

**Representation of a politician in Finnish media:
a case study**

Bachelor's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Diskurssin analyysissä tutkitaan kieltä kontekstissa, eli miten kieltä käytetään ja mihin tarkoitukseen. Tämä tutkielma keskittyy suomalaisten valtamedioiden kielenkäyttöön ja erityisesti siihen, miten suomalaiset valtamediat kuvaavat suomalaista politiikkaa Jussi Halla-ahoa. Tutkielmassa otettiin huomioon myös ulkomainen valtamedia vertaamalla suomalaisia mediatekstejä venäläisen valtamedian englanninkieliseen mediatekstiin. Tutkimuskysymyksiä oli kaksi: 1. Kuinka suomalainen valtamedia kuvaa Jussi Halla-ahoa, ja 2. Kuinka ulkomainen valtamedia kuvaa Jussi Halla-ahoa.</p> <p>Tämä tutkielma on laadullinen tutkielma, jossa pyritään tekstien tarkkaan lähiluentaan. Teoreettisena viitekehysenä toimii (kriittisessä) diskurssin analyysissä yleisesti hyväksytyjä teorioita kielen käytöstä ja mediatekstien monirakenteisuudesta. Tutkittavia tekstejä oli viisi: artikkeli Helsingin Sanomista, kaksi Ylen artikkeleita ja kaksi haastattelua, joista toinen edusti ulkolaista valtamediaa.</p> <p>Tuloksista voidaan huomata, että suomalaisissa mediateksteissä on hyvinkin paljon yhteneväisyyksiä. Jussi Halla-ahoa kuvataan negatiivisessa sävyssä, kun taas ulkolainen mediateksti edusti hyvinkin neutraalia suhtautumistapaa. Ulkolaisessa mediatekstissä keskityttiin taustoihin ja tilastoihin, mutta suomalaiset media tekstit jättivät ne kokonaan pois ja pyrkivät sanavalinoillaan antamaan vain tietynlaisen kuvan Jussi Halla-ahosta.</p>	
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1 Introduction

Linguistics, or the study of language, is a wide discipline with numerous branches within it from social linguistics to morphology. One of those branches is an interdisciplinary field of study, discourse analysis, or DA. The reason why it has enjoyed such popularity within numerous fields of academic study is the possibilities it provides. Discourse analysis offers a systematic approach to any analysis; certain methods out of many possible ones can be chosen to fit various studies. DA provides several questions with which researches can examine a text.

Discourse analysis was developed to have a critical point of view, and that is when critical discourse analysis, CDA, became to be developed. Discourse analyses became critical about whether it is possible to represent the real world through language. In other words, in CDA language is seen as a tool which can be used to serve ideological purposes – texts do not just mirror the reality. In addition, CDA became to be used for political purposes or to solve political problems. The social status quo, asymmetry in power relations between participants of a society, is seen as problematic in CDA and it can be used to reveal whether a text has certain ideological purposes or serves current power relations. This is the reason why CDA has been used particularly to analyze media discourse. Blommaert (2005: 24-25) rightfully introduces Fairclough's *Language and power* (1989), where Fairclough conducted a politicized analysis of powerful political discourses in Britain, as the beginning point of CDA.

Media discourse, or different texts which are presented to the public through media such as articles, pieces of news and interviews, are constructed with certain lexical elements which are particular choices out of many possible ones and serve certain ideological purposes. These choices can be revealed through CDA and then analyzed. CDA has been used widely around the world to analyze media discourses and there are several which focus on the Finnish media. It would be illuminating to investigate the representation of Finnish politicians by focusing on one single character. One politician who has been rather exclusively in the public eye is Jussi Halla-aho. There are not yet studies which have focused only on the representation of Halla-aho and this is what I set out to accomplish with this research.

Halla-aho is a Finnish politician who became popular through his critical opinions relating the immigration policy in Finland. He has his own blog, where he has written comments relating to current situations since 2003. His opinions were and are seen as quite radical and negative and

therefore he receives plenty of attention from the media and has become a public person. After that he became known for his membership in The True Finns (currently called The Finns), which is a Finnish party with immigration- and EU-critical policies. The True Finns received 20 % of the votes in the spring of 2011 in the parliamentary elections and since the elections Halla-aho has been working as the chair of the Administrative Committee. The fact that his opinions are immigration-critical make him an interesting topic because immigration criticism is not accepted in Finnish media, and therefore the language use in the media relating Halla-aho is one of a kind. The representation of the Finnish Member of Parliament Halla-aho is an interesting topic also because immigration policy throughout Europe is a central and popular topic of public discussions and in Finland Halla-aho is more or less the embodiment of criticism on current immigration policy. It could be argued that the Finnish media have accepted quite a unanimous stance on Halla-aho and this reflects the way he is represented in the media.

My thesis is a case study, which means that I will focus on one particular phenomenon. I have a few examples of media texts and I will analyze them thoroughly by using certain methods and concepts, which are commonly used in CDA. As background I include theory about language, language use and contexts which are commonly shared in CDA.

2 Theoretical Background

First, it is important to establish how *texts* are understood in DA. The term *text* in CDA is seen as a broad concept. It includes actual instances of both spoken and written language, for example in my data I have included written pieces of news and interviews. However, it does not limit itself to language use. Other semiotic systems, other than language, can be used to convey meaning and therefore in CDA the term *text* can also refer to images and sounds.

Second, I want to explain what exactly *discourse* is. Hall (1997: 44) shortly mentions how “Normally, the term discourse is used as a linguistic concept. It simply means passages of connected writing or speech”. In CDA, there is a distinction made between discourse and a discourse (discourses). Discourse is “an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements” but it is also used “in a particular ... way” (Fairclough, 2003: 3-4). In other words, when we discuss particular discourses (a discourse) we talk about specific ways of using language according to the context and genre, for example political news genre or *Helsingin Sanomat* discourse. Big D discourse is (the more abstract) level that combines the textual level with the

social contexts. It is “social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices” (ibid.). Blommaert (2005: 27) clarifies that “CDA conceives discourse as a social phenomenon”. One common way to describe discourse is language use above sentence level.

Third, the social aspect of discourse is emphasized and language uses are connected with ideologies. Fairclough (1995: 53-55) develops a theory on discourse: “connections between the use of language and the exercise of power are often not clear to people, yet appear on closer examination to be vitally important to the workings of power”. Fairclough describes how discourse can be used to refer to spoken and written language use and to other types of semiotic activity, but more importantly he sees “language use as social practice”. In other words, there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and the world: discourse is both socially shaping and socially constitutive. “Language use – any text- is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social identities, 2) social relations and (3) systems of knowledge and belief”. This point of view on discourse in relation to media means that

media discourse may shape socially adjacent orders of discourse as well as being shaped by them. Media discourse also influences private domain discourse practices, providing models of conversational interaction in private life which are originally simulations of the latter but which can come to reshape it. A complex dialectic seems to exist between the media and the conversational discourse of everyday life (Fairclough 1995: 64)

The ideational level of discourse analysis focuses on how texts represent persons and phenomena in a society. In other words, texts always have a certain point of view through which they introduce topics to the public. A text cannot ever be a true and thorough representation of a situation outside the text in the society. Paltridge (2006: 45-47) discusses the relationship between discourse and ideology. Ideologies “tend to be hidden”. There are several ways in which “ideology might be explored in a text”, for example “tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features”. These underlying ideologies or “common ground that is assumed” (Paltridge 2006: 60) are called presuppositions, for example what values are omitted. In his sample analysis, Paltridge answered questions such as how the context was presented, from what perspective the text was written and what were foregrounded. Fairclough’s (1995: 44-45) views on this matter follow the same line: “ideological representation are generally implicit rather than explicit in texts, and are embedded in ways of using language which are naturalized and commonsensical for reporters, audiences, and

various categories of third parties". What is more, Fairclough (1995: 103-104) discusses the nature of representation in mass media: "A basic assumption is that the media texts do not merely mirror reality as is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them." In other words, there are alternatives and the linguistic features present in a text are never random but conscious choices made by reporters.

