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**FINNISH CULTURE IN BRITISH AND FINNISH NEWSPAPERS:  
A case study of the Valo-festival**

**A Pro Gradu Thesis**

by

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Tutkielma tarkastelee kuinka suomalaista kulttuuria kuvataan brittiläisessä laatu-lehdissä. Esimerkkitapauksena käsitellään Valo-festivaalia, joka pidettiin Lontoon Barbican keskuksessa 16.11.1997-1.1.1998.

Aineisto koostuu sekä suomalaisista että englantilaisista sanomalehtiartikkeleista. Kummastakin maasta analysoidaan 16 artikkelia. Suomalaiset artikkelit ovat *Helsingin Sanomista* (14) ja *Aamulehdestä* (2), brittiläiset artikkelit ovat useammasta laatu-lehdestä: *The Guardian* (3), *The Daily Telegraph* (1), *The Sunday Telegraph* (1), *The Times* (4), *The Saturday Times* (1), *The Independent* (4), and *The Financial Times* (2).

Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin 1) Millä teemoilla suomalaista kulttuuria kuvataan brittiläisissä ja suomalaisissa artikkeleissa ja löytyykö näiden välillä eroja? 2) Onko uutisoinnissa näkyvissä ideologisia piirteitä ja eroja? 3) Onko havaittavissa *Me-ne* asettelua? Lähtökohtana on analysoida ideologiaa sisältäviä kielen käyttötapoja kriittisen diskurssianalyysin luoman ajatusmaailman kautta. Tutkielma on laadullinen, koska kyseessä on tapauskuvaus.

Aineistoa tarkastellaan ensin yleisesti, eli mistä kirjoitettiin, miten kirjoitettiin, kuinka pitkiä artikkelit olivat ja miten niissä käytettiin valokuvia sekä tarkastellaan artikkeleiden yleistä sävyä. Tarkemmassa analyysissä keskitytään selvittämään mitkä teemat liitetään suomalaiseen kulttuuriin. Näiden teemojen kuvaamiseen käytettyjä ilmauksia ja presuppositioita tarkastellaan esimerkkien avulla, sekä tutkitaan löytyykö artikkeleista *Me-ne* asettelua.

Suomea ja suomalaista kulttuuria kuvataan neljän teeman kautta brittiläisissä artikkeleissa: luonto, nationalismi, omaperäisyys ja yksilöllisyys sekä koulutuksen korkea taso. Suomalaisen kulttuurin piirteistä kerrotaan usein käyttäen vastakkaisia termejä samassa lauseessa. Negatiivisia stereotypioita ei käytetty, mutta Suomi ja suomalaisuus luokiteltiin vahvasti aiemmin mainittujen teemojen avulla, joista luonto on hallitsevin.

Suomalaisissa artikkeleissa omaperäisyys on teemana suosittu, sen sijaan luonto ja nationalismi ovat havaittavissa lähinnä presuppositio tasolla. Nationalismi ilmenee ajoittain selkeänä *Me-ne* asetteluna. Toisaalta suomalaiset artikkelit vähättelevät suomalaisen kulttuurin kiinnostavuutta Britanniassa, mikä viittaisi huonon itsetunnon vaikutukseen.

Asiasanat: critical discourse analysis. culture. ideology. newspapers. stereotypes.

## **CONTENTS**

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. Image of Finland	7
2.1.1. Letters to the Editor	9
2.2. Impact of mass media in defining culture	12
2.3. The world of newspapers	14
2.4. Critical discourse analysis: a way of finding ideology in media discourse	18
2.4.1. Ideology	22
2.4.2. Categories and stereotypes	25
<b>3. CDA AS METHOD OF ANALYSIS</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1. Presupposition and implication	28
3.2. Semantic moves establishing difference between us and them	29
3.3. Modality	31
<b>4. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA</b>	<b>31</b>
4.1. Overall view of the data	33
4.1.1. Orientation of interest	33
4.1.2. Voices and genre	36
4.1.3. Use of photographs and length	39
4.1.4. General tone	41
4.2. Detailed analysis	42
4.2.1. Nature	45
4.2.2. Nationalism	53
4.2.3. Individualism and originality	56
4.2.4. Education	62
4.3. Us and Them	67
<b>5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>88</b>

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Finnish people have always been worried about what other people think about Finland or Finnish culture. The Finnish image abroad is a subject which creates a great deal of debate and discussion between Finns. Some fear that Finns are seen abroad as uncivilised, silent forest people and demand actions to be taken in order to make Finland better known in Europe. The interest in the stereotypes of Finns and Finland abroad are an interesting field of study but as interesting, if not more, are the stereotypes that Finns have of themselves.

One of the attempts to enhance the Finnish image in Britain was a festival called *Valo, reflecting Finnish culture*, which was held in the Barbican Centre in London from 16 November 1997 to 1 January 1998. It was designed to present aspects Finnish culture to the British through music, design, film and architecture. The festival was held as a part of the celebration of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence of the Republic of Finland. Patrons to the festival were *Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth II* and the President of the Republic of Finland *Martti Ahtisaari*. The idea for the festival came from the Finnish Embassy in London. The Barbican Centre had hosted the *Tender is the North* event in 1992, which presented the cultures and people of the Nordic countries and was already going to repeat the Sibelius' Symphony Cycle conducted by Sir Colin Davis, because of the popularity and success it had received in 1992. The *Valo-festival* was built around the concerts which presented Sibelius' work conducted by Sir Colin Davis and played by the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO), and grew into one of the most extensive events ever organised around a culture of one country in the Barbican Centre. The festival was financed by the Barbican Centre, the Finnish State and by sponsorship from various companies; the estimated total cost of the *Valo festival* was over a million pounds.

Exhibitions in the Barbican included *Talvi* (Finnish for 'winter') which presented examples of contemporary Finnish textile art. An exhibition called *Lastu* (Finnish for 'chip of wood') included furniture and smaller scale domestic ware. The exhibition *Rae* (Finnish for 'hail') by Janna

Syvänoja presented pieces made out of natural materials. Photograph exhibitions were set out by *Esko Männikkö* and *Pertti Salolainen*. The *Iittala* exhibition introduced famous Finnish glassware produced by the company Iittala; there was also a retail site where Iittala glass could be purchased. In addition, people could spend time in a *Link Cafe*, where information on all things Finnish was available through Internet links with Finland, including Father Christmas in Lapland.

The festival was opened officially on 16 November 1997 by the Finnish Minister of Culture *Claes Anderson*, who had recited his own poems and played Jazz music in the Barbican Centre earlier that day. The six week festival included also readings of *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland. Finnish Tango was presented with both dance and music, in a special Tango evening. Further, the festival introduced both classic and contemporary Finnish films such as *The Snow Queen* (1987), *Land of Happiness* (1993), *Drifting Clouds* (1996), *The Unknown Soldier* (1955) and *A Freakin' Beautiful World* (1997), just to mention a few. Finnish design was presented both in exhibitions and in lectures.

Finnish music was brought forward in a variety of ways, but Sibelius was, without a doubt, the hero of the festival. Sibelius' work was performed by top musicians and his biography received attention in forms of a movie, interviews, and lectures. Finnish Folk and Jazz music was performed by Finnish artists. Finnish choral music was presented by the Helsinki University Choir. Literature and poetry were brought forward; for example, the life and work of Bo Carpelan were introduced.

The six week celebration of Finnish culture received attention in both Finnish and British media. The concerts conducted by Sir Colin Davis were reviewed in all major newspapers in Britain, in addition Finnish music and design were written about. The Finnish media reported the festival in television, radio and press. The aim of this study is to find out the ways in which ideology and identity, attitudes and beliefs affect the writing about cultural events in the press. The focus is on the newspaper articles published in both Britain and Finland, these articles are analysed and some

comparison is made in order to find similarities or differences between the two countries.

Previous research on media discourse has revealed that ideology and stereotypes are evident in news production and interpretation. The present data are 'opinion' articles (reviews, critique and background articles). Media discourse in newspapers and other media has been studied quite extensively in recent decades, but newspaper articles written about culture have not received much attention. Most studies on newspapers have focused on articles written on political events, i.e. hard news. A lot of studies have been made on how power relations in a society affect the news. Ideology has a lot to do with these power structures and that is why it is of great importance in this study as well.

One of the main reasons for undertaking this study was the lack of research on news or articles written about cultural events. Another reason was the writer's personal interest concerning the impact of the *Valo-festival* in the British press and on the British people. What aspects of the festival were written about and most importantly, how these articles were written, whether there perhaps was detectable stereotyping or ideological influence are the questions asked in this thesis. The journalist after all is never free from his/her attitudes and beliefs. The aim of this study is to find out if there are some clear ideological assumptions in Britain about Finnish culture that have influenced the way these articles were written. On the other hand the study examines if the articles written in Finland of the festival are different or similar to the British ones. In order to achieve this goal, for example, the use of descriptive expressions is examined. The ways of describing people or things need to be examined when trying to find hidden ideologies. Especially modification and qualifying expressions are of great importance. Presupposition is another interesting aspects in looking for attitudes and beliefs, i.e. ideologies. The categories through which Finnish culture is perceived in Britain are examined by trying to find clear themes used in the description.

The method used in studies of media discourse has recently been *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). Critical discourse analysts want to change the

way in which power is used in media discourse, they want to introduce a critical way of dealing with language and the structures and power of the media. The writer of the present thesis uses CDA as a range of thought and as a framework but not as a clear method. The writer hopes to be able to analyse the data critically and without prejudice by using the ideas of critical discourse analysis. Especially the work done by Fairclough and van Dijk have made an impact on the writer. The study is qualitative not quantitative, therefore no attempt is made to present the findings through statistics.

In the review of literature attention will be paid to describing media language and especially the ways in which newspaper articles are constructed. Data is collected from British and Finnish newspapers and this data are then analysed by using the framework given by CDA.

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

In order to fully understand the data of the present study, mass media and its relation to culture, newspapers, their structure and the language used by newspapers need to be examined more closely. This section attempts to clarify these concepts and provide theoretical background for the analysis to follow. First, some attention will be paid to the image of Finland abroad and what Finns think about it. This section also includes letters to the editor taken from *Helsingin Sanomat*, written about the image of Finland and the Valo-festival described above. Second, mass media and its relation to culture is described. Third, the world of newspapers is examined. Finally, attention is paid to critical discourse analysis and the ways in which it is used as a tool for finding ideology (beliefs and attitudes) and stereotypes in media texts.

### **2.1. The image of Finland**

Since this study is interested in how Finland was portrayed in the Valo-festival, a closer look into how Finns see themselves is in order. This

chapter contains a few letters to the editor written about the image of Finland in Britain. The *Valo-festival* is closely related to these writings, which make them even more interesting and provide relevant background information for the analysis.

Finland wants to portray herself today as a country of high technology (mobile phones by Nokia or paper machines etc.). Clean nature, distinct seasons with cold, white winters and beautiful, nightless summers are also proudly presented. Finland is portrayed as a safe and clean place to live in and visit. "The country of Santa Claus" and the "Midnight Sun" are slogans through which Finland is promoted all over the world. Finns like to see themselves as friendly, maybe a little reserved and lacking in small talk, but honest, hard working people.

The image of Finland is very important for Finns, but, according to Lehtonen (1993:12), in the spring of 1991, after *Finnish Gallup* released the results of an European opinion poll, this image suffered a setback. The study revealed that the image that Finns had of their country is far from the image that people from other European countries have of Finland and Finnish products. In the winter of 1992 there was another international opinion poll reported in Finnish newspapers. According to this opinion poll, the image of Finland in the minds of Europeans was rather tame: the image did not irritate anyone but did not really interest either. Finland was seen as a more or less colourless country but also as trustworthy and sympathetic. There were no strong feelings related to Finns or the Finnish culture.

At this point one has to wonder whether it is even necessary that people from other countries have a certain image of Finland. For tourism a positive image should be maintained of Finland as a clean and safe country. In industry it is important that the clients in other European countries have a positive image of Finnish products but this image comes from experience not through advertising. Lehtonen (1993:14) is of the opinion that what 500 million ordinary people in Europe think of Finland is only significant for the production and marketing of mass-commodities for which Finland does not even have resources. It could even be argued that a positive picture of Finland abroad is not a guarantee of selling Finnish products.



Finns may be interested in the Finnish image because a positive picture of Finland abroad will improve the self-image of Finns, which is not always very high. Certainly it is hard to imagine that the French or the British are worried about the image that they portray to the world. Of course, the history of Finland is one major factor in forming a self-image of the Finns: a small country between the West and East has always struggled away from the influence of both Sweden and Russia. According to Lehtonen (1993:28) the negative self-image of Finns becomes apparent, on one hand, as being sensitive to negative evaluation and, on the other hand, as the public understatement of oneself. Finns often underestimate their language skills and their overall ability to participate in small talk even when they are versed in languages.

The self-image of a Finnish person can be rather negative, since Finns always worry about what others think of them. Lehtonen (1993:16) goes as far as to say that the self-image of Finns is rather worrying and resembles at times self-destruction. However, a lot have changed after Finland joined the *European Union* and it could be argued that the Finnish self-image is improving. The next chapter presents some examples on what Finns think about enhancing the image of Finland abroad.

### **2.1.1. Letters to the editor**

There was an interesting exchange of thoughts in the letters to the editor section of *Helsingin Sanomat* while the *Valo-festival* was in progress in London. It started when Mia Kankaanpää from the University of Wales wrote, on 5 December 1997, a concerned letter to the editor about how little Finland is actually known in Britain. The issue that mostly bothered Mia Kankaanpää was that Sweden often gets credit for things that Finnish people do, even to the extent that the two countries are seen as one. The most shocking thing for her was when *Mika Häkkinen* won the World Championship in Formula 1 and the British television called him a Swede, and when they showed the Finnish flag, it was mistaken for the Swedish flag. She wondered whether the Finnish Embassy does anything to avoid such misunderstandings, because sooner or later Finland will lose Santa

Claus to Sweden as we have lost sauna already. This letter to the editor shows how passionately some Finns feel about Finland and the image other people have of it. These Finns believe that Finland should be promoted more abroad.

A different view was presented by Leena Fahmy in the same section of *Helsingin Sanomat* on 11 December 1997. She remembers facing similar problems when she was living in Britain, but she asks why it is important that the British people should know a lot about Finland, while there are hundreds of other countries in the world, i.e. what makes Finland so special. She continues that the people in Finland as well have stereotypes of foreign people and other countries. Leena Fahmy then suggests that the Finnish Embassies are not and cannot be solely responsible for distributing information about Finland, but Finns can all act as ambassadors of Finland when travelling in other countries and tell relevant facts about Finland without fervour.

Inspired by these two previous letters to the editor Erja Tikka, the Press Councillor in the Embassy of Finland in London, and Ulla-Maija Pakarinen, Head of Department in the Travel Advancing Centre in London, offered their view of the matter on 15 December 1997. They wrote that the situation in Britain is not as bad as Mia Kankaanpää lets us to believe. There has been progress made and in fact Finnish music, architecture, dance and design are fairly well known in Britain. The *Valo-festival* is mentioned as one example of how Finnish image is enhanced in Britain. The writers, however, acknowledge the fact that Finland is a small and peaceful country and that Britain is a fairly large country with vast amounts of news of their own. However, after Finland became a member of the *European Union* more interest towards Finland has arisen.

The next letter to the editor about the same issue was written by Kata Jouhki on 20 December 1997. She had visited the *Valo-festival* in the Barbican Centre and was not at all pleased with the exhibitions. She also wondered why the festival had to be in the Barbican Centre in the first place, for she is of the opinion that it is one of the ugliest public buildings in London. This view is shared with most Londoners as well. But what upset

Kata Jouhki was the exhibition *Talvi*, which she described as miserable. In her opinion the exhibition gave a view of a lugubrious shaman people living at the edge of the world, suffering from eternal winter. This image was further confirmed by the photographs by Esko Männikkö, which were taken in Northern Finland portraying the life of 'ordinary people'. The other exhibitions were also in her opinion rather trivial. She wonders if this is the picture that one of the most advanced industrial countries in Europe wants to give of itself. Kata Jouhki hopes that there is never such a Finnish festival again and wonders who could improve and modernise the image of Finland. This was one view of the Valo-festival by a Finn and it will be interesting to find out whether articles written in Britain portray the exhibition the same way, or whether the Finnish articles share this view.

Erkki Arni from London responds to Kata Jouhki in the *Helsingin Sanomat* letters to the editor section on 24 December 1997. He clarifies that the reason why the Valo-festival was held in the Barbican was because an invitation was made by the executives of the Barbican Centre and the exhibitions were made according to their request. He also denies that the exhibitions were in any way miserable or small, as Kata Jouhki had claimed. Further Erkki Arni is sorry that Kata Jouhki did not see the Tango event or did not go to the concerts performed during the festival because then there were both people and enthusiasm. This is a contrasting view of the exhibition by a another Finn and it is becoming very evident that people have individual preferences and ideologies that they follow. There seem to be contradicting views of the same event by people coming from the same culture.

The last letter to the editor about the image of Finland was published on 22 April 1998 again in *Helsingin Sanomat*. Here Ilpo Salonen writes that Finnish campaigns and festivals are unnecessary, because the events held so far have not been able to reach any real success. As an example he mentions the *Valo-festival* in London where in his opinion the events were visited basically by friends of the Embassy or the Finnish Institute. He then writes that concerts with Finnish performers are, of course, an exception but people go there for the music, not because Esa-Pekka Salonen is a Finn. Ilpo

Salonen thinks that it is hard to inform people about remote countries when people feel that they do not need that information, this would apply to Finnish people as well since they would hardly welcome with open arms a publicity campaign of, for example, Slovenia.

These letters to the editor present the different views Finnish people have about the image of Finland in other countries and especially in Britain. Some feel that enough is not being done in order to make Finland known abroad and others claim that it is not necessary to do anything. The best way would perhaps be in between these extremes. However, there is no need to feel insecure about Finnish culture and Finland even though it is not that well known elsewhere.

One of the aims of this study is to find out whether any of this lack of self-confidence is shown in the Finnish articles written about the *Valo-festival*. It is interesting to see whether the articles written in these two countries vary from each other and whether the ideology of the writer is visible in these articles. The stereotypes in the articles of both countries are of great importance since it is interesting to see whether the stereotypes in Finland and Britain about Finns are similar or different.

