 11), nor is there absolute truth (Fairclough, 1995, p. 47). Representations are mere reflections of the world.

By comparing the different reflections of reality in the media, it is possible, however, to draw conclusions of relative truthfulness. Fairclough (1995, p. 47) stresses that analysis should be aiming for the truth, even though it cannot be attained. Fairclough (1995, p. 51) continues that as the media reflect social relations and reproduces reflections of the world, it is also constantly shaped by the society; society, media, and news are in constant state of change. As Fairclough reminds (1995, p. 47), however, despite its power, the media cannot change the surrounding society arbitrarily. This also means that societal changes in gender perceptions, racial issues, and class relations are reflected in the media one way or another, simultaneously influencing the media themselves. An example described by Downing (1980, as cited in van Dijk, 1988, p. 11) is the lack of attention for negative actions against women in the media, and the overall sexism present in news. There are many areas of women interest missing, and the male dominance of the society is reproduced in the media. This phenomenon affects ethnic groups and minorities as well. Through this reproduction these representations are routinized and eventually create a "system" that starts to treat anything not abiding to itself as deviant, Downing concludes.

Although gendered representations have changed for the better since the example, the same issues are still very much present in our societies forty-some years later. A good example of this is the news coverage on the Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin. Her performance has been scrutinized through her age, appearance, social media presence, and personal life. However,

it would be very unusual to see a headline about a male politician's outfit being "too revealing" or him being deemed unfit to run a country for dancing at a party. Thus, is seems that especially with gender, old media habits die hard. This underlines the need to focus on both questions of what changes and what does not change when conducting media analysis.

In patriarchal societies, women have traditionally been sidelined in societal discourse, as dominant values of society have been reflected in the media. According to Gledhill and Ball (2013, pp. 341-342), women have traditionally been left unmentioned or rendered as "other" by defining media products as "women's media", such as "Women's Magazine" or "Women's Hour", as if all other magazines and shows were targeted to men. Additionally, women have been represented as stereotypes, such as housewives, instead of real women (Gledhill & Ball, 2013, pp. 341-342). Van Zoonen (1994, p. 17) continues that when women have been present, they have been depicted as young and pretty, passive and submissive, and/or defined by their relationship with another person – usually a man – as mothers, daughters, or sisters, for example. These kinds of representations have strongly limited the way societies look and value women.

Still, women and minorities are not equally represented in the media. According to Van Zoonen (1994, p. 30), the key concept of feminist approach to media is distortion, which scrutinizes the underrepresentation and limited representation in the media. The problem, thus, is both qualitative and quantitative. First, women are present less in news. Second, when they are present, their representations differ from those of men. The same goes for other gender, trans and non-binary people (Dhaenens, van Bauwel, & van Haelter, 2022). It appears that binary systems of sex and gender, based on biological factors of femininity and masculinity are universal: gender is either one or the other: constant and unchangeable. In addition, with women it seems that being a woman is being a certain kind of woman, as if there were no variation between women (van Zoonen, 1994, p. 32). Davis (2014, p. 18) underlines intersectionality to be able to concentrate on more than one variable at a time.

Media's representation of the society, then, is disputable, in constant change, influenced by multiple factors, not controlled solely by any one party, and carries significant power. For these reasons, as Gledhill and Ball (2013, p. 344) note, representation has become a significant battlefield for equality and feminism. This is exactly why critical analysis of media discourse is necessary: sexism and biased representation on genders in the media is a structural problem, and order to change that discourse, it must be critically analyzed, after which suggestions for change can be justified.

3.3   The Language of the News

In the news, a specific kind of language is used. News texts are constrained in many ways. There is also a certain code of conduct to how news texts are crafted and how implied meaning is built within the texts. This language of the news stems from choices on grammatical level and includes lexical and syntactic features, as well as word order.

Van Dijk (1988, pp. 74-76) explains the constraints of news discourse. As the audience is always somehow vague, it is never addressed. In addition, as news discourse is always public, it includes a significant amount of shared knowledge, norms, and values that the audience is expected to know and recognize. The underlying values appear only indirectly through the selection of topics, hierarchy or relevance, and style and word choices. There is a selection of topics that dominate the news discourse, such as politics, miliary, violence, science, and sports. These topics also limit locals meaning, lexical choices, and style. News production is also a very standardized procedure because pieces of news must be written and edited quickly while also avoiding errors. This leads to routinized language use, fixed sentence patterns, and information-packed sentences. Van Dijk also notes that complete propositions are often condensed into simple nominalizations that can also be used as headlines directly.

In news texts, a significant amount of meaning is only implied. Van Dijk (1988, pp. 69-71) notes that a lot of information is intentionally left unsaid to save space and avoid repetition. Implications are also conveyed through choice of words, quotes, and lexical choices. For this reason, analysis of news discourse requires social and political background knowledge. If the audience member has no such knowledge, they are not able to fully understand the news.

In news discourse, a distinct grammar is used. Fairclough discusses the processes of English grammar as described by Fairclough and Halliday (Fairclough, 1992 & Halliday, 1998, as cited in Fairclough, 1995, pp. 110-112). These processes are presented as actions, event, states, mental processes, and verbal processes. Action includes both agent and patient, whereas event includes only one of them. State concentrates on being or having. Mental process focuses on the patient sensing something or being affected by a phenomenon, and verbal process creates an actor from the combination of agent and action. In addition to these textual features, the use of nominalization is one grammatical feature often used in news discourse. Fairclough and Halliday also explain that in nominalization, participants are often omitted as processes are transformed into terms that function as nouns, and as such, can take participant roles in other processes. In news discourse, processes and events are often emphasized by grammar choices, while simultaneously the participants are backgrounded.

Grammar choices also include lexical and syntactic features. According to Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 85), in news discourse, nouns and noun phrases are used as premodifiers for other nouns. They can also be formed from verbs through nominalization. Nouns are pre-modified by adjective attributes or followed by prepositional phrases. Most used nouns refer to cities, countries, and people. Personal pronouns, however, are uncommon. Nouns indicating time and place, conversely, are common. Nouns, in general, construe news values of timeliness, proximity, negativity, superlativeness, and prominence. The significant use of nouns is explained by their ability to present maximum amount of meaning in minimal space. Verbs, as Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 87) continue, are the second most prominent word class in news discourse. Verbs are most often in present tense, followed by past ten. Present tense is used to emphasize the recent nature of news events. With verbs, passive voice is used to remove agency whom participants. Adverbials, Bednarek and Caple (2012, pp. 89-95) continue, are mostly used to imply time and place. Other linguistic features of news discourse are the rarity of questions, varied vocabulary, and short sentences. Figures and numbers are used to provide facticity. Named sources are often used to increase news value and enable the use of quotes. Additionally, Bednarek and Caple note that in different sections of a newspaper, different language is used.

In addition to lexical choices, word order in news discourse is also distinct. According to Van Dijk (1988, pp. 80-81), typical word order in news discourse favors the use of noun phrases. Additionally, women are often presented after men. Also, the agent in negative action is often left unmentioned completely through passivation or made less significant by using a prepositional phrase.

The language of news, in multiple ways, aims to emphasize the action or the event while backgrounding the actors. This is done through nominalization by forming nouns from verbs. Nouns are also used to be able to package information as densely as possible to fit space limitations. Passivation is also prevalent in news discourse, as it both emphasizes the action and helps to background the actors especially with negative actions. Through different language choices and the need to be brief, news texts can be packed with implied meaning. To be able to interpret this meaning, the audience member must be aware of these conventions and also the surrounding political and societal conditions.

3.4   Headlines as a Form of News Discourse

Headlines form a specific subcategory of news discourse. They have distinct syntactic and lexical features, as well as specified patterns organizing, including, and omitting information.

Additionally, headlines have unique functions in catching the readers' attention and summarizing information.

Van Dijk (1988, p. 36) discusses the lexical and syntactic features of a news headline. In a headline, verb to be is often omitted, and numerous arguments are represented defining the central agent, location, and goal. Moreover, the main topic of the story is expressed. Bednarek and Caple (2012, pp. 100-101) add that headlines often include strong and emotional or evaluative words. In headlines, rhetoric devices and foregrounding techniques, along with word play, intertextual references, allusion, alliteration, and rhyme are often present. In headlines, functional and grammatical words, such as determiners, auxiliaries, and finite verbs, are often omitted. If a verb is used, it is most often in present tense. Noun phases, often pre-modified by nouns, are common. In general, headlines often answer the question "how", sometimes "where", but only rarely "when". To conclude, lexically and syntactically headlines are in line with news discourse in general, but in an even more condensed form.

Headlines are structured in a certain way using conventional patterns. Van Dijk (1988, pp. 7-13) notes that in news discourse, headline is a blank form in which different meanings can be inserted. Headline is a part of every news item (van Dijk, 1988, pp. 53-55). Conventional newspaper headlines, as well as online news headlines, have many distinct functions that make them suitable for representation analysis. Headlines aim to frame the event, summarize the news story, and attract readers' attention (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 97). According to Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 100), headlines have informative, interpersonal, and news value related, and event framing functions. First, the informative function of a headline is to offer a condensed summary of the news story. As such, is the iterative result of summarizing a story to its absolute minimal amount of information; information that is the most relevant to the reader. Second, the interpersonal function is that headlines work as "advertisement" for the news story itself. According to Bednarek and Caple, with its appearance, size and location, the headline it aims to attract the reader's attention. This has become increasingly important since the privatization of newspapers, because attracting attention is financially necessary, which has been further exacerbated by the changing way of consuming news online, as the audience has begun to expect news to be ever-available and free of charge (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, pp. 29-30). In its third function, news value, a headline aims to maximize the newsworthiness of the story, to make it seem as important as possible to the audience (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 100). Finally, the fourth function is to frame the event: in addition to summarizing the story, the headline also provides an angle to the story, or can take a stance one way or another. Even though the nature of news

22

distribution and media outlets have changed, these conventional newspaper headline qualities are still prevalent in digital platforms and online news.

Headlines as the most condensed form of news discourse. As headlines carry multiple functions while still being one of the shortest sections of a news story, they provide an excellent opportunity for overview media analysis. Not only are headlines packed with information – defined as the most important by someone part of the news production process – but they are also designed to be the most eye-catching element to invoke readers' curiosity. As such, both the news media ideology and news values as well as audience expectations and societal standards of newsworthiness can be analyzed in headlines. Although much, indeed most, is left unsaid in headlines, they provide an efficient way of scrutinizing media discourse and allow for comparison between news outlets.

4 PRIOR RESEARCH ON TEACHERS, NEWS, REPRESENTATION, AND GENDER

News media, headlines, teachers, representation, and gender have all been researched extensively, respectively. However, it appears that gendered teacher representation in newspaper headlines has not been researched as in individual issue. Prior research has analyzed how teachers are presented in media and newspapers (see Bracic, Israel-Trummel, Rhinehart, & Shortle, 2020; Cohen, 2010; Hansen, 2009; Keogh & Garrick, 2011; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013), how gender is presented in the media (see Klaisingto & Aroonmanakun, 2010; Laine, 2016; Mitchell & McKinnon, 2019; Sensales, Areni, & Dal Secco, 2016), and how representations of different social actors are visible in newspaper headlines (see Ivanova & Jocelin-Almendras, 2021; Klaisingto & Aroonmanakun, 2010). By looking at these studies, however, it is possible to make some presumptions of what analyzing gendered teacher representation in newspaper headlines could entail.

4.1 Teachers in The Media

Keogh and Garrick (2011) analyzed images portrayed of teachers by the media and tried to determine whether they influence public opinion on teaching and education. The data consisted of one article in an Australian newspaper from 2002. Their findings suggest that media construct and perpetuate a negative image about the education sector, especially when it comes to teacher quality and the state of public schools. The headline of the article in question was *Cash Lures to Smarten Up Teaching*. The article imposed a premise that teachers needed 'smartening up', and that the supposed problem could be solved with money. It implies that there are teachers who are not good

enough to work in the system. In the western media, there seems to be constant state of an educational crisis, and the media fail to report positive news related to teaching and education. This is at least partially not in line with reality. According to a 2007 report, there was no educational crisis in Australia in 2002, and teacher education and teacher quality were at least adequate. Of course, since only one article was examined, no definite conclusions can be drawn.

Hansen (2009) analyzed the representation of teachers and education in the United Kingdom. The study included the analysis of teacher representation in newspaper headlines in 1991-2005 combined with a survey of public and professional perceptions of teachers. The findings suggest that the words 'teacher' and 'teachers' were surprisingly often collocated with words related to crime, such as court rulings, victim/perpetrator situations, and sexual abuse. However, towards the end of the 1990's, the context changed to less negative and more connected to education. Teachers were increasingly reported as agents, but also as individuals or a group of people who were "struggling" or "fighting" to get their job done. The conclusion was the general view of teachers in the British media has changed to more positive between 1991-2005.

Shine and O'Donoghue's (2013) article focuses on teacher representation around the topic of standardized testing in *The West Australian* newspaper between years 1997 and 2001. The way in which teachers and education are presented to people matters because it can impact policies regarding education. Based on their findings, teachers have been presented in limited ways in the media. It seems that the two prevailing options have been to represent them in a negative light, or to create a heroic story about "savior teachers". A combination of the two seems to be a teacher, who is struggling and overworked, but remains strong because of their "passion" or "calling" to teach. In the study, teachers were found to be presented as taking a negative stance towards standardized testing. Also, the decline in test results was seen as a problem caused by incompetent teachers. Another common message was that teachers were against national testing because it enables unfair comparing of teachers. Teachers' attitudes were represented also with news coverage about them being under pressure due to the testing system, and that teachers would undermine the testing process should it be a standard. The article concludes that representations of teachers were either negative or sympathetic, but only rarely positive. In the debate around standardized testing, teachers were clearly blamed for their unwillingness to adhere to the proposed system due to their increased accountability.

Cohen (2010) analyzed educational discourse in newspapers. The data consisted of 170 newspaper articles from the US newspaper *Chicago Tribune* from 2006-2007. Cohen used critical discourse analysis and content analysis to determine how the media manufacture public consent for education policy and how it has been mediatized in the United States. The findings

suggest that in the media, educational discourse is represented mostly through schools and students. Schools are the objects of evaluation, and they are usually evaluated negatively. Students, on the other hand, were represented as passive objects. An interesting point brought to light by Cohen is the lack of teacher representation. This, according to Cohen, can be due to the perceived quality of teaching being a "caring" profession and a traditionally feminized line of work. This directs focus on interpersonal relationships in teaching, disregarding teachers' authority to act in the public sphere of education, thus disallowing them agency in education discourse. In essence, teachers are backgrounded and rendered powerless in the media, possible due teaching being a female-dominated profession.