Paltridge (2006: 178-184) talks about the four principles of CDA: 1. CDA addresses social and political issues and examines ways in which these are constructed and reflected in the use of discourse. 2. Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse. 3. Discourse reflects and produces social relations. The fourth one of these principles relates to ideology. "ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse". This means that discourse represents and constructs society including relations of power and identity. In other words, there is a connection between the values and assumptions that underlie the discourse and social and cultural practices.

In order to reach conclusions about large scale phenomena, smaller details in texts need to be examined. In CDA and in discourse analysis in general, grammar is a part of the analysis. However, grammar is not viewed in a traditional way of grammatical versus ungrammatical sentences. Gee (2005: 41) makes a division between grammar 1 and grammar 2. The second one, or grammar 2, is a set of rules, which are used by writers and speakers "to create patterns". These patterned utterances can be situated and give "situated identities and specific activities to us and our utterances". In short, when discussing grammar in CDA, usually genre-specific features are examined. Paltridge (2006: 130) discusses for example cohesion, including features such as reference, lexical cohesion, conjunctions, substitution and ellipsis. One important aspect of grammar is the idea of theme and rheme. Paltridge (2006: 145) discusses this aspect and explains that if some lexical feature is thematized, it means that that piece of information is given prominence. Fairclough (1995: 104-122) also lists a few grammatical features which can be examined. He discusses clauses, or propositions, which are the result of choices of presences/absences, vocabulary, grammar (process types), combination/sequencing of propositions and relations of coherence.

What is more, certain language uses are used only in certain contexts. Paltridge (2006: 82-89) discusses how genre is viewed in discourse analysis. In discourse analysis genre is seen as

“distinctive and recognizable patterns of organization and structure... ways in which people get things done”. In DA where the focus is on linguistic features these patterns are particular ways of using language “according to the context/purpose of the genre”. Choice and constraint are a part of a genre. Some genres allow more flexible language use while, for example, the news genre can be quite restrictive. Genres can be quite easily recognized based on previous experience, for example people most likely recognize the news genre because it is a widely used genre with very distinctive features such as “proper” language. However, “genre identification is complex” because the flexibility of genres can make it difficult to assign a text to a genre category.

Finally, the mass media language use has its own distinct features. Fairclough (1995: 36-37) talks about the properties of mass communication: “A communicative event in the mass media can actually be seen as a chain of communicative events” since the production and consumption of a text are different in time and space – including cultural differences. This nature of mass media communicative is quite unique and different from that of other communicative events and Fairclough (1995: 37) takes a notice of this: “A crucial property of the mass media is that they mediate in this way between the public and the private domains”.

In terms of discursive features of media production and texts, Fairclough (1995: 49) introduces one striking feature of news production: “the overwhelming reliance of journalists on a tightly limited set of official and otherwise legitimized sources which are systemically drawn upon... as sources of ‘facts’ and to substantiate other ‘facts’... organizations which are not perceived as legitimate (for instance, what are defined as ‘extreme’ political groups or parties) are excluded or more rarely referred to... the result is a predominantly establishment view of the world, manifested textually in, for instance, ways in which the reporting of speech is treated”. In addition, what needs to be taken into account is that “much of contemporary political discourses is mediatized political discourse. Its major genres are no longer just the traditional genres of politics, they are also the genres of the media” (Fairclough 1995: 188). This feature affects the features of political discourses: “A major opposition in mediatized political discourse is between the professional political discourse ... and lifeworld discourses... it is a striking feature of contemporary mediatized politics that lifeworld discourses are appropriated, again to varying degrees, by politicians and media reporters”. Fairclough (1995: 184-185) provides a method focused specifically on political discourse in the media; he discusses “order of mediatized political discourse”. Since much of the political discourse nowadays are reported and represented in the media, it makes sense to examine the relationship

between politics and the media. With this method Fairclough gives an overview of the order of mediatized political discourse. In this method certain features are examined, these include the repertoire of voices, discourses and genres. It is crucial to introduce and examine the relationships of choice and alternation within each of these repertoires, and also “how particular voices, discourses and genres are articulated together in different types of media output”.

Additionally, the once restricted roles of interviewer and interviewee based on authority in interviews have changed and are now more negotiable resulting in an even relationship between the politician and the presenter (Fairclough 1995: 51). Clayman and Heritage (2002) provide useful theoretical background on interviews. They discuss issues such as adversarial and hostile questioning. Basically what is meant by these terms, is that media representatives are supposed to be neutral but they have different methods to constructing their turns in order to smuggle in criticism and attitudes to interviews, for example reporting what other people have said. In his conversation analysis, Fairclough (1992: 17) examines features such as openings and closings and how topics are established, developed and changed. Fairclough (1992: 17) also refers to the set of turn-taking rules proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974): “These rules apply at the completion of a ‘turn-constructive unit’... The rules are ordered: (i) the current speaker may select the next speaker; (ii) if not, the next speaker may ‘self-select’ by starting to produce a turn; (iii) if not, the current speaker may continue”.

3 Methods and previous studies

In my analysis I examine a number of news articles using a number of methods. One of the methods I use in my study is textual analysis. One of the prominent aspects in textual analysis is modality. Modality is “traditionally associated with the modal auxiliary verbs” (Fairclough 1992: 158-9). However, it includes choices of modal adverbs and adjectives, and is commonly “realized in multiple features” (ibid.). Modality can be examined to reveal “the extent to which producers commit themselves to, or conversely distance themselves from, propositions” (Fairclough 1992: 142). Another aspect will allow me to examine verbs choices. Fairclough (1992: 27) describes transitivity as “the aspect of grammar of a clause or sentence that related to its ideational meaning, that is, the way it represents reality”. When examining transitivity, features called process types which are associated with participants are examined. Different process types are action, event, relational and mental processes. “Systemic selection of a particular process type may be ideologically significant” (Fairclough 1992). In textual analysis, wording and word meaning is

obviously important also because meanings can be “worded” in several ways and words have several different meanings. This aspect also includes choices of nominalization (the conversion of a phrase into a noun) and passivisation (conversion of an active clause into a passive). Fairclough (1992: 27) further explains how these conversations may be “ideologically significant features of texts” because both allow the systemic erasure of an agent.

Since my texts also include real life examples of spoken language, another useful method which I will use is conversation analysis (CA). Paltridge (2006: 106-119) lists several features which may be explored in conversation analysis, for example, the structure of the conversation and the sequences in it. Also turn taking, adjacency pairs are widely used points of view in CA among with response tokens, paraphrase, body position, eye contact, repetition and intonation. In his conversation analysis, Fairclough (1992: 17) examines features such as openings and closings and how topics are established, developed and changed. In addition to these features I will also include the aspect of hostile questioning.

These two methods will allow me to identify certain key features, and since this is a CDA, I will not just list features, but also make conclusions based on my findings. I will try to make connections between linguistic features and larger socioeconomic phenomena. One of the tools I will use is transitivity. Halliday (1994: 27-28) explains this relationship between language (text) and wider social phenomena: “the ideational function is represented by transitivity”. People use language when they write or speak and this is what gives the text and the language use its relevance. The language combines text with its social context, which includes “the verbal environment, what has been said or written... and the nonverbal, situational environment” (ibid.). In DA, transitivity choices are the choices between linguistic elements performed by the speaker or writer, for example what choices of nouns were done to represent an actor or what specific verbs were used to depict the processes.

I will first focus on the textual and discursal elements which can be found in texts. Then, I will discuss the functions of those elements and explain why certain features/elements were preferred over from a number of different possibilities. Since in CDA there several different methods used, each of which provide almost an infinite number of tools, I would like to introduce a few of previous studies, which all use methods and tools appropriate for that particular research.

3.1 Previous studies

“Critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned with ... discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality” (van Leeuwen 1993: 193). Blommaert (2005: 24) explains that power relations and institutional context is central in CDA. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is linguistic analysis from a critical point of view and its function is to examine media texts as social acts. In other words, its focus is on linguistic elements and how every choice of lexical items and discursal elements is influenced by ideology, which means that texts can reproduce or create certain power relations within a society. Several research articles have set out to explore this matter and developed methods to analyze media texts in order to reveal what choices have been made and why those choices were made out from several other possibilities. I will introduce three articles from journals and a section from a book as examples of CDA.

