REETA PÖYHTÄRI

Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in Finnish and Dutch Magazines

Articulations of subject positions and symbolic communities

■

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
To be presented, with the permission of
the Board of the School of Communication, Media and Theatre of the University
of Tampere, for public discussion in the Auditorium Pinni B1097
Kanslerinrinne 1, Tampere,
on February 22nd, 2014, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre
Finland

Cover design by
Mikko Reinikka

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1903
ISBN 978-951-44-9365-2 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 1386
ISBN 978-951-44-9366-9 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
http://tampub.uta.fi

Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy – Juvenes Print
Tampere 2014

Foreword

This dissertation is a result of several coincidences. If I want to start from really far, I'll have to return to 1997 and an EU-sponsored youth exchange, during which I first set foot in the Netherlands, became friends with some Dutch and developed an initial interest in that place. My expedition to the Netherlands was continued in years 1998-2003 that I spent in the city of Groningen studying, working and learning the language. During that period I also came to know in practice, what it is like to be an immigrant.

In 2003 I returned to Finland to finish my studies at the University of Tampere. Due to my personal experience, I decided to study the representation of immigrants and otherness in Finnish and Dutch university newspapers in my Master's thesis. While doing the thesis, I remember some of my fellow students asking, whether I was going to continue with a PhD. My answer was a definite no, since I had never even considered such a possibility – nor did I understand what doing a PhD really meant. My plan A at that point was to start a new study in biogenetics, or something related.

However, as it happened, I ended up presenting my Master's thesis at one of the first conferences of Etmu, The Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration in Helsinki in fall 2004. There I met researcher and docent Pasi Saukkonen from the University of Helsinki, who had also done research on Finland and the Netherlands. Had I not met him, and had he not become interested in my work, I am pretty sure I would never have started this research project. Nevertheless, Pasi asked me to join his Academy of Finland project application and for that reason I had to apply for a PhD position. I was permitted one, and furthermore I got a lucky start as a doctoral candidate when my research was granted a scholarship by Kone Foundation in fall 2005. And so I was suddenly on a path of becoming a researcher. That turned out to be a good choice, as in the years to follow I found out that doing research is quite interesting, and work that I enjoy.

I was lucky again in 2007, when new candidates were selected for the national doctoral school of communication studies, CORE. In 2008-12 I was financed by and working as a member of the doctoral school. The past two years I have been working as a full-time project researcher at the Research Centre Comet, University of Tampere. It is only now that I really have started to identify myself as a researcher, or as a person affiliated to the university. That affiliation feels like a comfortable one, but like in life generally, one must not get too comfortable. What follows after a dissertation and a PhD degree, remains a journey of new lucky coincidences. I am curious what the future holds.

Acknowledgments, kiitokset, dankwoord

At this point of my journey, I would like to thank the people who have been a part of it. First of all, I could not have asked for a better supervisor than professor Heikki Luostarinen has been. Not only has he always been available, but he has also offered useful insights and support throughout the process. Heikki's confidence in me has been greater than the confidence I ever had in myself as a researcher and that is irreplaceable. I also want to thank Iiris Ruoho, whom I came to know as the supervisor of my Master's thesis, and who offered valuable comments again in the end of my dissertation process. I also thank Iiris and Pasi Saukkonen for writing the very first recommendations, when I was applying for a PhD position and financing. Pasi is also to be thanked for the initial interest he showed in my research.

I wish to thank the pre-examiners of my dissertation, professor Ullamaija Kivikuru and assistant professor Randi Marselis, whom and whose work I have come to know especially through the Nordic Research Network on Media and Migration, Migranord. Their insightful and sharp remarks were more than helpful when finishing this dissertation. I also thank Randi Marselis for acting as my opponent.

Väitöskirjamatkallani olen ollut onnekas saadessani tavata niin monia hienoja ihmisiä, joiden kanssa tehdä töitä ja viettää yhteisiä hetkiä. Tärkein yhteisöni on ollut tutkimuskeskus Comet, jossa olen työskennellyt kahdeksan tutkijan vuottani. Kiitos teille kaikille, olette maailman parhaat työkaverit!

Kiitän erityisesti jatko-opiskelijoiden terapeuttisena lounasporukkana alkunsa saanutta Telakka-ryhmää, eli Stinkiä. Stinkin naiset Pauliina Lehtonen, Auli Harju, Niina Uusitalo, Anneli Lehtisalo, Heidi Keinonen, Laura Ahva ja Jenni Hokka ovat olleet tuki ja turva. Paitsi akateemisista keskusteluista, olen saanut nauttia kanssanne monista yhteisistä matkoista, illanvietoista ja muista juttutuokioista. On onni voida kutsua työkavereitaan myös ystäviksi.

Cometissa tärkeä kotipesä ovat olleet tutkijaryhmät. Alkuvaiheessa osallistuin etnisyyden ja etiikan tutkijaryhmän, Etten toimintaan. Etten tultua kuopatuksi siirryin mediakulttuurin tutkijaryhmään Meuhkaan. Kiitän Mari Maasiltaa, Sinikka Torkkolaa, Kaarina Nikusta, Katja Valaskiveä, Laura Saarenmaata, Mikko Hautakangasta ja Eliisa Vainikkaa mieltä avartavista keskusteluista ja hyvistä nauruista.

Viimeiset kaksi vuotta työskentelin tiiviisti vihapuhetta käsitelleessä tutkimusprojektissa, joka ehti valmiiksi ennen väitöskirjani valmistumista. Haluan tässäkin yhteydessä kiittää kollegoitani Pentti Raittilaa ja Paula Haaraa mukavasta ja tuotteliaasta yhteistyöstä, joka osaltaan oli siivittämässä ja tahdittamassa väitöskirjankin valmistumista vuosina 2012–13.

Anna Simola, Niina Uusitalo ja Auli Harju ovat olleet ensiluokkaisia huonekavereitani Cometissa. Tiina Tuomainen on tarjonnut vuosien varrella apua

lukemattomissa käytännön asioissa. Erityiskiitokseni kuuluu Satu Sepälle, joka tarkasti väitöskirjani suomenkielisen tiivistelmän kieliasun, ja Elina Nopparille, joka auttoi väitöskirjan taitossa. I also thank the Language Services of the University of Tampere and especially translator Dee Shields, whose careful proofreading work improved the overall quality of my dissertation.

Ollessani Viestintätieteiden valtakunnallisen tutkijakoulun jäsenenä vuosina 2007–12 sain tutustua upeisiin nuoriin tutkijoihin eripuolilta Suomea. Kiitän kaikkia corelaisia hyvästä yhteishengestä ja jaetusta viisaudesta. Erityiskiitokset joukkoviestintäryhmälle, Leena Ripatti-Torniainen, Kari Koljonen ja Simo Pieniniemi, joiden kanssa puursin useissa yhteisissä seminaarisessioissa. Myös Coren johto ja erityisesti koordinaattorit tekivät vuosien varrella upeaa työtä.

Erilaisissa verkostoissa, seminaareissa ja konferensseissa olen tutustunut tutkijoihin toisissa yliopistoissa ja laitoksissa. Myös heidän kanssaan on ollut ilo tehdä yhteistyötä. Kiitos etenkin Karina Horsti tuesta, kannustuksesta ja mentoroinnista. Thank you Li Wang, it has been a pleasure to write the dissertation at the same pace with you and share the experience.

Taloudellisella tuellaan tutkimusprosessin tekivät mahdolliseksi Koneen Säätiö, Viestintätieteiden valtakunnallinen tutkijakoulu, C.V. Åkerlundin Säätiö, Tampereen yliopiston Tukisäätiö, Tampereen kaupungin tiederahasto, tutkimuskeskus Comet ja Tampereen yliopiston Tiedotusopin laitos (nykyisin CMT).

Lopulta haluan kiittää kaikkein läheisimpiä, perhettäni ja ystäviä. Äidilleni Liisalle kiitos kaikesta tuesta, kannustuksesta ja antamastasi esimerkistä. Isääni Jukkaa haluan kiittää rohkaisusta uteliaisuuteen ja uskallukseen. Veljiäni Jonnea ja Jukia kiitän etenkin jaetusta elämästä, olen ylpeä saadessani olla isosiskonne. Kiitos Maunolle, Teemulle ja Annelle, Leenalle ja Minnalle usein tarjotusta majoituksesta ja huollosta – sen turvin on kerätty tutkimusaineistoa ja muuta henkistä pääomaa. Jo edesmennyttä vaariani, sanomalehtimies Heikki Pöyhtäriä ja mummuani, oikolukija Pirkko Saarta saan kenties kiittää viestinnän ja journalismin pariin ohjanneista geeneistä. Ehkäpä kaikki ei ollutkaan pelkkää sattumaa.

Robbert, ooit zijn we samen aan een universitaire studie begonnen. Ik dank je voor al je steun, liefde en vooral voor je geduld. Ondanks dat het proces zo lang is geweest, heb je me dat nooit kwalijk genomen. Ik bedank ook Connie, evenals Rob en Wanda, voor onderdak, alle gezelligheid en goeie zorgen tijdens mijn verblijven in Nederland.

Kaikki ihanat ystäväni, ilman teitä olisin vain puolikas ihminen. Alle lieve vrienden, jullie maken me tot een volledige mens. Dear friends, you make me a whole person.

Tampereella 11.1.2014,
Reeta Pöyhtäri

Abstract

Immigration and multicultural societies are debated all over the Western world nowadays. As a result of globalisation people are expected to move more and faster than ever. At the same time, when actual individuals move and new groups of people and ideas encounter each other, the more the 'old' or the 'already existing' paradigms within a society are challenged. Within societies, this social insecurity most often leads to ponderings concerning the society itself: what are the constructions of the society and who are its members? Which new members is the society willing to let in and on what conditions? How is the society to treat those minorities already forming part of it?

This research discusses how popular and organisational magazines in Finland and in the Netherlands are taking part in this debate in 2003–2006. Discourses of immigration and ethnic diversity and articulations of immigrants and people belonging to ethnic minorities in general news magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier*, construction trade union magazines *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*, women's magazines *Me Naiset* and *Libelle* and seniors' magazines *ET* and *Plus Magazine* are analysed.

When writing about these issues, magazines are articulating representations of people, including ideas of who they are and what kind of qualities they have. These articulations offer subject positions to immigrant and ethnic minority actors: selections of socially defined identity categories and qualities that are ascribed to people in the texts and that carry an idea of to which group people belong. Magazines not only aim at strengthening a national community, but also or especially the community that consists of their readers. In so doing, magazine texts construct symbolic communities that can be inclusive or exclusive towards immigrants and ethnic minorities. This has real effects on the lives of the people, since the role of the media is important in how these people are treated in encounters outside the media, as well as in the wider public opinions on these groups.

Finland and the Netherlands were chosen to be the objects of this comparison due to their similarities as Western welfare states, but even more so due to their different immigration histories. Through the centuries, the Netherlands has been a central location for commerce and a destination for migrations. It has received large groups of immigrants from the 1950s on, and today it is one of the most multicultural countries in Europe. Finland has at times had an excess of population in proportion to jobs available. Hence it has traditionally been a country of emigration and did not see any extensive migration until 1990s and onwards.

The study investigates the discourses articulated around floating signifiers immigration and ethnic diversity. It asks which ethnic or immigrant actors are relevant for different magazines: who is defined as actors in magazine texts and how are they defined? What kind of subject positions are ethnic/immigrant actors given to and, how are their collective identities and subject positions articulated? How are readers in different magazines positioned in relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities?

Yet another question in this study is to determine to whom membership of the symbolic and real communities is available in different magazines in Finnish and Dutch contexts, which at times grow increasingly critical towards diversity and multiculturalism, and to determine under what conditions membership is possible. Symbolic communities are communities, in which the members do not know each other personally. Therefore, the unity and similarity between the members has to be imagined and strengthened symbolically. Nations are symbolic communities, but so are also media audiences, and they are articulated in media texts. The study also pays attention to articulations of possible versions of organisation of ethnic diversity in society, alternative discourses being universalism, assimilation, multiculturalism or differentialism.

In this research quantitative and qualitative methods are combined to answer the research questions set. In both methods of analysis Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (1985/2001) was used as a starting point. The quantitative content analysis in Chapter 4 that furthermore derives from theoretical discussion of identities, provides a general overview of the research material and its contents, especially the actors represented, but also clarifies on which issues to concentrate in the qualitative discourse analysis. It is also an initial analysis of the subject positions articulated in the texts.

In the thereafter following qualitative discourse theoretical analysis in Chapter 5 the discursive fields concerning immigration and ethnic diversity in the selected magazines, the discourses on these issues, and the subject positions articulated, hierarchies created and symbolic communities suggested in the magazine texts are analysed. This analysis is continued in Chapter 6.

On the basis of the quantitative analysis, it can be said that Finnish magazines discuss immigration and ethnic minorities to a much lesser extent than Dutch magazines. The Finnish magazines used more a personal view on the issues, while the Dutch magazines were discussing larger groups. All the magazines analysed had a specific way of representing immigrants and ethnic minorities. By combining the results of the analysis of different variables, it was possible to characterise a 'typical representative' of an immigrant or ethnic actor in each of the magazines discussed. These typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members represented the types of people and topics that were relevant to the magazine and its readers.

The typical representative of an immigrant in the construction trade union magazines was a foreign construction worker, either a union-member or a non-union member. In the women's magazines and in seniors' magazine *ET*, the typical representative was a family member, a colleague or another close acquaintance of the Finnish or the Dutch. In general news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* the typical representative was a successful immigrant or a celebrated expert, or an immigrant who had not arrived in Finland yet. In general news magazine *Elsevier* and in seniors' magazine *Plus,* the typical representatives were the Dutch *allochtoon* or Muslim minority, and individual experts representing the same minorities.

The discourses in the construction trade union magazines articulated immigration and foreign construction workers as a threat, as a welcome group in the labour union or they expressed a worry about the labour participation of ethnic minority members. Universalism was articulated as the option to organise ethnic diversity. The women's magazines and seniors' magazine *ET* articulated discourses on intercultural exchange in families, multicultural dialogue and integration, celebration of womanhood and celebration of personal histories. The discourses each articulated from a slightly different perspective how people encounter each other in real-life situations or integrate successfully. The discourses were based on multicultural views mostly, but also on universalism requiring societal participation. The news magazines and seniors' magazine *Plus Magazine* articulated discourses of universalism, assimilation and multiculturalism, all with a specific view on bonding and bridging of immigrants and ethnic minorities within a society. Universalism insisting on economic bridging and assimilation requiring cultural bonding were stressed the most.

To summarise the discourses articulated in different magazines, it can be concluded that all the discourses were based on four different articulations of immigration and ethnic diversity. These issues and the groups involved were articulated as a threat, as a utility, as victims or as objects of celebration. These articulations were connected to the articulations of the specific subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minorities in each case. They also had a connection with articulations on the options of organisation of an ethnically diverse society, and with that, the articulation of symbolic communities.

The specific subject positions articulated on immigrants and ethnic minorities included three elements that play a decisive role in the overall composition of the subject position. One element in the articulations defines whether the articulation takes a collective or individual approach to the person in question, the second element whether and to what extent a subject position includes dominantly an ethnic identity or a non-ethnicity-based identity categorisation, and the third whether the subject position under articulation is represented as belonging to a certain inside group or

being on the outside. The three elements are then 1) collective-individual, 2) ethnicity-non-ethnicity and 3) inside-outside. These elements that make eight possible combinations can be further used to analyse the subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members in media texts.

This research shows that, all in all, news journalism and magazine journalism share many similarities in terms of issues and views on immigration and ethnic diversity. In that the magazines were rather traditional instead of innovative or daring. What however is clearer in magazine journalism than in news is that magazines serve two purposes when they write about immigration and ethnic diversity. On one hand, the magazines articulated a symbolic in-community that is important to the magazine and its readers, but, at the same time, they also articulated the national community at large. The articulations of the symbolic communities of the readerships and the national community existed side-by-side, but one of them was stressed above the other. In case of the construction trade union magazines, it was most of all the community of the trade union that was articulated, and the women's magazines stressed an articulation of the community of women (and families), whereas the general news magazines highlighted the national symbolic community.

All the magazines also reflected the context of the symbolic community within which they had been produced, in these cases, the societies that are Western welfare states. The magazines analysed here show that they are not merely identity media, articulating only an in-community of readers, but also political media, discussing society and the groups living in it on a large scale. Therefore, all the magazines also shared similar articulations on the issues of immigration and ethnic diversity. All the magazines, however, also had a specific way of approaching societal debates, and it was not always the way that we are used to seeing in news journalism. The magazines also offered spaces for personal approaches and voices.

In 2003–2006, immigration was still a relatively minor phenomenon in the Finnish magazines. When immigration was discussed, it was mostly through experiences of individuals or as a future scenario. The Dutch magazines were discussing the crisis of multiculturalism, including a heated debate on ethnic diversity in the society and national cohesion. Especially the loyalty of the Muslim minority was questioned. The Finnish discussion also showed influences from this European debate.

What combines the discourses and articulations in all the magazines in Finland and in the Netherlands is that they all contribute to social imaginaries and myths about the nation and the society. The magazines were striving to maintain the nation by articulating symbolic communities that mostly were open to those immigrants and ethnic minorities only that had proven the most similar to the 'native' inhabitants. The subject position of an immigrant or a member of an ethnic minority was in both countries articulated to be somewhat on the outside. In the Finnish discussions, the

immigrants were 'not really there yet'; in the Dutch discussion, the ethnic minorities were present but they were often located on the outskirts of society.

The strongest and most over-arching societal myth that combined the Finnish and Dutch discourses was the myth of a Western welfare state. In all the magazines, the welfare state and its premises were reflected and immigrants and ethnic minorities and their subject positions were articulated in relation to the welfare state. In Finland the need to maintain the welfare state in the future was decisive on what kind of immigrants and immigration was desired now and in the future. In the Dutch case, the worry for the failing welfare state guided the discourses in the magazines. The neoliberal market logic that requires that each member of a welfare state is a productive member defined who can be accepted in the symbolic community of the nation and society and on which terms. People were individually responsible to fulfil the requirements and their value as a member of the symbolic, as well as the actual, community depended on their ability to do so. People's membership in the state and the society was not based on civil or political rights, and not even on social rights, but on a social responsibility to contribute in ways deemed productive: immigrants and ethnic minorities needed to serve the welfare state, not the opposite.

Keywords: Immigration, ethnic diversity, magazine journalism, discourse theoretical analysis, Finland, the Netherlands

Tiivistelmä

Maahanmuutosta ja monikulttuurisista yhteiskunnista keskustellaan kaikkialla läntisessä maailmassa. Globalisaation tuloksena ihmisten odotetaan liikkuvan paikasta toiseen enemmän ja nopeammin kuin koskaan. Samalla kun yksilöt, ryhmät ja ideat liikkuvat ja kohtaavat, yhteiskuntien vanhat ja olemassa olevat rakenteet tulevat haastetuiksi. Sosiaalinen epävarmuus johtaa usein kysymyksiin siitä, mikä jokin yhteiskunta itsessään on, mitkä sen perustavat tekijät ovat ja ketkä ovat sen jäseniä. Millaisia uusia jäseniä yhteiskuntaan hyväksytään ja millä ehdoilla? Kuinka suhtaudutaan olemassa oleviin vähemmistöihin?

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan, kuinka suomalaiset ja alankomaalaiset ajanviete- ja järjestölehdet osallistuivat tähän keskusteluun vuosina 2003–2006. Tutkimuksessa analysoidaan maahanmuuton ja etnisen moninaisuuden diskursseja sekä maahanmuuttajien ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvien henkilöiden artikulaatioita yleisaikakauslehdissä *Suomen Kuvalehti* ja *Elsevier*, rakennusalan ammattiliittolehdissä *Rakentaja* ja *FNV Bouw Magazine* (*Bouw*), naistenlehdissä *Me Naiset* ja *Libelle* sekä seniorikansalaisten lehdissä *ET* ja *Plus Magazine* (*Plus*).

Kirjoittaessaan näistä aiheista aikakauslehdet artikuloivat ihmisistä representaatioita, joihin sisältyy ajatus siitä, keitä he ovat ja millaisia ominaisuuksia heillä on. Nämä artikulaatiot tarjoavat maahanmuuttajille ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluville subjektipositioita, jotka ovat yhdistelmä teksteissä ihmisille määritettyjä identiteettikategorioita ja muita ominaisuuksia, jotka kertovat mihin ryhmään ihminen kuuluu. Aikakauslehdet eivät pelkästään pyri vahvistamaan kansallista yhteisöä, vaan lisäksi ja erityisesti lukijoiden muodostamaa yhteisöä. Aikakauslehdet rakentavat symbolisia yhteisöjä jotka voivat olla sisään- tai ulossulkevia suhteessa maahanmuuttajiin ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin. Tällä on todellista merkitystä teksteissä esitettyjen ihmisten kannalta, sillä median rooli on keskeinen siinä, kuinka näihin ihmisiin suhtaudutaan median ulkopuolella tapahtuvissa kohtaamisissa sekä julkisissa mielipiteissä.

Suomi ja Alankomaat valittiin vertailun kohteeksi niiden yhtäläisyyksien vuoksi länsimaisina hyvinvointivaltioina, mutta etenkin johtuen niiden erilaisista maahanmuuttohistorioista. Alankomaat on ollut kaupan keskus ja maahanmuuton kohde kautta vuosisatojen. Se on vastaanottanut suuria maahanmuuttajaryhmiä 1950-luvulta lähtien ja on nykyisin yksi Euroopan monikulttuurisimpia maita. Suomessa on ajoittain ollut liikaväestöä työmahdollisuuksiin nähden, ja se on muuttunut maastamuuttomaasta varsinaiseksi maahanmuuttomaaksi vasta 1990-luvulta alkaen.

Tutkimuksessa analysoidaan maahanmuuton ja etnisen moninaisuuden diskursseja. Siinä kysytään, mitkä maahanmuuttaja- ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvat toimijat ovat keskeisiä eri aikakauslehdille: keitä määritellään toimijoiksi ja miten? Millaisia subjektipositioita maahanmuuttajatoimijoille ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluville annetaan ja kuinka heidän subjektipositionsa ja sosiaalinen identiteettinsä artikuloidaan? Miten lukijat asemoidaan teksteissä suhteessa maahanmuuttajiin ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin?

Lisäksi tutkimuksessa pyritään määrittämään, kenelle aikakauslehdet tarjoavat symbolisten ja todellisten yhteisöjen jäsenyyttä ja millä ehdoilla kontekstissa, joka ajoittain on kasvavan kriittinen monikulttuurisuutta kohtaan. Symboliset yhteisöt ovat yhteisöjä, joiden jäsenet eivät välttämättä tunne toisiaan. Siksi yhteisyys ja samanlaisuus jäsenten välillä on kuviteltava ja sitä on vahvistettava symbolisesti. Kansakunnat ovat symbolisia yhteisöjä samoin kuin mediayleisöt, ja niitä määritellään mediateksteissä. Tutkimuksessa kiinnitetään myös huomiota niihin vaihtoehtoihin, joilla etnistä moninaisuutta katsotaan yhteiskunnassa voitavan järjestää: vaihtoehtoisia diskursseja ovat universalismi, assimilaatio, multikulturalismi ja eriytyneisyys (segregaatio).

Tutkimuksessa yhdistetään määrällisiä ja laadullisia tutkimusmenetelmiä. Kummassakin analyysimenetelmässä on lähtökohtana Laclaun ja Mouffen (1985/2001) diskurssiteoria. Määrällisen analyysin, joka lisäksi nojaa identiteettiteorioihin, tuloksia esitellään luvussa 4. Määrällinen analyysi tarjoaa yleiskuvan tutkimusmateriaalista ja sen sisällöstä, erityisesti tekstien toimijoista. Sen avulla tuotetaan alustava analyysi toimijoille teksteissä artikuloitavista subjektipositioista. Analyysi myös tarkentaa laadullisen analyysin kohteita.

Määrällistä analyysia seuraavassa laadullisessa diskurssiteoreettisessa analyysissa luvussa 5 analysoidaan maahanmuuttoa ja etnistä moninaisuutta koskevia diskursiivisia kenttiä, diskursseja, subjektipositioita, toimijoiden välille luotavia hierarkioita ja symbolisia yhteisöjä eri lehdissä. Analyysia jatketaan johtopäätösluvussa 6.

Määrällisen analyysin pohjalta voidaan todeta, että suomalaisissa aikakauslehdissä kirjoitetaan maahanmuutosta ja etnisistä vähemmistöistä huomattavasti harvemmin kuin alankomaalaisissa lehdissä. Suomalaiset lehdet hyödynsivät henkilökohtaisempaa näkökulmaa asioihin, kun taas alankomaalaislehdet kirjoittivat suuremmista ryhmistä. Kaikilla lehdillä oli itselleen tyypillinen tapa esittää ja tarkastella maahanmuuttajia ja etnisiä vähemmistöjä. Yhdistelemällä eri muuttujia koskevia tuloksia voitiin määritellä maahanmuuttaja- ja etnisiin ryhmiin kuuluvien henkilöiden tyyppitapaukset eri lehdissä. Nämä tyyppitapaukset edustivat sellaisia ihmisiä ja aiheita, jotka olivat keskeisiä lehdelle ja sen lukijoille.

Rakennusalan ammattiliittolehdissä maahanmuuttajan tyyppitapaus oli ulkomaalainen rakennustyöntekijä, joka joko oli tai ei ollut ammattiliiton jäsen.

Naistenlehdissä sekä seniorilehdessä *ET* maahanmuuttajan tai etniseen vähemmistöön kuuluvan tyyppitapauksena oli suomalaisen tai hollantilaisen perheenjäsen, työkaveri tai muu läheinen. Yleisaikakauslehdessä *Suomen Kuvalehti* maahanmuuttajina esiintyivät menestyvät maahanmuuttajat ja asiantuntijat sekä maahan mahdollisesti tulossa olevat maahanmuuttajat. Alankomaalaisessa *Elsevierissä* ja seniorilehdessä *Plus* tyyppitapauksena oli alankomaalainen etnisten vähemmistöjen kategoria, *allochtoon* tai muslimit, tai yksittäinen samoja ryhmiä edustava asiantuntija.

Rakennusalan ammattiliittolehtien diskursseissa maahanmuutto ja ulkomaalaiset rakennustyöntekijät artikuloitiin uhkaksi, liiton jäseninä tervetulleeksi joukoksi, tai niissä kannettiin huolta etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvien henkilöiden työmarkkinaosallistumisesta. Universalismi artikuloitiin etnisen moninaisuuden järjestämisen vaihtoehdoksi. Naistenlehdissä ja *ET*-lehdessä artikuloitiin perheissä tapahtuvan kulttuurienvälisyyden, monikulttuurisen dialogin ja integraation, naiseuden juhlinnan ja henkilökohtaisten kokemusten juhlinnan diskurssit. Kaikissa diskursseissa artikuloitiin eri näkökulmista, kuinka ihmiset kohtaavat toisensa päivittäisessä elämässä ja kotoutuvat onnistuneesti. Diskurssit perustuivat enimmäkseen multikulturalistisiin näkemyksiin, mutta myös yhteiskunnallista osallistumista vaativaan universalismiin. Yleisaikakauslehdet ja seniorilehti *Plus* artikuloivat universalismin, assimilaation ja multikulturalismin diskurssit, joissa kaikissa otettiin erityinen näkökulma siihen, kuinka maahanmuuttajien ja etnisten vähemmistöjen tulisi kiinnittyä ja rakentaa siltoja yhteiskuntaan. Taloudellista osallistumista edellyttävää universalismia ja kulttuurista sulautumista vaativaa assimilaatiota painotettiin eniten.

Eri lehdissä artikuloitujen diskurssien yhteenvetona voidaan todeta, että kaikki diskurssit perustuivat neljään eri tapaan artikuloida maahanmuutto ja etninen moninaisuus. Nämä aiheet ja ryhmät artikuloitiin uhkaksi, hyödykkeeksi, uhreiksi tai juhlinnan kohteiksi. Nämä artikulaatiot yhdistyivät erityisempiin maahanmuuttajien ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvien subjektipositioiden artikulaatioihin. Niillä oli myös yhteys etnisen moninaisuuden järjestämistä ja symbolisia yhteisöjä koskeviin artikulaatioihin.

Maahanmuuttajia ja etnisiä vähemmistöjä koskevat erityiset subjektipositiot muodostuivat teksteissä kolmesta elementistä, jotka ovat määräävässä asemassa sen suhteen, millaiseksi subjektipositio artikuloidaan. Ensimmäinen elementti määrittelee, ottaako artikulaatio kollektiivisen vai yksilöllisen näkökulman kohteena olevaan henkilöön. Toinen elementti määrittää missä määrin subjektipositio perustuu etniseen tai ei-etniseen identiteettikategoriaan. Kolmas elementti määrittää, esitetäänkö subjektipositio kuuluvaksi johonkin tiettyyn ryhmään vai sen ulkopuolelle. Nämä kolme elementtiä ovat siis 1) kollektiivinen–yksilöllinen, 2) etninen–ei-etninen ja 3) sisäpuoli–ulkopuoli. Nämä elementit muodostavat kahdeksan mahdollista yhdistelmää,

ja elementtejä voidaan käyttää laajemminkin maahanmuuttajien ja etnisiin vähemmistöihin kuuluvien subjektipositioiden analysoimiseen mediateksteissä.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että kaikkiaan uutisjournalismilla ja aikakauslehtijournalismilla on paljon yhteistä maahanmuuton ja etnisen moninaisuuden käsittelytavoissa. Tässä mielessä analysoidut aikakauslehdet olivat pikemminkin perinteisiä, eivätkä uutta luovia. Aikakauslehdissä näkyi kuitenkin selvemmin, että ne palvelevat kahta tarkoitusta kirjoittaessaan maahanmuutosta ja etnisestä moninaisuudesta. Yhtäältä aikakauslehdet artikuloivat lehdelle ja lukijoille tärkeän symbolisen yhteisön, mutta samalla ne myös artikuloivat kansallista yhteisöä. Nämä artikulaatiot esiintyivät rinnakkain, mutta jompaakumpaa niistä korostettiin. Rakennusalan ammattiliittolehdissä artikuloitiin ammattiliiton yhteisöä ja naistenlehdet korostivat naisten ja perheiden yhteisöjen artikulaatioita, kun taas yleisaikakauslehdet painottivat kansallista symbolista yhteisöä.

Kaikki lehdet reflektoivat myös sitä symbolisen yhteisön kontekstia, jossa ne on tuotettu, eli tässä tapauksessa läntistä hyvinvointiyhteiskuntaa. Analysoidut aikakauslehdet osoittivat, että ne eivät ole pelkästään identiteettimedioita, jotka artikuloivat lukijoiden yhteisöjä, vaan myös poliittisia medioita, jotka käsittelevät yhteiskuntaa ja sen jäseniä laajassa mittakaavassa. Siksi maahanmuuttajien ja etnisen moninaisuuden artikulaatiot olivat myös osittain yhtenäisiä kaikissa lehdissä. Kaikilla lehdillä oli kuitenkin myös erityinen tapa lähestyä yhteiskunnallisia keskustelunaiheita, ja tämä tapa ei aina ollut sellainen kuin uutisjournalismissa. Aikakauslehdet myös tarjosivat tilaa henkilökohtaisille lähestymistavoille ja yksittäisille äänille.

Suomalaisissa aikakauslehdissä maahanmuutto ei vuosina 2003–2006 vielä ollut yhteiskunnallisesti kovin merkittävä aihe. Sitä käsiteltiin enimmäkseen yksittäisten henkilöiden kokemusten kautta tai tulevaisuuden ilmiönä. Alankomaalaiset aikakauslehdet kertoivat monikulttuurisuuden kriisistä, jonka osana käydään kiivasta keskustelua yhteiskunnan etnisestä moninaisuudesta ja kansakunnan yhtenäisyydestä. Etenkin muslimivähemmistöön kohdistui epäilyksiä. Suomalaisessakin keskustelussa oli viitteitä tästä eurooppalaisesta keskustelusta.

Kaikkia suomalaisia ja alankomaalaisia artikulaatioita ja diskursseja yhdistää se, että ne rakentavat kuvaa yhteiskuntaa ja kansakuntaa koskevista sosiaalisista kuvitelmista ja myyteistä. Aikakauslehdet pyrkivät ylläpitämään kansakuntaa artikuloimalla symbolisia yhteisöjä, jotka enimmäkseen ovat avoimia vain niille maahanmuuttajille ja etnisille vähemmistöille, jotka ovat osoittautuneet eniten samankaltaisiksi ”syntyperäisten” asukkaiden kanssa. Maahanmuuttajan tai etniseen vähemmistöön kuuluvan subjektipositio molemmissa maissa artikuloitiin jokseenkin ulkopuoliseksi. Suomalaisessa keskustelussa maahanmuuttajat eivät vielä ”olleet perillä”; alankomaalaisessa keskustelussa etniset vähemmistöt olivat läsnä, mutta usein sijoitettuina yhteiskunnan laitamille.

Kaikista voimakkain ja kattavin yhteiskunnallinen myytti, joka yhdisti suomalaisia ja alankomaalaisia diskursseja, oli läntisen hyvinvointivaltion myytti. Kaikki lehdet käsittelivät hyvinvointivaltiota ja sen perustuksia, ja maahanmuuttajat ja etniset vähemmistöt sekä heidän subjektipositionsa artikuloitiin suhteessa hyvinvointivaltioon. Suomalaisissa lehdissä tarve ylläpitää hyvinvointivaltiota tulevaisuudessa oli ratkaiseva sen suhteen, millaisia maahanmuuttajia ja maahanmuuttoa halutaan nyt ja tulevaisuudessa. Alankomaiden tapauksessa huoli murenevasta hyvinvointivaltiosta ohjasi diskursseja aikakauslehdissä. Uusliberaali markkinalogiikka, joka vaatii, että hyvinvointivaltion jokainen jäsen on tuottava, määritteli aikakauslehdissä, kenet voitiin hyväksyä kansakunnan symboliseen yhteisöön ja millä ehdoilla. Yksilöt olivat henkilökohtaisessa vastuussa täyttää nämä vaatimukset ja heidän arvonsa symbolisen, samoin kuin todellisten yhteisöjen jäsenenä riippui heidän kyvystään onnistua siinä. Ihmisten jäsenyys valtiossa ja yhteiskunnassa ei perustunut esimerkiksi kansalais- tai poliittisiin oikeuksiin, eikä edes sosiaalisiin oikeuksiin, vaan sosiaaliseen velvollisuuteen antaa tuottava panos: maahanmuuttajien ja etnisten vähemmistöjen tulee palvella hyvinvointivaltiota, ei päinvastoin.

Avainsanat: Maahanmuutto, etninen moninaisuus, aikakauslehtijournalismi, diskurssiteoreettinen analyysi, Suomi, Alankomaat

Contents

List of Tables

1. Introduction

Society. An opportunity to be really good neighbours with really many people.[1]

This research is about articulations and representations[2] of immigration, ethnic diversity, immigrants and people belonging to ethnic minorities in popular and organisational magazines. When writing about these issues, magazine texts are articulating representations of people, including ideas of who they are, what kind of qualities they are believed to have and where they come from. These articulations offer subject positions to immigrant and ethnic minority actors: selections of socially defined identity categories and qualities that are ascribed to people in the texts and that carry an idea of to which group and where people belong. The articulations also position the readers in relation to immigrant and ethnic minority actors. These subject positions are a consequence of negotiation and processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Media representations of subject positions are important because they show us which types of people or groups are believed to be a part of national and other symbolic communities and in what ways. Lately, the national communities have come more and more under discussion, since the old ideas of nationalism and nations are challenged by global migrations and societies becoming more and more diverse. Besides being challenged, these ideas are also strengthened at the same time: in no way do they seem to be disappearing. In other words, old hegemonic imaginaries of homogeneous and clearly defined nations are no longer valid as such, and new myths concerning the essence of the nations have to be articulated (Laclau 1990, 61–64; Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 15).

The majority of questions have lately been on the ways in which diversity[3] has been organised in European societies in past decades. One estimation that has gained popularity is that integration policies aimed at accommodating this diversity, as well as

---

1 An aphorism in a Dutch poster by Loesje, http:// www.loesje.org/posters

2 Representation is here understood as an idea or portrayal of phenomena, people or events constructed in language use, for example in a text (Hujanen and Pietikäinen 2000, 6).

3 Diversity means here a status of a society in which various ethnic and cultural groups are sharing a living space within the borders of one state.

individual migrants and migrant groups, have failed in their integration efforts. Furthermore, multiculturalism as a model to organise diversity is said to have failed. Other estimations claim that nothing of this is true. These debates on failed migrations and multiculturalism, similarly to general debates on migration, often articulate immigrants in fixed subject positions. This has real effects on the lives of the people that are represented, since the role of the media is important in how these people are regarded and treated in encounters outside the media, as well as in the wider public opinion on these groups. I believe that the articulations of subject positions in media texts are not insignificant, since they can tell us something about the prevailing ways of looking at and treating certain groups in certain contexts at a certain moment in time. The historical moment studied here is a moment of emerging and competing ways of articulating these subject positions and fitting them into our social imaginaries of national communities.

This research discusses how certain magazines in Finland and the Netherlands are taking part in this debate and how they construct symbolic communities. Magazines are a specific medium because they usually do not only aim at strengthening a national community, but also or, alternatively, the community that consists of their readers. Therefore it is relevant to ask how magazines as a special kind of medium are taking part in the debate that is a national one.

In this introduction, I will first discuss some of the theoretical starting points for the research, in section 1.1. The focus of the research and research questions are introduced in section 1.2. Section 1.3 places this research amongst related media studies, while 1.4 specifies magazines as an object of the research and the research material. Lastly, section 1.5 provides some background information on Finnish and Dutch immigration histories, immigration and integration policies, and recent debates on the issues in both countries.

1.1 Symbolic communities, media and identities

Migrations, immigration and integration policies, and the outcomes thereof, as well as multicultural societies and their current state and future are debated all over the (Western) world nowadays. As a result of globalisation and other global processes people, goods and money are expected to move more and faster than ever. At the same time, when actual individuals move and new groups of people and ideas encounter each other, and the more new influences there are, the more the 'old' or the 'already existing' paradigms within a society are challenged. This has led to an increase in social insecurity; a development that Arjan Appadurai has called the core element of

globalisation itself (2006). Within societies, this social insecurity most often leads to ponderings concerning the society itself: what are the constructions of which the society is made, and who are its members? Which new members is the society willing to let in and on what conditions? How is the society to treat those minorities already forming part of it?

These ponderings on society often touch upon questions of nations and their citizenship. Citizenship is traditionally understood to be about membership, belonging, rights and obligations within a state community. In institutional terms, the terrain of citizenship is usually marked out by abstract legal definitions as to who is to be legally included in or excluded from the political community, which is most often indicated as a nation state (Stevenson 2001, 1 and 2003, 4; Dahlgren 2000, 317). However, where we belong has never been simple to define, and today it is even less so. We live in a world in which people are constantly on the move, leaving their old homes for various reasons and building new ones in new places, and in a world with country borders that are regularly redefined and shifting. As a consequence, people often reside in countries other than the one in which they were born, without the legal status of citizen. People's actual political and other affiliations (traditionally and theoretically related to the legal status of citizen) often do not at a given moment correspond to their legal status within a certain nation state.

Not only are people on the move, but the world is also driven by technology and a constant flow of information. Within this world, people's ideas of membership and loyalties, importance of the nation in contrast to more global concerns, personal tastes and choices are all to some extent influenced by the flow of information, and they become an interplay of individual, collective and virtual processes. What we know and believe and where we want to belong are open questions without obvious answers. Individualism, individual choices and affiliations have come to replace collective sentiments such as the sense of being a citizen of a nation. How we address these issues at a given moment depends 'upon shifting discourses and narratives that have become available to us in a variety of social contexts' and sources. As a result of these developments, even the category of 'citizen' cannot be seen as a question of administrative categories or laws only, but increasingly as a question of symbolic and cultural inclusiveness (Stevenson 2003, 5) as well as personal conceptualisation of the matter. As Chantal Mouffe pointed out, citizenship should not be viewed as a legal status but as a form of identification, something to be constructed (1992, 231). Furthermore, it has been argued that for political democratic deliberation and decision-making to be truly legitimate, it should no longer be the privilege of legal citizens, but should involve all who are affected by it (Fraser 2007, 22).

For these and other reasons, there have been claims that the three traditional dimensions of citizenship (civil, political and social[4]) that were first discussed by T.H. Marshall in his post-war writings should now be supplemented with a fourth dimension. A dimension of symbolic or cultural citizenship should be added, especially in the context of contemporary multicultural and multi-ethnic societies, since globalisation has brought into prominence questions of individual identity and multiple multi-cultural memberships, challenging the traditional ideas of nation states and 'imagined communities' formed by native legal citizens that go along with them. (Dahlgren 2000, 317; Margalit 1996; Stevenson 2001, 4 and 2003, 6–10.) In each society, there is a smaller or larger difference between legal citizenship and symbolic citizenship. This difference is reflected by, on the one hand, including in the symbolic national community such people and groups that do not have a legal citizenship, while, on the other hand and more typically, symbolically excluding other individuals and groups with legal citizenship.

Symbolic and cultural citizenships are dimensions of citizenship that have the symbolic aspects of belonging and identity at their centre, in contrast to legal or administrative aspects. They include the right to have one's own traditions and language acknowledged within a society, as well as the right to link up with both the common good and the minority's special needs, for example in relation to modern media (Dahlgren 2000, 317; Margalit 1996; Stevenson 2003.) Moreover, symbolic citizenship is the dimension of citizenship that defines by symbolic devices who can be considered a member of a certain collective known as a national community and under which conditions, as well as what their characteristics are and what is considered normal behaviour (Saukkonen 2013, 113). Cultural citizenship in turn is often understood in terms of production and resources. For example, the opportunities for different diasporas to be active as media practitioners in their new home countries and their actual media practices, uses and production have been at the centre of investigation of cultural citizenship and its actualisation (Stevenson, 2003; Couldry 2006).

