

# Minorities in Finnish Publicity

SARI PIETIKÄINEN & HEIKKI LUOSTARINEN

If simplifications and stereotypes are found in the media, the same applies for the discussion about media. "Intolerance towards all divergencies is wide-spread, and it has become an acceptable way of looking at things also in the media", writes Juhani Kortteinen (1995). According to Kortteinen, derogatory name-calling based on nationality, ethnic background or origins of whole groups of people has increased. As a rule, immigrants are portrayed as a threat and a problem. Without criticism, publicity is given to the propaganda of the nazis and the far right. Teun van Dijk (1995) emphasizes that all media, those aiming at quality journalism and those thriving on scandals, are an integral part of the problem of racism, the increasing violence and everyday discrimination against the immigrants. News gathering, story assignment, topics, quotation, and style are thus systematically stacked against the Others.

A standardized speech about the "media" is as precise or as unclear as talk about "blacks" or "Muslims" or "Western opinion": there is something in common but also differences. From the viewpoint of the media, a standardizing criticism melts together reporting based on facts, the use of fiction, differences between various countries and different market segments. On the market there are media whose competition strategy is to report what goes on in the society in a precise and accurate fashion and in accordance with good journalistic conduct, and others whose niche in the competition is to spread trumped-up scandals and reinforce the prevailing prejudices. All possible variations of different mixes between these opposites are available and even in a single news medium, the various departments might have their own ways of doing things, and the medium itself functions differently in different times. The spectrum of the media and the people who work for them is wide.

It is difficult to estimate and isolate from other factors the effect of the media to ethnic opinions or the position of the minorities in a society. It is likely, however, that the ways in which the main-stream media construct our reality, the concepts and language they use, choices they make, their emphasis and the elements they leave out, affect in a homogenizing way on how their consumers conceptualize the society around them. Extremist phenomena have their own undeniable politi-

cal and cultural significance, possibly an activating effect, too. A case in point is the attention paid in the United States during the last few years to right-wing talk radio or scandal press. In Finland these are relatively few in number; in our media the mainstream is broad and tributaries narrow.

Only a few journalists with a responsible attitude towards their profession deny the responsibility of journalism in questions dealing with discrimination, the status of the minorities, racism and xenophobia. Also journalist associations, like the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) along with national associations in the Netherlands, Great Britain and Finland have become active in discussing discrimination (Paukku 1995). In the basic programme adopted by the IFJ in 1986 it is said that the journalist should do the utmost to prevent the promotion of discrimination based on race, sexual preferences, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or societal origins. This demand is a central element in all human rights treaties entered after the Second World War, and in various formulations it features in many ethical guidelines drafted by national journalist associations for their members. How the reporters react to these recommendations or how they affect the journalistic work practices in everyday life, is another matter.

A media company may decide to ignore the ban on discrimination for commercial or political reasons. In the mode of operation of the mass media, in their news criteria or work cultures, there may exist conventions and structures that reinforce discrimination which the journalist very seldom comes to think about, and the professional ethics does not discuss. Because of personal prejudices and passions, a reporter can disregard his or her ethical obligations. The reporter can, without knowing it, also adopt uses of language which reinforce discrimination. The media themselves are not the cause of discrimination or the primary source of it, and putting the blame on media all too straightforwardly does not change the societal problems behind the discrimination. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed, as the so-called Raxen commission of the European Council does in its final report (1995, 29), that a strong support to multiculturalism lent by the media automatically and rapidly would change the attitudes and prejudices of the general public. By examining the media and their working methods, indications can be found of how the different actors define causes and react to effects and how the media institution itself functions as an actor in the society.

It is important to ask, what kind of reporting and mass media is strived for. Is abstaining from discrimination in itself a sufficient contribution on the part of the media, or should journalism also assume a “positive role in the action promotion of just and peaceful multicultural society” (Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen 1995). A discussion should also be raised about how working methods and values could be elaborated in a way that would improve the position of the minorities and would also be beneficial for the media themselves. One argument in this discussion is to emphasize the communal ethics of journalism; another is to stress awareness of journalistic practices and their consequences in particular.

The basic presupposition for journalism is a demand for topical information that is based on facts. The demand is affected by the scope of societal contacts of the public, their activity, and ability to have an impact on the development of society. According to this soothing – though simplified – thought, the long term interest of journalism is the functionality of central groups in society, and their tight, intensive mutual contacts with each other. For instance, the relative circulation of newspapers representing quality journalism is bigger in countries where political, cultural and economical resources are more evenly distributed and the tensions between different social classes are lowest. (Luostarinen 1993)

The idea of public journalism has found commercial applications, too. In the United States, the movement has been supported by commercial publishers, members of the minorities, academic researches of journalism, and journalists alike. According to one of its basic ideas, what journalism is selling is primarily connections between people. The demand for these connections is modest in a community characterized by segregation and hostility between different groups. If more contacts are established between the various groups, people start actively tackling their social problems, and the demand for journalism increases. (Heikkilä & Kunelius 1995)

Discussing the communal effects and responsibility of journalism does not mean putting the blame on anybody. Rather, it is a debate on the role of journalism, useful both to journalism itself and the members of society in ensuring communal functionality. The criticism in our article and suggestions for further development are made with this in mind. The main objects of our examination are the working methods of the media, their news criteria, work culture and professional ethics: on one hand their consequences to the minorities, on the other, the demands they make on the journalist’s work. We have reflected these elements against topical material in the media. The studies at our disposal deal mainly with publicity of ethnic minorities but we have aimed at broadening our viewpoint also to other minorities.

## The Forming of Publicity

The relationship between the various groups in society and media publicity is quite diverse: Some examples of the different forms of this relation:

- Some groups want to stay out of publicity and have a justification for this desire; they’re also granted this possibility.

For instance, religious communities whose activities do not have any unethical features like commercial recruiting, pressure towards their members etc. Typically, these groups have their own partial publicities and live relatively independently in their relation to the rest of society.

- Some groups wish to avoid publicity even if their publicity would serve the interests of society. These are e.g. criminals, clandestine coalitions of those in power, and religious groups or cults which engage themselves in unethical activities.
- Some groups choose to stay out of publicity even if publicity would serve their own interests. Among immigrants there are groups which due to their experiences as refugees, do not trust the authorities or the media, and try to live as unobtrusively as possible. Yet at the same time, the minorities’ rights, for instance, to education and preserving their own culture, may to a large extent depend on the functioning of the same publicity they are trying to avoid.<sup>1</sup>
- Some of the groups want to keep themselves out of the limelight with a justified reason, but nevertheless are at times a centre of attention, usually a negative one. This group contains religious, ethnic and sexual minorities whose activities are neither illegal nor unethical as such, but which from the media viewpoint are linked with something interesting or something that has “selling potential” and therefore are focused on, against the explicit wishes of these groups.
- Some groups seek positive publicity and receive it. In different times and different countries the mass media have their own favourites.
- Some groups aim at receiving positive publicity but receive it on a very limited scale, not at all, or get only negative attention. Apart from favourites, the media also have groups which a large part of the reporters may think of as vaguely unpleasant or as too pushy in their efforts to get media attention.
- Some groups like terrorists, neo-nazis and soccer hooligans, seek negative publicity and get it. For terrorists, the point is to seek publicity for their cause irrespective of the nature of the attention. For soccer hooligans and similar groups, the point is in group identity which expressly contains an element of remaining outside of the established society and a reputation for “evil”.

Usually, the publicity of various minorities is formed by a combination of these and many other factors. The overall picture is also affected by the minorities’ own differentiation and varying attitudes towards publicity and the diversity of news criteria in the mass media. Reporting that in the eyes of the media and the journalist is neutral, can in the minorities’ view be either favourable or negative.

The general view that can be discerned in mass media content is further complicated by the emergence of various other actors who come “in between” of the different groups

and mass communication, and articulate or interpret the groups' affairs from their own point of view or from the viewpoint of other interests: authorities, scholars, representatives of opposing groups, politicians etc. In fact, only a small part of speech in mass communication comes straight from the members of the groups themselves.