Bracic, Israel-Trummel, Rhinehart and Shortle (2020) conducted research on gender attitudes, specifically towards teachers in teachers' strikes and legislative elections. They used as their data Oklahoma City Election Day exit polls from 2016 and 2018, surveying a total of 2,677 respondents. They note that most public-school teachers are women, and education and related politics are regarded as feminine issues. Their research suggests that a person with traditional gender values (i.e., men are more capable of making decisions and should be in control of their wives) is more likely to vote against pro-education policies. They also discovered that when covering teachers' strikes, media mostly interviewed women. Their conclusion was that sexism is directly proportional to lack of support for education related policies and resources.

Based on prior research, it seems that teachers are most often represented in a negative way, or the importance of their work or their professional skills are belittled. Teachers are either incompetent, overworked, involved in criminal activity, or unwilling to cooperate with educational reform imposed from above. Even the positive representations seem to have negative undertones, such as becoming a "hero" through a struggle or staying "strong" because of their emotional or passionate attitude towards their profession. It also appears that the traditional views of education being a "feminine issue" (Meeks, 2012) and, thus, teaching being a feminine profession still hold their place in contemporary discussion around teachers and education.

4.2   Gender Representations in The Media

Sensales, Areni, and Dal Secco (2016) researched the representation of women politicians in Italian newspaper headlines. They compared the media representations of Presidents of Houses of Parliaments. The analysis consisted of five newspapers and concentrated on four-week periods after elections in three years (1979, 1994, and 2013) including three men and three women, and a total of 519 headlines. The aim was to determine how the politicians were addressed (first name/surname), if linguistic sexism was used with women politicians, and how

ideological/cultural orientation of the newspapers affected the representations. Based on Sensales, Areni, and Dal Secco's findings, women were referred to more by just their first name or a combination of first name and last name, while men mostly with just surname. According to van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 40-41), the use of names is a form of nominalization. Using surname only is formal, using first name and surname is semiformal, and using only first name is informal. Men and women are often nominated differently in the press with men usually receiving more formal nominalizations. Sensales, Areni, and Dal Secco (2016) continue that the language used with women politicians was mostly non-sexist, except for one politician in 1994. Women politicians were covered slightly more in left-oriented newspapers, but the overall coverage was almost even for men and women: 52 and 48 percent, respectively. The conclusion was that even though men and women politicians are represented somewhat differently in the media, the differences were less dramatic than expected. Another interesting finding was that the coverage for a woman politician reached its peak in 1994 and decreased in 2013.

Mitchell and McKinnon (2019) examined the gender representation of scientists in *The New York Times*. They concentrated on stereotypes linked to gender and scientists and aimed to determine whether gender diversity is presented in the media, how stereotypes affect this representation, and how these stereotypes are either reproduced or contested. The data consisted of The New York Times "Profiles in Science" articles that are profiles of scientists. In total, there were 28 profiles including 30 scientists from 2011-2018. Of these 30 scientists, 18 were male and 12 female, although only 28% of people working in science in the United States are women. Most profiles about male scientists were written by male journalists (74%), and most profiles about female scientists were written by female journalists (63%). The findings suggest that the discourse of "being a woman in science" is prevalent in two-thirds of the female scientists' profiles. Additionally, only female scientists' profiles discuss the difficulties between family and career, and their relationship and parenthood statuses were mentioned more often. Their physical appearance was also commented on more frequently than male scientists', although physical appearance was only discussed briefly and sometimes mentioned to contest stereotypes. Emphasizing brilliance was present in both male and female scientists' profiles. Another point noticed by Mitchell and McKinnon was that ethnic diversity was not proportionately represented since only 7% of the profiles features a non-white scientist, while statistically over 30% of US scientists are non-white. It seems that overall many stereotypes have been weakened or transformed to be non-gender specific, while others, such as women's role as a domestic caretakers and the need for a female scientists to "have it all", still appear prevalent.

Laine (2016) studied the representation of athletes in Finnish and Swedish tabloid during 2004 and 2006 Olympics. The focus of examination was on the distribution of coverage between men's and women's sports and how individual athletes were represented based on gender. The data consisted of 1750 pages of newspaper material from two Swedish and two Finnish tabloids during the time of the two Olympic games. The results show that coverage on male athletes was consistently higher (55-78%), which is can partially be explained with the distribution of domestic male and female athletes in the Olympics. Also, especially with Finland, most medalists were men. However, female athletes were represented more as sexualized objects and their appearance was scrutinized more often than male athletes'. This was especially conspicuous with Finnish women's hockey team, who were not only sexualized but also marginalized and trivialized. Whereas the men's hockey team consists of a group of serious, respectable professionals, the women hockey players appeared to be just "eye-candy" for the male gaze. However, the Swedish women's hockey team was represented more equally to their male counterpart in Swedish press.

Soine and Schneider (2022) explain that nursing has been for long perceived as a caring, feminine work. Simultaneously, nurses have gained a reputation as activists, striking to better their working conditions. Soine and Schneider examined gendered media representation of nursing strikes in the United States. The data consisted of newspaper, television, online news, and social media coverage from three nursing strikes: Minnesota 1984 and 2010, and California 2014. Based on findings, perceptions of nurses shifted from the traditional, caring, "Florence Nightingale" type to more assertive and aggressive medical professionals. Simultaneously, attitudes in the media seemed to shift from understanding to contesting. However, even though the proportion of white women of registered nurses has decreased from 90% in the 1960's to 65% in youngest generational cohort in 2006-2010, media presentations have still reproduced the image of nurses as selfless middle-class white women.

Based on prior research, women and men continue to be represented differently in the media. This is increasingly conspicuous in areas and professions that are perceived as traditionally masculine, such as politics, science, and sports. However, as Sensales, Areni, and Dal Secco (2016), as well as Mitchell and McKinnon (2019) remark, the differences are smaller and less striking as they have been in the past. Additionally, as Laine (Laine, 2016) points out, differences in representation stem also from performance, especially in sports. Simultaneously, however, it could be argued that differences in performance are affected by a long history of differences in resources, attitudes, and appreciation of women's sports. Whereas representations of women in male-dominated fields have changed slowly, in female-dominated fields, perceptions

and images seem to be changing just as slowly. The uniqueness and difference of a woman succeeding in a male-dominated field is still emphasized, while the changes towards "more masculine" qualities in female-dominated walks fields are rejected. The latter can also be expected from gendered teacher representation, education being a female-dominated field in many countries.

4.3   Social Actors in Newspaper Headlines

In their study, Klaisingto and Aroonmanakun (2010) examined the representation of gender ideology in newspaper headlines through social actors. Their data included 1,815 crime news headlines from four Thai newspapers from 2006-2007. Critical discourse analysis along with representation of social actors were used in the analysis. Their conclusion was that Thai newspapers construct gender identities based on gender ideology. Based on their analysis, this is done by exclusion and inclusion. Additionally, male social actors are represented thought their actions (functionalization), while female social actors through relation to other people (identification), usually men. In the headlines, male social actors were also often completely absent while female social actors referred to directly, especially as victims. According to Klaisingto and Aroonmanakun, this is partly because it makes the actions of male social actors more difficult to judge and reflects values of a male-dominated society, but partly due to the shared assumption between the writers and readers, that the perpetrator is usually a man.

Ivanova and & Jocelin-Almendras (2021) made similar findings in their study on representation of immigrants. Their data consisted of 114 newspaper headlines in the Chilean newspaper *El Austral Temuco* from 2015-2018. In the study, they used critical discourse analysis along with media frame analysis, including discussion of representation of social actors in news media. As with Klaisinto and Aroonmanakun's findings, the "weaker" participants – immigrants or women – were represented as "receivers" of action, rendering the passive. Ivanova and Jocelin-Almendras note that news media, as public discourse, are used to legitimize public opinion, and based on their findings, its used to build a strong contrast between "us" and "them", especially when discussing immigration.

It appears that as social actors, men and women are represented differently. Additionally, weaker actors are more likely to be sidelined and passivized. Especially in headlines related to crime, men are omitted as social actors by backgrounding them. Although this stems from a shared understanding – ideological or statistic-based – of men usually being the perpetrators, it still highlights the victim. From this, it is possible to see that even if gender is not

explicitly mentioned, gendered representations in the media can be found through social actor analysis.

4.4 Education and Teacher Statistics

To be able to better understand the gendered nature of representation in the media in different countries, attention should be paid to the gender division of teachers in said countries. Even though education, in general, is viewed as a more feminine issue, there are areas of education and especially different education levels that differ in this respect. In the figure below (FIGURE 1) are displayed the percentages of women on different education levels in three countries. The newspapers to be analyzed have been chosen from these three countries: Finland, India, and the United States.
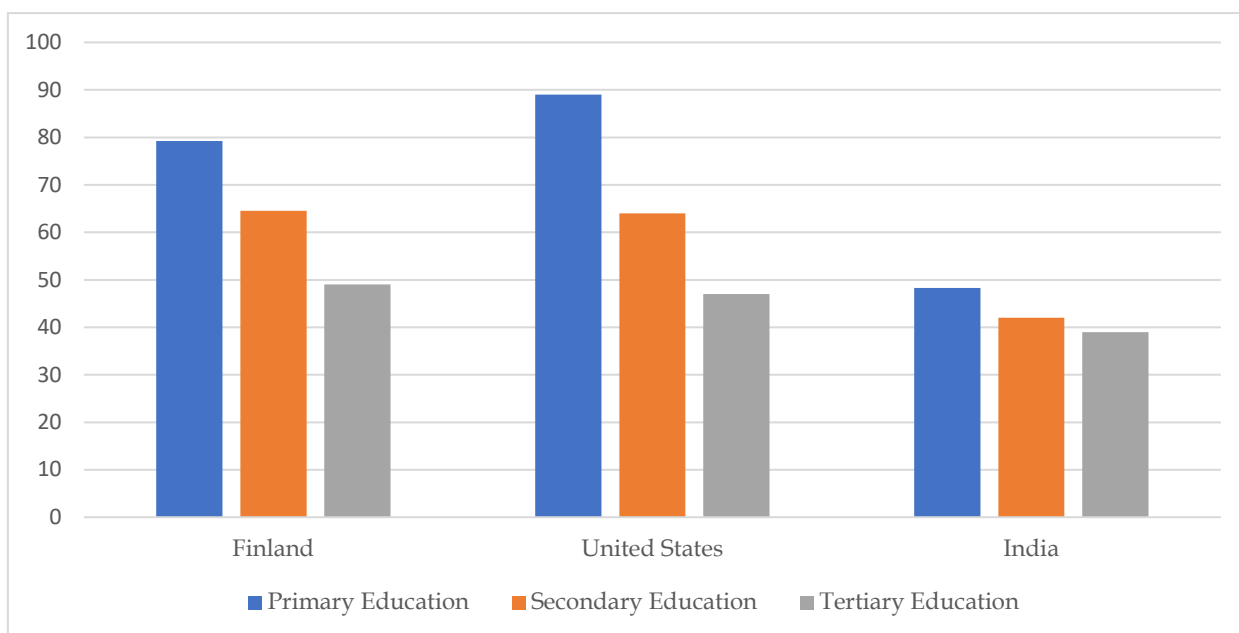
FIGURE 1   Percentage of women in teaching positions on different education levels by country in 2015–2019. (Opetushallitus, 2020a; Opetushallitus, 2020b; Opetushallitus, 2020c; Opetushallinnon tilastopalvelu; Digest of Education Statistics, 2021; Digest of Education Statistics, 2019; Government of India, 2018)

It should be noted that in Finland, Primary Education age is between 5-15, Secondary Education age 15-19, and Tertiary Education age 19 and above (Ministry of Education and Culture). Corresponding age groups in the United States are 5-13, 14-18, and 18 and above (USAHello, n.d.), and for India 6-14, 14-18, and 18 and above (Scholaro Database, n.d.). Data collection years are 2019 for Finland, 2017-2018 for United States, and 2015-2016 for India.

From the figure is can be seen that in India, education is a male-dominated profession. The reason for this could partly be explained by the division of work force in general. Only 23 percent of Indian women were part of the work force in 2022, while the corresponding number for men was 73 percent (ILOSTAT, 2022). In Finland, corresponding percentages were 60/64 (women/men, 2021) (Tilastokeskus, 2021) and in the US 67/69 (women/men, 2019) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). Not only was women's percentage in working life significantly lower in India compared to other countries, the difference between women and men was also significantly larger. As such, education can be viewed as a "feminine profession" in India as well, as the number of women as teacher is disproportionate compared to women's percentage of the overall working force.

Another significant factor in gender division in education seems to be the level of education where the teachers are working. In each country, the higher the education level, the lower the portion of women teachers. This is particularly conspicuous with the United States, as women make almost 90 percent of primary education teachers, but only less than half of tertiary level teachers. The reasons for this are many, but they are ambiguous and complicated. The phenomenon could partly be explained by the differences in levels of education between men and women, the higher salary on higher education levels, or the overall increase in prestige and appreciation of higher education teachers. These reasons could still stem from underlying factors: do men choose higher education teaching more often because it pays more, or does it pay more because higher education teachers have traditionally more often been men? Also, is lower education less prestigious because working with and "raising" children is perceived as "feminine" and higher education more prestigious because educating young adults who are planning on moving to working life is perceived as "masculine"? These questions are beyond the scope of this research, but they are important to keep in mind to be able to better understand the underlying reasons for possible differences in teacher representations.

Based on the statistics, it is not possible to find information on other genders than men and women. In Finnish context, the information is labelled as "Percentage Division of Primary School Principals and Teachers by Gender in 2019" [Perusopetuksen koulujen rehtoreiden ja opettajien prosentuaalinen jakautuminen sukupuolittain vuonna 2019] (Opetushallitus, 2020b), and the numbers are presented as "Percentage of Women" and "Percentage of Men", respectively. There is no mention of – and apparently no information on – any other genders. It should also be noted that the Finnish term 'sukupuoli' does not define between 'sex' and 'gender' and can be used to mean both. As for the United States, the statistics are divided into two, "Male" and "Female", and the category is titled "Sex" (Digest of Education Statistics, 2021). This traditional

– outdated, even – choice of categorization can be partly explained by the fact that there are comparative data from 1999-2000 in the table as well. In the Indian statistics, the table is labeled as "Number of Female Teachers per Hundred Male Teachers". In this case, the terms male and female indicate that the division is based on sex, not gender. In addition, the percentage of female teachers is not indicated directly but comparatively to the number of a static number (100) of male teachers (Government of India, 2018). The makes it appear that male teacher is the norm and female teacher the anomaly. As the appears to be no data on other than two gender, it becomes challenging to reflect any statistics to possible trans/non-binary representations in the headlines.

5   PRESENT STUDY

In this section, the research questions of this study are introduced. Then, the data collection process is explained as the newspapers used in data gathering are introduced and their choice justified. Additionally, methods of analysis are discussed with some notes of what kinds of representations were expected to be found, and which aspects could not be interpreted from the data due to the data collection restrictions.