3.2 Trackers, features of media texts

Akin Odebunmi (2010) in his research article introduces and applies a method for exploring so-called trackers in newspaper reports about political news in general and a Nigerian Supreme Court decision to qualify the Former Vice President Atiku Abubakar for the 2007 general election in specific, and how these choices of trackers are influenced by ideological (political) reasons. Trackers are referential devices, which are used when referring to a person or an institute. These devices are used either when introducing a person or an institute or to refer to them later. Odebunmi divides trackers into four different types: presenting (*a, an, one...*), presuming (*the, that, we, she...*), possessive and comparative (*his, my, similar, other...*). In addition, Odebunmi combines this with the discursal level since coherence is a means to include ideologies into texts implicitly (Fairclough 1998 in Odebunmi 2010). Therefore, both of these levels are relevant to this research, and in CDA.

3.3 EU discourses in Canadian press

Steffi Retzlaff (2010) with her research article examines how Canadian newspapers can with their choice of discourse alter the way readers see the international political body, the European Union. Like Odebunmi with his article, Retzlaff also sets out to close a gap in research with his article; he examined how the media in a *non-member* state report to their audience issues relating to the EU and its politics. Firstly, Retzlaff discovered two discourses: a Euro-sceptical, which the conservative press used, and a Euro-friendly discourse. She discovered this through several lexical comparisons, for example how the EU is presented (strong international actor, having ulterior motives, incapable of meeting its goals). Secondly, Retzlaff detected another technique used in the media; positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Canada and its policies were introduced as something

very realistic, effective and positive, while EU's policies as the opposite. With this method, lexical choices are crucial but also their consistent use.

As we can see with both of these studies, not only are lexical choices salient when introducing and serving ideological purposes (representation of politics and policies), but also coherence. Consistency of using certain elements throughout a text ties the different parts of a text together creating a coherent world view, which emphasizes specific ideologies or power relations. Both of these research articles provide an interesting way of representation on the media.

3.4 Political debates and the use of disclaimers

Analyzing media discourse does not only have to focus on institutions' ideologies presented to the public. The public can also bring across their views through media, for example by writing to a chat. In his research article discusses how not only politicians or representatives of certain organizations take part in debates about political issues, but also how voters (regular citizens) express their opinions and demand policies/discussions relating to current topics. Goodman focuses on debates about immigration during elections campaigns in Britain 2007, and especially on comments which include accusations of racism and respond to them. Goodman argues that disclaimers such as *I am not calling you a racist but...* and *I am not a racist but...* are used to respond to accusations and to make claims. People who used these kinds of disclaimers were accused of racism only because they demanded open discussions about and limitations to immigration or of inhibiting discussions by denouncing people as racists for no reason.

3.5 John Gabriel (1998): Media campaigns relating to 'whiteness'

When relating to media discourse, CDA does not have to focus only on individual texts; it can also focus on larger-scale phenomena. In his book John Gabriel discusses how the media as one entity can address specific topics, groups or persons systematically, or in a consistent way. In other words, one specific ideology determines how certain people with specific opinions are often portrayed to the public. Gabriel (1998: 171-176) discusses one specific media campaign in particular: '*The media and the anti-Duke campaign*'. This campaign included a strategy of portraying the American right-wing politician David Duke in a negative way consistently through various means in numerous media, for example investigating rather than interviewing him (portraying him as not being a candidate just like the other politicians but a person with wrong opinions, which he is obligated to explain), labeling him (associating with people who in turn are not generally considered promoting good values) and drawing attention away from his politics.

4 Research Questions and Data

The research article by Simon Goodman deals with texts around immigration policy and the book by John Gabriel focus on a certain phenomenon in media, i.e. representing a person from a specific point of view in a consistent way, and my BA thesis will be a combination of these two views. In Finland Halla-aho is mostly known for his criticism against immigration and therefore, texts about him revolve around immigration policies. Also, this has led to the Finnish media to represent him consistently in a negative fashion. This is an observation which I will explore in my study. With this research I will analyze the way the Finnish media represents Halla-aho. The second question mainly serves as teaser. This study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do the Finnish media represent Halla-aho?
2. How do the foreign media represent Halla-aho?

The data will be media texts from the mass media in Finland. The data consists of interviews and pieces of news which refer to Halla-aho or quote his statements. Some of the material will be in English and some in Finnish. I am not interested in old material, so the data will consist of material published from 2009 onwards. This is when he started his official political career as a town councillor and began to receive constant attention from the media. I will gather material only from the Internet. However, most of the texts have been published through other media as well (TV, newspapers). As comes clear here, I will focus on political discourse. Blommaert (2005: 26) describes several terms in CDA and political discourse is seen as “the discourse of politicians”. However, I am not sure whether this explanation is sufficient. In my study I see political discourse as language use by other people also, especially media language and the language use of media representatives, relating politics and political ideologies.

5 Analysis

5.1 YLE A-Talk: Erimieliset eduskuntaan

In this analysis I will analyze a short section of an interview (see 9.2 in Appendices), which took place on the 28th of April 2011. The program is called *A-Talk* and it is a program where one interviewer, in this case Jan Andersson, interviews four interviewees. One of the interviewees is Jussi Halla-aho, a Finnish member of parliament. This interview took place just after the Finnish general elections, when the True Finns gathered a massive amount of votes and with that received

30 places more in the parliament than before and becoming one of the three biggest parties in Finland. Jussi Halla-aho is known for criticizing immigration and the True Finns in general have a critical view on immigration policy. After the elections Jussi Halla-aho was chosen as the chair of Administrative Committee.

In this excerpt turns are mainly constructed by lexical features, words and grammatical sentences. Also, we have pauses within a turn, for example line 31, and also between turns, for example line 30. There occurs over-lap a few times, for example lines 9/10, 12/13 and 28/29. In lines 9/10 and 28/29 the overlapping is interruptive. Halla-aho is not finished with his turns and does not pause but still the interviewer cuts him. In line 9 the interviewer requires clarification and in line 29 he demands Halla-aho to answer his question and not discuss in his opinion irrelevant points. The interviewer's assessment on line 13 differs from the one Halla-aho has made. They discuss *how* Halla-aho deals with certain issues. While Halla-aho himself uses a neutral term 'objectively', the interviewer changes that to "ice cold" and with that presents Halla-aho's work method in a slightly negative light inferring that Halla-aho might be too objective for immigration issues which need a more humanitarian approach. So, here the interviewer is stating his opinion to the interviewee's answer, that it might not be true or that the interviewer does not agree with it. The interruption in line 29 is also interesting and the accusation the interviewer makes 'do not beat about the bush'. The interviewer does not let Halla-aho finish his comment because it is according to the interviewer irrelevant. Not only is this an assessment from the interviewer on the content of Halla-aho's comment, but also an accusation that Halla-aho has not answered his question and discusses irrelevant issues to dodge the question.

The point of view of institutional interaction, i.e. media as an institution which governs interaction, explains some of the features of the interaction, for example the sequence organization is quite simple in this excerpt. The interviewer controls the interaction by asking questions which then are answered by the interviewee. For example in line 36 we have a question from the interviewer 'Do you consider that a prominent part of your ideology?' and then we have an answer from Halla-aho in line 35 'It is a part of the ideological history of Europe and not a part of my ideology'. This is a pair sequence, which means that it constructs of two turns. As stated above the actions are questioning and answering. Also, the interviewer who implies that this is in fact a part of Halla-aho's ideology and wants to know how big of a part it is. The part in the interviewer's turn refers to previous comments he has made in lines 22-23 'nazi ideology, texts by Alfred Rosenberg and a

former Ku-Klux Klan leader David Duke'. Although Halla-aho denies all this, the interviewer is able to state that it is by asking how a prominent part it is and not by asking if they are a part of Halla-aho's ideology. So, he presents Halla-aho as someone who sympathizes with the Nazis and shares national socialist views. Obviously this is presented as something extremely negative.