This is one of the fundamental problems of journalism. It relies far too much on ready-made material which is conceptualized and interpreted in advance, and is not edited or commented enough by the journalists themselves. The media are ill-prepared to cover topics with actors who aren't well-established or organized into groups.

Journalism is not only news about past events but to a large extent, also a discussion about the future. Different interest groups try with statements, demands, prognoses and reports to have an influence on what questions rise on the agenda of the government and the administration as important and calling for decisions. Apart from the issues on the agenda, the interest groups try to have their say also on the terms with which the issues are conceptualized and contextualized. Because the influence of the mass media is believed to be very strong, various groups in the society use a growing part of their resources to information services and efforts to control publicity.

The possibilities and capacity of society's various groups to influence the amount and content of the publicity they receive, vary wildly. There are big, wealthy organizations who offer high-quality PR-services and cater to the needs of the reporters in a variety of ways. At the other end, there are unorganized groups of people who, due to some social or physical reasons cannot advance their cause in publicity. Groups whose activities are perceived as unselfish and in the interest of the common good, often receive more favourable attention than those who are interpreted as seeking only their own economical or political gain.

An important factor forming the publicity of different groups is the market. Commercial journalism sells messages to audiences and audiences to the advertisers; In Finland for instance, 60% of the income of the daily press comes from advertisements (Finnish Mass Media 1994, 233). This is why journalism tries to serve particularly groups that are prosperous and attractive in the eyes of the advertisers. Minorities seldom belong to this group. Naturally, the final outcome is affected also by the age, gender and social status of the journalists themselves: they are more interested in questions that have a bearing to their own life and with which they are familiar.

Also the "spirit of the times", the ideological undercurrents and trends that are prevalent in society, have an effect on the emphasis and choices of journalism. Since the late 80's, Finland has experienced a period of rising nationalism and patriotism. This new nationalism can best be characterized as nostalgic and militaristic: the achievements in past wars and the Finnish army have received wide and positive attention in the media. Nationalism is seldom merely a question of appreciating one's own special character, culture and history. It is often connected with disdain and contempt for some other nations and groups of people. Thus, it's perhaps not a coincidence,

that at the same when patriotism and nationalism have in various surveys been shown to form the two most important defining factors in the self-image of the Finns, a negative attitude towards foreigners has been on the rise (Epävarmuuden aika 1995; Jaakkola 1995).

The publicity of racism and xenophobia is to a great extent formed by the elites in politics, culture, administration and business which journalism uses as its most important sources. Through media, the attitudes of the various elites towards discrimination, – encouraging, silently approving or critical – reach a wide audience.

From the viewpoint of the minorities, the important thing is not only how they are portrayed in publicity, but also how the "majority" is: for instance, how strong a uniformity and concerning what things is a condition for belonging to a nation.

Although journalists work under many economical and social pressures, none of those pressures are an excuse for unethical and discriminatory treating of minorities; the respect for human dignity, one of the basic tenets of the profession, should be preserved in all circumstances.

## Studies on the Publicity of Minorities

The relationship between minorities and publicity has been studied in many countries for the last three decades. The results have not dramatically changed since the first conclusions. Already in the Kerner Commission<sup>2</sup> report (1968) it was stated that news media had too long kept itself in a white world, viewing with white eyes and from a white perspective the world around us.

Different versions of this basic conclusion have since been repeated in studies carried out in various countries. The studies have systematically shown that the media are more likely to connect members of ethnic minorities with negative connotations describing them as outsiders, a problem and a threat (Hartman and Husband 1974, van Dijk 1991). Studies have reported of news bias and unbalanced coverage. The Hartman-Husband study (1974) on racism and ethnic minorities in the British media showed that the media describes Great Britain as a white society, from which citizens belonging to ethnic minorities are excluded as odd and problematic.

Also Van Dijk (1991) has arrived at similar conclusions after having studied the reporting of Dutch and British papers on ethnic minorities. Immigration and refugees are described in the news as a threatening "flood", and members of ethnic minorities typically as problem-causing. The minorities are quoted less than members of the majority. The minorities' own experiences of racism are marginalized, and the racism existing in the society is not perceived as "our" problem. The media very rarely report on discriminatory actions or courses taken by different actors in society, like authorities or employers. The journalists hesitate in their critique of racism in fear of being labelled as mouthpieces for the minorities. (See van Dijk 1991, 1993.)

Blatant stereotypes are seldom found in the mainstream media; the contemporary racism shows in negative news coverage, one-sided reporting and lack of alternative viewpoints.

(Campbell 1995). Although the invisibility of the minorities in the media is not total, what little can be seen, is irrelevant and often misleading (Rubin 1993).

Conflict-centered news have been interpreted to support the social order of the business world and the white middle-aged middle class (Gans 1979). Many questions in the life of the minorities are perceived as foreign to the majority of the general public and they are not seen as significant or having a "selling potential". Besides, crime and conflicts are "central" news topics in general, also for the part of the minorities.

The problem is in the lack of other kinds of news. The everyday life of the minorities and essential questions for them remain often distant to the journalists. In addition, all minority groups are not well-organized, and many lack financial resources for wide-spread information activities and serving the mass media. The media are businesses seeking economic profit; this affects the criteria for producing the news. The emphasis is on speed and cost-efficiency. In practical work this shows in the use of sources which are organized and easy at hand.

The small number of journalists belonging to minority groups is often seen as one of the reasons for the negative and one-sided reporting in the main media. In the United States for instance, only five per cent of the reporters are black (Campbell 1995), and journalists belonging to minority groups have told of difficulties in their work communities and in getting promotions. (Wilson and Gutierrez 1985). According to Campbell (1995), the media in the United States give a picture of an American melting-pot where also the minorities live well and could live even better if only they worked harder. Popular culture as portrayed in the media presents a society from which racism has disappeared and where economical and social problems have other causes and origins. Rap music and movies by black film-makers like Spike Lee, are among the few media products where racism is systematically depicted in a straightforward fashion from a non-white, non-middle class viewpoint. (Campbell, 1995)

According to Gross (1995), sexual minorities are the ones most unlikely to get their voices heard in the main-stream media. Sexual minorities are the only minority group which can, under the guise of protecting morality and good taste, be legitimately discriminated and marginalized. Championing the cause of the sexual minorities is further complicated by the invisibility of the members of these minorities; unlike most others, those belonging to sexual minorities identify themselves as members only when they choose to do so (Gross 1995.)

The media often describe sexual minorities as weak, degenerate, repulsive and criminal. AIDS and the rise of the right wing have worsened things in the United States (Gross 1995, Rubin 1993). The likelihood and intensity of discrimination increases with the number of different minorities to which a person belongs.

## **Studies of Minorities in Finnish Publicity**

Some of the findings in studies abroad can be applied to Finland. The basic problem is the same: one-sidedness of media

content and problem-centered reporting on minorities. There are differences, though, for instance on the basis of the structure of mass media and the size of ethnic minorities. Foreigners, few in number, are scattered all around the country, and so far, the level of their organization is quite low. Wide-spread rioting or conflicts that would catch the attention of the media, have not burst out in Finland. This has led to a belief that there is no racism in Finland, especially since the traditional minorities who have always, or for a very long time lived in the country, are often forgotten in the discussion altogether.

Finnish studies on minority publicity are few. Researchers have only in recent years shown interest in the relationships between ethnic minority, identity, nationalism and publicity. The reason for this is probably the rise in the number of foreigners, especially refugees and the emerging of the so-called "Refugee question". Changes in the country's surroundings, the Finnish membership in the EU and the collapse of the Soviet Union have launched a discussion about national identity and the meaning of being a Finn.