5.1   Research Questions

The analysis in this study concentrates on gendered representation of teachers in newspaper headlines and their differences in three countries before the beginning of the Covid-19-pandemic and a year later, mid-pandemic. The research questions of the study are: (1) As what kinds of social actors are teachers represented in the headlines and how, if at all, is gendered representation visible? (2) Are there differences in quality or quantity in teacher representation between teacher education levels or pre- and mid-pandemic headlines?

It is important to pay attention to the way teachers are represented for multiple reason. First, the representation of people working in a field dominated by one gender, because it reveals the gender attitudes and stereotypes in the society. Second, the representation of teachers affects the way people see and treat teachers. If the common perception of teachers is that they are submissive, struggling, they will more likely be treated as such, despite the actual situation. This has a direct influence on teachers' working life through both students and parents. Finally, examining representational differences can help to realize which factors induce change in teacher representation and that teachers are not one homogenous mass if there are differences in representations of different kinds of teachers.

The hypotheses are that teachers are often represented as subjects of power in relation to the educational organization. Furthermore, representations of teachers being submissive, passive, unappreciated, and struggling to do their job are also expected. Gendered representation is somewhat expected especially in Finland and the Unites States due to teaching being a female-dominated profession in these countries. Representations of teachers in different education levels are expected to be different due to differences in gender division of teachers. Finally, the hypothesis is that representations change between pre- and mid-Covid headlines, especially so that representations of power and struggle increase.

5.2 Data collection

The data were collected from three newspapers from three continents: Finnish *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), Indian *The Indian Express* (IE), and American *The Washington Post* (WP). By choosing three papers from different parts of the world and with different societal structures, cultures, and economic situations, it was possible to get a more diverse view of the representation of teacher profession in general. It allowed for investigating differences, but also to recognize "universal" conceptions of teachers. According to van Zoonen (1994, pp. 139, 145), Triangulation – investigation more than one source of data – allows for more general results. Finland was chosen as the domestic reference, but also for the high appreciation for the Finnish Education System around the world, or at least in Finland (Schatz, Popovic, & Dervin, 2017). The other two countries were chosen two represent two large English-speaking countries. the United States is the largest English-speaking country with 283 million English speakers and India the second largest with 125 million English speakers (Sawe, 2018). Large English newspapers can be found in these countries.

Before choosing the newspapers, their credibility and political inclinations were checked. According to the Media Bias / Fact Check website (Media Bias / Fact Check, 2022a; Media Bias / Fact Check, 2023; Media Bias / Fact Check, 2022b) all three newspapers are positions in the left-center political field. Their levels of factual reporting – 1: the least factual, 6: the most factual – are average: high (5/6) for Helsingin Sanomat, mixed (3/6) for The Indian Express, and mostly factual (4/6) for The Washington Post. They are all listed as high traffic newspapers. The overall credibility rating is High Credibility for Helsingin Sanomat and The Washington Post, and Medium Credibility for The Indian Express.

In choosing the newspapers from different countries, multiple options were considered. It appeared that English news was not available in Finland, as e-publication *Helsinki Times* did not have a search function and its content was not available in the National Library of Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat International Edition* was discontinued in 2012 (YLE News, 2012),

and *YLE News* yielded no search results within the given period since not all news is published in English. For these reasons, the largest Finnish daily newspaper was chosen and the headlines matching the search parameters were translated. Even though the number of headlines yielded by the search was low, Helsingin Sanomat was chosen as the best domestic option for reference. Before choosing The Washington Post as the American newspaper, *The New York Times* and *USA Today* were also considered. The Washington Post was chosen because the search yielded more results than for the other two papers combined. *Hindustan Times* was another option for an Indian newspaper. However, the number of search results was so high compared to The Washington Post and especially Helsingin Sanomat that it would have distorted the division of headlines between countries too much. For this reason, eventually The Indian Express was chosen.

The newspapers, albeit different sizes, are large. Helsingin Sanomat is the largest daily newspaper in Finland and the largest of the three with a circulation of 200,000 (2019) / daily readership of 700,000 (2022) (Sanoma, n.d.). The Washington Post is the fourth largest newspaper in The United States and the second largest of the three with a circulation of 160,000 (2022) / weekly readership of 1.5 million (2020) (The Washington Post, 2021). The Indian Express has a monthly readership of approximately 1.6 million and is the sixth largest English newspaper in India (Media Research Users Council India, 2017). All papers cover regional and national issues.

The data were gathered from two different time periods. As a pre-pandemic period, October 1st – December 31st, 2019, was used, and for mid-pandemic October 1st – December 31st, 2020. The three-month periods from each year yielded a suitable number of headlines for analysis within the scope of this study. Also, choosing the same months from each year helped to limit variation in news coverage based on the yearly cycle of education. The end of the year was chosen as the compared time frame for two reasons. First, as the pandemic started to affect the world in full force in early 2020, late 2019 headlines were still free of any Covid-related discourses. Second, in fall 2020, the first complete semester in pandemic-affected conditions had begun and the virus was spreading rapidly while there still was no vaccine available. As such, late 2020 news coverage better represents the everyday life in education during the pandemic, while early 2020 news coverage would have probably concentrated more on the novelty, uncertainty, and panic surrounding the virus.

For Helsingin Sanomat, a Finnish newspaper, the used search term was "*opettaj*" to include all possible inflections and compound words for the Finnish word "teacher" (opettaja). Thus, the search also included words such as "math teacher" (matematiikanopettaja) and "teachers'" (opettajien). The found headlines were then translated into English as directly as possible to preserve the grammatical and syntactical features of the headline, following the

description of the linguistic features of deadlines by Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 85). For some of the translated headlines, the use of gendered pronouns was disregarded since they are not used in Finnish and could not be translated without adding one. For example, "opettaja palkittiin opetuksestaan" translated to "teacher rewarded for [possessive pronoun] teaching". For the English newspapers The Indian Express and The Washington Post, search term "teacher*" was used to include possible inflected forms.

The headlines were searched in ProQuest database (https://www.proquest.com/). The search yielded the following results of found headlines: HS 2019: 17, HS 2020: 15, IE 2019: 84, IE 2020: 79, WP 2019: 25, and WP 2020: 26. From the selected period in 2019 there were 126 headlines, and from the selected period in 2020 there were 120, yielding a total of 246 headlines. From these headlines were removed the ones in which the matched search term did not directly refer to teachers or teaching profession, such as headlines with teacher as an abstract concept (*is a good teacher*, *teacher's hat, 'teacher'*) and references to names (*Shaijala Teacher*). In addition to teachers as individuals and groups, the headlines included phrases referring to teachers' association, teacher recruitment, teacher events, and teacher students and examination. For Helsingin Sanomat, the search also included obituaries, which the other two papers did not include. For this reason, Helsingin Sanomat obituaries were omitted from the data. The final data consisted of 217 headlines divided as follows: HS 2019: 9, HS 2020: 15, IE 2019: 74, IE 2020: 73, WP 2019: 23, and WP 2020: 23. The headlines were equally distributed between the years; there were 106 headlines from 2019 and 111 from 2020.

Although the number of headlines was not equally divided between different newspapers, there were approximately the same number of headlines from each year. This makes the comparison between the pre- and mid-Covid eras easier.

5.3   Methods of Analysis

When analyzing the media, there are three main aspects to consider. According to Fairclough (1997, p. 14), these are representation, identity, and relations: examining how the world is represented, what kind of identities have been assigned to people depicted in the story, and what kinds of relations these participants have built. All the aspects are influenced by the ideologies of those in power (Fairclough, 1997, pp. 23, 25). These ideologies are present in texts implicitly and in presumptions that aid in consolidating and reproducing power relations in societies (Fairclough, 1997, p. 25). Fairclough (1997, p. 26) emphasizes that to be able to scrutinize these ideologies, the analysis must seek for the origins of the presented reality; where is it coming from and by whom was it created. The reason for the representational choice and how that choice aids the creators to

reach their goals must also be investigated. According to Fairclough (1995, p. 126), analyzing the three aspects of representation, identity, and relations addresses important sociocultural questions. Through such analysis it is possible to understand how the dominant economic, political, and cultural parties construct relations between themselves and the audiences and present them through the media. This helps to better comprehend power relations in society.

A piece of news is also a communicative event. Fairclough (1995, pp. 57-62) classifies the three dimensions of analyzing communicative events: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. This means examining the written (or spoken) word, its production and consumption processes, and the social aspects – mainly economic, political, and cultural – that have influenced the communicative event. Including all three dimensions is crucial to be able to analyze both form and meaning, the transformation of texts as they move through the news production process, and finding the connections between text, language, society, and culture. These aspects cannot be justifiably separated because of the intertwined nature of news and society.

In this study, the data were analyzed based on five categories of Critical Discourse Analysis focal points, nine discourses of Social Actor representation of inclusion divided into 17 sub-categories, and six additional discourses stemming from prior research on teachers, media representation, and gender, divided into 11 sub-categories. The headlines were analyzed first normatively, with attention to textual level implications of different discourses, and then from an explanatory viewpoint, scrutinizing implicit references, ingrained qualities, and reflected ideologies. In the analysis, these levels are represented as intertwined. As such, the analysis pays attention to grammar, linguistic features and expression, social contexts, ideological implications, relations of power, cultural values, textual choices. The representation of social actors is the focus of the analysis.

The five categories of CDA focal points were (1) Gender, (2) Race/Ethnicity/Religion, (3) Sexual orientation, (4) Power, and (5) Economy. Gender references included all gendered nouns and adjectives ("woman", "husband", "feminine") and pronouns ("she", "his"). Traces of all gender words in the headlines were examined, especially those that referred directly to teachers. References to race, ethnicity, and religion included related nouns and adjectives, including references to caste and minority languages ("white", "Dalit", "Muslim", "Urdu"). Sexual orientation references included adjectives and nouns of sexual orientation ("gay", "lesbian", "straight", LGBTQIA+). References to power includes organizations of power (government, police, university) and power relationships expressed with nouns or verbs ("subordinate", "order", "fire"), as well as physical power and violence (murder, sexual violence).

Economic references included nouns, verbs, and adjectives related to economic functions ("salary", "job", "fund", "financed"). Words related to protesting ("strike", "march") were included both categories of power and economy. In addition to textual level indicators, the underlying ideological, stereotypical, and implied meaning were examined through inclusion and exclusion, agency, and evaluative language.

Representation of social actors started with determining the role of the teacher as an actor, patient, or beneficiary, which are scrutinized from the point of view of inclusion category (1) Role Allocation. Other inclusion categories include (2) Genericization and Specification, (3) Assimilation, (4) Association and Dissociation, (5) Differentiation, (6) Nomination and Categorization, (7) Identification, (8) Personalization and Impersonalization, and (9) Overdetermination.

Based on the data gathering methods, it was expected that not all categories of Social Actors by van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 23-53) could be identified in the headlines, while some were most likely always present. Dissociation is unlikely in headlines because associations are unformed as texts proceed, which is unlikely to occur in headlines due to their shortness. Categorization was expected to be common in headlines because actors and represented through their function, and in the data, the word "teacher", describing a function of an actor, was always present. Personalization as well was expected to be common because "teacher" was already an attribute rendering the actor "human". Exceptions could include representation through spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization, and somatization. Additionally, since all headlines included the word "teacher" or its derivate, suppression, a category of exclusion, were non-applicable in the analysis. However, backgrounding as a form of exclusion could occur as backgrounded actors can be mentioned elsewhere in a sentence where they are backgrounded. Categories of Indetermination and Functionalization were also excluded from the analysis due to search terms used: teachers were always determined as teachers, and functionalized as they were represented through their vocation.

Additional categories of common discourses that have been remarked in prior research around the topic included (1) Incompetence, (2) Specialness, (3) Interpersonal factors, (4) Struggle, (5) Powerlessness, and (6) Violence. Incompetence included references being underqualified or unable to do their job due to their lack of skills or degree. Specialness included exemplary behavior including awards and appreciation, and the "hero-teacher" discourse. Interpersonal factors included discourses of caring and building personal relationships, as well as seeing the teacher profession as a "passion" or "calling". Struggle consisted of discourses around teachers lacking resources, being under pressure by organization or regulation, or fighting for their

rights or employment. Powerlessness included discourses where teachers were sidelined while schools, administrators, or students were emphasized. A sub-category of powerlessness was use of power, which included discourses in which teachers were actively possessing power and using it, usually to distance themselves from the educational organization. Category of Violence also included crime and non-violent death. Sub-categories of Violence were Crime victim, Crime perpetrator, Sexual misconduct, Sex crime (when discourses of Crime perpetrator and Sexual misconduct entangled), and Non-crime-related death.

The headlines were analyzed based on the presented criteria and for each headline, the applicable discourses and representations were noted. This way, an overview of the dominant discourses and representations were formed. Additionally, it was possible to present the findings in qualitative form as well, giving concrete data of how common different representations were.

6 TEACHER REPRESENTATIONS IN THREE NEWSPAPERS

The analysis is divided into five subsections based on analysis methods. The first section discusses the main concerns of Critical Discourse Analysis, concentrating on gender, power, and economy. The second section examines representation of teachers based on the Social Actor analysis. The third section looks at common teacher discourses drawn from prior research on teacher representation and how they reflected in the headlines. The fourth section focuses on teacher representation differences on different education levels. Finally, the fifth section provides a comparison between representations before and after the beginning of the Covid-pandemic.

There were some common topics in the newspapers during the two time periods. In 2019, teachers' strikes were covered substantially in the headlines of The Indian Express and in The Washington Post. In India, university teachers and especially substitute teachers were protesting for higher pay and better working conditions. In the United States, teachers' strikes were taking place in Chicago. In 2020, as expected, Covid-19 pandemic was mentioned in the headlines of all the papers. In India, there was some coverage on elections, as the graduates and teachers' constituency polls were taking place in late 2020. Additionally, the beheading of a French teacher in October 2020 was discussed in all the papers.

6.1 Focal Points of Critical Discourse Analysis

This section examines the focal points of Critical Discourse Analysis and how gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation, power, and economy were represented in the headlines.

6.1.1 Gender

Overt references to gender were rare. Of the total of 217 headlines, the gender of the teacher was explicitly mentioned in eight headlines by using pronouns or nominalization. In additional eight headlines, the gender was implied through relationships to other people ("husband", "maternity leave") or mentioning the victim in crime headlines in which the teacher has been the perpetrator.

There were a few (9/217) headlines that represented teachers as cordial, conciliatory, submissive, or unaware. These qualities could be interpreted as feminine traits. In some headlines, the lack of appreciation for the teaching profession was also visible (HEADLINE 1).