## **2.2. Impact of Mass Media in defining culture**

Inglis (1990:21) defines medium as "any instrument of communication which carries or 'mediates' a message." It transforms experience into knowledge. Such media are for example telephone, radio, film, television, the print and human voice. All of these instruments carry a message even if they do it differently from each other. Today we are literally surrounded by media, our everyday routines are largely affected or even controlled by different kinds of media. The flow of information is continuous and massive; consequently it is useful to know what is behind the media and how it affects our ideas, ideologies, opinions and even our culture.

Culture, as defined by Gerbner (1985:14), is "a system of messages that regulates social relationships," which means that distinctive characteristics of large groups of people are acquired in the process of growing up, learning, and living in one culture rather than another. Individuals make

their own selections through which to cultivate personal images, tastes, views and preferences. But they cannot cultivate what is not available, and are not likely to select what is rarely available, seldom emphasised, or infrequently presented. Institutions in a society such as schools, churches, and government play an important part in cultivating members of a society, and the mass media is no exception. It is as much an institution with power as any other institution in a society, and has a lot of influence in creating and strengthening cultures.

Media provides individuals the information they use for the process of cultivation. Gerbner (1985:15) states that mass production and distribution of message systems transforms selected private perspectives into broad public perspectives. As a quality of information, the awareness that a certain item of knowledge is publicly held makes collective thought and action possible. Such knowledge gives individuals their awareness of collective strength (or weakness), and a feeling of social identification or alienation. Anderson (1983:15) agrees with Gerbner by talking about *imagined communities* in order to refer to nations and nationalistic feelings. He argues that myths and traditions are used by the political and intellectual leaders in order to create *national consciousness*, which is a feeling that one belongs to a nation even if one can never meet all the members of that vast community. Institutions, for example, schools and newspapers, have a significant part in keeping this feeling alive through history and tradition. Media brings the members of a nation closer to each other and has a significant power in its use. Gerbner (1985:15) argues that the revolutionary significance of mass communication today is its ability to form historically new bases for collective thought and action quickly, continuously, and pervasively across previous boundaries of time, space and culture. Lull (1995:11) notes that repeated presentation of partisan ideological domains continues to define or 'indicate' culture, particularly for people who are heavily exposed to media. The media often interpret and synthesise images in accord with the assumptions of the dominant ideology and therefore media greatly influences how people make sense of even the most basic features of their societies. Sheer repetition of ideological themes can send

ideas deep into audience members' individual and collective consciousness. Mass media, in a way, shapes our consciousness. The press is an important part of mass media and it has its own ways of distributing information distinct from other media. The next chapter takes a closer look into the world of newspapers.

### **2.3. The world of newspapers**

Newspapers are an important medium and as such affect the everyday lives of many people all over the world. This printed medium not only informs us of the latest news but also provides information about cultural events and sports. Newspapers are used as a tool for getting information about the world but they are used for amusement as well; the comic section, for example, is a widely read part of the newspaper. Newspaper is an old and established way of distributing information to vast amounts of people.

Inglis (1990:28) states that the newspaper was the first site of public opinion, and electric printing combined with trains makes it the first universal success story of communication technology in our period. The First World War clinched the final position and success of newspapers, because during that difficult time all over the world the newspaper became a social institution, and reading the news became a widely-felt and gratified need. The newspaper can be seen as an institution in itself but also as a watchdog of the society and its other institutions. Quality papers are considered trustworthy and people generally tend to believe what is written in them. This gives the printed media a lot of power and the way this power is used has been the interest of many researchers. The neutrality of the press is a matter of debate, and like any institution the press should not be left without scrutiny.

Different types of media use different channels of communication. The focus of this thesis is on the channels used by the press, which include the visual channel, written language, technologies of photographic reproduction, graphic design, and printing. There are consequences resulting from differences between media: for example, print is in an important sense less personal than radio and television. As Fairclough (1995a:39) states,

television can use both visual and spatial ways of communicating and, even more importantly, television makes people visually available, and not in the frozen quality of newspaper photographs, but in movement and action. In television there is more a sense of face-to-face communication as we can see the face of the reporter and at the same time hear him/her; this makes us feel like we know him/her. Many times the newspaper journalists remain faceless and distant to readers. Today, with the popularity of television, the importance of newspapers has decreased as the controlling media of information. Nevertheless, it still is an important everyday source of information for a vast amount of people and the importance of the press should not, therefore, be underestimated.

The newspaper itself consists of different parts and genres. According to Bell (1991:13), everything else than advertising is called 'editorial'. Most editorial copy is written 'copy', some is visual, but may have a subsidiary language component (cartoons, graphs). Editorial copy can be divided into three broad categories: service information, opinion and news. Service information consists of lists rather than continuous copy: sport results, television programmes, share prices and weather forecasts. Service information is often associated with specialist sections such as sports or business pages. Opinion copy usually includes what are called 'editorials' or 'leaders' and they contain a statement of the newspaper's own opinion or views on an issue, usually appearing on an inside page under a reduced banner of the paper's 'masthead'. Most of the remaining opinion copy contains regular contributed columns, letters to the editor and reviews. The data of the present study comes from the opinion copy. By journalistic tradition, opinion and news reporting are supposed to be kept separate. Opinion copy is usually flagged by devices such as a standard heading or 'mugshot' above a columnist's copy, and by-lining with the writer's name. These opinion articles, reviews in particular, always name the writer.

Bell (1991:14) divides the genre of press news into four categories. Firstly there are hard news, secondly feature articles, thirdly special-topic news, e.g. sports, racing, business/financial, arts, agriculture and computers, and lastly there are headlines, crossheads or subheadings, by-lines and photo

captions. Hard news are reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and other events which have occurred or come to light since the previous issue of the paper, they are so called 'real' news. Hard news as genre bares no great significance to the present study since the data collected can hardly be defined as hard news. The more interesting types of news categorised by Bell are feature articles, which are sometimes also called 'soft news'. These feature articles are usually longer and provide some background. They may also carry the writer's personal opinions, and are usually by-lined with the writer's name. A newspaper's feature articles may be gathered together on feature pages, often together with the opinion material.

Hard news are the core of the newspaper, but the feature articles present a forum where journalists' own opinions can be presented more freely, and is consequently the place where to look when trying to study how ideology affects the writing of articles. Another interesting area for the present study is the special-topic articles, which usually appear in sections of the paper explicitly flagged for their subject matter. Many newspapers allocate news to pages according to its geographical origin - for example local, national, and international. There are also sports sections and cultural or arts section. The fourth category given by Bell is rather a miscellaneous or residual one which cuts across the first three and bears no significant interest for the present study.

The newspaper has a certain format that makes it familiar to the readers. As Snow (1983:34) states, all papers have basically the same format with a front page headlines, an inside editorial page, feature sections, and ads. Regular readers can easily find the section where the interesting material for them is situated, they can avoid reading articles that are, in their opinion, uninteresting. This is due to the syntax of story placement, which has become almost universal in the world of newspapers. Like television, the press has its distinctive way of telling a story. There is a clear structure involved in creating a newspaper article and alteration from this structure might make it harder for the reader to understand the article.



Since the printed media is based on words, the vocabulary of the articles in a newspaper has a great significance in their analysis. According to Snow (1983:43), the print has the most potential of the mass media for the most sophisticated and varied use of words. Basically, however, the sophistication of the vocabulary is dependent on the audience, hence different newspapers use different vocabulary, and, even in one newspaper, articles in different sections may use various levels of sophistication in the choice of words. Snow (1983:43) argues that editorial page columns, by-line features, and some of the letters to the editor employ the most sophisticated vocabulary. The culture section employs sophisticated vocabulary, it is after all filled with book reviews and critique on concerts, art exhibitions and theatre performances.

In addition to the written text also photographs are used in newspapers, Snow (1983:40) argues that, while tabloids use photos and cutlines (the photo caption) to tell a story and relegate written copy to minor significance, more conservative papers use photos to supplement written copy for either information or artistic purposes. Whatever the meaning of the photograph, it is considered a very powerful device for capturing attention, summarising and inflecting mood.

There are specific grammatical styles used in news discourse, these include the use of neologisms, the heavy recourse to nominalisations (instead of verbs), sentence complexity, and word or clause order (such as postpositioned declaratives, like "the president declared"). By looking closely to these styles, ideologies of the writer (and therefore ideologies of the society in general) can be found and reasons for them studied. The main emphasis of the present study is not so much on the grammatical aspects than on the vocabulary, descriptive expressions and presupposition used by the writer.

As Fairclough (1995b:64) notes, news tend to be seen as very much a conceptual and ideational business, a matter of statements, claims, beliefs, positions, rather than feelings, circumstances, qualities of social and interpersonal relationships and so forth. The writer brings his/her own ideology into the article but the readers who consume the article have their

own ideological assumptions as well. It is easier to establish what the writer meant, than to find out how the reader eventually interpreted the text.

Snow (1983:52) says that the final copy of the newspaper that we read each day is a result of a particular newspaper grammar and journalistic perspectives on what is news. Syntax and specialised vocabulary work together with perspectives such as event-centred reporting, new journalism, entertainment, and the like to form a current strategy in printing a newspaper. The journalist and his/her assumptions, beliefs and ideology have a great influence on what is written in a newspaper. As Fowler (1991:11) points out, the world of the press is not the real world, but a world skewed and judged. News go through various stages and people before they end up in the newspaper, a lot happens in this chain, and the news are modified and rewritten several times. Furthermore, Fowler (1991:17) argues that the formation of news events, and the formation of news values, is in fact a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of negotiation. Stereotypes are used to simplify things and they can be both helpful and harmful.

#### **2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis; a way of finding ideology in media discourse.**

Discourse analysis, as a way of analysing language, has been used across a range of disciplines. But from the latter part of 1970s researchers, especially in media studies, found that there was a demand for a more 'critical' approach to language. This demand was first met by 'critical linguistics' which is a type of discourse analysis developed by a group based at the University East Anglia in the 1970s (Fowler et al. 1979, Hodge and Kress 1979). Media discourse is one of its main concerns (Fowler 1991, Trew 1979a, 1979b). There are, however, limitations in critical linguistics and the major criticism is that critical linguistics is too text oriented, it focuses on clauses and the higher level organisation properties of the whole text is left with little attention.

A new arrival in the field of discourse analysis is *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). By 'critical' discourse analysis Fairclough (1995b:132)

means discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practises, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practises, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. Critical discourse analysis is founded in the work done by Fairclough (for example, 1989, 1995a, 1995b) and van Dijk (for example, 1988a, 1988b, 1995).

Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is the analysis of relationships between three dimensions or facets of that event, which Fairclough (1995a:57) calls *text*, *discourse practise* and *sociocultural practice*. Texts may be written or oral. Discourse practise is the processes of text production and text consumption, and sociocultural practice is the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of. Discourse is always a social practice because language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it, and language is a socially conditioned process. In Fairclough's (1989:23) view there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Linguistic phenomena are social in the sense that, whenever people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects. van Dijk (1988a:99) notes that journalistic activities and interactions, as well as the actual writing and rewriting of news texts, are also inherently social. The journalists are by no means isolated individuals, they are members of society and this affects their knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, goals or ideologies.

For Fairclough (1995a:57) the critical discourse analysis of texts covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis, which is the analysis of vocabulary and semantics, grammar of sentences and smaller units, and the sound system ('phonology') and writing system. But it also includes analysis of textual organisation above the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected together ('cohesion'), and things like the overall

structure of a newspaper article. Forms and meanings should not be separated from each other since it is a fair assumption that where there are differences in the form of a text, there could be some differences in meaning as well.

van Dijk (1988a:177) acknowledges that the textual structures have an important role in the ideological aspect of newspaper articles. Syntactic structures may express underlying ideological positions, for instance, by using passive constructions and deleting agents from typical subject positions to dissimulate the negative actions of elite or powerful groups. Lexical choice is also an eminent aspect of news discourse, in which hidden opinions or ideologies may surface. Vocabulary that is used can give away the ideological assumptions the journalist has and it guides the interpretation process that the readers are involved in. Terms '*micro*' and '*macro*' structures come from the work carried out by van Dijk. Macrostructures relate to the overall content and form of the text. The microstructures of discourse are analysed in terms of semantic relations between propositions. Analysis of microstructures aims to show relationships between texts, production processes and comprehension processes, and between these and the wider social practises they are embedded within. As Garrett and Bell (1998:6) argue, van Dijk's work is the most comprehensive work on media discourse to date, and especially his work on opinion texts is influential to this study.

Fairclough's approach is to complement the linguistic analysis by intertextual analysis. According to Fairclough (1995a:61) linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature, whereas intertextual analysis is more interpretative. Intertextual analysis requires more social and cultural understanding. Linguistic analysis can be used as a basis for intertextual analysis and linking linguistic analysis of texts to an intertextual analysis is crucial to bridging the gap between text and language on the one hand, and society and culture on the other. Intertextual analysis aims to unravel the various genres and discourses which are articulated in the text. Intertextual complexity in the mixing of genres and discourses is realised linguistically in the heterogeneity of meaning and form. The present thesis aims to go

beyond mere linguistic analysis and achieve a more intertextual interpretation of the data. The findings will be described but also interpreted in a social context of the two countries involved in the study.

According to Fairclough (1995a:56), there are two main categories of discourse type, which are constituents of orders of discourse: *genres* and *discourses*. A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view. Discourses appertain broadly to knowledge and knowledge construction. A genre, by contrast, is the use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice, such as interviewing people or advertising commodities. Genres can be described in terms of their organisational properties. Communicative events and the order of discourse are essential parts of the analysis of any particular type of discourse analysis. Fairclough (1995a:54) uses the term 'discourse' like many other linguists to refer to both written and spoken language use, and furthermore he wants to extend it to include other types of semiotic activity (i.e. activity which produces meanings), such as visual images (photography, film, video, diagrams) and non-verbal communication (e.g. gestures).

CDA has weaknesses as well as strengths, for example Toolan (1997:93) argues that too often an elaborate theoretical and interpretative superstructure is built upon the frailest of text-linguistic foundations. Hammersley (1997:245) calls this overambition which can lead to researchers over-interpreting their data. A researcher should be careful in generalising findings, and should avoid making unfounded conclusions. Another criticism of CDA is that it is methodologically diverse. Toolan (1997:99) expresses this by arguing that CDA looks like a unified approach at first glance, with the 'credibility' that such a status can claim; but on closer inspection it seems to be only a loose alliance. Toolan argues (1997:86) as well that for some media researchers CDA is far too language oriented, while for some text rhetoricians it is far too power oriented. However, Toolan (1997:101) is of the opinion that CDA is in fact a sensible idea and it is a very important today since our lives are shaped with more and more information and communication.

For the present study CDA is important because it is an established tool for analysing media discourse, especially in finding beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, hidden in the text. It treats language and society as closely connected, which is also important. It is basically the most useful way to look at media discourse and to find answers. The criticism should not, however, be ignored and the analyst must keep in mind the hazards of over-interpretation and remember that no-one is really detached from the society and from the structures it uses. Everyone has their own cognitive models or member's recourses that they bring into the interpretation and analysis. Further, van Dijk (1995:255) warns that it is methodologically crucial to realise that ideologies cannot simply be 'read off' discourse structures without taking into account the possibly transforming role of intervening factors of personal events and context models and of conflicting attitudes controlled by the ideologies of the various groups language users identify with. Since CDA is designed to find ideologies from discourse, the concept will be defined in more detail below.

#### **2.4.1. Ideology**

Lull (1995:6) defines *ideology* as "a system of ideas expressed in communication", it is organised thought such as complements of values, orientations, and pre-dispositions forming ideational perspectives expressed through technologically mediated and interpersonal communication. For van Dijk (1995:244) ideologies are cognitive, because they involve mental objects such as ideas, thought, belief, judgements and values; and consequently ideologies can be described as belief systems. Ideologies are often closely linked to attitudes and beliefs and they are quite hard to separate from each other. *Attitude* is a way that one thinks or feels about something and it indicates opinion. *Belief* can be described as a feeling of certainty that something exists or is good, it means accepting a statement or a thing as real. These definitions prove the point that ideology is hard to separate from attitudes and belief, therefore no such attempt is made in the present study.

Ideologies are not only individual cognitions but more likely they are shared social representations. Ideologies are social and by no means are they restricted to the dominant groups in a society. van Dijk assumes (1995:245) that not only dominant groups, but also dominated groups have ideologies that control their self-identification, goals and actions. Social belief systems, such as of knowledge, opinion and attitudes are shared (or contested) by the members of social groups. van Dijk (1998:24) argues, therefore, that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' ideologies, but rather they are more or less effective in promoting the interests of a group.

The dominant groups in a society have better possibilities to use power and this can lead to *hegemony*, which Lull (1995:187) defines as "a process through which dominant ideology is transmitted, consciousness is formed, and social power is exercised". It is the power or dominance that one group holds over others. Rather than direct manipulation of people against their interests, hegemony depends on social actors accepting their subordinate status as normal. Ideology-dispensing institutions such as schools, government, business, and mass media reinforce each other by perpetuating the status quo as common sense. Lull (1995:8) argues that some ideological sets are elevated and amplified by the mass media, given great legitimacy by them, and distributed persuasively, often glamorously, to large audiences.

Media discourse does not merely consist of what is reported but the things that are left untold are significant as well. Politics, ownership and economics of media have an impact in what is 'news'. Fowler (1991:10) is of the opinion that because the institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news are always reported from some particular angle, they are never unbiased recordings of hard facts. Even the 'opinion' articles (reviews, critiques) reporting the *Valo-festival* in London are, therefore, bound to have some ideological basis. For Inglis (1990:82) the usefulness of the ideas of ideology and hegemony is that both teach us to be suspicious. Everything that is in the media is not hard facts and the absolute truth. The audience needs to determine how to react to issues dealt with in the media. Lull (1995:183) describes the principle of an active audience, which claims that

audience members are not passive receivers or victims of their experiences with television and other media, but instead actively interpret and use media in ways that benefit them.