Adversarial questioning or hostile questioning is quite prominent in this interview. Hostile or adversarial questioning is something Clayman and Heritage have studied (2002). The term refers to the features of the interviewer's turns and interviewing styles. For example by referring to others and including what other people have said, for example in lines 5 and 6 this phenomenon can be seen: "Half of the Parliament is concerned about the fact that Halla-aho is the chair of the Administrative Committee". With this comment the interviewer is able to smuggle in criticism without criticizing Halla-aho himself. The interviewer presents Halla-aho as someone who has raised concern among other MPs. Before this statement the interviewer mentions that the Committee deals with immigration issues in lines 2 and 3. These two comments are linked to each other and with them Halla-aho is represented as someone whose opinions on immigration issues at least should hinder him to hold the office as the Chair of the Administration committee. The interviewer uses this feature quite a few times throughout the whole interview, which lasts about 45 minutes. This feature is quite commonly used by interviewers in general to make them appear to be neutral; they are just stating what others have said. Lines 18 to 23 are also interesting. Here the interviewer makes conclusions about certain events and leads the audience to draw these conclusions as well: 'you both are members of Sisu... Their website is filled with hatred texts... I have to ask, are you racists'. Also, here we have this appearance of neutrality. The interviewer is stating these issues as facts and that certain conclusion can be drawn from them. The interviewer suggests in the form of a question here that the interviewees are racists and also says that he is compelled to ask this question. In short, Halla-aho is presented as a member of an organization called Sisu, which has published texts that are according to the interviewer racist, and therefore also Halla-aho is a racist.

What is relevant throughout this interview is the aspect institutionalism (mentioned above). The interviewer as a media representative controls the interaction and therefore he is able to interrupt and make assessments, for example in lines 13 and 29. Also, as a media representative he is a reliable source of information and therefore able to present some point of views as a facts, for example line 5 and 21-13. This aspect of institutionalism enables the interviewer to represent Halla-

aho, Halla-aho's views and work ethics as the interviewer wishes. As becomes clear Halla-aho is represented only from one point of view revolving only on immigration issues and more importantly Halla-aho's 'racist views which are an issue of concern of half of the MPs'.

5.2 YLE: Halla-aho to chair committee in charge of immigration

The text I will analyze is a small piece of news (see 9.1 in Appendices), *Halla-aho to Chair Committee in Charge of Immigration*, from YLE's website. It is in English and it was published on the 27th of April 2011. I will first concentrate on interpersonal meaning and analyze mood and modality. Then, I will move on to representation. I will take into consideration transitivity choices such as processes, participants and attributes. Third, I will briefly discuss the grammar especially together with genre to knit together the aspects of textual analysis. Finally, I will discuss these textual features in relation to larger political and sociocultural aspects of society.

When analyzing interpersonal meanings, it is useful to consider *mood*. There are three moods: indicative (includes declarative and interrogative clauses), imperative and exclamative. This text has only statements, so the dominant (and the only) mood represented in the text is indicative, for example *The True Finn party has nominated candidates* or *He served as an MP*. This is not surprising because "declarative clauses are probably the most common in most text types" (Pirainen-Marsh, 2011), and especially in news discourse. What is important here regarding interpersonal meaning is that through the mood choices, the writer can create a certain kind of relationship between the reader and the writer. With declarative mood choices the writer's discourse role is a provider of information and the reader's recipient of information. This setting is quite typical for news and also very useful for broadcasters because then they can place their representatives in a way above the reader and therefore it is easier for the reader to accept the knowledge given in news and it is also easier for the broadcasters to "sell" their *ideology*. The text does not address the reader in any way, which is typical for this discourse type.

Analyzing *modality* is one way to reveal the writer's attitudes and relationship with reality. There are many ways to express modality, for example modal verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In this text the writer uses some modality, for example *who has sternly criticized...*, which is non-epistemic modality, and *nomination may change if any of...*, which is epistemic modality. The first example exposes the writer's attitude toward Halla-aho. The verb choice can be treated as modality also because here it used as a reporting verb. This is not Halla-aho's own words but the writer is

commenting on Halla-aho's statements and actions, especially by using the adverb *sternly*. By looking at these modality choices, the writer's attitude toward Halla-aho and the message becomes quite clear – especially when combined with transitivity choices, which will be discussed later.

Representation means describing reality. Writers and speakers can make certain linguistic and non-linguistic choices in order to represent and describe the world from a certain point of view. This is called the ideational level of texts/analysis. When analyzing representation, it is useful to consider what is included and excluded. When analyzing representation through grammatical choices, we are concerned with transitivity. Such grammatical choices include choices of subject, object, verb, complement and adverb. Through choices of adverbs, writers can represent the circumstances relating the event, through choices of subjects, objects and complements the participants and their roles and attributes, and through choices of verb, the processes. The verb choices include passive and active: *The True Finns Party has nominated, He served and were dismissed*. Also, the processes expressed through the verb are material, which represent doing something, for example *have selected*. Through material choices, the subjects of the clauses become evident. In active clause with a verb which represents material processes, the actors can be represented as doing something, for example *the True Finns have selected their candidate for the second Deputy Speaker of Parliament*. When combining the active form and material processes, the writer is able to describe Halla-aho and True Finns as actors doing actions – there is no hiding of the participants. This kind of representation in the news is very normal, since after elections all the parties need to make these kinds of decisions. Also, these choices for the nominations reflect the party's policy and by describing these events through active form and material choices the media are able to link these together.

In this text, the subjects are described by using nouns, for example *The True Finns party, the Committee and True Finn's leader Timo Soini*. The choices of nouns are very neutral (both names and a political profession), but when analyzing the attributes, the writer's attitudes become very clear. Even already in the headline: *Committee in Charge of Immigration*. It is not referred to in a neutral way as the Administrative Committee, but rather the emphasis on the tasks. This transitivity choice can be linked with three other transitivity choices also concerning attributes: *Halla-aho, who has sternly criticized immigration, is to chair...* and *Halla-aho's blog about Somali immigrants... and is to chair the Administration Committee, the responsibilities of which include immigration policies*. Also, the second paragraph is extremely important here. It reports past events regarding

Halla-aho and his blog: *Halla-aho's blog about Somali immigrants brought him charges of inciting racial hatred in 2009, which were later dismissed and a fine for defaming religion*. Here the writer has made a conscious decision to include this information to the text and not to include the comments that brought these fines. What to include is not a transitivity choice, but together with all these transitivity choices, it can be argued that it reveals the writer's attitude towards the nomination. The writer repeats that Halla-aho criticizes immigration, and not in a positive way, and that the Committee includes immigration issues. Through these repetitions the writer emphasizes this link between Halla-aho's views on immigration and that the Committee deals with immigration. This is seen as something very troubling and the goal of this article is to raise the alarm.

Grammar in discourse analysis is not considered in the same way as in educational institutions, rules governing proper sentence structures, but rather a feature distinct for certain discourse types. It is seen as a resource, or a repertoire, which can be used by writers and speakers, in specific patterns and constructions prominent in genres. For example, the headlines of newspaper articles follow their own grammar, which usually includes short sentences, nominalization (ellipsis of verbs), summarization and in some less formal newspapers exaggerating vocabulary. The headline of the text I analyzed follows these lines. Sometimes writers and speakers may exploit genrespecific structures and patterns to create a certain effect. Grammatical features include for example choice of adverbs, pronouns and modal verbs. In this text the structure *is to chair* is used quite often, "Halla-aho to chair, is set to lead, is to chair". This is done to create some extent of uncertainty. While the nominations by True Finns might have been revealed, the fact that who would eventually actually chair committees was not yet certain. This feature is pretty typical for political reporting after elections when administrative negotiations between parties are still in progress.