HEADLINE 1

"On World Teacher's Day, UNESCO highlights an 'underpaid, undervalued' profession"

The Indian Express, October 5th, 2019

"Underpaid" and "undervalued" can be interpreted as common descriptions of female-dominated professions, such as nursing and childcare, or even unpaid domestic work that is mostly done by women. These evaluations of the profession appear not to be the paper's own since they are places in quotations. In fact, the headline suggests that these evaluations have must likely been done by UNESCO, as it is represented as the organizational agent doing the highlighting of the profession. However, presenting the evaluations as made by UNESCO does not necessarily mean that the newspaper's ideologies are non-compliant. Conversely, it seems that putting the words in quotations is a way of offering a reliable organization source for these evaluations since the newspaper has seen coverage on World Teacher's Day newsworthy in the first place.

Much more often, in 36 headlines, teachers were represented as assertive, demanding, and even aggressive. These qualities have traditionally been perceived as masculine. These representations were especially common with news coverage of teachers' strikes (HEADLINE 2).

HEADLINE 2

"West Bengal: Will intensify stir if demands not met, say para teachers"

The Indian Express, November 13th, 2019

In protest related headlines teachers were represented as a determined group of people knowing their worth. In the example above, teachers' demands are presented as a threat or an ultimatum. This is a very strong contrast to submissive, conciliatory behavior. The representations of teachers' strikes were somewhat different in The Indian Express and The Washington Post. In the latter, striking teachers were still assertive, although slightly more inclined to negotiate (HEADLINE 3).

HEADLINE 3

"Chicago teachers, asking for more resources, strike for first time since 2012"

The Washington Post, October 18ᵗʰ, 2019

Here, teachers are "asking" instead of demanding. Additionally, teachers are presented first as agents, while in headline 2, word order has been altered so that the action is presented first, making it appear even more aggressive. It is possible that the differences in representation stem from the gendered views of the teaching profession in India and the United States. As teaching is much more male-dominated a profession in India, it could be argued that teacher representation includes more masculine language as well. However, it is not the only explaining factors, since organizational guidelines and cultural differences can also affect the way in which events and protests are represented in The Indian Express and The Washington Post.

In other headlines, people with personal relationships with teachers were described without revealing the gender of the teacher ("mother", "son"). An individual teacher was not once represented through their relationship to their male relative or husband ("wife/daughter/mother of") in the headlines. Neither was a teacher represented through their female relative or wife ("husband/son/father of").

Trans and non-binary representations were mostly invisible in the headlines. The only time trans and non-binary people or issues were mentioned was in a headline regarding teacher's misbehavior towards a trans student (HEADLINE 4).

HEADLINE 4

"Teacher fired for not using trans student's pronouns sues"

The Washington Post, October 8ᵗʰ, 2019

This headline underlines a teacher's attitude towards a student's gender. Apparently, a teacher had been fired for misgendering the student and felt treated illegitimately. The headline raises a bigger issue about the treatment of trans people in general. The use and misuse of pronouns is an important issue for trans people and as the headline suggests, is not treated lightly in schools, as the teacher had been fired for it. The headline's representation of the teacher, however, renders them as someone resisting such drastic measures and, thus, suing. The implication also is that the teacher feels they have not done anything wrong, which suggests that the teacher is intolerant towards trans people as they show no remorse. As there were no overt headlines about trans teachers, the only representation for them seems to be exclusion.

6.1.2   Race, Ethnicity, Religion, and Sexual Orientation

As with gender, overt references to race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation were also rare. Race and ethnicity were present in six headlines of which two regarded to violence or discrimination against a member of the Dalit-caste in India. The Dalit people, the "untouchables", are a group of people classified in the traditional Indian caste system as the lowest social group (Minority Rights Group International, n.d.). Two headlines mentioned the position of the Urdu minority language in India with the implication of it also being a religious question, since Urdu is the national language of Islamic Pakistan and the language has Arabic and Persian influences (National Council For Promotion Of Urdu Language, 2019). Sexual orientation was only implied in one headline (HEADLINE 5):

HEADLINE 5

"Pune: Teacher booked for 'sexually assaulting' Class IX male student, probe on"

The Indian Express, November 23, 2019

Given the Indian context, the heteronormative assumption would be that the teacher is a man and the student victim in a sexual assault case is a girl. In the headline, however, it is specifically mentioned that the victim is a "male student", bringing to focus the "deviant" of the crime. In all other Indian and American headlines covering crimes of sexual nature committed by teachers, if the victim was mentioned, the word "girl" was used. The one Finnish headline on sexual misconduct labelled the victims as "students" (HEADLINE 34). In sexual crime headlines, the

victim was usually highlighted whereas the perpetrator was expressing with a prepositional phrase in a passivized sentenced, of left completely up to audience's interpretation (HEADLINE 6).

HEADLINE 6

"Dalit girl 'abused, assaulted' in UP, teacher faces investigation"

The Indian Express, October 15th, 2019

In the headline above, the perpetrator has been left unmentioned most probably due to the inconclusiveness; the headline suggests that the investigation is still ongoing. The age of the victim or the exact nature of the crime cannot be interpreted from the headline. The words describing the event are placed in quotations, suggesting that descriptions of offences are the ones stated by the source, most likely the police. Even though mentioning the gender of the (assumed) student suggests that the crime is sexual in nature, the information provided by the headline is ambiguous. What is more directly stated is that the girl was of Dalit-caste. It suggests that the event had some undertones of ethnic discrimination and that it has been deemed important by the journalist to mention those undertones. As such, the headline represents not only the alleged misuse of power by the teacher, but also ethnic intolerance.

One headline about race was in the US context. It consists of two simple statements, but the implication is that there is a clash in the education system due to the racial imbalance of teachers and student (HEADLINE 7).

HEADLINE 7

"Schools are more diverse. Teachers are mostly white."

The Washington Post, December 28, 2019

It is not clear what the comparative "more" refers to since it's presented as the first statements. The first impression is that schools are more diverse than teachers, but it could also imply that schools are more diverse than they used to be. This would suggest that there are demographic changes in the country, but the body of teachers is not changing accordingly. In either case, the underlying impression is that the situation, as it currently appears, is problematic. However, no direct indication is given as for who is to blame, and that is not necessarily even the intention of

the headline. The implied meaning still appears to be that something should be done to change the situation as the two statements are clearly presented as opposing one another. Therefore, the headline seems to be advocating for a more diverse education system.

Another headline regarding race in the US context is about a teacher's behavior and "racial insensitivity" (HEADLINE 8).

HEADLINE 8

"Arlington teacher faces probe for 'racial insensitivity' in quiz question"

The Washington Post, November 20, 2020

In this headline, the teacher is directly represented as the fault. The reason for accusation, "racial insensitivity" is placed in quotation marks suggesting that the label for the teacher's misbehavior is coming from the source, most likely the school organization. This also distances the paper itself from taking a stand on what racial sensitivity means, specifically. The way the headline has been constructed suggests that the newsworthiness comes mainly from the fact that the teacher is facing investigation for their racial insensitivity. As such, racial insensitivity itself appears less newsworthy. Teachers' racist and intolerant behavior has become a hot topic, especially in the United States as social media have made it possible to make made classroom events available to the public eye. The phenomenon of teachers' actions being broadcast to such large audiences is still relatively new. As such, teachers have become more accountable for their questionable behavior that was left mostly unattended in the past, due to it being only visible inside the physical classroom. The headline appears to underline this change in teachers' responsibility as educators and example, and the fact that intolerant behavior inside the classroom is no longer acceptable and can lead to consequences and sanctions.

There were no mentions of any racial discourses in the Finnish context. The most conspicuous reason for this is probably the low number of headlines in the data. There are ethnic minorities, such as the Roma and Sami people, in Finland who have traditionally faced a substantial amount of discrimination. Additionally, the number of immigrants and the amount of foreign-born population has increased steadily since the early 1990's, totaling in over 423,500 – eight percent of the population – in 2019 (Finnish Government [Valtioneuvosto], 2021). Thus, racial differences and tolerance issues are very much present in Finland as well, although they were seemed to be absent in the data.

6.1.3 Power

Power was the most common discourse present in the headlines. Of the total 217 headlines, 174 (80%) included an organization of power, some expression of power use or power relation, or indication of violence. Most references of power were related to the organization of power that the teacher(s) represented. This organizational nominator was used 31 (14%) headlines. In headlines where organizational nominator was used, teachers were defined by the organization they were teaching in, such as "St Stephen's teacher", or more generally "govt school teacher". It differs slightly from nominalization categories used by van Leeuwen that are further examined in the Social Actors section, as the teachers' names are not mentioned, only the name of the organization. Using organizational nominators was most apparent in The Indian Express, while in Helsingin Sanomat and The Washington Post mostly used the geographical location instead of the organization to specify the teachers, such as "Anne Arundel third-grade teacher". In headlines covering teachers' protests, the same trend was visible. Although the protests in both India and the US appear widespread, in the Indian context, there are multiple, more specific, headlines about the protests, while the American headlines are fewer and more inclusive. In The Indian Express headlines, teachers were most often referred as "[organization X] teachers", while in The Washington Post, "Chicago teachers" was a common phrase used. The first approach appears to render the events more serious and drastic, as there are more headlines surrounding the topic and teachers from different organizations appear to be joining the protests, as if they were expanding. The Washington Post's representation leaves the teachers more anonymous by categorizing all teachers in the same "Chicago teacher" category.

Power was also visible in the headlines through the representation of teachers as subjects of power (HEADLINE 9).

HEADLINE 9

"Tripura to resume Classes for 9th, 11th students; asks teachers to 'rigorously' finish syllabus"

The Indian Express, December 23rd, 2020

In such cases, teachers were rendered completely passive with no agency to affect their own situation. These cases included government or municipality decisions regarding teacher employment or pay, pressure from the organization to implement change, and increased workload

imposed upon teachers. This discourse of powerlessness was present in 45 (21%) headlines. This discourse of powerlessness is also related to struggle discourse, which is analyzed in detail in common teacher discourses section. The discourse of powerlessness appears to be rather common, although not a dominant discourse. This is in line with the gendered representation of the teaching profession in general. Teachers appear to be in a position where they cannot fully influence their working conditions and are facing pressure from both above and below, since organizational pressure and worry about their students are present simultaneously. Representing teachers as subjects of power also renders them without agency.

Even though in many headlines teachers are represented as subjects of power, in 31 (17%) headlines teachers were represented as actors using power (HEADLINE 10).

HEADLINE 10

"MCD teachers protest delay in salary, promotions"

The Indian Express, October 22nd, 2019

Such discourse included protesting and strikes, or teachers making active decisions about unconventional teaching methods or the direction of their careers. However, most of these headlines were related to the protests. Protesting, striking, and making the demands were the most common representations of teachers' power use. This can be seen as resistive power, or resistance *of* power. As such, the power teachers use seems to be mostly the kind of power the oppressed are able to use, a form of resistance, not the kind of power that is used to create new policies or make decisions. As such, when represented as the ones in power, in most such headlines, the representations of teachers' power use are derived from struggle.

6.1.4   Economy

Discourse of economy was present in one 40 (18%) headlines. Most economy discourse headlines included teachers' protests, as they mention directly or indirectly the demand for higher salaries or other benefits. Other common topics were salaries, hires and lay-offs, and teachers struggling to make a living. Fines, non-teaching related businesses, and awards were also mentioned. In both Indian and American context there were headlines in which teachers were being represented as people who do not earn enough, and either must find other work (HEADLINE 11) or receive help (HEADLINE 12).

HEADLINE 11

"Punjab govt teachers cannot practise, earn from journalism: Education dept"

The Indian Express, November 14ᵗʰ, 2019

HEADLINE 12

"Start-up to help D.C. teachers buy homes"

The Washington Post, October 31ˢᵗ, 2019

From these headlines it appears that teachers are not paid enough or that their livelihood is unstable. The same issue is present in the teachers' protests headlines where teachers appear to be asking for an increase in pay. This suggests that the financial appreciation of teachers' work is not high enough. In the American context, this would be in line with teaching being a female-dominated profession. Female-dominated professions are almost without exception paid less than male-dominated fields, which is can also be reflected in the headlines. However, this is not the case in the Indian context. It must also be addressed that since the financial struggles of teachers have made the news extensively, especially with the protests, their struggles and demand appear societally justified. There were no similar discourses to be found in the Finnish context. There was only one headline (HEADLINE 13) with economy discourse and it was a history piece.

HEADLINE 13

"Vantaa Kyrkoby School 's first teacher's salary was 15 barrels of rye"

Helsingin Sanomat, November 7ᵗʰ, 2019

Here the teacher's salary, paid in barrels of rye instead of money, is represented as an archaic curiosity to underline the age of the school and, thus, does not really acknowledge teacher salaries in contemporary Finnish society. Although the little overall number of headlines in Helsingin Sanomat makes it challenging to draw definite conclusion about teacher representation, the lack of economy discourse does imply that the financial situation of teachers in Finland is better

compared to Indian and the United States. However, it can also be a mere coincidence that teachers' protests took place in India and US in 2019 while in Finland, there were no similar protests either in 2019 or 2020, or they did not make the headlines.

6.2   Teachers as Social Actors

This section analyzes the Social Actor categories by van Leeuwen. First, teachers' actor positions are examined through Role Allocation. Second, the phenomenon of exclusion is discussed with regards to Backgrounding. Finally, the categories of inclusion, Genericization and Specification, Assimilation, Association and Dissociation, Differentiation, Nominalization and Categorization, Functionalization and Identification, Personalization and Impersonalization, and Overdetermination, are discussed.

6.2.1   Role Allocation

The way in which teachers were represented through Role Allocation distributed rather evenly between the three categories of agent, patient, and beneficiary. Accordingly, however, this means that teachers were less often represented as active members with agency, since both patient and beneficiary are passive discourse participants.

Teachers were represented as agents in 89 (41%) headlines. Agent representation was mostly done through simple grammatical subject positions (HEADLINE 14).

HEADLINE 14

Ahmedabad: Over 50 teachers decline to join municipal corporation school board

The Indian Express, December 10, 2020

Most headlines in which teachers were assigned the agent role were related to either teachers protests or crimes where teacher was the perpetrator. In only a small number of agent headlines teachers were represented as agents in teaching. This is partly understandable since teachers are expected to be agents in teachers, which makes it significantly less newsworthy than protests or crime. In headlines where teachers are agents in teaching, they are either discussing educational policy or students' skills.

In some headlines, teachers were passivated to focus on the action, even though they could have easily been made the agents of the sentence (HEADLINE 15).

HEADLINE 15

"Volunteering at Bright Beginnings preschool is a lesson for retired teacher"

The Washington Post, December 23, 2020

In this example, the agent is first backgrounded with the use of the nonfinite verb form "volunteering", and later passivated by making the actor the object in "is a lesson for". This representation brings the action in the center and renders the actor less significant. This headline seems to underline the importance of volunteering. Additionally, the second most important aspect appears to be the preschool in questions, while the teacher in the end is the least important thing. This could reflect the high appreciation for charity and volunteering in the American culture, making this a human-interest story. This is further emphasized by helping little children, one of the most vulnerable groups of people, in a preschool. As such, this headline appears to justifiably place the teacher in the least important position, since the actor here is of lesser importance. In fact, the main message of the headline remains the same even if "teacher" is replaced with any other profession.