The studies so far have mainly been small-scale exercises focusing mostly on newspapers and the coverage on refugees. There is almost no studies on the traditional minorities in Finland, the Lapps, Romanies, Russians or Tartars. Studies on sexual minorities and the disabled in the Finnish publicity are also lacking. Only occasional articles and master's theses have in outline discussed the relationship of these minorities and publicity in Finland. It appears that otherness is so strange to the Finns that it is excluded also from research. There are no studies to examine the views of the members of minorities of their own publicity.

Many studies have focused on how the media affects the opinions of the majority, especially on refugees. The results are parallel with studies conducted abroad: people name media as their primary source of information on ethnic matters. It is impossible to study the impact of the media apart from other opinion-forming factors. The assumption is that the role of the media as the primary source of information is emphasized in situations where people don't have very much experience of the topic or do not have access to other, alternative sources of information. Even if there doesn't exist a direct link between media content and peoples' attitudes, it has been noted that many conversation topics in peoples' everyday lives and argumentation used in them (see eg. Laari 1994) have their origins in media contents.

In the following, we focus on journalistic methods and criteria which are essential in forming and changing the publicity of different groups. We take a look on the general approach of newspapers to minority reporting as reflected in various studies on the subject, journalistic work methods and their effects from the minorities' point of view. In conclusion we discuss the significance of language, especially journalistic use of it: how meanings are produced, changed and reinforced through the use of language.

*Dimensions of exclusion:* At the surface, the reporting of the Finnish media on minorities is moderate. The content of the reporting has in many studies (Hurri 1992, Järvinen 1992, Vuorinen 1990) found to be for the main part neutral or positive. In addition, the reporting on refugees has been estimated

to have become more exact and analytical than before (Hynninen 1992). In most cases, the media coverage of refugees would appear as positive or neutral; hence it is not easy to say that people who are active in media publicity, for instance politicians, authorities or the journalists could be called racist or discriminating. (Hurri 1992, Järvinen 1992).

A closer look reveals cracks on the seemingly smooth surface. In accordance with their profile, the so-called quality papers avoid expressions that are blatantly discriminatory, but there are also differences between them. Hynninen (1992) compared attitudes towards refugees in the news, editorials and letters to the editor of three provincial newspapers in the years 1979 and 1990-1991. According to Hynninen, the newspapers *Kouvola Sanomat* and *Länsi-Savo* generally took in their news and columns an humane view on the refugees; the letters to the editor in the papers were either for, or against the refugees. The newspaper *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* in turn, was hostile to the refugees throughout.

Simultaneously with humane editorials the papers published letters to the editor that were decidedly against the refugees, and used stereotypes in their other material. (See eg. Luostarinen 1992b). The published letters to the editor were estimated for the most part as being against the refugees in *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1987 and 1989 (Aarnivala 1990), wholly against refugees in *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* and partly against in *Länsi-Savo* and *Kouvola Sanomat* in the years 1979 and 1990-1991 (Hynninen 1992).

Letters to the editor can be seen as a part of media publicity than representing the sentiments of the people as such. The letters naturally tell about everyday problems of some single individual and are also an indication of the willingness of proponents of different opinions to participate in the debate. An individual's opinion becomes interesting because the newspaper chooses to publish his or her letter. For instance, *Helsingin Sanomat* published in 1994 one fifth of the letters it received, and a quarter in 1995 (*Helsingin Sanomat* 2.1.1996). It has been estimated that *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* publishes well over one half of letters it receives (Hynninen 1992).

Because of the contradiction between soft-spoken and humane editorials and articles with hostile tones towards the refugees, the picture of the Finnish newspapers in the beginning of the 1990s is ambivalent. This ambivalence could be called a double standard. The same newspaper would condemn a defamatory use of language in its editorial, but use stereotypes in its columns, cartoons and sports material. Even drastic measures were approved of – like closing the borders in a distinct violation against an international refugee treaty if authorities were behind the action. There are many reasons for this double standard: sales promotion, the journalists' personal values and attitudes, and the fact that morals and practical political choices are seen as two different things (Luostarinen 1992b). On a more general level, the contradictory functioning of the media can be seen as an indication of the fact that the media do not have a will common to all, but instead, consist of many different individuals and their wills and values.

*Journalistic practices:* Typification, generalizations and juxtapositions in news-making easily bring with them stereo-

types of the parties involved. According to various studies, minorities are represented typically as a problem calling for action on the part of the majority. The refugees are strange and transitory, hard-working victims of circumstance, or potential criminals and freeloaders taking advantage of the Finnish social security system. (Banjaree 1993, Heiskanen 1990, Laari 1994). All the handicapped have perseverance in common. Inflicted or not, he is an easy-going and happy handicapped, a deaf with peaceful disposition, a blind who is content with little, or an epileptic struggling with everyday problems (Salomaa 1990). Homosexuality is represented as a negative category comparable with illness; the person is in essence defined by his or her sexuality. The image of gays is typically extremely effeminate or frighteningly masculine. The lesbians come through as particularly manlike. (Lahti 1989, Kangasniemi 1989).

Regardless of how truthful or false these stereotypes are, they nevertheless pick out some features or aspects of the minorities and offer a basis for an interpretation. In lack of alternative views, one-sided, mainly negative stereotypes form the prevailing image of the minorities in publicity.

In studies of minority publicity, the lack of alternative news and viewpoints has been noticed. For instance in the study of Järvinen (1992) on refugee news in the Tampere region newspapers in 1989, the most frequent topic was the Finnish refugee policy. A typical news item would take the Finnish viewpoint: should Finland receive refugees, and if so, from where and how many, where would the refugees be settled, how much would they cost and how would the Finns react. In news about Somali refugees, the main themes were a potential flood of refugees, imminent social problems, and the attitude of the Finns towards the Somalis (Hakala 1992). In the study by Rekola (1996) of Finnish newspapers and periodicals in February-March 1995, half of the news dealt with different problems and conflicts relating to the refugees.

Koironen (1993) compared reporting on the refugees in *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* during the present century. According to him, a refugee became news regardless of the number of those arriving into a country; it was enough if exile was felt to be something that is near, for instance on the basis of geography or cultural relations. In addition, world-wide attention, especially the amount of interest of the American media affected the refugee news in the newspapers studied.

Source and quoting practices reinforce the authority viewpoint in refugee news coverage (Hakala 1992, Hurri 1992, Järvinen 1992, Rekola 1996). Preliminary results of Pietikäinen's study (1995) on news coverage of *Helsingin Sanomat* on refugees and foreigners in 1985-1993 show that members of the majority were quoted in almost every news; the minorities in every fifth. In addition, the members of the majority were quoted on dominating themes, like the grounds for granting an asylum, Finnish refugee policy, and how much refugees should be allowed entrance in Finland. The members of the minority were quoted over topics of lesser urgency, mostly dealing with their own culture and getting accustomed to living in Finland.

It is characteristic, as for instance Järvinen's study (1992) shows, that the police alone were quoted more than all the foreigners put together. According to Rekola (1996), the periodicals wrote about ethnic minorities in a more positive way than the newspapers. By choosing members of minorities for their main sources and representing them as active members of society, the periodicals' viewpoint is different from the newspapers.

The small number of refugees quoted is partly explained by a lack of fluency in speaking Finnish, or an eventual unwillingness on the part of the refugees to stand out because of, say, security reasons. Without explanation, however, remains the question why there aren't any interviews with refugees who have resided in Finland for a time, or those who can speak English. The most likely reasons are availability, cost-efficiency and reliability. The journalists resort mainly to the authorities whose information is organized and easily accessible. The information provided by the authorities can be false or misleading, though. For instance, certain authorities labeled the Kurds' effort to seek asylum in the winter 1993 as illegal entry, even if an asylum-seeker can legally gain entrance to a country without any documents or a visa, as long as he or she reports to the authorities. The misleading definition of the authorities was adopted in the media (Seppälä 1993.) The administrative approach easily promotes a description of the refugees as an abstract problem which calls for administrative measures. The discussion is about a refugee, who does not exist as an individual.