According to Geertz (in Inglis 1990:80) the most useful way of treating ideological arguments is as texts or speech-acts. This way we can analyse the variety of their rhetoric and the expectations of their audiences. If we treat ideologies as utterances, which are in turn spoken actions, in order to understand them we need to give them a context, try to recover the speaker's intentions in speaking in such a way. Fairclough (1989:2) agrees when arguing that ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'common sense' assumptions.

Fairclough (1989:24) introduces the idea of *members' resources* (MR), which include "the knowledge of language representations of the natural and social worlds people inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on". Social conditions shape the MR people bring to production and interpretation, which in turn shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted. Even the analyst has her/his own MR, which affects the interpretation. The same text, therefore, can have different meanings to different people.

In Lull's (1995:187) definition of *identity*, "the term emphasises the cultural aspect, and refers to the sense of belonging, security, recognition, and importance someone can feel by being a member of a group that is bound together by common values and lifestyles". Ideology can strengthen identity of an individual and, therefore, influence the individual's readings of texts and his/her interpretations of them. It is safe to interpret things the way the rest of the society does.

In the present study ideology and culture are closely related concepts since the world view of a person is tightly connected to the culture he or she is brought up in. Therefore the ideologies of a British person and an Finnish person may differ and, therefore, influence the writing of the articles concerning the *Valo-festival*. In order to understand aspects of a different culture people may resort to categorising and using stereotypes.



### 2.4.2. Categories and stereotypes

Fowler (1996:25) argues that by dividing things into *categories* we can make sense of the multitude of separate things and events we encounter in our lives. Most categorisation is according to Lakoff (1987:6) automatic and unconscious, and if we become aware of it at all, it is only in problematic cases. The problem lies then in the economy of types; the *prototype*, rather than being a provisional hypothesis allowing us to begin to understand a phenomenon, may become a stereotype. From attitudes and beliefs rise the *stereotypes*, which Fowler (1991:17) describes "as socially-constructed mental pigeon-holes into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible." Stereotypes can inhibit understanding by making thought and discourse routine, uncritical and even prejudicial. A stereotype becomes negative when it is based on false beliefs and is then used against a certain minority or a group of people. Categorising helps us to grasp all the different things that the world brings upon us, but a prototype should be based on experience and not on mere innuendo or rumour, and it is important to understand that a stereotype is not descriptive of *all* the people in the group it is formed to describe. van Dijk (1988b:25-26) sees stereotypes as a way of members of a society as a group to make sense and analyse the world by labelling people, phenomena or events, with certain characteristics. The media and, therefore, the newspapers have an important role in forming and maintaining stereotypes. The use of stereotypes reveals the prejudices or world views (i.e. ideologies) of their users. According to Fowler (1996:48), there is indeed a need for critical activity associated with the use of language in a society. Though language creates knowledge, aids thought, and simplifies perception, this gift also has drawbacks. The categories in the language may become fossilised and unconscious.

van Dijk (1998:26) argues that much opinion discourse, including that in the press, is specific and expresses not only group opinions, but personal knowledge and opinions about specific people, events and situations. Such personal and specific opinions derive from socially shared opinions or attitudes as well as from people's personal experiences and evaluations as

these are represented in so-called *mental models*. These models represent people's everyday experiences and they are personal, subjective and context-bound. Storytelling and opinion writing involve the activation of past models. This is where the link between ideology and discourse becomes clear. As van Dijk (1998:27) argues ideologies organise specific group attitudes; these attitudes may be used in the formation of personal opinions as represented in models; and these personal opinions may finally be expressed in text and talk. This is very important for the present data since the data are 'opinion' discourse. It is important to understand that the opinions, attitudes and stereotypes are not only personal but reflect the ideas of the society as well. These opinions are 'evaluative beliefs', that is beliefs that feature an evaluative concept.

van Dijk (1995:252) argues that the more a model resembles the general knowledge and attitudes of a group, the more standardised and stereotypical it will be. This is the case in prejudicial models, in which unique personal properties of outgroup actors and circumstances of actions are largely disregarded in favour of group-based social cognitions.

### **3. CDA AS A METHOD OF ANALYSIS**

This study aims at finding answers to the following questions: Does the ideology of the writer affect the articles written about culture? Are there significant differences between writing about a foreign culture and one's own culture? Are stereotypes used in the British articles and what kind of stereotypes are used and how accurate are they? Do Finnish articles use the same kinds of stereotypes as the British articles? These questions are answered with the help of critical discourse analysis, because it is the best tool available in finding hidden ideologies and attitudes in media texts. All texts have ideologies and attitudes and CDA as a method helps to find out various ways to interpret texts and to explain their ideological content.

As Fairclough (1995a:33-34) argues, the analysis of media texts should include detailed attention to their language and 'texture'. This is achieved in

this study by analysing the descriptive expressions used in the articles. Analysis should also include the visual images, therefore the use of photographs will be briefly described and analysed. Analysis of texts and practices should be mapped on to analysis of the institutional and wider social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power and ideologies. Text analysis should include both linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis in terms of genres and discourse. Linguistic analysis of texts should be conceived of multifunctionally, and be oriented towards representation and the constitution of relations and identities as simultaneous processes in texts, and the important relationship between them. Linguistic analysis of texts involves analysis at a number of levels, including lexical, grammatical, and macrostructural. The relationship between texts and society is to be seen dialectically.

van Dijk (1988b:18) is of the opinion that in order to show ideological attitudes or lack of them it is not necessary to analyse the texts chosen as material for the analysis sentence by sentence from the syntactic point of view. This is not the meaning of this study either. A detailed analysis of each sentence would be rather difficult to carry out because of the amount of the articles chosen for the analysis. Since the purpose is to compare the articles in Finland and in Britain, it is better that the data is fairly large.

There can be various interpretations of a text since the interpreter always functions from his/her world view and has his/her own attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes. This is one problem of CDA, since even the analyst is bound to have her own mental models (van Dijk, 1995:251, see chapter 2.4.2. ) or members' resources (Fairclough, 1989:24, see chapter 2.4.1.). The same expressions may have different meanings to different people. Stereotypes that people have influence the way they interpret things. Therefore while reading or analysing a newspaper article one needs to bear in mind three questions suggested by Davis (1985:46). First, *who* is speaking, which means that attention needs to be paid on the voices that appear in the texts. The voices that can be heard in the articles are looked into because in that way we can find out who is behind the opinions expressed. Second, *what* are these voices saying? Thirdly, *what do they mean* and in more detail what

is implicated by the expressions used? The first two questions are dealt with in the general overview of the data, and the third question is the basis for the more detailed analysis of the descriptive expressions.

The present study uses CDA not as a clear method but more as a range of thought i.e. as a way of looking at things. The data differs from the data used in previous studies using CDA as a method, for example the power structures that are found in political texts or in hard news are not important in the present data. However the present study is influenced highly by the ideas about ideology and the idea of critical way of thinking promoted by CDA. The present analysis will examine the structure of the articles, the background information provided (what is there and what is not, which events were reported and which not), the presuppositions, and the use of descriptive expressions and their connotation, by looking into these aspects of the text the possible stereotypes and ideologies will hopefully be found. Comparison will also be made between the articles from the two countries.

### **3.1. Presupposition and implication**

Presuppositions are in question when some things are taken for granted as a foundation of discourse. Some words or expressions are automatically understood to entail certain other meanings. Presuppositions are closely connected to stereotypes; this is why the present study will analyse the presuppositions in the data, since, even though the words and sentences themselves will not seem ideological, the underlying presupposition may reveal the hidden structures of attitudes and beliefs.

If something is presupposed, it is in a sense present in the text, but as a part of its implicit meaning. The presuppositions of a text are a part of its intertextuality. Presupposition is significant in the interpretation of texts since it helps to make the texts coherent. Presupposition is context dependent. Fairclough (1995a) argues that what is presupposed is of particular importance in ideological analysis, in that ideologies are generally embedded within the implicit meaning of a text rather than being explicit.

It is a well-known feature of sentence and discourse semantics that meanings are not always explicitly expressed, but somehow semantically

implied, or entailed by other, explicit expressions and their meanings. According to van Dijk (1995:274), reminding is an interesting in-between case between asserting and presupposing: it pertains to shared and hence presupposable knowledge, but, in cognitive terms, such knowledge first needs to be 'activated' by the writer. He also argues that many implications and presuppositions of editorials and op-ed articles are based on complex attitudes and ideologies about social norms, values, group rights and interests. To understand, approve or resist such ideological arguments, the underlying models and social cognitions of writers and readers need to be made explicit in order to know what implicit information is ideological. van Dijk (1998:26) states, that as practical criterion, we may say that all representations that are routinely presupposed in discourse and other social practices are socially shared.

van Dijk (1998:34) argues that propositions may be implied because they are presumed to be known (to be true) or presupposed, given a model of an event. They may be strategically used to obliquely introduce into a text propositions which may not be true at all. This is also the case for presuppositions that embody opinions. Presupposition refers to the background knowledge and truths and therefore are excellent places to look for stereotypes. In addition to presuppositions, a newspaper article about culture may include the notion of *Us* and *Them* which can be discovered, for example, through looking for semantic moves and other structures.

### **3.2. Semantic moves establishing difference between Us and Them**

van Dijk (1998:33) uses the term polarisation, which means positive ingroup description, and negative outgroup description. Polarisation may be expressed in the choice of lexical items that imply positive or negative evaluations, as well as in the structure of whole propositions and their categories (as in active/passive etc.) and in semantic moves.

Local semantic moves are overall discourse strategies such as denial, positive self-representation, face-keeping, persuasion or defending one-self. Often such examples do not refer to individuals, but to the group. The point is that social impression management and the construction of a positive self-

image are characteristic for ideological identification. This also means that attitudes about the ingroup will generally have a positive nature, whereas those about outgroups of various kinds maybe negative (the notion of *us* and *them*).

van Dijk (1998:39) argues that, overall ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation may also be implemented at the local level of sentences and sentence sequences. In this way, one clause may express a proposition that realises one strategy, and the next clause a proposition that realises the other strategy. This is typically the case in the local semantic moves called *disclaimers*: "I have nothing against blacks, but..." In this so called *apparent denial*, the first clause emphasises the tolerance of the speaker, whereas the rest of the sentence (and often also the rest of the text) following the *but* maybe very negative. Other such disclaimers are *apparent concessions* (there are also intelligent black students, but...) or *apparent empathy* (Of course refugees have problems, but...) and so on. The use of these local moves is intended to control opinion and impressions of what our conversational partners think of us. Disclaimers are used as buffers or prefaces to the negative part of the text. Since the generalisation infringes upon principles of tolerance, disclaimers are necessary to keep the argument valid and to save face. In sum, van Dijk (1995:281) argues that in the semantic realisation of underlying attitudes and ideologies, it is imperative that the harsher implications of such ideologies are mitigated, hidden or denied. Semantic moves such as disclaimers are prominent strategic steps in presenting oneself as flexible, humane or altruistic, and as a person who is not prone to rigid generalisations.

van Dijk (1998:35) argues that in the proper discursive level of *sequences* of propositions, we find that events may be described at various levels of generality or specificity, and with many or few propositions at each level. We may expect that *our* good actions and *their* bad ones will in general tend to be described at a lower, more specific level, with many (detailed) propositions. The opposite will be true for *our* bad actions and *their* good ones, which, if described at all, will both be described in rather

general, abstract and hence ‘distanced’ terms, without giving much detail. Stereotypes are used to make *them* look less attractive compared to *us*.

### 3.3. Modality

According to Fowler (1996:166-167), ideological point of view might be manifested in, for example, modal structures. Modality is the grammar of explicit comment, the means by which people express their degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions they utter, and their views on the desirability or otherwise of the states of affairs referred to. Modal expressions take different forms; *modal auxiliaries* (may, might, must, will, shall, should, needs to, ought to), *modal adverbs* and *sentence adverbs* (certainly, probably, surely, perhaps), *evaluative adjectives* and *adverbs* (lucky, luckily, fortunate, regrettably), *verbs of knowledge, prediction and evaluation* (seem, believe, guess, foresee, approve, dislike), and *generic sentences* (proverbs and claims of universal truths). Fowler (1991:64) argues that if there are many modal expressions and they are highlighted, subjectivity is then enhanced, there is an illusion of a ‘person’ with a voice and opinions.

## 4. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data for this study consist of newspaper articles written, in both Britain and Finland, about the VALO *-reflecting Finnish culture-* festival held in the Barbican Centre in London from 16 November 1997 to 1 January 1998. The articles include reviews on concerts and exhibitions held during the festival and general background on Finnish culture, and clues on what to see at the festival. The British newspaper articles are from 15 November 1997 to 2 January 1998. From the collection of approximately forty articles sixteen were selected for final analysis. The articles come from a variety of British quality daily newspapers; *The Guardian* (3), *The Daily Telegraph* (1), *The Sunday Telegraph* (1), *The Times* (4), *The Saturday Times* (1), *The Independent* (4), and *The Financial Times* (2). Of these articles seven are concert reviews of both classical (6) and Jazz music (1). The *Talvi*

exhibition is reviewed in two articles. Three articles introduce the Valo festival and its events in general, Finnish design and architecture are written about in two fairly lengthy articles. One article describes Finnish music in general at length, and another article is written about Finnish and Icelandic trends and cultures. The material was collected by the Embassy of Finland in London and from that collection the most interesting articles were chosen for analysis by the writer of this thesis.

The Finnish articles were collected from *Helsingin Sanomat* with the exception of two articles, which came from *Aamulehti*. The material from *Helsingin Sanomat* was collected by viewing all the issues published during the period from 1 November 1997 to 30 January 1998. From the articles found concerning the *Valo-festival* fourteen were chosen for the final analysis. In addition there are two articles from *Aamulehti* which were written on 30 May 1997 and 18 November 1997; these articles were found in the collection of newspaper clippings in the Embassy of Finland in London. The total number of the Finnish newspaper articles analysed in this study is sixteen.

According to Merrill (1980:320), Great Britain has more national dailies than any other nation in the world and each of its top quality national newspapers has a distinguished character of its own. All the newspapers from where the British data was collected are quality national newspapers in Britain. The readership of these newspapers have been studied in a national Readership Survey (in Bell 1991:109) and it will be briefly described here in order to give an idea of the readership of these papers in Britain and who, therefore, might have read the articles written about the *Valo-festival*. A National Readership Survey conducted in 1980 gives us the different newspapers' rankings by the social grade of their readership, and the study established that different newspapers are read by different social groups. The results of the National Readership Survey show that *The Times* has the highest grader readership, followed by *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. These three papers as well as *The Financial Times* and *The Independent* draw over 80 per cent of their readership from the upper-middle, middle-middle and lower-middle classes. Then there is a considerable drop to the



*Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. These are followed by the *Mirror*, *Sun* and *Star*, all of which draw about 80 per cent of the readers in the working classes. This clarifies the readership of the data used in the present thesis: since all the newspaper articles are from the so called quality papers, the readership represents the middle-classes.

The reason for choosing newspapers as the source of data was the availability of material and the fact that newspapers are still a very influential medium of information. Further it is interesting to see how cultural issues are presented in the newspaper and what kind of a view the reader is presented with. There is, however, a problem with the data. This is the fact that the British articles come from a variety of newspapers but the Finnish articles come mostly from one newspaper and are written by the same person. It is, therefore, hard to know whether the Finnish articles present an overall view of the impact of the festival or whether it is only the opinion of one person. This will be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions. The next chapter presents the overall view of the data, it examines what could be called the macrostructure of the articles. The more detailed analysis is conducted further on in chapter 5.

#### **4.1. Overall view of data**

The present chapter will analyse the data, i.e. the articles from both countries in a general manner. The purpose of the chapter is to give the reader a better view on what kind of articles are found in the data. The ‘macrostructure’ of the articles is examined. In this overall view of the data the questions asked are: *who* is speaking and *what* are they saying. An interesting aspect is what is reported and what is left out, and what differences can be found between the British and Finnish articles. The size of the articles and the use of photographs are also of importance as well as the voices that are present in the articles and the genre of the articles.

##### **4.1.1. Orientation of interest**

As was noted above (see chapter 2.3.), not everything can be reported in a newspaper, there are choices that have to be made on what is worth

reporting and what is to be left out. All the events held during the *Valo-festival* did not receive equal attention and some differences in orientation of interest between the articles from the two countries could be found.

The question of *what* is said in the articles is of great importance. The attention paid to different events reveal the way in which the *Valo-festival* was described in the press. For the British newspapers the most interesting aspect of the whole *Valo-festival* was Finnish music. From the sixteen articles chosen for analysis ten were dedicated either for music reviews or descriptions of the Finnish music scene in general. What interested the most in the music program of the festival was Sir Colin Davis and the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO) performing the Sibelius cycle, which included all seven symphonies of Sibelius and in addition *Kullervo*, which has not been performed as often as Sibelius' other work. From the ten articles written about music seven were reviews of these concerts and in addition, there was an interview of Sir Colin Davis and an article describing Finnish music scene in general with emphasis on Sibelius. Only one article is written about the other music performances at the festival: this article is a review on Jazz music played by UMO Bigband. The *Valo-festival* introduced other Finnish music as well, such as ethnic and extreme music, but these did not receive attention in the British press. Finnish design and architecture were written about in three articles. One article describes Finnish and Icelandic cultures and their achievements in fashion. The remaining two articles are overviews of the events at the festival, but these articles are basically advertisements.

Sir Colin and the LSO receive a great deal of attention in the British press. Sir Colin Davis received much attention in the media, because he is one of the most prominent interpreters of Sibelius in the world. In addition, the whole *Valo-festival* was actually constructed around the Sibelius cycle. The same cycle had received a lot of praise in 1992 during the festival *Tender Is the North*. It seems that for the majority of cultural journalists in Britain the Sibelius cycle was the most important event in the festival. Four reviews of the symphonies mentioned that they were performed as a part of the *Valo-festival*, but even the articles that did not mention the *Valo-festival*

did mention that Sibelius is a Finn. Finnish folk music, tango, photography, movies and some exhibitions received only a mere mention in the British press. It would seem that the Valo-festival would not have received this much attention had there not been Sir Colin Davis, LSO and their previous success with the Sibelius cycle. Another interpretation could be that the other events at the festival suffered from the overwhelming interest focused on the Sibelius cycle. The former interpretation, however, is the more likely one, and it could be turned into a positive thing by saying that with the popularity of Sibelius other aspects of Finnish culture were also noticed by the audience.