In many (17/52) headlines related to crime, teachers were placed in both agent and patient positions as the actions of the teacher were mentioned along with the action of the authorities (HEADLINE 16).

HEADLINE 16

"Mumbai: Teacher booked for sexually harassing girl"

The Indian Express, December 1, 2020

In these kinds of headlines, teachers were highlighted through their actions, but also through omitting the actor of the action targeted to the teacher by using passivation. The teacher's action has been nominalized, which partly distances the agent and the event. This way, the action towards the teachers has been placed in between the agent and event. It appears that the action of

apprehending the teacher is the most important information and that the reason for the apprehension is of secondary importance.

Representation as patients was done by placing the actors in the object position. In most of these headlines, passive voice was used, and the subject was omitted completely. This appears to be particularly common with headlines involved with crime, both with teachers as the victims or perpetrators, but also with headlines where an organization of power, school or government, is the agent. As mentioned by both Fairclough (1995, p. 109) and van Leeuwen (2008, p. 28), it is common to omit the police from crime headlines. In fact, in the data, the authorities are but once (HEADLINE 17) backgrounded and left completely unmentioned.

HEADLINE 17

J&K cops: Three school teachers held under PSA

The Indian Express, October 13th, 2020

Even in this one example, the police are not placed in the actor position as passivized subjects are mentioned in the introductory sentence as the source of the information. The reason why the police are often omitted in the headlines is due to a shared understanding of the police being involved in crime cases as the other party: if a person is arrested, the arrest can only be done by the police. However, backgrounding the behind the action can become problematic in situations in which the action and the actor cannot be directly associated, especially if the action is illegal or beyond the jurisdiction the actor, for example in cases of police brutality towards protestors.

This can also be applied to headlines in which teacher employment and new educational policies are discussed: it is implied that the other party is a school, university, school board, or a municipality. In cases where a teacher is fired, it is rather self-explanatory that the education organization is behind the action, but it is not that clear with cases where teachers are being appraised or awarded (HEADLINE 18).

HEADLINE 18

"Md. teacher beloved in Ghana, too"

The Washington Post, December 29, 2020

In this example, the agent is unclear. Maryland (Md.) teacher is the object of affection, but the newsworthiness comes from the fact that the teacher receives this admiration from Ghana. Ghana, as a distant place, namely in Africa, appears to be an unexpected place in the context. In the headline's context, it does not seem to matter if the admirer is a school, other teachers, students, people in social media, or some other group of people who have been acquainted with the said teacher.

In other headlines in which teachers were represented as patients, they were hired, fired, subjects of institutional power, another party in negotiations, or victims of crime. These patient roles were also most often represented through simple object position. In a few (9/217) headlines, teachers were also patient in situations where they received awards of appreciation (HEADLINE 19).

HEADLINE 19

"Delhi: At event to celebrate teachers, less education and more politics"

The Indian Express, November 9ᵗʰ, 2019

Although teachers are the object of the celebration in this case, the nature of the event becomes the main interest in the headline. When the headline suggests the event being less about education and more about politics, it is shifting the focus from actual teacher work to something that is beyond teachers, making it about politics. An event to celebrate teachers could be newsworthy in itself, but part of the newsworthiness of this headline appears to be stemming from this juxtaposition as well.

As beneficiaries, teachers were affected by a decision made by an organization of power, or they were represented in relation to teacher exams, eligibility, or employment. Teacher salary was also represented similarly. As such, it appears that many important decisions regarding teachers are represented with the focus on the action and the agent while the teachers themselves appear to have no control over the situation; decision are made elsewhere by administrative parties or politicians and teachers are affected by these decisions indirectly. Thus, teachers appear deprived of power, even if the underlying reason for the decisions are a consequence of teacher action (HEADLINE 20).

"Gujarat: GR reducing grade pay of primary teachers cancelled"

The Indian Express, December 10, 2020

In this headline it is implied that a decision to reduce the grade pay of primary teachers was made in the past. Fiscal decisions are not usually revoked lightheartedly, so there must be a very good reason for the cancellation. In similar cases, it is usually the resistance of those who are affected by decisions – primary teachers, in this case – that can lead to a decision being revoked. However, that is not implicated in the headline that focuses solely on the fiscal aspect of the matter. With no further knowledge of the background of the situation, it appears that teachers benefit from a benevolent decision made on a government level, and that the teachers themselves appear to have done nothing to influence said decision.

6.2.2 Exclusion

Exclusion in the headlines was rare. Suppression was not examined, as explained earlier: as the word teacher was present in every headline, total exclusion via suppression was not possible. However, backgrounding was investigated, as it is still possible to background an actor somewhere else in a headline in which the same actor is mentioned directly.

Backgrounding was found in three headlines. The low number can be explained with the search terms used, because in backgrounding, the actors are only represented through action, not mentioned directly. In backgrounding headlines, the action is represented first through nonfinite -ing clauses, and the actors are mentioned in the following sentence (HEADLINE 15, HEADLINE 22). The overall number of backgrounding headlines does not allow for definite conclusions since the search terms skewed data. To better analyze backgrounding, the search terms should include other terms related to education. This would reveal more diverse representations of teacher exclusion.

6.2.3 Inclusion

Inclusion was much more common in the headlines than exclusion. The representation of teachers as social actors was done mostly through generalization, assimilation, categorization, and personalization. Additionally, teachers were less often represented as agents or individuals. As such, teachers were commonly represented as groups of people, defined by their occupation.

Categorization was found in 162 (75%) headlines. The high number of categorization headlines was expected due to the way the data were collected. Being a teacher was a common identity and function that was shared with others, and teachers were often grouped together. Additionally, teachers were mostly represented in not being in an agent position, but rather as patients or beneficiaries (HEADLINE 20). Thus, in two thirds of the headlines, teachers were represented as groups, assimilated or generalized.

In group representation, the use of plural *teachers*, not as part of a compound world or including a possessive, was found in 90 (41%) headlines. This suggests that teachers are mostly represented through their occupation, as a homogenous mass. In case of assimilation, teachers were collectivized in 88 (41%) headlines and aggregated in 53 (24%) headlines. Although teachers were quite often referred to as just numbers, the collectivized representation was more common as teachers were often represented in relation to organization or location. Statistical representation through numbers was most common in The Indian Express, mostly with headlines related to teacher employment (HEADLINE 21).

HEADLINE 21

Tripura to appoint 3,970 school teachers amid COVID-19 pandemic

The Indian Express, November 12ᵗʰ, 2020

Moreover, teachers were personalized in 180 (83%) headlines and impersonalized in only 37 (17%) headlines. This was expected as the word teacher already functions as a form of personalization. Impersonalization was done through objectivation relating to teachers' association, teacher's writing, teacher strike, and teachers' lounge (HEADLINE 22).

HEADLINE 22

"Rage being held back in teachers' lounge"

Helsingin Sanomat, December 15ᵗʰ, 2020

The headline above uses multiple means to distance teachers from the action. As discussed earlier, in the first part of the headline, teachers are backgrounded. Secondly, when teachers are mentioned in the latter half, the reference is done through impersonalization, as teachers are represented

through a physical location that is specific to teachers. In the example, "teachers' lounge" represents the teachers as a non-human object, a room. The headline answers the questions "what" and "where", but remains highly ambiguous with answering the question "who". It is possible that "rage" is such a potent word that the journalist has opted to avoid connecting it directly with teachers. Another possibility is that there are, in fact, some other actors in the teachers' lounge, such as students, who are holding back their rage. Being this ambiguous can also be a way to advertise the piece of news function as clickbait. Since the meaning of the headline is not completely clear, it invites the audience to find out more about the topic.

There was no indetermination in the headlines because teachers were always referred to as teachers. Differentiation, on the other hand, was rather common as it was found in 88 (41%) headlines. A group of teachers was often differentiated from the general mass of teachers with some specific determinant of location, education level, or other defining factor.

Association and dissociation were mostly absent in the headlines. Association was rare with a total of 11 (5%) headlines. This was expected since associations can usually be found in longer texts where there are more possibilities to form allyships between groups. Dissociation was not examined due to it being highly unlikely in headlines since the association should first be formed and then disformed.

In association representation, teachers formed alliances with other groups of people, usually other professions. Allyships between teachers and school administrators, students, or parents were not classified as associations, as cooperation between these groups was somewhat expected. In association headlines, teachers are joined by another group in teachers' protests, teachers join a protest for another group's rights (HEADLINE 23), teachers are participating in politics, or another group is aiding teachers in improving their wellbeing (HEADLINE 12).

HEADLINE 23

"Teachers, doctors, engineers join protest: 'We have one thing in common, we're farmers first'"

The Indian Express, December 13th, 2020

In this example, teachers are associated with doctors and engineers in a protest supporting farmers. This association forms a diverse group of people consisting of highly educated academics who are supporting a very different kind of social group, both in education and the nature of their work, farmers. From this it seems that the newsworthiness of this headline stems from this unexpected

allyship. Additionally, teachers are represented in the same category of professionals as doctors and engineers, and they are the first to be mentioned. The reason for the latter could be that teachers have joined the protest first, or that they are the largest group of the three. Through this association, teachers are represented as a group of prestige professionals who are aware of the societal situation issues.

Functionalization and identification can be used in both group and individual representation. Functionalization was not investigated as the word teacher functions as a functionalization in all headlines due to the search terms. Identification, representation of social actors based on their relationship or physical attributes, was also rare. Identification could be found in only four (2%) headlines. In one headline, teachers were represented through their skin color (HEADLINE 7), and the other headline was about teacher-parent relationship (HEADLINE 24).

HEADLINE 24

"Distance learning has strained the parent-teacher relationship"

The Washington Post, November 13th, 2020

The low amount of representation through physical attributes seems logical since teaching is not usually regarded as a profession in which physical attributes play an important role. However, relationships with other people are prevalent in the teaching profession. As Cohen (Cohen, 2010) also notes, as teaching has been traditionally viewed as a feminine professional, interpersonal skills and building relationships is associated strongly with teachers. The lack of identification through personal relationships suggests that these kinds of representations are less common in the headlines.

Representing teachers as individuals was less common than group representation. Individualization could be found in 74 (34%) headlines and specialization in 75 (35%) headlines. Individualization and specialization often occurred together (HEADLINE 25), as could be expected.

HEADLINE 25

"From the classroom to the school board: A star D.C. teacher still leaves his mark"

The Washington Post, December 23rd, 2019

In this example, as in many individualization/specialization headlines, the teacher in question was identified as an outstanding individual. Here, the teacher is described as "a star". Another common representation in such headlines was individual teachers as perpetrators of crime or other misconduct. It, thus, appears the that main reason for representing teachers as individuals is the need to either praise them or accuse them. In both situations, their functions as a – positive or negative – example.

Another way in which teachers were represented as individuals was nominalization. However, nominalization in all its forms was extremely rare. The name of an individual teacher was mentioned in only two headlines, both of which were semi-formal nominalizations (HEADLINE 26). There was also one headline with a pseudo-title.

HEADLINE 26

"Jill Biden has intention to continue in her current position as teacher"

Helsingin Sanomat, November 13th, 2020

What is noticeable in this headline is that Jill Biden, the First Lady of the United States, is represented in the context of her occupation. Her position at the time was a professor of writing in a community college, and she has a Doctorate in Education. (The White House, n.d.). In this case, the nominalization could have justifiably included the honorific "Dr." but did not. The reason for this can simply be that her position as First Lady is regarded more important than her doctorate. However, "First Lady" is also not mentioned in the headline. It is possible that these choices can be explained by the fact that the headline was created for Finnish readership: honorifics are less often mentioned in Finnish context, and there is no established term commonly used for the president's spouse, partly also because Finland has had a woman president. Additionally, Jill Biden is probably a less known person for the Finnish audience, which partly explains introducing her with both first and last name in the headline. As such, the gendered representation in the headlines can be interpreted as stemming from cultural differences.

Overdetermination as a form of representing individuals was also rare with only four (2%) headlines. Three of these headlines used inversion, and more specifically, deviation. In these headlines (HEADLINE 15), teachers were represented with qualities that are not usually connected to teachers, but to students. In these examples, teachers are bullying, skipping class, and receiving

a lesson, all things usually associated with students. The implication of these headlines is also that teachers should or should not be like students in some situations. One headline used symbolization, as teachers were represented as fiction characters, "corona warriors" (HEADLINE 27).

HEADLINE 27

"Gujarat: Govt asks teachers to be corona warriors, undergo online home learning training"

The Indian Express, October 10th, 2020

During the pandemic, metaphors of war were often used when describing the situation in especially hospitals. The headline above uses the same narrative in a school context as teachers are represented as corona warriors. It is worth mentioning that the term is not placed in quotations in the headline, which suggests that the term has been chosen by the journalist, and not necessarily used by the source. This symbolization connects teachers to medical professionals who are doing their best to attend to the sick and keep people alive. Choosing the term thus becomes somewhat inapt, because teachers, no matter how much extra work the pandemic conditions brought on them, were actually not doing anything to treat people, but their efforts are purely of preventive nature. As such, this headline is advocating the discourse of a "hero teacher".

6.3 Common Teacher Discourses

As mentioned in Chapter 4, prior research has found that teachers have often been represented in a negative way as incompetent, struggling, or powerless. Teacher representation has often included crime and violence as well. Additionally, gendered differences in teacher representation have been conspicuous still, and there have been indications that teaching is still perceived as a feminine profession. Partly due to this, teachers have often been represented as being special in some way or having exceptionally good interpersonal skills and a way of caring for students.

This section discusses the additional discourse categories derived from prior research on teacher representation. These include incompetence, specialness, interpersonal factors, struggle, powerlessness, and violence.

6.3.1 Incompetence

Representations of incompetence were rare and were only present in 6 (3%) headlines. Incompetence discourse is then much less prevalent compared to Shine and O'Donoghue's (2013)

and Keogh and Garrick's findings (2011). Incompetence was represented though teachers' skills being questioned by another party (HEADLINE 28), teachers questioning their own skills, teachers being proved wrong, and teachers being unqualified.