The source practices also reveal who is considered a reliable and trustworthy source of information. The authorities are the ones to speak for the refugees and the whole discussion is based on different views among the majority. It would be interesting to compare how members of other minorities are quoted in the news – who for instance speaks for the disabled in the news?

The news has also visual elements. According to Saraste (1992), the images of refugees in the main newscasts of the YLE and MTV were typically of men loafing about at the railway station. Close-ups and eye contact were seldom used. In the view of Jokela (1989) a connection between headline, ingress, image and caption is missing in many refugee news. Also Immonen (1995) has in a study on refugee news coverage noted that in many news there was a contradiction between the headline, the ingress and the actual content of the text.

In the news coverage on ethnic minorities, the essential thing is what is left out, what things remain unsaid, what topics never make the news, what is not reported, who is not quoted, and what questions are never even asked. The refugees' own problems and views, or the positive aspects of a multicultural society very rarely become news. Only little attention is paid to news on violence experienced by foreigners and considerations of the adverse long-term consequences of racism and nationalism to the Finnish society. (Luostarinen 1994). Laakso (1991) shows in her study over Islam and the handling of the Salman Rushdie case in Helsingin Sanomat, The Times and the Sunday Times, that Muslims themselves

were not interviewed in any of the articles. Instead, the journalists told readers what the Muslims in their minds were thinking of Rushdie's book and how they would react. There was no mention in the articles that in Britain, almost all leaders of Muslim organizations condemned the use of violence in the strictest terms. Thus, the papers take sides by leaving things out (Hakala 1992, Hurri 1992, Koiranen 1993), and by muffling voices having alternatives to offer.

There are no studies on the journalists' views on news reporting on the minorities or the policies of the newspapers in the question. Occasional comments (see eg. Hyttinen and Tuomarla 1992) leave an impression that journalists are aware of the different demands on minority reporting. For one thing, the journalists stress their commitment to balanced reporting regardless of the topic. In practice, this means that unnecessary references to ethnic background and the use of stereotypes and generalizations ought to be avoided. The journalists stress that also negative incidents and conflicts should be reported: it is not the business of the journalist to be an uncritical spokesman for the minorities. On the other hand, journalists say that they are worried about the lack of news which would focus on the positive sides of a multicultural society, or the refugees as individuals. They estimate that they rely too much on sources provided by the authorities. The journalists would thus seem to be well aware of the deficiencies in the news. All the more interesting then, what stops them from making their articles better?

One of the few case studies of the journalists' viewpoint is by Hakala (1992), dealing with the reporting on Somali refugees in the Finnish media. Hakala describes how the Somalis became front-page news only after six months had passed since the beginning of their arrival. To explain this, Hakala refers to factors relating to gathering the news, the time of the year, and the delay in the statistics numbers turning into anything "real". Hakala gives also an other explanation: The Somalis didn't make the headlines before a set of news criteria was met, those of threat, closeness and exceptionality. The Finns were hardly familiar with the Somalis, the escape from Somalia does not count as an exceptional feat, so what is left is an unknown threat (Hakala 1992).

To correct the news bias in reporting on the minorities, it has been suggested that more journalists with ethnic background should be hired. At the moment, only a handful of journalists of ethnic origin work in the Finnish media. They have a hard time finding employment and face difficulties in getting promotions. (Helminen 1996). The immigrants have their own publications in Finland (about a dozen or so) but the issues they raise very seldom find their way in the main media (Tuomarla 1995).

*Language and differentiation:* A common conception of language is that it describes more or less accurately the events and thoughts of the world outside the language.

An essential part of language is of course representation, but equally inseparably, it also has a constructive nature. (Fairclough 1992, 1995, Hodge and Kress 1992). In the background there is an underlying notion of a connection between language and thinking, and in the final analysis, the lan-

guage's effect on action. Language is neither a transparent nor neutral means of thinking, it is not separated from the structures of society but is historical and social. It is formed socially and forms the community.

The notion of the constructing nature of language brings forth a presupposition that the language of the media does not only describe events in the world but through choosing, appraising and creating connections, also constructs the world, concept systems and relationships between people and institutions. Language is not a neutral tool for just describing what goes on.

The power of language lies in its capacity to define. Language can reinforce and legitimize, change and renew symbolical differences between people, groups and institutions. In the use of language, different discourses do not only convey thoughts and views but have become a location where political, economical and societal phenomena are being created, reinforced and changed (Välvirronen 1993).

Even the smallest part of a discourse has an effect on both the topic and the users of language themselves. In the long run, the discourses renew and change societal phenomena and in the end, contribute to changes in society and culture. In addition, the use of language contains elements of previous uses or at least entails reactions to them (Fairclough 1995). This means that language contains socio-cultural knowledge and attitudes which are connected with present-day events and new knowledge. All this results in new kinds of combinations which keenly reflect the state of the society at any given time.

The power of language is strengthened by public and institutional contexts and the status of the user of language. Media context is especially important because, apart from the fact that the discourses it conveys are extremely wide-spread, it also has a neutralizing and legitimizing effect in the discourses it presents.

Studies on the relationship between minorities and the media indicate that even if reporting changes depending on the topic and the moment in time, common to all reporting is the establishing of a difference between the minorities and the majority. The text in the news is constructed of discourses about "us" and "the others". These discourses emphasize the differences between, say, the Finns and the refugees, and define characteristic features which have to do with either being Finnish or being a refugee (Haverinen 1992, Järvinen 1992). The Us versus Others – discourse upholds, legitimizes and produces otherness. The refugees are talked about as Them, not as a part of Us. (Järvinen 1992), and there is a subtle undertone as if somebody was trying to make "us the Finns" a unified, homogeneous group with a common will.

Also in newspaper articles about disabled artists, a central theme was to create a difference between disabled and non-disabled persons (Linnamaa 1995). The distinction can be established by defining the disabled as somehow similar with each other and in some part different from people who do not have an handicap. Another way is to explain disabledness as a fate which carries with it, as if automatically, isolation and differentness. The isolation of the disabled is explained by

their personal characteristics, not by the attitudes of the people around them. The majority also tries to protect its own "reality" by connecting unwanted features of life like chaos, weakness and helplessness with otherness and being disabled. Getting on by oneself is taken as self-evident, which means that the need of help of the handicapped is subtly defined as dependence, an unwanted fate which brings suffering. (Linnamaa 1995.)

The consequence of using language like this is according to Linnamaa that the disabled are presented merely in a one-way relationship in their relation to the non-disabled, one of being looked after. The disabled persons' own actions and customs are easily defined as inadequate or deviations from the norm. In consequence, the looking down upon the disabled persons' customs is legitimized by referring to the customs themselves, not the attitudes of the world that surrounds them.

Choices in the use of language describe the users' own values and sets of belief concerning things and events: how they describe themselves, different groups, or their own different aims and attitudes (Halliday 1985). For instance, whether a journalist calls a refugee an immigrant, asylum-seeker or merely a freeloader out to sponge on social security, describes his or her attitude towards the case and inevitably creates a certain angle in the news.

In addition, it is essential in what kind of roles the participants are presented, especially, who is presented as the responsible actor (*Kurds cross the border in secret*), or who is described as taking part passively or as an object of action (*A Finn smuggled Kurds*), or is the event formulated in a way that nobody is responsible (*Kurds to Finland in secrecy*) and things taking place become inevitable or natural (Leiwo and Pitkänen, 1996). The real actors can also be hidden behind the use of language. For instance Sondermann (1990) has paid attention to newspaper articles where Finland is the acting subject; e.g. "Finland" has decided to receive refugees or "Finland" has granted an asylum. The real forces behind this, most likely politicians or civil servants, do exist, however. The interesting part is, why has the journalist chosen to represent the issues like this? Are certain ways of representing things dominant in connection with certain topics, or at some special point in time, and have these ways of representation something to do with a more general change in society, or do they strengthen some practices that already are in use.