In contrast to the British articles the Finnish newspapers mostly reported the success of the festival, for example, how many people visited the exhibitions, and the articles also described events held during the *Valo-festival* in general. From the sixteen articles only three are dedicated to Sir Colin Davis, the LSO and their interpretation of Sibelius' symphonies and in all but one the *Valo-festival* was mentioned. One additional article and one review were about Anne-Sophie Mutter, who performed Sibelius' Violin concerto with LSO. Of the remaining thirteen articles six describe the *Valo-festival* in general, the exhibitions, the events to come and the like. One article discusses the *Valo-festival* and other similar events abroad as well as how Finnish culture is usually presented in other countries. Finnish folk music receives attention in one article. The tango event is described in two articles, of which one is quite a short one. One article briefly describes the visual image of the festival and Finnish architecture.

The Finnish articles seem to be more varied in the choice of topics than the British ones. This seemingly big difference between the attention or orientation of the articles from the two countries is partly explained by the fact that, whereas the British articles come from a variety of newspapers, the Finnish articles are mainly from *Helsingin Sanomat* with the exception of two articles which are from *Aamulehti*. But the fact remains that in the whole British material there were no articles about, for example, folk music, movies or photographs, the tendency was that what was interesting enough to be printed dealt with Sir Colin Davis and Sibelius in one way or another.

The Finnish articles present a more holistic view of the festival than do the British articles. The difference in the orientation of interest in the articles seems to suggest different ideologies, since leaving out something is an ideological choice. It also suggests that the issues dealt with in the more detailed analysis will have to concentrate on slightly different areas in British and in Finnish articles.

#### **4.1.2. Voices and genre**

Almost all the writers of the articles are mentioned. Therefore, the writers of the articles are known and we know whose opinion is expressed. Thus, the attitudes can be safely traced back to the actual writer. The background of a cultural reporter is bound to be cultivated and we can with reason expect that the writers have a good knowledge about the subject they write about. Especially the articles written about Sibelius' music are written by people who have heard a variety of interpretations of his music and can compare and contrast the performances.

In most of the review or opinion articles in the British newspapers the only voice that can be heard is that of the writer. They express their opinion without interviews or statements from anyone else. There are ten such articles, which is an overwhelming majority. The genre of these articles is a review or opinion article.

Two brief British articles written as a description of the festival do not identify the writer of the piece. Their main content is to inform people about the festival and perhaps to raise the readers' interest and to make them interested enough to visit the events of the festival. Highlights worth visiting at the event are pointed out. The genre of these two particular articles is more like an advert than anything else, since they are descriptive and point out details about the event and suggest that people should visit the festival. They can also be seen as informative texts, opinion is not expressed.

The four remaining articles include other voices in addition to that of the writer. One of these articles is an interview with Sir Colin Davis and the subject is, of course, Sibelius. The voices of the writer and Sir Colin Davis intertwine with each other. The genre is mostly interview and secondly a

review and lastly a narrative. The second one of these articles is written about Finnish architecture and design, and it is mostly an opinion piece, written by Hilary Finch, but at the very bottom of the article she briefly gives space for a Finnish designer Maisa Tikkanen to express her opinion. This is not an interview and Tikkanen gets to say one sentence in the whole article (describing Finnish winter). The reporter went to Finland to meet Mrs Tikkanen, but not in order to make an interview as such but to understand the issue at hand a little better. Another longer article about Finnish architecture and design has more voices and opinions. It is written by John Henley, who interviews two Finns, Yrjö Wihorheimo and Barbra Kulvik and one British expert on Finnish design, Jennifer Opie. A lot of space is given to the interviewees' opinions and they intertwine with the writer's own opinions forming a coherent entity. The genre of the article varies from narrative to interview and opinion. The last article is long and describes the Finnish music scene with and beyond Sibelius. This is a very good description about Finnish classical music and the writer, Andrew Clark, went to Finland in order to get a better view on the subject and to interview people: a music critic, Esko Aho and the composer Kalevi Aho. Their voices can be heard briefly. This is an opinion piece since it describes and reviews Finnish music and even contains some criticism on the *Valo-festival's* limited choice of Finnish music.

Among the sixteen Finnish articles there is only one article where the writer of the piece is not identified. It describes the visual image of the *Valo-festival* (designed by Markus Holmsten and Kivi Sotamaa). This article is very descriptive in nature and does not present a clear opinion, therefore its genre is informative. Four articles present the opinion of a writer whose name is mentioned in all cases i.e. Vesa Siren. Three of the articles are general overviews about the festival and its success, the fifth is a review about Anne-Sophie Mutter's interpretation of Sibelius's Violin Concerto. These articles are clearly reviews, and as such express the opinion of the writer.

The rest of the Finnish articles are interesting as far as their genre and voices to be heard go. There are only two clear cases of interviews, one of

which is an interview with Sir Colin Davis and the other with Anne-Sophie Mutter. These articles present the voices of the interviewer and the interviewee, and the topic is mostly Sibelius. Three articles describe the different events held during the Valo-festival (the exhibitions in the Barbican, the folk music day, and the tango event). These three are not mere descriptions or reviews but something in between. The event is described, some critique is provided but there are several voices present. First, there is the opinion of the writer, i.e. Vesa Siren from the *Helsingin Sanomat*. Second, there are opinions of the people who attended the events, both British and Finnish. In all of these three articles the pattern is the same, i.e. the audience is interviewed in addition to the opinion provided by the writer himself. The opinion of the audience seems to be important for the writer and in some cases it influences the overall tone of the actual review part of the article.

In addition there are two review articles about the concerts belonging to the Sibelius cycle. One is almost purely a review and presents only the voice of the writer with one exception at the very end of the article where Sir Colin Davis' voice is heard. The other review article is a mixture of opinions: there is the opinion of the writer, and in addition the voices of Robert Layton (a researcher on Sibelius) and Tapani Lämsä (a Finnish critic) are given space. But what is really interesting is that, unlike the British review articles that express only the opinion of the critic, this article also tells what was written in British newspapers about earlier concerts in the cycle. In addition, at the end of the article the voice of a Finnish member of the audience is reported. This article is a mixture of different genres, there is interviewing, describing and reviewing. The remaining three articles are also similar descriptions of events and issues related to the festival enhanced with interviews. It seems that in the Finnish articles the critique of the event is not a complete one unless the opinion of the audience or other critics is present. The articles show interest in what people from other countries think of the Finnish culture and how they react to the events and exhibitions. This is one trait of the Finnish self-image discussed earlier (see chapters 2.1. and 2.1.1.). It seems that the image of Finland is still very

important to Finns and they do worry about what other people think about Finland and Finnish culture.

The approach in the articles in these two countries is somewhat different. The presence of more voices in the Finnish articles may influence the style of writing to a more informal direction. The Finnish articles are more like interviews and the British articles are more like reviews or critiques. Finnish articles have more of the quality of spoken language, whereas in most British articles the style is quite formal. The relationship with the reader is different in formal and informal style, because with the more dialogic style the writer comes closer to the reader, whereas in the more formal style the writer keeps a certain distance. The Finnish articles seem more friendly towards the reader than the British ones. This again would suggest difference in ideologies between the two countries.

#### **4.1.3. Use of photographs and length**

As was mentioned above, there is a difference in *what* is reported and *how* it is reported between the British and Finnish articles. The Finnish articles tend to be a bit more informal in style and this informality is evident also in the use of photographs. From the British articles only seven include one or more pictures. The more detailed, long articles naturally, contain pictures. The article about Finnish musical scene, in *The Financial Times*, has one big picture of Sibelius in 1907, at the age of 42. The picture is a good one, Sibelius is young and stylish. It differs from the pictures we are used to see about Sibelius as old, bald and a bit grumpy looking. The article itself covers a whole page and the picture takes about a third of the space. The text has 294 lines and it is in fact the longest one of the British articles.

The article describing Finnish design and architecture, in *The Guardian*, is three pages long and has an overwhelming amount of pictures. There are pictures of The Lappia building in Lapland, a model 400 chair, vases by Alvar Aalto, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, a futuristic netsurfer chair, Yrjö Wihorheimo (who is also interviewed in the article) and three of his chairs, pruning shears by Fiskars, a Nokia mobile phone, Ilkka Suppanen's Flying carpet divan, AV rack, Tuula Falk's Sonetti cabinet and the snowcrash team

of young designers (Teppo Asikainen, Ilkka Suppanen, Ilkka Terho. And Timo Salli). This article relies on the pictures and the readers can see what the Finnish design actually looks like, in past and present. There are only 200 lines in the story even though it is three pages long, which gives an idea of how big a part the photographs play in this article.

Another article that has a variety of pictures is actually about Iceland and Finland and not all the pictures are related to Finland. The article is two pages long but there are more pictures than text (only 51 lines). The pictures that portray Finland include Janna Syvänoja's frozen raindrops, 1996 Finnish Independence Day party in Holborn, a Finnish movie Freakin' Beautiful World (described as the Finnish Trainspotting), Tiina Laakkonen (a Finnish fashion editor of Vogue), Jimi Tenor (Finnish musician) and Linda Lampenius (Finnish violinist with s-e-x appeal, as the caption describes her).

One of the British articles is based mainly on a large picture of Arja Koriseva, a Finnish singer who performed at the Tango-event. The picture, which is half a page in size, captivates the attention of the reader and, therefore, serves its purpose of making the reader stop turning pages. The text itself is very short, merely 14 lines but it informs the reader about the *Valo-festival*. The use of a big picture and the small amount of text enhance the idea of this article being more like an advert than anything else. The picture does not take advantage of the stereotype of the blond Finn, since Arja Koriseva has dark hair.

In the remaining three articles pictures do not play such an important part. In an article describing the *Talvi* exhibition, there is a small picture of Helena Hietanen's work of art, *Technolace*, which the article is based on. Sir Colin Davis is interviewed in one article and a small picture of him is included in the article. The picture is not of great importance and it does not have a caption, it is there merely to show the person who is interviewed. The last article is another brief description of the *Valo-festival* and at the bottom of the article is a picture from a Finnish film called *The Christmas Party*. The picture is about a pig that is standing on a table eating the food



meant for the people celebrating Christmas. It is again a picture that may strike the reader as interesting and encourage them to read the text.

The Finnish articles use more pictures than the British ones, maybe because they are written on a more variety of subjects. The reviews of concerts rarely need pictures, but as mentioned before, the Finnish review articles are different in style from the British, since they mix genres. Only six Finnish articles have no photographs. In the remaining articles the pictures play an important role and there are usually more than one picture. The Finnish articles take more space than the British ones and this is mostly due to the use of pictures, since the average line count in British and Finnish articles is almost identical. Finnish articles have an average of 108,81 lines per article and the number for the British articles is 104,81. In four Finnish articles the picture dominates the article in size.

The pictures used in the Finnish articles are taken from the events that are described. The pictures make the articles bigger in size and attract attention. *Helsingin Sanomat* seems to publish several articles of the *Valo-festival* the same day, which results in situations where a whole page is reserved for articles written about the *Valo-festival*. Only in five cases is an article published separately, other Finnish articles are always published in sets of two or three.

#### **4.1.4. General tone**

As was mentioned above, the British articles concentrated on writing about the Sibelius cycle and give other aspects of the *Valo-festival* less attention. The reports of the *Valo-festival* in the British press give the readers a narrow view of the festival. But the articles that do discuss Finnish music scene and Finnish architecture and design in detail are very positive in tone. There is only one negative article about the exhibitions in the Barbican centre and one negative music review about Finnish performers. The reviews are harder to divide into negative and positive ones since it is not the music of Sibelius they are criticising but the interpretations of that music. Mostly, however, the tone towards Finnish culture is positive.

The Finnish articles are also mainly positive but there is a clear sense of irony and sarcasm in some of the articles. In places the *Valo-festival* is described as a success and as a good way to bring Finnish culture into Britain. In others the festival is criticised of being a laughing stock, and that only Finns and art experts were interested in the exhibitions. The later written articles are, however, more positive in tone and in the last articles the *Valo-festival* is described as being a success. The sarcasm of the Finnish articles will be dealt with in more detail below.

#### **4.2. Detailed analysis**

Above the data was described and analysed in a general manner and questions *who* are speaking and *what are they saying* were answered. The remaining question to be examined is *what do they mean* and this question is dealt with in this chapter which examines the data in a more detailed manner. The analysis is carried out first by examining the main themes in the British data. It is then examined whether the Finnish articles use the same themes when describing Finnish culture and the *Valo-festival*.

Within each theme examples are given and examined linguistically in order to find what kind of descriptive expressions are used. Descriptive expressions are defined in the present thesis as linguistic entities which describe or give further information about certain issues. These expression can consist of either single words or longer expressions, i.e. they can be adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns as well as whole sentences or clauses. In addition descriptive expressions can be figures of speech such as similes or metaphors. In short, the present thesis is interested in the descriptive value of the ways that issues, things and people are described and how information about them is given.

The writer's interest in descriptive expressions comes from the fact that words have rarely just one meaning, instead they have *connotations* which are dependent on the context, i.e. the presence of other words. According to van Dijk (1998:31), traditionally the best known area in the studies of ideology and language is the analysis of lexical items. Words and expressions may be chosen that generally or contextually express values or

norms and which are, therefore, used to express a value judgement. But although there are many predicates that are normally used to express an opinion (e.g. beautiful, dirty), others may be used either factually or evaluatively (polluted, democratic, intelligent) depending on whether a knowledge or value system is presupposed in their use. According to van Dijk (1998:29), any belief that presupposes a value and involves a judgement about somebody or something, is evaluative, such as 'X is good (bad, beautiful, honest, intelligent)', depending on the values of a group or culture. Some judgements are evaluative only indirectly or in specific situations, for example when someone or something is believed to be small or large, light or heavy, and when such a factual belief itself presupposes a value judgement (e.g. 'being small X is bad'). There is activity of judgement, specifying qualities of whatever it is that is being judged or commented on, these judgements reveal the ideology of the writer. In addition, things can also be presupposed (see chapter 3.1. for a more detailed description). It means that certain words or expressions include presuppositions, i.e. not all things are directly expressed but they are implied to. The present study analyses the presuppositions behind descriptive expressions in order to find out stereotypes and ideologies.

Metaphors are descriptive expressions, because they provide lexical ambiguity in a text. In metaphors a distinction can be made between 'live' and 'dead' metaphors. Larson (1984:252) explains that 'dead' metaphors are those which are a part of the idiomatic construction of the lexicon of the language. When such a 'dead' metaphor is used the person listening or reading does not think about the primary sense of the words, but only about the established idiomatic sense directly. 'Live' metaphors are those which are constructed on the spot by the author or speaker in order to illustrate and it is understood by the listener or the reader only after paying special attention to the comparison that is being made. Live metaphors are more interesting for the present study since they convey better the ideology of the writer, since an effort needs to be made in order to invent a metaphor for describing the issue at hand.

According to Katz (1996:5) the purpose of a metaphor is to describe entities (objects or persons), events, qualities, concepts or states of mind more comprehensibly, concisely, vividly and in a more complex way, than is possible by using literal language. Metaphor is also used in order to amuse, entertain and to draw attention to a technical and 'physical' subject, therefore a metaphor can be conceptually clarifying as well. Metaphors also indicate a resemblance between two more or less disparate objects, but this is more often the process and procedure rather than the purpose of metaphor. Choices, that the writer of a newspaper article makes about which metaphors s/he uses, can be quite revealing on what the ideologies are behind the text. The assumptions, beliefs and attitudes to the subject matter can be expressed through metaphors either discreetly or bluntly.

According to Fairclough (1995:94), a metaphorical application is the extension of a discourse to signify a sort of experience other than that which it most usually signifies. The distinction is a rough one, but a useful one. Metaphorical applications of discourses are socially motivated, i.e. different metaphors may correspond to different interests and perspectives, and may have ideological loadings. Katz (1996:4) argues that when the use of metaphor is rather preferred than obligatory, the metaphor is chosen to make a special communication point.

The detailed analysis is divided to chapters indicating the themes used to describe Finnish culture and Finland. There are four such themes: nature, nationalism, originality and education. These themes are overwhelmingly used in the British articles describing Finnish culture and way of life and as such present a stereotype or a category of Finnish culture. Finnish culture is first and foremost described through Finnish nature and this emphasis on nature results in a situation where other aspects that influence Finnish culture are left without much attention. The reader is given a simplified image of Finland.

In addition to the themes there is a chapter on the idea of *Us* and *Them* (described in chapter 3.2.). The chapter on *Us* and *Them* also includes some analysis on the descriptive expressions as well as clarifies how semantic

moves and modality are used in the data. This chapter is based mostly on Finnish articles and the chapters considering the themes rely mostly on the British articles. This is due to the differences in orientation of interest in the British and Finnish articles described above in chapter 4.1.1.

The analysis relies heavily on examples, therefore there is a considerable number of them. The writer feels that without these examples the presentation of findings may leave the reader confused and hopes that the examples will help the reader to see the ways how the Finnish culture and the *Valo-festival* are described in British and Finnish press. Examples from Finnish articles are given in both languages, the translation is always after the Finnish sentence. This will, however, make the Finnish examples twice as long as the British examples. The following chapter deals with the theme of nature in describing Finnish culture.

#### 4.2.1. Nature

The *Valo-festival* generated interest towards Finland and Finnish culture in the British press. In the British articles Finland and Finnish culture was described through clear themes of which nature seemed to be the most commonly used one. The theme 'nature' includes the references to Finnish nature (forests, lakes) as well as references to the climate (winter, summer) and aspects related to it (darkness). The following extracts are good examples of how Finland as a country is described in the British press.

- (1) In a country *where land is just a thin horizontal line between vast spaces of sky and water.*  
(*The Times*, 19 November 1997)
- (2) ...*land of rocks, wood and water.*  
(*The Guardian*, 24 October 1997)
- (3) *Iceland and Finland, previously known for being on the freezing side of cool, a bit dark...* There are advantages to those *long, dark, winter days and freezing temperatures, the night never ends and you have to keep warm somehow.*  
(*Sunday Telegraph*, 6 December 1997)

These three examples give a good impression of how Finland as a country was described in the British press. The tendency is rather clear, the expressions used refer to darkness, cold and rough nature. This could be said to present a stereotypical view of Finland. Finland is dark, cold during winter and has somewhat rough nature. What could be criticised about how Finland is described in the British press in general is the fact that Finland is much more than just the coldness or darkness, for it is a land of opposites in many ways. However, the cold and dark winter is mentioned in most of the articles whereas the beautiful summer with the midnight sun is not given much space.