In CDA it is important to link textual features to larger phenomena. The goal of a text, the purpose of textual features, practices around producing and consuming texts and power relations, which have an influence on all these aspects, are all part of CDA. Texts are contextualized. In other words, the wider political, social, institutional and economic context of a text affects what kind of features can be found in a text. In short, CDA ties together three levels of discourse analysis: micro, discourse and sociocultural level. In this text the immediate context is the website where it is published and political news genre. It is also a part of a very large political context taking place in Finland – public discussions on immigration. First, the textual features link this text in the context of the elections by using an administrative discourse, for example *parliamentary committees*,

nominations, and especially in the context of after the elections, for example *if any of the candidates become government ministers*, which shows that nothing is certain yet. It is clear that it reports about the parties' actions post elections. Second, the textual features also refer to another broader context which has been going on a longer time, public discussions over immigration policies, for example *Halla-aho, who has sternly criticised immigration and blog about Somali immigrants brought him charges of inciting racial hatred in 2009*. The word choice *sternly* combined with past tenses and the year imply that these debates have been going on for a few years now. Also, as stated already these show a negative attitude from the reporter. Discussions over immigration policies are very popular right now in Finland and Halla-aho is almost the embodiment of criticism on immigration policy. The mass media in Finland refer to The True Finns party consistently in a negative fashion – especially to Halla-aho – and this piece of news follows the discursive features associated with that phenomenon. It is not publicly acceptable to criticize immigration policy or to talk about the problems/consequences of mass immigration from third world countries to Europe. However, Halla-aho has continued to do so and as a result, the media's response has been to report his actions.

5.3 YLE: Halla-aho claims being victim of “witch-hunt”

The article (see 9.4 in Appendices) was published on the 5th of August 2011 (and updated on the 7th) by YLE on their website. YLE is a Finnish mass medium, which produces radio and television broadcasts in several languages. This article appeared approximately three weeks after the attack in Norway when Anders Behring Breivik shot several adolescents and set up a car bomb. After the attacks it was claimed by the media that Behring had quoted Halla-aho. However, Halla-aho says that Behring had copied texts written by a Norwegian blogger who used the nickname Fjordman. Towards the end of the article there is also a statement from Rainer Hiltunen, a spokesman for the Minorities Ombudsman. First, I will analyze some features of language use on clause level and then, move on to the ideational functions of these examples.

I will begin by analyzing some of the expressions used in this article to refer to Halla-aho. First, there are quite normal nouns used, for example when Halla-aho is introduced: “True Finns Party MP Jussi Halla-aho”. After this his last name is used. This way of first introducing and then using the last name is in political news a normal procedure. However, there is one instance which differs from this norm: “Halla-aho, a prominent immigration critic”. Here the point of the writer is quite explicit and also, the role of Halla-aho is a quite different from the other role as an MP. The role is much more specific, he is presented as an immigration critic. In other words, what is important is

that he is a critic and more specifically, an immigration critic. So, the writer has chosen another way of presenting Halla-aho, another point of view. This transitivity choice is not random but chosen to create a particular effect and is in connection with the verb of the sentence. I will come back to this later when I discuss what type of sentence is used here. Before this I want to briefly discuss a modality choice: Halla-aho is not presented only as someone who criticizes immigration but also as a “prominent” critic. Through this choice it is possible for the writer to specify Halla-aho’s character. This choice can be interpreted as relevant background information about Halla-aho, i.e. this explains why Breivik quotes him. Also, this choice is an important addition to this expression when the context of this noun phrase is taken into consideration.

In addition to noun and modality choices, it is important to examine the sentence type. The entire sentence “Halla-aho, a prominent immigration critic, was approvingly quoted by the self-confessed perpetrator of Norway attacks Anders Behring Breivik in his lengthy anti-Muslim manifesto” explains why the choices of subject and modality (mentioned above) were made and what the particular effect is. The writer creates a link between Halla-aho and the “self-confessed perpetrator”. If “Halla-aho, the prominent immigration critic” would be replaced by for example MP Halla-aho, the link would perhaps not be so transparent. In order for the writer to create the link he or she must present Halla-aho from a specific point of view. In short, the writer presents Halla-aho as someone who openly opposes immigration and is known for it and therefore, also as someone who is connected with the “perpetrator” and anti-Muslim. This is done through using the passive voice: the sentence is in passive and there is an agent “was approvingly by the self-confessed perpetrator”. Basically everyone can quote an MP for various reasons but here the writer makes explicit links and connections by having made certain language choices over other ones and therefore to present Halla-aho as someone who Breivik would “approvingly” quote.

Including and excluding certain kind of background information can also be used as a tool of representation. With another paragraph a few lines beneath the above comments “In 2009, Halla-aho was convicted of violating the right of peaceful worship after anti-Muslim comments online” the writer is able to further this point of view. First, the term anti-Muslim is repeated (above anti-Muslim manifesto, here anti-Muslim comments). Without the extra comment on the conviction, the writer would not be able to create this anti-Muslim link between Halla-aho and Breivik. In addition, the choice by the writer to write this paragraph (as opposed to not writing about the conviction at all or referring to it as a free speech trial) is aligned with the presentation of Halla-aho that the writer makes throughout the paragraph.

In relation to the background information, it is also important to take into consideration what is not said about Halla-aho. None of his texts or comments about immigration topics is mentioned in the article, not even the one quoted by Breivik. This is one alternative way of presenting Halla-aho in a way that suits the writer. This is not a feature only of this article but rather a common feature in political articles published by the Finnish media regarding Halla-aho. This is quite interesting because Halla-aho's blog writings are quite often a topic of dispute in the Finnish media but still the texts themselves are not quoted.

In addition to presenting Halla-aho with certain nouns, the writer also uses certain verb choices to a particular effect, for example the use of the verb *to claim* in the headline "Halla-aho claims being victim of "witch-hunt" ". The verb *to claim* is a transitivity choice made by the writer on clause level. With this choice the writer is able to create a different version of the situation. The verb *to claim* is often used to express disagreement or disbelief, i.e. while Halla-aho may claim of being the victim of a witch-hunt, this is not the case. In short, Halla-aho may claim something but according to the writer the situation is not confirmed as true. So, Halla-aho is presented as someone who is not an entirely reliable source of information.

Finally, the issue of reliable sources and ideology of neutrality is important also. The writer introduces a spokesman for the Minorities Ombudsman, Rainer Hiltunen: "According to a spokesman for the Minorities Ombudsman, Rainer Hiltunen, web forums with extremist leanings can create the impression that hate speech is acceptable on the internet. Such places gather like-minded people, Hiltunen told AFP, adding: 'It clouds their sense of reality.' " While this may not be a direct way of referring to Halla-aho, it can be inferred as an indirect way to represent him in comparison to Hiltunen. In short, the writer introduces Hiltunen as an example of a reliable source of information in comparison to Halla-aho, who is presented as an unreliable source. In addition to this, quoting someone else can be paralleled with a technique, which is used by interviewers to design their questions, called hostile questioning. It means that interviewers, or in this case the writer, report something someone else said. So, the writer himself does not have to accuse Halla-aho of hate speech or say that his sense of reality is clouded but instead the writer "merely" reports what another person has said. Nevertheless, this point of view is incorporated into the article and conveyed to the readers. With the choice of incorporating these opinions to the article, the writer can present Halla-aho and his comments not only as anti-Muslim but also as hate speech. These kinds of accusations cannot obviously be made since legal procedures would follow. Last, the writer

represent Halla-aho (together with Breivik) as someone who is mentally underdeveloped since only people who have clouded senses of reality write comments that is viewed as hate speech.

5.4 Helsingin Sanomat: Jussi Halla-aho puts other panel members on defensive in immigration debate

This article (see 9.3 in Appendices) by Kalle Silfverberg was published in the international version of the Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat two months before the general elections in Finland in 2011. During that time Halla-aho was a candidate from The True Finns and a member of the Helsinki city council. The True Finns was the second largest party but were not able to enter government because of difficulties during the government negotiations, and stayed in the opposition. However, since the party more than doubled their votes, the nominations for Committee members included politicians from The True Finns, and Halla-aho became the Chair of Administrative Committee. I will begin by looking at the choices made on clause level, for example verbs and nouns. Then, I will make some interpretations based on these choices, i.e. how they represent Halla-aho.