On a symbolic level, ideas of communities and membership are present in the media texts that we read and consume daily, since it is in and through media that these

[4] The civil dimension of citizenship aims to guarantee the basic legal integrity of society's members; the political dimension serves to ensure the rights associated with democratic participation, whereas the social dimension addresses the general life circumstances of individuals.

issues are most likely debated: i.e. the composition of a nation or a society, its members and citizenship rights and obligations. Media has been said to be an arena in society through which all other arenas of society are represented. Media texts have a central role when social realities and symbolic communities are being imagined and given explanations (Anderson 1983; Taylor 2004). Media have in past decades proven to be a central arena in the emergence of new social movements labelled as identity politics[5] concerning the rights of various groups (women, gay, ethnic, disabled, etc.) to be acknowledged as a part of the symbolic community and civil society. These movements have promoted the notion that 'in order to be able to act as a citizen, one has to be able to think of oneself as a citizen', as well as be seen by others as such (Dahlgren 2000, 318). Many of these movements have, then, also dealt with symbolical inclusion, challenging the existing ideas of a community and calling for more room for diversity: this is also where the concept of cultural citizenship is pointing.

Traditional mass media such as newspapers and television have on the one hand been a central arena in striving for the public recognition of minority groups, as they have offered a place for debate as well as an opportunity for the groups to get themselves seen and heard (Stevenson 2001, 4). On the other hand, traditional news media have, on the whole, been criticised for not even being the media of the majority, let alone minorities, but rather serving the purposes of power and knowledge elites, disregarding the needs of various other groups. Nowadays, especially as news journalism is consumed by fewer people than before, it can also be asked, what actually is the symbolic community that is imagined in and through the national news? Who is actually a part of the community and who is left on the outside simply because they do not follow the news?

Newer forms of mass media, especially the Internet and various types of social media, have become important sources of information and more importantly, have provided new ways for people to act and set up bottom-up social movements serving the specific needs of various groups and individuals. In the case of migrants, especially in a country like Finland, where the social contacts between the majority and the minorities have not been and still are not, in many cases, well-established, traditional mass media still have an important role in providing information about the 'newcomers' and their position in society and about debates concerning their situation.

---

[5] Politics of identity '[highlight] the appearance, since 1960s, of new kind of social mobilization based upon various collective identities that were previously hidden, suppressed or neglected' (Kenny 2004, 3.) This means that a shared identity can mobilize a group to political action. This identity can be expressed, strengthened or weakened, for example in and through media.

One significant modern medium that both informs and constructs ideas of symbolic communities, citizenship and other identities is magazines. Magazines – perhaps with the exception of news magazines – are often discounted as a serious medium and seen as a source of mere entertainment instead. They have not been, and are still in many cases, unfortunately, not seen as a part of the 'official' public sphere within which political or societal matters are discussed and shaped. The fact that magazines have qualities that actually make them greatly interesting and important carriers of cultural meanings has been unnecessarily neglected.

Magazines differ from traditional news media, at least because they possess qualities that are generally thought to be typical for alternative social media. Magazines and magazine texts are, for example, said to stress togetherness and participation rather than newsworthiness or factuality. Magazines typically include stories about ordinary people with ordinary problems: they focus on the individual and describe how people feel to be targets, victims or heroes in social processes, rather than try to picture events as information-oriented and straightforwardly as possible (e.g. Holmes & Nice 2012; Kivikuru 2009; Töyry 2009).

Especially the stories in magazines about other people's lives have the ability to link facts together and promote an understanding of the issues in question. These stories also have the potential to include groups that conventional forms of political communication have been claimed to exclude, namely women and ethnic minorities (Kivikuru 2009, 167, citing van Zoonen 2005, 150). For this reason alone, magazine journalism ought not to be disregarded, but reconsidered as an important terrain of political and social debate (see e.g. Saarenmaa 2010; Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011). Magazines have also been said to be the best reflectors of the spirit of the time (Kivikuru 1996, 1, citing Lowenthal 1984; also Holmes & Nice 2012, 122).

Questions of symbolic communities do seem especially relevant in case of magazine texts, since magazines are based on strict formats and are written for a certain type of a reader: a target group. Even before publishing a magazine, its makers must consider whom the texts will be written for and which purposes the magazine should serve (Napoli 2003). The reader is supposed to share with the magazine a common understanding of the 'world'/'society'/'community' and the actors within it, and the texts aim to fulfil the reader's expectations (Töyry 2005). It can be stated that magazines, on the one hand, make fundamental suppositions about their readers, and in making them, include some groups while excluding others. On the other hand, in the hope of attracting a wide readership, magazines usually craft their message to appeal to a more general public as well.

In a situation where a society's population is undergoing a change in composition and new groups are either entering the society or establishing their position within it, it

is important to study whether magazines are responding to these changes by, for example, widening their understanding of who is part of society or their potential readership (be it the specific target group in question or part of the general public). In this connection, it should not be forgotten that the 'national' media, also magazines, are not being read or consumed by immigrants or ethnic minority members to any great extent (Maasilta 2010). Nevertheless, it is important that magazines do not neglect these groups and their presence in the society and in doing so also block them from their potential readership and symbolic communities. If magazines have the potential to include various marginalised groups in their understanding of social and cultural communities, the question arises whether they are using this opportunity and to what extent. This can also be seen as a matter of margins and centres: who is in the centre of the magazines' focus and where do the margins lie? And how near to the centre (and which centre) are different people and groups positioned?

The social importance of media is to an important extent tied to their ability to represent social identities, different versions of 'self' and 'the other', and differences and similarities between actors and cultural values. Beyond this, media (texts) also define relations between groups and actors (Fairclough 1997, 30). Media define groups and identities in a way that positions them in a certain time, place and circumstances and explains their existence in a way that makes it intelligible to readers or media users (Hall 1999, 59). In doing so, news journalism has often been accused of reducing social relationships to binary oppositions of 'us' and 'them' and of simplifying matters. However, one should not forget that media can give counter-arguments or redefine old relationships in new ways as well.

1.2 The focus of the research

Considering media texts to be (re)producers and articulators of 'realities', identities and relationships is an idea with roots in social constructionism and discourse theory. According to these theories, speech acts, texts and discourses[6] can be treated as a reflection of the social reality, but they are also actual constructors of certain kinds of realities (Jokinen 1999, 38–39). There are no meanings without a discourse, since all the meanings of all social practices are defined through discourse (Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001). In this research, magazine texts were seen as formations of discourses, parts of and comprising discursive fields. It is within these discursive fields that

6 'Discourse' in this research means a representation of a social practice.

discourses on immigration and ethnic diversity are articulated, including subject positions of various actors and groups being active in these realities. (See section 2.7 for more theoretical details.)

Discourses, subject positions[7] and identities[8] of actors in the texts are in this research understood as results of a process of articulation in which discursive elements are brought together to form new entities (ibid.). The theory stresses that identities are both fixed and fluid and that identities in discourses offer a multiplicity of possible identification points, subject positions to social actors. Fluidity guarantees human subjectivity, agency and individuality in discourses (Carpentier 2005, 200), as identities are not only fixed and predetermined but make individual choices possible.

In the process of articulation, however, some articulations may be privileged over others. These privileged articulations that Laclau and Mouffe call 'nodal points' are the articulations that bring fixity into a discourse or a subject position and in a sense make it recognisable (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). The elements within the articulation process that in this case I am especially interested in are elements that can be seen as parts of subject positions. By using theories and tools of discourse theoretical analysis,[9] I aim to deconstruct and analyse these subject positions.

More specifically, I am interested in the variety of social and cultural identity categories that are ascribed to immigrants and ethnic minority members in magazine discourses as a part of the articulation of subject positions. On the one hand, these groups are very often articulated and represented in public discussions in a way that is rather one-sided. Theories on identity, on the other hand, stress the fact that identities are never pure, simple or static; instead they are fragmented, multiple and constantly changing. Therefore I wanted to explore the extent to which magazine texts manage to create subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members that are multifaceted and flexible, and as such more in accordance with theoretical and everyday understanding of identities today. The purpose is also to make visible those articulations, subject positions and relations, as well as belief systems that are actualised in magazine texts when they discuss immigration and ethnic diversity. Are magazines able to produce something new and controversial that would challenge the most

7 The articulated position of a social agent within a discourse.

8 Here I refer to collective, ascribed or articulated social identities, not subjective or individual identities. A person can identify her/himself with a (social) identity represented in a text and this identification can lead into a subjectivity (thus become a part of an individual identity), but this is not what this research is interested in. Here I only study social and cultural identity categories, and the subject positions they offer to actors, articulated in the texts.

9 By Laclau and Mouffe.

strongly prevailing perceptions of these groups and social realities or do they conform with the prevailing perceptions?

A second focus is on the way readers are portrayed in the texts in relation to the matters discussed. This is important to consider, since magazine texts are not written at random, but instead very much with the potential reader in mind, with the purpose of fitting a discussion of a certain issue into the format and style of a magazine. By suggesting a position for a reader, the magazine at the same time indicates something about the attitude that readers (and at the same time the magazine itself) are believed to have towards the immigration and ethnic diversity issues discussed. I am not attempting to analyse who the actual readers are and how they actually think or feel about the perceptions that a certain magazine is offering them. What I try to do is to analyse what kind of representations the magazine texts offer and, on that basis, how the readers might place themselves in relation to immigrant and ethnic groups.

Moreover, besides looking into the details of representations of subject positions and identities at the text level, in this dissertation I will move to a more macro-level discussion and consider the general and societal implications of certain kinds of articulations and discourses. I will discuss, on the basis of the magazine texts, what kinds of articulations are given in Finnish and Dutch contexts to symbolic communities, global migration and organisation of difference. I see migration and ethnic diversity as floating signifiers that are articulated and given meaning to each time they are discussed. Ethnically diverse Western societies are an issue discussed in Europe, and the magazine texts analysed here are part of that on-going debate articulating diverse societies and other communities – and the people in them – from their magazine-specific perspectives. They have the potential to either follow existing lines of argument or articulate something new.

To put it more simply, this research was an attempt to understand how national and other symbolic communities, subject positions and identities of different actors with an 'ethnic' or 'immigrant' background are constructed and defined in popular and organisational magazines. The study investigated whether and how ethnicity as a collective identity category appears in different types of magazine texts: first of all, which ethnic or immigrant actors are relevant for different magazines: who is defined as actors in magazine texts and how are they defined? What kind of subject positions are ethnic/immigrant actors given to and, finally, how are their collective identities and subject positions articulated and represented? Are other identities than ethnicity possible for these people? Yet another question in this study was to determine to whom membership of the symbolic and real communities, as well as symbolic citizenship, is available in different magazines in Finnish and Dutch contexts, which at

times grow increasingly critical towards diversity and multiculturalism, and to determine under what conditions membership is possible.

The setting of the study was both cross- and multicultural. Firstly, the research consisted of a comparison between Finnish and Dutch magazines, and in that respect, between two countries and societies. Secondly, all the texts analysed also dealt with the current composition of the population in the two countries in question, the multinational and multicultural – or ethnically diverse or plural – character of the population, and the ways in which this influences the discourses about 'society' and 'the community' constituting society and the nation. Hereby I take 'immigration' and 'ethnic diversity' as floating signifiers, meaning that they are signifiers that have different meanings in different contexts, in this case within the context of two societies, but also within the context of different types of magazines.

Similarly, 'immigrant' and 'ethnic minority' are here taken as concepts that get their specific description and articulation in each text and context. 'Immigrant' in general points to people who have migrated from one country to another one, but the concept includes people with all kinds of reasons for their migration: they are refugees, asylum seekers, job seekers, family members, students, specialists and so forth, they are of all kinds of backgrounds, ages and histories. The term does then not tell much about the group or the people in it. I use the term 'immigrant' for the sake of simplicity, but I do name in each specific case, when it is necessary, what is actually meant by the term – the articulation most times comes from the magazine texts that I analyse. I treat the concept of 'ethnic minority' in a similar fashion: each text and magazine specifies the groups they are actually discussing. The research material is, however, limited to those ethnic minorities that have resulted from migrations to Finland and the Netherlands in the twentieth century. In Will Kymlicka's terminology, the ethnic minorities discussed here are thus 'new' ethnic minorities, instead of the national or indigenous minorities such as the Sami and Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland (Kymlicka 1996).

As a general rule, it can be said that it is more correct to discuss 'ethnic minorities' in the Dutch case, since most of the groups discussed have lived in the country for decades and form recognisable entities. In the Dutch context the ethnic minorities are often discussed as being '*allochtoon*', which is a (debated) Dutch term for people born or originating from outside the Netherlands, but living in the country (see also section 1.5). I will use the term when it is used in the magazine texts as well. In Finland, it is still more common to discuss 'the immigrants', since the groups they are forming do not seem to be that well-established yet. As has been discussed, however, in Finland as well, it is about time that the terminologies are changed to better suit the actual situations in society with some larger immigrant groups that have been in the country for quite a while (e.g. Lepola 2000).

Finland and the Netherlands were chosen to be the objects of this comparison due to their similarities, but even more so due to their different immigration histories. Through the centuries, the Netherlands has been a central location for commerce and a destination for migrations. It has received large groups of immigrants from the 1950s on, and today it is one of the most multicultural or multinational countries in Europe. Finland lies geographically on the edge of Europe: it has been politically balanced between the East and the West for a long time and has at times had an excess of population in proportion to jobs available. Hence it has traditionally been a country of emigration and did not see any extensive migration until recently. It is only from the 1990s on that Finland became a true country of immigration. Yet it should not be forgotten that foreign influences and population has always been present in Finland as well: several fields of industry have been set up by businessmen of foreign origin, for example.

Despite the differences in history, developments in recent years in both countries have been pointing in the same direction. Immigration is growing or has stabilised, yet the actual numbers of immigrants received by the Netherlands are still many times larger than the numbers received by Finland. Finland and the Netherlands fall under the legal system of the European Union, and both must adjust to the immigration directed to the EU region, especially on its borders in the Mediterranean, but affecting the EU member states in other ways as well. The general attitudes in both countries are in line with the broader European attitudes that are (from time to time) highly critical towards immigration and multicultural societies. Events such as the murders of popular politician Pim Fortuyn (2002) and well-known filmmaker Theo van Gogh (2004) have at times made the Netherlands the hotspot of Europe in this respect, but have also affected the debate elsewhere. The debate that followed these murders was highly critical of the decisions regarding immigration and integration that had been made in the past, and the verdict was harsh: it all has to change, or the future looks even darker.

In Finland, the issues of immigration and integration have only recently, after 2010, become an actual topic of interest in the daily debate and politics. On the more practical level of social services, for example, these issues have been dealt with for more than a decade already. An often-heard slogan in Finland is that we should keep learning from the mistakes of other countries in order to avoid certain problems. It is admitted that Finland is lagging behind, but in this case it might be considered an advantage. In the years studied here, there were already signs of the Finnish immigration debate following the European trends. These trends can only be spotted when the debates in various countries are compared with each other. The Dutch

debate is an excellent point of comparison, since it has been one of the trend-setters in these matters.

Within the European Union, the Netherlands is often perceived as an 'additional' Nordic or Scandinavian country in terms of similar societal and welfare systems and attitudes. In other fields of research, e.g. health and administration, comparisons including both the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands have already gained popularity (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990). As I discuss below, also the Finnish immigration and integration policies have sought models from the Netherlands (see page 46). Due to these and further reasons I discuss, a comparison of the immigration debates in the media of the two countries seems a very fruitful one as well.

A phenomenon that on the surface appears to be similar can take different shapes in different circumstances. Not only do the magazines studied here differ from each other: they also represent the cultures and societies in which they are published, along with the time in which they are published. By comparing (two or more) different social 'realities' at a given moment, one might, at least in theory, gain an understanding of the findings of the analysis better than if only looking at a single case. I could have chosen to carry out the comparison by analysing the debates in several countries instead of concentrating only on two. I nevertheless strongly believe that, in order to carry out the analysis properly and systematically and make it comprehensible to the readers as well, a sufficient amount of contextual information is needed. Had I chosen to analyse the debates in several countries and many more magazines, I would never have been able to provide the necessary contextual knowledge properly. Therefore the choice fell on the two countries and societal situations that I personally also know the best. [10]

Another supposition in this research is that, as earlier research on people's attitudes also shows (e.g. Jaakkola 1999 and 2009) there might be symbolic hierarchies in the media representations of different immigrant or ethnic groups. Inclusive symbolic citizenship and membership in symbolic communities might more likely be available to those who are the most similar to ourselves, in this case the Finns or the Dutch, and only in specific circumstances that vary not only from one society to another, but also from one magazine to the other. To what extent this claim holds, what the hierarchies are, and how they are articulated and given meaning – these are all matters I hoped my research would shed light on.

[10] I am Finnish by origin and as a researcher have specialised in questions of media and migration. In addition, I have lived in the Netherlands for five years as an immigrant myself. Furthermore, I have been following the Dutch immigration debate for more than ten years.

1.3 Previous research into media, journalism, immigration and ethnicity

The portrayal and representation of ethnic minorities and race relations in different media has been studied at least since the 1960s, starting first in United States to understand the race riots that had taken place (see e.g. Pietikäinen & Luostarinen 1996), and in Great Britain on questions of 'black Britishness' (see e.g. Nikunen 2007; Hartman & Husband 1974; Husband 1982). The most-researched media have been newspapers, but studies on other print media, television, radio and the Internet have also been conducted (see e.g. ter Wal 2002; Cottle 1998 and 2000; Downing & Husband 2005; Gillespie 1995; Srebreny 2000).

More recently, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of studies that touch upon the issue of media and ethnic minorities. Studies that investigate the Internet and social media in some form, participation of minorities in media making, media reception and media uses of ethnic minorities and various diasporas are especially popular topics today (e.g. Eide & Nikunen 2011; Georgiou 2006; Horsti 2008; Lind 2004; Rydin & Sjöberg 2008). Questions of ethnicity and racism in media have also inspired some discourse theoretical methodologies and discussions (van Dijk 1983, 1988, 1991 and 1993; Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wetherell & Potter 1992). Since there is plenty of research on the issues of immigration and ethnicity in media, I will only introduce it here selectively and in a concise form, concentrating on relevant views and results. For the most part, I will concentrate on Finnish and Dutch – as well as Nordic – research.

In the Nordic countries, research started with text analysis in issues of representation of immigrants and minorities in the media. The research first started in Sweden, which was also the first Nordic country to receive large groups of immigrants. The first analyses of news media appeared in the 1980s (Hedman 1985; Hultén 1988; Brune 1990), and since then, both the news coverage on immigrants and ethnic minorities and the research conducted have increased (Horsti 2007, 44; Hultén 2006). Besides news journalism (Brune 2004; Hultén 2006), films and other popular media representations have also been studied (Tigervall 2005), along with the diversity work in newsrooms (Camauër 2011). Danish text analyses on immigration and ethnicity have concentrated on the representation of Muslims and Islam (Hussain 2000; Hervik 2002), but also for example on gender issues (Andreassen 2005) and multicultural journalism (Marselis 2006). In Denmark, research on minorities' media use started earlier than in other Nordic countries (Horsti 2007, 48) and results on those issues were published as early as 2003 (Tufte 2003). In Norway, Elisabeth Eide combined

research on journalistic practices, text analysis and analysis of media interpretations in her dissertation (2002), and Henry Mainsah studied the use of social media by young people and diaspora (2009).

Finnish research on immigration and ethnicity in the media started in 1990s with discussions of the representation of refugees and traditional Finnish minorities (e.g. Blomqvist 1996; Pietikäinen & Luostarinen 1996). Dissertations on these issues have been published since 2000 (Kuusisto 2000; Pietikäinen 2000). Sari Pietikäinen's dissertation discusses the representation of ethnic minorities and the Sami in particular in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1985–1993. Pentti Raittila focuses on the news representation of Russians and Estonians as the Finnish 'other' in his dissertation from 2004, and also develops methods for the study of dialogic encounters in journalism. Both these last-mentioned dissertations are based on content and discourse analysis. The representation of asylum seekers in news and multicultural discourses in various media is the focus in Karina Horsti's dissertation (2005), in which framing analysis is used as a method. Mari Maasilta's dissertation (2007) covers transnational cinema in French language context, and Anssi Männistö discusses the visual representation of Islam (1999). Also the case of the Roma in a Finnish context has been analysed (Nordberg 2007). The most recent dissertation from 2011 by Camilla Haavisto gives a versatile view of the coverage of immigration and positioning of various immigrant groups in Swedish-language news media in Finland especially, and also discusses the possibilities of an inclusive public sphere.

Besides the dissertations mentioned here, a series of systematic studies on the media coverage of immigration and ethnicity in both the Finnish- and Swedish-language press was undertaken in 1998–2007 (e.g. Raittila & Kutilainen 2000; Raittila 2002; Sandlund 2000 and 2002). In addition, media coverage of Islam (Maasilta, Rahkonen & Raittila 2008; Creutz 2008), racism on the Internet (Pekkinen 2005), the reception of immigration and ethnicity issues in various media by audiences (Raittila 2007) and the use of media by minorities (Maasilta, Simola & af Heurlin 2008; Maasilta 2010) were analysed as a part of the research programme. Youth magazines were also discussed in a short report (Markkanen 2003). More recently, labour migration in the media, including labour union magazines, is discussed in a research report (Simola 2008) and elsewhere in a book chapter (Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010). Another popular issue of research lately has been the media use of diasporas in Finland (Nikunen 2011), as well as social media discourses on anti-immigration (Nikunen 2010; Horsti & Nikunen 2013; Maasilta 2012; Haara 2012). It can then without hesitation be stated that, when taking into account the volume of migration to Finland and the volume of the media coverage of that issue in Finnish media in previous decades, the issue has been well covered in media studies.

In the Netherlands, the first research results on the representation of foreign workers in the news and in trade union and employers' organisation publications were published as early as 1965 (Emmerik-Levelt & Teulings). Researchers concluded that the issue of labour migration was discussed intensively, and that the perspective was that of the receiving Dutch society; problems and issues that were of importance to the immigrants themselves were not covered adequately. From then on, media coverage of immigration and ethnicity was the most popular research topic until 1998, when an inventory on media research on these issues was published (Brants, Crone & Leurdijk 1998). Besides the pioneering work of Teun van Dijk on questions of news representations (1983, 1988, 1991 and 1993), there have also been several other studies conducted, especially on national newspapers (e.g. van Gorp 2006), but also on local news media and television (Leurdijk 1999). News and opinion magazines had not been an object of research until 1998. Dutch research approaches have been mostly quantitative, but also qualitative methods have been used (Brants, Crone & Leurdijk 1998, 10). Lately, especially the portrayal of Islam in the Dutch press has been discussed in research (d'Haenens & Bink 2006).

Studies of media use and needs of minorities (e.g. Baardwijk, Dragt, Peeters & Vierkant 2004; Bink 2006) and reception studies on minority issues (de Bruijn 2003; d'Haenens, Beentjes & Bink 2000; d'Haenens, van Summeren, Saeys & Koeman 2004; Dragt, Heuvelman, Lohmann & de Jong 2002; Vergeer 2000) have been common in Dutch research. Concentrating on media use and reception is understandable when large minorities have been living in a country for a long time. The work participation of media professionals with a minority background has also been researched (Deuze 2002a and 2002b; Ramdjan 2002), and Isabel Awad looked at multicultural programming, news and construction of ethnic audiences (2008, 2011 and 2013). Despite the fact that ethnic minorities are numerous and large in Dutch society, academic research on the issues of immigration, integration, ethnic minorities and media seem not to have been very popular in recent years.

Like this short inventory already shows, research into migration and ethnicity issues in the media is generally popular and versatile. For this reason, I will only briefly discuss here some of the main findings that are of importance regarding the focus of this research. I will not necessarily specify the source of the findings, since in general these findings have been verified in numerous studies. The findings and interpretations will be discussed more precisely in this dissertation when it is relevant to do so.

The general portrayals of immigrants, immigration and ethnic minorities in the news media seem to share similar characteristics all over Europe (see e.g. ter Wal 2002). Since the first studies, it has been known that mainstream news media, first, tend to exclude immigrants and minorities and, second, tend to represent minorities

from the perspective of the majority. Furthermore, the portrayal can often be characterised as one-sided or stereotypical. Often these groups are referred to in relation to problems of some kind, such as crime, illegalities or misuse of the social security system, or, alternatively, the arrival of various immigrant groups is considered a problem in itself. In addition, the arrival or presence of migrants has been framed in the news to form a threat of some kind to the receiving societies. Another news frame for discussing immigrants has been to place them in a position of a victim, for example in asylum or labour migration cases (Horsti 2005 and 2013).

Often, the immigrants and minority members themselves are not heard in this type of news; instead, different types of officials and organisations speak on behalf of the minorities, leaving the actual social actors voiceless. Members of immigrant groups are generally often not represented as individuals, but talked about as a faceless mass of people. Journalism has also regularly failed in balanced reporting that would explain backgrounds of events or present different viewpoints. (For these views and results, see e.g. Brants, Crone & Leurdijk 1998; Hultén 2006; Raittila & Kutilainen 2000; Raittila 2002; Sandlund 2000 and 2002.)

These shortcomings of journalism can be and have been explained by the typical characteristics of journalism itself. News making is based on certain journalistic routines that include agenda setting and the selection of news items and sources. Immigration as an issue has not always been on the top of journalistic agenda, and journalists often rely on known sources of information that are easily available, such as officials. Ethnic groups themselves have in the past not been well organised enough for there to clearly be a spokesperson to contact, and journalists, who still most often belong to the majority, lack minority contacts. The lack of journalists with a minority background may also be one explanation for the fact that the news tends to represent the majority's world view.

Furthermore, news is often produced in a hurry and there is no time to dig deeply into the details. Journalism generally prefers stories that have a certain sense of tension or conflict in them, since, from the viewpoint of news value, these stories are considered more valuable and interesting to the public than routine news. Also, when it comes to immigration as a topic, it seems to hit the news most probably when there is a conflict or a problem to be pointed out and when the involved parties can be juxtaposed.

The picture is, of course, not this simplistic. Journalistic products are not all the same, and journalists are nowadays more aware of balanced reporting on immigration issues. In addition to the news media, immigration issues are discussed in other type of media, such as magazines, the Internet, television and radio, and different types of reports with a more positive undertone, well-checked and extensive facts, and

representing individuals are published and broadcast. Examples of more multicultural approaches (Horsti 2005), as well as positively coloured portrayals of sportsmen, artists and specialists (Simola 2008; Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010; Haavisto 2011) have been analysed as well. For example, culture news, sports, and news on labour migration have been discussing immigrants as an enrichment to society.

At the turn of the new millennium, topics that aimed at raising awareness on immigrant issues and promoted tolerance created a new genre (in Finland) that sometimes is referred to as 'tolerance journalism' (Raittila 2004; the concept is, however, debated: see e.g. Luostarinen 2007, 29–30). It must also not be forgotten that immigrants and minority members themselves are active media users, for example in social media, and that they – through their own media use and other daily media practices – are not only passive objects of media representations, but active participants in the media.

Analysis of news journalism reveals some differences between various news genres when it comes to the portrayal of immigration and minority issues. However, I believe that the questions of genre differences can best be answered by studying magazines, since they are so strongly directed to segmented audiences. This limits the opportunities magazines have to discuss issues, but it can also offer new possibilities, since magazines are mostly not bound to journalistic routines similar to those seen with news reporting. The variety of different magazine genres and items enables discussion of new phenomena (Kivikuru 2012, 119). Magazines have also been referred to as media that reflect and assist social change (Abrahamsson 2007, 667–8), and magazine editors like to see themselves as forerunners that offer their readers new stimuli and views in life (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 25 and 37). In addition to other reasons that I am now about to discuss, this makes magazines an interesting object for analysis in relation to matters of immigration and ethnic diversity.

1.4 On magazines as an object of analysis and the research material

Selected magazines and magazine texts form the material of this study. Besides this, magazines are in this study considered as specific journalistic products which have their own rules of functioning. Even though the actual process of production will not be studied here, I believe that the speciality of magazines as a media type must be taken into account when designing the models of analysis and when performing the analysis. The context of the magazine is an important factor for the discursive field that is articulated in each magazine. Magazines are tightly bound up with the historical

moment of their publication as well as with their readers. They are used to create and maintain readerships and for this reason are more than simply a compilation of texts presented to readers. Therefore I aim to remain sensitive to the fact that the texts and their representations do not exist in a vacuum, but are influenced by the organisations that have produced them (Töyry 2005, 16, 55).

In addition to taking magazines to be specific journalist products, I also understand magazines as arenas of public discussion: they offer views and debates on various issues, as well as opportunities for different groups and individuals to participate in these debates (e.g. Koivunen & Lehtonen 2005; Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 9). The magazines are then to some extent the object, context and the material of this research: the line between these functions is difficult to draw in studies like this one (Töyry, Saarenmaa & Särkkä 2011, 32), but most clearly the magazines here offer material for the study of specific questions of representation and articulation. In addition, I do stay sensitive to the specific character of magazines as a context of those practices.

Magazines and magazine texts were chosen to be the subject of this study for at least three reasons. First of all, the issue of immigration and ethnicity in magazines or magazine journalism is understudied. In Finland, only a report on ethnicity in youth magazines has been written (Markkanen, 2003). A few studies have covered organisational magazines and the way they, or the organisations themselves, deal with labour migration (Alho 2010; Simola 2008). Some master's theses have been written at Finnish universities on representation issues in magazines, such as constituting threat, ethnicity, otherness and foreignness, as well as description and naming of immigrants and multiculturalism in magazines (Adaranijo 2002; Anttila 2009; Auranen 1997; Niemi 2008; Vigren 2003; Wäljas 2005), but these are usually not in journalism or media studies.

In the Dutch context, magazines aimed at ethnic minorities have been studied (Gerritsen 1995; Marselis 2006), as has a youth magazine (Kraan 1993), but to my knowledge no mainstream magazines. Some studies, especially in Great Britain and the United States, have examined the visual representation of 'black' in magazine illustrations and advertisements (e.g. Chavez, 2001; Covert & Dixon 2008). It seems that even though some studies have been conducted, more extensive basic studies on the issue are rare.

Magazines and magazine journalism altogether have not been subjects of study to the same extent as news journalism has. In the Finnish context, it has been claimed that magazines have not been studied as extensively or thoroughly as they could have been (Töyry 2002, 61). The field of magazine studies is fragmented and highly versatile (Holmes 2008, 4; Holmes & Nice 2012; Töyry, Saarenmaa & Särkkä 2011, 26) and generally not as well established as the field of 'mainstream' journalism studies. An

often heard explanation for this, at least in case of women's magazines and other popular magazines, has been that since these magazines are mainly entertainment, they cannot be taken seriously as objects of journalistic research (e.g. Holmes & Nice 2012, 1 and 81). Although research on magazines and magazine journalism exists in high numbers,[11] it seems that thorough journalistic considerations and theoretical and methodological discussions remain rather scarce. It has been claimed that this is due to the variety of existing magazines and research perspectives (Kivikuru 1996, 8–9), as well as existing research priorities. It should not, however, be forgotten that magazines are popular and well-read publications that constitute an important part of public discussion on society, and they also reflect the sentiments of a certain period in history. They are by no means insignificant.

It has also been criticised that the specific character of magazine as medium is rarely taken into account in setting up research and performing analyses. Most research uses magazine articles merely as study material; neither magazines as a form of journalism or publicity nor their production process are often discussed, not even in media studies. A great deal of Finnish and foreign magazine studies discuss women's magazines, their gender representations and their implied and actual readerships (Töyry 2002, 62–3, and 2005, 31–34).

Secondly, another and in this case optimistic supposition behind the study is that the overall representation of ethnic minorities and migrants might be slightly more positive in magazines than in mainstream news journalism. Previous studies that focused on news journalism reveal that the overall image of migrants, ethnic minorities and immigration is negative and regularly inadequate (e.g. ter Wal 2002). As magazine texts differ from an average news text in their format, style and scope, are audience rather than author-oriented (e.g. Töyry 2009) and include issues that are less time-bound than pure news, magazines might offer opportunities to discuss matters from new perspectives, more in-depth and with new voices compared with mainstream journalism, which tends to be conventional and routine-laden and often gives voice to standard sources. Positivity of the stories is not a value in itself that I use as a criterion for selection of material or wish to verify, but rather – perhaps naively – I consider this more a possible opportunity to find something that has not been discovered yet.

---

[11] The database of Scandinavian communication research, Nordicom, gives in March 2011 about 400 hits for search word 'magazine'. Retrieved from http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/nordicom/ on 9 March 2011. A database of Magazine studies offered by the University of Art and Design in Helsinki (Aalto University) lists almost 2700 mainly Finnish publications, most of them thesis of different degrees that study magazines or use them as a study material. Retrieved from http://aikakauslehtitutkimus.fi/ in February 2011. See also Töyry, Saarenmaa & Särkkä 2011.

Thirdly, perhaps the most important reason to perform this study is the fact that each magazine forms a context of its own, within which the issues covered and discussed are given an articulation that suits that specific magazine and its readers. The results of studies about news journalism on immigration and ethnic diversity tend to give the idea that all journalism is the same or, for example, cover similar issues. My claim is that the variation between different media and genres can be significant. The way that immigration and ethnic diversity, or similarly any other issue, is represented in the media, depends very much on the specific medium. The context of the representation, in this case the medium and its genre, can sometimes be more decisive for the end result than the issue itself. By analysing an issue as it is presented in different types of magazines, I also want to contribute to discussion on magazine journalism: what does journalism do to its subjects when they have to be fitted into the style requirements of a certain journalistic product? This concerns also the symbolic communities articulated in magazines. Since magazines are genre- and reader-specific, what are the symbolic communities articulated in them and whom do they include?

What, then, makes magazines special and an interesting object of study from the viewpoint of this research is that they potentially tell stories differently using different techniques than other media that have been studied more regularly when it comes to immigration issues and minorities. Magazines use narrative techniques familiar from fiction (Lassila-Merisalo 2007, 97), and they tend to represent societal questions through personal stories and with the help of emotions (e.g. Töyry 2009, 133; Pantti 2009). Magazines have to tell a story in a way that communicates with the lives of their readers and captures their interest. In that sense, magazines walk beside their readers in issues that touch readers' lives. Magazines do not have as much short and to-the-point news material as newspapers do, instead tending to prefer longer texts that offer high-value interpretative information, for example through personal interviews, personal portrayals, reports and columns (see e.g. Holmes & Nice 2012, 7).

For example, personal interviews and portrayals (also collectively called 'personality stories') have become an arena that is no longer open to celebrities only: nowadays they also present 'ordinary' people. This offers a forum to introduce readers to different personalities active in various sectors of society. Magazines thus potentially offer places to introduce migrants and ethnic minority members to magazine readers, and in doing so, make room for realisation of identity politics at some level. Another aspect typical to personality stories is that they are rarely negative. Negative portrayals are found in separate gossip sections of magazines, but not under the actual genre of personality stories (Siivonen 2007, 157, 199 and 228). As the majority of news journalism on migration tends to be news-based and problem-oriented, magazines

could also from this perspective offer something new, and position immigrants and ethnic minorities in fresh ways.

The idea in this study is to investigate different types of magazines presenting a wide selection of readerships and various sectors of society in order to find out how they articulate ideas about symbolic communities, immigration, integration, and immigrant and ethnic groups to their readers. For this reason, general news magazines, women's magazines, magazines for senior citizens and trade union magazines were chosen as magazine genres to study in this research. The first three magazines belong to the category of general popular magazines. This choice was mainly made because I considered special interest and hobby magazines to be rather narrow in their selection of issues, so it seemed unlikely that they would include many articles relevant to this study.

Opinion magazines were first considered as material for the study, but then the problem was that it would have been difficult to find a broad selection of comparable magazines from the two countries. The Netherlands has a wide selection of popular opinion magazines aimed at various political tastes, but Finland does not really have similar magazines. Because I also wanted to include different societal groups in the study, I then chose to take magazines aimed at different types of readerships (women, senior citizens and the general public) presenting various interests. Besides the popular magazines, trade union organisational magazine representing the building sector was chosen because this sector was one of the first in both countries to see a rising number of foreign workers. The expectation was that the magazines would discuss the issue, at least to some extent.

For all four types of magazines, I chose ones that would have a near equivalent in the other country. For the Finnish case, *Suomen Kuvalehti* was a rather obvious choice as the most read and established quality general news magazine (Otavamedia, circulation 87,000). *Elsevier* was chosen as its counterpart, as it is also the most read news magazine in the Netherlands (Reed Business Media, circulation 128,000). *Elsevier* calls itself an opinion magazine, but is in content and purpose very similar to *Suomen Kuvalehti*. The news magazines serving the general public function as an indicator of the topical debates in a society at a given moment. They form a basis against which one can evaluate the debates in the other magazines.

The most popular Finnish women's general magazine is at the moment *Me Naiset* (circulation 147,000, published by Sanoma Magazines), which is why I chose it. *Libelle,* also published by Sanoma, is the most popular women's magazine in the Netherlands (circulation 430,000). It also seemed a good idea to me to compare two magazines by the same publisher, but in two different countries. Women's magazines in general are a bit different in the two countries, as the Finnish magazines tend to be more factual and

include societal topics; the Dutch magazines are lighter and include many columns, mainly life style-related texts and even fiction. Thus, in this case, the two magazines were mainly selected on the basis of their popularity and function, and not on precise similarity of contents of the two magazines.

The senior magazines, *ET* (Sanoma Magazines, 233,000) and *Plus Magazine* (Media Plus, 264,000) were more or less the only ones in their categories in both countries when I started my research, but the situation has since changed, and competing titles have appeared on the market. The contents of the two magazines are also similar, although *Plus Magazine* contains a great deal of practical information on pensions, taxation and the like (often in the form of a separate attachment in the magazine), which *ET* does not have. *Rakentaja* is the Finnish construction trade union magazine, and *FNV Bouw Magazine* is published by the Netherlands' biggest trade union in the construction sector, and they were selected after the construction sector was chosen as the one to investigate.

For each magazine, I used the issues published in 2003–2006. This period of time was selected for practical reasons, as it represents the time prior to the initiation of this research. More importantly, it was an especially interesting time in Dutch society, a time during which the concept of a multicultural society was widely debated and during which the Netherlands became a trend-setter in the European immigration debate. The debate was only emerging then in Finnish society, but there were already signs of the wider European debate appearing in the Finnish press as well, so a comparison seems fruitful. The further characteristics of each magazine will be discussed more in detail in the analysis chapters. Magazines and magazine journalism will be discussed theoretically in section 2.3.

1.5 Finnish and Dutch immigration histories and recent debates

Finland and the Netherlands are similar in many respects. They are small countries, members of the European Union, and democratic and liberal welfare states that traditionally have an extensive social security system. Finnish and Dutch social security systems have numerous shared qualities and they lean on socialist and universal ideas of welfare state (see Esping-Andersen 1990). Both countries have since the end of World War II followed the ideal of maintaining strong and active state governance aiming at full employment and constant economic growth. Indeed, both countries developed rich economies in the second half of the twentieth century, the Netherlands earlier than Finland, as this country had a more developed industrial economy from the start. Both countries also are familiar with a system of collective bargaining and salary

agreements. Within the European Union, the two countries have in recent years shared a view of tight budgetary and economic control within the Eurozone, while disagreeing on other matters.

In terms of political discussion climate, the countries also share similarities. Until the 1960s, the Netherlands was organised as a consociational or pillarised society divided into tightly integrated communities formed on the basis of religion or ideology. The pillars centred on Protestantism, Catholicism, socialism and liberalism, and each pillar had its own churches, political party, schools, education institutions, sports teams, shops, newspapers and even broadcast companies. The pillars did not interfere in each other's business, and agreements were achieved in society by compromises in which none of the pillars were favoured over others (see e.g. van der Veer 2006, 118; Saukkonen 2007, 93, and 2013, 74). Consensus was still strong in the years between 1982 and 2002, when coalition cabinets together with employers and trade unions kept the economy stabile with salary agreements. The coalition consensus was also successful in reorganising the economy and state according to neo-liberal ideas, and there was no real political opposition (van Rossem 2010, 17).

The Finnish state and society have in the past 200 years been rather successful in accommodating various differences, including language differences (Finnish-Swedish), political differences (left-right), socio-economic differences (urban-rural) and religious differences (Lutheran-orthodox). At times, the situation escalated, as the 1918 civil war proves, but, on the whole over the past two centuries, Finnish state-building and politics have succeeded in avoiding open conflicts and in making compromises.

After the civil war, the experiences of that war, the pressure formed by the neighbouring Soviet Union, and threat of left and right radicalism have, amongst other issues, made it necessary to join powers beyond political and language affiliations and follow a united form of consensus politics. The Finnish model has been described as a peculiar combination of a demand for consensus with a tolerance of differences, the motivation for this tolerance being the strengthening of national consensus. This form of consensus and compromise reached an (albeit questionable) high point during the term of President Kekkonen and the Cold War (1956–1981; see Saukkonen 2013, 14 and 21; Kettunen 2008). Economic hard times in the 1990s and membership in the European Union (from 1995 on) have been carried through by multiparty coalition governments with a sense of strong consensus. Finland has accepted the neoliberal viewpoints of global economic competition easily and, again, with seemingly great consensus (Kettunen 2008, 64).

Although they are similar in so many respects, one of the biggest differences between the two countries is to be found in their immigration histories. In this respect, Finland and the Netherlands are not a usual comparative pair. Finland is more typically

compared with the neighbouring Nordic countries and other countries of excessive migrations, such as Germany or Great Britain. It may be due to natural contacts, for language-related reasons and due to the fact that administrative models and examples have often been sought from Scandinavia and Germany that other countries are not used for comparative studies that regularly. However, as a reading of Dutch and Finnish migration and integration policies reveals, Finnish policies resemble the most the policies expressed and carried out in the Netherlands, as well as those in Sweden and Norway (Saukkonen 2013, 87). This research, then, grasps an opportunity to study another understudied area.