Example (1) could be said to include stereotypical features, since even though Finland does not have great mountains, it can hardly be described as 'just a thin horizontal line'. The example is a generalisation of the Finnish landscape. In example (1) the relative clause 'where land is just a thin horizontal line between vast spaces of sky and water' qualifies the noun 'country' and expands its meaning. The relative clause is a descriptive expression and it serves as a way for the writer to outline her idea of Finland. The submodifier 'just' emphasises the expression 'a thin horizontal line' and gives the whole sentence a meaning that Finland is nothing but 'a thin horizontal line...'. The fact that the writer chose this expression shows the opinion that Finland is a flat country.

In example (2) the prepositional phrase 'of rocks, wood and water' qualifies the noun 'land'. By qualifying the noun in this manner the writer presents his image of Finland. Example (3) is taken from an article describing Finland and Iceland and it contains a lot of stereotypes. This example starts with 'previously known', which presupposes that Finland is today known for more than the 'freezing temperatures' and for being 'a bit dark'. Even though the writer starts by saying that Finland has become better known, it still uses the basic stereotypes about Finland and Finnish people. The freezing temperatures and endless nights are overemphasised. The beginning of example (3) tries to lessen the effect of adjectives such as 'dark' and 'freezing' by the use of submodifiers. In 'a bit dark' the submodifier 'a bit' is used to reduce the effect of the qualitative adjective

‘dark’. ‘On the freezing side of cool’ uses the adjective ‘cool’ and modifies it with ‘on the freezing side’, which presupposes that the temperatures are less than freezing. But the whole reducing effect of the adjective is revoked later on in the example, when it is written ‘long, dark, winter days and freezing temperatures’. The effect of ‘a bit dark’ is revoked totally by saying modifying the ‘winter days’ with adjectives ‘long’ and ‘dark’. The rest of the article goes on suggesting that Finns are constantly drunk and that the state rations alcohol. It is true that Finns tend to use more alcohol than other Europeans but the state does not ration the alcohol. The state does have a monopoly in selling alcohol, but monopoly hardly implies rationing. The rest of the article describes Finns as some kind of party animals, who party constantly in the endless night. This article is fortunately only an exception, but serves well as an example of the occasional use of stereotypes.

Finnish nature seems to be very intriguing for the British since it is used as a theme throughout the articles regardless of the topic. Cold weather, water and forests are characteristic for Finland and as such cannot be said to be stereotypical ways of describing Finland as a country. Nature is used as a way to categorise Finland in order to make it more comprehensible for the British readers, the most visible aspects of Finland are taken and by using these aspects a prototype of Finland is created. Nature is used in describing other areas of Finnish culture as well, for example, the following title of an article illustrates how the British journalists feel that Finnish architecture and design are connected to Finnish nature.

- (4) *Out of the forests and into the Barbican. Architecture: A Finnish festival in London is showcasing an approach to design inspired by nature.*  
(*The Times*, 19 November 1997)

The article that the title in example (4) belongs to describes Finnish architecture in a positive way. The title in example (4) gives at first the impression that the Finns come from the forest. But what it really wants to imply is that Finnish architecture is ‘inspired’ by nature, i.e. the ideas in

architecture come from the forests or the nature in general. The noun phrase modifier ‘inspired by nature’ suggests that Finnish architects get their ideas and inspiration from the unique nature of Finland. The title is ambiguous in order to attract the reader’s attention, the real meaning of the title is then clarified in the article.

There is one interesting phenomenon which is used in the British articles regardless of the theme. This is the use of partly contradictory terms in describing aspects of Finnish culture. The use of the adjective ‘austere’ is an excellent example. ‘Austere’ is used on several occasions, but even though it is a negative word, the context changes it into a positive or neutral one. For example:

- (5) In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, designers such as Akseli Gallen-Kallela produced *innovative yet austere work rooted in the natural world*.  
(*The Guardian*, 10 October 1997)

When something is ‘austere’, it is plain and not decorated. In this example, however, it is combined with the adjective ‘innovative’, which means introducing changes and new ideas. Here the noun ‘work’ is modified with two adjectives that are in a way opposites and result in giving the overall meaning a more positive tone. Example (5) connects design to Finnish nature. The adjective ‘rooted’ emphasises the message, since it alludes opinions and beliefs that are strongly held and difficult to change or remove. Further the adjective ‘rooted’ implies to the roots of a plant, which gives the impression that Finnish design has a very strong connection to the natural world.

Sibelius’ music performed at the *Valo-festival* received a vast amount of interest and there were a lot of descriptions of Sibelius’ music in the British and Finnish articles, as in the next example.

- (6) This, Davis seems to be saying, *is a late-romantic symphony in the Austro-German tradition -forget all those pine forests and snowy plains*.  
(*The Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 1997)



Example (6) is taken from an article describing the *Kullervo* Symphony composed by Sibelius and it shows how the British describe Sibelius' music in terms of nature. The article from which the example is taken presupposes that Sibelius' music is about 'pine forests and snowy plains', but Sir Colin performed it in 'Austro-German tradition', in other words the British writer believes that Sibelius' music was misinterpreted on this occasion. Modifiers 'pine' and 'snowy' are used to give further information to the nouns 'forests' and 'plains'. The adjective 'plain' refers to a large, flat area and is a more moderate way of saying that Finland is a flat country, which was suggested in example (1). The next example talks about Finnish classical music in general.

- (7) The sound of nature is another trait: static harmony, dark timbres, string tremolos, *like wind blowing in the forest, echoing the melancholy mood of winter.*  
(*Financial Times*, 15-16 November 1997, weekend edition)

Winter, melancholy, and forests are recurring themes in the articles describing Finnish music. The colour connected to Finnish music is often dark as in example (7). These examples seem to imply that there are stereotypes about Finnish music being melancholy and that it is inspired by nature. Example (7) uses the simile 'like wind blowing in the forest, echoing the melancholy mood of winter' in order to suggest, that this is how Finnish music sounds like. There are, however, examples where the writer is aware of these stereotypes connected to Finnish culture and music, and tries to break away from them. The next example shows all the basic stereotypes repeated in most descriptions about Finnish music and about Sibelius in particular:

- (8) Sibelius's music is more than just a reaction to the Finnish forest or the bleakness of winter; much more than a flicker of sun one moment and of disquiet the next; more, even, than the sense of being surrounded by vast forces we don't understand.  
(*Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997, weekend edition)

Example (8) shows that the writer is aware of the images connected to Finnish music; winter, forest, darkness and light, and nationalism. Consequently, he tries to break away from these stereotypes and say that there is much more to Finnish music. The article from which the example is taken shows that the writer has significant background knowledge of Finnish music and can therefore break away from the categories that are normally used. However, the example does also presuppose that Finnish music is influenced by nature, it therefore does not exclude nature and its impact on Finnish music. Not all Finnish music can be or should be interpreted through nature, but it is naturally a strong influence. In British articles winter is often described with adjectives such as ‘melancholy’ as in example (7) or ‘bleak’ as in example (8), darkness and coldness are of course also emphasised. Winter seems to be very negative season in the British minds. The lack of light is referred on many occasions, like in example (8), when the writer says that Finnish music is much more than ‘a flicker of sun one moment and of disquiet the next’. This clause presupposes that darkness brings with it disquiet, which refers to a feeling of worry and anxiety.

The Finnish articles do not describe Sibelius’ music with such nature oriented descriptive expressions, instead as we can see in example (9), Finns tend to characterise this music with almost violent terms. When comparing the reviews of the same concert *Kullervo* in British and Finnish articles, an interesting contradiction rises. The next pair of examples helps to clarify this argument.

- (9) Davis oli tässäkin teoksessa hylännyt aikaisempien konserttiensa seesteisen otteen... (Davis had in this piece as well abandoned the serene touch of the previous concerts) Hissuttelu ja kauneudentavoittelu oli unohtunut ja tilalla oli hurjaa määrätietoisuutta. (Tiptoeing and thriving for beauty was forgotten and placed with fierce determination) Ensimmäinen osa soi rajusti ja karusti. (The first part sounded rough and austere) Toinen osa oli levystä poiketen myös väkivaltainen, vaikka jousten terävyys olikin tarkoituksellisesti vaihtunut sameampaan ja leveämpään sointiin. (The second part was unlike in the

album also violent, even though the acuity of the strings had changed deliberately into a more dim and broader sound)

(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 2 December 1997)

- (10) Recordings from his lifetime and the decade following his death in 1957 present *a leaner, more vigorous symphonist than the plodding and lugubrious figure we meet these days*. Sir Colin Davis' interpretations *are the broadest and heaviest of the lot, and seem to accord with current critical taste. Sorry, but this critic remains unconvinced.*  
(*The Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 1997)

The Finnish example gives compliments to Sir Colin Davis for the same reason that the British one criticises him. 'Tranquility', 'tiptoeing' and 'thriving for beauty' do not fit Sibelius' music according to the Finnish critic and the 'fierce determination' of Sir Colin suits the music well, whereas the British critic wants a leaner, more vigorous interpretation of the symphony. The Finnish critic likes the music to be 'fierce', 'austere' and even 'violent', while the British critic does not like the broad and heavy interpretation of Sibelius presented by Sir Colin Davis and wants Sibelius' music to be less dark and sad. It seems from this pair of examples that the nationality of the writer affects the interpretation of the music, or another possibility is that the personal preferences are what counts and the nationality does not have that much influence. However, it is clear that the ideologies of the two writers differ from each other. They interpret the same piece of music in different terms.

The next pair of examples illustrates how Sibelius' *Night Ride and Sunrise* (*Öinen ratsastus ja auringonnousu*) is described in Finnish and British articles.

- (11) Sävellystä on hyvin vaikea esittää vakuuttavasti, ellei sitten kiihdytä tempoaa vaahtosuiseen laukkaan Jukka-Pekka Sarasteen ja RSO:n tapaan. (The composition is hard to perform convincingly unless one does accelerate the tempo into a foam in the mouth gallop in the manner of Jukka-Pekka Saraste and the RSO)  
Mutta Davis yllätti monet. (But Davis surprised a lot of people) Nyt hän johti melkein kuin suomalaiset: karhean

energisesti ja musiikin liikesuuntaa korostaen. (Now he conducted almost like Finns: in raucous energy and emphasising the movement of the music)  
*(Helsingin Sanomat, 2 December 1997)*

- (12) But it's terribly hard to bring off. The repeated rhythms can easily blur and congeal, and the sunrise takes careful engineering. On Sunday, Colin Davis and the LSO were gripping enough in the first part; the very end was stirring: but the sunrise itself -brass hymns and woodwind birdsong- fell rather flat. Both sections of the orchestra should be sent to winter in Helsinki -that would teach them to be glib about sunrises.  
*(The Guardian, 2 December 1997)*

Both examples describe how hard the piece is to perform in the right way. But their methods of description are somewhat different. Example (11) writes that the *Night Ride and Sunrise* is hard to perform convincingly unless the 'tempo is accelerated into a foam in the mouth gallop' in the manner of Jukka-Pekka Saraste and the RSO. The metaphor follows the theme of the piece, it is about a night ride and therefore such a metaphor fits the description well. He is said to conduct almost like Finns: 'in raucous energy and emphasising the way of movement of the music'. In example (12) on the other hand the descriptive expressions are related to the sunrise. The writer compliments the beginning and the very end but was not impressed by the sunrise part of the piece. At the end of the example the writer suggests that the orchestra should be sent to Helsinki for winter in order for them to learn to play the sunrise in the right way. The end of example (12) presupposes that this music cannot be played or interpreted in the right way without knowledge of the realities of the Finnish nature and climate.

The Finnish writer use in general very few descriptive expressions referring to nature, the contrast is clear in the descriptions of Sibelius' music. The Finnish descriptions are filled with violent words, whereas British descriptions rely more on Finnish nature and its aspects, especially melancholy mood of winter and the lack of light are emphasised. This reference to nature in the British articles and lack of it in the Finnish ones

could be explained with differing attitudes and beliefs, i.e. ideologies. For the British person Finnish nature and the winter are very exotic and hard to understand, since their own climate is quite different from the Finnish one. Therefore the aspects of nature and winter are emphasised and even exaggerated when Finnish culture is described, it helps the British readers to categorise Finnish culture. It must be noted, however, that also the Finns do think that darkness and winter are very important aspects of Finland and of Finnish culture. This can be illustrated by the simple fact that the festival is called *valo* 'light' and one of the exhibitions is named *talvi* 'winter'. Finns tend to bring these aspects forward when telling about Finland to foreigners. The reason for this might be that darkness and the cold winter is what the foreigners are most interested in. In the Finnish articles the presence of nature is presupposed and not explicitly referred to as in the British articles.

#### 4.2.2. Nationalism

Another very clear theme in describing Finnish culture in the British press is nationalism. Finnish design and music are described through the history of Finland and her struggle for independence. When Finnish music and especially Sibelius' music is written about, nationalism is usually mentioned as was already seen above in example (8). Example (13) describes Finnish music in general.

- (13) Music rooted in tonality and themes related to nationalism.  
(*The Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997)

Example (13) uses the adjective 'rooted' as did example (5). In example (13) it implies that tonality is a very stable trait in Finnish culture since the adjective 'rooted' means that something is very strongly held and therefore very difficult to change or remove. Themes in music are then said to be 'related to nationalism'. Further examples prove the point of nationalism being a trait of Finnish music and Sibelius in the British articles.

- (14) Also, we see in the numbered symphonies that whilst Finland and its spirit imbues them all in certain ways, that

presence is never openly alluded to, as in *Kullervo*, but merely suggested. This is what's so fascinating about Sibelius in relation to where and when he was born. He starts as a fervent nationalist...

(*The Independent*, 29 November 1997)

Example (14) describes Sibelius as a 'fervent nationalist' and also presupposes that Finland is always in one way or another present in his music. In *Kullervo*, however, the connection to Finland is very clear according to the writer of the article. It is true that Finnish culture is affected by nationalism and the struggle for independence. Sibelius did help the Finnish people to find their national identity. This is not therefore a stereotype in the negative meaning of the word. Finns do consider Sibelius as a national icon, therefore it is not wrong to write that Sibelius' music is nationalistic. The adjective 'fervent' premodifies the noun 'nationalist' and gives it stronger meaning. The noun 'nationalist' refers to persons or groups that are involved with trying to obtain or keep political independence for a certain country. The adjective 'fervent' refers to someone who has strong feelings about something and is very sincere and enthusiastic about it. The next example shows how some British articles are interested in the sources of influence in Sibelius' music and present some criticism to the way that his music is usually characterised.

(15) But we approach Sibelius more critically now. One persisting debate concerns the degree to which he was a self-made phenomenon from a country with virtually no musical tradition, rather than a by-product of Wagner and Tchaikovsky. As a Finnish nationalist, Sibelius was naturally hostile to suggestions that he owed much to a Russian.

(*The Independent*, 23 November 1997)

Example (15) again names Sibelius as a nationalist, this time the noun is modified with 'Finnish'. But this example also presupposes that Sibelius' nationalism made him deny that he might have got some influence from Tchaikovsky, who was a Russian. The rest of the article shows that the writer believes that Sibelius was in fact influenced by Wagner and Tchaikovsky, therefore not being a 'self-made phenomenon of a country

with virtually no musical tradition'. Example (15) also presupposes that Finland had no musical tradition before Sibelius. He was in many ways a cornerstone of Finnish musical tradition. Nationalism is seen to influence also other areas of Finnish culture at least in the beginning of Finland's independence, as shown in the next example:

- (16) When Finland was struggling for independence from imperial Russia early this century, it was the music of Sibelius and the architecture and design of people such as Eliel Saarinen and Akseli Gallen-Kallela which forged the national identity.  
(*The Guardian*, 24 October 1997)

The verb 'forge' is an interesting word choice, since it means to create something with hard work hoping it will be strong or lasting. It presupposes that there was no real national identity before these artists forged it. The verb also presupposes that the artists tried to consciously create national identity for the Finnish nation. The achievements of Finnish artists were no doubt a very important issue in creating the Finnish nation's identity and self-esteem. It is still seen today that Finns rely heavily on the international success of Finnish artists for increasing their own self-image. Culture is a big part of national identities. In the British articles the national characteristics of the Finnish people are described through Sibelius' music. In the next example Sibelius' First Symphony's opening movement is interpreted in the following way:

- (17) It is the mark of someone who is reluctant to say immediately what he is thinking; *the Finnish temperament is impassive on the surface, volcanic beneath.*  
(*The Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997)

Example (17) brings forward the use of opposites when describing Sibelius' music, it is also connected to the Finnish temperament. 'Impassive' means that no emotion is shown, whereas 'volcanic' means that something happens suddenly and violently. This example shows very clearly how Sibelius' music is seen to portray Finnish temperament. Sibelius' music seems to be impossible to interpret or describe without taking examples from the

Finnish people or the Finnish nature with its long winter and forests. This leads to the fact that, whenever Sibelius' music is described, Finland and the Finnish people are mentioned, they seem to be inseparable. It seems that Sibelius is Finland in British point of view.

But it is not only the British who believe that nationalism is important for the Finnish culture. Mr Wiherheimo is interviewed in an article describing Finnish design and he says the following according to the writer:

- (18) But foreigners are realising that Finland is also a country of where good design is so much a part of the social and cultural fabric that it is almost taken for granted. "*Design is truly a cornerstone of our national existence,*" says Wiherheimo.  
(*The Guardian*, 10 October 1997)

Example (18) explains how design is very important to the Finns to the extent that it is even taken for granted. Wiherheimo goes as far as to say that Finnish national existence owes heavily to design and calls it 'a cornerstone of our national existence'. The Finnish articles do not mention nationalism when describing the events at the *Valo-festival*. But even though it is not mentioned, it is presupposed in many ways. This is seen in the patriotic manner of writing in some of the Finnish articles, which will be dealt in more detail in chapter 5.2. Nationalism is also seen in the letters to the editor in chapter 2.1.1., especially in the letter written by Mia Kankaanpää. She was very concerned because Finland is often mistaken for Sweden and is not well known abroad. It seems that nationalism is not a thing of the past in Finland and it has a place in the ideologies of Finnish people.