First, it is worth making some general observations about the article: It includes several elements associated with narration rather than a political newspaper article. Some clauses such as “presence of Halla-aho electrifies the atmosphere”, “it is early in the evening” and “silence descends” are very descriptive and usually quite rare in political texts. They are describing statements; they describe the atmosphere and the place. These kinds of descriptions are not usually included on political articles because they do not add any value to the actual topic, whereas in narrations descriptions are very common. Also, the use of the present tense is a more common characteristic in some types of narration, where as in news in general or in political articles in specific, the use of the past tense is more common because they report events or actions taken place before the piece of news was published. In addition, political articles in general focus only on one specific politician or event by stating what the politician has said or done and providing relevant background information. In this article however there are only three quotes in total from Halla-aho and the rest of the text composes of the writer’s own comments, such as “There are occasional gasps of disbelief from among the crowd, but there is occasional scattered applause as well” and “At no point do the panel members express real anger over one another's views” and one quote from another speaker.

In terms of verb choices, different processes can be presented. “Then True Finns candidate Jussi Halla-aho opens his mouth”, this is a material process, which means that it represents action: somebody doing actively something. More important it conveys the attitude of the writer. Although

the phrase ‘to open one’s mouth’ can be used to various effects according to the context, here the expression is used to refer to something negative. In comparison for example to *Halla-aho began the evening by stating...* or *The first comments from that evening came from Halla-aho...* there is a clear difference in attitude. The writer’s choices present Halla-aho as doing something negative instead of stating his own (or the True Finn’s) views as an equal member of that evening’s debate. Also, this is an assessment: Halla-aho’s comments are presented as depressing. The writer is in a way saying that Halla-aho should not have opened his mouth. This negative attitude becomes clear by looking at the co-text, a specific statement “this time” by the writer (discussed in detail, see below).

Silfverberg repeats a similar expression a few lines below “Nothing very strange is coming out of his mouth this time” and in addition to the expression “coming out of his mouth”, which is quite negative as the earlier expression “opens his mouth”, the object in this sentence “nothing very strange” should be viewed carefully. First, there is the adverb “very” which is a modality choice. Although there is the negation “nothing” the writer implies that Halla-aho’s comments still can be assessed as somewhat strange. In addition to this, the time expression towards the end of the sentence “this time” is quite important because with that expression Silfverberg expresses his attitude on all previous statements made by Halla-aho. In this sentence it is implied that Halla-aho’s statements are usually (very) strange and therefore, it is now worth mentioning that “nothing very strange is coming out of his mouth this time”.

In “The deliberately calm-sounding comments from Halla-aho” the adverbial choices “deliberately” and “calm-sounding” can be classified as modality choices because they express the writer’s relationship with reality, in other words the writer’s attitude becomes clear. First, calm-sounding is a personal assessment of Halla-aho’s tone. In other words, according to the writer Halla-aho’s tone is not actually calm but merely sounds calm. He might be the opposite of calm and in order to divert the attention from this has altered his tone of voice to calm. With this adverbial the writer also presents Halla-aho as someone who is in a way beneath him because the writer has spotted this and out-clevered Halla-aho. This combined with “deliberately” refers to the conscious effort on Halla-aho’s behalf. So, the writer wishes to convey not only what Halla-aho does but also how he does it: “deliberately”. In other words, Halla-aho is presented as an actor making a conscious effort to change his tone.

The headline of the article “Jussi Halla-aho puts other panel members on defensive in immigration debate” is interesting in many ways. First, there is a material process expressed by the verb: Halla-

aho as an actor doing something actively, here putting other panel members on defensive. Again, this action is presented as negative: Halla-aho is doing something that causes irritation among the members. In other words, there is also a consequence of this action. Second, the participants in this sentence and their roles present an interesting contradiction. Halla-aho is presented as an individual panel member against the other members. So, the writer presents two different groups: one where Halla-aho is alone and another with all the other members. Third, if we take a look at the co-text, i.e. the article, there is very little evidence on this matter expressed by the writer in the headline (=Halla-aho puts other members on defensive). There are two indirect quotes (“Razmyar is worried that immigrant youth might accept the notion that they can only get work as cleaners or bus drivers” and “Vesikansa takes up child daycare as a way to bring the children of immigrants more tightly into Finnish society”) and one half direct, half indirect quote (“She amends the old “When in Rome...” adage to suggest that “doing as the Finns do” is of less significance than adhering to the laws of the land”) from the other panel members none of which show a particular irritation or even disagreement with Halla-aho’s comments. The reader does not know if Halla-aho has stated something before or after the comments to oppose these views. These quotes themselves do not disagree with any of the quotes from Halla-aho.

5.5 Russia Today: The Finn end of the wedge

This part of the analysis section deals with foreign media, in specific Russia Today. Russia Today is a Russian news channel which broadcasts news in English. This piece of news (see 9.5 in Appendices) was released in December, 2009. I will begin by examining how the piece of news refers to immigration in Finland and elsewhere and then, I will examine how Halla-aho is referred to.

5.5.1 Background information about immigration issues in Finland and on Halla-aho

I want to focus on what is said about the situation in Finland in general relating to immigration. It is important to take a closer look at how the background situation is presented because it will have an effect on how the audience will view Halla-aho and because it is also one way to represent Halla-aho. This piece of news includes several facts about immigration to Finland. First, there are statements regarding the current situation in Finland, for example line 7 “area of Helsinki dominated by immigrant shops and housing” and lines 20-21 “the population is finding the newcomers hard to accept”. In addition to comments relating to the current situation, there are comparisons between the current situation and the past, for example line 8 “twenty years ago such places simply did not exist”, lines 8-10 “finland recorded a high level of net immigration since world war two” and line 11 “the number of foreigners in the country has risen sixfolds since 1990”.

These statements give a certain kind of impression about the current situation and the comparisons even emphasize the drastic changes taken place. They are mentioned in order to explain what kind of issues relating to immigration in Finland Halla-aho criticizes and why. The depiction of Halla-aho as a critical anti-immigration voice is not done in a notably negative light, but he is rather represented as a politician who discusses changes taken place in Finland and as someone who is rightfully giving public awareness on important pressing issues. Line 3 “there are now fears” and lines 20-21 “the population is finding the newcomers hard to accept” include comments about the public and they are provided as examples of how the population in Finland react to the changes. In other words, it is not just Halla-aho criticizing immigration but there are concerns among other people as well. In short, although Halla-aho is not yet mentioned, these issues will be connected with him later when he is mentioned because these are given as the background information which explains the reasons for Halla-aho’s critique.

Second, there are comparisons between the situation in Finland and that of other countries, for example line 2: “it currently hands out more cash than any other country in the european union”, lines 18-20 “while other european countries have tightened up conditions for asylum seekers finland still offers them a generous welfare package”, lines 5 and 6 “finland used to think immigration problems only happened at other european countries not any longer” and lines 12-13 “their growth rate is one of the highest in the world”. As in the above paragraph, where there were comparisons between the current and the past situation to emphasize the drastic changes, these statements also emphasize differences but in specific the differences between how Finland handles immigration in comparison to other countries. For example lines 5 and 6 “not any longer” include a presupposition: Finland did not have problems with immigration before but now there are pressing issues similar to those which have already taken place in other European countries and Finland is now aware of them. Later on Halla-aho mentions Sweden “we are faithfully repeating every mistake sweden for example has made before us”. There is a connection between the two statements and the first one ‘backs up’ what Halla-aho says. In other words, Halla-aho is presented as a liable source and a politician who is concerned about immigration problems.

There are comments directly related to Halla-aho, for instance in lines 14-15 “halla-ah::os anti-immigration blog has attracted hundreds of thousands of followers” and in line 15 “he was sued for defamation in a high profile free speech trial”. The first example describes the popularity of Halla-aho’s blog and therefore of Halla-aho himself but also the extent to which people support his views

on immigration. Halla-aho as a politician and with his popularity has a leading role in the immigration debate. Also, he expresses worries shared by a large number of other people. In the second example the mentioning of the “infamous” trial does not take any credit away from Halla-aho. It is not issued any further and it is mentioned as a free speech trial. This was one of the views on the trial but was not shared by the Finnish media. Line 16 “his views are ignored by the main stream parties” describes the attitudes some political parties in Finland have toward Halla-aho. This contrasts Halla-aho as a political person with other politicians in Finland.