In terms of immigration, Finland is still somewhat in the process of evolving from an emigration country into an actual immigration country. The Netherlands, on the other hand, have been an immigration country for several decades, since the years of rebuilding after the last war, if not for centuries. In immigration and integration issues and debates it has often been a European trend-setter. This is what makes the comparison of Finnish and Dutch immigration debates fruitful. Not only are the issues discussed slightly different due to their current phases of immigration, but also the ways that immigrants and ethnic minorities are portrayed in the media can vary depending on the experience media have with the issues and on how media deal with the overall attitudes towards immigration and questions of ethnic diversity in society. It is now time to have a look at the immigration situations in the two countries.

The Finnish situation

It would not be correct to claim that immigration to Finland has been completely nonexistent until recently, since immigrants have come to Finland throughout history. Finland has a past as part of the Swedish Kingdom (1150/1249–1809) and the Russian Empire (1809–1917), its industry was mainly built by foreign-born in the nineteenth century and, as all around the world, people have always been on the move. The influences of past migrations have, however, been relatively local, and much of Finland has long remained culturally fairly homogeneous. It is the more recent developments from the 1990s onwards that have made Finland seemingly and statistically a country of immigration.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Finland still had a very small number of inhabitants of foreign origin: only about 26,000 people in a population of just under five million (0.5 per cent). Before the 1990s, a few larger refugee groups had arrived in Finland, from Chile in 1973 and from Vietnam in 1979. In the 1990s, the issue of immigration became more a reality and also more treated in the media when relatively large groups

of asylum seekers arrived, especially from Somalia and later on from former Yugoslavia (especially Slovakian Roma). At the same time, Ingrians from Russia who had Finnish ancestors received special permission from then President Koivisto to move back to their or their parent's roots in Finland.

Nowadays (at the end of 2011), some 183,000 people (3.4 per cent) with a foreign passport are registered as living in Finland, and a total of some 266,000 people (4.9 per cent) now living in Finland were born abroad (Finnish statistics register a person's nationality and mother tongue instead of ethnicity). The biggest groups are originally from Estonia (34,000), Russia (29,500), Sweden (8500) and Somalia (7400). Some 57,000 have Russian as their first language; 32,000 speak Estonian and about 13 000 Somali. Each year, Finland receives two to four thousand new applications for asylum and 29,500 migrants move to the country. Some of these migrants are Finns moving back; in 2011, only 2000 more foreign-born immigrants moved to Finland than left the country. Yet net immigration figures have been rising in recent years. The most typical reasons for moving and applying for a residence permit are family relations, work and study (Finnish Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011).[12] Contrary to what is generally believed, asylum seekers and refugees form a minority of those who are issued a residence permit yearly: for example, in 2009 their share was less than one-seventh of all residence permits issued (Förbom 2010, 198).

Finnish society has had more time to adjust to immigration than some other European counties, and this is often mentioned as an advantage: Finland as a state/society has (had) the opportunity to learn from the good practices and positive experiences of others on the one hand and mistakes that have been made elsewhere on the other. This attitude of 'a state elite in periphery' learning its lessons and taking its examples from more advanced countries has been put into use in Finland and the other Nordic countries since the nineteenth century, when the challenge was to build a modern society (Kettunen 2008, 136). Also in the case of immigration, examples were sought from other European countries. Nonetheless, it can be said that the adjustment procedure is still underway.

Finland's first law on foreigners appeared as late as 1983. Services for immigrants with different backgrounds have been in development since the 1990s and are regulated by integration laws. These laws were first established in 1999, and they were preceded by committee reports and governmental policy. They all agreed that the target of integration was that for immigrants to integrate flexibly and efficiently in Finnish society and working life. The definition of integration was 'the individual

[12] Retrieved from Statistics Finland, http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/index.html on 26 June 2012.

development of immigrants, as a goal to participate in working life and society by preserving one's language and culture' (Saukkonen 2013, 87). As will become clear later, this is almost exactly the wording that was used in Dutch integration policies in the 1980s. The first integration law was made especially with refugees, asylum seekers and Ingrian return migrants in mind. The law and policies describe a two-way integration: also Finnish society and Finns are to integrate with the new ethnically and culturally diverse society and have close contacts between individuals and groups with various backgrounds.

The Finnish government published its first immigration policy especially promoting work-related immigration in October 2006. The new integration law that came into force in 2011 covers all immigrants regardless of the grounds for their residence rights. Taking part in the integration procedure has remained the right of each immigrant, not an obligation. The basic principles of integration in society and working life while supporting the opportunities to maintain one's language and culture have remained the same. The focus is now, however, more strongly on integration in working life (ibid. 88–89).

The foreign/immigration law was altered five times between 2001 and 2010, and the changes have generally not made it easier for asylum seekers to acquire a residence permit in Finland. Especially obtaining a permanent residence permit and the right to be reunified with family have become more difficult in Finland. The law has also approved a fast-track procedure for rejecting a residence permit application (the whole procedure from request to removal from country lasting only three weeks), if it is clear that there are no grounds for granting a permit. Obtaining a residence permit and Finnish citizenship, on the other hand, have become easier for those who come to Finland to work, have obtained a degree in Finland or master the language well (Förbom 2010, 184–190).

Beyond the governmental policies supporting labour migration, there has at times been a common understanding between some major public agents that immigration is one of the key issues to be dealt with in the future, as the Finnish population is rapidly growing older and a new work force will be needed. Yet the immigrants that already live in the country are facing difficulties in their everyday lives. Finding a job has proven a difficult task in the Finnish-speaking environment, requiring a high level of language skill even where it is not necessary. There has also been a lack of adequate language education and resources to implement integration laws and policies properly. Education and work experience that immigrants have gained in other countries are often not fully recognised, either. For these and other reasons, the unemployment rate of immigrants is still much higher than that of the main population. Without a job, integration into society is often a difficult and long-term process. The attitudes

towards immigration have become only slightly more positive (Jaakkola 2009) over the years, and again more negative after 2006. Lately the public debate on immigration has grown in intensity and taken on a negative overtone.

Since the 1990s, refugees and asylum seeking have been the most prominent immigration-related issues in the public discussion in the Finnish media and the style with which other immigration issues have been discussed in the media has borrowed a great deal from the issue of refuge. Work-related immigration has at times figured as a topic in the media; however, during recession periods the issue tends to be pushed into the background. This was seen again during the economic low point of 2009–2010, when refugees and asylum seekers became an issue in the news as the amount of asylum seekers temporarily increased, 2009 peaking in the statistics with nearly 6000 applications for asylum. Reception centres were reopened, and government was again accused of being too gentle with their immigration policies and too generous with their allowances to newcomers. Statistically, fewer people were issued residence permits on the basis of asylum in 2009 and 2010 than in the years preceding (30% positive decisions of all applications in 2009–2010 against even 50% in 2008 and before).

Immigration and integration as media issues and issues of debate have become really politicised in Finland only recently. Previously, political debates sought consensus or, more typically, politicians that would comment on these issues in the media were almost non- existent. Some key events in the debate have been the 2006 launch of the first Governmental Migration Policy Programme and the 2008 municipal elections in which the populist party 'True Finns' or 'the Finns' (*Perussuomalaiset*), with some candidates publicly declaring anti-immigration attitudes, had the highest increase in the share of votes, rising to 5.4 per cent. The party, however, was not solely responsible for the increased debate on the issue, since several other parties took part in it as well (Keskinen et al 2009).

The media actively adopted the terminology used by the candidates voicing anti-immigration sentiments, who became widely known as 'immigration critics'. The renewal of the immigration law that was passed by the Finnish parliament in February 2009 caused heated debate, even though the purpose of the renewal was only compliance with EU regulations and already existing practices based on law. A citizens' petition against the renewal with some 28,000 names was handed to the parliament. Internet discussion grew more lively, and in those discussions, opinions with racist colour were and remain no rarity. As a result, even central ministers of the government and party leaders came out and insisted on open and honest public discussion on the issue of immigration and how to deal with it, sometimes voicing their own prejudices against immigration: until then, anti-immigration attitudes had mainly been kept inside the walls of the parliament (Förbom 2010). In June 2009, the True Finns party finally

gained one seat in the European Parliament, but also parties voicing opposite views, the Green Party and the Swedish People's Party, were successful.

Since the events of 2008–2009, anti-immigrant voices have become stronger and a permanent part of the debate: so strong that other views have had difficulty being heard. Immigration was again expected to become an important issue in the 2011 parliamentary elections, as the True Finns were gaining in popularity and the topic remained on the agenda in social media and other discussions, also by other small and rising parties. Political debate eventually remained modest as economic issues and the European financial crisis gained ground (Maasilta 2012), but the True Finns won 19% of the votes and 39 seats in the Finnish parliament, becoming the third-largest party, partly thanks to their anti-immigrant opinions.

It can no longer be said that immigration as a political issue is not debated in Finland, and to an even lesser extent said that negative or 'critical' views are not tolerated in the discussion. On the contrary: it has been only from the second half of 2011 onwards that these views have been challenged by a growing discussion on what can reasonably be said about immigration and immigrants, how and by whom, without the speech being considered racist or another form of (illegal) hate speech. Before then, there were several occasions when newly elected members of parliament, often representing the True Finns, and other people had written statements in social media that courts later ruled were inciting to hatred against a minority group. The debate has never been so lively, and it is still developing.

Given the background of relatively late immigration to Finland, Finnish journalism has needed to adapt to these social, political and cultural changes rapidly over the past 20 years. The number of immigration-related articles has slowly increased in newspapers, and letters to the editor dealing with the issue are no longer rare. Debates on the internet are even more common, and it has been estimated that – partly due to the effect of the internet – the language used in the mainstream media has become harsher (Raittila 2009). In the years studied here, the situation was fairly stable and issues related to immigration were debated in a more active manner only sporadically. The real turmoil was yet to come, as later years have shown.

The Dutch situation

The Netherlands, in contrast to Finland, have had a long history of immigration. In the seventeenth century, it was a great sea power that colonised several areas in Asia and the Caribbean. Attracted by the wealth of the country, many rich foreign salesmen and sailors settled in the Netherlands. At the same time, various religious groups sought

asylum in the tolerant Dutch environment. From the early twentieth century on, the country received immigrant workers, in the first phase from China, Germany and Eastern Europe. People from other European countries typically moved to the Netherlands for work, but returned home after a while. This migration has been rather constant over the past few decades, always depending on the economic situation in each country.

The most prominent groups in the Dutch society nowadays, similar to the situation in other central European countries, arrived after World War II, including Moroccans, Turks and other smaller groups from the Mediterranean countries that came to fill the labour shortage in the growing economy of 1960s. As the name 'guest workers' suggests, the stay of these groups was thought and meant to be impermanent. However, many of the comers ended up staying, even after the work situation changed in the 1980s, when important branches of industry moved to countries with cheaper labour. Over the course of years, they also brought their families to the Netherlands. Nowadays, these family reunifications continue: in the case of some groups, it is quite common for even the third generation to seek a spouse from the former home country of its parents or grandparents. The initial idea of impermanence strongly affected the way that these groups were treated in society: no proper attention was paid to their integration before the 1970s. This also suited the Dutch tradition of being a pillarised society. The new groups were fitted to this structure and could keep on nourishing their own religious and cultural patterns. It has been estimated that these mistakes made at the start are one of the main causes of some of the problems existing today.

Another important group of immigrants arrived in 1940–1960 from then recently decolonised Indonesia, often fleeing the riots in the former colony. This group of 300,000 consisted largely of Dutch living in the area and their descendants, including also 12,500 Moluccans that had served in the Dutch army. Residents of the former Dutch colony Suriname have availed themselves of their right to move freely to the mother country since the 1950s, and the inhabitants of the Dutch Antilles (including Aruba) still make use of their Dutch nationality to emigrate. These groups are generally considered to be fairly well integrated into Dutch society. In some cases they also have a linguistic advantage, since in the Antilles Dutch still has a status of an official language (de Beer 1998, 237–260).

From 1980 onwards, especially larger groups of refugees arrived in the Netherlands. In 1985, a group of Tamils came from Sri Lanka and, later on, asylum seekers and refugees from various African countries and the Middle East. At the beginning of the 1990s, especially refugees from former Yugoslavia found asylum in the Netherlands. Applications for asylum peaked in 1994 at more than 50,000 applications; after 2000 the numbers decreased. The country has traditionally had a looser asylum policy than

some other European countries, but regulations have become stricter over the past twenty years, now causing a problem of numerous asylum seekers and other foreigners staying in the country illegally after their application for asylum was refused.

In June 2012, 1.77 million people, or 10.6 per cent of the total population (16.73 million) of the Netherlands, were first-generation immigrants[13]: 0.69 million originally from Western countries[14] and 1.08 million of non-Western origin. Second-generation immigrants[15] included, 3.49 million people (21% of the total population) have an immigrant background today according to statistics; 1.56 million have a Western origin and 1.94 million non-Western. The largest ethnic groups are Turkish (393,000), Moroccans (363,000), Surinamese (347,000), and Antillean and Aruban (144,000). In recent years, also the Polish (101,000) and Chinese (59,000) groups have been growing. Under the four largest groups, almost half or even over half of the people were born in the Netherlands, yet they are usually seen and statistically counted as members of an ethnic minority – the statistics even include third-generation immigrants.

The largest groups of refugees in the Netherlands are Iraqis, Afghans, Iranians and Somalis (34,000–53,000 people per group). The Netherlands receives 15,000 to 45,000 new applications for asylum annually, especially from people coming from the countries mentioned above. In recent years, the average has been 15,000 applications annually. Some 100,000 to 145,000 immigrants move to the country per year. Lately, most of these people have come from Western countries, most commonly from Poland. The most common reason for immigration is work, and in 2010 it was the motivation behind almost 38% of the total immigration of 110,000 persons (especially Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians), followed by family migration (32%, especially Poles, Moroccans, Turks and Somalis) and study (15%, especially Chinese). Asylum seekers were issued only 7% of all residence permits in 2010 (Centraal Bureau Statistiek 2012).[16]

13 In Dutch statistics and discussions the term 'allochtoon' is used instead of 'immigrant'. According to the van Dale dictionary of the Dutch language (Sterkenburg & Verburg 1996), allochtoon means 'coming from elsewhere' and it is the opposite of autochtoon, which means 'an original inhabitant of a country' and refers to the native Dutch.

14 The statistics count as non-Western (niet-westers allochtoon) everyone from Middle and South America, Africa, Asia (excluding Japan and Indonesia) or Turkey. The rest count as Western (westers - allochtoon).

15 Second-generation allochtoon are people with at least one parent born abroad. Second-generation allochtoon can thus have been born in the Netherlands.

16 Retrieved from http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/cijfers/default.htm, 26 July 2012.

Even though one could state that after such a long history of immigration, the Netherlands should be completely adjusted to the situation, this does not seem to be the case. Still, and in the recent years increasingly, immigration and especially integration are issues of heated debates and social and political turmoil. Dutch integration policy and political debate on immigration have undergone changes every decade, but still it is unclear what type of policy would be optimal. Along with general immigration and integration policies, other policies such as the multicultural media policy of public broadcasters have undergone changes.

Until the end of 1970s, the general understanding in Dutch politics and policies was that since guest workers had come to the country only temporarily, no special attention had to be paid to their integration. On the contrary: it was denied that the Netherlands had become an immigration country, and migrant groups were supported in bonding within their own groups to make it more possible for them to return home. Thanks to the Dutch constitution, which guarantees freedom of religion and education, immigrant groups were able to start up their own religious and primary educational institutions. This did not differ from how things were organised in society in general until the end of the 1960s: Dutch society was divided into 'pillars' based on religious or party affiliation. The Catholics, Protestants, socialists and liberals all ran their own schools, elderly homes, hospitals, universities and public TV channels. This was done through deliberation and in consensus with each other, but without minding each other's business too much. Within this system lie the roots of the famous idea of Dutch tolerance.

In the 1980s, a policy aiming for 'integration with retention of cultural identity' was adopted. During this period, the state continued supporting ethnic infrastructures, including schools, daycare institutions and hospitals. Public service media produced programmes for various minorities in minority languages, as the idea was that integration happens best when the minorities are offered information in their own languages. It was also believed that retention of one's mother tongue would enhance learning Dutch as second language. The model was seen as an exemplary in various other countries. Despite all this, this policy came to an end in 1990s, as it was blamed for separating the minorities from the broader society. At the same time, fostering one's own culture became a private responsibility. Government was there to guarantee equal chances for all groups, for example in the media and media programming, but minority languages could no longer be used or given special attention. Citizenship and individual responsibility for active participation in society were stressed in the policy.

By the end of 1990s, both earlier policies were discarded as insufficient and integration of the minorities was publicly considered a failure.[17] The issue of immigration that until then had been depoliticised and excluded from party politics now became one of the most important political questions. Besides politics, in 2000 these questions were brought into the public domain through a heated debate in a series of critical articles published in newspapers, the most popular of them written by Paul Scheffer and carrying the title 'Multicultural drama'. The previous Dutch policy was criticised for not giving the minority groups a chance to acculturate in their new home society and for leading ethnic minorities into isolation and social unrest. Critics pleaded for a strengthening of Dutch national identity, norms and values in addition to lessons in Dutch language, history and law for the newcomers. These demands became especially popular in the period of governments led by Christian Democrat Jan-Peter Balkenende in 2002–2006. An often-used phrase was that the Dutch had to become one unit again.

On the level of integration policy, some of these ideas had been implemented as early as 1998. Bonding with one's own minority group was considered a threat to national social cohesion, whereas everyone despite their ethnical background is expected to bond with a common Dutch culture/society and share Dutch norms and values. In the public service media, all minority-specific programming is now history. Different groups are no longer identified, but all individuals with various backgrounds are supposed to be served equally and the multicultural character of society should be shown widely through all programming. Integration remains a personal responsibility. The policy and the discourse that goes with it can be called assimilationist, since they deny existing differences or ethnic groups in the population and argue that everyone should strive to become a part of one ideally homogeneous entity. Dutch integration and media policies have changed from a differentialist approach in the 1970s and multiculturalist and universalist approaches in the past few decades into an approach that can best be typified as assimilationist (Bink 2006; Saukkonen 2013; van Rossem 2010; Scholten & Holzhacker 2009).

The Dutch political debate on the failure of the multicultural society and migration has tones similar to those in the debate in other European countries with large immigrant populations or ethnic minority groups. As early as the 1990s, there were politicians claiming that immigration to the Netherlands had gone too far and stricter measures had to be put in place. Some of the suggestions, such as tightening the

[17] Academic studies instead showed that, by then, Dutch immigration policy had been quite successful in many respects (Scholten & Holzhacker 2009).

immigration law in 2000, were also implemented. The events of 11 September 2001 and thereafter were followed carefully by this NATO-member country with a relatively large Muslim population. It has also been estimated that, as a result of the technocratic consensus-based politics of socialists and conservative liberals throughout the 1990s and the move of the ruling parties towards the political centre, room had been created on the Dutch political chart for a party with clearly right-wing sentiments (Prins & Saharso 2010; van Rossem 2010; van der Veer 2006).

Therefore it is not surprising, at least looking back, that populist politician Pim Fortuyn and his politics based on claims of the Netherlands being too full and the dangers of Islamitisation to the country and its culture were welcomed openheartedly by large groups in the population. Fortuyn's popularity and reputation grew even more after he was shot by an environmental activist in May 2002. His party ('List Pim Fortuyn', LPF) got a record number of votes (17%, 24 seats) in the parliamentary elections that followed soon after his murder, but the party was unable to function in everyday politics. New parliamentary elections followed soon after the government fell after less than three months in office, and later the LPF disappeared from politics. Fortuyn's legacy was, however, used later by other populist politicians employing the same arguments as he did and answering the call of the empty space on the political spectrum that the LPF had left (e.g. van Rossem 2010).

The most famous of these populists nowadays is Geert Wilders, but another example from the recent past is Ayaan Hirsi Ali, herself a Muslim and originally from Somalia, who dedicated her short political career in the parliament (2002–2006, representing VVD, the 'People's Party for Freedom and Democracy') to resistance against Islam and the salvation of Muslim women from the restrictions of religious and patriotic doctrine. She was eventually forced to leave the parliament because it came out that she had lied about her name, birth date and other details during her process of nationalisation, for which reason it was not clear whether she actually was a Dutch citizen or not. (See e.g. de Leeuw & van Wichelen 2005.)

Rita Verdonk was a popular and controversial minister of Foreigner (Alien) Affairs and Integration (2003–2006) who gained friends and enemies for her strict implementation of immigration and integration policies. On many occasions, Verdonk's policy to remove asylum seekers from the country even against international conventions and humanitarian law won resistance in public and in the parliament, but also support. She was also involved in the Hirsi Ali affair and her actions during this affair caused the government to fall in 2006. Finally, the disagreement between Verdonk and her party (VVD) grew too great, and she was excluded from the party in 2007, after which she established her own party, 'Proud of the Netherlands' (TON). The party did not last long, and Verdonk quit her political career in 2011.

During Verdonk's term as minister, the new integration law was approved and implemented in 2007, requiring from all non-Western immigrants that wanted to stay in the Netherlands that they pass an integration exam on Dutch society and take a language course – in some cases even prior to their arrival to the country. The law was especially directed against the growing family-related migration from Morocco and Turkey, and it was extended retroactively to some individuals and groups already living in the country for years. Many exceptions to these requirements have reduced the importance of the law, but it is nevertheless implemented, and plans are to make the law even stricter.

Geert Wilders has been a member of parliament since 1998, first representing the VVD and from 2004 onwards his own party, 'Party for the Freedom' (PVV). Wilders started to speak against Islamisation as early as 2002, but his message got more attention after he left the VVD, criticising the party for not being enough to the right, and he started a party on his own. Wilder's special concerns are Muslim extremists and the effects of excessive migration. The murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh in November 2004 by a young Muslim extremist, a member of the group of young Muslims ('Hofstadgroep') that would later also threaten Wilders and co-filmmaker Ayaan Hirsi Ali, helped Wilders gain in popularity. In the 2006 parliamentary elections, Wilder's party gained nine seats and in 2010 24 seats (over 15% of votes), and it was successful in the 2010 municipal elections as well. Wilders himself has become known worldwide for his anti-Islamic film productions and his speeches, which were accused of inciting to hatred and discrimination. He was eventually acquitted of all charges in 2011 (e.g. de Leeuw & van Wichelen 2005; van der Veer 2006; http://mcnl.berkeley.edu/the-debate/).

All these ongoing debates with anti-immigration sentiments are a factor that seemingly colour related discussions in Dutch magazines in the years studied here. In 2003-06, the Netherlands was in a state of political turmoil regarding immigration issues and questions concerning the state of its multicultural society. After an apparent period of long silence, political consensus and political correctness, people were given an example from a high political level of how one could speak freely and without too much political correctness about the things that people had wanted to say for a long time.

1.6 The outline of the dissertation

After this general introduction to the themes of the research, the dissertation will continue by discussing the theoretical starting points of the research more in detail in Chapter 2. The theoretical background of the research has a multidisciplinary character, as research on immigration and ethnic diversity issues often does. Theoretical viewpoints have been sought from media and journalism studies, discourse theory, cultural studies, sociology, political studies, international relations, migration studies and studies on working life at a minimum. The theory chapter covers some theories from these fields of research and sketches the contours of this research. A theoretical discussion is followed by a definition of the research questions and research methods in Chapter 3: both quantitative and qualitative methods are discussed and used. Chapter 4 concentrates on the results of the quantitative content analysis performed, while in Chapter 5 a qualitative analysis is performed on the research material in three specific case studies. The first case study discusses labour union magazines, the second case women's magazines combined with the senior magazine *ET* and the third case general news magazines and the senior magazine *Plus Magazine*. The final chapter, 6, summarises the results of the research, but also analyses them further, aiming to articulate the results as a part of the on-going debate on immigration and ethnic diversity in Finland and the Netherlands.

2. Theoretical starting points

As an ontological and theoretical horizon for the research, I used discourse theory and discourse theoretical analysis (Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001). Since discourse theory makes strong ontological assumptions about both reality and its research objects, I will have to adjust all the uses and readings of other theories to suit the discourse theory approach. A more thorough discussion of this theory is given throughout this chapter, but a first glimpse of the theory will be necessary here at the beginning in order to further an understanding of the rest of the chapter.

In discourse theory (DT), all social practices are perceived as meaningful, whereas the meaning of all social practices is constructed in discourse. That makes discourse not only one of the meaningful practices, but the most important meaning creating practice. All meanings are thus articulated in discourses, which are understood as representations of social practices, establishing a system of relations between different objects, while also creating subject positions to social agents to be identified with, or for them to identify with. Discourse can also be defined as a meaning-creating practice that articulates a relation between different objects such that their identity is altered. In this research, the focus is on the discourses and articulations within these discourses on immigration and an ethnically diverse society. Secondly, the focus is on articulation of subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members, and on the articulation of relationships between magazine readers and these groups. Lastly, the research is also aimed at answering questions concerning the symbolic communities articulated in the magazines.

Discourses are articulated with the help of available signifiers, or elements that are circulating in the field of discursivity. This field of discursivity is a surplus of elements, meaning that the amount of available elements is infinite. In process of articulation, certain elements are chosen and they are articulated as a part of a nodal point, a partial fixation of meaning. These nodal points bring fixity into discourses and make them recognisable. Laclau and Mouffe also distinguish floating signifiers, which are signifiers that gain a different meaning depending on the discourse they are articulated as a part of. Discourses and articulations of nodal points can become hegemonic and aim to suture a certain field of discursivity fully with meaning. Because hegemonies are ruptured by antagonisms, which are competing political projects, ideologies and articulations, hegemonic articulations hardly ever manage to reach the status of full

hegemonies, but instead they are myths that fix as much meanings and social relations as possible. If myths become stabilised and manage to fix most elements as a part of a single discursive system, they have become social imaginaries, nearly hegemonic forms of articulating reality (Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001; Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000).

My task as a researcher in this theoretical chapter is, in terms of discourse analysis, first to deconstruct the field of discursivity surrounding the issues of symbolic communities, immigration and ethnic diversity in general and in Finland and the Netherlands, likewise in the magazines in question, in special. It has to be noted that this deconstruction is a result of selection, as it is impossible to include everything in one research project. I endeavour to discuss the matters that seem most relevant based on a thorough process of reading. Through this kind of active selection and deconstruction work, I am, as a researcher, taking part in the articulation of the field of discursivity within which this research was performed – this is by no means an act without power.

I have chosen to do this deconstruction work by proceeding from larger contexts to smaller entities, as, in my view, in the end small entities are articulated together within contexts that are constructed by some larger discursive formations. This does not mean that the small entities would in the end only articulate what is already known: even though the articulations happen within certain contexts and discursive formations, the articulation still is free to attach itself to the contexts and discourses in an arbitrary way, and all kinds of articulations are possible, albeit there are some contours to the articulations. The purpose of this research is to show how these attachments come to exist in each specific case and what ends up following from those attachments.

An appropriate metaphor to describe the order of theoretical discussion in this chapter would, then, be that I am peeling an onion, layer by layer, from a larger layer to smaller ones. I will perform the deconstruction of the discursive fields by first discussing some key narratives that today have an influence on the perception of symbolic communities and the presence of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Western societies, and end up by discussing how, on the level of discourses, individual discursive elements are articulated together. I start by discussing theories of nationalism and diversity, the concept of political organisation of difference, multiculturalism, and the recent debate on failed multiculturalism in section 2.1. I will also specify how media function as forums of articulatory practices, including the articulation of symbolic communities and subject positions, in section 2.2. Furthermore, in section 2.3 I will explain the ways in which magazines form forums and contexts of specific articulatory practices that must be taken into account when

performing an analysis and how this distinguishes magazines from other types of media.

This theoretical deconstruction work on the formation of symbolic communities will subsequently function as a basis for the actual discourse analysis of the articulations on immigration and ethnically diverse societies in each magazine. I take the discursive fields and discourses in each magazine discussed here to be partially fixed around certain nodal points that are specific for each magazine. As a researcher, I aim to analyse these discourses and their nodal points as a part of the discourse analysis, as well as the possibly hegemonic and antagonist constructions they are articulating. Furthermore, I understand immigration and ethnic diversity as floating signifiers that can gain different meanings in different discourses. Therefore, I will analyse the meanings articulated to these concepts in each of the magazines discussed, within their magazine-specific fields of discursivity. Sections 2.1–2.3 are of importance in those magazine-specific discourse analyses that will be performed in Chapters 5 and 6. These sections form the theoretical basis for all the qualitative analyses and are the combining element for all the discursive fields in each magazine-specific case that will, starting from that basis, be further discussed and analysed in those chapters.

Within the discourses, I am interested in the subject positions articulated to immigrants and ethnic minority members and in the identity categories they offer. Since Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory does not discuss identity very thoroughly, I will expand the discourse-theory notions of subject position and identity that will be discussed in section 2.4, and use sections 2.5 and 2.6 to do some theoretical deconstruction work by discussing how identity has been understood as a concept in various other theories. In discourse theory, subject positions are understood as results of articulation, negotiation and social and political struggle. Later on in this chapter, I will explain how that idea communicates with other theories of identity. These sections on identity, 2.4–2.6, were especially taken into account in the design of the model of analysis discussed in Chapter 3 and in carrying out the quantitative analysis that is discussed in Chapter 4. Lastly, I will also discuss the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe more in detail in section 2.7 in order to explain how small elements in texts come to form something larger through articulations in discourses. This final section forms another basis for the discourse theoretical analysis carried out in Chapter 5 and developed further in Chapter 6.

2.1 Building blocks of symbolic communities

Symbolic communities are communities, in which the members bond with loose social ties and which are of such a large size that the members do not know each other personally. Therefore, the unity and similarity between the members has to be imagined and strengthened symbolically. Nations are symbolic communities, but so are also media audiences. In this section I will discuss some theories that are important in relation to articulation of national symbolic communities and their organisation. These are the theories of nationalism, the concept of political organisation of difference, multiculturalism, symbolic organisation of difference and symbolic citizenship, as well as the recent debate on failed multiculturalism.

Nations and nationalisms

Western European states today are without exception multicultural or plural in the sense that there is a variety of immigrant populations or other minorities living in these countries and their societies are ethnically, culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse. Most of these states and societies have, however, since the eighteenth century been constructed and kept together with help of ideas of nationalism – the idea of one united nation of people within one nation state sharing the same origin, cultural values, language and national character (e.g. Gellner 1983). Nationalism as a concept has been approached in social theory, at least as a political ideology connected to relations of power and conflict between and within states and as an element of modernisation theory, in which nationalism is necessary for the development of effective modern societies. Thirdly, its more positive contributions to the production of culture, the preservation of historical memory and the formation of group solidarity have also been discussed (Calhoun 2007, 37).

The grounds for nationalism lie in the settlement of the European borders and state relationships in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, when it was agreed that each country was ruled by a sovereign and that states do not have a right to interfere in each other's domestic matters. As a result, independent and sovereign states came into being, and they are still today perceived as the basic units of the international community (e.g. Hakapää 2010; Hobsbawm 1994, 14). At the same time, new political and philosophical thoughts questioned the power of one sovereign ruler of a state and the divine order of things, and instead supported the ideas of people forming political communities to serve their needs and aspirations. Revolutions also took place, turning former autocracies into developing democracies. The development of modern

infrastructure, communication and printing techniques not only brought people closer to each other, but also emphasised the need for a common language and high culture and encouraged the use of the vernacular (language). Construction of modern economies has also needed nationalism (Gellner 1983, 55; Anderson 1983).

People living within the borders of a certain state were increasingly seen to form a national community, a nation of people with a shared origin and, through that, a natural bond. One nation of people belonged in one nation state. This primordial idea of nation was strengthened in many ways by the states, for example by creating and emphasising national anthems and flags, national literatures, and histories and traditions of a nation. It is then debatable whether nation states create nations of people or vice versa (Hobsbawm 1994; Billig 1995, 25). In constructionist definitions of nation, nation and the national 'we' are indeed understood to lean on invented ideas of common and shared culture and background that have to be reproduced, whereas, in more traditional primordial views, nation is taken as a natural and self-evident organism.

This dissertation relies on a constructionist understanding of nation and nationalism. In these views, nation is, for example, defined as the result of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995) or everyday nationalism (Calhoun 2007), a historical and discursive construct that needs to be reproduced, and which in fact is reproduced over and over again. Besides this need for reproduction, nations and nationalism is not something that only happens in the margins, where new (oppressed) groups of people seize the opportunity to form a new state and seek justification for the existence of a nation by setting up a national project, but it is very much present in the daily activities and practices of imagining the national 'we' in existing Western nation states (Billig 1995).

Nationalism uses the category of nation in daily practices to organise perceptions of human identities, and in doing so it groups people together with fellow nationals while distinguishing them from members of other nations. This helps produce solidarity within the national categories, also in positive ways, for example by reducing class differences and constructing a (partly artificial) idea of equality (Calhoun 2007, 43; Gellner 1998, 26–27). The idea of a nation can in turn be based on an ethnic or a civic form of nationalism, the former stressing a common ethnicity of those that are members of the nation, the latter relying on the idea of common membership of a state. Both ideas are used by states as grounds for laws on citizenship (Calhoun 2007, 41.) Furthermore, nationalism is not the only way to imagine a society (Taylor 2004): other options include liberalism, empirism and utilitarism (Gellner 1998, 26–27).

The ideas of nationalism, even though they are widespread and influential, have in practice never been simple to implement. Not even in the seventeenth and eighteenth

century were people living within an established state all sharing the same origin, cultural values, language, religion or other characteristics. They thus did not form a nation in the sense that primordial ideas of nationalism suggest or insist upon. Instead, nations were artificially constructed from the beginning, and they form even at their best only what has been called 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983, 6–7) of people that happen to live within the borders of a certain state and in different ways imagine and are encouraged to imagine this community forming a nation. Through this reproduction, the myth of a nation has been altered into a hegemonic social imaginary (Billig 1995, 165–66; Laclau 1990, 64).

It is no wonder that critical studies on the construction of states and nations have appeared in significant numbers that since the 1980s. Ideas of nationalism have been challenged in various perspectives, not only the basic idea of one united nation of people within a nation state, but also nation states as basic units of the international community. Nations as exercisers of violence towards other nations – but also towards minorities within states – in various forms have been put in question. The justification of that violence by the ideas of sovereignty of a nation state or the national security have also been points of critique, not forgetting the inability of the concept to describe the constituent parts of multicultural societies, just to name a few points.

Political organisation of difference and multiculturalisms

If the demand on one nation within one nation state in its purest form was to be taken seriously, it would not be possible for any immigrants, foreigners or ethnic minorities to reside within a nation state without it being problematic (Gellner 1983). The actual presence of different cultural, ethnic and other groups within the borders of a state, however, means that states have in the past needed to and today increasingly need to find practical solutions to this very challenge: how to accommodate the existing differences between a diversity of people, but still maintain the coherence of the national 'community' and keep the state functioning (Grillo 1998).

Different answers have been found to this question in the course of history around the world and in European countries as well. Organisation of difference is by no means an act without power; the solutions chosen very much reflect societal values and political ideologies. In some countries, the differences between people and groups were generally ignored from the beginning, and the thought was that a state simply contains a nation formed by all the people living within the borders of that state, regardless their origin and cultural particularities, as long as they hold themselves to the rule and laws of that state. For example, national censuses and statistics did not mark

the ethnic, linguistic or other origins of people in France, so everyone became associated with one French nationality and national community only. Violence was also used towards religious and language groups, for example (Hobsbawm 1994). In other places, existing states did not manage to accommodate the diversity – or did not even try to. As a result, new states have in some cases come into existence when new groups of people insisted on their right to form a nation state. In Central and Eastern Europe, where the states gained their independence only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nations had to be created where they did not yet exist, and the demand was strong from the beginning for a shared national culture and especially language (Saukkonen 2007, 81).

The solutions chosen and practiced by the states are forms of political organisation of difference. Political organisation of difference means those state politics, laws, institutions, policies and other practical solutions implemented in order to manage an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous state. (Grillo1998.) Hereby one can think of immigration and integration laws and policies, laws of citizenship, institutions created in support for ethnic, cultural or religious minorities, language rights of various groups, language education of migrants etc. Not only the rights and freedoms are part of this organisation of difference, but, for example, restrictions, sanctions and actions of assimilation are also possible and much-used political solutions (Saukkonen 2007). The political organisation of difference is performed within the framework of economy, technology and state structures, and it takes place on different levels: on the level of the system (the state), civil society and individuals (Gellner 1983).

Also other differences exist within states, but I refer here to organisation of ethnic and cultural differences. By ethnic difference, I mean that there are various groups of people with at least a believed or partly experienced common origin (like a home country, nationality or tribe) living within a state. With respect to cultural difference, I point to differences between people in their native languages, practiced religions, culture- or origin-related habits, etc. It is in this context of organisation of ethnic and cultural differences that the terms 'multicultural' and 'multiculturalism' have become important in recent decades. They have been commonly applied and given a range of definitions by numerous scholars. Stuart Hall, for example, discussed the multiple uses of ‘multicultural’ and ‘multiculturalism’, and he defines ‘multicultural’ as an adjective that points to the social characteristics and challenges of governance in societies with various cultural groups attempting to live together but also maintain some of their ‘original’ identity (Hall 2003, 233–4).

In more popular uses, ‘multicultural’ is an adjective that describes, for example, the character of a festival offering music or culinary experiences from different countries or cultures, or it defines the programming of a TV channel showing movies from

different countries. In Finland, one can regularly see individuals being titled 'multicultural' only because they have a nationality other than Finnish. Here, I use 'multicultural´ in a similar way as Hall: to mark ethnic and cultural diversity in a society. I take the societies under discussion here to be multicultural especially as a result of immigration and believe that this is taken into account on different levels and in different practices of the societies. As a synonym to point to this kind of society I also use the words 'diverse' (diversity) and 'plural(ity)'. Unless defined in another way in a specific context, these words as used in this dissertation all mean that a society is heterogeneous, especially in terms of ethnic and cultural differences, but also in other ways.

According to Hall, 'multiculturalism' as a substantive refers to the political strategies and practices that are discussed and implemented in a society trying to deal with the challenges and possible problems that the multicultural diversity brings with it. There are many 'multiculturalisms' that suggest suitable solutions from their specific perspectives. Multiculturalisms are also political-philosophical theorisations or analytical categories aimed at making sense of cultural diversity (or the existence of the multicultural). As theories, they analyse existing forms of pluralism and its organisation in societies, whereas as analytical categories they can, for example, be used to classify the discourses on plural societies. There are conservative, liberal, pluralistic, commercial, corporative, critical and other versions of multiculturalism. Altogether different versions of multiculturalism can be grouped for example by analysing which entities they consider a society to consist of (individuals or groups, that is an individualistic or collectivist approach) and what they understand to be the role of the state regarding diversity and its organisation (versions of political right or left).

For example, conservative versions of multiculturalism consider it to be the responsibility of each individual or a group within a society to assimilate themselves with the habits and traditions of the majority. Liberal versions talk about integration and strive towards accommodating different cultural groups and individuals belonging to them as a part of the mainstream community formed by individual citizens with universal rights. Particular group rights and cultural practices are only partly accepted. Different liberal understandings vary in how much responsibility the state has to interfere in the process of integration: is it solely the responsibility of an individual or is it the duty of the state to create circumstances in which integration is possible or even enhanced. Furthermore, the pluralistic version of multiculturalism acknowledges that there are cultural differences between groups and supports specific group rights within a larger society, whereas commercial versions of multiculturalism see acknowledgement of diversities by the markets and private consumerism as the answer to possible problems caused by cultural diversities (Grillo 1998; Hall 2003; Saukkonen 2007).

In relation to immigration and immigrants, these many multiculturalisms are in practice translated into more specific and concrete immigration and immigrant (integration) policies, political strategies and practices that are implemented by states for immigrants. Immigration policy deals with the rules and regulations of border control and regulation of immigration. Immigrant (integration) policy concerns the immigrants residing within a country and the minorities that are formed by migrant populations. It is possible to define (at least) four different mainstream forms of immigrant policy: assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and segregation.

Assimilation is a theory or discourse as was described above, but it also exists as a form of policy insisting that immigrants become indistinguishable from the majority in terms of linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and supporting actions leading to this end result. Integration has as a goal a two-way process, in which both immigrants and majority adapt to each other. As a result, society will change over the course of time, even though the expectancy is that the immigrant population will end up becoming (more) similar to the majority than the other way round. Multiculturalism as a form of immigrant policy points to measures that support the existence of clearly distinguishable cultural groups and ethnic communities that are allowed to maintain and develop their cultural and social characteristics, albeit as a part of a wider society. Segregation is a form of policy going even further, as it allows different cultural and ethnic groups to live completely separately from each other without there really being a need for the different groups to cooperate (e.g. Saukkonen 2007).

Symbolic organisation of difference

Besides actual political practices, political organisation of difference is also symbolic. Political organisation of difference does not happen only in the official sphere of state policies and laws, but also outside them in various verbal and visual representations on differences and their organisation circulating in the society, for example in the media. These representations are also constitutive of the state and society, the communities living in the state and their mutual relationships, as well as the social ties and feelings of bonding of individuals.

Following Laclau and Mouffe, it can be claimed that all these practices of organisation of difference are equally discursive, since their meanings are created in discourse. Therefore it does not matter for the purposes of this dissertation what the actual level of organisation of difference in each case is. It is more important to understand that organisation of difference also happens in the magazine texts researched here: they are part of the discursive practice in which ethnic and cultural

differences within a state and society are organised and articulated. These practices that mark belongings and differences can best be analysed using the concept of identity. Identities are at work at more than one level: identities give shape to and draw lines in the state and the nation, the groups living within the state and the individuals forming the groups and symbolic communities.

First of all, discourses on the state describe the history of the state, the national culture and its history, and the people living in the state. These discussions are selective with respect to which events, traditions and groups are represented as part of the state and in which ways. In their selectiveness, they also draw borders on which groups are included in the nation and which are left in the margins or outside: it is in this type of discussion that the ideas of imagined communities and nations and their identities are constructed. Moreover, discussion of groups within the state and their characteristics create ideas of the collective identities that these groups have, starting from the existence and name of the group, its history and its character. Often, the way that a group is perceived from outside collides with the group's perception of itself. Lastly, discussions on individuals, their qualities, social bonds, aspirations and needs create views on the individual and social identities of these people (Saukkonen 2007).