The ambiguity of the use of language is particularly evident in the use of irony and humour. Even if humour and irony can be tools in questioning stereotyped identities and giving them a new meaning, (Linnamaa 1995, Lahti 1995), they can in other situations contain extremely discriminatory statements and reinforce negative stereotypes. The use of linguistic humour, let alone the use of pictures, is very hard to analyze. An example is Kari Suomalainen and his cartoons of refugees and the demand for an inquiry as to their lawfulness (Hakala 192, Kortteinen 1992, Ylönen 1995). The public debate on one of the country's most renowned cartoonists, Kari Suomalainen's pictures has been interesting because it offers

an indication of the level on which the Finnish society is prepared to allow open racism to establish itself (Kortteinen 1992, Luostarinen 1992a).

Language is a coveted asset and there is a constant effort to control and harness it for one's own purposes. Attempts are made to monopolize certain interpretations by means of argumentation. The argumentation utilizes social associations of how certain signals in certain contexts are to be interpreted. The effectiveness of argumentation is often based on assumptions of what can be held truthful and on what principles arguments can be brought forth and appealed to. (Leiwo and Pietikäinen 1996.)

Tolkki (1990) who has studied argumentation strategies in letters to the editor in three big newspapers, came to the conclusion that the two most common strategies were a scapegoat-strategy and a blame-the-victim-approach. In the former, the refugees are made the culprit for social and economic inequality. In the latter, the appeal is to the refugees' personality: they are seen as having caused their distress by their own behaviour. The arguments in favour of the refugees were based on abstract human values; negative argumentation referred to everyday experiences (Hynninen 1992). The letters to the editor were usually poorly argued outbursts either for or against the refugees (Aarnivala 1990).

In her study on the attitudes of the Finns towards immigration, Laari (1994) noticed that argumentation was twofold. On one hand it was thought that everybody should get by on one's own, on the other it was held that people in distress ought to be helped. In support of the negative view there arose the notion of foreigners living off the Finns; the positive view was argued by the idea of helping the refugees because they are in distress. Tolkki (1990) took notice of a change in the argumentation style from 1987 to 1989. In lieu of a massive refusal, a shift had taken place towards a strategy stressing individuals: people were willing to accept refugees but only conditionally and selectively: among the refugees one should choose the most suitable peoples and the most useful individuals. This manner of speech derives from the official Finnish immigration policy which has been characterized as one of "enlightened selfishness"<sup>3</sup>

Also a biopolitical explanation of the world has been used as an argumentation frame in the debate on refugees. Behind this thinking is an evolution-based idea of nations fighting for living space and commodities. It is useless to oppose this natural order of things. Therefore, development aid and mixing different peoples is wrong, futile, and in contradiction with nature. Another common argumentation strategy has been to represent refugees as enemies producing chaos and disorder. The threat of an enemy is often brought up when the dispute is about societal power and the distribution of wealth and well-being. Enemy images are constructed even in countries which are in no external danger whatsoever, and in situations where foreigners do not constitute a significant threat to any vital interests of the main population. The construction of enemy images focuses attention to internal factors which can create and maintain the enemy image and fear. The notion of threat has many advantages to those in power, and it can turn attention

away from peoples' own problems. (Bruun & Christie 1986, Luostarinen 1992a; see also Jaakkola 1995 and Koironen (1993) The refugees can become a symbol in a debate which actually has to do with the state of the society in general and the values guiding power and development.

Hakala (1992) suggests that "a good enemy" is actually the Racist, who has no important supporters. An enemy can easily be portrayed as a demon, and there are several ways to define a racist. In newspapers studied by Järvinen (1992) the concept of racism was never used in any other news than those reporting of actions organized against racism and rallies held against it. According to Järvinen, the journalists handled racism as a concept that had to do with individuals, not as a social fact. The assumption was further that only a small part of the Finns are racist: this group consisted of elderly people who had lived through the Second World War and the reconstruction years thereafter, farmers and unemployed youth. Racism was also connected with juvenile delinquents and the Finnish Rural Party.

Linking racism only to small groups downplays the problem and makes it detached from broader social structures. The experiences of the minorities of discrimination are not limited only to verbal or physical assaults on public places. Discrimination can also manifest itself in the authorities' reaction to these transgressions, in finding a job or a place to live, and in the rights and restrictions of the society. Public debate on societal aspects of discrimination is very modest.

## Journalists' Ethical Guidelines

Both in the profession and outside of it, the reaction to ethical guidelines, professional self-regulation prepared by the journalists for themselves, is varied. According to the critique from the outside, the press is merely clearing its tarnished reputation, and trying to tackle internal problems in the profession in a way to ensure that no legislative action is needed. Self-regulation is also seen as inefficient: for instance, the Raxen commission regretted in its final report the lack of sanctions in journalists' self-regulation procedures and suggested that some should be considered.

The journalists' own attitude towards ethical guidelines are positive in principle but their actual usefulness in practical work is often felt to be insignificant (Heinonen 1995). The journalists feel that it is good to write down the ideals of the profession, but problems in the daily life are a different matter altogether. The attitude towards sanctions is negative: self-regulation is seen as discussion on social responsibility and quality of journalism, not as a field court-martial for and by the insiders within the trade. The legal regulation of mass communication is a different thing.

Charles Husband has observed that journalists jealously guard their freedoms and take an extremely suspicious view on attempts to restrict their professional discretion. They have good grounds to this both in Western and Eastern Europe. (1995, 13) The freedom of speech and unhindered flow of information is one of the central values in society, but there are restrictions to it based on law and good journalistic con-

duct: the freedom of speech is not meant to be used for slandering or discrimination or agitation between the various groups in society.

In journalistic work there arise many practical situations where a line must be drawn between the “right” and ethically wrong use of the freedom of speech. For instance, is the journalist propagating discrimination if he quotes without criticism a speech by a politician openly calling for discrimination?

The ethical guidelines of journalists are partly ambiguous. The “Guidelines for the journalist”, adopted in Finland (1992) stress the respect for basic human rights, democracy, peace, international understanding, human dignity and good reputation of the individual. Does it show enough “respect” if one merely abstains from ignoring the values, or is the actual promoting of these values required?

If the latter interpretation is accepted, one must consider another passage in the guidelines where it’s said that decisions over the contents of communication must be made on a journalistic basis, and the power of decision mustn’t in any form be given to outside interests. Journalistic grounds mean truthfulness, essentiality and many-sidedness of the information. If journalists set out actively to champion the cause of certain groups or interests, is the independence of journalism in danger? A positive attention given specially to some particular group might also stress the outsidership and helplessness of the minority, a kind of reputation of a “poor thing”, which is beneficial neither for the minority nor the society in general (Top & Doppert 1993, 4).

In order to solve the ambiguity of professional ethics, one suggestion is that a good journalistic conduct is not attained by merely abstaining from overt discrimination. At the same time, the task of journalism is not propaganda but communication. The challenge to professional ethics is in the versatility and variety of the picture of society which is conveyed. Abstention from discrimination should also be understood in a wider sense than today, in a way which removes also the eventual hidden discrimination in the language used and the actions taken.

Marjut Helminen writes: “The most important thing is that the journalists are aware of the complexity of things and understand the wider societal implications when dealing with tension-filled topics. Those working in the media must know how to make a careful distinction between cases when they are disseminating threat images or when they’re just reporting on the reality of society. If a journalist wants to realize his or her own limits and commitments, it is necessary to analyze how one’s cultural background affects the work. The more one is aware of these limitations, the more free from them one can act”. (Helminen 1996, 3-5).

In the following we give examples of issues that have come up in the discussion within the journalistic profession, and shed light upon the practical problems and efforts to solve them:

*Epithets:* “Never mention a person’s ‘race’. Do not mention a person’s nationality, religion, culture, country of origin or name, unless this information is indispensable in the context of the report or article. If it is necessary to mention such

facts, make it very clear why they are relevant, in particular when reporting on crime”. These directions are from a booklet called “Balance of Blunder” published by the Dutch Union of Journalists, dealing with the treatment of immigrants in the media.