HEADLINE 28

"High student intake, lack of 'quality' teachers lead to staff shortage at IITs"

The Indian Express, December 17ᵗʰ, 2019

In this example, the apparent incompetence of teachers is represented as the reason for there being staff shortages. The number is students is increasing but the corresponding number of teachers cannot be increased because there are not enough competent teachers. The headline does not overtly state the there are no qualified teachers. Instead, the phrase "quality teacher" is used. Moreover, the evaluating word is placed in quotations, which indicates that it is the original evaluation made by the source, most probably the educational institution, one or many of the Indian Institutions of Technology (IIT). Using the original evaluative word in quotations distances the newspaper from the issue and underlines that the newspaper or the journalist is in no position to evaluate the quality of teachers. What it appears like is that the IITs have exceptionally high standards for teachers. Based on the evaluation, it appears that there are teachers who are technically qualified for the job, but they are not meeting the institutional standards for teachers in IITs. This representation undermines teacher education and qualifications, as apparently, they are not enough to get a teacher employed.

Discourse of specialness was found in 17 (8%) headlines. Specialness discourse included representations of teachers being highly competent or irreplaceable, celebrated for some reason, described as heroes, given special treatment, or winning awards (HEADLINE 29).

HEADLINE 29

"Teacher awarded for online teaching"

Helsingin Sanomat, December 6ᵗʰ, 2020

Three of the nine specialness discourse headlines in 2020 were related to the Covid-pandemic and/or online teaching. The rapid shift from classrooms to online teaching affected both students

and teachers negatively at the beginning of the pandemic and education online was seen as an inferior alternative to contact teaching. This is mostly likely the reason why succeeding in online teaching during the pandemic was a reason for representing teachers as special. However, the overall number of specialness headlines was quite low and, thus, it cannot be regarded as a common phenomenon.

6.3.2 Interpersonal factors

As discussed, the interpersonal factors and forming personal relationships have traditionally been viewed as feminine traits, and qualities of teachers. This connection was not conspicuous in the data, since only 14 (6%) headlines included the discourse of interpersonal factors. In these headlines, teachers were represented showing empathy, being interested in students' well-being, doing charity, doing something extra for students, being appreciated by students, or having or forming personal relationships (HEADLINE 30).

HEADLINE 30

"A teacher's unusual method to motivate students: Sitting with them at lunch"

The Washington Post, November 16th, 2020

Interestingly, half (7/14) of the headlines including interpersonal factors discourse were in The Washington Post. The example above represents multiple elements of the discourse. The teacher in question is forming personal relationships, apparently showing interest in students' well-being, and doing something extra for them. The latter is overtly mentioned in the headlines as the teacher's behavior is evaluated as "unusual". However, as this behavior is determined unusual, the entire expectation of teachers and their interpersonal skills is questioned. Even though a teacher sitting with students at lunch might be unusual, eating together is a fundamentally social action amongst humans. In this context, however, such behavior is unexpected and that is also one factor construing the newsworthiness of the story.

6.3.3 Struggle

Struggle discourse was quite common and was found in 68 (31%) headlines. Struggle was represented in multiple ways. Struggle discourse included protesting for employment, better pay, or benefits, the inability or unwillingness to implement or disagreeing with new educational

policies, and unemployment or financial turmoil. Additionally, treatment and working conditions of teachers, such as teachers questioning their ability to do their job properly due to lack of resources, unfair treatment of a specified group of teachers, non-teaching related tasks taking time from teaching, and worrying for students. Covid-related restrictions and health issues were also included in the struggle discourse. In two of these headlines, the reason for struggle was left unspecified, and the was implied in the form of a question (HEADLINE 31).

HEADLINE 31

"For how long will teachers endure?"

Helsingin Sanomat, November 22nd, 2020

During the pandemic, teachers were worried about their own and their students' health, the student's ability to learn mid-pandemic, and the constant pressure from the regulatory side to either continue distance learning or return to contact teaching. Additionally, people other than teachers were worried about how teachers were managing their workload in the unprecedented situation, as seen in the above example. The headline is rather ambiguous. As a question, it reveals little information. It does not even define the asker, and it is not sure if the question is posed by someone in the teaching profession, or some outsider, such as a parent of a student. The main message appears to be that there is, in fact, some sort of struggle amongst teachers currently and their resources for handling the situation are limited. As such, the headline seems to more raise awareness than offer concrete information or solutions. Forming the headline as a question also invites the audience to read further by raising their curiosity.

In addition to the pandemic in 2020, teachers' protests in India and the United States in 2019 was another significant event represented in the struggle discourse. Teachers – especially ad-hoc teachers – were also struggling with employment and financial uncertainties. Common discourse in both The Indian Express and The Washington Post headlines was that teachers are generally underpaid. This discourse was not visible in Helsingin Sanomat headlines.

6.3.4 Powerlessness

Powerlessness was found in 27 (12%) headlines. In these headlines, teachers were subjects of administrative power, resisting educational reforms, or facing termination or changes in agreement of employment (HEADLINE 32).

HEADLINE 32

Gujarat: Chain of private schools cuts teachers' salaries

The Indian Express, October 21ˢᵗ, 2020

In this example, teachers' salaries are being cut by the educational organization. "Chain of private schools" in the agent in the sentence, and "teachers' salaries" is the object. This backgrounds teachers and represents as them completely passive subjects of power. The issue is represented as a simple statement in the headline, but most likely cuts in salaries are prone to cause commotion among the employees. It is then very much possible that the teachers in question have reacted to the situation in some way. That is not in any way visible in this headline. However, there is another headline from December that suggests that the teachers resisted the cuts and managed to get them revoked (HEADLINE 20). However, in both these headlines, teachers are represented as passive beneficiaries, and neither article gives any agency to teachers. These representations place teachers strongly in the position of powerless employees of the educational organization, even though in between the headlines some kind of teacher backlash had likely taken place.

6.3.5 Violence

Violence was presented mostly through crime. Additionally, there were a few other mentions of other physical and mental mistreatment and behavior. This kind of discourse was present in 52 (24%) headlines. In 34 of these headlines, the teacher was represented as the perpetrator or accused of sexual misconduct. In violence discourse teachers were represented as being accused of or prosecuted for sexual misconduct, homicide, cannibalism, terrorism, non-lethal physical violence, mistreatment of students, neglecting their duties, misusing their position of authority, or libel or slander. In three headlines in which a teacher had been apprehended, the reason was left unspecified. Sexual misconduct was the most significant subcategory of the violence discourse. There were nine (4%) headlines with such representation. In most of these headlines, a teacher was accused or had been apprehended for some kind of sexual misconduct usually defined with "abuse" (HEADLINE 33).

HEADLINE 33

"Special-ed teacher accused of sex abuse"

The Washington Post, November 22nd, 2019

In the example, "sex" is used to define the nature of the abuse. However, usually these kinds of definitions had been omitted, since "abuse" has a connotation of being sexual when the object of abuse is a person, especially a child. Thus, including "sex" in the headline makes is more potent in its message and the severeness of the crime. It is also important to mention that when "sex" or its derivatives were used in the headlines, it was most often used to define a form of misconduct, such as "sex abuse", "sexually assaulting" (HEADLINE 5), and "sexually harassing". Only once in a Helsingin Sanomat headline it was used neutrally (HEADLINE 34).

HEADLINE 34

"Part-time teacher had sex with two students"

Helsingin Sanomat, October 17th, 2020

Describing the event as such a neutral statement leads to believe that the sex was consensual. One defining factor could be the age of the students if the students were of age. One alleviating factor could also be the fact that the teacher was a part-time teacher. Thus, the issue of a teacher misusing the authority position is less severe, as the teachers and the students were not in a continuous teacher-student relationship. The headline gives no further insight on these factors, however. It appears that in this headline, the newsworthiness derives from the unexpectedness of a teacher having sex with students – more than one, to be exact – but it does not seem to be taking a stand on if such behavior is innately wrong of not.

The reason for sexual misconduct being the most covered subject with teachers is possibly the fact that teachers are usually perceived as educators and caretakers, parent-like figures, who form a relationship with the students that is based on trust and support. Any kind of sexual behavior between teachers and students is, thus, seen as a gross violation of this position and relationship.

With libel and slander, it can be argued that teachers "stepping out of line" is newsworthy. Teachers are perceived as objective figures who are supposed to teach the students

and share information that commonly agreed upon, not to get too political or push their own agenda.

In crime headlines, the perpetrator is also often passivated, as also noted by Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 87). This often happens simply because there is no information about the perpetrator, but it inevitably shifts the focus on the victim. A good example of this case is the beheaded teacher in France in October 2020. The case was mentioned in all three newspapers in a total of six headlines. The event was described as a killing, decapitation, murder, twice as a beheading (HEADLINE 35).

HEADLINE 35

"Beheading of teacher horrifies France"

The Washington Post, October 18th, 2020

None of the headlines mention the perpetrator, although information about the killer was available rather soon and in the French media was quickly labelled as a terrorist attack. The killing was apparently had been instigated by a rumor that the teacher had shown his students Charlie Hebdo's cartoon depicting prophet Muhammed, which lead to a young Muslim immigrant killing the teacher by beheading him with a cleaver on October 16th. None of the headlines mentioned the religious aspects of the killing, and Helsingin Sanomat did not even specify that the teacher had been beheaded. Instead, terms "killing" and "murder" were used, which omits a conspicuous aspect of the killing that would make the piece of news more unique, and this, newsworthy. It is possible that these newspapers, being slightly left leaning, omitted the religious aspect to prevent spreading islamophobia. The six headlines were published between October 18th and October 27th, and the representation of the event did not change. In fact, the headlines did not concentrate on the event or the investigation as much as the reactions the event evoked in people.

Although violence discourse was quite common in the headlines, teachers were not represented differently than victims in general, as they were often highlighted. As perpetrators, however, teachers were always mentioned - partly due to the way the data were gathered – and often placed in an active agent position instead of expressed through a prepositional phrase in a passivated sentence. It was also common to represent teachers as object of police action, either being booked, apprehended, or accused. It appears that teachers are especially emphasized in crime

and violence related headlines. This suggests that such behavior is deemed more unusual and reprehensible.

6.4   Teachers on Different Education Levels

The education level of the teachers was most often left unmentioned. In 127 (59%) headlines, the education level was not specified. Pre-education was mentioned the least, in five (2%) headlines. The other three levels – Primary Education, Secondary Education, and Tertiary Education – were mentioned quite equally in 39 (18%), 38 (18%), and 35 (16%) headlines, respectively. The education level in the headlines was determined by a direct reference to the stated education level or the organization name when mentioned. The term "government school" was interpreted as being either a primary or a secondary school and was listed as both.

Based on the data, it appears that the education level is mostly irrelevant in headlines. This is conspicuous through the omission of any mention of the level, or only referring to it indirectly through the organization name. When the level can be determined from the headlines, different levels are represented rather equally, with the exception of pre-education. Thus, the representation of education level does not appear to be directly proportional to the number of men in teacher position. As such, higher education teacher position does not equal the kind of prestige that would indicate itself in increased newsworthiness.

Pre-education was only mentioned in relation to recruitment and volunteering (HEADLINE 15). This suggests that the day-to-day work in pre-education is not newsworthy, nor was there anything unusual, positive or negative, happening in pre-education.

Primary education teachers were represented in a myriad of ways divided rather equally between discourses already discussed. They were demanding higher pay or protesting (HEADLINE 20), involved in crime, or receiving awards. There were no significant differences between primary and secondary education teachers, as the discourse included the same kinds of events and phenomena.

Most (19/35) of the of headlines including tertiary level teachers were related to teachers' protests (HEADLINE 36).

HEADLINE 36

"DU's ad hoc teacher protest comes to a boil: Many storm V-C office in North Campus"

The Indian Express, December 5th, 2019

The example displays substitute university teachers as an aggressive group of people who "storm" offices to make their demands heard. Other topics included recruitment and crime. In fact, all mentions of tertiary level teachers were in The Indian Express and 31 of these 35 headlines were from 2019 when the teachers' protests were taking place. The fact that The Indian Express was the only newspaper to mention tertiary level teachers could be due to linguistic choices: in Finnish and American contexts university teachers would more often be referred to as lecturers or professors. To attain data more comparable between countries, the search terms would also need to include these words.

It appears that tertiary level teachers are only represented when they are resisting organizational power and struggling. Otherwise, they seem to be almost invisible. One possible explanation could be the number of tertiary level teachers. Primary and secondary level teachers are mentioned more often simply because there are more of them.

6.5   Effects of the Pandemic

Choosing two time periods for analysis made it possible to view differences in representation between pre-Covid and Covid-eras. After the beginning of the pandemic there were several lines of work in which the workers were seen as "Corona Warriors" or "Heroes of Covid". Those people included the health care workers especially, but also grocery store employees, garbage collectors, and to some extent, teachers. These were all people who had to expose themselves to the risk of getting infected or the nature of their work changed dramatically. The second period, October 1st – December 31st, 2020, was the time of the second wave of the pandemic in most parts of the world (World Health Organization, 2023). As such, the exceptional situation and distance learning was not completely new and surprising as it had been at the beginning of the pandemic, but the situation still seem rather dire as the number of cases of increasing the number of Covid-related deaths were at all-time high.

The number and division of different discourse categories are listed in Table 1. Change from 2019 to 2020 in the number of headlines containing a specific representation calculated and categorized. The change of 0-20 percent was labelled as "non-significant change", change of 21-60 percent was labelled as "slight change", change of ±61-100 percent was labelled as "noticeable change", and the increase of more than 100 percent was labelled as "significant increase". If there were not headlines with a specific discourse in 2019, the change could not be calculated and was indicated with "N/A".

As shown in Table 1, from 2019 to 2020, there was a slight decrease in the number of headlines containing discourses of Economy, Actor Agent, Assimilation Collectivization, Crime Victim, Crime Perpetrator, Crime Total, and Struggle. Conversely, there was a slight increase in the number of headlines containing discourses of Actor Beneficiary and Education level Unknown/Other. There was a noticeable or significant increase in the number of headlines containing discourses of Assimilation Aggregation and Powerlessness. Additionally, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of headlines containing discourses of Gender and Education level Tertiary.

There were also proportionally large changes of discourses of Sexual Orientation, Backgrounding, Association, Nominalization, Identification, Overdetermination, Incompetence, Crime Sexual misconduct, Interpersonal, Non-crime death, Crime Sex crime, and Education level Pre-education. However, substantial conclusions cannot be drawn from this data because the overall number of headlines that contained these discourses was so low (5% or less) that even small changes in number results in a large change percentage. The same can be applied to discourse of Race/Ethnicity/Religion: there were few mentions in the headlines in total, and additionally, there was no significant change in the number between the years.

As for Power, Actor Patient, Generalization, Specialization, Assimilation total, Individualization, Differentiation, Organizational nominator, Categorization, Personalization, Impersonalization, Specialness, Use of Power, Education level Primary, and Education level Secondary, there were no significant changes in the number of headlines containing these discourses.