Also Finland and the Netherlands as nation states have an imagined character, a national identity, that builds on understandings of who the national 'we', or the national symbolic community, is, what its characteristics are and what kind of a nation state is the home of that nation. The descriptions given here are only examples of those identities. Like any articulation, also the articulations of national identities are not fixed, and neither can they capture all the elements relevant for such an identity, not even the elements of an identity that is perceived as being relatively homogeneous.

Finnish national identity

It has been analysed and discussed in numerous studies that Finnish national identity is articulated by defining Russia and Russians as the enemy while perceiving Sweden and the West as the positive 'other' to reach towards (e.g. Harle & Moisio 2000; Isaksson 1995; Kemiläinen 1993; Klinge 1993; Luostarinen 1986; Saukkonen 1999).

The Finnish national project has been geopolitical in terms of articulating Finland as a part of the West through political actions, but also, for example, by drawing maps in which the border between east (Russia) and west (Finland) is emphasised. It has been 'identity-political' when attempting to portray Finns as a group of people of Western rather than Eastern origin and defining Finnish state structures, as well as religion, as a part of the Western tradition. The Finnish identity project reaches far

back in history and uses some ancient mythologies about the Finnish people (laid out in the national epos the Kalevala, for example) and the Finnish nation is articulated as a rather homogeneous unit, even though some groups like the Sami or the Karelians have at times been violently separated from or united with this discursive construction.

Russians have been analysed both as a primordial natural archenemy of the Finns and as a result of purpose-oriented identity politics. In the first interpretation, Russians and Finns are different by nature and therefore complete opposites of each other, whereas the second interpretation sees that it was necessary to construct the image of Russians as the enemy as a part of the nation-building process, starting from the eighteenth century and continuing until Cold War times.

The enemy images were used in an attempt to persuade the Swedish king to protect Finns from Russian occupiers in the eighteenth century, when creating the Finnish nation, for national identity purposes in the nineteenth century (although at that time there were also images and articulation in favour of the Russian tsar and people), when placing the Finnish people amongst other nations, on the way to Finnish independence and thereafter in early twentieth century, in between the two world wars (1918–1939) as an element of right-wing politics, during the World War II, and after the war as a form of practical politics (Harle & Moisio 2000). The fall of the Soviet Union and Finland's membership in the European Union have strengthened the articulations of Finland as part of the West and Europe. The enemy images of Russia may be somewhat less prominent than earlier, but they still exist (Lounasmeri 2011): as a justification for Finnish defence politics or, sometimes, in discussions about Russian immigrants in Finland today.

Other central element in the articulation of Finnish national identity has been the stereotype of a hard-working and a serious peasant. This homogenous description that especially Topelius made famous was already early on criticised of forgetting a large group of Finns: those living in cities, the elite classes as well as those without land. (e.g. Saukkonen 1998, 39, 43.) More recently Sanna Kivimäki and others have discussed the importance to include various identity categories in the national imagination: for example the categories of gender, class and ethnicity (Kivimäki 2012; Löytty, Lehtonen & Ruuska 2004).

Dutch national identity

The national identity and project of the Netherlands is rather different from the Finnish one. The Netherlands was first acknowledged as a state in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. There have been some alterations to the area of the state and

changes in the rule of that area, but the basis has remained the same. What we know today as the Netherlands came into being in the nineteenth century. Whereas the origin of the Finns and their place amongst other nations have been important points of debate, for the Dutch it has been rather obvious that they are one of the Germanic groups: it is a fact that requires no further discussion. Also the language places the Dutch amongst the Germanic peoples. Nor have there been any doubts about the borders of the mainland Netherlands since the nineteenth century; on the contrary: the country was long a strong sea power with colonies overseas. Instead of situating and imagining the Netherlands as a state actor in relation to its neighbours, the country has placed itself as a European state and a nation in the world.

In some discussions, the Dutch national identity has been described as thoroughly urban and bourgeois or middle class. Although this description holds some factuality, taking into account that most Dutch have already for centuries lived in cities, it does not do complete justice to the characteristics of the nation as a whole. Provincial identities have remained strong in the Netherlands for various reasons and, as has been explained earlier, its society was organised as a pillarised state structure from the end of nineteenth century until the 1960s, the pillars formed by ideological and religious groups.

Religion and the differences between Catholics and Protestants have been factors that have had a strong influence on the Dutch national understanding: even its national history has been told differently, depending on which religious group one asks. Taken that, in addition to these regional, religious and ideological differences within the nation, the Netherlands has been a destination of immigrations for centuries, it is no wonder that the Dutch nation is constructed with the idea of diversity rather than unity or homogeneity. This is reflected in the often-expressed idea *Eenheid in verscheidenheid* ('unity within difference'), and in the way that the pillars were able to keep the state functioning despite their differences. The Netherlands is also said to have an especially low sense of national state identity, with diversity and the tolerance shown diversity instead defining the nation. Whereas Finland has been a borderland between East and West, the Netherlands has been a 'distributive' nation between other places, ideas and groups of people. (Saukkonen 1999, 120–282, citing numerous Dutch writers.)

Symbolic citizenship

As the examples of Finland and the Netherlands show, these discourses about a nation and the people living in it, including the descriptions of national identities and symbolic communities, can be inclusive or exclusive. Avishai Margalit discusses

inclusion and recognition of diverse groups and individuals as prerequisites for a decent society. In a decent society, the social institutions of the state do not humiliate individuals. By humiliation, Margalit means the exclusion of people and groups from the human commonwealth. Humiliation can be based on social and economic status, but the acceptance of cultural ('encompassing') groups and the people belonging to them as a part of society are basic values of a decent society. A decent society respects not only its members, but also those non-official members in its orbit that fall under its jurisdiction (e.g. immigrants without a permanent residence permit). If the society in addition to being decent is also civilised, people do also not humiliate each other.

The humiliation of people can be symbolic when a group and its specific character and traditions are not included in the symbolic property of a society. One can think of many minorities, for example the Roma and Sami in Finland, whose traditional ways of living, cultural symbols and language marking the identity of the group have not always been acknowledged as an inherent part of Finnish culture and society, but have been pushed to the margins. According to Margalit, a decent society may not support and develop institutional symbols that are explicitly or implicitly directed against some citizens of that state. One extreme example of the opposite happening is the way the Jews were treated in Germany and other countries prior to the genocide: symbolic and other ways of excluding Jews were systematically institutionalised. Other well-known examples are apartheid in South Africa or the institutionalised and symbolic exclusion of the Tutsis and incitement to hatred against them, e.g. on the national radio channel, by the Hutus up to the civil war in 1994. To acknowledge this symbolic form of organisation of difference within a state, Margalit suggests that the traditional three modes of citizenship, legal, political and social, should be supplemented with the notion of symbolic citizenship. A decent society does not have second-class citizens on a symbolic level (Margalit 1996, 130–161).

Others have made similar remarks by proposing cultural citizenship as the fourth element of citizenship. Cultural citizenship has been part of theoretical discussions asking for recognition and full inclusion of various forms of culture, identities and diversity within societies that are becoming increasingly networked, cosmopolitan, information-loaded, uncertain, reflexive and consumer-oriented. Theories of cultural citizenship have reminded us of the importance to question the established codes and understandings of the shared culture, and the growing need for a new division of power to control the information flows and their contents, which are decisive with respect to the definitions of the symbolic insides and outsides. Cultural citizenship thus includes the aspects of recognition and the right to promulgate a cultural identity or certain lifestyle, and also to receive support for it from state institutions.

In this respect cultural citizenship falls together with the social movements that later became known as 'politics of identity' or 'identity politics'. Various social groups such as women, disabled, gay or ethnic minorities have in past decades sought recognition in political, economic and social terms, but they have also strived to challenge the stereotypes on these groups present in the dominant public sphere. As Nick Stevenson puts it, 'The deconstruction of ideas that have been associated with the "normal" citizen has sought to widen the "inclusive" fabric of the community while creating space for difference and otherness. Questions of "cultural" citizenship therefore seek to rework images, assumptions and representations that are seen to be exclusive as well as marginalizing' (Stevenson 2003, 18).

In this dissertation, two nation states and the societies of people and institutions within these states form the context of analysis. Within this context, discourses reproduce ideas on these states, societies and their members despite their cultural and ethnic background, and also on all those people who are residing in the countries, perhaps even without official citizenship statuses. The discourses organise the ethnic and cultural differences that are present, and this organisation happens not only at the level of the state and its official structures, but also in public discourses that circulate, for example in the media. The concept of symbolic citizenship is an important reminder of the viewpoint that the community membership that is articulated in these discourses should not be exclusive to any of the groups present in the society. If a society is to be decent and inclusive, it must in a respectful way deal with and also take into account the specific needs of all the groups living in the state and society, also those who for one reason or another are living in the margins.

A popular social imaginary in Western nation states – also in Finland and at least to some part in the Netherlands – has been the status of nations as homogenous entities with clear borders. Multiculturalism has, amongst other discourses, primarily been an antagonism attempting to articulate criticism on the ideas of nationalism. In this dissertation, I wish to acknowledge the existence of both discourses, and I am interested in finding out how these different articulations on society and symbolic communities figure in the magazine texts analysed. At some points in the analysis, I will also use them to reflect on which solutions for the political organisation of difference the magazines suggest (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Discourses on nation states and multiculturalism are not, however, the end stations of societal debate. Multiculturalism has of late been believed not to have succeeded in its efforts, so a new antagonism, the discourse on the crisis of multiculturalism, has appeared. At some points, this discourse has gained such a strong foothold in the societal debate that it has almost looked like a single truth: a new hegemonic social imaginary. Within this debate, also the social relations between supporters and

opponents and – most importantly – between people within diverse societies, have become fixed in certain positions. This debate on failed multiculturalism is another important contextual factor that must be taken into account when performing the analysis on the magazine texts, so it is now time to take a look at that debate.

Crisis of multiculturalism

The need to recognise different groups both in concrete institutional ways and symbolically has been taken into account in European societies in past decades. States have, as mentioned above, chosen various policies and measures to organise difference. A great deal has been achieved, and many former 'newcomers' to Western societies or members of ethnic groups that were previously pushed into the margins are now living their lives in conditions that take into account the specific life situations of these groups better. While some critics say that this work is far from completed, and many migrant and other groups are still disadvantaged in society, also other kinds of criticism have become more prominent.

Especially after the turn of the millennium, voices critical towards multiculturalist policies and the ways of organising immigration and ethnic diversity chosen by various European societies have become louder. Since the 1980s, these critical voices have emerged at times, but it is over the past ten years that the claimed failure of multiculturalism has not only become a popular argument for many political parties in Europe, but also a widely accepted view among ordinary citizens. It is no longer uncommon to hear pronouncements that multiculturalism has failed – on the contrary. In their book, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf sum up events that have functioned as stimuli for criticism: the list includes the well-known New York terrorist attacks in September 2001, the Madrid train bombing in March 2004, the London terrorist bombings in July 2005, and the Mohammad cartoon incident in September 2005, but also critical writings and appearances by populist politicians in various European countries that were inspirational to others (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

The criticism on multiculturalism in different countries shows similarities and some core idioms of the 'backlash against multiculturalism' that can be pointed out. First of all, multiculturalism is discussed as if it were a single ideology by those who forget that multiculturalism actually consists of multiculturalisms: various different theories, policies and practices that all suggest different solutions to the organisation of difference. Seeing multiculturalism in singular makes it easier to condemn it. The critique most often defines this ‘multiculturalism’, as Will Kymlicka points out, as an endless ‘feel-good celebration of ethnocultural diversity’ that is undemanding in terms

of integration (2010). This view denies all the efforts and measures that have indeed been undertaken to accommodate and incorporate immigrants and ethnic minorities into the receiving societies and that have required active participation from the immigrants themselves.

Another much-used argument is that, in the past, when the claimed single doctrine of multiculturalism ruled, it was not possible to express criticism towards the multicultural society and immigration, and thus an atmosphere of silence and censorship reigned. Now that the era of political correctness is past, it is finally possible to voice one's opinion on these issues (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley remark that the other side of the coin now is neo-racism: under the heading of being critical towards immigration and multicultural policies, it has actually become possible to voice at times racist arguments about the immigrant, ethnic and religious minorities, their cultures and religions. This claim has been rejected with the argument that this is a new attempt from the political left and pro-migration parties to silence their opponents in the debate (Lentin & Titley 2011).

Perhaps the most prominent claim of all is that, due to multiculturalism, generations of migrants have been allowed to settle with no insistence on social integration; on the contrary: multiculturalism has fostered the ideas of cultural diversity and, in doing so, it is responsible for the cultural separation that now exists, and parallel societies have come to existence. Related to this argument of cultural separation is the argument that multiculturalism has denied national and common values, giving more emphasis to the values inherent in the cultures of the migrants. Especially the values and cultural and religious habits of Muslim communities have regularly been pointed out as problematic and possibly dangerous to national cohesion, which means that the promotion of national identity and values is crucial in today's Western societies (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

Lastly, it is claimed that, as a result of multiculturalism, genuine social problems that immigrant groups have are denied. As Dutch scholar and columnist Paul Scheffer reminded the reader in his popular essay from 2000, a social underclass of the socially and economically unsuccessful has emerged, mainly comprised of non-Western migrants and their offspring, already in the third generation – and this is being denied by the government in favour of multiculturalism (Scheffer 2000). Others have taken the argument even further by stating that cherishing multiculturalism has actually given support to the backward habits of minority cultures such as the unequal treatment of women and forced marriages – and especially Muslim terrorism (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

Next to the discourses on the crisis of multiculturalism, the traditional discourses on nations exist, as well as discourses on multiculturalism, pluralism and the

organisation of difference. There are discourses in favour of and against immigration, and discourses both supporting and opposing measures enhancing the position and integration of immigrant and ethnic groups living in society, not to forget the integration of majorities. A discursive field full of antagonisms thus exists on these topics.

These debates on the status of multiculturalism and the organisation of difference all represent immigrant populations and individuals in specific ways that form part of the symbolic construction of these groups and individuals in society. They tell a story about the identities that these people and individuals are believed to have and the place that they take in society and symbolic communities. Media is an important player as a facilitator but also as an agent in these debates.

2.2 Roles of news media and journalism; symbolic communities and identities in media

The media have been described as the imaginary centre of society through which all other areas of the society are represented (Couldry 2003; Väliverronen 2012, 100). In a simple definition, the media are the mediator between the sources and objects of media representations and the recipients or audiences of those representations. Media and news media in special also have other functions. News media and journalism have been discussed as sites of democracy, as they keep watch on public decision making and those in power. In their democratic role, the media are also supposed to allow the public to maintain and use their freedom of expression and participation in and through the media (e.g. Nieminen & Nordenstreng 2012, 321). (News) media and journalism, and the public spheres they maintain, are, ideally, arenas of deliberative debates and opinion-forming, as they enable various agents to take part in the debate and, through this, take part in the formation of public opinion.

The news media set the agenda of the day, defining which issues they cover with what intensity, and which debates are reflected. Since the news media's ability, but also actual space, to cover issues is limited, only those items, debates and views that are believed to be of greatest relevance are generally covered in the news. Most of all, the news media play a decisive role in determining which issues people have opinions on (e.g. Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010, 230; Kunelius 1998): their power is the power to set the agenda. Because of this strong role in agenda-setting, as well as the ideal of offering topical, factual and objective information, the news media and news journalism have been said to be author-oriented rather than audience-oriented.

Furthermore, the news media are a site of power and struggle, as various groupings and institutions aim at having their cause and discourse on that cause being represented in the media, and preferably even repeated and adopted by the media. Those institutions and groups that are powerful in the society are likely to get their topics through to mainstream media more easily than those groups in the margins, since the issues of the powerful or the majority are more likely to be found relevant than minor or minority issues. Media representations are a question of struggle between hegemony and the antagonisms that aim to rupture that hegemony (Mouffe 2005). The media also depend on other institutions in society, as they make decisions and selections regarding the issues they would like to have represented in the public space in first place: the media alone cannot decide what is made available to them. In this sense, the media are not an independent institution in a society (Kunelius, Noppari & Reunanen 2009; Väliverronen 2012).

Besides agenda-setting power, the media have symbolic power, as they have the ability to tell us what we should think about the topics of the day, as well as about the institutions and agents involved. By representing ideologies, ideas, interpretations and views about topics and the social agents, the media tell us what the general opinion is and who in society is in a position to define that opinion (Kunelius, Noppari & Reunanen 2009). Media and media texts contain ideas on what is 'normal' or 'true' in a society. Since these truths are a site of struggle and they are always expressed by someone with a special interest, it should always be asked whose normality or truth are represented in the media.

Especially the news media have historically had, and still to some extent have, the function of creating an imaginary bond between people who live in the same society but do not know each other. It has been estimated that the print media were necessary for audiences, nations and imagined communities to be established in first place (Anderson 1983; also Tarde 1901/2010). Reading or watching the same news media allows people living in a society to share similar views of the world they live in. Especially by setting the agenda, the news decide the focus and contents of societal attention.

According to Charles Taylor, people imagine their live worlds and give meaning to them through a social imaginary. A social imaginary spreads through stories, images and legends, and it is shared by the people that live in a society. The media are important for the imagining of social realities: by telling news and stories, they offer people the opportunity to share these imaginaries, imagine their own lives, and position themselves within the world in relation to others. A great deal of the social imaginary builds on shared media rituals and media moments (Sumiala 2010), as well as shared emotions or affects (Ahmed 2004; Pantti 2009, 205). A social imaginary creates

stability in a society, as it settles the societal values and norms and explains what is shared by and common to the people within it. Media representations reproduce the societal values and norms by offering people material with which they can construct their own values and norms, but the media also offer their own values and norms to audiences (Kunelius 1998, 175).

A social imaginary functions especially through identities because it builds on ideas of who we are, where we come from and where we are heading. Through identities, people think about their own 'social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met , and the deeper normative notions and images that underline these expectations' (Taylor 2004, 23). Identities are also important because humans are social beings: we learn our identities in a dialogue with others (ibid., 65). This is another important role of media: they represent ideas of 'us' and 'them', thereby contributing to an understanding of who we are.

On one hand, the media have the ability to widen our social horizons by introducing groups and ideas that are not yet familiar to us and, in doing so, strengthen our opportunities for living multicultural lives (Kunelius 1998, 36). On the other hand, the role of the media can be restrictive, and it can only strengthen the representation of a specific and limited 'us'. Nationalism as a form of social imaginary is still strong when imagining the symbolic community of 'we' in Western societies. As Ernst Gellner reminds us, there are also other ways to imagine a national community, such as liberalism, empirism and utilitarism (Gellner 1998, 26–27), or multiculturalism could be an option as well. Nowadays, the question is what the 'us' that, for example, national news is helping to imagine or strengthen actually is. Is it a broad group of people within a society still consuming the same news, or do their social and imagined realities differ substantially as result of individual and versatile choices in media consumption? Does the imagined 'us', the symbolic community, really cover all groups of society? The ability of news to create shared realities and shared identities is no longer self-evident.

At the same time, the question is whose identities are seen as relevant in the media in the first place. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, identities are considered to be fluid and flexible nowadays. Identities have many sources today, and their negotiation and construction is active on many different levels: globally, nationally, locally and individually and through various discourses and other practices. Defining identities in discourses, for example in the media, is not only a descriptive process, but also a process that is by nature a political operation. It is political at least in three ways. First, definitions have consequences for and influence the lives of people when it comes to their rights, positions and roles in society. Second, if identities and

differences are considered to be constructed rather than natural, given and unchangeable facts, it follows that the criteria and decisive nominators for identities and differences are political decisions. Third, identities can be considered results of and contributors to wider social, political and cultural changes. From all this follows that identities are sites of struggle and negotiation (Pietikäinen 2000, 22).

Along with the questions of struggle and negotiation, this raises again the question of power: who in a society is in a position to decide in which categories people are classified in the media, what kind of characteristics are seen as typical for members of that category, and whom these categories include. Often in the case of immigrants and ethnic or other minorities, for example, definitions coming from the majority are decisive for the minorities and their position as well. The social identities and subject positions attached to them become political, at least when certain groups want to redefine the social identity offered for them or claim rights on the basis of that social identity. The outcomes of these processes also have true consequences on the lives of the groups that the negotiation touches upon (Pietikäinen 2000, 22). People's identities as citizens and their sense of belonging to and possibility of participating in society are crucial elements in the life of a democracy (Dahlgren 2000, 318). It is for these reasons that representations and opportunities to act in the media do matter.

Identities in media can thus be seen as discursive points that are a result of struggle and negotiation, discursive points in which we can temporarily attach ourselves to the subject positions offered to us, for example in media discourse. In other words, discourses are inviting us to step into or identify ourselves with certain subject positions (Hall 1999, 253). This is where discourse, media texts, subject positions and identities intersect. Discourse is a practice through which subject positions and identities are articulated, and the media are – aside from being an important social, cultural and political practice – one of the most important arenas for discursive practices as well. The media are also one of the most important constructors of social identities and subject positions (Pietikäinen 2000, 22).

The social importance of the media lies exactly in their ability to represent social identities, different versions of 'self' and 'other', and differences and similarities between actors and cultural values. Beyond this, media (texts) also define relationships between groups and actors (Fairclough 1997, 30). The media define groups and identities in a way that positions them in a certain time, place and circumstances and explains their existence in a way that makes it all intelligible to a reader or a media user (Hall 1999, 59).

In so doing, news journalism has often been accused of simplifying matters, neglecting those without power and reducing social relationships into binary oppositions of 'us' and 'them' and (see section 1.3). However, one should not forget

that the media have the opportunity to provide counter-arguments or redefine old relationships in a new way as well. It could well be especially the magazine medium that is capable of doing this, since they are a special type of medium. The next section (2.3) discusses what the characteristics of the magazine medium and journalism could enable.

2.3 Magazines, magazine journalism, and magazine genres and formats

If one wishes to take into account the special character of magazines as a journalistic product, it is appropriate to discuss what magazines actually are. As defined by the Finnish Periodical Publishers' Association, a magazine is 'at minimum a quarterly publication, each issue of which must include several articles or other editorial material, and which may not mainly consist of business notifications, price lists, announcements or advertisements. A magazine must be widely available or to be subscribable by (in principle) everyone. The choices of printing size and material are free, or the publication can be web-based only'.[18] This rather technical description says something about magazines as physical objects and journalistic products, but does not reveal much about them as cultural products or their actual content and social meaning. Nor is it the only description of magazines, since publishers, scholars and makers of publication statistics all have their own descriptions.

An important factor that specifies a magazine is its genre. Besides being used to classify various media products, the concept of genre has been used to discuss and theorise the rules and structures of meaning-making in media production and consumption. It is possible to use the concept to analyse the form of media presentations and the 'textual' positions offered in them for public to make interpretations, as well as the actual ways to interpret and the interpretations made by the public (Ridell 2006). In this research, I will not apply the concept and theories of genre as an overarching method of analysis, since I consider them to be better suited to studies that investigate actual media production, reception and audiences. In this dissertation, genre functions as a way to think about the research material, which is various magazines, and it helps in considering the special character of each of these magazines – starting with the genre they represent.

[18] Retrieved from http://www.aikakauslehdet.fi/Etusivu/ on 4 February 2009.

Magazines are often classified into two large genre categories: popular magazines and professional or organisational magazines.[19] The first genre is divided into smaller sections: general (news), special interest, hobby and opinion magazines. The second genre is divided into professional and business sectors. However this is not the only way to classify magazines, and previous research has set up various generic classifications based on readership, journalistic material, purpose of use and other qualities. It is true that, due to the wide variety of different magazines available, it is difficult to describe them as a whole or classify them, and because there are so many different classifications, comparison with previous research results can also be a tricky task.

Magazines can also be characterised as a collection of contradictions that each magazine item aims to solve in its own way. These contradictions are all, in one way or another, related to aspects of time and place/context (Kivikuru 1996). In general, the life span of a magazine is longer than that of a newspaper, for example, and a story in a magazine can potentially be read more than once, but a piece of news has to make its point immediately and at the time it is written (Lassila-Merisalo 2007, 97). In this sense, magazines are little less 'up-to-date' and time-bound than newspapers, even though magazines also are written in and for a certain moment of time and do include news items as well. Magazines have been acknowledged as reflectors of the 'spirit of the time', as well as 'heralds of social and cultural change' (Holmes and Nice 2012, 122, citing Conboy 2004, 163).

In addition to this general life span of a magazine, publishers of individual magazines have to decide whether they want to target a general audience with topical and newsworthy issues or issues of general interest, and in this sense aim to be universal and bound to the current time and events. Or they can choose to target a narrower sector of the audience, specialise themselves with certain and in some cases timeless themes that are more place- and audience-segment-oriented than time-oriented. Orientation towards audience also involves more opportunities for community building and readership binding, as it is then possible to direct messages more specifically. These choices with respect to contextuality and time orientation are not always drawn very clearly in magazine products, as Kivikuru concludes, but they are a factor of essential influence when a publisher sets up the product format of a magazine (Kivikuru 1996, 87–89; Töyry 2005, 22).

All magazines are, at least to some extent, designed to appeal to a certain readership or audience. This audience and a typical representative of that audience are kept in

[19] Other classifications count consumer and opinion magazines as separate genres as well.

mind when it is determined how the magazine should look, the topics it should cover, who it should represent in its pages and in which ways. Magazines offer audience-oriented journalism (van Zoonen 1998, 138; Töyry 2009). Many magazines do not attempt to appeal to a large or general public like newspapers do, and the social imaginaries the magazines reflect are not the imaginaries of broad general audiences. Instead, audience- and readership-specific social imaginaries are represented, and within those, readership-specific symbolic communities.

Media in general are used to enable entertainment, build contacts, rework identities and obtain information (Kunelius 1998, 105). Magazines are the perfect medium, especially for all these practices. David Abrahamson defines specialist magazines as offering 'specific information in a specific form that can be expected to appeal to a definable segment of readers' (1996, 28, cited in Holmes & Nice 2012, 10). Therefore, when analysing magazine texts, it is important to ask which reader segment of 'us', or 'you' the magazine is appealing to and helps to imagine and strengthen. It has been estimated that magazines are no longer trying to voice collective interests and ties, but are instead aimed at strengthening personal interests (Kivikuru 2012, 119) and, through them, personal identities.

As far as magazine genres are concerned, organisational and professional magazines are, generally speaking, very likely to choose an audience-specific approach, since they are targeted towards a limited group of readers in first place. They would try to appeal to this specific group of audience only. Popular magazines would aim for the option of trying to attract as many readers as possible. However, this categorisation is too simple, since, also in the genre of popular magazines, the subcategories of hobby and special interest are, indeed, highly audience-specific, and even opinion magazines are aimed at specific audience segments, at least to some extent.

On the other hand, in their topicality and universalism magazines can sometimes very much resemble newspapers. The features acknowledged as typical of news journalism and its contents – neutrality, factuality and conventionality – have dominated magazine journalism as well. This is not surprising, since the two media share a common history. The first newspapers would today probably be characterised as magazines due to their format and publishing schedule (Kivikuru 1996). Magazines also share characteristics with other media. Historically, magazines included information that did not make the news but was interesting for real enthusiasts to read. This quality, which magazines still have in some cases have, brings them close to books (Leino-Kaukiainen 1992, 112). The elements of entertainment and (possible) communality connect magazines and television as media. Combined with communality, the ability to provide timeless and specific information to meet the needs of marginal groups is a quality shared with alternative and community media.

Despite their similarities with other media, what makes magazines special and an interesting object of study from the viewpoint of this research is that they potentially offer other types of public arenas than news media, tell stories differently and use different techniques than other media that have been studied more regularly when it comes to immigration issues and minorities. Magazines use narrative techniques familiar from fiction (Lassila-Merisalo 2007, 97); they do not have as much short and to-the-point news material as newspapers, but tend to prefer longer texts such as personal interviews, personal portrayals, reports and columns. For example, personal interviews and portrayals (also collectively called 'personality stories') have become an arena that is no longer confined to celebrities; nowadays, they also present 'ordinary' people. This offers a forum for introducing readers to different personalities active in various sectors of society (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 95; Railo 2011). Magazines thus potentially offer an opportunity to introduce migrants and ethnic minority members to magazine readers, and in doing so, room for both widening readers' social horizons and a realisation of identity politics at some level.

Another aspect typical of personality stories is that they are hardly ever are negative. Negative portrayals can be found in separate gossip sections of magazines, but not in the actual genre of personality stories (Siivonen 2007, 157, 199 and 228). Magazines in general aim to offer pleasure or enjoyment to the readers: they are not read because readers have a sense of duty towards important issues, but because readers find them to be interesting and entertaining. Magazines offer up the everyday experiences of people in a way that comes close to the readers' life worlds by capturing their interest. Magazines prefer approaches that create a sense of closeness rather than the distancing effect that news journalism often has (Töyry 2009, 133). Magazine texts combine human interest and socially relevant information, a combination that has also become desirable in news journalism lately (Hujanen 2009). Nor is emotional expression avoided: on the contrary, emotions and quality can go hand in hand and help the reader understand issues (Pantti 2009, 193, 201). As the majority of news journalism on immigration tends to be news-based and problem-oriented, magazines could also from this perspective offer something new and represent immigrants and ethnic minorities in fresh ways.

Another quality that is highly typical of magazines and related to their genre-specific character is that magazine texts do not only position their interviewees and informants: they also position their readers. Magazine texts are written with their potential readers in mind. The texts are written so that they appeal to these readers and suggest a certain position for the readers to place themselves in.

From an analytical perspective, this position offered to readers is known as 'the implied reader'. The implied reader position consists of qualities that the text presumes

that its readers have. It is not the same thing as the actual readers who read the magazine: the actual readers may or may not be able to recognise the position offered to the implied reader. It is possible that the actual readers do not recognise the position the text is implying they should take, or even reject the text and magazine because of this. However, analysing the implied reader position reveals something about the magazine itself, along with its values and ideals. It also reveals what kinds of ideas and values the implied reader is expected to have and to share with the magazine. The implied reader position also steers (but does not determine) the way in which a text can be read (Töyry 2005, 87–93; Ridell 1994). Thus the way in which a text is written can reveal something about the position that its readers are supposed to take towards a certain issue.

Yet another tool that has been developed to analyse how a magazine is composed and used to create and maintain a readership is called concept analysis or format analysis.[20] In format analysis, a magazine is first analysed at the level of genre: here the focus is on the contents of a publication and the economic and other external factors that define its form. At the second level, the focus is on the general architecture of a publication, and the aspect of how different elements are combined to form an entity is analysed. At the third level, the values and ideas behind the publication are under examination. The purpose of this kind of analysis is to look for information and interpretations of why a publisher is publishing a certain magazine. Whom a magazine is written for and how it has been edited are also relevant (Töyry 2005, 68; Virkkunen 2002, 224).

This dissertation does not include an actual format analysis, since analysing the selected magazines as *magazine products* is not its only purpose: their content and the issues related to immigration will remain the main focus. To follow the format analysis strictly could also contradict with the ideas of discourse theory, since format analysis dictates quite explicitly what is to be considered throughout the analysis and how the analysis is to be formally structured and carried out, which does not necessarily leave much room for the analysis of contingent articulations. Similar to the concept of genre, however, some ideas in format analysis have offered me inspiration and viewpoints to consider when analysing the speciality of magazines as a study object and designing the model of analysis for the specific fields of discursivity that are present in each magazine. I do try and take into account the fact that, besides the magazine genre, also

[20] In this connection, it should also be pointed out that 'concept' or format analysis has partly been developed to serve the purposes of publishers and marketing: to allow publishers to design a functioning format for their publications and determine how certain factors in a magazine best appeal to its readers. For this reason, it is not fully applicable in other types of research.

the specific format on which a certain magazine publication is based can in various ways play a decisive role in the representations and articulations in that magazine, as well as in the interpretation of those articulations.

The first viewpoint borrowed from format analysis (as discussed in Töyry 2005) is offered by the first level of format analysis, which clarifies the position of a single publication in a body of magazine publications. This analysis can be performed on different levels, depending on the magazines selected for analysis. For example, in her dissertation (2005), Maija Töyry analysed Finnish women's magazines during a certain period of history, so it was necessary to specify the position of each individual magazine in the body of all women's magazines available at that time. For this study instead, it is necessary to consider the general position of a certain magazine in the body of all magazines representing different magazine genres and argue why certain magazine genres were selected for analysis and what their specific characteristics are. Furthermore I will consider what the place of each publication is within the body of several publications belonging to the same magazine genre and what the specific characteristics of the publications selected are from this perspective (and what this means for the results of analysis). Rather than specifying in detail the economic aspects behind a publication and using them as a tool to explain the results of subsequent analysis, this dissertation will present only the necessary facts behind the publications to give the reader an opportunity to understand the differences between the magazines at the level of genre.

At the first level of format analysis, it is also important to understand, what the elements that make up a magazine are. It is necessary to look the types of texts the magazine contains as well as the number of each type, which means performing quantitative content analysis. In this dissertation, the content analysis will not include all the material in the selected magazines, only the material relevant to the topic of the dissertation. For the special needs of this study, the quantitative analysis also includes an analysis of the speakers and organisations represented in texts and the positions and identities these agents are suggested to take in the texts. This allows a demonstration in numbers of which social agents are included in the texts as actors and in which positions. This is important in the subsequent analysis of articulations of subject positions, as well as in the following theoretical discussion of symbolic communities. The quantitative analysis method is discussed further in Chapter 3.

At the second level of format analysis, the overall architecture of the magazine is analysed. This means performing a content analysis: inspecting how the different elements in the magazine are combined to form an entity and to present a certain general idea of the magazine. For example, women's magazines and various elements

in them are said to be designed so that, in each issue, they reproduce a relationship, a gender contract, between the readers, the magazine and womanhood (Töyry 2005).

I wanted to study how different magazines reproduce and present ideas to their readerships about ethnic minorities and immigrants, and what these representations were like in each magazine. The production of these representations is not the main goal of any of the magazines studied, but only one of the many issues they cover. However, the specific issue of immigration and ethnic diversity also has to fit somehow into the overall architecture and idea of the magazine. By looking at all the types of texts and items covering the issue of immigration and ethnic diversity, the idea was to get a general idea of how these issues are offered to the reader and fit into the overall architecture and general idea of the magazine.

As a result, I will approach the magazine material from two perspectives. Firstly, to answer the question of articulations of social identities and subject positions offered to immigrants and ethnic minority members, I will perform a discourse analysis specifying discourses and the articulated subject positions in each magazine. I do not think that it is actually the immigrants or ethnic minority members themselves who are specifically 'consuming' these representations as readers. Rather, it is the readers of the magazines to whom these subject positions offer ideas about these groups of people. Secondly, in order to know what kind of positions are suggested for a reader to take towards an ethnic minority member or an immigrant represented in a text, and how this fits into the general idea of the magazine, I will analyse the possible reader positions that the texts offer in each magazine. This analysis is a part of the discourse analysis. The actual methods of this discourse analysis are discussed further in Chapter 3.

At the third level of format analysis, the values, ideas and goals that underlie a magazine and are the reason for its publication are central. In this connection, it is important to analyse how a magazine situates itself within a society and what kind of a position within a society it offers its readers. According to Töyry (2005), women's magazines aim to define their position in relation to the wider problematic of gender within society. The magazines negotiate gender roles often in various conflicting ways and at the same time try to offer solutions to readers. This is one way of fulfilling readers' needs and establishing a contract between magazine and reader. Gender issues are not the only subjects negotiated: magazines also offer solutions to other relevant issues. Nor is negotiation the only way a magazine speaks to its readers: magazines also steer readers in a desired direction, for example towards the role of consumer. In this way, magazine texts negotiate the position and identity of readers, but also that of the magazine itself.

It is at this third level of analysis, where the concepts of symbolic national and other communities especially come into the picture in this dissertation. At this level of

analysis, the focus is on the way the magazines participate in the debate on immigration and diverse societies, and how they generally include these discussions as part of the general fields of discursivity in their magazine. Finally, I intend to draw a picture of how all the texts analysed together provide an idea of inclusive/non-inclusive symbolic communities at the societal level and within the magazines themselves: which are the communities that the magazines in question are helping to build and imagine symbolically? What are the binding or differentiating elements that turn out to be most crucial when defining a society, a community and its members in each case? Why are certain elements more important/relevant/salient in the Finnish case than in the Dutch case? In this way I finally hope to be able to gain insight into how immigrants and ethnic minorities are perceived and represented within the Finnish and Dutch contexts and in the contexts of certain magazines.

Now that I have specified the media and especially magazines as sites of societal debates, discourses and representations of symbolic communities, subject positions and identities, as well as the importance of these representations, it is time to move forward and discuss how subject positions and identities are understood both in discourse theory and in other theoretical discussion.

2.4 Subject positions and identities in discourse theory

According to discourse theory, similarly to articulation of signifiers, also identities are articulated within a field of discursivity by using discursive elements. Identity as a discursive element that obtains its meaning through articulation has been further described as 'the unity of any object or subject' or as the "'whatness" of a given entity' (Fuss 1989, ix). My own understanding about the discourse theoretical view on identity is that identity is the core essence of the differential position of a subject/object amongst other subjects/objects: a specific kind of categorisation that tells what a social agent is (in relation to other social agents).

Another aspect of identity in discourse theory by Laclau and Mouffe is the way in which identities are used to identify social agents in discourses, the way in which social agents are offered possibilities to identify themselves within a certain discourse, or how they identify themselves within a discourse. For this aspect of identity, Laclau and Mouffe use the concept of subject position (Carpentier and Spinoy 2007, 5). In my research, I was interested in subject positions as articulations in texts and thus as identifications and positionings of social agents within media texts. I will not here be dealing with how social agents identify themselves in relation to certain discourses and

subject positions, since my research did not offer the proper material for that kind of analysis.

The subject position of a subject/social agent, as I understand it, is always a compilation of various identity elements or the result of a multiplicity of articulations of collective identities and other qualities defining this social agent. Identities are collective, since they are socially defined. To Laclau and Mouffe, identities are also multiple, relational and fluctuating, since, as with signifiers, identities can never be saturated in their meaning. Due to the over-determined character of meanings and identities, one identity can never reach a full closure, since there are always elements of other identities present also in this single identity (Laclau & Mouffe1985/2001, 111–122). An essentialised identity or subject position such as 'pure Finnish' does not exist to Laclau and Mouffe due to this over-determination; it is a mere impossibility.

Laclau and Mouffe distinguish identity from subjectivity. They define subjectivity as the experienced understanding of 'the self' that every individual has: one could say the experienced essence of a person. Subjectivity should not be mixed with identity, for subjectivity is something personal and inherent to a person and her/his thinking, whereas identity is something collective and socially articulated. Identification is the process in which a person relates her/his subjectivity to an available identity or a subject position. Like identity, which can never be fully saturated in meaning, 'the identification never reaches the point of full identity' (Laclau 1990, 60).

This means that an obtained identity can never be fully or completely constituted in a subjectivity, because a distance remains between the subject and the identities obtained, and because, once obtained, (social) identities can always be subverted by other identities. The fact that a subject can never reach a full identity is actually exactly that what leaves room for subjectivity, agency and freedom: a subject is always partially free for self-determination through new identification processes, no matter how strongly some identities are forced on a subject from outside (Laclau & Mouffe1985/2001, 115–121; Carpentier and Spinoy 2007, 5–7). Subjectivities are what constitute social agents in essential ways, but to be fully clear, I will not in this dissertation be analysing the subjectivities or processes of identification by social agents, since the material from my research is not suitable for that kind of analysis.

When it comes to articulations of identities as elements in texts, I do use discourse theory (DT) as the theoretical and methodological starting point for the analysis performed. Simply put, media texts and the discourses they are a part of articulate subject positions to the actors in the texts. These subject positions are, more

specifically, representations of various identities[21] that are available to the social agents in the field of discursivity and that make part of the more complex articulations of subject positions in various discourses. In turn, these discourses have the power to legitimise or to destabilise those representations and subject positions anew each time that they are talked about.

In other words, discourses articulate symbolic systems and social orders in which social agents are given subject positions in relation to each other and the historical and political moment they live in. These subject positions and the identities included in them are random in the sense that all kinds of articulations are possible. It depends on the nature of the discourses how fixed and stabilised articulations of subject positions become. Since DT does not theoretically discuss the concept of identity or the content of subject positions further, I will now shed light on the concept by discussing several theories on social and cultural identities and identity formation.

2.5 Social, cultural, essential and non-essential identities

A central notion of identity in this research is social identity. Social identity has been defined as the way in which people are placed within a society in relation to other people by themselves and by others. Social identity is the category or group in society that a person is believed to belong to and, once given this place, how a person is believed to be (Bradley 1996, 24). Social identities are believed to derive from the relationships that individuals have with other people and the social environment. In discourse theory (DT), all identities are discursively defined and therefore social in their character.

Social identity stresses the combining elements between individuals, i.e. the qualities common to people sharing the same social identity. The combining elements are most often categorical features such as age, gender, profession or ethnicity. With the help of these elements, a person is on the one hand separated from those who do not share the same qualities and, on the other hand, classified as belonging together with the ones having the same qualities. At the same time, social identity says something both about what a person is and about what a person is not. Social identities locate people in relation to each other in social spaces and indicate group relations. More than

[21] Here I am talking about representation of identities, because in line with DT, I do not believe that media texts can communicate or describe true or actual identities. Instead, identities are represented in texts and ascribed to the people presented.

answering the question 'Who am I?', social identity seems to give an answer to 'Where am I?'. Social identities are collective by nature and as such do not manifest unique or individual identities. They indicate what a person is considered to be from a social viewpoint (Verkuyten 1999, 23–24).