#### **4.2.3. Individualism and originality**

The theme of individuality in describing Finnish culture was used by both British and Finnish articles. Especially Finnish design is characterised as original and individual, as in the following examples:

- (19) Finnish design, *long overshadowed by the commercial success of its less isolated European neighbours, is different.*



- (20) Its (Finnish design) *simple, rational yet progressive forms, elegant materials and sustainable construction* have been winning over international experts for decades.  
(*The Guardian*, 10 October 1997)
- (21) ... while the Finns *have a way with classical, cool design, their strong use of colour, and their individualism*, set them apart from the Swedes and the Danes.  
(*The Guardian*, 10 October 1997)

Finnish design is often described with adjectives such as ‘innovative’, ‘individual’, ‘simple’, ‘austere’ and ‘original’. In example (19) the main clause is ‘Finnish design is different’, in which the adjective ‘different’ qualifies the noun ‘design’. The subordinate clause ‘long overshadowed by the commercial success of its less isolated European neighbours’ then gives further information to the main clause. The subordinate clause presupposes that Finland is more isolated than its neighbour countries, namely Sweden and Denmark. Finland is not isolated, at least not anymore, but it is less known than, for example, Sweden. The main clause describes Finnish design as different, which in this context is a positive word since it refers to originality. Example (21) illustrates that ‘the strong use of colour, and individualism’ in Finnish design are considered as traits that separate it from the design of other countries. In general the fact that Finnish design is unlike anywhere else is considered a positive matter.

As mentioned above (see example (5)), the British articles employ the use of partly contradictory terms in describing aspects of Finnish culture. In example (20) the expression ‘simple, rational yet progressive forms’ shows the same phenomenon. The adjectives modifying the plural noun ‘forms’ show an interesting choice of words: ‘simple’ means easy or uncomplicated and is a neutral word out of context, ‘rational’ means sensible decisions based on reasons and not emotions, again it is rather neutral in meaning, but the adjective ‘progressive’, which refers to modern ideas and willingness to change the existing way of doing things, makes the expression positive. The conjunction ‘yet’ emphasises the contradiction because it is used to introduce a comment or statement which is surprising after the previous

statement. Finnish design products are said to have ‘elegant materials and sustainable construction’, which seem to imply good quality, because they are made of good materials and the constructions are lasting. Example (20) also shows that Finnish design is valued abroad, with saying the phrase ‘have been winning over international experts for decades’.

Example (21) describes Finnish design first as ‘classical, cool design’ and then goes on to say that it also employs ‘strong use of colour, and individualism’. The adjective ‘classical’ refers to traditional forms and adjective ‘cool’ is used to describe things that are unemotional and distant. These adjectives would suggest a rather traditional approach to design, but this impression is revoked with the following expressions: ‘strong use of colour’ does not go well with ‘classical’, in addition the noun ‘individualism’ refers to originality.

There are different ways of writing about the Valo-festival in the Finnish articles. There are articles that present the Valo-festival with pride and others that use ironic, sarcastic forms of expression; even understatement are used. The choice of descriptive expressions plays an important part in the overall tone of the articles. However negative or sarcastic the description is, originality is used in a positive way to describe Finnish culture. The next example shows one way how originality as a theme is used in the Finnish articles:

- (22) *Omintakeisuuden puutteesta suomalaisia ei ainakaan voi syyttää.* (At least Finns cannot be blamed for the lack of originality) *Minkä muun maan kulttuuriministeri istahtaisi flyygelin ääreen ilahduttamaan yleisöään tyylikkäällä jazz- ja runo- ohjelmalla...* (‘Which other countries’ Minister of culture would sit in front of a grand piano and gladden the audience with a stylish jazz and poem collection...’) *Eikä taitaisi monenkaan maan Lontoon-suurlähettiläällä, kuten Pertti Salolaisella olla valmiina ripustettavaksi värikästä ja varsinkin britteihin vetoavaa luontoaiheista valokuvanäyttelyään...* (‘And not too many countries’ London Ambassador, like Pertti Salolainen, would have a ready to hang colourful, nature topic that appeals especially the British, photographic exhibition’) *Sunnuntain ylipaisutettu ohjelmisto houkutteli* (‘Sunday’s overextended repertoire attracted’) paikalle Barbicanin

viimeisenkin sopukan täyttävän kansankokouksen, jonka pääluku lämmitti varmaan kaikkien rahapussien nyöripitelijöitten sydäntä.

(*Aamulehti*, 18 November 1997)

This article is written with pride about the Finnish culture and the descriptive expressions chosen are mostly positive. The example, however, starts by saying that ‘at least Finns cannot be blamed for the lack of originality’. This presupposes that there is something that Finns should be blamed for; in a way this undermines the positive tone that is apparent in the rest of the article. The example raises the feeling of a defensive attitude. The program is commented and Finland is presented as a country of originality since even our high officials, the Minister of culture *Claes Anderson* and Ambassador *Pertti Salolainen*, take part in the events of the festival. It is noted, with pride, that the *Valo-festival houkutteli* ‘attracted’ a public meeting to the Barbican on Sunday and that every corner of Barbican Centre was full of people who came to see ‘the overextended repertoire’. There is a slight criticism detectable in the expression *ylipaisutettu* ‘overextended’, it presupposes that the repertoire consisted of too many events. Most of the expressions used in this extract are positive, for example *Claes Anderson*’s performance is called ‘stylish’ and it is said ‘to gladden’ the audience. These are flattering remarks and show a certain pride for Finnish culture. *Pertti Salolainen*’s photographic exhibition is also commented on and it is described as ‘colourful’. More interesting is the remark that the nature topic appeals especially to the British audience. This presupposes the above mentioned issue that the British seem to be very interested in Finnish nature (see chapter 5.1.1.), that it is exotic and interesting in the eyes of the British, and Finns willingly bring the aspects of Finnish nature forward.

Both articles taken from *Aamulehti* (written by *Essi Kiviranta*) use positive words when describing the *Valo-festival*. For example, in the article written on 18 November 1997 *Janna Syvänoja*’s paper ornaments are described as ‘enchanted’ (*Janna Syvänojan hullaannuttaviin paperikoruihin...*).

The articles taken from *Helsingin Sanomat* in most parts tend to give a sarcastic view of the *Valo-festival* and its success among the British, but the theme of originality is used quite often to describe the events positively. The majority of the articles is written by one person, Vesa Siren who employs a sarcastic and ironic tone towards the events held during the *Valo-festival*. He uses descriptive expressions in an interesting way when compared to the British articles. For example, he uses undermining statements throughout the articles (this is dealt with more detail in the chapter 5.2.) On Sunday 23 November 1997 Finnish Folk music was performed by various groups. The music of *Apocalyptica*, a Finnish band playing heavy music with cellos, is described with very ironic and sarcastic words. For example, Vesa Siren uses the verb *runnella*, which means ‘to ravage or mutilate’, in order to describe the way the members of *Apocalyptica* play their instruments. He also describes how a peaceful sunny Sunday afternoon is transformed into a noisy concert. He presents a clear contrast between the audience, consisting of old people and families with children, and four men dressed in black playing loud music. The next example shows how he describes the reaction of the audience to *Apocalyptica*:

- (23) Ja Barbicanin jengi katsoo heitä huvittuneen tyrmistyneinä.  
 (And the Barbican gang looks at them in amused shock.)  
 (*Helsingin Sanomat*, November 24, 1997)

The audience is described as ‘a gang’ and their reaction is between amusement and shock. Further, he describes the concert as ‘stricken by rabies’(24):

- (24) Raivotautisen keikan jälkeen... (After the concert stricken by rabies).  
 (*Helsingin Sanomat*, November 24, 1997)

The expressions used in examples (23) and (24) describe nicely the style that Vesa Siren employs in most of his articles. Further examples come from other descriptive expressions that he uses, for example, the day of Finnish folk music is described as *etnorynnäkkö* ‘the folk music charge’

and *sekametelipäivä* ‘day of mixed noise’. ‘The folk music charge’ presupposes that the performances of the folk music groups resembled an attack. If one charges it means moving quickly towards someone often in the intention to attack them, it is a violent and a military term. As such, the expression is sarcastic about the attempts to bring forward Finnish folk music. Vesa Siren describes the day of Finnish folk music also as ‘a day of mixed noise’ which again is not a positive expression, since Finnish folk music is described as noise. A folk music band *Värttinä* on the other hand gets flattering comments in the same article.

- (25) *Värttinän eroottinen flirtti ja yhä rokkaavampi svengi villitsi.* (The erotic flirtation and increasingly rocking sound of *Värttinä* made the audience wild) *Koko yleisö nousi jaloilleen ja bailasi kuin paremmassakin klubissa.* (The whole audience stood up and partied like in the best of clubs) *Tämä oli onnistunut päätös taatusti omaperäiselle suomalaiselle etnopäivälle* (This was a successful finale for a certainly original Finnish folk music day).  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 November 1997)

In example (25) Vesa Siren changes the tone of the article into a more positive one. He describes how *Värttinä*’s sound ‘made the audience wild’ and how ‘the whole audience stood up and partied as in the best of clubs’. The performance of *Värttinä* is described as ‘a successful finale for a certainly original Finnish folk music day’. Even though Vesa Siren does not give a positive picture of the event at the beginning of the article, he concludes that the day was ‘certainly original’, which can be seen as a positive comment. While originality is a positive remark in the British articles, in the Finnish articles it also has another meaning. It seems to be used as a defence, suggesting ‘at least we are original’.

Originality of Finnish culture is not always openly expressed but it is presupposed in some of the British articles. Especially the use of contradictory terms described above (see examples (5) and (20)) presupposes originality. For example, Sibelius’ music is often described in

opposite terms. The following example is a very typical description of Sibelius' music in the British articles;

- (26) In the very making of his music- *in its inexorable organic growth, its tonal ambivalence, in the tough outworking of its static and dynamic principles* -Sibelius seems to be bracing himself against life.  
(*The Times*, 18 November 1997)

The main clause is 'in the very making of his music Sibelius seems to be bracing himself against life'. The subclause then gives more information to the argument made in the main clause. 'To brace oneself' is to prepare oneself to something unpleasant and it presupposes the way in which Sibelius is seen to portray the ambivalence of his own life in his music. 'Inexorable' means something that cannot be prevented from continuing or progressing in a particular direction. Sibelius' music is therefore described as having possibility of growth. 'Ambivalence' means that something contains ideas or attitudes which seem to be opposite to each other. Sibelius' music is not easy to understand since it has 'tonal ambivalence' and both 'static and dynamic principles'. 'Static' means that something is in the same position and does not move at all, whereas 'dynamic' means something that is full of energy. There is a clear contradiction between these adjectives and it presupposes that Sibelius' music has many sides to it and takes advantage of opposites and is therefore quite original.

In general the theme of originality is used as a positive one in both Finnish and British articles. Original is after all something different that will probably be remembered afterwards. The use of the term in a positive manner seems to imply that individualism is valued in both countries.

#### **4.2.4. Education**

The last of the main themes used in describing Finnish culture, in the British press, is education and overall advancement. Finnish cultural achievements are seen to result from the educational system in Finland. This is said to be true in music, architecture and design. For example Finnish music is described as follows:

- (27) But there is more to Finnish music than Sibelius, and it is only since his death in 1957 that Finland has developed its *extraordinary musical vitality*. The roots of that vitality can be traced to the creation of a *highly developed system of music education in the 1960s and 1970s*.  
(*The Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997)

As example (27) shows, Finnish music is described as having ‘extraordinary musical vitality’, which is a very flattering remark. The noun ‘vitality’ means a quality of great energy and liveliness and the adjective ‘extraordinary’ modifies the noun with, even more positive meaning since it suggests special or extreme quality. This example tries to break the stereotype that Finnish music equals Sibelius. Example (27) is also positive in referring to musical education in Finland as ‘highly developed’. Here the submodifier ‘highly’ strengthens the meaning of the adjective ‘developed’ and increases the positive nature of the whole expression. The educational system of Finland is praised in a similar manner in several British articles.

Contemporary stars of Finnish musical scene receive some praise as well. The next, rather lengthy, example helps to illustrate this point, it is the beginning of an article describing Finnish music.

- (28) Karita Mattila is the darling of London’s opera buffs. Osmo Vänskä is the darling of Scottish concert audiences. Esa-Pekka Salonen is the darling of the Los Angeles music scene. Magnus Lindberg is the darling of international avant-garde. All these darlings and everyone a Finn. As London’s Barbican centre opens a six-week celebration of the Finnish music and arts, it’s worth asking why there should be so many Finns attracting front-line attention around the world. Finnish culture has achieved international prominence in total disproportion to a country numbering only five million people. But it is a relatively recent prominence -reflecting a nation with a clear idea of the value of culture and a tax regime capable of sustaining it.  
(*Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997)

Example (28) begins by listing the brightest stars of Finnish musical scene and by naming each of them with the noun ‘darling’. Repetition of the

word ‘darling’ creates cohesion and expectation of what comes next in the article. Repetition is used a stylistic tool in this case, its purpose is to create an impact on the reader and raise his/her curiosity about the matter. Next the *Valo-festival* is presented and it is offered as a reason to be interested in asking why there are so many Finns in the international music scene. Finns are said to ‘attract front-line attention all over the world’. The noun group ‘front-line attention’ consists of two nouns, the noun ‘front-line’ modifies the other noun ‘attention’ hereby giving it specific meaning. As a whole, it presupposes that Finnish musicians have been able to attract important and noticeable interest internationally.

The whole article itself is very flattering of the Finnish musical scene. The noun ‘prominence’ is a very positive descriptive expression. It means something that is well-known or important. ‘In total disproportion’ presupposes that such a small country normally does not achieve such international prominence. It also presupposes the tax regime being responsible for sustaining Finnish culture. The end of example (27) portrays the Finnish people as a nation that values culture and is willing to pay taxes to reinforce education and this way further the development of culture. The reference to the tax regime presupposes that, because of the tax regime, Finland is able to have good educational system. The international prominence of Finnish culture is described as ‘relatively recent’, which leads us to another trait of describing Finnish culture in the British press. Finnish culture is often described as ‘youthful’, as in the following:

- (29) Finland is a youthful nation trying to develop a culture of its own. Until 80 years ago, the predominant cultural influences were Swedish and Russian.  
(*Financial Times*, 15/16 November 1997)

Example (29) presupposes that Finnish culture is actually a very young phenomenon, i.e. that it has existed only after Finland became independent, which this is not true. There has been Finnish culture before independence but it was mainly repressed. After the independence there were channels to



express culture better, which explains why Finnish culture is seen abroad as having started after the independence.

Music is not the only area of Finnish culture where education is praised. For example Finnish design is said to owe a great deal to education:

- (30) Finland is also well served by its design education. The Helsinki University of Art and Design is one of the top half-dozen in the world.  
(*The Guardian*, 10 October 1997)

Example (30) shows how valued Finnish design is abroad since the Helsinki University of Art and Design is ranked in the top half-dozen in the world. It is presupposed that education is one of the main reasons why Finnish design has received international success. Finnish design is also seen as advanced and words such as state-of-the-art come up in several articles. For example the facilities of Finnish music schools and municipal libraries are described as modern and comprehensive.

When looking at the British articles, it seems that Finnish culture, at least Finnish music, architecture and design, are well known in Britain and that Finns have nothing to be ashamed of as regards to their culture. The overall tone and choice of descriptive expressions in the British articles are at places very positive and even flattering when talking about aspects of Finnish culture. The negative stereotypes are not enhanced, but it is clear that a certain prototype of Finnish culture is portrayed in the articles. The themes of nature, nationalism, individualism and education control the ways in which Finnish culture is depicted. Also the Finnish winter, coldness, darkness and melancholy are emphasised and Finland as a country is described as flat, rocky and filled with forests. The following list presents typical descriptive expressions used in the British articles.

Positive	Neutral	Negative
glorious, remarkable, smart, adventurous, clever, extraordinary, striking, youthful, innovative, perfect developed, viable, fascinating, different, radiant, handsome, unique, thrilling, exciting, dynamic, elegant, brilliant,	basic, simple, northern, static, clean, solemnity, rational	darkness, serenity, despair, raw, cold, freezing, austere melancholy, rough, lugubrious, bulky, impassive, bleakness,

Table 1. Typical descriptive expressions in the British articles.

Most negative adjectives and adverbs are used when the traits in Sibelius' music are illustrated. Education is described as developed and good, it is seen as the basis for the achievements in music, architecture and design. The ideology of the writers is seen in the choice of words. Nature is always mentioned, the word 'exotic' is not mentioned often (only on one occasion), but the words in general convey the idea of exotic, developed, original country and culture, influenced by the tough climate and rough nature.

The expressions used in the articles from *Helsingin Sanomat* describing the *Valo-festival* were in most parts innovative, and even a bit exaggerated. This is perhaps because the writer of most of these articles seems to enjoy an ironic and even sarcastic way of writing and criticising. Furthermore, his style is informal and he uses words in order to make an impact on the reader, one way or another. In general the word choices in the Finnish articles result in a negative tone. Even though the events are described in a seemingly positive way the modality and word choice undermine the positive expressions. In addition, words describing nature are not used as much as they were used in the British articles. The next table shows the typical descriptive expressions used in the Finnish articles:

Positive	Neutral	Negative
värikäs (colourful), nautinnollinen (enjoyable), hullaannuttava (enchanting), idyllinen (idyllic), uljas (valiant), kosmopoliittinen (cosmopolitan), häikäisevä (dazzling), jännittävä (exiting), yllättävä (surprising), rohkea (brave), kaunis (beautiful), puhdas (clear), komea (handsome), omintakeinen(original)	kiinnostava (interesting), järeä (stout), hiljainen (quiet), tiivis (tight), salaperäinen (mysterious) eksoottinen (exotic),	ylipaisutettu (overextended), synkeä (murky), sisäänpäinkääntynyt (introverted), melankolinen (melancholy), hidas (slow), verenhimoinen (bloodthirsty), armoton (ruthless), raivotautinen (rabietic), äärimmäinen(extreme), ahdistunut (anguished), hurjuus (fury), lohduton (desperate), julma (cruel) pimeys (darkness), sysimusta (pitch black), väkivaltainen (violent)

Table 2. Typical descriptive expressions in Finnish articles.