5.5.2 Foreign and Finnish media

The major difference between the news in the Finnish media and this piece of news is the fact that facts like these are not given in the news published by the Finnish media. The statements mentioned by Russia Today work for Halla-aho and not against him, as in they support Halla-aho’s critique and explain how and why he has support from other members of the population. It is a completely different way of representing Halla-aho compared to the views shared and distributed by the Finnish media.

In addition, these views such as “hands out more cash than any other country in the european union”, “the number of foreigners in the country has risen six folds since 1990” or “growth rate is one of the highest in the world” differ from the picture the Finnish media gives to the public about immigration. The views on immigration are as important as the views on Halla-aho himself because the persona of Halla-aho is strongly connected to immigration. In other words, how immigration issues are discussed in the media or if they are discussed at all is one way to represent Halla-aho.

6 Discussion

The questions I set out to answer in this study were about the representation of Halla-aho in the Finnish media and in the foreign media. The analysis section included four different instances of media texts published in the Finnish media: two pieces of news from YLE, one interview, which was in Finnish, and one article published by Helsingin Sanomat. Each of the four media texts included several similar aspects on how Halla-aho was represented, for instance the references to the trial was a prominent feature in these texts. Also, the modality choices and other aspects of transitivity turned out to be very relevant as well. The method of hostile questioning was also used by media representatives. This aspect is usually connected with only interviews and spoken material but proved to be relevant also in written texts. Whatever tool was used in the texts, the representation turned out to be quite similar and in each text several methods were used to smuggle

in criticism. Connection between immigration criticism and its negativity were made and Halla-aho as an immigration critic was linked to further negative associations, for instance to Breivik. All in all, I would say that the representation was very unanimous and negative. However, these four media texts were only a few instances of media representation and therefore, they cannot be generalized too extensively. Foucault discusses this with: “The episteme is the condition of possibility of discourse in a given period; it is an *a priori* set of rules of formation that allow discourses to function, that allow different objects and different themes to be spoken at one time but not at another.” (McNay, 1994). This point of view of an episteme by Foucault is very interesting and also relevant to my study since the representation of Halla-aho in the Finnish media is quite unanimous in the media texts which I analyzed. Based on a few texts one cannot claim that we are living in a place and a time when immigration criticism is not allowed at all and therefore, those kinds of discourses are not allowed or that only negative discourses about Halla-aho are allowed. However, the texts I analyzed do give some directions of how the situation is and in my opinion they represent quite well how Halla-aho is usually represented in the Finnish media. Since it is a strong claim this study could be furthered to include more media texts and also perhaps only texts which are in Finnish. However, there did not seem to be that much difference between the Finnish text and the other ones which were in English.

When comparing the representation of Halla-aho in the Finnish media with that of the foreign media, in this case Russia Today, several differences can be seen. Criticism proposed by Halla-aho and therefore, Halla-aho himself were presented as reasonable and justified. In addition to actually referring to Halla-aho and his comments, some background issues were introduced to support his views (compare to the interview when the membership of Sisu was introduced as background). This was the main difference compared to the Finnish texts, none of which included any figures or explanations about immigration in Finland. This question of how Halla-aho is represented in foreign media could also be further studied, for example to examine the differences and similarities of texts published in the Russian media and of those published in the Finnish media, or to explore whether texts published by the Russian media are similar to those of for example other European media.

7 Conclusion

My study was a discourse analysis: I applied certain prominent tools used in DA and in CDA systematically to examine the representation of a Finnish politician, Jussi Halla-aho. Media texts are texts that are published by media to a wide audience, for example articles in newspapers, pieces of news online or interviews on TV. All these texts consist of certain elements or features which are

particular choices out of many possible ones and they might serve certain ideological purposes. The methods used in discourse analysis can be applied to suite a number of linguistic studies and specifically SFL suited my study because it provided me with tools to scrutinize textual elements and connect them with larger phenomena.

With this study I set out to explore the representation of Jussi Halla-aho, a former MP and the current Chair of the Administration Committee. The reason why I chose him was because he criticizes current immigration policies in Finland and that makes the representation of Halla-aho in the Finnish media therefore quite an interesting topic. Also, immigration policies throughout Europe are prominent topics of public discussions in all over Europe and in Finland as well and therefore, Halla-aho receives plenty of attention on the media.

My data included five different media texts: two pieces of news by YLE, two interviews (A-Talk and Finn edge of the wedge) and one article from Helsingin Sanomat/the international edition. I had two questions and four of the texts were used to answer the first question about Finnish media and the text by Russia Today I used to answer the question relating to foreign media. My main focus was on Finnish media. However, the text published by Russia Today revealed to provide some interesting features which I could compare with the features found in the Finnish media texts. Although media is a very wide institution with various sources and channels for publishing and include of an infinite number of points of few, I was able to find some unanimity among texts published in the mass media in Finland.

As a conclusion I would say that with this study I was able to make preliminary observation about the representation of Halla-aho and therefore, to a reasonable extent able to answer the two study questions. Also, this study opened a lot of doors for further study, for instance a wider study concentrating only on media texts that are in Finnish. Although the text that was in Finnish included similar features to those of the texts that were in English, the main focus should be on Finnish texts since the Finnish mass media is mostly in Finnish and the English material is targeted for those who do not speak Finnish.

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9 Appendices

9.1 YLE: Halla-aho to Chair Committee in Charge of Immigration

The True Finns party has nominated candidates to chair several parliamentary committees. Jussi Halla-aho, who has sternly criticised immigration, is to chair the Administration Committee, the responsibilities of which include immigration policies.

Statements on Halla-aho's blog about Somali immigrants brought him charges of inciting racial hatred in 2009, which were later dismissed, and a fine for defaming religion.

Issues regarding police, rescue services and border guard also lie within the sphere of the Administration Committee.

True Finns' leader Timo Soini is set to lead the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Defence Committee chairmanship will go to Jussi Niinistö.

These nominations may change if any of the candidates become government ministers.

Additionally, the True Finns have selected their candidate for the second Deputy Speaker of Parliament—Anssi Joutsenlahti. He served as an MP for the True Finns' predecessor, the Rural Party (SMP), in 1979-1987.

9.2 YLE: A-TALK: Erimieliset eduskuntaan (11:11- 12:49) (own free translation)

IE: the interviewer, Jan Andersson IR= the interviewee, Jussi Halla-aho

1. IE *ilman muuta olen profiloitunut näillä kysymyksillä ja ja=*
 'of course I am

2. IR =*ja nyt olet hallintovaliokunnan vastavalittu puheenjohtaja (.) ja jonka pöydällä*
'and now you are the chair of the administration committee and you consider'
3. *on (0.4) ulkomaalaisasiat, =*
'matters relating to foreigners'
4. IE =*hmm*
'uh huh'
5. IR *tästä on puolet eduskunnasta huolissaan että halla-aho on siä*
'over half of the MPs are concerned about Halla-aho'
6. *puheenjohtajana. .hh OSAATKO sinä suhtautua näihin asioihin puolueettomasti.*
'as the chair. can you consider these matters unbiased'
7. IE *minä suhtaudun niihin mielestäni erittäin objektiivisesti toisin kuin (0.4) £<eräät*
'i deal with these issues completely objectively unlike certain'
8. *idealistiset tahot>£ .hh*
'idealistic groups of people'
9. IR *>mitä tar[koitt]aa sun kohdalla< suhtautuminen objektiivisesti*
'what does objectively mean with you'
10. IE *[(en)]*
'i dont'
11. IE *se että minä suhtaudun täysin kiihkottomasti maahanmuuttokysymyksiin*
'that my handling of immigration issues is completely impersonal'
12. *[toisin]*
'unlike'
13. IR *[kylmän] viileesti.*
'ice cold'
14. IE *kyllä (0.4) .hh enkä ole havainnut että eduskunnasta puolueet olisivat olleet huolissaan*
'yes and i have not noticed that parties would have been concerned'
15. *siitä että minä istun tämän valiokunnan johdossa pik[emmin]kin toitoimittajakunta*
'about me being the chair of this committee rather the editors'
16. IR *[nooh]*
'well'
17. IE *on ollut siitä erittäin huolissaan.*
'have been quite concerned about it'
18. IR *ö:: noh↑ .hh te olette molemmat suomen (.) sisujärjestön (.) jäseniä. (0.4) teidän*