When considered in smaller pieces, the concept of social identity includes at least three elements that all express something relevant about the concept. The first of the elements is, according to Verkuyten, social-structural: the social environment is divided into categories, and this division is used to say something about groups of people living in a certain environment. The criteria used for making the division can consist of social roles or visible qualities (like age or gender) that carry some social meaning.

However, not just any type of categorisation can be treated as a social identity. To be more than a mere category or a label, social identity must have meaningful substance. For something to be a social identity, a cultural element is needed as well. This element indicates (stereotypical) behavioural expectations, manifestations and consequences, but also behavioural possibilities that are attached to certain categorical positions. These expectations can be institutionalised in certain roles, or they can have social meaning otherwise. For example, when someone is categorised as being a woman, this categorisation carries along with it certain expectations with respect to the behaviour of this person. Another category such as having short hair does not carry the same kind of social expectations and cannot as such be typified as a socially meaningful identity.

Yet, the two elements mentioned alone are not sufficient for something to be a social identity. The third element needed can be called 'categorical beliefs'. Placing someone into a certain category also means that you 'know' what a person is like from a social point of view and you know what qualities a person has, even though you do not know the person him- or herself. 'Categorical beliefs' is, then, categorical knowledge, a judgement about a certain identity. For example, we think that we know how an unfamiliar Muslim *is* as a person because we have heard on the news that Muslims usually do certain kinds of things or behave in a certain way. We also know that Muslims are significantly different than Protestants. Through this kind of information, we 'know' what Muslim identity is like. People that belong to the same group are then believed to share the same characteristics and qualities and, in having these characteristics, differ from other groups in a meaningful and specific way (Verkuyten 1999, 24–27, following Wentholt, 1991).

Hegemonic chains of equivalence (this concept is explained in section 2.7) can function as a way to articulate categorical beliefs. For example, a chain of equivalence could articulate that all supporters of a certain football club are hooligans simply because a few of them have behaved that way in the past. If this articulation is

manifested often enough, it can end up becoming a social imaginary that confirms us in our belief that football fans are indeed hooligans.

Often, social identities – together with all three of the above-mentioned elements – are an issue of public negotiation or even struggle if groups of people do not agree with the social position and identities by which they are defined. In addition, qualities, characteristics, behavioural expectations and other parts of social identities can and do change at times. They also depend on the context they occur in, such as social situations, relationships between people, historical moments, cultures etc. In this sense social identities are an on-going process, a question of definition and construction (Verkuyten 1999, 28–29). This is the same process that antagonisms in discourse theory refer to: subject positions are contested and struggled with whenever social agents feel that the existing and available subject positions are no longer able to accommodate the identities of these social agents. Processes of identity politics are also based on such negotiation.

It should then not be forgotten that being defined as having a certain social or cultural identity does not mean that a person should agree with this categorisation. Knowing which social category a person is placed in does not indicate how the person experiences his or her personal identity. At this point, we come closer to the common-sense meaning of identity: identity as something subjective, a person's own understanding of what she/he is or is not. Personal identity refers to the ways in which we construct ourselves and how we experience ourselves as unique individuals: how we conceive ourselves in relation to others.

The construction of personal identity consists of a series of selection and identification processes: a person feels connected to certain groups and social identities that belong to those groups and attaches an emotional meaning to this connection. A membership of a certain group and the social identity attached to that group can become important parts of the personal identity that a person carries, but they are not the same as a personal identity. Personal identity is a complex psychological matter that also involves emotions, personal experiences, situations, contexts, and so forth. Even though a person is seen from the outside as a member of a social group and is thus assumed to carry the social identity of that group, a person does not – at the level of personal identity – have to experience this identity as a part of his/her identity or even identify her/himself with the social group. Individuals can and do negotiate their own identities, and the result is always one of a kind (Bradley 1996, 24; Verkuyten 1999, 38–41). In their discourse theoretical analysis, Laclau and Mouffe discuss this side of identity and the processes it contains with the concept of subjectivity, which can never reach the status of a full identity, since there are always aspects of other identities present in this subjectivity.

Another aspect of social identities is that they are not exclusive in the sense that one can only have a single social identity. On the contrary: social identities are multiple, and as such they come in all kinds of combinations. This does not change the fact that in many situations people are inclined to think that a person and his or her qualities are all due to a certain single social identity. For example, ethnic identity as one form of social identity may often become the decisive element of identity according to which we see and treat persons whom we consider to have that identity (Verkuyten 1999, 32–33). Nevertheless, social identities are neither simple nor exclusive, but different types of social identities are present side by side and one upon the other (Fornäs 1998, 265). More concretely speaking, a person can, for example, be identified with and carry a female identity besides being a doctor without this causing any confusion. However, there are also other social identities that exclude each other: it is difficult to think of a person that could be socially identified or identify herself as an atheist and a fundamental Christian at the same time.

A parallel concept to social identity is cultural identity, and it seems especially useful when discussing ethnic groups living in diaspora or ethnic groups that are influenced by a diaspora. Cultural identity refers to the sense of belonging to or identifying oneself with a specific culture, either an existing or an extinct one (Bradley 1996, 17). Central elements in cultural identity are those aspects of social identity that deal with the belonging to ethnic, racial, language, religious or – nowadays above all – to national groups or cultures (Hall 1999, 19).

The definition of cultural identity has been further refined and split, one-half being an ethnic-cultural form of identity that is rather stable (Friedman 1994) in the sense that it is partly a factor that a person is born with. Ethnic identity or 'ethnicity' has also been discussed as a form of identity on its own. Ethnicity as a characteristic of a group generally means that the group shares the same origin: the members of the group have or at least believe they have or are believed to have the same roots, descent or ancestors, this common background providing a possible basis for community building. Besides the element of common origin, ethnicity can be and often is constructed by various other cultural elements such as religion, cultural practices, habits, language and heritage. Ethnicity thus has a descent element and a cultural element to it (e.g. Fenton 2003; Pietikäinen 2000, 35–36, 39). As Steve Fenton reminds us, culture and ethnicity should not, however, be confused, since culture is both broader and narrower than ethnicity. For example, religious cultures can be shared by many ethnic groups, and there can be and are sub-cultural groups within ethnic groups (Fenton 2003, 20).

Ethnicity is an identity that is typically defined from the outside by a majority. Ethnic groups are usually groups that are perceived as being foreign to a certain place

or forming a minority in the eyes of the majority. Ethnic group has in history gathered up connotations of being a group 'less than the society as a whole' (ibid., 109). For example cultural, religious or language minorities living within a nation state are often called ethnic minorities. It should not be forgotten though that also national majorities form an ethnic group that is believed to have a common origin, culture and history. National identities are ethnic identities par excellence (Pietikäinen 2002, 18). What separates a national identity from ethnicity and a nation from an ethnic group is that 'nation' entails the sense of constituting a self-governing entity and existing within a state-like political form. Furthermore, it is possible to detach ethnicity from nation by stressing civic criteria, i.e. citizenship of a certain state, as a prerequisite for membership of a nation instead of ethnic criteria (Fenton 2003, 53, 109; also Calhoun 2007, 41).

Although ethnic identity has a stable element to it, meaning that a person in fact can be born a member of a certain ethnic group and have similarities in terms of language, religion or appearances with the other members of that ethnic group, this does not mean that ethnic identity is something static and unchangeable. Similarly to other forms of identity, ethnicity also depends on the context. It can be actualised, experienced and enacted upon in certain circumstances, whereas in other situations it has little or no significance at all to a person or group. The importance of ethnicity varies between totalising, tacit and provisional forms of ethnicity. In no way is it a constant factor (Fenton 2003, 115).

Next to ethnic-cultural identity, a second part of cultural identity – according to Friedman – is an identity that relates to a person's lifestyle. It is even more fluid in nature than ethnic-cultural identity (Friedman 1994). With regard to lifestyle, one can think of identities such as being a single, punk, horse owner, member of a motorcycle club, etc. Stuart Hall (1999, 51–54) claims that a cultural identity has many aspects to it, some of which are more permanent and dominant than others.

The explications of social and cultural identity above combine elements of an essentialist and a non-essentialist understanding of identity. According to the essentialist view, identities have aspects that are highly stable, even primordial, and for this reason recognisable. Even a complete identity as such can be regarded as highly permanent and fixed, or pure in the sense that it does not include aspects of other identities. Nowadays, national (ethnic-cultural) identity seems to dominate all other aspects of cultural identity so strongly even that it often suppresses other aspects. The dominating national cultural identity is built on the idea of a common culture and a collective sense of the 'true we'. Even though this 'true we' would include many other (aspects of) cultural identities, the 'shared' historical experiences and cultural codes are

so heavily emphasised that they lead to a collective feeling of a nation and an identity that belongs to that feeling.

As a result of such processes, national identities and cultures appear, on the surface, to be quite homogeneous. According to Stuart Hall, this homogeneity is an illusion, since all national cultures are formed by people belonging to different social classes, genders and ethnic groups, for example. Culturally pure national identities do not actually exist, but cultural purity is artificially constructed and kept alive (Hall 1999, 51–54, 224). As mentioned above, Benedict Anderson called the outcomes of these processes of nation building 'imagined communities' (1983). Ideas of national primordial identity and cultural purity, as well as the artificial articulation of these ideas, are typical to an essentialist understanding of cultural identity, whereby the lowest common denominator is used to dissolve differences between individuals or all other aspects of identity except one (Kivikuru 2000, 27). As stated previously, this kind of understanding of national cultural identities is a social imaginary that is being more and more contested, but also kept alive.

In the non-essentialist view instead, identity consists of various aspects that fluctuate depending on a person's interests and life situation, time, place and living space, as well as the external context of definition. Identity is not permanent, but constantly under negotiation, re-articulated and re-defined in discourses and other practices (Hall 2003). An identity can also become re-articulated because in different times and situations, different types of identities can become important and be actualised. These identities that actualise in different times but are not present constantly can be called passive identities. They can become active or politicised identities (Bradley 1996, 25). Pure identities in their turn are not possible in the non-essentialist view. This kind of non-essentialist conceptualisation of identity communicates best with the discourse theoretical understanding of identity and it is also how I understand and treat identities in this dissertation.

According to the non-essentialist view, a cultural identity is constructed from several different cultural identities that together function as nominators to a bigger unit (Kivikuru 2000, 27). The various aspects of a cultural identity and differences between the aspects all affect the fact that a cultural identity is constantly changing and always on the way to somewhere. This variety of cultural identities is a source of energy to a community and enables change. Thanks to this diversity, a community becomes the unique unit that it is at any specific moment of history (Hall 1999, 227).

Both the essentialist and non-essentialist approaches to identities have been criticised. With the former, the criticism touches upon the pre-decided and determined nature of the concept. It leaves very little room for variation, subjectivity and agency. Nowadays, the concept also seems to have little to do with real life experiences of

people. The non-essentialist view which itself is a criticism of the essentialist view has been criticised for forgetting the material reality and complexity of power relations that hide in each identity and for too strong a focus on the representational side of identities. People's freedoms or opportunities to take on new identities or to struggle for a new identity are not always a matter as simple or easy as non-essentialist approaches imply.

Dynamic, non-essentialist understandings of identity are, despite criticism, the most popular ones today, and there are a number of approaches to identity that aim to further theorise these dynamics. One of these approaches to identity is fragmentation. Fragmentation of identities is inherent to the process in which social classes have been dissolving in recent decades, as well as to the changing character and fluidity of social relationships today. As a result of these developments, it has been estimated that people are losing their sense of belonging to social groups. Increasingly, people are lacking the feeling of having roots in traditional collectives such as nation, class or community; even family ties can be missing. As a result, people are constructing their identities with a wider variety of building blocks than ever before: identities can be based on gender, age, marital status, sexual preference or consumer habits, to name just a few alternatives (e.g. Bradley 1996).

Today, individuals have more and more optional 'yous' from which to choose the 'yous' with which they want to construct an actual 'I' (ibid., 23). This kind of fragmented identity also relates to the type of cultural identity that Friedman and others have called a lifestyle: at each moment, we pick the identities that suit us and our situation best. In turn, lifestyle can be seen as part of life politics: it concerns political issues which flow from processes of self-actualisation and life decisions as to how we should live in a post-traditional world (Mouffe 2005, 43).

Also the concept of hybridity grasps at the simultaneous presence of multiple and non-essential identities. Hybridity refers to the mixed character of any given identity: no identity is pure; each is a combination of elements deriving from different sources. We are all living in cultures that are more or less hybrid. Cultures are never completely separate from each other or have clear-cut borders. On the contrary, cultures are always in contact with each other, so cultural identities are never 'pure'. For example, black identity is often considered hybrid, since it is a combination of Western, Caribbean and African elements (Bhabha 1994). Similarly, the identities of the immigrants and ethnic minority members discussed in the magazines, are hybrid formations, as they are combinations of for example ethnic, religious and cultural identities and especially in the case of second generation immigrants combinations of various cultural influences.

Intersectionality, which has been used as an analytic device in feminist studies, reminds us exactly of the fact that when analysing identities, the presence of various identity categories should be taken into account throughout the analysis. The analysis should, then, not be restricted to the analysis of gender or ethnicity only, for example, but take into account the simultaneity of both factors. Intersectionality aims at grasping the joint effects of various differences and histories of power use that are present at one time in a discourse or articulation. The idea of intersectionality quite well grasps my approach to identities and subject positions, as I believe in simultaneous presence and influences of various power and identity elements. Yet, I do not use it as a specified method of analysis (which has previously proven difficult), but rather as a thinking aid (McCall 2005; Valovirta 2010).

My purpose in this dissertation is not to analyse whether the identities constituting the subject positions in which I am interested can best be analysed as fragmented, hybrid or intersectional. To me and to my research, these concepts merely offered ways to make sense of the multiple non-essential identities in the magazine texts and the subject positions they construct, and to understand why and in which ways an identity cannot be essential or fixed by its character. To me and for this study, also social, cultural and ethnic forms of identities are all equally possible building blocks for the articulations of subject positions in the magazine texts. They are also equally possible ways to articulate together symbolic communities that build on identities and include or separate immigrants and ethnic minority members from those communities.

2.6 Identity, difference and 'the other'

There is yet another point about identities that is necessary for their formation: identities always need a constitutive outside for them to come into being. The creation of an identity implies an establishment of a difference, a demarcation of borders and boundaries of 'us' in relation to 'them' (Mouffe 2005, 15). In discourse theory, antagonisms function as such markers of constitutive difference between (political) identities. On the one hand, identities are formed in relation to the difference between an individual (or a group) and 'important others' (Hall 1999, 22), since I know who 'I' am in relation to 'the other', for example my mother, whom I cannot be (ibid., 41). On the other hand, how we see ourselves depends on how others see us and how they use language to give meaning to what they see. Identity can be understood as a collective ego, a form of communality that is manifested in an individual, since individual identities are established within a community and in social processes. The community

itself is established in a process of differentiation from other communities (Kivikuru 2000, 11).

An important factor when trying to understand 'the other' is to understand difference and the significance of it. Stuart Hall has listed four ways to further explicate difference (Hall 1999, 139). In linguistic discussions by Ferdinand Saussure, meanings do not exist without difference: they only exist through difference. A certain word, for example, is defined by what is left out of the word: by what the word itself is not. Black is not white, and it is the relationship between black and white, their difference, that in the end carries meaning and differentiates black and white as separate concepts. Likewise, difference between individuals or groups is the factor that makes these units meaningful (Saussure 1983, 160–161, 166; Hall 1999, 153). This approach communicates with discourse theoretical understanding of identity: identity is the differential position of a social agent whose identity and meaning is defined by what is left outside of it. In a dialogical understanding of linguistics, meanings come into being in a dialogue with 'the other'. Meanings do not exist before they have been formed and thereafter defined in a dialogue with someone whose opinions differ from your own. Meanings and conceptions are constantly changing and being negotiated in a dialogue with the different 'other' (Bahtin 1988, 29–34 and 276–283).

In anthropology, difference is explained by processes of cultural construction. Culture as a symbolic system is based on the demarcation and classification of differences. Each culture defines what is good/bad, beautiful/ugly and so forth. These enduring differentiations are necessary in order to give structure and meaning to one's own culture, but also to separate it from others (Douglas 1966, also Lévi-Strauss 1979). Ascribing values is related to categorisation and categories into which people and phenomena are divided to create order in the world.

Lastly, in psychoanalysis, difference and dissimilarity play an important role in the formation of an ego, a sexual identity and subjectivity. For a child to understand her separateness from her parents, she has to see herself through the eyes of 'the other' or through a mirror. A child compares the qualities of the mother or father to her own qualities, adopting some of them and rejecting others. This is how a child comes to understand her gender, for example. A child becomes an individual subject in an unconscious process in which the child performs a comparison with significant, separate others (Freud 1959, 37–42; Lacan 1977, 1–7).

All these discussions share the view that, through differentiation processes, order is created in the world. Differentiation and the 'other' that is inherent to this process are basic elements of human thought, with whose help we make sense of everything. Difference does not come into existence without the reality in which an individual is living, but, in construction of a difference, someone or something else – 'the other' – is

necessary. These processes are also at work, when symbolic communities are imagined and articulated. Communities do not define themselves as a unity without presenting someone else as the opposite (Beauvoir 1981, 12–13). On the other hand, we also need sameness in order to have differentiation, since only this way do we know who belongs to our group and who differs from our group. Without difference, there is no similarity (Suurpää 2002, 22).

According to possibly the most far-reaching definition of 'the other', 'other' or 'otherness' is equal to being different or unique. According to this definition, we all, also we ourselves, are different to someone else, or – as Julia Kristeva puts it – strangers to each other, because every individual is different from others in some respect. Kristeva claims that there is no me without the stranger, and the stranger cannot exist without me. Learning to understand the other begins with understanding the other in me and our own difference to others, since, when we understand our own difference, a question arises as to who 'I' actually is. The answer is never self-evident (Kristeva, 1992).

It is important to notice that 'the other' that is defined through difference is ambivalent, for it can represent both positive and negative difference. Since 'the other' is necessary for meaning making, it can be something positive that we, for example, use to reflect on our own subjectivity, but it can also invoke negative feelings or feel threatening at the same time (Hall 1999, 160). Besides being ambivalent, 'the other' is also neutral and general, for it can represent any difference between 'us' and 'them' (Harle 1994, 233). By similar logic, magazine texts are free to articulate immigrants and people belonging to ethnic minorities as also belonging to symbolic communities of 'us', at least in certain aspects, or they can strengthen the differences by articulating these groups as 'the other' in a positive, neutral or negative sense.

2.7 Discourse theories and discourse theoretical analysis

In this dissertation, media texts in magazines are seen as discursive arenas: fields of discursivity in which meanings are articulated to objects. Following a social constructionist understanding of meaning making, discourses that are present in and form the texts are understood as a system that is used to give meaning to social practices, objects, people and phenomena that exist in material world. Objects as such do not automatically mean anything: they have to be given a meaning. The meaning given is not random, but a consequence of various social practices and negotiation processes (Hall 1997b, 17 and 24–25). The most important meaning-creating social practice is discourse, which can be defined as a specific way to represent matters or

practices (Hall 1997a, 6) or as historically specific systems of meaning which form the identities of subjects and objects (Foucault 1972, 49; Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 4). Discourse not only reflects the reality, but most importantly is an inherent part of it and actively constructs and defines it. Through discourses, we create meanings and construct a certain kind of idea of the world. Besides producing meanings for objects, social relations and identities, discourses construct belief systems. Discourse is the means to reshape and renew, but also to maintain all these (Fairclough 1997, 76).

Social constructionist understanding of language and discourse has created a great variety of discourse theoretical approaches and discourse analysis is a common nominator for a wide range of different methodologies. These differ in how they understand their study object, discourse, as well as in their focus during the actual analysis. David Howarth (2000) distinguishes between five main lines of discourse analysis. Positivist accounts such as rhetoric and speech act theory consider discourses as frames or cognitive schemata which are put to use in various communication situations to reach certain ends. Discourse analysis in these cases investigates how efficiently discourses manage to do this. Realist accounts, in turn, regard discourses as particular objects in a world of various kinds of objects, each with its own properties and power. Analysis aims to reveal the conceptual complex by which language enjoys its power as well as the causal relations between different types of objects. The purpose is to decipher how discourses reproduce and transform the material world and what the relationship of discourse is to social objects such as the state and economic processes. Discourse analysis as found in Ian Parker's discursive psychology or social constructionism as defined by Berger and Luckmann are, according to Howarth, examples of such realist accounts.

Marxist accounts (e.g. Althusser and Žižek) accept the basic assumptions of realist accounts, but argue that discourses must be analysed and explained in the context of the contradictory processes of economic production and reproduction. Discourses are seen as ideological systems of meaning that naturalise the uneven distribution of power and resources. It is the task of analysis to reveal how this mechanism works, besides suggesting emancipatory alternatives. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) widens the Marxist explanatory horizon by taking into account human actions and reflexivity, as well as various strands of sociological and philosophical thinking. CDA insists on a mutually constituting relationship between discourses and the social systems in which they function, yet it still sees discourse as the meaning making dimension of social practice and not as a practice itself. CDA looks into this dialectical relationship to expose how language and meaning are used by the powerful to oppress the dominated, and the trajectory is an emancipatory one as well. Methodologies of CDA (by e.g. Norman Fairclough and by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer) are well known and

widely used in the field of media studies, and CDA has become the dominant form of discourse analysis in the media analysis field.

Lastly, post-structuralists and post-Marxist discourse theories see social structures as ambiguous, incomplete and fluctuating systems of meaning. Discourses and meaning are constitutive for social structures, and discourse is a practice through which other practices are represented. Each approaching discourse theory from their own perspective, e.g. Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, show in their theoretical discussions that discourses construct symbolic systems and social orders. These forms of discourse analysis (DA) examine the historical and political construction and functioning of these symbolic and social systems (Howarth 2000, 2–8).

Different approaches to discourse can also be categorised according to the level at which they analyse the relevant material. On the most micro level, typical for sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, the focus is on single speech acts or utterances which are analysed very much in detail, even sound by sound. In DA according to, for example, Teun van Dijk (1988, 1991 and 1993) and in CDA, the focus is widened to include different types of contexts influencing the discourse, and those contexts are analysed as well, but much of the analysis concentrates on linguistic elements and details.

In comparison to all these, discourse theoretical analysis (DTA), deriving from discourse theory (DT) by Laclau and Mouffe, is performed at the most macro level. In DTA, discourse is not a separate or subordinate level of some other social practice, but one practice amongst others. It is also the practice in which the meanings of all other practices are realised. Therefore, language or linguistic details are not the most interesting object of analysis, whereas discourse as a site of meanings, representations and ideologies is. DT/DTA takes discourse as representation and seeks to analyse the political, historical and contingent systems of meaning that articulate these representations, as well as the practices that lay behind representations. To my understanding, the difference between DTA and, for example, CDA is that, in DTA, discourse has a 'right of existence' on its own: it does not need another social practice to come into being, as it is a practice in itself. DTA does not require that discourse exists within another practice, e.g. media practice or the practice of discrimination, within which it is then analysed, but it is discourse that forms and articulates those other practices as well.

In addition to these differences on the level of analysis and the understanding of discourse as a practice of its own or not, another important difference between CDA and DTA is that CDA is still very close to Marxist traditions, whereas DT/DTA is clearly post-Marxist and poststructuralist in its argumentation. In DT, no meaning is

decided in an a priori fashion by a political project or an economic or a class difference, nor is any meaning constructed in a simple either-or fashion by pre-determined binary options (Carpentier & de Cleen 2007, 275–278).

Out of these numerous approaches to discourse analysis, I have decided to use this last-mentioned approach of DT/DTA by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, for it suits the purposes of this dissertation, as will be explained later. Their discourse theory is not only a way to understand discourse as a concept, nor simply a model of how to apply the concept to analysis: instead, it is a complete social ontology. Therefore, all the other theories that I am using will be adapted to the terminology of discourse theory. This also means that theories that seriously collide with the ideas of DT are not and cannot be used in this dissertation.

As a social ontology, Laclau and Mouffe's DT presents an approach to discourse theory that they call the radical materialist position. They point to their understanding of discourse as *the* constructing element of all social phenomena and (material) objects, not implying that reality as such would not exist, but according to their view everything gains its meaning through discourse. For them, discourse is not only the semiotic dimension of social practice (so it is not only a way to give meanings to objects): it is instead synonymous with systems of social relations and social practices (Howarth 2000, 8). All objects and practices are evenly discursive, as their 'meaning depends upon a socially constructed system of rules and significant differences' (Howarth 2000, 8; Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001, 107). Laclau and Mouffe claim that, in addition to a mental character, discursive structures also possess a material character, since it is the concrete material objects, and not the mental ideas of these objects, that take differential positions in relation to each other and require a definition of a relational identity among other objects (Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001, 108). However, in their view, all objects can constitute themselves as objects only inside a discourse and through discursive elements.

With these arguments, Laclau and Mouffe emphasise the discursive component of reality without disclaiming the distinction between discourse (the ideal) and reality (the material) (Carpentier & Spinoy 2007, 5). For Laclau and Mouffe, discursive and non-discursive elements are not juxtaposed, but together 'constitute a differential and structured system of positions – that is, a discourse' (Laclau &Mouffe1985/2001, 108).

Secondly, their theory is anti-essentialist: meanings are never fully fixed, but always fluctuating and constantly re-articulated. Systems of meaning are contingent and can never completely exhaust a social field of meaning. Similarly, reality is not a given but has an undecided character and thus is open for re-articulation. In a practice of articulation (that will be specified further on), elements are brought together and recomposed.

In addition, as was already pointed out, DTA is a highly macrotextual or macrocontextual form of discourse analysis. Texts are seen as materialisations of discourses carrying meanings, and the 'focus is on the meanings, representations or ideologies embedded in the text and not so much on the language of the text' (Carpentier & Spinoy 2007, 5). Discourses that constitute texts are concrete systems of social relationships and practices that are intrinsically political, as the 'construction of discourses involves the exercise of power and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents' (Howarth 2000, 8–9). It is the task of discourse theoretical analysis to examine the historical and political construction and functioning of discourses and the symbolic systems, social orders and relations that they constitute (ibid., 5), as well as the articulation of political identities. For this to be possible, all practices (also non-textual) have to be translated in the form of texts.

This approach suits the purposes of this dissertation, since its focus is exactly on the articulations of symbolic systems and communities, social and political orders, subject positions and identities concerning immigration and ethnic diversity in magazine texts, as well as relationships between different actors, and not so much on the linguistic details of the elements composing these articulations and meanings. As has been explained, these articulations are by nature political, and they reveal something about the symbolic practices of organising ethnic diversity in societies. Notwithstanding this, to gain a grasp of the meanings, the language used in the texts must be analysed as well, but it will not be an extensive linguistic analysis.

According to Laclau and Mouffe, meanings in texts are created in a practice of articulation, which they define as 'any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice' (Laclau & Mouffe1985/2001, 105). In this practice, elements are chosen from a reservoir or a surplus of elements (this reservoir they call 'the field of discursivity'), and these elements are linked together in a discourse. The practice of articulation changes the identity of the elements[22] and partially fixes them with a meaning. All articulations that partially fix meaning are essentially possible, but some articulations may be privileged over others.

[22] In fact, it is only in practice of articulation that elements gain any meaning/identity: until then an element is a 'difference that is not discursively articulated' (ibid., 105). When elements are articulated into differential positions within a discourse, they become moments. These moments are never fully saturated in meaning. Therefore, they actually never reach the full status of a moment, but are only parts of partially fixed nodal points. Due to the complexity of Laclau and Mouffe's argument, I will avoid using the notion of moments and only discuss elements and nodal points.

These privileged articulations produce privileged signifiers that Laclau and Mouffe call nodal points. Nodal points are the signifiers that bring (partial) fixity into a discourse and, in a sense, make it recognisable. A discourse without any fixity of meaning would be 'the discourse of the psychotic' (ibid., 112). Floating signifiers, in their turn, are elements that can assume different meanings in different contexts or discourses: their meaning thus keeps changing through different discourses. In the field of discursivity, there are always more elements available than can be used in the articulation; there is thus a surplus of elements. This oversupply of elements prevents a full saturation of meaning: elements tend to float when their meaning is not fixed from the beginning. (In this sense, all elements are floating signifiers by their status.) In this connection, Laclau and Mouffe borrow terminology from Althusser. Overdetermination is a concept that covers the fact that a final closure of meaning can never be reached through articulation, and the identity of the elements is never defined fully (ibid, 111–113).

Yet another important aspect of the process of articulation that also affects the articulation of (political) identities and subject positions, according to DT, concerns the way in which certain discourses and articulations become more fixed than other discourses. Discourses can become hegemonic but are not necessarily so. For a discourse to become hegemonic, it must attempt to fix the meaning of an empty signifier, a nodal point that initially marks an absence of meaning in a discourse, and thus lacks meaning. When a hegemonic project succeeds in its efforts to fill this empty signifier with meaning, certain articulations occur in a discourse on regular basis and repeatedly fix together discursive elements as a part of this empty signifier/nodal point. In a hegemony, elements need not be articulated together: they can coalesce, however. When this happens, a discourse with certain articulations around this empty signifier can begin to dominate the field of discursivity. The discourse can be used to justify a totality, a form of truth that is represented as natural and completely fixed (ibid., x-xii; Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 8–9). This kind of hegemonic project is designed to 'construct and stabilize nodal points that are the basis of a social order, the main aim being to become a social imaginary' (Carpentier & de Cleen 2007, 269).

Hegemonies can never become completely fixed, since there are always competing ideas and articulations or political projects also aiming to hegemonise a discourse. Nodal points and potentially hegemonic articulations are ruptured by antagonisms, articulations used by opposed political projects contesting the dominant articulations around a certain empty signifier. If used on regular basis, these antagonistic articulations can in turn become fixed and at some point achieve the status of a privileged nodal point. These nodal points can again be used to justify a new hegemony.

Due to antagonisms, hegemonic discourses usually are 'only' myths aiming to articulate and fix as many signifiers as possible into a specific discursive formation and suture the dislocated elements (dislocated in the sense that, due to a lack in the discursive field, certain elements in the discursive field have not been articulated as a part of any discourse yet) with meaning. When myths grow to a stage where they have managed to suture most elements with meaning and articulate them as a part of a discursive system, as well as neutralise social dislocations and demands, then they become imaginaries that are close to being complete hegemonies (Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 14–15) or an 'absolute limit which structures a field of intelligibility' (Laclau 1990, 64). These imaginaries, however, are not full hegemonies, either.

Similarly to other articulations, systems of social relations within discourses can also become hegemonic, but, even more so, they are 'always political constructions involving the construction of antagonisms and the exercise of power' (Howarth 2000, 104). Hegemonies are, furthermore, 'an exemplary form of political articulation which involves linking together different identities into a common project' (Howarth 1998, 279). Hegemonies, then, also fix identities of social agents in certain positions. Along the same lines, antagonisms create opportunities for articulations of new subject positions, which appear where the existing hegemonic articulations are not able to provide subjects with a (political) subject position they can identify themselves with. Laclau and Mouffe argue that antagonisms and antagonistic relations are thus necessary for the existence of (political) identities. Antagonisms reveal the limit points in society where meaning is contested and there is a need for new processes of articulations and subject positions (Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000, 9–12).

Laclau and Mouffe introduce the logic of equivalence and logic of difference as ways to articulate new subject positions. The logic of equivalence reduces existing differences between various groups or people to unite them under one common identity needed for a specific common cause. For example, the inhabitants of a certain city might, despite their gender, age, income, ethnic, professional and other differences, put aside these identities for a while and unite themselves under their newly articulated identity of 'defenders of the city' for a common cause, e.g. opposing a plan to build a new highway in a historic area of the city. They could use this new common identity to fight against a common political opponent represented by the authorities of the city. In the logic of difference, existing chains of equivalence are, on the other hand, disarticulated. In such a case, the city authorities might start trying to articulate some of the former opponents, for example men or businesspeople, under the new identity of 'supporters of a modern commercial city' in order to strengthen city's own position by winning some of the opponents to their side.

Again, it has to be noted that even though the logics of equivalence and difference at the end function as a building stone for political subjectivities (people stepping into political identities by identifying with them and acting accordingly) I will in this dissertation not analyse those processes, but will keep myself to the subject positions articulated on the level of magazine texts. I believe that these articulations of subject positions can be hegemonic by character, forming a part of a myth or even heading towards being a social imaginary, like in case of national identities. Or they can be antagonistic, trying to establish new subject positions where the social order demands a dislocation or void to be filled with new meanings and subject positions, e.g. as might be the case with multicultural societies becoming more and more diverse.

In this dissertation, I take the magazine texts in each of the magazines studied as fields of discursivity consisting of discourses that attempt to partially fix meaning by articulating various elements into nodal points. It is within these partially fixed fields of discursivity and discourses that also immigration and ethnic diversity as floating signifiers are articulated and acquire partially fixed meanings. It is my task to analyse what these discourses and partially fixed meanings are and how they are given form in each magazine. Furthermore, I will analyse how subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members are formed by various identity elements and how they are articulated as parts of specific discourses and attached to nodal points within these discourses. I am also interested in the hegemonic constructions formed by these nodal points and the myths and imaginaries they could possibly articulate or attach themselves to.

The discourse theoretical analysis that is further also based on all the theoretical discussions in this chapter will be performed in several phases, starting from quantitative analysis in Chapter 4 and concentrating specifically on the question of subject positions and identities. That chapter and the model of analysis have been set up by taking into account the identity theories discussed in sections 2.4–2.6, as will be explained more in detail in Chapter 3. In Chapter 5 qualitative analyses will be performed, concentrating especially on the discourses articulated around immigration and ethnic diversity, and the discursive fields in each of the magazines. Chapter 5 leans on the theories discussed especially in sections 2.1–2.3, as I see those sections as an initial discussion of the discursive fields that are reflected and re-articulated in each of the magazines. Section 2.7 on discourse analysis is an important basis for Chapters 3, 4 and 5, because it describes the analytic view of this research. Chapter 6, at the end, functions as an attempt to bring together the various analyses and deepen them further by combining the analyses with the theoretical discussions in this chapter. The theories discussed in this chapter are thus present throughout the research, but they will not always be explicitly discussed.

Discourse theory as such does not offer a very concrete model of analysis. Rather, it is a horizon upon which one can design research and analysis. Discourse theory offers models of thinking and concepts to use throughout the analysis. The tools for the actual analysis must be designed for the purpose of each analysis by the researcher herself. The next chapter specifies the tools that I developed for the purposes of this research.

3. Research questions and methods

The aim of my research was to study the position of various immigrant and ethnic groups in wider socio-cultural contexts during a process in which the contexts are not only becoming more and more ethnically diverse, but also the ways to deal with that situation are being questioned more and more. This process is an actual and a highly material one in the sense that it has practical and real consequences, but in this dissertation I discuss it mainly at a symbolic and discursive level. At this level, the position of the groups and other people mentioned is articulated in the media and in other societal forums in discourses, for example when discussing people's identities, their opportunities to act and limits in acting in daily life, and the rules and restrictions that are forced upon them. This position is not static, but rather, continuously being formed and re-formed.

For this reason, I will analyse how the articulated subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members change when the context of articulation, namely the medium/arena of representation or the socio-cultural environment, changes accordingly. In this way, the aim of my research was to contribute to a wider understanding of how immigrants and ethnic minorities are treated in the media and seen as a part of the contexts and social systems they live in. Another aim was to enrich earlier discussions on the issue.

In my research, I combined quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research questions set. For both methods of analysis Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory was used as a starting point, but also the other theories discussed in the previous chapter were utilised when designing the model of analysis. The quantitative content analysis that especially derives from theoretical discussion of identities in previous chapter (2.4–2.6), provides a general overview of the research material and its contents, especially the actors represented, but also clarifies on which issues to concentrate in the qualitative discourse analysis. It is also an initial analysis of the subject positions articulated in the texts. The quantitative data enables comparisons between the texts in different types of magazines and between the two countries in question more easily than would be possible with qualitative data alone.

Qualitative analysis is necessary to allow a more thorough understanding of the research topic: the discursive fields concerning immigration and ethnic diversity, the discourses on these issues, and the subject positions articulated, hierarchies created and

symbolic communities suggested in the magazine texts. This analysis derives from the theoretical discussions in previous chapter, especially sections 2.1–2.3 and 2.7. Throughout the analysis, I handled identities as categorical positions ascribed to persons in the magazine texts. I took identities to form subject positions that are combinations of various identities and other discursive elements and can offer points of recognition, reflection and identification for readers of the texts. However, I do not analyse the interpretation and meaning making processes undertaken by individuals.

3.1 Research questions

The research questions were briefly outlined in the introduction to this dissertation (section 1.2), but at this point it is time to have a closer look at them. The general research question in this study is, **Which discourses are the magazines in question articulating around the floating signifiers immigration and ethnic diversity**? Concerning these discourses, I am also interested in the following questions, which form three clusters that all approach the issue from a different angle.

The first of the clusters concerns the articulation of identities and subject positions in the selected texts:

(1) Subject positions. The first cluster of research questions is related to the representation and articulation of subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members in the discourses of Finnish and Dutch magazines. **(1a)** What are the most prominent subject positions, and social and cultural identity categories constituting them, articulated to immigrants and ethnic minority members in different discources? **(1b)** How and **(1c)** why are they articulated? **(1d)** Do the subject positions in the magazines value different immigrant and ethnic groups differently, or are hierarchies articulated between different immigrant or ethnic groups represented in the texts?

The research questions in the first cluster will be answered within a comparative frame of magazine genre. Each magazine constitutes a specific discursive field, since one of the fundamental ideas of magazines is to give information on selected issues for (more or less) targeted audience segments or readerships. Therefore, it is likely that magazines produce information in a way that is estimated to be interesting to and identifiable for their readers. The same kinds of issues are likely to be discussed differently in each (type of) magazine. The questions concerning the magazines are specified by the second cluster of questions. I will analyse and eventually compare four different genres of magazines to find an answer to the following questions.

(2) Magazine genres. The second cluster of questions focuses on the differences between the magazines studied. **(2a)** What kind of articulations of subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minorities do different types of magazines represent to their readers? Or, formulated in another way, how does the magazine genre alter the representation of immigrants' and ethnic minority members' subject positions? **(2b)** What kind of reader positions do different magazines offer to their readers in relation to immigrant and ethnic groups? What kind of relationships are articulated between readers and these groups and which symbolic communities are articulated? And, lastly, **(2c)** how important an issue is immigration/ethnic diversity in different magazines?

Finally, I aim to answer research questions that discuss the magazine texts and the articulations in them in a wider context, namely the social realities and discursive fields surrounding them and of which they are a part, and the processes related to symbolic communities that are present in the magazine texts. I do not want to suggest that the social reality that surrounds the magazines is a fixed one and that I could completely define it by analysing the magazine texts. On the contrary, I am interested in how the magazines in question reflect and construct the social realities and societal debates they are a part of.

(3) Symbolic communities. The third cluster of questions focuses on the social environment and symbolic and discursive 'realities' at large of which the media texts studied here are a part of. Finland and the Netherlands are historically and factually different kind of societies, when it comes to immigration and presence of ethnic minorities. They are also different therein, how national and other communities are constructed and imagined symbolically. **(3a)** What kind of social, political and symbolic realities concerning immigration and ethnic diversity in Finland and in the Netherlands do the magazine texts articulate? What kind of solutions for organisation of ethnic diversity are articulated? **(3b)** What kind of (symbolic) position do these articulations suggest to immigrants and ethnic minorities within the society and national community? Are certain positions more salient in a Dutch context than in a Finnish one, and, if yes, why? **(3c)** What do the differences tell about the society and its social order? What kind of symbolic communities are articulated?

The research questions set here will be answered using both quantitative and qualitative methods. I see the analysis as a process that is continued throughout the research and in the various chapters of this dissertation. The first phase of the analysis is quantitative and discussed in Chapter 4, the second qualitative and discussed in Chapter 5, and, finally, in Chapter 6, these analyses are brought together to be discussed and analysed further. The table below illustrates the method chosen for each question.

Table 1: Research questions and methods.

Question/Method	Quantitative	Qualitative
1a	X	X
1b and c		X
1d	X	X
2a	X	X
2b	X	X
2c	X	X
3a		X
3b	X	X
3c		X

All the research questions will be analysed qualitatively. Five questions will be analysed both in quantitative and qualitative terms. To give an example of the latter situation, the prominence of certain identity categories constituting a part of a subject position (1a) and occurrence of them in each magazine (2a) is first analysed quantitatively by coding the two most apparent social identity categories[23] ascribed to an immigrant/ethnic actor in each text. Besides this, also the qualitative discourse analysis discusses the identity elements in selected cases, bringing to forth the aspects of these identities and the subject positions they articulate that the quantitative analysis maybe keeps hidden. The qualitative analysis also answers the questions of how and why (Questions 1 b and c) subject positions are articulated as they are.

3.2 Quantitative content analysis tool

The research material (1353 texts in total; see Chapter 4 for details) was selected for the research following selection criteria that is described in Appendix 1. The selected texts were analysed and encoded with help of a quantitative content analysis tool. Only exception to this was a part of the texts in the Dutch news magazine *Elsevier*. Due to large amount of texts (approximately 800) and time economic reasons, only every fourth text in *Elsevier* was analysed. Narrowing down the amount of analysed texts in this case was also done in order to keep the text body of texts in this magazine more

[23] To create a classification system that would cover the greatest number of identity categories used in the magazine texts, the research material was read tentatively, marking down the identity types used in the texts. This tentative analysis, combined with theoretical ponderings, lead to a classification employing 20 identity categories, one of them being the option 'other identity', which allowed other identities outside the 19 categories to arise as well. Further details about the coding tool are in Appendix 1.

comparable to the body of texts in its Finnish equivalent *Suomen Kuvalehti*. Before this decision was made, I first carefully checked that the material included in the analysis and the material left out did not differ from each other in any significant way.