The British equivalent, NUJ, advises its members to keep in mind the following:

- Would you mention race if the person was white?
- Think carefully about the words you use. Words which were once in common usage are now considered offensive, e.g. half-caste and coloured. Ask people how they define themselves.
- Immigrant is often used as a term of abuse. Do not use it unless the person really is an immigrant. Most Black people in Britain were born here and most immigrants are white.
- Do not make assumptions about persons’ cultural background on the basis of their names or some religious detail. Ask them.

Journalists have not accepted guidelines like this without controversy. According to critics, an ethically correct language may blur the contents of communication and drift too far from the language used by the public. As an example of these concerns, we can quote the former editor-in-chief of Hufvudstadsbladet, the late Bo Stenström (1995) on over-correctness in the newspapers.. “which bores the public, leaves room for a backlash and feeds rumours: If the media keep silent, rumours and prejudices spread and soon the latter are directed against the authorities, politicians and the media: ‘they’re keeping things from us’, ‘they are hiding something’.”

It’s not at all self-evident when it’s absolutely necessary to mention a person’s nationality or religion and the like. The most problem-free are obvious cases of conflicts or co-operation between different ethnic groups or when the people who are interviewed or subjects in the news, explicitly want to emphasize their ethnic or other identity. There are, however, a great number of news topics related to relationships between individuals or communities where the ethnic factors are but one dimension. It is often unclear whether ethnicity is significant enough to warrant a mention or to clarify the matter.

We don’t see a danger of over-correctness in Finnish communication. In an ethnically and culturally homogeneous Finland, it is customary that the minorities are defined by negative strangeness and otherness, and there is no social “traffic code” in the language like in multicultural societies. The language used of other groups in Finland is rather coarse, even defiant. A part of the explanation for this might be found in the complicated history of the word ‘Ryssä’ (a pejorative word for “Russian”) which has combined an association of independence and “freedom” with derogatory use of language (Luostarinen 1992a). In Finnish journalism, as in other areas of society, the ideal is often a “brutal but honest” handling of things. Straightforwardness and not beating about the bush are perceived as virtues and serve to legitimize also an offensive and discriminating use of language. One of the multicultural society’s basic conceptions of itself is the naturalness of di-

versity which is reflected in the language as an acceptance of the self-definitions of the various groups in the society.

*Generalizations and stereotypes:* In many countries, ethical guidelines for journalists recommend avoiding generalizations and stereotypes. It is important to refrain from an unthinking use of all too rash an imagery because metaphors, together with stereotypes and generalizations, create and reaffirm prejudices against the minorities.

In the discussion among journalists, attention has been paid to cautiousness in publishing exact figures on the various minorities, especially immigrants. Precise figures and statistics are an effective means of persuasion and because of that, they are sometimes produced to support one's own conceptions. The journalists should check the information from several different sources and keep an eye on an eventual political expediency behind the figures and their interpretation. As remedy against generalizations it has been suggested that special "minority reporters" should be hired, who because of their own origin or specialization are familiar with minorities and use their members as sources.

Generalizations in the news and in other journalistic material are partly connected to journalism's own genres and work culture: complicated matters must fit simple headlines, or television is forced to visualize things whose nature is not visual at all. If a news item in television news is illustrated by showing a trash-filled street in a poor neighbourhood, the impression might be that immigrants are untidy by nature (Top & Dopfer 1993, 15).

A reversed generalization might have its origins in an innocent good will which induces rhapsodizing over the immigrants as "exotic aliens and a splash of colour in the landscape", as described by Marjut Helminen (1996). The handling of multiculturalism without any trace of criticism can be counterproductive if it overlooks problems and simplifies conflicts by reducing them merely to prejudices of the majority.

Describing things through individuals and concrete cases belongs to the genre of journalism, just as to fiction. A journalist picks from the abundance of life tangible examples which he assumes to be interesting and in tune with trends currently on the rise. In popular journalism striving for wide audiences in an accessible and enticing form, concreteness leads to strong typification.

It is impossible to give up the typifying feature of journalism altogether, but it is open to debate to what kinds of groups it should be extended. Negative typification is common when the parties involved, e.g. labour organizations, political parties and the like, are engaged in a battle over their own interests. There is very little of negative typification in journalism of large groups of people to which a major part of the public belongs, or of groups who have the public's sympathies and respect (e.g. war veterans).

For the immigrants, it is problematic that in publicity, they often unwillingly become targets in social or political controversy. The parties involved in the fray, say, those defending a multicultural development and supporters of a homogeneous culture, belong for the most part to the main population, but both the positive and negative typification in publicity is nevertheless directed at the immigrants. They do not enter public-

ity as "themselves" but as symbols for the fears and hopes of the main population. The immigrants' image, negative or positive, is but a tool in the struggle.

*Publicity of racism:* In many European countries the publicity of politicians and supporters of parties hostile to foreigners has become a problem. Journalism is supposed to give a correct picture of existing opinions and ways of thinking, and yet, at the same time it should fight against publicity which encourages discrimination. What can the journalists do?

According to the Belgian Association of Journalists, "...silence is not a solution, but it should be always made clear who is the source of a proposition or opinion and in what context it is made" (Kolehmainen & Pietiläinen 1995, 35). The Dutch association advises its members to avoid leaving impressions of dubious views being generally accepted.

Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen (1995, 45) have a point when they say: "To be silent about the existing facts and opinions seems not to be an effective method to oppose the circulation and growth of racist and xenophobic opinions. There are many examples where the ethnic problems and ideologies were administratively silenced and excluded from public discourse but when the necessity to hide those views was lifted they reappeared with surprising strength and speed".

If journalists take a distinctly negative stance towards opinions against aliens or minorities, there is a danger that the sympathies of the public turn to the side of the "underdog". Some representatives of populist parties in Europe have learned to take advantage of this, especially on television. They emphasize that a critical journalist is a part of the power elite which looks down upon the innermost feelings of the people and attacks those who have the courage to speak out on matters differently than liberal intellectuals.

Beate Winkler (1994) says that labelling hostile attitudes towards foreigners as downright racism, anti-intellectualism, immorality and right-wing jingoism, is offending to a large part of the public which sees itself merely as patriotic realists. The outcome may be the further hardening of attitudes. The fears of people are too easily branded as xenophobia, says Winkler.

There is no reason to downplay the changes in people's everyday surroundings by using global counter-arguments. If there has been wrangling about refugees who have moved into the neighbourhood, the issue should be approached in local terms, not by referring to the low number of foreigners in Finland or the global scale of the refugee problem.

In many countries, a special problem are letters to the editor, radio phone-in programmes and various polls because in them, often only the voice of a small but active minority gets heard.

In Finland the question of publicity of racism was actualized especially in 1990-1991 when, at the highest, there were about 300 Somali asylum-seekers a month. There was a flood of statements and letters to the editor; the tone was vehemently against the foreigners, racist, sometimes even calling for outright violence.

At the same time, internal education was launched within the profession and a critical discussion on journalism was begun. In the 1990s, the supervising body of good journalistic

conduct, the Council for Mass Media has had to handle several complaints lodged against discrimination and racism. The stand of the council has been that only clearly definable and small enough groups can be insulted. This is why complaints of homosexuals, farmers, the elderly, or women, are not granted an hearing. The council has shown particular leniency towards cartoons and columns, taking the view that unusual, even shocking means of expressing one's opinion can be used in them. (Helminen 1996, 25-26).

An example of the nature of Finnish publicity are the events in Joensuu in Autumn 1995. A black American basketball player left the city because of threats of violence from skinheads. In connection with the stir it came out that dozens of foreigners had earlier moved from the city because of harassment by the skinheads. Interviewed by a reporter, the editors-in-chief of the local newspapers admitted that there had been a cover-up: "We didn't want to bring everything out in the open to avoid fermenting trouble". (Ronkainen 1995) Questions of xenophobia made the headlines in 1995 also in Tampere where a 16-year old girl was murdered and a Somali was indicted. The incident aroused heated emotions, a demonstration and a counter-demonstration.