- ‘hum well you both are members of the Sisu organization and your’
19. *nettisivuston*
‘website’
20. *joka muuten (.) keskustelupalsta on ny suljettu eijäseniltä .hh niin se pursuaa*
‘which by the way is now closed from non-members ist bursting with’
21. *muukalaisvihamielistä tekstiä. (.) järjestö on mainostanu esimerkiksi aikoinaan*
‘hatred texts the organization has advertised for instance at one time’
22. *natsi ideologiaa alfred rosenbergin sekä ku klux klaanin dei pomon david duken*
‘nazi-ideology alfred rosenberg and texta by the klu Klux klan leader david duke’
23. *kirjoituksia .hh nyt mun on pakko kysyä .hh oletteko rasisteja=*
‘ i have to ask now are you racists’
24. IE *=mä haluaisin huomauttaa nyt tähän että:: suomen sisu är yyn nettisivuilla oli*
‘I would like to point out now that on the organizations’s website, there were’
25. *aikanaan (0.8) aikanaan aatehistoriallista kirjallisuutta koottuna*
‘at one time literature about history of ideas’
26. *.hh koottuna yhdelle sivulle siellä oli myös (.) myös ö. (.) tota noin (.) £ppääoma ja*
‘ on one page but there also were also um Capital and’
27. *kommunistinen manifesti£ mutta tähän ei kukaan ole*
‘ The Communist Manifesto nut no one has’
28. *kiinnit[tänyt huomiota]*
‘concentrated on this’
29. IR *[joo mut nyttei] kierretä (.) halla-aho kysymystä siällä oli nämä (.)*
‘yes but do not beat about the bush halla-aho these were there’
30. IE *[oli oli]*
‘yes yes’
31. IR *[tekstit]*
‘the texts’
32. *miksi (0.9)*
‘why’
33. IE *koska ne ovat ör: aika keskeinen osa (.) eurooppalaista aatehistoriaa (.) tai ä*
‘because they are a prominent part of the European history of ideas or um’
34. *länsimaista*
‘western’

35. *aatehistoriaa siinä missä kommunistinen manifesti ja pääomakin.* =
history of idea as well as The Communist Manifesto and Capital’
36. IR =*kuinka keskeine::n se on: teidän omasta aatehistoriasta.*
‘do you consider that a prominent part of your ideology’
37. IE *ä: se on osa (.) länsimaiden aatehistoriaa sei ole osa minun aatemaailmaani.*
‘it is a part of the ideological history of europe and not a part of my ideology’

9.3 Helsingin Sanomat: Jussi Halla-aho puts other panel members on defensive in immigration debate

Silence descends over Lecture Hall 2 in the Porthania building of the University of Helsinki.

Then True Finns candidate Jussi Halla-aho opens his mouth.

“There has been debate about the wrong kind of immigration debate”, says this Helsinki city council member and Parliamentary candidate.

Nothing very strange is coming out of his mouth this time, but the mere presence of Halla-aho electrifies the atmosphere and eliminates the murmurs that had been floating around the nearly full auditorium.

It is early in the evening on Tuesday.

The aim is to discuss immigration in the debate organised by the National Coalition Party.

Behind the table in front of the old-fashioned chalkboard Nasima Razmyar (SDP), Sanna Vesikansa (Green), and Fatbardhe Hetemaj (Nat. Coalition Party) are grouped very close to each other.

There is a clear effort to establish distance from Halla-aho, who is sitting on the edge of the podium.

Halla-aho himself appears to be taking some distance with his gestures - twirling a pen in his hand, while looking occasionally at the wall at the back of the room.

The debate mainly revolves around immigration for humanitarian purposes. Nobody actually opposes the statement issued by Parliament’s Administration Committee calling for tighter rules on family unification.

The deliberately calm-sounding comments from Halla-aho set the tone for the entire event.

“Finland can be a Finnish social welfare office. Finland cannot be a global welfare office.”

There are occasional gasps of disbelief from among the crowd, but there is occasional scattered applause as well.

At no point do the panel members express real anger over one another's views.

Razmyar is worried that immigrant youth might accept the notion that they can only get work as cleaners or bus drivers.

Vesikansa takes up child daycare as a way to bring the children of immigrants more tightly into Finnish society.

When the topic turns to multiculturalism, Hetemaj emphasises her right to be a Kosovo Albanian even here in Finland.

She amends the old "When in Rome..." adage to suggest that "doing as the Finns do" is of less significance than adhering to the laws of the land.

Halla-aho turns to housing policy: “An immigrant getting public assistance should not necessarily have the right to choose where to live.”

He continues to sit separately from the others.

9.4 Halla-aho claims being victim of “witch-hunt”

True Finns Party MP Jussi Halla-aho says that he feels that a witch-hunt has started against him and free speech after the Norway tragedy. In an interview with AFP, he said that things are completely out of control.

”We have people in political and civil circles who have attacked free speech for years and this has just given them a new stick,” Halla-aho told AFP.

Halla-aho, a prominent immigration critic, was approvingly quoted by the self-confessed perpetrator of Norway attacks Anders Behring Breivik in his lengthy anti-Muslim manifesto.

Halla-aho specified that Breivik did not cite him directly, but copied a blogger called Fjordman. Nonetheless, he said his opinions had been interpreted accurately. Halla-aho emphasised that he could not control who quoted him and where.

In 2009, Halla-aho was convicted of violating the right of peaceful worship after anti-Muslim comments online. According to a spokesman for the Minorities Ombudsman, Rainer Hiltunen, web forums with extremist leanings can create the impression that hate speech is acceptable on the internet. Such places gather like-minded people, Hiltunen told AFP, adding: "It clouds their sense of reality."

Halla-aho, however, does not feel that this gives grounds for cracking down on extremist forums.

"No doubt the World Trade Centre terrorists were inspired by the Koran and Islamist chat rooms, but no one is trying to ban the Koran or shut down Islamist websites," he said to AFP.

AFP, YLE

9.5 Transcription

NR= newscaster (Rory Suchet) N2= second newscaster (only audio, cannot be seen)
N3= third newscaster (on the streets of Helsinki alone and with Halla-aho)

1. NR: finland is considering cutting benefits for immigrants and asylum seekers
2. it currently hands out more cash than any other country in the european union
3. initially introduced to encourage more arrivals there are now fears that if too attractive
4. finland will be overrun by newcomers (2.6)
5. N2: finland used to think immigration problems only happened at other european
6. countries (0.6) not any longer (0.5)
7. N3: were in an area of helsinki .hh dominated by immigrant shops and housing .hh now
8. twenty years ago such places simply did not exist .hh but last year (.) finland recorded
9. a high
10. level of net immigration (.) since world war two (0.7)
11. N2: the number of foreigners in the country has risen sixfolds since 1990 (0.6)
12. although they still constitute only 3 percent of the population (0.5) their growth rate
13. is one of the highest in the world (0.8)
14. you see halla-ah::os anti-immigration blog has attracted hundreds of thousands of
15. followers (0.7) he was sued for defamation in a high profile free speech trial (.)
16. and his views are ignored by the main stream parties (.)
17. H-A: ((Halla-aho's comment))
18. N2: while other european countries have tightened up conditions for asylum seekers (0.4)

19. finland
20. still offers them a generous welfare package (0.7) but polls show (.) the population
21. is finding the new comers (.) hard to accept