Economy was discourse that decreased noticeably from 2019 to 2020. This was visible especially in both The Indian Express and The Washington Post. Many (9/42) of the headlines including economy discourse in 2019 concerned teachers' strikes and their salary demands. As discussed, there was widespread coverage of the teachers' strikes in 2019 but not in 2020. The 2020 headlines with economy discourse still mostly concentrated on teachers' salaries. There is no clear indication that the economy discourse was influenced by the pandemic. It is possible that Covid restrictions affected teachers' ability to gather and protest. However, protesting did not seem to be an annual process, at least not in the United States, according to one headline (HEADLINE 3).

TABLE 1   Prevalence of Specific Discourses in Headlines

| Discourse | Number of Headlines (N) | | | Percentage of Headlines | | | Change |
Category	2019	2020	Total	2019	2020	Total	'19-'20 (%)
Gender	21	8	29	20	7	13	-64
Race/ethnicity/religion	3	3	6	3	3	3	-5
Sexual orientation	1	0	1	1	0	0	-100
Power	89	85	174	84	77	80	-9
Economy	28	14	42	26	13	19	-52
Backgrounding	0	3	3	0	3	1	N/A
Actor Agent	53	36	89	50	32	41	-35
Actor Patient	35	34	69	33	31	32	-7
Actor Beneficiary	36	46	82	34	41	38	22
Generalization	69	73	142	65	66	65	1
Specialization	37	38	75	35	34	35	-2
Assimilation Aggregation	15	38	53	14	34	24	142
Assim. Collectivization	54	34	88	51	31	41	-40
Assim. Total	69	72	141	65	56	65	-13
Individualization	35	39	74	33	35	34	6
Association	4	2	11	4	2	3	-50
Differentiation	46	42	88	43	38	41	-13
Nominalization	1	3	4	1	5	2	420
Organizational nominator	16	15	31	15	14	14	-6
Categorization	78	84	162	74	76	75	3
Identification	1	1	2	1	1	1	0
Personalization	89	91	180	84	82	83	-2
Impersonalization	17	20	37	16	18	17	12
Overdetermination	3	1	4	3	1	2	-68
Incompetence	4	2	6	4	2	3	-52
Crime Victim	10	8	18	9	7	8	-24
Crime Perpetrator	17	8	25	16	7	12	-55
Crime Sexual misconduct	7	2	9	7	2	4	-73
Crime Total	34	18	52	32	16	24	-49
Specialness	8	9	17	8	8	8	13
Interpersonal	2	9	11	2	8	5	350
Struggle	37	31	68	35	28	31	-20
Powerlessness	10	17	27	9	15	12	70
Use of Power	18	18	36	17	16	17	-5
Non-crime death	2	3	5	2	3	2	43
Crime Sex crime	7	0	7	7	0	3	-100
Education level Pre	2	3	5	2	3	2	43
Ed. level Primary	19	20	39	18	18	18	1
Ed. level Secondary	18	20	38	17	18	18	6
Ed. level Tertiary	31	4	35	29	4	16	-88
Ed. level Unknown/Other	48	79	127	45	71	59	57
Total Headlines	**106**	**111**	**217**	**100**	**100**	**100**	

Non-signif. change		Slight change
Noticeable change		Significant increase

Economy was discourse that decreased noticeably from 2019 to 2020. This was visible especially in both The Indian Express and The Washington Post. Many (9/28) of the headlines including economy discourse in 2019 concerned teachers' strikes and their salary demands. As discussed, there was widespread coverage of the teachers' strikes in 2019 but not in 2020. The 2020 headlines with economy discourse still mostly concentrated on teachers' salaries. There is no clear indication that the economy discourse was influenced by the pandemic. It is possible that Covid restrictions affected teachers' ability to gather and protest. However, protesting did not seem to be an annual process, at least not in the United States, according to one headline (HEADLINE 3).

The division in role allocation changed between the years. Even though the amount of patient discourse remained rather stable, there was a noticeable shift from agent to beneficiary. It appears that teachers lost some of their agency and ability to influence, and instead, they became increasingly influenced actions or events. Partly this can be explained through number of headlines about teacher strikes that were prominent especially in The Indian Express in 2019 but were mostly absent in 2020. Explanation for the increase in beneficiary role could also be the different policies and restrictions related to Covid which often rendered teachers as passive group who are influenced by decisions that are made to mitigate the pandemic.

Interestingly, there was no significant change in the number of headlines with power discourse. It could have been expected that Covid restrictions and guidelines would have increased the prevalence of power discourse in the headlines, but this did not seem to be the case. If anything, there was a very slight decrease from 2019 to 2020. One explaining factor could be the higher percentage of power headlines in the first place: in an average of 80% of all headlines, teachers were represented through power discourse in some way. Either as the subject of power or the person using it, or simply in relation to an organization of power, usually the school where they work. As power was already such a dominant discourse, it was less prone to increase.

The very slight decrease in power discourse relates also to the very slight decrease of organizational nominator discourse. The number of headlines containing this discourse decreased by 6 percent from 2019 to 2020. Thus, teachers were less often represented through the organization of power of which they are part of. However, this did not lead to teachers being represented more as individuals, but it appears that assimilation aggregation discourse increased to compensate for this change. Instead of representing teachers more as individuals during the pandemic, they were represented even more anonymized, as statistics, less human-like.

Discourses involving crime changed noticeably as well. The overall number of crime headlines decreased by 49 percent. Most of the decrease came from the change in representation

of teachers as crime perpetrators, and the amount of news about sexual misconduct. Representation of the discourse in which these both elements were present, sex offences committed by teachers, disappeared completely. Even though it could be argued that the mythical "Corona Warrior / Hero Teacher" discourse affected the representation of teachers positively mid-pandemic, the reason for these kinds of changes more probably lies in the underlying societal conditions instead of purposeful representational change. Sexual misconduct by teachers often involves a child as the victim, and it would require a highly potent hero myth to suppress news of such serious issues. Instead, rather cynically, it is safer to assume that the amount of crime representation decreased due to there being fewer opportunities to commit crimes. Covid restrictions led to less (physical) contact between teachers and students since schools were closed or teaching was done online. Fewer opportunities led to less crime and, thus, fewer crime headlines.

Although the amount of assimilation did not significantly increase, there was a shift from collectivization to aggregation. Collectivization was present in 54 (51%) headlines in 2019 but only 34 (31%) headlines in 2020, while for aggregation, the corresponding numbers were 15 (14%) and 38 (34%). As such, teachers were represented increasingly impersonalized characters with less agency and significance. Similar change was not present in the Finnish context. In fact, aggregation was not visible in any of the Helsingin Sanomat headlines. However, due to the small sample size from Helsingin Sanomat, concrete conclusions cannot be drawn. In The Indian Express and The Washington Post, on the other hand, the trend of shifting from collectivization to aggregation was similarly visible (HEADLINE 37).

HEADLINE 37

"Irregularities in appointments: Patna HC says degrees of over 1.10 lakh teachers not verified in five years; sets January 9 deadline"

The Indian Express, December 13, 2020

Especially in the Indian context, the representation as teachers as numbers and statistics ("lakh" is an Indian numbering system unit for 100,000) was present in headlines about teacher qualifications, employment, and Covid testing procedures. It can be interpreted that the news value of these kinds of headlines lies within the numbers and the sheer scale of teacher hires and testing.

There were no significant changes in the number of headlines with discourses of genericization, specification, individualization, differentiation, categorization, personalization, or impersonalization. As such, the representation of teachers as a group of people or as specified

individuals did not change. It appears that the pandemic did not affect these ways of representation. Teachers were still represented mostly as a group of people, but individuals were also mentioned. Teachers were differentiated and categorized as "teachers" similarly in 2019 and 2020. In addition, teachers were mostly represented through human attributes in both years. Mid-Covid headlines consist mostly of the same kinds of discourses than pre-Covid ones: in headlines regarding bigger issues and teachers they are represented in groups, while in headlines where teachers are reacting to issues represent them mostly as individuals. This pattern remains the same even though the issues change quite dramatically to include multiple aspects related to the pandemic.

In the specialness discourse there was a slight increase, but the overall the discourse was mentioned in only 8 percent of the headlines, 8 in 2019 and 9 in 2020. The slight increase from 2019 to 2020 could be due to Covid and the impression of teachers facing more difficulties with managing the workload during the pandemic. In fact, four headlines in 2020 explicitly mentioned the pandemic or pandemic induced working methods (online teaching) in the headlines. This would suggest that the increase in specialness discourse stems from the pandemic, but as the overall number of headlines containing the discourse is rather little and the difference between the number of headlines between the two years is only one, concrete conclusions cannot be drawn.

As with specialness, interpersonal discourse was present in only a small percentage of the headlines with a total of 11 (5%) headlines. However, the change between the years was significant, there being two headlines in 2019 and nine in 2020. In Helsingin Sanomat, there were no headlines from either year, in The Indian Express the number of headlines increased from zero to four and in The Washington Post from two to five. Interestingly, only two of the Indian Express and one of the Washington Post headlines from 2020 mention the pandemic directly or indirectly (online teaching). Instead, the other headlines are general human-interest stories (HEADLINE 38).

HEADLINE 38

"Son of shepherd cracks NEET with help of govt school teacher, family lacks money for admission"

The Indian Express, October 20th, 2020

In this headline, the teacher is represented as helping their student. The implication is that the teacher has done something extra for this specific student. It is possible that there has been more demand for "heart-warming" human interest stories during the pandemic. However, it is difficult

to draw conclusion of the reasons behind and the degree of the change in representation, especially since the overall amount of Interpersonal discourse headlines was rather small.

In general, direct references to teacher gender were not common, and were distributed unequally between the time periods. A gendered word was mentioned in 21 (20%) headlines in 2019 and 8 (7%) headlines in 2020. The change is most conspicuous in The Indian Express headlines and connected to the number of headlines about crimes of sexual nature. In the Finnish context, there was only one overt mention of gender, in 2020, which can be explained with the inexistence or gendered pronouns in Finnish. In the headline translations, gendered pronouns were omitted due to the inability to determine which pronouns to use. A gendered pronoun was used only in said one headline because of the nominalization (HEADLINE 26). As discussed earlier in the Inclusion section, this headline about Jill Biden is also one of only two headlines is which a teacher is mentioned by name.

As already mentioned, struggle and powerlessness were notable discourses in the headlines. Even though struggle was present in news headlines about teachers and schools having to cope with Covid in 2020, the amount of struggle discourse in the headlines decreased slightly from 37 headlines (35%) to 31 headlines (28%). Additionally, powerlessness discourse increased significantly. It was present in 10 headlines (9%) in 2019 and 17 headlines (15%) in 2020. Conversely, the number of headlines with the discourse of use of power decreased very slightly. There were 18 such headlines from each year (17% in 2019, 16% in 2020). Given the enormous change in working conditions and methods of teachers between the two years, it would be expected to see changes in these discourse categories: presumably struggle and powerlessness would increase, and use of power would decrease. However, only powerlessness increased. Especially interesting is the decrease in struggle discourse. As mentioned before, there were many headlines about Covid restrictions, teachers worrying about themselves and their students, and general Covid-related challenges, but still, the overall number headlines with struggle discourse decreased. This was most conspicuous with The Indian Express headlines, possible due to the decrease of headlines about teachers' protests. With Helsingin Sanomat and The Washington Post, there were only very slight increases. Interestingly, there were headlines about teachers' strikes in 2019 in The Washington Post as well. Still, there seemed to be an increasing worry by and about teachers in 2020 headlines, even more so than in The Indian Express headlines.

Changes in representations of teachers in different education levels were not divided equally. Pre, primary, and secondary levels were represented similarly in both years. There was, however, substantial proportional change in pre-education representation, the overall little amount of these headlines renders the change insignificant. The most substantial changes could be seen in

the representations of tertiary level teachers and the number of headlines from which the education level could not be deducted. Tertiary level representation disappeared almost completely, decreasing 88%, while unknown education level representation increased by 57%. The most conspicuous explaining factor is, again, the Indian teachers' strikes in 2019, which concerned mostly part-time university teachers.

The pandemic seemed to affect the teacher representation mostly by rendering them more powerless and presenting them more as an anonymous mass when presented as a group of people. Teachers received less agency, even though they were represented as individuals similarly in both years. Representations of all crimes decreased noticeably, which could be at least partly explained by reasons related to the pandemic. However, no conspicuous logical reason for the decreased mentions of gender in the headlines could be determined.

CONCLUSION

The first aim of this study was to uncover how teachers are represented as social actors in the headlines if those representations are gendered. The second aim was to examine differences in quality or quantity in teacher representation between teacher education levels or pre- and mid-pandemic headlines. Based on the analysis, teachers were represented as different kinds of social actors, and there were some gendered elements to be found. Additionally, differences between representations in different education levels were visible, as well as differences between the two time periods.

As social actors, teachers were represented in multiple ways. In most cases, teachers were represented as a group defined by their profession. Additionally, they were most often passive participants of the action or event. Ivanova and Jocelin-Almendras (2021), as well as Klaisingto and Aroonmanakun (2010) also noted that less powerful actors were often rendered passive in discourse. Often teachers were connected to an organization of power, the educational institution they were working in. Furthermore, in this power relationship, teachers were both powerless subjects of power, but also actively resisting said power. A struggling teacher was also a common representation, along with teacher being involved in crime, slightly more often as a perpetrator than a victim. Overall, teachers were represented as a professional group in most cases, and as individuals only in their behavior had been somehow exceptional, either positively or negative. This kind of representation is very much in line with the principles of news production and newsworthiness. Newsworthiness in groups comes from sheer numbers, whereas with individuals

it comes from unexpectedness. Crime, being a common source of news in general, was newsworthy in the case of teachers too. This is similar to Hansen's (2009) findings. Crime discourse was also further strengthened by the expectation of teachers being exceptionally law-abiding, exemplary citizens, increasing the newsworthiness of a teacher committing a crime.

Gendered representation of teachers was not conspicuous in the headlines. This differs from previous research conducted by Bracic and others (2020), Shine and O'Donoghue (2013), and Cohen (2010) who found that representation of teacher renders teaching as a feminine profession and that teachers are generally diminished because of that. However, in only a fraction of the headlines in this study were there any mentions of gender. There were discourses in which the teaching profession was represented as a traditionally feminine trait, but they were not as common as could have been expected. Feminine traits, such as show of empathy, endorsing personal relationships, and being submissive (Meeks, 2012) were present in some headlines. However, in many headlines, teachers were also represented as possessing traditionally masculine qualities, being determined, assertive, and demanding. Representations in The Washington Post included the most feminine qualities, while The Indian Express had the most representations of masculine qualities. As such, the results are in line with the gender division of teachers in the United States and India. However, the differences in representation were minor, and do not correlate directly with the gender divisions. Furthermore, Helsingin Sanomat appeared as the most neutral in gendered representation, even though the gender division in Finland and the US were rather similar. Thus, based on the data, the representation of teachers appears to be mostly gender neutral. Prior research by Sensales, Areni, and Dal Secco (2016) and Mitchell and McKinnon (2019) both implicated that gendered representation has decreased over time. This study is also in line with that progress since gendered representation was less prominent than in the previous studies.