As we can see when comparing Table 1. and Table 2., Finnish articles used more negative words in describing the aspects of Finnish culture. The *Valo-festival* is not only seen as a positive idea. The purpose was to enhance the image of Finland in Britain, but Vesa Siren used words such as *kulttuuri-isku* ‘cultural attack’ to describe the festival or similar attempts in other countries. He also used the more neutral words ‘cultural exchange’ and ‘cultural export’ but these expressions appeared only on one occasion whereas ‘cultural attack’ was used in several articles. The expression ‘cultural attack’ implicates that Finnish nature was forced on the British. On one hand, Vesa Siren describes the event in negative expressions and on the other hand he resorts to patriotic language. This discrepancy is examined more closely in the following chapter,

### 4.3. Us and Them

So far the descriptive expressions and the different themes in the data have been examined in order to find ideologies in the articles. When reading the articles an interesting aspect came up in several Finnish articles. It was the

contradiction of using understatement and patriotic language at the same time. In some of the Finnish articles there was clearly an *us* and *them* positioning. This chapter examines whether this is only a Finnish phenomenon or whether the British articles also contain division into *us* and *them*. In order to find this out, attention is paid to the use of descriptive expressions, modality, semantic moves and presuppositions.

As mentioned above in chapter 5.1.2., the tone of writing in the Finnish articles is in places rather patriotic, and therefore presupposes nationalistic feelings that are considered as a trait of Finnish culture in the British press. A good example of this phenomenon is a headline from *Helsingin Sanomat* 22 November 1997 *Sorkkivat meidän Sibeliusta!* which could translate into ‘They are tampering with our Sibelius!’. There is a clear notion of *them* and *us* and that something is being done to our national heritage by foreigners. Sibelius is *ours* and *they* are tampering with his music. The verb *sorkkia* ‘to tamper’ is an interesting choice, since when you tamper with something you interfere with it or try to change it when you have no right to do so. This patriotic style of writing is visible also later in the article: while reviewing the concert the writer of the article compares it constantly to the work of Finnish conductors, as in the following example.

- (31) Sibeliuksen oman tahdon mukaan ”yksityiskohtien pitää uida soosissa”.(According to Sibelius himself ”the details must swim in a soup”) Davisin tulkinnassa näin tapahtuu. (This happens in Davis’ interpretation) Suomalaiset karakterisoivat tätä musiikkia nykyisin paljon terävämmin.(Finns characterise this music more sharply these days)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat* 22 November 1997)

This example actually gives thanks to Sir Colin Davis but it is hidden behind the other more negative comments in the article. The metaphor ”the details must swim in a soup” is terminology used by Sibelius himself and this would therefore seem like the ultimate compliment. It presupposes that Sir Colin succeeds in conducting Sibelius’ music as the master himself instructed. But this ‘compliment’ is actually revoked earlier in the subtitle

*Sir Davisin Sibelius-soosi on maistuvaa, mutta vetelää* which translates into ‘The Sibelius soup by Sir Davis is tasteful but soggy’. The metaphor presupposes that Sir Colin is too soft in conducting Sibelius’ music. It sounds good but its structure is not solid enough. Example (32) describes Sir Colin’s interpretation of Sibelius.

- (32) Nyt hän murskaa tuon tulkinnan palasiksi ja liimailee Sibeliuksen musiikista taas uutta mosaiikkia, jossa saumat ainakin vielä irvistävät. (Now he crushes that interpretation into pieces and glues together yet another new mosaic, in which the joints are still untidy)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 22 November 1997)

Example (32) refers to the earlier interpretation of Sibelius’ music by Sir Colin and compares it to the one performed during the *Valo-festival*. The new interpretation is described as a mosaic that is being glued together, but which has joints that are not quite tidy. The metaphors suggest that the earlier successful interpretation has been crushed to pieces and the new one is not quite finished yet, maybe it is even put together in haste.

The British critics also dislike some aspects of Sir Colin’s interpretation of Sibelius’ symphonies and his performances in the *Valo-festival*. Some British reviews value the Finnish conductors above Sir Colin. But the way that it is expressed is not quite as ferocious as in the Finnish counterpart. Rob Cowan from *The Independent* writes:

- (33) Berglund grants Sibelius both granite and intensity, though he attends to the whole without missing as much as a semiquaver’s worth of detail. By comparison, Sir Colin Davis tends to play Sibelius’s First and Second to the gallery. His ‘unbuttoned’ rather than especially insightful approach and Sunday night’s first lap of Davis’s latest LSO Sibelius cycle at the Barbican witnessed some excitable extremes in tone and tempo. (*The Independent*, 18 November 1997)

Example (33) compares a Finnish conductor Paavo Berglund and Sir Colin Davis. Berglund is said to interpret Sibelius with ‘granite and intensity’, which refer to sturdiness and depth, whereas Davis plays

Sibelius to the gallery, which means that he hopes to impress people. His ‘unbuttoned rather than insightful approach’ would suggest a relaxed way of conducting, which does not necessarily mean that all the details are taken into consideration or that he has a deep or accurate understanding of the music. This extract presupposes that Berglund is able to give a more insightful and accurate interpretation of Sibelius than Sir Colin. There is no clear sense of *us* and *them* visible in the example, the purpose is merely to compare two different interpretations of the same music.

The Finnish article where examples (31) and (32) are taken from, provides more interesting examples. Sir Colin Davis is considered as one of the most prominent interpreters of Sibelius, but the Sibelius cycle that was performed as a part of the Valo-festival raised mixed feelings. In the article a considerable amount of emphasis is given to the fact that even the British critics are confused about the performances and actually raise two Finnish conductors, Osmo Vänskä and Paavo Berglund, above Sir Colin Davis as interpreters of Sibelius, as is seen in (34):

- (34) Davis hurmasi yleisön ja kriitikot 1992 vastaavalla Sibelius-sarjalla Tender is the North- tapahtumassa. (Davis charmed the audience and the critics with a comparable Sibelius cycle in the Tender is the North event in 1992.) Se ja tuore sinfonioiden kokonaislevytys nosti Davisin brittilehdissä aikamme suurimmaksi Sibelius-maestroksi. (That and the new recordings of the symphonies made Davis the biggest Sibelius maestro in the British press.) Mutta nyt Davis hämmentää jopa lontoolaiskriitikoita. (But now Davis stirs the minds of even the critics from London.) Ensimmäisen konsertin jälkeen *The Times* lehti kirjoitti, että Osmo Vänskä on nykyisin Davisia parempi Sibelius-tulkki. (After the first concert *The Times* wrote that Osmo Vänskä is these days better interpreter of Sibelius than Davis is.) *The Independentin* mielestä Paavo Berglund puolestaan pätkii Sir Colinin Sibeliuksen johtajana. (According to *The Independent* Paavo Berglund chops up Sir Colin as a conductor of Sibelius) Mistä moinen mielenmuutos? (Why such a change of heart?)

The article represents the idea that the British press were ‘charmed’ in 1992 into believing that Sir Colin is the greatest interpreter of Sibelius of our time. The word ‘charmed’ causes the presupposition that only the

British press were of this opinion but now ‘even’ the critics in London are confused. The article describes how two British newspapers think that Finnish conductors are actually better than Sir Colin. The verb *pätkii* ‘chop up’ is an interesting choice in describing how Berglund is better than Sir Colin Davis. It is almost a violent term since it means ‘to cut into pieces’. There is a sense of victory as if it were good that Finnish conductors are considered better interpreters of Sibelius than foreigners. It conveys the idea that only a Finn can truly understand the essence of Finnish music and therefore creates a division into *us* and *them*, *us* being the Finns and *them* being foreigners.

In the Finnish material there are articles where the nationality of the writer seems to affect the overall tone of writing. Finnish articles are occasionally written ‘through white and blue glasses’, as the saying goes. This is visible in how Finnish performers are praised and the performers from other countries are commented on less positively. For example:

- (35) Katarina Dalayman oli saanut hyvää harjoitusta suomen ääntämisessä ja selviytyi varsin siedettävästi sisaren roolista. (Katarina Dalayman had been taught Finnish pronunciation and was able to pull through quite tolerably) Peter Mattei oli peruuttanut esityksen sairastumisen vuoksi, mutta edellisiltana apuun hälytetty Raimo Laukka korvasi hänet häikäisevällä tavalla. (Peter Mattei had cancelled because of an illness, but Raimo Laukka who had been called to rescue the night before replaced him in a dazzling manner)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 2 December 1997)

In example (35) the critic describes how Katarina Dalayman had been taught Finnish pronunciation and ‘pulled through quite tolerably’, this expression is not very supporting or encouraging, it is more of a negative expression than a positive one. Whereas Raimo Laukka, a Finn is described as replacing Peter Mattei ‘in a dazzling manner’. In comparison it needs to be mentioned that in the British reviews both Katarina Dalayman and Raimo Laukka were commented on equally. Here the discrepancy between the choice of descriptive expressions probably comes from the fact that Raimo Laukka is a Finn and Katarina Dalayman is not. There are several

examples to prove this phenomenon of putting Finnish performers above others, for example, Vesa Siren praises Solveig Kringelborn highly on her performance but then turns to compare her to Finnish singers:

- (36) Mikä enkelimäisen kaunis ääni! (What an angel-like beautiful voice) Mikä heleys, lämpö ja tunne!(Such clearness, warmth and emotion!) Tästä arvon lukija jo arvaakin, että ääni-ilmestystä ihastellessa ei jaksa kauheasti kitistä siitä, että Kringelborn lauloi ”vuta” kun piti laulaa ”vita”, ja äänsi ruotsia muutenkin yliopperamaiseen tapaan.(From this the distinguished reader already guesses, that while admiring this phenomenon of a voice one does not have much energy to whine about the fact that Kringelborn sang ”vuta” when she was supposed to sing ”vita”, and pronounced Swedish in overtly opera like manner) Tai siitä, että moni suomalainen laulajatar pääsee syvemmälle Sibeliuksen orkesterilaulujen tekstien ytimeen, vaikka aniharvalla maailmassa onkaan näin kaunis ääniaines.(And about the fact that many Finnish singers can get deeper into the core of Sibelius’ orchestral songs, even though very few people in the world have such a beautiful voice.)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 November 1997)

First the writer praises Kringelborn’s ‘angel-like beautiful voice’ and its ‘clearness, warmth and emotion’. Then the article continues by saying that ‘here the distinguished reader already guesses that while admiring this phenomenon of a voice one does not have much energy to whine about...’. Even though he writes that he lacks the energy to whine, he then does just that and tells the readers that the pronunciation of Swedish was not quite right and that many Finnish singers can get deeper into the core of Sibelius’ music. Again there is a feeling that Sibelius cannot be interpreted in the right way by anyone else but Finnish people. Suggesting that *they* may have better voices but *our* way of interpreting is still better.

This can be described as negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation (see chapter 3.2.), which is a technique used in dividing groups into *us* and *them*. The disclaimer function is also used in the articles, for example in (37):



- (37) *Ymmärrän, että Sibeliuksen ei tarvitse olla niin karun yrmeää kuin Berglundin, Sarasteen ja Vänskän tulkinnoissa. (I understand that Sibelius does not need to be as barely morose as in interpretations by Berglund, Saraste and Vänskä) Mutta yhtä en vaihtaisi: sitä vääjäämättömyyden ja loogisen etenemisen tunnetta, jonka esimerkiksi Berglund saa useimmiten esiin tästä musiikissa. (But there is one thing that I would not change and that is the sense of unavoidability and logic progress that, for example, Berglund can get to surface from this music)*  
*(Helsingin Sanomat November 22, 1997)*

In example (37) the writer uses the semantic move of a disclaimer function. The paragraph starts with an apparent concession ‘I understand that...’, the next sentence, however makes it clear that the Finnish conductors interpret Sibelius better than Sir Colin. This sentence starts with ‘but’, which in a way makes the previous sentence meaningless. The writer shows that he is not totally against Sir Colin’s interpretation but the Finns do it better. There is a clear sense of *us*, i.e. the Finnish conductors and *them*, i.e. foreign conductors and especially Sir Colin. The British articles compliment the performers in a different way from the Finnish articles. For example in the following example Finnish orchestral conductors are raised above Sir Colin, but there is no real sense of the nationality of the writer influencing this comparison as there was in the Finnish article (see example 33).

- (38) Since that first cycle, those who care deeply about Sibelius will have observed Osmo Vänskä’s way with the symphonies...and will have mediated on Paavo Berglund’s continuing clear-sighted wisdom. Vänskä, in particular has shown that the composer’s metronome markings in the first movement of the First Symphony are both viable and exiting.  
*(The Times, 18.11.97)*

The only notion of *us* and *them* coming from this example is the difference made between true Sibelians and other people at the beginning: ‘those who care deeply about Sibelius will have...’. The presupposition is that if one is not aware of the interpretations made by Vänskä and Berglund,

s/he cannot be called a true Sibelians. The nationality of Sibelian is not an issue as it seems to be in the Finnish examples.

The reason why the Finnish articles compare the Finnish and British artists might be the fact that it helps Finnish readers can relate to the articles more easily. The Finnish readers might have had the opportunity to hear Sibelius performed by the Finnish conductors in question and can then compare the performance given by Sir Colin Davis. The comparison makes the article more interesting for the Finnish readers.

One further explanation of the different ideologies presented in describing the performances could be traced back to history. As was shown in chapter 5.1.2., nationalism is seen as a powerful theme in Finnish culture both by British and Finnish writers. Nationalism clearly affects the Finnish descriptions and make them in places quite patriotic. The British writers do not have this need to defend their artists in the manner that the Finnish do. This difference in ideology could be traced back to the very different histories and, therefore, cultures of these two countries. We are after all products of the cultures we live in (see chapter 2.2). Finland is a small country and has been independent for 80 odd years, and therefore nationalism is still a very influential cultural aspect, whereas Britain has a history of imperialism and dominating position in world politics, and has never really had to defend its sovereignty. These backgrounds have caused two different ideologies that affect the way these articles are written. This generalisation is merely a suggestion since the Finnish articles are written mostly by one person and it is impossible to make real generalisations based on such data.

Patriotic way of writing is not, however, the only way in which the Finnish culture is described in the Finnish articles. The writer (Vesa Siren) also tends to resort to negative self-presentation of Finns, which is illustrated in the next example which describes the Tango event held in the Barbican Centre as a part of the *Valo-festival*.

(39) *Ensin se vain nauratti.* (First it just made me laugh) Tuoda nyt suomalaisen tangon taitajia Lontoon Valo-festivaalille

Barbicanin kulttuurikeskukseen. (why bring the experts of Finnish tango into the Barbican) *Kun koko suomalaisfestivaali järjestettiin vain siksi, että Sir Colin Davis oli joka tapauksessa johtamassa Sibeliuksen sinfoniat tiiviinä konserttisarjana.*(Since the whole festival was organised only because Sir Colin Davis was going to conduct Sibelius' symphonies in a tight package anyway) Sibelius tunnetusti kiinnostaa brittejä.(Sibelius is known to interest the British) Mutta suomalainen tango?(But Finnish tango?) *Se varmaan kiinnostaisi vain Lontoossa olevia suomalaisia.*(It would probably interest only Finns living in London)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 November 1997)

Example (39) starts with the sentence 'first it just made me laugh.' and continues by wondering why bring Finnish tango into the Barbican, since the whole festival was 'only' arranged because Sir Colin was going to conduct Sibelius 'anyway'. Further the example tells how the British are interested in Sibelius but Finnish tango would probably attract only Finns living in London. This example shows the use of understatement employed by Vesa Siren. The article itself is quite positive, the event turned out to interest the British as well. The writer of this article uses this kind of structure in his other articles as well: first the negative things are described and then some positive sides are mentioned. The problem is that the effect of the positive remarks has already been revoked earlier when the negative things are emphasised. The following examples prove the systematic use of understatements when describing Finnish culture.

- (40) Ensivaikutelma on se, että Barbicanin Valo-festivaali houkuttelee paikalle lähinnä asiantuntijoita ja suomalaisia. (The first impression is that the Valo Festival in the Barbican attracts primarily experts and Finns) Toki myös monet ohikulkijat näkevät tarjontaa ja saattavat jopa pysähtyä sitä katsomaan...(Admittedly also many passers by see the events and may stop to see them) Davis-fanit pistäytyvät myös mielellään ennen konserttia vilkaisemassa Talvi- näyttelyä.( The fans of Davis also pop in willingly to take a quick look at the Talvi exhibition before the concerts)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 23 November 1997)

Example (40) shows how word choice and modality affect the overall tone and style of the article. The extract is about the first impression the reporter formed of the success of the exhibitions at the festival. He writes that the people attracted by the festival are ‘primarily’ experts and Finns. ‘Surely’ the people passing by see the exhibitions and ‘may’ stop to see it. The people going to the concerts to see Davis ‘pop in willingly’ to ‘take a quick look at’ the *Talvi* exhibition. The tone of the article is positive below the surface but the use of for example the sentence adverb ‘admittedly’ and the modal auxiliary ‘may’ give the rest of the sentence a negative tone. For example, ‘pop in willingly’ uses the adjective *mielellään* ‘willingly’, which carries the connotation that ‘things are done fairly enthusiastically, because people want to do it rather than because they are forced to do it’. But the verb *pistäytyä* ‘to pop in’ carries the connotation of ‘going in unexpectedly or spend a short time there’. This connotation is emphasised when the sentence continues ‘to take a quick look at’. With a different kind of word choice the positive aspects would have received more emphasis and the impact of the article would have been less negative. This phenomenon is used in most articles written by Vesa Siren. One could draw the conclusion that this is due to the weak self-image of Finns discussed in chapter 2.1., but since we are talking mostly of the work of one journalist, generalisations are hard to make. The next example further illustrates the point made above.