To answer the questions quantitatively, a set of sub-questions (=quantitative analysis tool) was applied to all the selected research material. The sub-questions were formed on the basis of theoretical viewpoints discussed earlier (especially sections 2.4–2.6 on identities), as well as on the basis of a tentative reading of the research material. In this way, the discursive field that concerns the theoretical concepts of subject positions and identities, and media representations and magazine journalism, as well as the discursive fields concerning the issues of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the magazines, were taken into account when the analysis tool was designed. The quantitative analysis tool is also partly derived from the model of d'Haenens and Bink (2006) used to quantitatively analyse the coverage of Muslims and Islam in journalism, as well as the studies of representations of immigrants in Finnish new media (e.g. Raittila & Kutilainen 2000; Raittila 2002). The table on the next page presents the sub-questions and specifies the research question they are aimed at answering. The table also includes an explanation or motivation for each sub-question. The complete list of questions and the coding tool are in Appendix 1.

Table 2: Questions of quantitative content analysis.

Sub-question	Answering to research question(s)	Motivation
1,2,3. Article code, magazine code, date of publication	None	Background information, identification of individual texts
4. Article genre	Research questions cluster 2	Information on the variation in text types in different magazines
5. Immigration/ethnicity mentioned in headline or lead	2c	Information on the prominence of immigration/ethnic issues at headline level
6. Topic of an article	2a, 2c, 3b	Information on the variation and prominence of themes in different magazines and in Finland/NL
7, 8, 9, 10. How many immigrant/ethnic actors are mentioned in the text or acting as speaker, source or writer?	1a, 1d, 2a, (2b), 2c, 3b	Reveals how prominent immigrant/ethnic actors are in the texts and whether they are portrayed as active participants
11, 12, 13. What is the speaker role of the immigrant/ethnic actor? What/Whom is the immigrant/ethnic actor discussing?	1a, 1d, 2a, 3b	Contributes to subject position; shows in which role or status an immigrant/ethnic actor is allowed to appear and talk in a text
14. How many other actors are there in the text acting as speaker, source or writer?	1a, 1d, 2a, 2b, 3b	Reveals whether an immigrant/ethnic actor is represented together with others
15, 16, 17. Who is the other actor representing? What/whom is the actor discussing?	(1a), 1d, (2a), 2b, 3b	Reveals how other actors are allowed to act in texts and in relation to immigrant/ethnic actors; possibly also reveals identification points for readers
18, 19. The origin of ethnic actor	1a, 1d, 2a, 3b	Contributes to subject position (and hierarchy construction); shows in which position an immigrant/ethnic actor of a certain origin is allowed to appear in a text

20, 21. The most prominent and second mentioned identity categorisation of an immigrant/ethnic actor	1a, 1d, 2a, 3b	Contributes to articulation of subject positions. Identity is here understood as in Laclau and Mouffe and as discussed in Chapter 2: it is a category ascribed to a person, a quality of this person as specified in the text, a social or cultural identity. Identity categories are important to the overall subject position articulated.

The research material was coded using the SPSS statistics program, and the results were analysed with the help of the same program. The results of the quantitative content analysis are discussed in Chapter 4 below.

3.3 Tools of qualitative analysis

After the quantitative analysis, some of the texts will be analysed more thoroughly and qualitatively to allow the reader to gain a better understanding of the discourses concerning immigration and ethnic diversity in the magazines and of what kind of subject positions are articulated for different immigrants and ethnic minorities in different magazines in the Finnish and Dutch contexts. The issues that I aim to answer with the qualitative analysis are addressed by the main research question, and the research questions in clusters 1, 2 and 3.

The qualitative analysis is performed on four different pairs of magazines, which form three case studies on the issues. The quantitative analysis of the senior magazines provided a clear indication that there was no point in analysing these magazines as a separate case, since the number of texts was rather small and the texts had a great deal in common with texts in other magazines rather than having a great deal in common with each other. For this reason, *ET* will be analysed together with *Me Naiset* and *Libelle* in section 5.2, and *Plus Magazine* will be analysed and discussed together with *Elsevier* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* in section 5.3. Qualitative analysis will be performed only on parts of the research material selected by various criteria of selection. The amount of analysed texts and the selection criteria used for the texts will be discussed more specifically in each of the case studies.

DTA as a method of qualitative analysis 'can be used for both reanalysing and restructuring theory, and as a proper methodological toolkit to tackle empirical data'

(Carpentier & de Cleen 2007, 280). This is done by translating theoretical concepts of DTA into a usable part of an analysis tool. For the qualitative analysis, I will do this by using the theoretical ideas of DTA on discursive fields, discourse, identity, subject positions and articulation as a starting point, and by combining them with other theoretical concepts proven to be central in the literature review and theoretical deconstruction work in Chapter 2 and initial quantitative analysis in each case. These concepts together form tools that can be put to use in analysing the magazine texts. In the actual analysis, I have for the sake of readability chosen not to repeat the theoretical concepts used constantly as a part of the analysis. However, this does not mean that I did not keep the theoretical concepts in mind when performing the analysis. This approach resulted in three different versions of qualitative analysis that each acknowledges the specific character of each of the magazines in question.

When planning and carrying out the qualitative analysis, I aimed to find the optimal way to analyse each type of magazine, optimal meaning analysing the texts in a way that would in all cases both make use of the theoretical model of DTA and the other theoretical concepts discussed, but also bring forth the aspects of the texts that during the tentative analysis and quantitative analysis appeared to be most meaningful or significant in the magazine in question. Texts in trade union magazines differ in their character from the texts in women's magazines, just as there were differences between the other magazines. For this reason, it did not seem to be the best solution to apply a completely identical analysis to all the different types of magazine, and it would also work against my endeavour to take into account the specific character of each magazine genre in performing the analysis. This choice can be criticised, as it could endanger the comparability of two qualitative analyses performed. However, this choice does justice to the overall quality of the analysis performed. It is functional to carry out an analysis that gets the most out of the material. This cannot be guaranteed when one model of analysis is applied, regardless of the specific character of the material (Alapuro & Arminen, 2004).

I will below start each of the qualitative case studies by further specifying the discursive field that is present in each of the magazines, meaning that I will briefly discuss the magazine's genre, its audience and general issues that the magazine writes about. I will also discuss magazine-specific theoretical viewpoints where necessary. In each of these cases, I first read through the material several times, determining themes and views that appeared regularly. The quantitative analysis also reveals that certain themes on immigration and ethnic diversity appear on a regular basis in each magazine. These are the central themes around which the discourses are articulated that partly fix the floating signifiers immigration and ethnic diversity. I then analyse these discourses by

showing how different elements are brought and articulated together in the texts and fixed in nodal points.

The quantitative analysis also shows how certain categories of immigrants or ethnic minority members are discussed more intensively in each of the magazines than other categories of immigrants or ethnic minority members. There are also certain other elements or additional characteristics that are regularly articulated together with these categories in the texts. These 'archetypes' or typical representatives of immigrants/ethnic minority members and their further articulation function as a basis for the analysis of subject positions in each case.

I call the central tool that I use for the qualitative analysis of the subject positions in the texts '**Subject position tool/analysis**'. To analyse how the identity categories and subject positions are articulated in the texts and what the elements used in them are, close qualitative reading is necessary. Following the theoretical viewpoints on social and other identities (especially Verkuyten 1999, see section 2.5) that were discussed previously, I will seek in the texts for those elements that form identities and carry to the articulation of subject positions in the texts. These elements are, based on theory at least, the following:

Table 3:Subject positions tool.

Necessary elements of social/cultural identity (Verkuyten 1999)	**Theoretical specifications of the elements**	**Elements as articulated in texts**
Social-structural	Categorisations: social roles, (visible) qualities carrying meaning	- Names of people and their identities, speaker and other roles - Meaningful qualities given to people and their identities
Cultural	Behavioural expectations, manifestations and consequences of behaviour, possibilities, restrictions	- Description of behaviour → choice of verbs - Aims and causes of behaviour, consequences → storylines of cause and consequence - Descriptions of possibilities and restrictions of behaviour → what a person/ group can and cannot do according to a text
Categorical knowledge	Other believed qualities of people in a certain social category	- Description of the person's/ group's qualities, how they are combined to social categories and separated from others: what a person/group is believed to be and not to be

These elements will be the focus of the qualitative subject position analysis. To grasp these elements, the idea is not to perform a highly detailed linguistic analysis or to use the tool in a very detailed and systematic way as such, but to read the texts closely and identify the way that they represent people and their identities and how they articulate subject positions, by using this tool as an aid in the analysis. In this analysis, I also take into account and discuss the pictures and photos used in the texts when it is relevant. In this context, relevance meant that there was something special in the photos and pictures used in relation to the articulation in the text. A more systematic analysis of visuals would undoubtedly have benefitted the research, but it had to be left out for reasons of time and economy. For the same reason, and in order to ensure the manageability of the analysis, I do not perform a separate visual analysis of the photos that are discussed as a part of the analysis.

Reader positions. Another aspect of the analysis performed on all the research material is the way in which the texts suggest there might be a relationship between the reader of the text and the immigrant/ethnic minority actor or the object of the text. I am interested in the reader positions that are articulated in the texts for the readers in relation to the immigrant or ethnic actors or related issues and will thoughout the analysis look for such elements in the discourses. I will analyse how readers are addressed and referred to in relation to immigrants and ethnic minority members in texts and how certain choices concerning the texts might have been made to keep the reader in mind. In some cases I will discuss, what kind of encounters the texts are creating between immigrants and ethnic minorities represented and the potential readers of the magazine, and how these encounters carry to an idea of there being a certain kind of symbolic community. These analytic views are loosely connected with the ideas of the implied reader that were discussed in section 2.3 above.

The table summarises the qualitative analysis tools used for the analysis of each magazine, and the analysis of each magazine will be discussed in greater detail below.

Table 4: Research methods used for different magazine genres.

Magazine	Qualitative tools used
Construction trade union magazines *Rakentaja* and *FNV Bouw Magazine*	Discourse analysis, complementary content analysis, subject position analysis of various actors, reader position analysis
Women's magazines *Me Naiset* and *Libelle*, Senior magazine *ET*	Discourse analysis, subject position analysis, reader position analysis
General news magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier* and senior magazine *Plus Magazine*	Discourse analysis making use of concepts of bridging and bonding as requirements presented in the texts towards immigrants and ethnic minorities, subject position analysis, reader position analysis

The qualitative tool kit used for the analysis of the **construction trade union magazines** is a combination of discourse analysis, subject position analysis and reader position analysis. A complementary quantitative content analysis was also performed. In the case of the trade union magazines, the quantitative analysis revealed combinations of the characteristics of the immigrants and ethnic minority members represented in the texts, forming 'typical representatives' of these groups in the texts. For example, in *Rakentaja* one such representative is a foreign worker, often Estonian or Russian. In qualitative analysis, this position is analysed further using the subject position analysis tool specified above. Besides immigrant or ethnic minority actors, various actors from the trade union have a central role in the magazines. Therefore I will also analyse what kind of subject positions are articulated to these other actors in the texts in relation to immigrant or ethnic minority actors.

More clearly than any other magazine discussed in this dissertation, construction trade union magazines are designed to serve the needs of a specific group, namely the construction workers belonging to the unions. In this respect, the magazines have the task of maintaining a restricted community. To analyse more closely how this community is articulated in the magazines and how different actors are positioned in this community, an analysis of reader positions was performed in addition to an analysis of subject positions.

The qualitative analysis of **women's magazines and senior magazine *ET*** specifies the discourses discussing immigration and ethnic diversity. The 'typical representatives' of immigrants and ethnic minority members found in the quantitative content analysis and the subject positions articulated around them in the discourses are also analysed. The analysis specifies how these types are articulated in the texts and what their subject positions are. In these magazines, the position of the immigrant and ethnic actors is very much defined in relation to other groups that are assumedly central to the interests of the readers of the magazines. How these relationships are

articulated in the texts is a central aspect of the analysis, as well as how these relationships are presented to the reader (analysis of reader positions).

Lastly, texts in the **news magazines and senior magazine *Plus Magazine*** are analysed using a specific discourse analysis that makes uses of theoretical idea of bonding and bridging (Putnam 2001). During the tentative reading, the news magazines seemed to be making strong claims on the rights and duties of various immigrant and ethnic groups residing in the country in question. In this connection, immigrants and ethnic minority members were clearly an object of political debate, and their position was no longer primarily a personal question, but a seemingly political project of organisation of diversity. Therefore it also made sense to develop an analysis tool that could grasp this aspect of the research material. Texts that were making these claims were analysed further qualitatively. Since *Plus Magazine* appeared to discuss immigration and ethnic diversity also mainly from a political point of view, I discuss that magazine as a part of the news magazine analysis as well.

In addition to the subject position analysis of the typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members, bonding and bridging were used as sensitising concepts throughout the analysis of the news magazine texts. They are elements of social capital that in turn are believed to affect the productivity of individuals and groups, similar to knowledge-based human capital and actual physical capital. Social capital 'refers to connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2001, 19). The texts were considered to articulate a demand for

Bonding: generation of trust within 'inward-looking' networks and reinforcing 'exclusive identities and homogeneous groups', or

Bridging: generating trust in 'outward looking' networks that are 'encompassing people across diverse social cleavages' (ibid., 22).

Demands to bond or bridge with certain communities are articulated in the texts, which also express a negative judgment on bonding and/or bridging with other communities. The articulations of bonding and bridging occur in different combinations in the texts. The observed combinations for bonding/bridging and the demands to bond or bridge with certain communities were further analysed as correlating with a certain kind of understanding of an ethnically diverse society, which can be typified as follows (Scholten & Holzhacker 2009, 84–85).

Table 5: Forms of organisation of diversity.

	Bonding within	Bridging
Assimilationism	National community, cultural form of bonding	Demand for individuals in minorities to bridge towards society at large
Multiculturalism	Cultural minority	(Minority) groups with other groups
Universalism	National community, political and economic bonding	Individuals in minorities towards society at large
Differentialism	Cultural minority	No need for bridging: separate groups

In my final discussion of all the magazine discourses and the articulations in them on subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minorities, I analyse how each magazine articulates the ethnically diverse society with the help of this same scheme. This final analysis is discussed in Chapter 6. In the same chapter, I also elaborate further the analyses performed in Chapters 4 and 5 and, lastly, aim at providing answers to the third cluster of research questions.

3.4 A few words on comparative analysis in the following chapters

This research is comparative in many ways. It compares different magazines and magazine genres with each other, as well as the discourses produced in two different societies. Besides these comparative views, there is also an element of time-related comparison in this research, since the research material was collected over a period of four years. Some of the discussion and analysis is brought in relation to the time prior to the publication of the research material; at other times, I seek to connect the material to more recent debates. Time-related comparison is not, however, central to this research.

To make this kind of comparison possible, the most important thing is to understand what is being compared. One needs to know the context of the comparison well to understand, what one is analysing and finding. This means that a great deal of contextual information is needed and needs to be both read and reproduced for the purpose of analysis, also to enable readers of the research to understand what they are reading. I have endeavoured to keep this in mind when performing the analyses and writing about them, and also have done my best to provide sufficient contextual information.

It is now time to move to the actual comparisons. Magazine genres will mainly be compared with each other in each country in Chapter 4, but some comparisons

between the countries will be made in this chapter as well. After that, magazines within the same genre but coming from the two different countries will be compared and discussed qualitatively and more in detail in the case studies in Chapter 5. Lastly, in Chapter 6 the results of various analyses will be summarised and comparisons will be made between magazine genres and countries in question.

4 Quantitative content analysis

The quantitative content analysis compares different magazine genres, mainly within a 'national' selection: the Dutch magazines are compared with each other and Finnish magazines with each other. At some points, Finnish and Dutch magazines will be compared with each other as well. The idea of this content analysis is to give an overview of the texts, their contents and topics, as well as the actors and their qualities in the texts in different magazines and, by doing that, to show the differences between the magazine genres. In this chapter, I will discuss the frequencies of the analysed characteristics (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 for more information on the analysed variables) in each magazine and also the outcomes of some analyses on how certain variables appear together in the texts.[24] The analysis will also function as a starting point for the subsequent qualitative analysis. Therefore I will at the end summarise the elements that are the most typical for immigrants and ethnic minorities represented in each of the magazines and the texts that discuss them.

4.1 The contents of the Dutch magazines

The Dutch material was collected from four magazines: the news magazine *Elsevier*, constructors' trade union magazine *FNV Bouw Magazine* (*Bouw*) , senior magazine *Plus Magazine* (*Plus*) and women's magazine *Libelle*. The material was selected following the criteria described in Appendix 1. Altogether there were 1026 texts included in the Dutch research material. The number of texts that will be analysed here is specified in the table below.

Table 6: Numbers of texts in the Dutch magazines.

	Elsevier	***Bouw***	***Plus***	***Libelle***
Texts	201 (800)	38	28	160

24 I have chosen to show here only the most important frequency tables. Some less relevant frequency tables and all cross-tabulations on interdepency of variables, which are very large in size, cannot be shown here but are discussed when relevant.

The number of texts was by far the highest in *Elsevier*: altogether 800 texts. As has been explained in Chapter 3 and Appendix 1, only one-fourth of those texts are covered by this analysis. *Elsevier* is published every week, unlike *Bouw* and *Plus*, which appear only once a month. *Elsevier* is also a news magazine and very much attached to the daily discussions in the news. The number of texts in *Elsevier* shows that the topics of immigration and integration were very topical in the research period. Except for *Elsevier*, immigration and ethnic diversity were not very common items in the magazines. *Libelle*, which is also a weekly magazine, had on average less than one item on immigration and integration or immigrants and ethnic minorities in each issue. The issues were obviously not the top priority of the magazines.

Headlines and topics

In all the Dutch magazines taken together, immigrants, ethnic minorities and issues related to these groups are mentioned at the headline level in little less than half of the texts (46.8%). This indicates that the issues are often discussed together with other issues and regularly are side topics in texts, or alternatively, that even when these issues are the main topic of a text, they are not necessarily mentioned in the headline or lead. For example, columns often seemed to use this kind of headlining technique. The magazines vary in this, however, and while the issues are mentioned in the headline in two-thirds of the texts (especially reports) in *Bouw*, in *Plus* this only happens in one-fifth of the texts. The main topics in the texts in general (so not only in the headlines) are specified in the following table (percentages of texts that have a certain topic in each magazine[25]).

[25] In the tables, I have marked in bold those percentages that are the most relevant and will be discussed further in the dissertation.

Table 7: Topics in the Dutch magazines.

	Elsevier **(% / 201 texts)**	***Bouw*** **(% / 38 texts)**	***Plus*** **(% / 28 texts)**	***Libelle*** **(% / 160 texts)**
Immigration/ diversity topic mentioned in headline	**44.8**	**65.8**	**21.4**	**49.4**
Topic	***Elsevier*** **(% / 201)**	***Bouw*** **(% / 38)**	***Plus*** **(% / 28)**	***Libelle*** **(% / 160)**
Immigration policy	4.0			
Integration policy	2.5			0.6
Asylum seeking/ Refuge	5.0		3.6	1.9
Illegal migration	5.0			0.6
Labour migration	5.0	**10.5**		0.6
Family migration	1.5			2.5
Integration	6.0		3.6	8.8
Social issues of immigrants	**9.5**	**7.9**	7.1	1.3
Islam	**10.0**	2.6		1.9
Other religions	0.5			1.3
Human rights	1.5		3.6	
Multicultural society	5.0		**42.9**	7.5
Attitudes	1.5	5.3		
Media	4.5			0.6
Immigrants in business and art	2.0		3.6	4.4
Successful migrants		2.6		1.9
Ethnic cultures	1.5			2.5
Other	**10.0**	5.3	3.6	**10.6**
Immigration history	0.5	5.3		**11.3**
Family life	2.0		3.6	**15.6**
Working life	1.5	**23.7**		5.6

Home and cooking			3.6	
Lifestyle	1.5		7.1	3.1
Personal portrait	0.5			**14.4**
Societal problems	**18.4**	2.6	**17.9**	3.1
Labour conditions		**21.1**		
Labour crimes	0.5			
Labour unions		**13.2**		
Legislation	0.5			

As the table shows, the topics in the magazines vary greatly. The table also makes clear that the magazines differ from each other in terms of topics: they are all specialised to cover certain kinds of issues. The news magazine *Elsevier* and women's magazine *Libelle* were the most versatile in their topics, which is due to their genre as magazines covering general issues.

In ***Elsevier***, the most common topics in the texts were general societal problems and Islam. Under general societal problems, for example, primary education and schools, safety on the streets, criminality and housing were discussed. All these issues concern all of society, but in the texts they were in most cases strongly brought into connection with ethnic minority groups. In relation to housing, for example, it is discussed how certain city centres were being populated by more and more people belonging to ethnic minority groups, while the 'original Dutch' population was moving out of the city centre.

Social issues that are specific to ethnic minorities were discussed as well. These texts concern topics such as (Islamic) boarding schools for certain ethnic groups or specific healthcare issues that some ethnic minority members have. Also criminality is included in this category – when it concerns ethnic minorities only. The category 'other', at 10%, was also common as a topic: this category includes texts mostly on politics and terrorism (in specific, the actions of politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the murder of Theo van Gogh and actions of Mohammed Bouyari, who murdered van Gogh). When the categories are combined, different forms of immigration (asylum seeking and refuge, claimed illegal migration, labour- and family-related migration) also become a prominent theme, at a total of 16.5%. The general trend in these topics is to discuss limitations and control of immigration, especially the migration of poor and uneducated family members of previous immigrants, and how to enhance integration through various policies.

Also ***Plus*** discussed general societal problems, especially in relation to housing. The focus was on old neighbourhoods in which the demographics are changing, as well as the question of what should be done about the change. The most popular theme, however, was the multicultural society (42.9%: 12 texts in total). Texts on this topic focus on the changed atmosphere in the Netherlands that the authors felt had become more hostile and which did not seem to recognise the 'traditional' Dutch values and norms. The question of 'how to live together in the changed situation' is central, and various people give their opinions on it in these texts.

Not surprisingly, in ***Bouw***, issues that are closely related to the work of the trade union were discussed. The topics that the magazine tackled were various work-related issues, labour conditions, labour union activities and labour migration. Most typically, it was discussed how the arrival of foreign workers would affect the construction sector. This topic was often related to the (illegal or suspicious) working conditions under which the foreign workers were employed and how the union was organising activities to come into contact with the foreign workers and recruit them as union members. Another issue was the situation of immigrants (refugees) and ethnic minority members in the Netherlands in the construction sector, especially their educational backgrounds and difficulty finding and keeping jobs (under social issues, 7.9%). This topic, however, was more seldom than the issue of the foreign workforce. The construction sector is not a popular work environment for ethnic minorities, as only some 2.2% of the employees in construction sector were *allochtoon* in 2003 (Blomsma 2003, 58), and this also shows in the topics of the texts.

In ***Libelle***, a common topic was immigration histories of ordinary people, and if this topic is combined with 'success stories' of minority members in business and the arts and other successful immigrants, then personal immigration histories and their results are highly central in this magazine (17.6%). The first category introduces personal life stories with a focus on the 'how and when' the person arrived in the Netherlands. In success stories, however, the focus is more on personal achievements and on what the person has provided the Netherlands with rather than simply an immigration history. Personal interviews of well known and less well known people with an immigrant or minority background are also popular in the magazine. In personal interviews, the topic could be anything: most of the time in these interviews, several topics are discussed, and the purpose is to reflect the personal views and personality of the interviewee.

In *Libelle*, as in other Dutch magazines, the multicultural society and the integration of certain groups was discussed as well: taken together, the topics of integration, social problems of ethnic groups, multicultural society and societal problems account for 20.7% of the texts. Lastly, especially family relationships of various kinds were covered

under family-related issues, for example the relationship between mother and daughter. Besides these topics, various topics were dealt with in the 'other' category (10.6), for example growing up as a woman, memories of a reader of the magazine, eating disorders, charity, general politics and the like.

Actors in the texts

By analysing the actors in the texts, I wanted to gain information on the positions that immigrant and ethnic actors, and other actors present in the texts, were offered. In the content analysis, I looked at whether immigrants and ethnic minorities appeared in the texts as individuals or as unspecified groups and whether they were quoted or not. The table below shows, first, how many immigrant or ethnic minority actors were presented or discussed in the individual texts, and, second, in how many texts they were quoted.

Table 8: Immigrant and ethnic actors represented and quoted in the Dutch magazines.

	***Elsevier* (%)**		***Bouw***		***Plus***		***Libelle***	
Number of immigrant actors in texts	Present	Quoted	Present	Quoted	Present	Quoted	Present	Quote
One actor	14.9	5.5	5.3	10.5	**21.4**	**25.0**	**31.3**	**39.4**
Two actors	2.5	2.5	2.6	13.2	0	0	12.5	3.1
Three or more	7.5	5.0	18.4	7.9	25.0	7.1	25.6	5.6
Not specified	**75.1**	0	**73.7**	0	**53.6**	0	**30.6**	0
None		**87.1**		**68.4**		**67.9**		**51.9**

When looking at the numbers as a whole, it seems that – as in newspapers – immigrants and ethnic minorities are not active actors in the magazine texts. They are most often referred to as a large group of unspecified people: 'immigrants' or *allochtoon* (56.9% of all texts). Individuals are generally not presented, quoted (71.0% of all texts) or paraphrased (80.3%) in the texts. However, when the magazines are considered separately, some differences appear. The magazine silencing the immigrant and ethnic actors the most is the news magazine ***Elsevier*** (in 75.1% of the texts, these actors are discussed as a general group or category and 87.1% of texts do not quote immigrant or ethnic actors), followed by ***Bouw***.

The popular magazines ***Plus*** and ***Libelle*** show a somewhat more personal approach to immigrant and ethnic actors. In *Plus*, these actors are discussed as individuals in 46.4% of the texts and they are quoted in one-fourth of the texts. *Libelle* leaves the immigrant or ethnic actors without an individual character in less than one-third of the texts and quotes immigrant and ethnic actors in almost half of the texts. *Libelle* is also the only magazine that has a regular columnist belonging to an ethnic minority, and a visiting columnist with an ethnic minority background wrote in the magazine a few times as well. Every now and then, letters from readers were also written by people with an ethnic background. Immigrants and ethnic minority members appeared as writers in 22 texts in *Libelle* (13.8.%), followed by *Plus* (7.1%) and *Bouw* (2.6%). In *Elsevier*, there were no texts written by someone with an ethnic minority background.

The way that immigrants and ethnic minorities were given faces and voice in the magazines was also related to the most common text types in each magazine. In the magazines in which interviews were more commonly used, the actors were also allowed to speak more often. Paraphrasing immigrants or ethnic minorities was not very common in the magazines taken together, but *Bouw* and *Elsevier* used it more often than the other two magazines. This seems to be due to the text types used, since paraphrasing is a technique used especially in news texts and reports.

Actors other than ethnic minority members or immigrants are present in most of the texts, in about 90% of the texts in all magazines except *Libelle* (other actors appear in 63.7% of texts). This means that, in most of the texts, immigrant or ethnic actors did not appear alone, but in addition to other actors. An analysis of the dependence on quoting of ethnic and other actors in each text shows that often, however, only one of the parties is allowed to speak directly in a text. Most of the time, immigrant and ethnic actors are spoken about by others (64% of all texts), and, in other cases, immigrant and ethnic actors are interviewed as individuals without other actors appearing in the text (10.5% of all texts).

Also the roles in which people are represented, acting, speaking or being interviewed in the texts reveal something about the subject position that they are offered in the texts. The table below specifies the speaker/actor roles of the immigrant and ethnic actors, as well as the roles of other actors that were present in the texts. The percentages shown for immigrant and other actors do not refer to same individual texts, but to the occurrence of certain representative speaker or actor roles within the whole selection of texts in each magazine.

Table 9: Speaker/actor roles of immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Dutch magazines.

	***Elsevier* (%)**		***Bouw***		***Plus***		***Libelle***	
Speaking/acting in the role of /representing	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Her/himself	9.0	2.5	2.6				**22.5**	6.3
Family of friends	0.5	1.5			7.1	7.1	**13.8**	**12.5**
Specific immigrant or ethnic group	**31.8**		**52.6**		**21.4**		**15.0**	
Immigrants in general	**32.8**		**23.7**		**32.1**		9.4	
Immigrant or ethnic organisation	2.0						3.8	
Other NGO		3.5	5.3	**57.9**	3.6		4.4	1.9
Work organisation/ Employer	2.5	0.5	**15.8**	**13.2**	3.6		**12.5**	5.0
Civic action	0.5				3.6	7.1	0.6	
Politician	6.0	**14.9**				3.6	4.4	4.4
Officials	0.5	**19.9**		5.3			0.6	1.3
Media	0.5	**17.9**		5.3		**25.0**	0.6	9.4
Research	0.5	**10.9**				10.7	0.6	
Religious institution	4.5	0.5			3.6		1.3	1.3
Reader		6.5		2.6	3.6	**21.4**	5.6	**13.1**
Other	9.0	1.5		2.6	**21.4**	10.7	5.0	5.6
Not applicable		9.0		7.9		10.7		**34.4**
Various		**10.9**		5.3		3.6		5.0

In all magazines except *Libelle*, immigrant or ethnic actors are most often introduced to the reader as a member of a certain immigrant or ethnic group ('Moroccans') or as a member of a general category such as 'immigrants' or *allochtoon*; in *Libelle* they are most often introduced as individuals speaking on their own behalf. Even in *Libelle*, special ethnic and immigrant groups and groups in general are discussed. Generally, it can be stated that when immigrant or ethnic actors are introduced in the texts as members of certain ethnic or immigrant groups or as belonging to general immigrant/ethnic collectives, they are most unlike to say anything. Analysis of the roles of ethnic actors in texts and whether they are quoted shows this is true in 69% of the texts in the case

of specific immigrant/ethnic groups (e.g. 'Moroccans') and in 95% of the texts in the case of the general category of 'immigrants'.

Table 10: Persons discussed by immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Dutch magazines.

	***Elsevier* (%)**		***Bouw***		***Plus***		***Libelle***	
Whom is the actor talking about	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Her/himself	**16.4**	2.0	23.7	2.6	**21.4**	10.7	**41.9**	**16.9**
Family members	0.5				3.6	7.1	**8.1**	**16.3**
Own ethnic group	4.5		2.6		7.1		2.5	
Other ethnic group	0.5	1.0		5.3		3.6		
Immigrants in general	1.0	**13.9**		10.5			1.3	2.5
Organisation	0.5	1.5	2.6	7.9			0.6	1.3
Employer	0.5	1.0						
Civic/interest group		2.0				3.6	0.6	1.3
Politicians	0.5	7.0				3.6		0.6
Officials	0.5	1.0						
Media	0.5	0.5						
Religious authorities	2.5	4.5						
Native Dutch	1.0	4.0		2.6	10.7	**21.4**	2.5	1.9
Not applicable/not talking	**69.2**	10.4	**68.4**	10.5	**53.6**	10.7	**36.3**	**35.6**
Other	2.0	6.0	2.6	5.3	3.6	**14.3**	6.3	2.5
The primary ethnic actor of the text		9.0		10.5		7.1		8.8
A specific group of immigrants		**25.4**		**31.6**		10.7		1.9
Various		10.9		**13.2**		7.1		10.6

Next to the speaker/actor roles (table 9), I also analysed which persons and topics each of the actors spoke or commented on in a text. The tables 10 and 11 show how often immigrant and ethnic actors, as well as other actors, discussed certain people or topics. Below I will discuss the results displayed in these three tables.

Table 11: Issues discussed by immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Dutch magazines.

	Elsevier (%)		*Bouw*		*Plus*		*Libelle*	
What is the actor talking about	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Personal matters	**8.5**	2.0	7.9		3.6	10.7	**36.3**	**21.9**
Personal matters of others	0.5	1.5				3.6	6.3	**10.0**
Interest or hobby	0.5	0.5			**10.7**	7.1	0.6	0.6
Work and business	3.0	2.5	**15.8**	**18.4**	3.6		4.4	3.8
Attitudes		4.0	2.6	13.2	**10.7**	**25.0**	1.9	2.5
Immigration	0.5	**10.0**		5.3				
Integration	2.5	**9.5**		5.3			3.8	4.4
Residence right		8.5			3.6	3.6		3.1
Other societal issues	2.5	**25.4**	5.3	13.2	3.6	**21.4**	3.8	9.4
Politics and policies	1.0	5.5			3.6	7.1		2.5
Religion	**6.5**	7.0					2.5	1.3
New home country	1.0	1.0						
Old home country		0.5					0.6	
Not applicable/not talking	**68.7**	**10.4**	**68.4**	10.5	**53.6**	14.3	**36.9**	**35.6**
Other	5.0	**9.5**		**18.4**	7.1	7.1	3.1	5.0
Illegal practices at work, control		2.5		**15.8**				

An analysis of speaker roles and speaker issues in all the texts shows that if a person is introduced as a member of a specific immigrant or ethnic group, she/he discusses personal issues in 22% of the texts, whereas a person introduced in a general immigrant position does so in only 1% of such cases. When the immigrant or ethnic actors are introduced as individuals, they are most likely to discuss themselves and their personal issues: in 78% of the cases in which immigrants are introduced as individuals, they discuss themselves, and in 69% they discuss personal issues.

In general, it seems that, in ***Elsevier***, immigrants and ethnic minorities were talked about but did not talk themselves. The immigrant or ethnic actors were most often introduced as members of certain immigrant groups or general immigrant and ethnic categories. In the rare cases in which the ethnic actors were heard from in person, they talked about themselves, their personal lives, issues and religion. Other actors in turn represented various officials, media (columnists and other journalists), politicians and researchers, or a combination of various actors in one text. This composition of actors is very familiar from newspapers and news journalism, as previous research has shown (see section 1.3). These other actors discussed special immigrant or ethnic or general immigrant or ethnic groups such as the *allochtoon*. The issues discussed were general social issues, immigration and integration (19.5 %), other issues (especially politics), residence rights or various immigrants. Analysis of the speakers in the texts and the issues that were discussed revealed that, in the texts covering these issues, immigrant and ethnic actors themselves were typically not heard. The most common topic on which both immigrant/ethnic actors and other actors presented their views in one text was religion. (There were six such texts.)

In ***Plus,*** the immigrant or ethnic actors represented in the texts were most often specific ethnic groups or general immigrant categories. They were also often (school-going) children (the category of 'other', 21.4%). When the ethnic actors were quoted or paraphrased, they talked about themselves, their hobbies and general attitudes in society. Actors other than immigrant or ethnic actors were present in almost all the texts. They represented media, as many of the texts talking about immigrants and ethnic minorities were columns written by journalists and readers of the magazine writing about ethnic minorities. The other actors most commonly talked about the inhabitants of the Netherlands, general societal attitudes and societal issues. An analysis of speakers and issues revealed that immigrant and ethnic actors were most commonly silent in the texts where other actors discussed their issues. This reflects the topics discussed in *Plus* in general: the most common topic was the tense mood of the nation that was said to have to do with the problems connected with ethnic diversity and, with that, also with ethnic minorities. Typically, various people gave their views on the issue in one text.

Bouw very much concentrated on the groups that are most relevant from the perspective of the magazine and its readers. Besides introducing certain groups of immigrants (often as 'foreign construction workers'), the immigrant or ethnic actors are also introduced as workers or professionals. When quoted or paraphrased, these actors talk about themselves and about work. The other actors in the texts represented the construction union or employers, and these actors most often discussed a specific immigrant group, but mostly meant the foreign construction workers (31.6% of the

texts) or various other actors. The issues discussed were work-related issues and 'other' issues related to the actions of the trade union (e.g. meetings, training and recruitment of new members). An analysis of speakers and issues shows that, in *Bouw*, representatives of the union typically discussed immigrant workers and issues of the trade union, while the immigrant and ethnic actors themselves were silent. In another type of case, an ethnic actor and another actor discussed the situation of an ethnic actor together.

Also when it comes to actors, ***Libelle*** differs from the other magazines. Immigrant and ethnic actors were quoted most often in *Libelle*. In the texts, they are introduced as individuals or as members of families, professionals and members of immigrant or ethnic groups. These immigrant or ethnic actors talk about themselves and personal issues. Other actors are lacking in one-third of the texts: other actors represent family members of the immigrant or ethnic actors and readers of the magazine (typically close acquaintances or family of immigrant or ethnic actors), and they discuss themselves and their family, personal matters related to themselves or others and sometimes general societal issues.

An analysis of the actors and issues discussed shows that often in the texts, when an immigrant or ethnic actor discusses her/himself and personal issues, other actors are not heard. This again points to the fact that there are many personal, one-voice interviews of immigrant and ethnic actors in *Libelle*. In the texts where other actors discuss their family members, immigrant and ethnic actors are silent. This means that individuals with an immigrant or ethnic background are also regularly discussed by their closest ones without themselves being heard. However, there are also cases in which the immigrant or ethnic actor is discussed by her/himself and other actors. *Libelle* also has texts in which ethnic minorities in general are discussed without them being interviewed themselves.

How are the immigrant and ethnic actors identified?

The origins of the immigrant or ethnic actors mentioned in the texts were also analysed, as well as the identity categories discussed in each text, in order to analyse in a quantitative form what kind of identity categorisations[26] were used in the magazine texts.

26 Identity categorisations are those identity markers that are ascribed to an immigrant or ethnic actor in a text, for example by discussing them as doctors, mothers, Moroccans or such. See also the coding instructions in Appendix 1.

Table 12: Origins of immigrant and ethnic actors in the Dutch magazines.

Origin of immigrant/ ethnic actor in	*Elsevier* (%)	*Bouw*	*Plus*	*Libelle*
Turkish	3.5	5.3		6.9
Moroccan	**12.4**	5.3	**10.7**	6.9
Antillean or Aruban	0.5		3.6	1.3
Surinamese	0.5		**14.3**	6.3
Indonesian or Chinese	2.0			3.1
Other Asian				3.1
Polish	1.5	**23.7**		1.3
Other East European	1.5	**18.4**	3.6	5.0
West/North/ South European	0.5	2.6		5.6
North/South American/ Australian/ Oceanian		2.6	3.6	6.3
Muslim	**16.9**	5.3	7.1	5.6
Arabic/Middle East/North African	2.5	2.6	3.6	5.6
Other African	7.0			**9.4**
Immigrant categories/out of which *allochtoon*[27]	**34.8/21.4**	**15.8/7.9**	**21.4/10.7**	**15.6/10.0**
Immigrant generations[28]	3.5		3.6	4.4
Various	11.9	13.2	**21.4**	**11.9**
Unknown	1.0	5.3	7.1	1.9

The magazines vary in the origins of the immigrant and ethnic actors presented in the magazine texts. All the magazines discussed the category of *allochtoon* to some extent, *Elsevier* the most and *Bouw* the least. Also, there were texts in all the magazines that

[27] This is coded as an origin, if no real origin except being immigrant or *allochtoon* had been specified.

[28] This points to people who are described in the text as first- or second-generation immigrants without specifying the country of origin.

discussed immigrants or ethnic minorities with different origins in one text: *Plus* was the magazine that had the most texts of this type. In ***Plus***, the group of origin discussed the most was Surinamese (14.3%). In ***Bouw***, the most discussed group was people of Polish or other Eastern European origin. This is not surprising, since the highest number of foreign workers comes to the Netherlands from Eastern Europe. Minorities living in the Netherlands were discussed to lesser extent in *Bouw* (e.g. *allochtoon* in 7.9% of the texts).

In ***Elsevier***, immigrant or ethnic actors were most often mentioned as having a Muslim or Moroccan origin. Interestingly, people of Turkish origin, who form the biggest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands, were discussed much less. Often, however, Turks and Moroccans were mentioned in a text together, in which case the origin of the people is encoded as 'various' (these texts make up 11.9% of all the texts in *Elsevier*). Both Turks and Moroccans were also often mentioned in texts that discussed *allochtoon* or Muslims in general. In these texts, it is more the rule than an exception to discuss issues of Dutch society by pointing out that *Turken en Marokkanen* are the two minority groups that cause various kinds of problems. However, it seems that Moroccans more often than Turks are mentioned as the only group in a text. Generally speaking, they are not mentioned specifically in a positive sense – most texts that emphasise Moroccans as a group discuss problems that the group is said to have or to cause, for example the ill behaviour of Moroccan youth. In this light, it could be concluded that Moroccans as a group were evaluated more negatively in *Elsevier* than the Turks.

Libelle handled various immigrant and ethnic groups in a very balanced way: all the biggest minority groups received an equal share of attention. The magazine also discussed a wider variety of origins than the other magazines. Besides *allochtoon* (10%) and people with various origins in one text (11.9%), Africa was also a common place of origin (9.6%), but this is due to the fact that politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Somali in origin, was discussed in the magazine on regular basis. The balance in discussing people with various origins raises the question of whether it could be an official policy of the magazine to represent a great variety of people of different origins.

Table 13: Identity categorisations of immigrant and ethnic actors in the Dutch magazines.

	***Elsevier* (%)**		***Bouw***		***Plus***		***Libelle***	
Identity represented or discussed	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2
Individual								1.3
Family related	3.0	4.0			3.6	**14.3**	**21.9**	**16.3**
Friend	1.0						1.3	1.3
Organisational	0.5	1.5	2.6			7.1	2.5	1.3
Professional	8.5	**10.4**	**15.8**	**52.6**	**10.7**	7.1	**16.9**	9.4
Student	1.0	3.0	2.6	**13.2**	7.1	7.1	1.9	2.5
Citizen		4.0				7.1	0.6	2.5
Activist	3.5	5.5			3.6		3.1	1.9
Consumer		1.5						1.3
Unemployed	0.5	9.5		5.3		3.6		1.3
Gender	1.5	5.5	2.6	2.6	3.6		6.3	6.3
Religious identity	**16.4**	6.5	2.6		**10.7**	3.6	6.9	5.6
Life style	1.5	2.0			7.1	**10.7**	1.9	2.5
Ethnicity	5.5	2.5	7.9	2.6	**10.7**	7.1	5.0	**11.9**
Immigrant	**14.4**	5.5	**21.1**	**13.2**	**10.7**		**11.3**	**15.0**
Refugee	7.0	1.0	10.5		7.1		8.8	3.1
Allochtoon	**30.8**	**14.9**	15.8	5.3	**17.9**	**21.4**	10.0	7.5
Reader							0.6	0.6
Other	5.0	**17.9**	**18.4**	5.3	7.1	3.6	1.3	8.8
No other		5.0				3.6		
Various						3.6		

All in all, the identity categories that are in the Dutch magazines ascribed to the immigrant or ethnic actors the most, are *allochtoon*, immigrant, profession and religion. The identities being ascribed to people vary a little by magazine. In ***Plus***, the most common identity category is *allochtoon*, followed by the profession, religion, ethnicity and immigrant. As a second identity category mentioned in the texts, *allochtoon*, family and lifestyle appear the most. In ***Bouw***, the most common identity category ascribed to a person is immigrant (foreigner), followed by professional and *allochtoon* identities. Other identity categorisation that is often used in the texts is 'illegal worker' (the largest number of texts within the 'other' category, 18.4%). In more than half of the texts, the second identity categorisation given to a person is professional. This is especially the case for Polish and Eastern European workers.