Representations of teachers working on different education levels did differ, but not as linearly as hypothesized. Teachers working in pre-education were practically invisible in the data, but the amount representation did not increase as expected when moving to higher education. Primary, secondary, and tertiary level teachers were represented almost equally. Of course, as mentioned, the fact that there are more primary and secondary level teachers than tertiary level teachers does skew the numbers. As such, tertiary level teachers receive proportionally more representation. Interestingly, tertiary level teachers were represented almost only when covering teachers' protests, while for other education levels, representations consisted of many kinds of events and issues. The teachers' protest in 2019 made it slightly more difficult to compare

representations of different education levels and representations in different years, as a significant number of headlines in 2019 were about the protests.

Examining two time periods allowed for a comparison between representations pre- and mid-Covid. The hypothesis was that due to Covid-restrictions and the increased workload of teachers, power and struggle discourses in particular would be more prevalent in 2020 headlines, and that some kind of "corona warrior / hero teacher" myth would be visible in the headlines. This proved not to be exactly the case, since the number of headlines including these kinds of representations, respectively, decreased. As mentioned, power was such a dominant discourse even in 2019, there was less room for increase. With struggle, the reason can again be found in teachers' protests. It appears that representations of struggle shifted from protesting in 2019 to Covid-related issues in 2020. Another change between the years that is worth mentioning is in teacher agency. In 2020, teachers were represented as passive actors, patients or beneficiaries, more than in 2019. Additionally, teachers were presented more often in groups, and in group representation, they were more often aggravated than collectivized. Overall, during the pandemic teachers were represented less often as active individuals with agency, and more often as groups of anonymous subjects of power. Therefore, there were significant representations of teachers as pandemic heroes.

Compared to previous research (Cohen, 2010; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Bracic, Israel-Trummel, Rhinehart, & Shortle, 2020), representations of teachers were partially similar. Based on the data, representations of crime and struggling teachers were very much present. However, critic towards teachers' competence, focusing on interpersonal skills or exceptionality of teachers, or teachers being powerless and caught in the crossfire of educational organizations and students were less conspicuous. None of these representations were common, as they could only be found in 3-12 percent of the headlines, respectively. This suggests that teacher representation has changed to more appreciating less concentrated on feminine traits, making it more gender neutral as well.

The most conspicuous exclusion in the headlines is the invisibility of trans and non-binary representation. There was no indication of a trans/non-binary teacher in any of the headlines, neither in positive nor negative light. The reason for could be that the common perception is that the gender of the teacher does not directly affect the way they do their work. This could partly be true, but eventually representation is also about possibilities. For people belonging to a minority group, seeing people like themselves in different positions allows them to imagine themselves in those positions. Representation and the rights of minority groups are such a topical issue that the lack of these issues in the headlines is conspicuous.

In some regards, it was challenging to draw definite conclusion from the data due to some limitations. First, the number of headlines between the different newspapers was divided unequally, which prevented a conclusive comparison between the three countries. Additionally, the overall number of headlines, as well as the lack of original English headlines, in Helsingin Sanomat made it difficult create a comprehensive picture of the representation of teachers in Finland. Also, including more newspapers with different political inclinations could also offer a broader set of representations.

For future research, examining a greater sample of headlines would make the analysis more conclusive. Including a longer time frame would also level any changes in representations caused by the yearly educational cycle. Another interesting topic, as continuum for this study, would be to investigate whether the changes in representation caused by the pandemic are still visible in the media or have they returned to the way they were in 2019.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012). *News Discourse.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction.* Cambridge University Press.

Bracic, A., Israel-Trummel, M., Rhinehart, S., & Shortle, A. F. (2020). Gender Attitudes, Support for Teachers' Strikes, and Legislative Elections. *PS, political science & politics, 53*(3), 447-452. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096520000220

Capuzza, J., & Spencer, L. (2017). Regressing, Progressing, or Transgressing on the Small Screen? Transgender Characters on U.S. Scripted Television Series. *Communication quarterly, 65*(2), 214-230. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2016.1221438

Carter, C., & Steiner, L. (2004). Introduction to critical readings: media and gender. In C. Carter, & L. Steiner (Eds.), *Critical readings: media and gender.* Open University Press.

Cohen, J. (2010). Teachers in the news: a critical analysis of one US newspaper's discourse on education, 2006–2007. *Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 31*(1), 105-119. doi:DOI: 10.1080/01596300903465450

Cruz, W., Sykes, W., Hargrave, J., & White, R. (2020). Visible: Out on Television. Apple Inc.

Davis, K. (2014). Intersectionality as Critical Methodology. In N. Lykke (Ed.), *Writing Academic Texts Differently.* Routledge.

Dhaenens, F., van Bauwel, S., & van Haelter, H. (2022). Trans persons on trans representations in popular media culture: A reception study. *DiGeSt - Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies, 9*(1), 76-88. doi:https://doi.org/10.21825/digest.81844

Dhaenens, F., Van Bauwel, S., & Van Haelter, H. (2022). Trans persons on trans representations in popular media culture: A reception study. *DiGeSt - Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies, 9*(1), 76-88. doi:https://doi.org/10.21825/digest.81844

Digest of Education Statistics. (2019). *(1) Table 315.20.* Full-time faculty in degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity, sex, and academic rank: Fall 2015, fall 2017, and fall 2018. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_315.20.asp

Digest of Education Statistics. (2021). *(2) Table 209.22.* Number and percentage distribution of teachers in public elementary and secondary schools, by instructional level and selected teacher and school characteristics: 1999-2000, 2015-16, and 2017-18. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_209.22.asp

Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social role theory. In P. A. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins, *Handbook of theories in social psychology 2* (pp. 458-476). London: Sage Publications.

European Parliament. (2018). Gender-neutral language in the European Union. Retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/151780/GNL_Guidelines_EN.pdf

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse.* Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1997). *Miten media puhuu.* (V. Blom, & K. Hazard, Trans.) Vastapaino.

Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power (Third edition.).* Routledge.

Fetzer, A. (2014). Media Discourse in Context. In C. Hart, & P. Cap (Eds.), *Contemporary critical discourse studies* (pp. 365-384). Bloomsbury Academic.

Finnish Government [Valtioneuvosto]. (2021, April 13). Retrieved April 18, 2023, from Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus 1/2021: Suomen väestö monimuotoistuu – vaihtelua on alueittain: https://valtioneuvosto.fi/-/1410869/suomen-vaesto-monimuotoistuu-vaihtelua-on-alueittain

Gledhill, C., & Ball, V. (2013). Chapter 6: Genre and gender: the case of soap opera. In J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, H. Pitkin, J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, & H. F. Pitkin (Eds.), *Representation.* Sage Publications.

Gledhill, C., & Ball, V. (2013). Genre and gender: the case of soap opera. In J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, & H. F. Pitkin (Eds.), *Representation.* Sage.

Goddard, A., & Patterson, L. (2000). *Language and Gender.* London: Routledge.

Government of India. (2018). *Educational Statistics at a Glance.* Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of School Education & Literacy, Statistics Division, New Delhi. Retrieved from https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/statistics-new/ESAG-2018.pdf

Hall, S. (2013a). Chapter 1: The work of representation. In J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, & H. Pitkin, *Representation.* Sage Publications.

Hall, S. (2013b). Chapter 4: The spectacle of the 'other'. In J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, & H. Pitkin, *Representation.* Sage Publications.

Hansen, A. (2009). Researching 'teachers in the news': the portrayal of teachers in the British national and regional press. *Education 3-13, 37*(4), 335-347.

ILOSTAT. (2022). Statistics in Asia and the Pacific. *Labour force participation rate (%).* Retrieved April 14, 2023, from https://ilostat.ilo.org/data/asia-and-the-pacific/

Ivanova, A., & Jocelin-Almendras, J. (2021). Representations of (Im)migrants in Chilean Local Press Headlines: a Case Study of El Austral Temuco. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 23*(1), 227-242. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00832-2

Keogh, J., & Garrick, B. (2011). Creating Catch 22: Zooming in and Zooming Out on The Discursive Constructions of Teachers in a News Article. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 24*(4), 419-434. doi:10.1080/09518398.2010.539579

Klaisingto, P., & Aroonmanakun, W. (2010). Thai Gender Ideology: A View from Representations of Social Actors in Crime News Headlines. *Manusya : journal of humanities, 13*(2), 37-49. doi:https://doi.org/10.1163/26659077-01302003

Laine, A. (2016). Gender Representation of Athletes in Finnish and Swedish Tabloids. *Nordicom Review, 37*(2), 83-98. doi:doi:10.1515/nor-2016-0012

Lazar, M. M. (2005). *Feminist critical discourse analysis : gender, power, and ideology in discourse.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Litosseliti, L. (2006). *Gender and language : theory and practice.* Hodder Arnold.

Macdonald, M. (2003). *Exploring media discourse.* Arnold.

Medeiros, M., Forest, B., & Öhberg, P. (2020). The Case for Non-Binary Gender Questions in Surveys. *PS, political science & politics, 53*(1), 128-135. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096519001203

Media Bias / Fact Check. (2022a, August 16). *Helsingin Sanomat*. Retrieved March 17, 2023, from https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/helsingin-sanomat/

Media Bias / Fact Check. (2022b, October 31). *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 17, 2023, from https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/washington-post/

Media Bias / Fact Check. (2023, February 8). *The Indian Express*. Retrieved March 17, 2023, from https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/the-indian-express/

Media Research Users Council India. (2017). *Indian Readership Survey.* Retrieved from https://www.mruc.net/uploads/posts/a27e6e912eedeab9ef944cc3315fba15.pdf

Meeks, L. (2012). Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage. *Journal of communication, 62*(1), 175-193.

Ministry of Education and Culture. (n.d.). *Finnish Education System.* Retrieved February 23, 2023, from https://okm.fi/en/education-system

Minority Rights Group International. (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2023, from Dalits: https://minorityrights.org/minorities/dalits/

Mitchell, M., & McKinnon, M. (2019). 'Human' or 'objective' faces of science? Gender stereotypes and the representation of scientists in the media. *Public Understanding of Science, 28*(2), 177-190. doi:DOI: 10.1177/0963662518801257

National Council For Promotion Of Urdu Language. (2019, August 9). *A Historical Perspective of Urdu*. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from https://www.urducouncil.nic.in/council/historical-perspective-urdu

Nixon, S. (2013). Chapter 5: Exhibiting masculinity. In J. Evans, S. Hall, S. Nixon, & H. Pitkin, *Representation.* Sage Publications.

Opetushallinnon tilastopalvelu. (n.d.). *Korkeakoulutus ja TK-toiminta – henkilöstö – henkilöstötyövuodet [Tertiary education and RD - personnel - person-workyear].* Retrieved from https://vipunen.fi/fi-fi/_layouts/15/xlviewer.aspx?id=/fi-fi/Raportit/Korkeakoulutus%20ja%20TK-toiminta%20-%20henkilöstö%20-%20henkilötyövuodet.xlsb

Opetushallitus. (2020a). *Opettajat ja rehtorit Suomessa 2019: Ammatillinen koulutus [Teachers and Principals in Finland 2019: Vocational education and training].* Raportit ja selvitykset 2020:13. Retrieved from https://www.oph.fi/sites/default/files/documents/opettajat_ja_rehtorit_suomessa_2019_ammatillinen_koulutus.pdf

Opetushallitus. (2020b). *Opettajat ja rehtorit Suomessa 2019: Esi- ja perusopetuksen opettajat [Teachers and Principals in Finland 2019: Pre and basic education teachers].* Raportit ja selvitykset 2020:11. Retrieved from https://www.oph.fi/sites/default/files/documents/opettajat_ja_rehtorit_suomessa_2019_esi-_ja_perusopetuksen_opettajat.pdf

Opetushallitus. (2020c). *Opettajat ja rehtorit Suomessa 2019: Lukiokoulutus [Teachers and Principals in Finland 2019: General upper secondary education].* Raportit ja selvitykse 2020:12. Retrieved from https://www.oph.fi/sites/default/files/documents/opettajat_ja_rehtorit_suomessa_2019_lukiokoulutus.pdf

Padva, G. (2008). Educating The Simpsons: Teaching Queer Representations in Contemporary Visual Media. *Journal of LGBT youth, 5*(3), 57-73. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/19361650802162227

Sanoma. (n.d.). *Helsingin Sanomat*. Retrieved March 24, 2023, from https://media.sanoma.fi/suunnittelijan-tyokalut/mediatiedot/helsingin-sanomat

Sawe, B. E. (2018, May 14). *English Speakers By Country*. Retrieved March 24, 2023, from WorldAtlas: https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/english-speakers-by-country.html

Schatz, M., Popovic, A., & Dervin, F. (2017). From PISA to national branding: exploring Finnish education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 38*(2), 172-184. doi:10.1080/01596306.2015.1066311

Scholaro Database. (n.d.). *Education System in India*. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from https://www.scholaro.com/db/countries/india/education-system

Sensales, G., Areni, A., & Dal Secco, A. (2016). Italian Political Communication and Gender Bias: Press Representations of Men/Women Presidents of the Houses of Parliament (1979, 1994, and 2013). *International Journal of Society, Culture & Language, 4*(2), 22-38.

Shine, K., & O'Donoghue, T. (2013). Teacher representation in news reporting on standardised testing: A case study from Western Australia. *Educational Studies, 39*(4), 385-398.

Soine, A., & Schneider, J. R. (2022). Media Representations of Gender and Labour in Nursing Strikes, 1984–2014. *Media History, 28*(1), 160-174. doi:10.1080/13688804.2021.1891876

The Washington Post. (2021). *General Ad Rates 2021*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-stat/site/mediakit/20-1090-01-General.pdf

The White House. (n.d.). *Dr. Jill Biden*. Retrieved March 17, 2023, from https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/dr-jill-biden/

Tilastokeskus. (2021). *Työelämä*. Retrieved April 14, 2023, from https://www.stat.fi/tup/tasaarvo/tyoelama/index.html

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2021, April). *BLS Reports*. Retrieved April 14, 2023, from Women in the labor force: a databook: https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/womens-databook/2020/home.htm

USAHello. (n.d.). *What are the U.S. education levels?* Retrieved February 23, 2023, from https://usahello.org/education/children/grade-levels/

van Dijk, T. (1988). *News as Discourse.* Erlbaum.

van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice : new tools for critical discourse analysis.* Oxford University Press.

van Leeuwen, T. (2009). Discourse as the recontextualization of social practice: a guide. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (Second edition ed.). Sage.

van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies.* Sage.

World Health Organization. (2023, March 29). WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from https://covid19.who.int

YLE News. (2012, October 30). *Helsingin Sanomat closes down International Edition*. Retrieved March 24, 2023, from https://yle.fi/a/3-6357061