- (41) Englantilaiset tv-miehet kuvasivat tapausta suomalaisille TV-yhtiöille. (English TV-men were filming the event to Finnish TV-companies) Lähes puolitusinaa suomalaista valokuvaajaa näpsi otoksia suomalaisista suomalaisille. (Half a dozen Finnish photographers were flicking shots of Finns to Finns) Oli syntymässä suuri mediatapahtuma. (A great media event was about to be born) Ei tosin brittiläisessä, mutta ainakin suomalaisessa tiedonvälityksessä. (Though not in British, but at least in the Finnish media)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 23 November 1997)

This example illustrates the ironic style of Vesa Siren. It describes how the tango event was reported in the media. There were half a dozen Finnish photographers ‘flicking’ pictures ‘of Finns to Finns’. ‘A great media event

was about to be born. Though not in British but at least in Finnish media.’ The writer tries to convey the idea that Finns are actually the only ones that can be interested in Finnish culture. Low self-image does in fact lead to negative self-presentation, as seen above (see chapter 2.1.), in order to save face we undermine our achievements so that it does not hurt as much when others do it as well.

This mixture of patriotic language, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and negative self-presentation (by using understatement) is a recurring aspect of the Finnish articles. The British articles do not try to separate the Finnish and British performers. There were, however, in the British articles a couple of examples of negative self-presentation and positive other-presentation, for example:

- (42) Every Londoner loves to hate the Barbican. But imagine what might have happened had a Finnish architect been at the helm in 1972.  
(*The Times*, November 19, 1997)

The beginning is an apparent concession. It presupposes that the British do not like Barbican and that they have a kind of love and hate relationship with it. The next sentence starts with ‘but’ and the presupposition is that a Finnish architect could have designed a better building. The writer is not afraid to criticise British architecture and give compliments to Finnish architecture; the article continues to describe Finnish architecture in a positive manner. The British writers do not seem to have a need to tell positive things about their own culture.

As a curiosity it can be mentioned that in many of the British articles Finnish names are misspelled. The name of a Finnish singer Arja Koriseva is spelled Aarja Kariseva, which is bound to have an amusing effect on the Finnish reader. Also in a few articles the names of artists of exhibitions were misspelled: Helena Hietanen was written Helena Hetainen, Raimo Laukka was misspelled as Raimo Luakka. Of course, these names are meaningless for the British people but it still gives the notion of carelessness or lack of interest.

As was mentioned above (see chapter 2.1.), Finns tend to describe the negative features they believe they possess, i.e. negative stereotypes in order to save face, and this happens in some of the Finnish articles. The importance of the festival is diminished by writing that no-one but Finns could be interested in it. This may take place in order to save face: if Finns write negative things, they in a way prevent the possible negative response from hurting the self-pride of the Finns. However, the Finnish articles often write in a very patriotic manner and this creates an interesting contradiction, because on one hand Finns tend to belittle Finnish culture and its appeal to foreigners, and on the other hand the articles employ a very patriotic.

The British examples do not in general bring forward their own culture in the way that Finnish articles did. But there are places where a clear distinction is made between Finnish and British cultures. Metaphors can be used in order to create a bond between the speaker and hearer (in this case the writer and the reader), which leads us to the question of whether the metaphors used are in any way bound to culture in the articles. It would make sense if the metaphors used were familiar to the readers so that it would be easier for them to understand the comparison. This is the mutual knowledge hypothesis (in Katz 1996:5), which means that the use of a metaphor presupposes that a large audience will share, and be aware that they share, "privileged" knowledge with the source. Example (43) illustrates how the difference between Finnish and British cultures is made by using a metaphor.

(43) *In the Fourth Symphony, we viewed the raw emotions and cold landscapes from the well-cushioned comfort of a Rolls Royce instead of being enveloped by them. (Financial Times, 28 November 1997)*

Example (43) makes a comparison with cultural symbols. It presupposes that the interpretation by Sir Colin of the Fourth Symphony was too British, it lacked the "raw emotions and cold landscapes" of the music and instead the music was played in the British way that was a bit too comfortable, which is visualised with the luxurious characteristics of a Rolls Royce, a

British car and a symbol of Britain in many ways. The real interpretation of the music would have been that the audience were enveloped by the raw emotions and cold landscapes. The verb 'to envelope' means that something is covered, surrounded or enclosed completely. The comparison makes the reader understand the performance better, i.e. it did not convey the music in the right way. There is a hidden presupposition in this metaphor as well: it presupposes that Sibelius' music is about cold landscapes and raw emotions. The writer has a certain idea about the music and the performance could not fulfil the expectations. The metaphor also presupposes the difference between Finnish and British cultures and implies that Sir Colin interpreted the music too much in a British way. There is one further example on how a distinction is made with British and Finnish.

- (44) This country has always been fairly loyal to Sibelius, if by "Sibelius" you meant a few of the symphonies and one or two tone poems. Things have changed. One expects to see the Barbican filled to capacity for a star soloist in the Violin Concerto. But to see an audience of virtually the same size in two such outlandish rarities as *Night Ride and Sunrise* and the youthful *Kullervo* symphony -that was surprising.  
(*The Guardian*, 2 December 1997)

Example (44) acknowledges in the beginning that Sibelius has always been fairly popular in Britain, but the interest has increased recently since even 'such outlandish rarities' as *Night Ride and Sunrise* and *Kullervo* attract large audiences. To describe the pieces as 'outlandish rarities' makes a clear difference between *us* and *them*. The adjective 'outlandish' refers to things that are strange and unusual, and it is generally used when disapproval is shown, the noun 'rarity', however, lessens the negative implication of 'outlandish', for it refers to things that are interesting and valuable because they are unusual. The statement is therefore not negative and in fact the rest of the article praises *Kullervo* and wonders why it is not performed more often.

There are differences in the way that concerts are described in the British and Finnish articles which would suggest that the nationality of the writer

does influence the written product. But there were cases to prove the opposite as well. The Violin Concerto, composed by Sibelius, was performed by Anne-Sophie Mutter and the reviews of that concert are a good example of the use of metaphors and comparison in describing an event. The reviews written by a Finn and a British person are quite similar, as in the following:

- (45) *Konsertissa hän kuitenkin kävi musiikin kimppuun rajusti kuin naarastiikeri.* (In the concert she, however, attacked the music fiercely as a tigress) *Hän repi konserton palasiksi raastavilla aksenteilla ja katkoi laulavan linjan väkivaltaisuuksillaan.* ( She tore up the concerto with racking accents and broke up the singing line with her violence) *Muutammat kohdat antoivat aavistuksen Mutterin todellisista kyvyistä.* (In a few places the real talent of Mutter could be seen) *Hitaan toisen osan loppu oli jumalaisen kaunis.*(The end of the slow second was divinely beautiful) *Finaalin vaikeimmatkin kiemurat hän soitti tuosta vain, ilmeenkään värähtämättä, mutta monessa helpommassa paikassa hän roiski kuin terminaattori konepistoolilla.* (She played the hardest parts of the finale without changing an expression on her face, but in many easier places she splashed like a terminator with a machine gun)  
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 28 November 1997)

- (46) Anne-Sophie Mutter's performance of the Violin Concerto on Wednesday was dramatic too. Enjoyable? *Only if you enjoy being grabbed by the labels, pushed into a corner and told to listen or else. ...Mutter went for the veloce semiquavers like a predator for its prey; Her playing in the finale was so ferocious, her phrasing and articulation so laser-like, that at the end it would have been no surprise to smell burning catgut.* Of course, better this than a routine performance...but better yet still an interpretation with tenderness as well as power, with subtle penetration *instead of terrifying intellectual vivisection.*  
(*The Guardian*, 2 December 1997, Eye section)

The reviews are strikingly similar, even the metaphors carry the same theme in both languages and are easy to compare with each other. Mutter is described as 'a predator', 'terminator' and her playing the violin is



described as ‘intellectual vivisection’ in the British and ‘violent’ in the Finnish article. She is also described in the Finnish article as ‘a ferocious tigress attacking the music’, while in the British article the critic expected to smell ‘burning catgut’, after Anne-Sophie Mutter went after the semiquavers like ‘a predator for its prey’. The beginning of example (46) compares the concert to forcing someone to listen by threatening with violence. In example (45) violence is also used as a way of describing the music. Both articles presuppose that this is not the right way to play this music, which should be intense but not violent. The Finnish article is not totally negative because it describes the end of the second part as ‘divinely beautiful’ and how Mutter played the hardest places ‘without so much as a change of expression on her face’. The British reporter writes that the performance was better than a routine performance, but still the article is quite negative in general. The metaphors in both articles convey the violent nature of the performance perfectly with innovative uses of comparison and metaphor. Perhaps the only conclusion to be made about these two articles and their astonishing resemblance is that in these particular reviews the nationality of the writer is of no great significance, the concert is seen the same way by two critics, it is more a question of individual preferences than different nationalities.

Reporters from one country can have differing opinions. In previous chapters Finnish architecture and design were praised. There are, however, contrasting, negative views about Finnish architecture. For example one article describes the setting at the Barbican centre in the following way:

- (47) The specially designed architectural setting of the show does not help either; it’s like Santa’s Grotto redesigned by a lugubrious minimalist, with a lot of sticking-out bits for people to trip over.  
(*The Guardian*, 2 December 1997)

Here the simple Finnish architecture praised in the earlier quoted articles is described in very negative word choices. ‘Grotto’ means a small cave, adjective ‘lugubrious’ means sad and dull, not lively or cheerful, and the noun ‘minimalist’ is someone who prefers severely simplified composition.

The word choices creates a very negative tone, unlike the previous examples. The only slightly positive reference is that the ‘grotto’ mentioned is ‘Santa’s’, this seems to indicate that the grotto is however fairly pleasant. Other articles described the same setting as ‘archipelago’ and as ‘large, folded sequence of spaces’. This example points out that the critics in one country can have different opinions about the same issue. In chapter 2.1.1. it was mentioned that a Finn Kata Jouhki wrote in her letter to the editor similar things about the exhibitions as example (47). This further points to the direction of individual preferences being more important than nationality, since people from two different countries have the same opinion of the show.

As seen above, the Finnish and British articles are at places strikingly similar and at other places quite different from each other. This can be partly explained with the different preferences of the critics, it does not have to have anything to do with the nationality of the writer.

## **5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

Every text, written or spoken carries ideology, since people have their mental models that are based on their experiences, attitudes and beliefs. It could be assumed that opinion articles are especially ideological. The culture, where one is raised, affects the world view of a person. Mass media has a great power in cultivating people and help them to form attitudes and beliefs about people living in other countries. Journalists are a product of their cultures and have their own mental models and world views, the same applies to the readers. Therefore, it would seem natural that newspaper articles from two different countries describing the same event might carry different ideological meanings. The present study attempted to find out how the *Valo-festival*, which portrayed Finnish culture, was presented in the quality press of Britain and Finland. The data, which consisted of newspaper articles from both Britain and Finland, was examined keeping in mind the range of thought suggested by critical discourse analysis. Of particular interest for the study were the possible stereotypes that are used when

Finland, Finnish people and the Finnish culture are described in these two countries.

The majority of the British articles were well informed about Finnish culture and its aspects. However, not all the events and exhibitions of the *Valo-festival* received an equal amount of attention. The British articles concentrated on reviewing the Sibelius cycle performed as a part of the festival. This is explained by the fact that Sibelius enjoys popularity in Britain, and Sir Colin Davis, who conducted the Symphonies, is a famous British interpreter of Sibelius' music. Also the previous success of Sir Colin Davis' Sibelius cycle created interest. With the interest in Sibelius' music also other aspects of Finnish culture received attention in the British quality press. Finnish architecture, music and design received positive attention and were described in lengthy articles in such British newspapers as *The Times*, *The Financial Times* and *The Independent*. But as mentioned above, the focus was clearly on Sibelius' music and Sir Colin Davis.

The Finnish articles were written on a variety of subjects, even the smaller events were usually described. The difference in orientation of interest between the two countries can be explained partly with ideological differences and partly with the politics involved in the process of writing a newspaper. The hard fact of journalism is that not everything is news and what gets published goes through strict selection. Newspapers report only issues that are known to interest the audience. Sibelius and especially Sir Colin Davis are interesting to the British audience, whereas the smaller events were not believed to attract such attention. The discourse practise of newspaper writing affects the published outcome. However, the *Valo-festival* increased momentarily the news value of Finnish culture and a couple of lengthy articles describing Finnish design, music and architecture were published.

There was only one clearly stereotypical article in the British data, but in the rest of the articles a certain image of Finland and Finnish culture was portrayed through four controlling themes. Finnish nature and climate, nationalism, originality and education were emphasised. When describing Finland as a country, the cold climate, its darkness and aspects of the rough

nature were accentuated. Finland was described with generalisations of the cold and dark winter. The lack of light was overemphasised and an image of Finland being always full of darkness was created. Sheer repetition of a theme can result in a simplified idea in the minds of the audience. Nature was a recurring and controlling theme when Finnish culture was described, almost every aspect of Finnish culture was considered to be inspired by nature. This interest in Finnish nature must come from the fact that it is very different from British nature. The same applies to emphasising the cold winter, because Britain does not have such changes in its climate as Finland does. What is unknown becomes exotic in the British articles. The British data did not contain stereotypes, at least not in the negative sense of the word, but Finland is clearly categorised in British minds in exotic and nature related terms. Finland was also seen as a developed country with good educational system in music and in design, but at the same time Finland is seen as isolated, distant and less known than other Scandinavian countries.

It seems that Finland does not arouse strong feelings in the minds of British journalists. The articles were mainly encouraging and positive. Therefore no strong ideological aspects or power structures could be found in the articles. The Finnish articles on the other hand were partly based on emotion and therefore contained more of an ideological approach to the matter at hand. This was realised as patriotic writing and as division to *us* and *them*. The mentality of the articles from the two countries differed from each other. British articles presented a positive picture about Finnish culture whereas Finnish articles were more critical.

Because of the different orientation of interest the Finnish and British data were difficult to compare, but some differences and similarities did surface. The Finnish articles emphasised the originality of Finnish culture much in the same way as the British did, but occasionally it was used as a defence mechanism. In the British data the theme of originality was used in a positive sense. Nature was not emphasised in the Finnish articles but its importance was presupposed. The name of the festival *valo* 'light' itself is a clear indication that light and the lack of it is an important aspect of Finnish

culture. Finns also tend to bring forward the Finnish nature because they know that there are not many places in Europe where such clean nature exists. In general the British articles used more positive expressions in describing the aspects of Finnish culture than did the Finnish. The British articles expressed very little criticism towards Finnish culture, whereas Finnish articles were quite sceptical about Finnish culture being able to attract audiences anywhere but in Finland.

One interesting aspect in the British articles was the use of contradictory terms. As Fairclough argues, where there are differences in form there might be differences in meaning (see chapter 2.4.) The use of contradictory terms in one sentence is such a difference in form. The phenomenon seems to presuppose that in the British point of view Finnish culture contains opposites. Sibelius' music was often described with contradictory expressions. In addition, Sibelius or his music were always described through Finnish nature and the Finnish people. It seems that in the British minds Sibelius is Finnish culture. Whenever Sibelius was mentioned Finland or the Finnish people were always referred to. However, many British writers were aware of stereotypes connected to Finnish culture and actually tried to brake them.

The Finnish articles did not use stereotypes in describing the *Valo-festival*, but they did use more negative vocabulary. There was a mixture of understatements and patriotic language. On one hand, Finnish culture, and Finnish performers were praised on highly patriotic terms. This was evident when comparing Finnish performers to those from other countries. On the other hand, the descriptive expressions and choice of words describing the events at the festival made the tone of the articles negative. The style was quite apologetic in some articles and then fervently patriotic in others. For example, some of the articles presented a clear division to *us* and *them*. There was a notion that only Finnish performers can understand and interpret Sibelius in the right way. The British articles did not use the division to *us* and *them* as clearly as the Finnish did. In some places, however, a clear difference was made between Finnish and British cultures.

There was a problem in the data that prevents generalisations, the Finnish articles were mostly written by one person and therefore it was impossible to make generalisations. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that use of mixture of patriotic language and understatements could have something to do with low self-esteem from which Finnish people suffer from time to time (see chapter 2.1.) This finding presents an interesting field for further study.

The reviews of the concerts were at places very similar and at places quite different between the British and Finnish articles. The conclusion to be made about this is that it is not necessarily the nationality that affects the writing about cultural issues but personal preferences may be more important. All journalists have their own ideologies and they review the concerts through their experience and activate past models in the process. But the experiences can vary in different cultures. Consequently, when Finnish music is described mainly in terms of Finnish nature and history in British articles, but not so much in Finnish articles, this choice might be influenced by different attitudes and beliefs, that result from living in different cultures. For Finns the winter, darkness and the nature with its forests and lakes is a very normal thing, and it need not be necessarily used in describing Finnish music, whereas for a British person to understand Finnish music it may have to be described by emphasising differences between Finland and Britain. The Finnish reader might want to add to the image presented by the British articles, i.e. Finland is not only affected by the winter and the darkness but the summer and the midnight sun are as important factors in Finnish mentality.

It is interesting that the British articles emphasised the four themes mentioned above. These themes in itself show the influence of ideology in the language. The image of Finland in the minds of British cultural journalists is categorised in terms of first and foremost by nature and in smaller amounts by nationalism, originality and good education. Finnish culture is explained through these themes because people in Britain categorise Finland that way. However, Finland seems to do very little in order to change these categories, for example, the *Valo-festival* and its

exhibitions and performances in a way promote the four themes. The music performed during the festival was mainly Sibelius and the modern Finnish music was not heard. Finnish nature was emphasised in the exhibitions in many ways. The already accepted aspects of Finnish culture are easy to bring forward, whereas the more modern aspects are left with less attention. In a way Finland then promotes the categories known to interest people abroad.

The newspaper articles written about culture offer a vast and interesting field of study. This study has been a mere scratch on the surface, hopefully a valuable one at that. A more extensive study with data without such problems as the present study would probably lead to other conclusions. In addition critical discourse analysis did not function as a clear method in this study because of the data. However critical discourse analysis provided the writer with interesting ideas and new ways of looking at things. The most useful tool of study was the critical way of thought promoted by critical discourse analysis, but as a method critical discourse analysis is best suited to political texts and hard news. It also has to be noted that even the researcher has her own mental model and therefore the interpretation of the data by another person might be quite different. Objectivity is always the aim of research but still the attitudes and beliefs of any person are bound to affect the outcome.

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