Similarly, being categorised as *allochtoon* is common in ***Elsevier***, with religion and immigrant also common identity categories mentioned. As a second identity category, the identities of profession and 'other' appear regularly: under this 'other identity',

people are most often identified as criminals (at least 19 cases out of the total of 34 texts). Typically, people of *allochtoon* origin are not characterised further with any other identity categorisations. An analysis of the appearance of certain origins together with first and second identity categorisation shows that Muslims by origin are most commonly categorised only as being Muslims. As a second identity category for Muslim actors, gender is prominent. Typically in these texts, the position of Muslim women within their group and in the society is discussed. In one text, Moroccans were often categorised further as being *allochtoon*. In most cases where 'other identity' was encoded as the second or first identity categorisation for Moroccans, the texts discussed criminal or other illegal behaviour of the group (12 cases in 16 texts). In texts where people were identified as being *allochtoon* or immigrant, the second identity category they were ascribed to was often unemployed or another user of social benefits (19 such texts).

Again, ***Libelle*** was unique among all the magazines in that the most common identity categories ascribed to a person were family membership and profession, and only after these categories came the immigrant, *allochtoon* and refugee identity categories. As a second identity category, family was also prominent, especially for the actors of Surinamese origin. Ethnicity and being immigrant were also common as second identifications. Furthermore, it can be seen from an analysis of the appearance of first and second identity categorisations that actors of *allochtoon* origin were mainly identified only with this category; the same applied to refugees and Muslims. Second-generation immigrants were the ones most identified with a professional identity.

Summary:Typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members in the Dutch magazines

On the basis of the quantitative analysis, it can be said that all the magazines analysed had a magazine-specific way of portraying and discussing immigrants and ethnic minorities. By combining the results of the analysis of different variables, it is possible to characterise a 'typical representative' of an immigrant or ethnic actor in each of the magazines discussed. These typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members seem to offer answers to the focus of the magazine and the interests of the target reader group, and they apparently represent the types of people and topics that are relevant to the magazine and its readers.

In ***Elsevier***, the typical representative of immigrants and ethnic minorities was the voiceless group of *allochtoon* people. Their situation was discussed and evaluated by other actors such as politicians, officials and the media, and the focus was on general

societal issues that strongly connect to the group or specific social issues concerning the group. The group itself spoke in the texts only seldom. Most often these people were originally from Morocco or were said in the text to have a Muslim background. They were characterised by *allochtoon* and religious identities, and the issues discussed were often brought in connection with problems that belonging to these particular identity categories was believed to cause on societal level. One of the identity categorisations in *Elsevier* claimed to result from the fact that the person was *allochtoon*, was being unemployed or making use of social services. Another common approach was to discuss criminality that these groups, especially Moroccans, were (said to be) involved in. A second variant of this typical representative was the voiceless group of immigrants that would like to come to the Netherlands for various reasons: typically to work or to live together with family members. Also these people were discussed in relation to various problems, especially with integration, and they were regularly identified as users of social benefits in the Dutch welfare system.

The typical representative of an immigrant or ethnic minority member in ***Plus*** is not easy to define, since there actually does not seem to be one. Most commonly, however, people were defined as *allochtoon* and discussed as part of the multicultural society and changed atmosphere, or they were taking part in discussion of this topic. In a way, this divides the people belonging to ethnic minorities into two groups. The expert *allochtoon*, who are members of minority groups but have gained some kind of position in society, for example due to their scholarly expertise, discussed the multicultural society and its problems next to native Dutch. The non-expert *allochtoon* were talked about and seen to form part of the national crisis of multiculturalism. In addition, people regularly discussed those immigrants and ethnic minority members they had somehow helped.

In **Bouw**, the typical representative of an immigrant was a Polish or Eastern European construction worker (male). In the texts, the workers did not speak themselves, but were discussed by the trade union. These people were characterised as immigrants and professionals. They were also regularly discussed as working illegally or under suspicious conditions, and they were seen as a threat to the normal functioning of the construction sector. Another typical representative was a refugee or an *allochtoon* person who found difficult conditions in the construction sector in terms of education, finding a job or keeping one.

Libelle's typical representative of an immigrant or ethnic minority member was an individual, who was interviewed and telling about his or her (mostly her) life and personal experiences. They were most typically identified as being family of someone, as professionals or by belonging to certain ethnic groups. In the case of *Libelle*, the typical representative did not typically come from a certain place or have a certain

origin, since people of different origins were discussed equally often. Sometimes she or he was referred to only as an *allochtoon* person, an immigrant or a refugee. *Libelle* also discussed the multicultural society and integration issues of various ethnic groups: in these stories, people are not always heard in person, but are discussed by others.

4.2 The contents of the Finnish magazines

In total, there were 327 texts found in four Finnish magazines – the news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*, the construction trade union magazine *Rakentaja*, the seniors' magazine *ET* and the women's magazine *Me Naiset* – that discussed immigrants, immigration or related issues in the period of 2003−2006. The numbers of texts in the different magazines were as follows.

Table 14: The numbers of texts in the Finnish magazines.

	Suomen Kuvalehti	***Rakentaja***	***ET***	***Me Naiset***
Texts	100	127	16	84

The magazine writing the most about immigration was the construction trade union magazine ***Rakentaja***. This tells us about the topicality of the issue to the sector. In the other magazines, especially the weekly magazines ***Suomen Kuvalehti*** and ***Me Naiset***, articles on the issue were scarce. The same holds for ***ET***: the largest number of articles on immigrants or immigration was published in 2005, when the magazine published a series of interviews representing people who had immigrated to Finland. In the other years, there were only one or two articles per year covering immigrants or immigration in some form. Generally, immigrants are not a very visible minority in Finnish magazine journalism. In comparison to Dutch magazines, the Dutch senior and women's magazines wrote about the issues approximately twice as often as the Finnish magazines. *Elsevier* covered the issues of immigration and integration eight times as often as *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Rakentaja* wrote three times as often as *Bouw*.

Headlines and topics

In the Finnish magazines, immigration and immigrants are mentioned at the headline level in 44.3% of the texts. Similarly to the Dutch texts, it seems that the issues are often discussed as a side topic of another issue or that the headlines simply do not

mention the issue. Both arguments are valid. In the material, immigration indeed often appears as a side topic, sometimes as an important one, but in many cases also just as a detail that is mentioned in a text. Besides this, texts with headlines without a mention of immigration are commonly used, probably due to the character of the magazines and the texts themselves. Often it is the headline that persuades a reader to read a text, so they are designed to be as intriguing as possible, not revealing everything to readers so that they would read the text. Most often the headlines reveal immigration as a topic in news and reports and in texts in *Rakentaja*, and least in texts in *Me Naiset*.

Table 15: Topics in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (% / 100 texts)**	***Rakentaja* (% / 127 texts)**	***ET* (% / 16 texts)**	***Me Naiset* (% / 84 texts)**
Immigration/ diversity topic mentioned in headline	**35.0**	**62.2**	**50.0**	**27.4**
Topic	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (% / 100)**	***Rakentaja* (% / 127)**	***ET* (% / 16)**	***Me Naiset* (% / 84)**
Immigration policy	1.0	0.8		
Integration policy	1.0	1.6		
Asylum seeking, refuge	**12.0**			1.2
Illegal migration	3.0			
Labour migration	8.0	**16.5**		
Family migration	2.0			6.0
Integration	6.0			4.8
Social issues of immigrants	7.0	0.8		
Islam	5.0			2.4
Other religions	3.0		6.3	1.2
Human rights	5.0			
Multicultural society	5.0	0.8		1.2

Attitudes	7.0	0.8		1.2
Media	6.0		6.3	
Immigrants in business and art	**17.0**	0.8	6.3	**10.7**
Successful immigrants	4.0			8.3
Ethnic cultures	4.0		**12.5**	6.0
Other	4.0	4.7	6.3	6.0
Immigration history		1.6	**43.8**	6.0
Family life			**18.8**	**10.7**
Working life		1.6		6.0
Home and cooking				6.0
Lifestyle				7.1
Personal portrait		1.6		**15.5**
Societal problems		0.8		
Labour conditions		**28.3**		
Labour crimes		8.7		
Labour unions		**20.5**		
Legislation		7.9		
EU		2.4		

Also the Finnish magazines each cover their own genre-specific topics. *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Me Naiset* have a wide range of topics, as general issue magazines, and also *Rakentaja* has articles on various topics, although it clearly concentrates on a few issues.

In ***Suomen Kuvalehti***, the most popular topic was to tell the story of immigrants who are contributing to Finnish business or culture. Besides these people, also immigrants who are successful or have received awards are presented (together, these two topics form 21% of all texts). The difference between the two groups is that one of them presents people who are either well known or otherwise making a remarkable contribution to the cultural or business life in Finland, whereas the second group presents 'regular' immigrants who are doing well in life in general. Furthermore, the topics in *Suomen Kuvalehti* were quite scattered, and many topics were dealt with only occasionally. This probably has to do with the fact that, during the years of analysis, immigration was not yet an issue that was very much discussed in the media in general:

the topic only appeared in the news when something special happened. *Suomen Kuvalehti* generally discusses the issues presented in the news, so perhaps that is why no single issue receives a great deal of attention unless it has received attention in the news.

By combining different related topic categories, however, it is possible to form an overall idea of what the topics in *Suomen Kuvalehti* are. When combining different forms of immigration (asylum and refuge, illegal, labour and family-related) migration appears as an important topic (25%). This is also an issue regularly discussed in the Finnish news in general. Other combined topic categories are human rights, multiculturalism and attitudes (17%) and integration and social issues of immigrants (13%). As has been noticed in earlier research on news journalism, the Finnish media do not discuss the social issues of immigrants much (Raittila & Kutilainen 2000, 45; Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 15; Simola 2008, 18). It seems to hold true here as well that the Finnish media were inclined to discuss the immigrants possibly coming to Finland rather than the immigrants who had already settled there. This may be due to the relative newness of immigration in Finland, but maybe also is related to media's inability to recognise issues that immigrant groups deal with. All in all the stress in *Suomen Kuvalehti* was very much on the people yet to come, the conditions of their arrival and the attitudes of Finns towards these events more than on the people already living in Finland.

In ***Me Naiset***, the topics discussed also seem rather scattered. Also in this magazine, stories of immigrants who are successful or contribute to business or culture form a substantial share of the texts (19%). Aside from these stories, personal interviews of celebrities and others, stories introducing a person rather than a single topic, are common. As a single topic, family life and relationships is central. Another category of related issues becomes significant when two topics – namely home and lifestyle – are combined. When combined, these two issues form 13.1% of all the *Me Naiset* material analysed. This is not at all surprising, since these kinds of lifestyle topics, taken together, are an important element in women's magazines. All the family life and lifestyle issues present the topics through people, with individuals or groups discussing their relationships, cooking habits or travelling plans in the texts.

In 2005, ***ET*** presented a series of seven immigration histories and, as the number of the texts is otherwise limited (16 in total), this was the most important topic in the magazine during the period analysed. The title of this series is 'In Finland like at home', and the stories tell how and why people moved to Finland and how they were doing in their lives at the time they were interviewed. Other topics that are discussed to some extent are family-related issues, cultural habits and religion. Family-related issues discuss especially grandparenthood in different forms: being a grandparent to an adopted child or a voluntary 'substitute' grandparent for immigrant children. Under

cultural habits, food culture and the celebration of holidays are discussed: typical lifestyle issues in the magazine.

In ***Rakentaja*** the topics discussed most are very much related to the daily functioning of the trade union. The topics covered include labour conditions, labour union activities and labour migration. The topics of labour conditions and labour migration are often intertwined in the texts. The issues are related to the growing amount of foreign labour working on Finnish construction sites, often under conditions that do not comply with all regulations and collective agreements. As a result, the articles discuss how immigration itself, as well as the labour conditions, could be controlled more efficiently. Cases of actual exploitation of foreign workers are also discussed, as well as actions taken by the labour union to achieve better control. Besides this kind of union action, the activities that the union organises for its foreign-born members are also presented in the magazine.

Actors in the texts

The presence of immigrant, ethnic and other actors and whether or not they were quoted was analysed in the content analysis.

Table 16: Immigrant and ethnic actors represented and quoted in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)**		***Rakentaja***		***ET***		***Me Naiset***	
Number of immigrant actors in texts	Present	Quoted	Present	Quoted	Present	Quoted	Present	Quote
One actor	23.0	**27.0**	6.3	**7.9**	**62.5**	**50.0**	**63.1**	**69.0**
Two actors	8.0	7.0		0.8			9.5	8.3
Three or more	18.0	3.0	19.7	3.1	18.8	18.8	16.7	10.7
Not specified	**46.0**		**74.0**		18.8		10.7	
None	5.0	**63.0**		**88.2**		**31.1**		**11.9**

Similarly to the Dutch magazines, the Finnish magazines also most often referred to immigrant actors as an unspecified collective (46.5% of all texts) without individuals being quoted (58.1%) or paraphrased (66.7%). The Finnish magazines did in general have a more individual approach towards immigrants and ethnic minorities than the

Dutch magazines, which discussed unspecified groups, 'immigrants' or *allochtoon* in 56.9% of all texts and did not quote individuals in 71% of all the texts.

It would be too short-sighted to claim that all the magazines were similar in these respects. Whereas ***Rakentaja*** presented immigrants as a non-quoted collective in 88.2% of their texts and discussed them as a non-specified immigrant category in 74% of the texts, immigrants in ***Me Naiset*** were a non-quoted and non-specified category only in every tenth text. In other cases, people were presented by their names as individuals. In *Me Naiset* and ***ET***, magazine immigrants are personally quoted in 70 to 90 per cent of the texts; in *Rakentaja* individual quotes of immigrants are a rarity (7.9%). ***Suomen Kuvalehti*** is in between these two extremes, quoting individuals in more than one-third of the texts. Immigrants are discussed in a categorical, non-specified position in 46% of the texts in *Suomen Kuvalehti*.

These findings are probably partly connected with the text types used in each magazine. *Me Naiset* and *ET* made use of many interviews, in which it is natural to quote people, whereas the texts in *Rakentaja* were typical news material. News texts can, of course, also quote and paraphrase various actors, and this was also the case in *Rakentaja*, but the people quoted were not the immigrants. This cannot be explained by the use of certain text types only: *Rakentaja* must have other reasons for not quoting immigrants. Perhaps the reason is that the magazine presents all issues from the viewpoint of the union, and since the union does not have that many immigrants as members or representatives, these groups are not quoted.

Another reason is probably the newness of the issue as such: *Rakentaja* is mainly writing about immigration as an existing reality that is growing in importance and as a future scenario. So, in many cases, the persons to interview are not yet there, so to speak. In many cases, however, it would have been possible to interview immigrants as well, so it might after all only have been journalistic routines or habits that prevented *Rakentaja* from interviewing the immigrants themselves. *Suomen Kuvalehti* employs a mixture of text types, varying from interviews to columns and news. In the columns, for example, it was natural to not to quote others, as a column presents a single view of one individual. All in all, the approach in *Me Naiset* and *ET* is then much more personal than the approach in *Rakentaja* especially and gives the immigrant actors a face and a voice.

Me Naiset and *Suomen Kuvalehti* also have a regular columnist with an immigrant background. In *Me Naiset*, the columnist is a German by origin, Roman Schatz, and *Suomen Kuvalehti*'s columnist Umayaa Abu-Hanna originally comes from Palestine. Both are well known persons in Finland. The columns of these two writers were more common in the magazines than the numbers of my analysis show. This is due to the method of selecting material that only includes texts when they explicitly discuss

immigrants or immigration, or mention the immigrant or ethnic background of a person. Schatz and Abu-Hanna mostly do not discuss immigrants or immigration in their columns, and their own immigrant background is not mentioned in every text, so some of their columns were not included in this research. This is actually a positive aspect of the texts: the columnists seem free to write what they want without them being restricted by their background, unlike many journalists with an immigrant or ethnic minority background who have criticised the media houses for using them only as reporters of 'minority issues' (Deuze 2002a; 2002b). A total of 2.4% of the Finnish magazine texts included in this research were written by a writer with an immigrant background.

The magazines also vary greatly in whether the immigrant actors appear in texts alone or together with other actors. Other actors appear in 70.9% of all texts, so most issues are discussed by presenting both immigrant and other actors in the texts (this was less often than in the Dutch texts, about 90%). An analysis of immigrant actors and other actors being quoted shows that, in a total of half of the Finnish texts, immigrants and related issues are discussed by one or more actors without immigrants themselves being quoted. *Rakentaja* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* strongly show this tendency: it holds for 52% of the texts in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and for 83% of the texts in *Rakentaja*. On the other hand, *Me Naiset* and *ET* make a great deal of use of personal interviews, so immigrant actors are typically not accompanied by other actors in these texts, but are the only persons quoted in them (about 60% of the texts).

Similarly to the Dutch texts, the speaker or actor roles of immigrant actors and other actors in the Finnish texts were analysed, and they are as follows.

Table 17: Speaker/actor roles of immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)**		***Rakentaja***		***ET***		***Me Naiset***	
Speaking/acting in the role of /representing	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Her/himself	**22.0**	2.0	2.4		**56.3**	6.3	**21.4**	4.8
Family of friends	10.0	5.0			**12.5**	**18.8**	4.8	7.1
Specific immigrant or ethnic group	**26.0**	1.0	**33.9**	1.6	6.3		**21.4**	
Immigrants in general	**23.0**		**55.1**		6.3		8.3	
Immigrant or ethnic organisation	1.0						2.4	1.2
Other NGO		8.0	3.1	**51.2**			1.2	
Work organisation/ Employer	9.0	4.0	4.7	4.7	6.3	6.3	**28.6**	**13.1**
Civic action	1.0	1.0	0.8				1.2	
Politician		2.0		7.1			2.4	
Officials	1.0	**15.0**		9.4				
Media	3.0	**13.0**		0.8		6.3	2.4	7.1
Research		5.0		2.4				2.4
Religious institution	3.0	5.0			6.3		1.2	
Reader		10.0						1.2
Other	1.0	6.0		2.4	6.3	6.3	4.8	3.6
Not applicable		**23.0**		**11.0**		**56.3**		**59.5**
Various				9.4				

The texts in Finnish magazines most typically introduce the immigrant actors to the reader as a collective, for example as 'foreigners', 'immigrants' or 'refugees' (30.9% of all texts). In comparison to the Dutch texts, the Finnish texts more often discussed immigrants than *allochtoon* or ethnic minorities, which tells us something about the population, or general views on immigration questions in both countries. The second-most common role in which immigrants are introduced to the reader is a specified group of immigrants such as 'Russians' or 'Estonian construction workers' (26.9%).

The Finnish texts also introduce immigrants as individuals (15.9%) and in work-related roles (12.2%).

Tables 18 and 19 (see following pages) show the persons or groups and the issues that immigrants and other actors discuss in the texts. An analysis of the speakers and speaker roles and of the speaker roles and issues discussed shows that the immigrant actors were most likely to be silent in cases where they were introduced as a non-specified collective. In 95% of these texts, immigrants were not quoted in person. When they were introduced in the role of an individual, they were most likely to discuss themselves and their families, as well as hobby-related issues. The Finnish texts and the Dutch texts are similar in this respect. Moreover, this is a quality of media texts in general: when people are discussed as large collective entities, they are not likely to speak in the media, but when they are discussed as individuals, often in interviews, they also speak. Another thing that is remarkable is that immigrants and ethnic minorities most of all are allowed to discuss their personal issues. This is quite typical for media texts as well, since 'regular people' are often used in a story to colour it with their personal views and opinions instead of appearing as experts in something.

Suomen Kuvalehti introduces immigrants mostly as members of a more or less specified immigrant group. In addition, immigrants are introduced in the role of a private person (22%), discussing themselves (11%) and their personal matters (17%). Other actors appear in 77% of the texts, and they represent officials, the media (columnists and other journalists) and readers of the magazine. Mostly, the other actors discuss the immigrant person or persons who are the primary focus of the text (25%). So, for example, when a certain Muslim is discussed in a text, other actors in the text are discussing this person as well. Immigrants are also discussed in general, with government officials most often discussing residence rights of immigrants and representatives of media discussing attitudes and culture (e.g. television programmes or writers). Also work-related issues and societal issues are discussed by other actors.

Table 18: Persons discussed by immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)**		***Rakentaja***		***ET***		***Me Naiset***	
Whom is the actor talking about?	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Her/himself	**11.0**	2.0	**7.9**	0.8	6.3		**52.4**	7.1
Family members	5.0	5.0			**31.3**	**18.8**	**16.7**	**9.5**
Own ethnic group	7.0	1.0	2.4		12.5		4.8	
Other ethnic group	2.0	7.0						2.4
Immigrants in general	3.0	11.0		7.1		6.3	2.4	2.4
Organisation			1.6	3.1				1.2
Employer	2.0		4.7	**13.4**				
Civic/interest group	1.0	1.0		2.4				
Politicians				0.8				
Officials		2.0		0.8				
Media	1.0	3.0						
Research institutions					6.3		1.2	
Religious authorities	2.0	3.0			6.3			
Readers of the magazine								
Native Finnish	4.0	1.0		2.4	12.5		9.5	2.4
Not applicable/not talking	**56.0**	**23.0**	**81.9**	**15.0**	**18.8**	**56.3**	9.5	**59.5**
Other	6.0	8.0	1.6	5.5	6.3		3.6	3.6
The primary ethnic actor of the text		**25.0**		2.4		12.5		**10.7**
A specific group of immigrants		8.0		**20.5**		6.3		1.2
Various				**26.0**				

Table 19: Issues discussed by immigrant and ethnic actors and other actors in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)**		***Rakentaja***		***ET***		***Me Naiset***	
What is the actor talking about?	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor	Immigrant actor	Other actor
Personal matters	**17.0**	5.0	1.6		**43.8**	**18.8**	**28.6**	2.4
Personal matters of others	2.0	5.0		0.8			7.1	8.3
Interest or hobby	2.0		2.4			6.3	8.3	
Work and business	7.0	9.0	**14.2**	**41.7**	6.3	6.3	**16.7**	**10.7**
Attitudes	5.0	7.0		1.6		6.3	2.4	2.4
Immigration	1.0	6.0		4.7				
Integration	1.0	6.0		0.8			2.4	3.6
Residence right		**9.0**		3.9				
Other societal issues	1.0	8.0		**19.7**	12.5		2.4	1.2
Politics and policies	1.0	3.0		6.3			1.2	
Religion	3.0	5.0					3.6	2.4
New home country	1.0	1.0			6.3		7.1	
Old home country					12.5		4.8	1.2
Not applicable/not talking	**55.0**	**21.0**	**81.9**	**11.0**	**18.8**	**56.3**	8.3	**59.5**
Other	4.0	**15.0**		2.4		6.3	7.1	8.3
Illegal practices at work, control				**7.1**				

In ***Me Naiset***, immigrants are most often introduced in a work-related role: as representatives of a certain profession or talking about their work. Other common roles are representing oneself, i.e. an individual person discussing various issues, or appearing as a member of a specified immigrant group. Immigrants are quoted in the majority of the texts, and they discuss mainly personal issues, work and family members. Sixty per cent of the texts in *Me Naiset* are one-voiced, i.e. only one immigrant actor is quoted or paraphrased in the text. When other actors appear, they

represent work-related roles: for example, they are colleagues or employers of an immigrant actor. Typically these other actors discuss the primary immigrant actor in a text (e.g. as their colleague, who also appears in the text), their families and work-related issues.

The magazine ***ET*** shows a highly individualistic and family-centred way to introduce immigrants. They are interviewed as individuals discussing their personal immigration histories and other issues, as well as their families. Other actors are present in less than half of the texts, and they also direct the discussion towards family by representing family members of immigrants and discussing their family members. Usually, in these texts, the other actors are grandparents of adopted and other children.

Rakentaja discusses immigrants as a non-specified group of foreign workers or as a specified group of foreign workers. Only in very rare cases are immigrants introduced in the texts as individuals. When this happens, they are still, most of the time, introduced in a work-related role, as builders and professionals. The immigrants also discuss work-related issues the most, besides discussing themselves and their employers. Instead of the immigrants speaking, actors other than immigrants have the floor in *Rakentaja*. Other actors appear in 89% of the texts, and in more than the half of those texts they are representatives of the trade union. Also governmental and other officials and a combination of various actors are common in the texts. These other actors discuss a combination of actors (typically foreign workers, employers and employees), foreign workers or employers alone. Issues discussed are work-related matters and social issues of the work force. *Rakentaja* is thus very clearly trade union centred, and the issues dealing with immigration are narrowly bound to the matters that are important from the viewpoint of the union: the magazine directly discusses issues that affect the union and its members. The style of discussion and representation very much resembles the style seen in newspapers.

How are the immigrant and ethnic actors identified?

Finally, as is also the case with the Dutch magazines, the origins of the immigrant actors appearing in the Finnish texts were analysed as well. The results are set out in the table on the next page.

Table 20: Origins of immigrant and ethnic actors in the Finnish magazines.

Origin of immigrant/ ethnic actor	*Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)	*Rakentaja*	*ET*	*Me Naiset*
African/of which Somali	**10.0/4.0**	0.8	6.3	8.3/7.1
Russian and Ingrian/of which Ingrian	6.0 /4.0	7.1/0.8	6.3	7.2/3.6
Estonian	5.0	**15.7**		1.2
Other East European	9.0	4.7		4.8
West/North/ South European	**10.0**	0.8	6.3	**10.7**
North/South American/ Australian/ Oceanian	2.0		**18.8**	4.8
Asian	5.0	7.1	**25.0**	9.5
Arabic/Middle East/North African/of which Muslim	**18.0/7.0**			8.3/1.2
Immigrant categories[29]	**31.0**	**32.3**	6.3	
Immigrant generations[30]	2.0			**22.6**
Various	2.0	11.0	**25.0**	**13.1**
Unknown		**20.5**	6.3	9.5

The origins of immigrants vary from one magazine to another. In ***Suomen Kuvalehti***, origin is not specified in 31% of the texts: immigrants are only discussed categorically as immigrants. The most immigrants originated from the Middle East or Europe, or they are refugees or asylum seekers from various countries. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is the only magazine discussing Muslims by origin to some greater extent, so generally it could be said that Muslims are not a very central group in the Finnish magazines, unlike in the Dutch magazines. *Me Naiset*, however, discusses Muslim women and headscarves in some texts. This is of course also the case when looking into the populations in both

[29] This has been coded as an origin, if no real origin except being immigrant has been specified.

[30] This indicates people who are said in the text to be first- or second-generation immigrants without their country of origin being specified.

countries: there are larger Muslim minorities in the Netherlands than in Finland. *Suomen Kuvalehti* seems to be discussing the groups that are central in the discussion of immigration rights, asylum seekers and refugees. Those immigrant groups that are the largest in Finland – Russians, Estonians and Somalis – are all discussed in the magazine to some extent as well: likewise in *Me Naiset*.

In ***ET***, the most common origin of the immigrants discussed is developing Asian countries (China, Pakistan and India). In ***Me Naiset***, second-generation immigrants and Western and northern Europeans are discussed most often, as well as Asians and Somalis. They are most typically spouses or other acquaintances of Finns. In *Me Naiset*, second-generation 'immigrants' that are discussed are typically well known Finns with one parent who is a foreigner of origin. These people are thus in most cases not immigrants themselves, but due to my coding system, which follows a Dutch model (see Appendix 1 for more explanation), this group has been included in my text selection. These second-generation people, however, seem to be a highly suitable group for the magazine to discuss next to various immigrants of different origins. It has been discussed in previous research that, in the Finnish context, it is indeed the second generation that has the role of bringing some 'ethnic colour' to the Finnish media (Haavisto 2011), and this seems to hold for *Me Naiset* as well.

In ***Rakentaja***, the origin of immigrants is most often left unclear: instead, the category of foreign workers as immigrants is discussed in general. The largest groups by origin are Estonians and Russians, which are the largest groups of foreign construction workers employed in Finland. Chinese workers are discussed relatively often as well, which has to do with one specific case of abuse of these workers. *Rakentaja* follows the legal process in several articles and also appeals for help to the Chinese. *ET*, *Me Naiset* and *Rakentaja* also regularly present people of various origins within one text.

Lastly, the two most prominent identity categorisations ascribed to each immigrant or immigrant group represented in the magazine texts were analysed.

Table 21: Identity categorisations of immigrant and ethnic actors in the Finnish magazines.

	***Suomen Kuvalehti* (%)**		***Rakentaja***		***ET***		***Me Naiset***	
Identity represented or discussed	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2	ID 1	ID 2
Individual		3.0					1.2	
Family related	3.0	**14.0**			**31.3**	**18.8**	**14.3**	**21.4**
Friend		2.0						
Organisational		1.0	0.8	0.8			9.5	2.4
Professional	**26.0**	**13.0**	**11.8**	**78.0**	**25.0**	12.5	**22.6**	**15.5**
Student		2.0	0.8			6.3	2.4	3.6
Citizen							1.2	
Activist	2.0	1.0					1.2	2.4
Consumer								1.2
Unemployed	1.0	2.0		2.4				
Gender		5.0						**14.3**
Religious identity	11.0	1.0					3.6	
Life style	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.8		6.3	**13.1**	9.5
Ethnicity	10.0	5.0	1.6		6.3	6.3	9.5	7.1
Immigrant	**27.0**	**28.0**	**84.3**	**11.8**	**31.3**	**50.0**	**13.1**	13.1
Refugee	**17.0**	1.0					6.0	
Reader								
Other	2.0	11.0		1.6	6.3		2.4	2.4
No other		10.0		3.9				6.0
Various				0.8				1.2

In the Finnish magazines, the identity generally ascribed to immigrants is most often simply that of an immigrant (45.9%). Typically there are no other qualifications at all given to immigrants in these texts except their being 'immigrants', but the variation between magazines is quite wide. In addition, immigrants are often portrayed as having a professional identity or performing in a certain job (19.6%; as a second identity categorisation 38.8%) and, in this, the magazines show a similarity. Labour migration has been a central item in Finnish immigration discussions in recent years (see e.g. Simola 2008), and the magazines in my research seem to follow that trend, at least when it comes to the representation of immigrants. Work is an important factor in the integration of immigrants in Finland, and this factor seems to be acknowledged by the magazines here as well. Other identities regularly ascribed to immigrants are that of refugee, of having ethnicity or family-related identities.

In ***Suomen Kuvalehti***, refugees and laws concerning refuge and asylum seeking are discussed often, and the immigrants are assigned the identity of a refugee or asylum seeker (17 texts). Religion is ascribed to immigrants as an identity in 11 texts. These texts mostly discuss representatives of the Catholic Church in Finland, as there was a small scandal within the church in 2003, but Islamic parishes and followers of Islam are also covered in a couple of long reports. In all texts where the people presented are said to be Muslims (7 texts), they are assigned a very religious identity. Religion, thus Islam, is seen in the texts as a quality that is decisive for how these people behave and are. The texts appear on three occasions: in 2005, there was a report discussing Muslims in Finland, and it was followed by letters from readers; in 2006 the Mohammed cartoons and freedom of speech were discussed; and again in 2006 there was an article that dealt with conservative Islam in Finland.

An analysis of the dependency between the origins and identity categorisations shows that people coming from Western countries are almost always (6 of 8 cases) assigned the identity of a professional or expert in their own field, and the text builds on this expertise. Also people of Arab origin are given the identity of a professional (5 of 11 cases), but this is almost solely due to one person: Umayaa Abu-Hanna, who regularly appears in the magazine as a columnist and for other reasons. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is a magazine that has supported internationalisation strongly in the past, for example when Finland was about to join the European Union (Kivikuru 1996). It is important for the magazine to represent Finland as an international country in which also people coming from abroad can gain a central expert role.

In ***ET***, belonging to a family is an important aspect of the representation of immigrants, besides being an immigrant (5 texts, 31.3%). *ET* is a family magazine, so it is not at all surprising that people are discussed and represented through their family bonds. Most of the immigrants represented in the magazine came to Finland for family reasons or have a family here, and it is a central aspect in their lives and immigration histories. The immigrants discussed in *ET* are almost all wives, husbands, children, or parents of Finnish people.

Me Naiset stresses professional identities (19 texts, 22.6%), family membership (12 texts) and lifestyle (11 texts). Especially second-generation immigrants are represented as being professionals in some field (7 texts). Even though the coding does not show it in all cases, the majority of the immigrants presented in *Me Naiset* and *ET* are family members or colleagues of Finns. This is stated in the texts, even when the people are further identified with other qualities as well. Of course, it is not surprising that the immigrants living in Finland meet Finnish people in their daily lives or share their lives with a Finn: the remarkable thing is that the magazines mention this so often. In *Me Naiset*, gender is central as a second identity category. Gender is important in all texts

of *Me Naiset*, as it is a women's magazine and most people represented are women themselves. It is not that often, however, that gender seems to be one of the most important categorisations, or it might be that I as a researcher was not sensitive enough to gender issues. The same is true of the texts in *Libelle*.

In ***Rakentaja***, professional identity is almost the only identity portrayed other than that of an immigrant or, in most cases, a foreigner. In the texts, foreigners are discussed as foreign labour or foreign workers that are often working under suspicious conditions based on foreign laws or no laws at all. It is their foreign quality that is central in the texts and which is seen to cause problems for the construction sector. It is represented as a minor issue that these people are actually employed workers. There are texts in which the people are discussed mainly as workers or professionals and only secondly as foreigners, but these texts are rare, and it is difficult to determine exactly when 'being a professional' becomes the main quality of a person in a text. It is, however, more likely that, when a specific case or specific people are discussed, they are identified as workers or professionals, but when a large group or foreign labour is discussed, the stress is on the aspect of being a foreigner.

Summary: Typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members in the Finnish magazines

As with the Dutch magazines, the Finnish magazines all seem to have certain types of immigrants they discuss most often. Each of the magazines concentrates on the immigrants that are most central to the focus of the magazine and the interests of its readers.

In ***Suomen Kuvalehti***, there are roughly two types of typical representatives of immigrants. The first is an individual that has had success in life (in Finland), usually in business or culture, and is allowed to discuss his or her life in person. These people are a part of the international sphere that the magazine likes to promote, and they are an important group to discuss both for the magazine's readers as well as for Finland in general. The other group of typical representatives are immigrants who are about to come to Finland or have just arrived: these people are refugees, asylum seekers, foreign workers or the like. This group is not interviewed or quoted in general, but discussed as a group by various other actors. Also, they are an important group for the magazine to present, since they are the immigrants that mostly hit the news when arriving or wanting to arrive in the country. Their immigration and residence rights are discussed in the news, and a news magazine reflects that public discussion. These people are

allowed to represent themselves in person when they are especially successful in their lives as immigrants and thus rewarded for that.

Rakentaja approaches immigration only through labour migration. The immigrants are mostly discussed as foreigners and foreign workers. Individuals are interviewed in rare cases, and then they represent members of the trade union or construction workers of immigrant origin who have stayed in Finland permanently and have found their place in working life and life in general. The other typical representatives of immigrants are the large group of foreign workers who have yet to come to Finland or who already work in the country. They are almost never quoted in person, but actors from the trade union talk about them and the threat they may represent to the labour market. Most often, the construction workers are first referred to as being foreigners and secondly as workers or professionals, and they come from Estonia and Russia.

ET and ***Me Naiset*** are similar to each other in the sense that both magazines mostly interview the immigrants in person. The texts are personal portraits and often one-voiced. *ET* focuses on family roles and issues, whereas *Me Naiset* concentrates more on professional issues. This makes sense, as *ET* is a family magazine as well as a senior magazine, and *Me Naiset* has more a youthful appearance and is read by women of working age. In both magazines, the people discussed are almost always presented as being close to the Finns: as family members, colleagues or friends. In *ET*, Asians are the most common immigrants discussed; in *Me Naiset* it is Europeans, as spouses and other acquaintances of Finns. Second-generation immigrants are, however, the most typical group discussed in *Me Naiset*: they are celebrities and other media personalities.

4.3 Summary of the content analysis

The magazine genres seem to differ from each other quite a bit, although there are also similarities between the genres. It is clear that each genre discusses the issues and immigrant or ethnic groups that seem to have the most relevance for the magazines. In the construction workers' magazines, it is the construction sector, the unions and workers that are discussed. In the general news magazines, the groups that are somehow relevant in the societal debate on immigration and integration are discussed, as well as those who have succeeded in their immigration efforts and are estimated to benefit society. In the women's magazines, it is the personal stories of the family members of Finnish or Dutch people that are the most common item.

There are also differences within the genres. Both news magazines cover questions of immigration and residence rights, but in *Elsevier* the stress is even more on issues to do with multicultural society and integration. While the discussions in *Suomen Kuvalehti*

are most tightly bound to the groups yet to arrive, in *Elsevier* it is the people that already are in the country that are discussed the most. This reveals how the issues are perceived in both countries: in Finland, ethnic diversity is more a future scenario, while in the Netherlands it is an existing reality. A similar kind of difference is to be noticed in the construction workers' magazines: *Rakentaja* presents the arrival of foreign workers as a current and future event, and so does *Bouw*, but in *Bouw* more attention is paid to the problems of the ethnic minorities in the country as well.

Suomen Kuvalehti takes a more positive view on immigration by representing successful integration stories, whereas in *Elsevier* these are almost completely lacking. These stories appear especially in the women's magazines, which were filled with personal interviews on people's lives and immigration histories. The women's magazines differ in that *Libelle* directs its attention more towards societal integration debates than *Me Naiset*, which is almost exclusively focused on personal views on immigration and integration, often in working life. All in all, the Finnish magazines discuss immigrants more as individuals than the Dutch magazines do. This difference is mainly due to the differences in approaches in the Finnish and Dutch news magazines and the women's magazines: the Finnish magazines contained more interview material.

The greatest difference is between the senior magazines *Plus* and *ET*. While *Plus* is closely attached to the societal integration debate in the Netherlands, *ET* more resembles the women's magazines in its personalised views on immigration histories. The magazine formats of the two magazines differ in that *Plus* is more information- and opinion-oriented, whereas *ET* has more of an entertainment orientation. It is for this reason that I decided not to discuss *ET* and *Plus* in the follow-up as a case of the genre of seniors' magazines, but instead *Plus* will be discussed together with the news magazines where appropriate, and *ET* will be discussed together with the women's magazines. In this way, I can show how certain discourses cross the boundaries of magazine genres.

I will now continue my analysis of the research material using the discourse analytic approach. I will discuss three cases of magazine genres: first the construction workers' magazines, then the women's magazines and *ET* and, lastly, the general news magazines and *Plus*. In each case study, the typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the magazines and other findings of the content analysis will be discussed further where relevant, as well as the discourses in each of the cases.

5 Qualitative case studies

In this chapter, I will discuss three qualitative case studies by using a discourse theoretical approach (see Chapters 2 and 3). The first one looks at the issue of foreign labour in the construction sector as represented in the magazines of the Finnish construction trade union FCTU in Finland, *Rakentaja*, and of the construction trade union FNV Bouw in the Netherlands, *FNV Bouw Magazine*. In the second case, the women's magazines *Me Naiset* and *Libelle* are analysed: these magazines take a rather personal view on immigration issues and discuss them in the spheres of family and personal life. As a part of this analysis, the Finnish seniors' magazine *ET* is discussed as well, due to its similarity to the women's magazines. The final case study presents immigration and integration discourses in two general news magazines, *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier*, and also briefly discusses the Dutch seniors' magazine *Plus Magazine*. In these magazines, immigration and integration are mostly political issues, and several options for the organisation of ethnic diversity in Finland and the Netherlands are discussed.

5.1 Welcoming the Polish plumber[31]? Workers of foreign origin, subject positions and trade union communities in construction trade union magazines

In recent years, both Finland and the Netherlands – especially in the construction sector – have been receiving new workers from abroad. Especially the accession of eight new member states to the EU in 2004 has had an impact on the composition of the workforce at building sites in both countries, as the residents from these countries can now freely move within Europe. For example, Poles have left their country in huge numbers to work in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, Ireland or even Iceland. The Finnish and Dutch governments were both prepared for the

[31] The 'Polish plumber' was a lot discussed figure in European press after the enlargement of the EU in 2004. The Polish plumber became somewhat a synonym for the East European labour immigrants coming to older EU countries.

enlargement of the EU and along with other EU nations legislated a transition period (2004–2006) during which citizens of new member states could obtain work permits only under very strict conditions.

Meanwhile, one of the other four EU freedoms, the free movement of services, remained unregulated. This way it became possible for companies based in new member states to easily send workers to older member states, and they made use of this opportunity to a great extent (see e.g. Saukkonen 2008, 205–206). According to Finnish law, the foreign workers had to be paid the same and work under the same employment terms as all other workers. This is, however, very difficult to regulate, and the foreign workers often do not insist on their rights because they are not aware of them. Foreign workers can thus be used as cheaper manpower.