The ethical guidelines of journalists do not give very much instructions as to how to deal with racist opinions in the media. The only practical advice is to prevent overt agitation and check the facts and background; the journalists must be intellectually well-prepared to critically estimate the opinions expressed and bring out in the open the background and vested interests behind the politicians who are against foreigners.

## In Conclusion

A combination of factors related to the economical objectives of the media companies, journalistic working methods and the profession itself guide the media contents to a direction that is unfavourable and often detrimental and restrictive from the viewpoint of the refugees. The idea that covert racism or hostility towards refugees on the part of the majority of reporters would be the cause of this is without merit, though. It is equally harmful to reduce racism and the problem of discrimination in general, to only a characteristic of small extremist movements, or to think that problems of racism are solved if only the racist reporters are caught and nailed down. Both of these views confine racism to individuals and the connection

to broader societal structures is blurred. It is more important to focus on the reasons behind the prevailing practices and their consequences.

It is dangerous, however, to think that there is nothing anybody could do, or that nothing should be done. The amount of social inequality and the ways it manifests itself vary: between minor and prevalent, between covert discrimination and death. There are differences also in the way the various media work. A systematic exclusion of different groups of people and negative reporting must not be allowed. One of the consequences of the lack of alternative viewpoints and ways of reporting is the neutralization of only certain kinds of viewpoints.

The structures which produce and reinforce discrimination become indistinguishable in the neutralization process, and after that they are very hard to recognize or oppose. Luckily, the media are not monolithic in this sense either. Even if the prevailing mode of reporting on the minorities is problem-oriented, there exists other kind of reporting, too.

One can hope that in the future, different viewpoints and new kinds of approaches in articles get more room and thus have a chance to be a part in the construction of the world surrounding us. The power of the media is in making choices and having an impact.

The public debate on the minorities is inevitably also a discussion on Finland and Finnishness. For instance, the debate on refugees has been a symbol reflecting deep undercurrents of Finnish consciousness and politics. Among other things, the direction of Finnish domestic policy, the status of the authorities in society and the conception of history have been discussed. (Luostarinen 1992a, 16). In the news on refugees there can often be discerned a reaction to what is yet to come, getting prepared for new contingencies rather than talk about the situation at hand. The Finns do not only react to immigration, but to the changing of Finland herself.

The news and other material in the media describe and construct the world and what goes on around us. While the news describe, they at the same time change or reinforce, challenge or deny our knowledge and views of the world. News is not only a journalistic representation of reality. It has turned into an arena: an important forum where some barge in, some are invited to, and some are trampled under foot. The reporter has the power to make choices and decisions, bring things up and brush others aside.

## Notes

1. Also people suffering from alcoholism or mental problems often isolate themselves from public debate because of a sense of being left outside, a feeling of shame or various other reasons, even when their own interest is at stake.
2. The Kerner Commission was a group established by president Johnson with the purpose to study the violence in the 1960's, especially race-related disturbances in the American suburbs and to find out the causes of the riots. One of the tasks of the commission was to investigate the role of the media in violent incidents. (Campbell 1995.)

3. The official Finnish line towards refugees has also been called "conservative xenophobia". The basic idea is that there is no need to create unnecessary troubles for Finland because there are enough of them already. In practice, this kind of a policy towards refugees is characterized by cautiousness and restrictions, a suspicion against eventual social changes. The aim of the debate is to legitimize the right to act on the basis of national interests (Luostarinen 1992b.)

*Translated by Markku Mustaranta*

## Literature

- Aarnivala, P. 1990. *Sanomalehden yleisönosastoinstituutio julkisuuden muotona*. (Letters to the editor as an institutional form of publicity.) A master's thesis in Mass Communication. Tampereen yliopisto.
- Activities of the Consultative Commission on Racism and Xenophobia – Final report. European Union. The Council. 12 April 1995, Brussels.
- Banerjee, M. 1993. *Also They Have a Meaning*. Siirtolaisuus 4, 11-16.
- Bruun, K. & N. Christie. 1986. *Hyvä vihollinen. Huumausainepoliittikka Pohjolassa*. (The good enemy. Drug policy in Scandinavia.) Weilin+Göös: Espoo.
- Campbell, C. 1995. *Race, Myth and the News*. Sage: London.
- Epävarmuuden aika (Time of uncertainty – on the way to something new. Report on attitudes of the Finns.) Elinkeinoelämän valtuuskunta EVA, Helsinki 1995.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Media discourse*. Edward Arnold: London.
- Finnish Mass Media. 1994. Culture and the media 1994:1. Tilastokeskus: Helsinki.
- Gans, H.J. 1979. *Deciding What's News*. Free Press: New York.
- Gross, L. 1995. Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities and the Mass Media. In: G. Dines and Jean M. Humez (Eds.) *Gender, Race and Class in Media. A text-reader*. Sage: London.
- Guidelines on Race Reporting. National Union of Journalists: London.
- Hakala, P. 1992. Suvaitsemattomuutta me ei hyväksytä. (What we can't stand is intolerance. Observations on news coverage on refugees in Finnish Media.) In J. Sihvola, (ed.). *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Edward Arnold: London.
- Hartmann, P ja C. Husband, 1974. *Racism and the Mass Media*. Davis-Poynter: London.
- Haverinen, R. 1992. Pakolaisuus yleisönosastolla. (Letters to the editor and refugees.) *Siirtolaisuus* 3, 32-35.
- Heikkilä, H. & R. Kunelius. 1995. Journalism in New Deal. (The New deal in Journalism. Interview of Jay Rosen.) *Tiedotustutkimus* 3, 86-97.
- Heinonen, A. 1995. *Vahikoiran omatunto*. (The conscience of a watch-dog.) Tampereen yliopisto, Tiedotusopin laitos. Julkaisusarja A 84.
- Heiskanen, T. 1990. *Muukalaisuuden maailmankuva*. (The world-view of foreignness: an interpretation of articles on refugees in Helsingin Sanomat 1973, 1979, 1983, 1987 ja 1989.) A master's thesis in International Politics. Tampereen Yliopisto.
- Helminen, Marjut. 1996. *Etniset vähemmistöt – maahanmuuttajat -ulkomaalaiset: kuinka raportoida?* (Ethnic minorities, immigrants, foreigners: how to report?) Helsinki : Suomen journalistiliitto. Mediakriittinen julkaisusarja 4.
- Hodge, R. & G. Kress. 1992. *Language as Ideology*. Routledge: London. 2nd edition.
- Hurri, M. 1992. Tervetuloa turvaan Suomeen! (Welcome to safety in Finland! Refugee journalism; attitudes and source criticism.) In J. Sihvola, (ed.) *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Husband, C. 1995. *Reporting Ethnic Diversity and Resisting Racism: A Professional Challenge*. Paper presented at The North against Xenophobia congress. Espoo.
- Hynninen, A. 1992. *Hyväntahtoisia hölmöjä ja kansallisia realisteja* (Well-meaning fools and national realists. An interpretation of changes and differences in attitudes towards refugees in articles of Etelä-Suomen Sanomat, Kouvolan Sanomat and Länsi-Savo.) Master's thesis in Mass Communication. Tampereen yliopisto.
- Hyttinen, T. & I. Tuomarila 1992. (eds.) *Miksi pakolainen on uutinen?* (Why a refugee is news? Report on a series of seminars for the media.) Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö. Valtion painatuskeskus: Helsinki.
- Immonen, E. 1995. *Pakolaiset uutisdiskurssissa*. (The refugees in news discourse.) A master's thesis in Communication. Helsingin Yliopisto.
- Jaakkola, Magdalena. 1995. *Suomalaisten kiristyvät ulkomaalaisenteet*. (The hardening attitudes of Finns towards foreigners.) Työvoimapolitiittisia tutkimuksia; 101. Työministeriö: Helsinki.
- Jokela, K. 1989. Suhtautua vai sietää? (Adapt or tolerate?) *Valokuva* 12, 24.
- Journalistin ohjeet (Journalists' guidelines.) 1992. Suomen Journalistiliitto: Helsinki.
- Järvinen, M.K., 1992. *Muukalaisia ja meikäläisiä*. (Strangers and people like us. Interpretation repertoires used in refugee news and their functions.) Tampereen yliopisto, sosiaalipoliittikan laitos. Tutkimuksia, Sarja B Nro 12.
- Kangasniemi, H. 1989. Syrjästäkatsojan tarina – Lesbouden presen-taatio Jäähyväisissä. (The story of an outsider – representation of lesbianism in the "Fairwell".) *Lähikuva* 2, 6-14.
- Koiranen, K. 1993. *Pakolaisuus Suomen, Ruotsin ja Sveitsin sanomalehdissä 1919-1991*. (Refugees in Finnish, Swedish and Swiss press in the years 1919-1991.) Siirtolaisinstituutti, Turku. An unpublished manuscript.
- Kolehmainen, M. & J. Pietiläinen. 1995. *Codes of Ethics, Media and Intolerance*. Paper presented at The North against Xenophobia congress. Espoo.
- Kortteinen, J. 1992. Rotusyrjintäkielto ja ihmisoikeuksien toteutuminen tiedonvälityksessä. (The ban on racial discrimination and realization of human rights in mass communication.) In K. Nordenstreng (ed.) *Kansainvälinen journalistietikka*. Yliopistopaino: Helsinki.
- Kortteinen, J. 1995. Vähemmistöt tiedotusvälineissä. (Minorities in the media.) *MoniTorii* 2, 32-33.
- Laakso, M. 1991. *Islam sanomalehdissä*. (Islam in the newspapers. The handling of Salman Rushdie case in Helsingin Sanomat, The Times ja The Sunday Times.) Master's thesis in Mass Communication, Tampereen yliopisto.
- Laari, O. 1994. Onko Suomessa sijaa ulkomaalaisille. (Is there room for foreigners in Finland?) *Siirtolaisuus* 2, 13-20.
- Lahti, M. 1989. Keskustan ja Marginaalin stereotypiat. (Stereotypes of the Center and the Marginal.) *Lähikuva* 2, 3-5.
- Leiwo, M & S. Pietikäinen. 1996. Kieli vuorovaikutuksen ja vallankäytön välineenä. (Language as a tool in interaction and use of power.) In H. Summa ja K. Palonen (toim.). *Pelkkää retoriikkaa: retoriikka politiikan tutkimuksessa*. Tampere; Vastapaino.
- Liinamaa, A. 1995. *Taidetta vai terapiaa? Normaali vai ei? Sanomalehtijulkisuuden kulttuuriset lähestymistavat kun aiheena on vammaiset taiteilijat*. (Art or therapy? Normal or not? The cultural approaches of newspaper publicity of disabled artists.) Master's thesis in Sociology. Jyväskylän yliopisto.

- Luostarinen, H. 1992a. Vanhan vainoojan poika. (Old Nick rides again.) In J. Sihvola, (ed.) *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Luostarinen, H. 1992b. Vaihduktakuvio. (A changing pattern.) In J. Sihvola, (ed.) *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Luostarinen, H. 1993. Ennen kuin kansalainen katoaa. (Before the citizen disappears.) In K. Ilmonen (ed.). *Kestävyysskoee*. Vastapaino: Tampere.
- Luostarinen, H. 1994. Miksi viha ei ole uutinen. (Why hatred is not news.) *Monitori* 4, 28-30.
- Paukku, Leena. 1995. Journalistit ja rasismi. (Journalists and racism.) *MoniTori* 2, 30-32.
- Pietikäinen, S. 1995. *Racism in the Mass Media. Ethnic Representation in the Finnish News*. Paper presented at The North against Xenophobia congress. Espoo.
- Rekola, J. 1996. *Excluding the minorities : ethnic representation in the Finnish press*. Helsinki. Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskus. Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskuksen raporttisarja no 10. MA thesis for Masters in European Journalism Studies 1995 Programme. University of Wales, Cardiff College, Centre for Journalism Studies.
- Ronkainen, Matti. 1995. Pakolaisten häätistely on hyväksytty. (Harrassing the refugees is accepted. Also journalists have been threatened in Joensuu.) *Journalisti-Journalisten*, 16.11.1995.
- Rubin, G. S. 1993. Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical theory of the Politics of sexuality. In: H. Abelove (eds.). *Lesbian & gay studies reader*. Routledge:New York.
- Salomaa, J. 1990. Miten journalismi luo stereotypiansa. (How journalism creates its stereotypes.) *Tiedotustutkimus* 1990 (1):59-63.
- Saraste, L. 1992. Pakolaiskuvista, somalaista tammikuulta 1991. (On refugee images, of Somalis in January 1991.) In J. Sihvola, (ed.). *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Seppälä, A. 1993. Suvaitsevaisuuden puolustus sopisi henkisille johtajille. (Defending tolerance suits the spiritual leaders.) *Journalisti* 19.
- Sihvola, J. (ed.). 1992. *Toimittaja ja pakolaiskysymykset*. (The journalist and refugee questions.) Tampereen yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus. Julkaisusarja A 1/92.
- Terho, L. 1992. *Asennoituminen pakolaisiin ja muihin ulkomaalaisiin*. (Attitudes towards refugees and other foreigners.) A master's thesis in Social Psychology. Helsingin Yliopisto.
- Tolkki, K. 1990. "En ole rasisti, mutta..." *Sisällönanalyysi Aamulehden, Helsingin Sanomien ja Keski-suomalaisen yleisönsaatoissa käydystä pakolaiskeskustelusta 1987 ja 1989*. ("I'm not a racist, but..." Content analysis of the discussion on refugees in letters to the editor in Aamulehti, Helsingin Sanomat ja Keski-suomalainen 1987 and 1989.) Master's thesis in Mass Communication. Tampereen yliopisto.
- Top, B. & M. Doppert. 1993. *Balance or Blunder: Recommendations for reporting on migrants*. Working Group Migrants and the Media of the Netherlands Association of Journalists: Amsterdam.
- Tuomarla, Irmeli. 1995. Maahanmuuttaja toimittajana toimittajan paikalla. (An immigrant as journalist.) *MoniTori* 2, 34-35.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1991. *Racism and the press*. Routledge: New York.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1993. *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Sage: Newbury Park.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1995. A Proposal for Multicultural Media Monitoring in Europe. *Electronic Journal of Communication* 2/3 1995.
- Vuorinen, M. 1990. *Pakolaiskirjoittelu lehdistössä – viiden lehden pakolaiskirjoittelu vuonna 1973, 1979, 1985, 1987 ja 1989*. (Writing about refugees in the press; Five newspapers on refugees in 1973, 1979, 1985, 1987 ja 1989.) A master's thesis in Social Policy. Turun yliopisto.
- Väliveronen, E. 1993. Diskurssien verkossa. Joukkoviestimet, julkisuus ja valta. (In the web of discourses. Mass media, publicity and power.) *Tiedotustutkimus* 1, 22-34.
- Wahlbeck, Ö. 1992. Aluksi oltiin ymmällään – pakolaisiin kohdistuva mielipiteiden muodostus on jatkuva prosessi. (At first we were baffled – the forming of attitudes towards refugees is a continuous process.) *Pakolaisinfo* 3, 36-37.
- Wilson, C.C. & F. Gutierrez. 1985. *Minorities and the media*. Sage: Beverly Hills.
- Winkler, B. 1994. The Media and how it deals with "foreignness" – remarks from a German point of view. *Spectrum. The Magazine of Public Broadcasting for a Multicultural Europe*. Winter edition January 1994, Issue 2.
- Ylönen, M. 1995. *Karin suomalainen: pilapiirroksset suomalaisuuden legitimoitina*. (The Finn of Kari Suomalainen: cartoons as legitimation for being Finnish.) Acta Universitatis Tamperensis. Ser. A; vol 468. Tampereen yliopisto.