Few of the workers who come to either of the two countries studied here can be labelled actual immigrants, since most of them stay in the country only for the duration of their work assignments. For example, in Finland it is common for Estonian builders living only few hours away to stay in Finland during the work week and then travel back home to their families for the weekend. Quite often they are employees of Estonian companies that send labour to Finland. This group has been referred to as 'commuters' (Alho 2010, 103). A similar trend can be seen among the Polish builders working in the Netherlands. Even before the enlargement of the EU in 2004, many Polish and Africans were working in the Netherlands illegally.[32] In this paper, work-related immigration and the category of immigrants also includes this type of commuting workforce, since they were widely discussed in the magazines studied and because they are an important aspect of the immigration experienced in construction sector.

Not only the histories of immigration, but also the histories of trade unions differ in Finland and the Netherlands. In Finland, similarly to the other Nordic countries, trade unions have traditionally played a very important and strong role in the labour market and in society. Trade unions have voiced the collective needs of labour and, together with employer and government representatives, have negotiated the salaries and terms of employment. It is attractive for workers to be union members, since, for example, the unemployment benefit one receives depends on whether one is a union member or not. Today, almost 80 per cent of the workforce remain members of at least one trade

[32] According to Tesser and Dronkers, 'a non-trivial number of illegal migrants live and work in the Netherlands'. These are people that entered the country legally and then stayed. Asylum seekers that are not granted asylum, for example, have in the past not been actively removed from the country. People can also stay in the country after the expiration of their tourist visa. Some sectors of industry, agriculture and domestic work make use of these illegal workers (2007, 363).

union (www.sak.fi). Lately, trade unions have been facing competition from associations that offer unemployment benefits to workers without other traditional benefits or burdens of trade union membership. In the Netherlands, trade unions have not gained as strong a foothold as in Finland, and only approximately 25% of all Dutch workers today are trade union members. Yet the trade unions have had a role in collective bargaining, making agreements on pay, employment terms, pension schemes and the like. In the 1980s the Dutch economy was regulated by agreements between employers, trade unions and the government (van Rossem 2010, 17). Most industries in the Netherlands have a trade union that belongs to the national confederation of trade unions (FNV).

Both trade unions discussed here – the Finnish Construction Trade Union (FCTU) and Dutch construction union FNV Bouw – are the biggest unions in their own sector in their countries. In Finland, approximately one-half of all people working in the construction sector belong to the union (others working in the construction sector most likely belong to other profession-specific unions, such as an electricians' union). Also in the Netherlands, every second construction worker is a member of FNV Bouw.[33] The Finnish union has always welcomed members with a foreign background, whereas the Dutch union had to revise its rules in 2005 to make this possible. Of course, it has long been possible for ethnic minority members permanently living in the country to be union members in the Netherlands.

Both unions publish a magazine that is posted to their members.[34] From their own perspective, these trade union magazines are important channels of information to members of the unions, and this was mainly the reason for their establishment. Aside from being a public forum for union members, the magazines are also the voice of the union towards the public at large and the political decision makers (Kariniemi 2010, 65). Except for encounters at the workplace, trade union magazines also are one of the few channels through which the union members have a chance to learn more about the situation of their colleagues of foreign origin.

Both magazines discussed here are typical organisational magazines. These magazines are specially designed to tie their readers to the organisation and create

---

[33] Estimation is based on the number of people working in the construction sector as estimated by the bureaus of statistics in both countries in 2008 and the number of members of the unions discussed as announced by the unions themselves in 2008; http://rakennusliitto.fi/ and http://www.fnvbouw.nl/Pages/home.aspx.

[34] *FNV Bouw Magazine* was published until 2007. In 2008, due to reorganisation within the union, it was replaced by several building sector specific magazines that still are published today (http://www.fnvbouw.nl/Pages/home.aspx).

organisational group identities, and they are an important tool in maintaining the community (Töyry 2008, 23; Kariniemi 2010). This can be seen in the texts, as they all deal with issues that are relevant to members of the trade union organisation. The magazines are used as a forum for discussing the matters of the community, so the texts tell about trade union members, events, plans, recent organisational developments, etc. The texts regularly talk about 'us', the people considered part of the organisation, and 'them', the ones that do not belong to the organisation. As actors in society, the unions aim at voicing the specific needs and issues of their members. The magazines are used to bring these matters into public knowledge and discussion, and to affect political decision making. In this sense, the magazines have the task of an educator or union spokesperson (Kariniemi 2010, 65).

In this case study, I will examine how work-related communities are formed in the trade union magazines selected and whom they include. Who do the texts suggest are the implied readers of the magazine texts, and who do they suggest belongs to the community of readers? What kind of subject positions do the texts articulate for immigrants and ethnic minority members, and for other central actors? Are immigrants and ethnic minority members represented as part of the Finnish and Dutch trade union communities and, if so, how?

On the material: the texts, their actors and topics

For this case study, a total or 127 texts from *Rakentaja* and 38 texts from *FNV Bouw Magazine* (*Bouw*) were first analysed quantitatively in order to determine what type of actors the texts represent and what the topics of the texts are. The results of this quantitative analysis were presented in Chapter 4, and those numbers will be discussed here where necessary. These numbers will serve as a basis for the qualitative discourse analysis, supplemented with some case-specific quantitative information as well.

The actual case study includes a bit larger selection of texts than the quantitative content analysis in Chapter 4, in total 160 texts for *Rakentaja* and 47 for *Bouw*[35]. The analysis is carried out by using qualitative discourse analysis and the analysis methods that were described in the methods chapter. All the texts were read for the purpose of qualitative analysis, but the examples that are used in this chapter for analytic purposes

[35] The total number of analysed texts is here a bit larger than in the quantitative sample that was analysed in Chapter 4. This is because the texts analysed for Chapter 4 were selected using stricter selection rules for better correspondence and comparativeness of the material in all quantitative case studies of different magazines.

were selected on the basis of the relevance of certain texts and the discourses used in them, as well as the simultaneous presence of various actors in those texts. I will first give an overview of the actors, topics and themes in the texts and then move on to discourse analysis.

The most central actors in the texts in both magazines are the foreign-born employees typically designated foreign workers (present in all *Rakentaja* texts and in 76.3% of texts in *Bouw*), construction trade unions (present in 77.5%*/61.7% of texts*[36]), the employers (present in 62.5%*/32% of texts*) and ordinary Finnish/Dutch construction workers (present in 29.4%*/40.4% of texts*). Several different types of officials, e.g. from the police and judiciary, labour welfare officials and employment officials – and not forgetting political actors – are also represented in the texts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the foreign construction worker in *Rakentaja* is typically Estonian or Russian, while in the Dutch context foreign workers are Poles or other Eastern Europeans. What we see from the numbers is that, in *Bouw*, foreign workers appear in the texts together with other workers more often than in *Rakentaja*, whereas in *Rakentaja* employers and trade union representatives are represented much more often.

Only seldom the texts talk about ethnic or immigrant groups other than foreign construction workers, such as *allochtoon* or refugees in general. The Dutch texts (36.2%*) identify these groups a great deal more often than the Finnish texts do (6.9%*). In most texts, all immigrant groups are referred to in the collective – the foreign workforce, the foreign guest workers, the immigrants or the ethnic minorities – rather than as individuals. In few (11.8%/31.6%) of the texts are these people actually given the opportunity to use their own voices or give their opinion – here again, the Dutch texts outnumber the Finnish ones. Typically, the texts in which this happens are personal interviews the purpose of which is to represent a certain person and his/her opinions. A noteworthy fact in itself is that only in a couple of texts a woman is interviewed. The texts in the construction workers' magazines are generally highly male-dominated, just as the construction sector itself is.

As one flicks through the pages and looks at the texts in the magazines, the stories told and people represented in the texts and photos, both magazines seem to suggest that their implied readers are, besides being union members and construction professionals, mostly male and members of the Finnish or Dutch majority. In the texts,

[36] Those percentages marked with an asterisk* are different than those percentages presented in Chapter 4. This is due to a different method of calculation: the percentages marked here include all actors in the larger selection of texts, not only one main actor per text as in the quantitative analysis that was performed on the research material in all cases in Chapter 4.

this implied reader (which in this case is almost the same as the actual reader, who in most cases is a member of the union) is addressed and specified by using an inclusive *we* pronoun: 'we the Finnish', 'we construction workers', 'we union members', 'our lot', and 'we workmen'.[37] The texts regularly – implicitly and explicitly – describe further qualities of the implied reader: he is 'sensible', 'hardworking' and 'not a racist'. Especially the texts that report speeches or other comments from central union actors address the implied readers (union members) directly, for example by talking about 'the importance of your support from the field', by appealing that 'by voting for the right persons in elections we can have an effect on the treatment of foreign workers' or stating that 'everyone understands that retaining your own job, earnings and bread are at stake, you'd better listen'.

Besides the important task of informing their readers, the texts often have a tone that educates or declares how things are or should be ('this is something everyone should bear in mind', 'every union member should understand by now, or 'we have to take a stand'). Also this is a task that trade union magazines need to perform: it is important for them to explain how things are and what their members ought to think about current issues. The contents of organisational magazines are all tied to ideas of who we are, what we do, what we want to be and how we can reach that goal (Kariniemi 2010, 78). For the unions, it is important that their members share their views. Organisational magazines have traditionally also been quite one-sided in their viewpoints, with little or no room for opposing voices (Kivikuru 1996, 67).

In this fashion, the union magazines here take the role of a one-voiced educator, and the reader is the one being educated. The readers of the magazines are, however, considered to be reasonable targets for education, since they have already made the most important choice: to belong to the union. The FNV, for example, writes, 'In the first nine months of this year, FNV Bouw has gathered 1.18 million euros for its members. There is no better proof of the fact that membership pays' (12/2003, 41). The readers, most of whom are members, are then already aware of their rights, but it is estimated that they can still use some extra education on some of the issues. *Rakentaja*, for example, explains systematically in many texts why the foreign workforce is problematic and why some action must be taken to protect the construction sector. To secure the support of the rank and file, the magazine is used to make sure that the union's members know and understand why the union does what it does. The

[37] The sources of the quotes in this paragraph and the next are not specified because the quotes or their equivalent can be found several places in the texts.

explanation is most probably also directed towards political decision makers and other external readers who can influence construction site practices.

Themes in *Rakentaja*

The quantitative analysis in the previous chapter gave an idea of the general topics in all the analysed magazines. The main topics in both *Rakentaja* and *Bouw* were labour migration (16.5%/10.5%), labour conditions (28.3%/21.1%) and labour union activities (20.5%/13.2%). While *Rakentaja* also discussed labour crime (8.7%), general working life was the most central topic in *Bouw* (23.7%).

Because the purpose of the quantitative analysis was to identify topic categories that would serve the analysis and comparison of all different magazine genres, it was not possible to create a very detailed categorisation of topics. For that reason I went through the texts in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw* again to see more specifically what kind of themes the general topics included. This provides a better idea of the variety of the themes in the union magazines and also a hint about the discourses that are articulated in the texts. The table on the next page clarifies the kinds of themes included in the texts in *Rakentaja*. The percentage is not an absolute indicator,[38] since one text can include several themes, but it provides an idea of the frequency with which each theme occurs. As can be seen, almost all the themes deal with different aspects related to the arrival of foreign workers as a group in the construction sector. Only the last two themes discuss individual migrants and their personal issues.

[38] One text can include several themes, so the total percentage of themes exceeds 100 in each year. In this sense, the percentages are not absolute, but they still provide an indication of the share of the sample each theme represents.

Table 22: Themes in *Rakentaja.*

Theme/Year	2003 % (44 texts)	2004 (39)	2005 (33)	2006 (44)
1. Foreign labour as a question of conditions of labour/exploitation/control	59 (26 texts)	39 (15)	46 (15)	43 (19)
2. Grey-market labour/illegal workforce	32 (14)	18 (7)	30 (10)	25 (11)
3. Union solves problems/illegal practices of employer	25 (11)	23 (9)	12 (4)	30 (13)
4. Foreigners as victims	9 (4)	8 (3)	6 (2)	7 (3)
5. Finnish unemployed/ losing jobs to foreigners	11 (5)	10 (4)	12 (4)	21 (9)
6. EU transition period, influence of free services or enlargement on work-related migration	18 (8)	15 (6)	15 (5)	21 (9)
7. Unemployment of immigrants already living in Finland	7 (3)	3 (1)	6 (2)	2 (1)
8. Immigration policy, law	9 (4)	0	12 (4)	2 (1)
9. Lack of workforce /competition of workforce within the EU	9 (4)	5 (2)	9 (3)	9 (4)
10. Not so many foreign workers coming to Finland	0	8 (3)	0	9 (4)

11. In the common interest to welcome foreigners	0	3 (1)	6 (2)	11 (5)
12. Foreigner's success/survival story	0	8 (3)	0	9 (4)
13. Union supports foreigner(s)as union member(s)	5 (2)	8 (3)	9 (3)	7 (3)

The themes in *Rakentaja* are rather one-sided, despite the fact that there are differences in the arguments made under each theme. In the years included in the study, the aim of the FCTU and the themes in the magazine were to make clear to members and other readers of the magazine what the risks of the forthcoming enlargement of the EU were for the construction sector in Finland. Several themes dealt with various aspects of these risks, and different themes were combined in individual texts, since the themes are also in reality intertwined. A prominent theme in all the years was employment terms and their not being regulated in the case of foreigners. Other themes discussed possible and proved cases of criminal practices and abuse of foreigners. The centrality of the foreign labour issue only grows in the material towards the end of the four-year period, also when it is taken into account that *Rakentaja* was published only 24 times in 2005–2006 instead of the 37 issues published in previous years. In another study, a similar trend in the number and focus of articles was found in *Byggnads*, the magazine published by the Swedish construction workers' trade union BWU: the number of articles on immigration's effects on the construction sector increased dramatically from 2003 onwards and, at the same time, the focus shifted towards the enlargement of the EU and the challenges this represented for trade unions (Frank 2012, 302).

The influence of the incoming foreigners on the employment of Finnish workers was another regular theme that addressed possible risks. Especially in the years 2003 and 2004, before the enlargement, a great deal of effort in *Rakentaja* was put into warning about the possible consequences. The texts demanded action against foreign labour:

> *The union members at the meeting were very determined that the control of foreign work force should be knocked into shape once and for all....When the enlargement of the EU happens on the first of May in 2004, there is a danger that construction sector will become a sector of cheap imported labour unless something is done beforehand* (*Rakentaja* 16/2004, 3).

The theme of employment of Finnish construction workers was discussed even more often after the enlargement went into effect. *Rakentaja* was not alone with its worries. Trade unions in general warned of potential problems caused by the effect of foreign labour on working conditions, labour competition, and the possible abuse of foreigners (e.g. Helander 2008; Simola 2008, 93). Also in Sweden, trade unions preferred a strict state control of labour to enable their main objectives and ways to restrict the supply of workers on the labour market, as well as defend the interests of trade union members with respect to wages, working conditions and welfare state rights (Johansson 2012, 331).

Yet, as early as 2006, the FCTU had to admit that the effects of the arrival of foreign labour were in some respects less than feared, and at the end of the transition period the union was no longer anticipating the arrival of a group of foreigners as large as initially feared (9/2006, 13). This shift could be seen in the themes as well: towards the end of the transition period, themes that stressed the positive sides of the incoming foreign workers were gaining ground. Yet the positive aspects of labour-related immigration were not discussed as much as the possible negative aspects. Themes accentuating positive aspects were fewer in number and occurred significantly less often. These themes argued that foreigners should be welcomed and explained why they were necessary for Finland. Another theme approached the positive sides of labour migration through individual cases of foreigners who found their place in Finnish society and integrated themselves through work. Similar positive discussions about Asian nurses and other successful cases of labour migration have been popular elsewhere in Finnish press as well (Simola 2008, 42–51; Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010).

Themes in *FNV Bouw Magazine*

The texts in *FNV Bouw Magazine* show somewhat more variation in their themes than texts in *Rakentaja* do. Enlargement of the EU, the arrival of foreign workers and the effects of their presence are discussed, but to a much lesser extent than in the magazine's Finnish counterpart. Instead, the texts also concentrate on practical encounters in the workplace and the difficulties that refugees and ethnic minority members have in working life. The emphasis is then not only on work-related immigration as in the Finnish case: the minorities and immigrants that already live in the Netherlands are discussed as well.

This is no coincidence, as ethnic minorities have been an element of Dutch working life for several decades already. Ethnic groups are for various reasons more often

unemployed or employed in lower positions in the labour market than the native Dutch. Also refugees face various difficulties in labour market (Tesser & Dronkers 2007), so these issues are relevant for a trade union magazine to discuss. Considering the size of the minority groups in the Netherlands, however, it is surprising that the total number of texts discussing ethnic groups and migrants in the construction sector is relatively small in *Bouw*. The explanation could be – as the magazine itself indicates (11/2004, 13) – that it is a relatively small group of ethnic minority members that work in the sector. Equally surprising is the fact that, while those immigrants who already live in Finland also experience difficulties in the job market and in working life (e.g. Forsander 2000, 160, 169; Forsander & Ekholm 2001, 72), this group is seldom discussed in *Rakentaja*. The group of people with an immigrant background already living in Finland is mentioned as an alternative to the foreign labour force a couple of times, along with unemployed Finnish construction workers, but their problems in the labour market are not really touched upon.

The texts in *Bouw* include themes that cannot be found in the *Rakentaja* texts at all. For example, there is a theme emphasising people with various origins or nationalities working together on a building project. Another theme tells about the special support that refugees and minority members receive from the authorities and the union. Especially in the last year of the sample, the emphasis is shifting towards welcoming the foreigners and demonstrating support for different groups.

The table on the next page specifies the themes and their appearance in the *FNV Bouw Magazine*.

Table 23: Themes in *FNV Bouw Magazine*.

Theme/Year	2003 % (12 texts)	2004 (13)	2005 (9)	2006 (13)
1. Foreign labour as a question of conditions of labour/exploitation/control	25 (3 texts)	15 (2)	11 (1)	31 (4)
2. Grey market labour/illegal workforce	25 (3)	8 (1)	33 (3)	8 (1)
3. Union solves problems/ criminal employer practices	8 (1)	15 (2)	22 (2)	0
4. Foreigners as victims	17 (2)	8 (1)	0	0
5. Dutch unemployed/ Losing jobs for foreigners	25 (3)	23 (3)	33 (3)	8 (1)
6. EU transition period, influence of free services or enlargement on work-related migration	0	23 (3)	0	15 (2)
7. Unemployment of ethnic minorities, other problems related to minority status (stereotypes, language, education)	25 (3)	31 (4)	22 (2)	23 (3)
8. Lack of workforce/ workforce competition within the EU	8 (1)	0	0	0

9. Together at work, professional workers	25 (3)	8 (1)	33 (3)	8 (1)
10. Foreigners' success/ survival stories	17 (2)	0	0	15 (2)
11. Common interest to welcome foreigners/they are coming anyway	0	8 (1)	11 (1)	31 (4)
12. Union supporting minorities (and potentially foreigners) as union members	8 (1)	15 (2)	11 (1)	39 (5)
13. General support for immigrants, immigrants having difficulty	17 (2)	8 (1)	11 (1)	15 (2)

These various themes in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw* are articulated together in three main discourses: a discourse of foreign labour as a threat, a discourse of foreign labour as a welcome element in the labour market and in the union, and a discourse that expresses worries about the position of various immigrants in the labour market. To obtain a more precise picture of these discourses and the subject positions of different actors in them, it is necessary to analyse them by type of discourse.

Foreign workers and labour migration as a threat

The first type of discourse articulates together different mostly negatively coloured themes, arguments and descriptions of cause and consequence that claim foreign labour to be some kind of a threat or a problem for the construction sector. In both magazines, this discourse concentrates on working conditions, feared abuse of them, the influence of this abuse on working conditions for all construction workers and regulation of the foreign labour force. The discourse also claims that foreigners will come and take jobs from Finnish or Dutch workers. It is argued that this has already

happened to some extent. A perfect example of this in the Finnish case was the construction site of the Olkiluoto nuclear power plant, since the French contractor hired workers from abroad instead of using Finnish ones. According to the texts, this meant that Finnish workers were sitting at home unemployed. For example, the cranes were run by Polish machinists, even though they did not have the same qualifications as the Finns did. Meanwhile, many of the Finnish crane machinists were also unemployed. The whole Olkiluoto project was claimed to be a bitter disappointment to Finnish construction workers (*Rakentaja* 13/2005, 18). Other texts maintained that the lobbyists of industry were lying when they said that more foreign workers were needed, since 'unemployed Finns' (and those migrants permanently living in Finland) 'should be employed first' (*Rakentaja* 3/2003, 2).

The Dutch in their turn are told they will become the 'shortchanged sufferers' if cheap Polish workers come to the Netherlands to 'steal their bread' (*Bouw* 8/2003, 12). The Dutch discourse does not forget to mention that foreigners will be arriving like 'a flood' and that the 'Poles will behave as if the Netherlands and Poland had a common border'. This flood metaphor was and has been a much-used way to discuss refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. Horsti 2005, 86, 119–126), and it seems that it has now been borrowed to debate work-related immigration.

When it comes to descriptions of subject positions, foreigners are regularly referred to as 'cheap labour' that is currently being and will in the future continue to be 'dumped' onto the Finnish or Dutch labour market. In combination with this, 'grey-market labour' is often discussed. 'Cheap labour' is used so often as a signifier in *Rakentaja* that it becomes a synonym for the whole trend of foreign workers coming to Finland. The problems, the causes and the effects of cheap labour are so widely discussed that other type of foreign workers coming from abroad are almost forgotten. While it is only the 'cheap labour' that, according to the unions, is problematic and has to be controlled, 'cheap labour' is at the same time mixed up with foreign labour in general in the texts. At times, the discourse claims that 'all foreign labour' is unwanted and problematic and must be regulated.

For example the headline on page 8 of *Rakentaja* 19/2003 states, 'Shop stewards: Looking for solutions and desire to regulate foreigners'. Yet as the first paragraph relates, only the 'cheap labour' is perceived to be problematic and needing to be regulated, rather than foreigners in general as the headline suggests. This kind of mixed use of the terms 'foreign labour' and 'cheap labour', and the frequency with which they are both used can cause them to be easily mixed up and end up meaning the same. This is an example of the workings of a chain of equivalence as discussed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), in which one category becomes synonymous with another category, and the qualities of the first category start to define the second category as

well. *Rakentaja* itself maintains that the difference between problematic 'cheap labour' and ordinary acceptable 'foreign labour' has not been clear to members of the union, either: *Rakentaja* has to explain its readers that even though foreign workers are coming to Finland, there is no room for xenophobia or hostility towards them (32/2003, 7; 36/2003, 8; 13/2004, 16). The magazine however could pay closer attention to word choices and the mixed terminology it uses.

Further it is suggested in this discourse that *employers* are 'greedy' or 'dishonest' and hire foreign workers under suspicious employment conditions and thus take advantage of both foreign and domestic labour. Employers are greedy because they want to maximise their profit by using cheap labour and they are dishonest when they do that illegally (e.g. *Rakentaja* 4/2006, 7; *Bouw* 4/2006, 6, 8). It is the employer who is the common enemy of all the other participants: the employer abuses foreigners while at the same time causing unemployment among the Finns or Dutch. The articulation in *Rakentaja* is very straightforward, urging that this misbehaviour of employers has to stop. Also in this case, dishonest employers sometimes begin to symbolise the whole category of employers, even though it is admitted in some texts that not all employers are wrongdoers.

Another way to prove the greed of employers is to present cases in which an employer is caught exploiting foreign workers. There are numerous cases cited in *Rakentaja*, and they also exist in *Bouw*. The foreigners are victimised in these discourses, represented as 'happy to work under the conditions they are given and unwilling to question them, unaware of their rights, cheated by the employers and threatened if they talk to the union' (e.g. *Rakentaja* 2/2003, 8–9; 15/2003, 10–11; 16/2003, 5; *Bouw* 9/2006, 11). In these articulations, the foreigner becomes a helpless figure that depends on the goodwill of the employer and the help of others. The discourse of exploitation by employers has also been widely used by the international trade union movement in discussing migrant labour (Alho 2010, 108).

The subject position of the average union member is mainly articulated by using threat as well: the texts give the impression that he should beware the foreign worker, who will come and take jobs and in doing so also degrade working conditions. On the other hand, the unions plead for understanding from the construction workers. So that they can keep their jobs, they have to accept that the union also works for the foreigners and tries to guarantee them decent working conditions as well (e.g. *Rakentaja* 32/2003, 7). Solidarity is then also being requested from union members: if they want to keep the benefits they have worked hard to achieve, it is important to protect the rights of the newcomers as well. All construction workers should strive for the common good by sticking to the rules and supporting the work of the union when it protects the common good.

The union is represented as the only actor who can solve the problem as well as the first one to take action. The union is also the only one who can help both foreign and Finnish/Dutch workers and protect the construction sector from cases of abuse. Both magazines relate how no one else except the union cares: 'The union demands a hard intervention towards employers who do not respect the rules.…We as a trade union have now done something about that so that the [foreign] bricklayers can now stay at a boarding house' (*Bouw* 8/2, 12–15.) It is also the union who tells politicians what to do on the issue and not the other way round: 'The delegation demands the prevention of cheap labour. The government must take action to guarantee that foreigners receive a legal salary, as the FCTU…delegation told MPs in the parliament on 15 May' (*Rakentaja* 16/2003, 36). In general, foreign workers are positioned as objects of political decision making and also as objects of union members' opinions. The union and its representatives at different levels demand that political decisions concerning the foreign workers must be made and that their arrival in the country must be heavily regulated.

Welcoming the foreign workers

The second discourse is more positively coloured than the first one. In *Rakentaja*, this discourse represents the foreigner as a welcome participant on the Finnish labour market. Some articles justify this view with a threatening lack of workers, and a few even mention the foreigners as an enrichment of Finland. The Dutch texts do not discuss a threatening lack of labour as much, instead suggesting that foreigners will come to the Netherlands anyway, so it is better to welcome them in a legal way. After all, foreigners work hard and deserve the same as everyone else (*Bouw* 4/2006, 6, 8).

This discourse regularly typifies the type of foreign worker that the Finnish or Dutch construction sector needs: 'a hardworking person, not too proud to do dirty work as well, friendly, well-integrated' (e.g. *Bouw* 4/2004, 21; 9/2005, 5). In the Netherlands, people mostly consider the Poles to fulfil these requirements, although not everyone is convinced of their qualities. Quite often, the good qualities of Polish workers are made visible in a comparison with Dutch construction workers, e.g. Dutch workers are said to be lazy and too proud to do real or heavy work and compared to 'luxury horses' while their foreign colleagues are the 'workhorses'.

In Finland, an Estonian worker is sometimes given the same status as hardworking Polish workers are in the Netherlands. These positive attitudes of employers towards foreign workers are familiar from earlier research (Paananen 1993, 92). Russians, in

turn, are sometimes considered less well qualified as workers than Finns, also in somewhat surprising contexts, e.g. when discussing the annual housing fair:

> *Three houses are especially important because they were built by rented Russian workers.…The quality is generally in accordance with standards, but where the Russian masonry has been left in sight, it becomes clear that a plumb line, a spirit level and a firm grip are indispensable tools for a bricklayer. When seen in this light, there is no chance for the Eastern guys to compete with Finnish work. Maybe in the future, but not yet. With Finnish workers, they have now been able to fix the biggest mistakes made by the Russians* (19/2004, 8–9).

This is a way of saying that Finnish construction workers are better than workers from the country next door. This can also be seen as a defensive statement uttered by a Finnish construction worker: Russians do not know how to work properly, so why should we welcome them?

In general, however, the Finnish and Dutch construction workers are represented in these texts as tolerant, or at least, to be sensible they should be tolerant, show solidarity and accept their new colleagues. It is claimed that 'we are not racist and we do not want to be racist' (*Rakentaja* 13/2004, 16). There are also examples of construction workers asking for tolerance and solidarity to be shown towards the newcomers. Dutch texts accentuate the meaning of cooperation and working together every so often:

> *The tunnel is being built by people of numerous nationalities. The Frenchmen are running the machines, since they are the experts in 'drilling in the soft earth', as it is called. Vincent de Vos, 32 and from Delft, is one of the few Dutch citizens working beside many Portuguese workers on the Aurora* (3/2003, 27).

A special trend in this discourse in *Rakentaja* is to introduce foreign workers as examples of successful integration on the labour market. These foreigners are professional construction workers who have found their place in the Finnish society and also belong to the union. This discourse is one way to celebrate the foreigners and their having survived hardship in trying to enter the labour market and integrate into Finnish society. Positive stories about migrants who are working and union members were popular in other labour union magazines in the same period as well (see Simola 2008, 102).

Another purpose of this discourse seems to be the appraisal of the union. For example, as a text entitled 'The once cheated Nikolai Bratus now likes it in Finland' suggests, the fact that he likes Finland is thanks to the union that has fought for his salary and offered him a position of trust in the union organisation (*Rakentaja* 26/2004, 16). The foreigners with their example show that they have a good time as union

members, and at the same time it becomes clear how much the union can do for its foreign-born members. Both unions also seem to be urging foreigners to join them, not only because they want new members, but it is also for the union's best that foreigners are desired as members. When the foreigners join the unions and work under same conditions as everyone else, the position of construction workers in the labour market will be stabilised and the position of the unions in the market is secured (Forsander 2008, *Rakentaja*, *FNV Bouw Magazine*). In other words, foreigners are welcome in the unions, but only under specific conditions.

The employer in these discourses is given two types of subject positions. On the one hand, there are the bad employers that hire illegal workers and employ illegal competition in the labour market. On the other hand, a great many employers are good ones and willing to cooperate with the unions to get the rules and regulations right. It is, after all, in the common interest of all parties to obtain similar working conditions and salaries for all people working in the sector.

Worry for the ones who already are here

The third discourse, which was to be found almost only in *Bouw*, is the worry for refugees and ethnic minorities living in the country. It is often hard for these groups to find work in construction sector, and they are unwanted employees: 'Little chances to work for qualified refugees' (8/2003, 23); 'Muslims have a difficult time.…We get to hear again: Rather no immigrant' (6/2005, 25). Especially Muslims are facing distrust in the sector and more generally in society after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States. Also other problems of these groups are discussed, such as difficulties with language and in daily life. It is also told how employers deal with the Muslims that work in the sector and whether they show understanding towards their religious practices or not.

In these discourses, the position of the immigrants, especially refugees, is represented as subordinate to decisions of employers and officials. People are willing to work and work hard, but they are not given the opportunity and thus they are unemployed. It is also sometimes claimed that ethnic minority members are bullied by their Dutch colleagues, or not accepted as fully Dutch members of the society, which they experience as very hurtful. On the other hand, it is shown that it is possible for them to bully the native Dutch back (4/2006, 23; 6/2005, 29) and that as long as one does not mind too much, the working atmosphere between people is at least acceptable. Also in this discourse, it is the union that has to protect the weaker workers and look for solutions in order to get these groups of people employed.

The following table summarises the discourses and subject positions of the different participants represented in them.

Table 24: Discourses, subject positions and communities in the construction trade union magazines.

Discourse	Arguments	Foreign worker	Union member	Employer	Union	Communi-ties in work-place
1. Foreign labour as a threat or a problem	Unemploy-ment of 'own' workers, foreign labour as a cheap solution for employers, better regulation of foreign labour needed (regulation of employment terms, danger of illegal/ criminal practices)	Cheap labour, grey-market labour, abused by employers, unaware of rights, object of political and union decision making	1. A loser threatened by foreign labour and 2. asked to show solidarity	Greedy, dishonest, a common enemy of all employees and trade unions: the bad guy	Advocate for the weak and oppressed, protector of the labour market	'Us' as workers and 'them' the foreigners, also 'us' workers and 'they' the employers
2. Foreign workers are welcome	We need foreign workers/are in competition for workers with other countries; lack of workers in future; they will come anyway, but control is still needed	Has to be protected from abuse, professional and Hardworking , deserves the same as 'we' do; object of political and union decision making	1. The winner, rational, open-minded, buddy 2. asked to show solidarity	Cooperative , together against the bad employers	Provider of solutions, offering a home for all union members	Possibly 'us' including foreigners, but also separate groups

3. Refugees, immi-grants and ethnic minorities need help to integrate	Refugees, immigrants and ethnic minorities have a hard time in construction sector and society	Victim, hard life, hard to find work, problems integrating, willing to work	Mostly tolerant, not very much present in texts	Often prejudiced, not willing to hire refugees/ immigrants/ ethnic minority members	Helper, active participant in integration process	Separate groups even when working together

Symbolic communities in the workplace: Who is included and who is not?

Groups and communities are formed in society by marking boundaries. To know who one is and where one belongs, it is necessary to know where one does not belong (Hall 1999, 22, 139; Kivikuru 2000, 11). When it comes to possible communities in the workplace represented in the magazines discussed here, the strongest suggestion in *threat discourse* is that there is an in-group of Finnish or Dutch construction workers who must be protected from the possible threat of foreign workers. The foreign workers are the out-group and the newcomer in the market. From the perspective of the unions also their benefits have to be protected, but only because if they are not, the benefits of the in-group will degrade as well. The trade union is a protector or a gatekeeper: an active participant in the process of deciding who is welcome on the market and in the union community and who is not (Forsander 2008, 331−360; also Johansson 2012).

When the threat discourse is understood in this simplified form, it is rather difficult to see a community which would include all groups of construction workers. It is only the in-group of Finnish or Dutch workers whose organisational identity and position is strengthened in the texts by the idea that they form one front against the foreign invasion. They are the 'we' that the texts speak to. On the other hand, there is an element of solidarity also in the threat discourse, as it is expressed as the moral obligation of the union to protect the weak and by doing so also guarantee the rights of those that are in a better position (Alho 2010, 109; Simola 2008). The union is then also a moral gatekeeper trying to make it clear to union members why it is important to protect the rights of foreign workers and maintain a sense of solidarity towards them as well.

The favoured condition is that foreign workers join the unions and work under the same conditions as their Finnish or Dutch colleagues like the *welcoming discourse* suggests. It is in this situation that a real community including all construction workers

can be formed. In this case the union as the gatekeeper of the community especially welcomes foreigners and wants to show how important the foreigners are for the unions. It is these foreign union members that their colleagues praise as well. The union also tries to make it clear to 'average' members that these foreigners have to be welcomed. Yet it seems that even though the foreigners would be welcome in the community of the union, it is mostly their own group within the union that they are and are wished to be active in. They are the object of a special campaign ('Looking for the Polish', *Bouw* 9/2006, 9) or form their own club like the local union 'Section 7' in the FCTU does ('Colourful Christmas party at Siikaranta', 1/2005, 14–15; '"Seven" multiplies its number of members rapidly', 17/2005, 14–15).

Conclusion and discussion

In the light of this analysis, it is not surprising that at least the Finnish union, the FCTU, has had to explain its argumentation in public. The union has been accused of being racist or too protectionist. The FCTU's arguments can, first, be said to be based on seeding fear. While the union on the one hand claims to act for the best of both Finnish and foreign workers, and not against the latter group, the strongest line of argumentation keeps on warning about 'cheap foreign labour', criminal practices on the employers' side and so forth. It is the terminology of the feared forthcoming invasion and the demand that it be regulated that dominates the texts. Even though the union pleads for union members to welcome foreign workers, show solidarity and all join forces against the evil employers, it is questionable how well this message gets through when the accent is on the negative aspects of the fact that foreign workers are and will be coming. May it be that the reporting in *Bouw* is more balanced in the sense that it does not only concentrate on the forthcoming enlargement of the EU and its effects on the construction sector, the same fear that typifies the texts in *Rakentaja* is also visible in these texts.

When it comes to the welcoming discourse, even though it is meant to give a positive example of successful foreigners and fine professional workers, it does not avoid being stereotypical in other ways. The very fact that only successful foreigners are permitted to present their opinions in the magazines is too one-sided. Positive journalism of this kind raises questions of reliability in the mind of a reader (Pöyhtäri 2007, 99–100). Also, foreigners are good foreigners only when they follow the local rules and support the union. It is the rules of the society around them that set the standard by which foreigners are judged. Refugees in their turn are given the same

dependent victim status in which they regularly are represented to be in (see e.g. Horsti 2005).

If the purpose of the unions has been to warn their implied readers or members of the unions about the coming developments and the threats that go with them, the texts analysed here are functional. Then again, when thinking about the role of the magazines as creators and maintainers of organisational identities and communities, the texts do not seem to reach their goal fully. As early as 2003–2006, the FCTU's *Rakentaja* was to have been a medium that spoke to foreign-born union members as well. Now the texts only speak to a Finnish construction worker who is supposedly afraid of foreign workers and prepared to judge them or to show solidarity towards them.

When one considers that *Bouw* had until recently not been read by foreign workers, one could say that the magazine succeeded in creating some kind of community and maintaining it, since it is the only Dutch in-group that had to be maintained as a group. But if the magazine wants to become an important medium for foreigners as well, a great deal has to be done to include them in the union community. If we consider that *Bouw* is read by the few ethnic minority members working in the sector as well, the conclusion is mainly the same: the texts that discuss these groups discussed problems and represented the minority members as outsiders in the working community to some extent. Both unions are then facing challenges, if they want to send a message that the sector and the community of construction workers is open to all workers, wherever they come from originally.

5.2 Women's magazines and seniors' magazine *ET*: Personal views on multicultural society and integration

Me Naiset and *Libelle* are both well-known and well-read women's magazines in their home countries. Nowadays, both are published by the Finnish media company Sanoma that bought the Dutch publishing house VNU in 2001. Both magazines have been published for decades: *Libelle* was founded in 1934 and *Me Naiset* in 1952. They are the most read magazines in their segments: *Libelle* has a circulation of 430 000 copies (reaching 2.2 million readers), *Me Naiset* 147 000 (415 000 readers). The seniors' magazine *ET*, also a Sanoma publication, has a circulation of 233 000 (680 000 readers).

Libelle has been called a heritage publication, said to pass from mother to daughter; stories about families that have been reading the magazine for three or more generations and thus constitute a 'real *Libelle* family' are not rare in the magazine. *Libelle*

readers are in general considered to be family-centred and to like the cosiness of family life and home. The publisher describes the readers as average Dutch women: active in life, social, working part-time and having a family. Even though they are modern women, they put the family first. The average age of readers is 45,[39] but the age of the readers varies from 30 to 65. The magazine is more an institution than a magazine. *Libelle* has a highly interactive website offering, for example, all kinds of activities and courses in addition to regular content, a web television and radio channel and even a popular summer event. Within the body of Dutch women's magazines, *Libelle* concentrates more on life at and around the home than, for example, *Margriet*, which takes its readers more as working outside the home and as independent and open-minded. *Libelle* has a somewhat more traditional view on women.

Me Naiset takes the readers to be active women who are critical both about their own lives and societal trends and interested in people, lifestyle, wellness and new phenomena. Unlike *Libelle*, the aspect of family is not emphasised in the description of *Me Naiset*'s readership. In its segment, *Me Naiset* does not really differ much from its biggest competitor *Anna* in any way: their readers, their readers' assumed interests and the contents of the magazines all seem the same. The age of the readership of *Me Naiset* varies as much as that of *Libelle* and somewhat surprisingly – taking into account the youngish style of the magazine – 46% of *Me Naiset*'s readers are above 50 years of age.[40] The average age of a reader is most likely to be near to 45, just like the average age of *Libelle*'s readers. As the magazine has the appeal of being directed towards somewhat younger women (in their thirties), one can ask whether the magazine is made for an ideal me, the woman that the makers of the magazine believe that the reader wants to be. Ullamaija Kivikuru has also noticed this trend in women's magazines to be more youthful, while at the same time publishers are creating separate titles for more senior readers (Kivikuru 2012, 108).

ET is not a newcomer on the market, since it has been published since 1973. It is read mainly by women more than 50 years old but also by men, and many of the readers are retired.[41] Because of the life phase its readers find themselves in, *ET* is a seniors' magazine, but the magazine describes itself as a family magazine. As a family magazine, it has a broader readership than the women's magazines discussed here, although women's magazines are also read by men and *ET*'s readers are mostly

[39] http://www.sanomamedia.nl/nl-web-Onze_media-profielen-Libelle.php;
http://www.sanoma.nl/merken/artikel/libelle/print/merk-profiel/, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

[40] http://www.sanomamagazines.fi/mediaopas/portfolio/menaiset.html, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

[41] http://www.sanomamagazines.fi/mediaopas/portfolio/et.html, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

women. Like *Libelle*, the magazine mentions home as a central element in readers' lives, but also enjoyment, interesting stories, societal issues and factual information are considered important.

Both *Me Naiset* and *Libelle* clearly are lifestyle consumer magazines, and they offer the beauty, fashion, lifestyle and relationship contents and advice that women's magazines typically do. The magazines also put across that their readers are interested in new things and willing to try them out, and they love shopping. More than anything, this is a direct call from the publisher to advertisers to utilise the consumer potential of the readers. Consumer-oriented women's magazines are today the most typical subgenre of women's magazines, but there are also other types such as feminist opinion magazines, glossies, hobby and celebrity magazines. Furthermore, women's magazines are often discussed as being 'media for women'. When perceived as such, the magazines take part in the construction of gender-specific areas in life – they are both the result and a constructor of the prevailing gender order. Women's magazines have also been said to always function in one of two ways in relation to the gender contract between men and women: either strengthening it or challenging it, explicitly or implicitly. (See e.g. Töyry 2006, 209, 212–215.)

Me Naiset, as a long published magazine has often played an active role in societal events, especially when it comes to trends in the lives of women (Töyry 2005; Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011). For example, the magazine was active in the wake of feminism by offering space and visibility to various feminist interpretations and argumentation (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 54). Similarly, in the 1960s and 1970s, *Libelle* provided a space for feminist groups to discuss their emancipatory cause and goals in the magazine, though it did not count as an actual feminist magazine. These somewhat implicit feminist actions of women's consumer magazines have also been called 'lipstick feminism' (Holmes & Nice 2012, 87), which by no means has played an insignificant role in the emancipation of women.

When women's magazines are perceived purely in a gender-specific way, it can be easily forgotten that they are also an arena of other societal debates and take part in discussions of various issues, not only those directly related to gender (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 45). Finnish women's magazines differ from their counterparts in, for example, southern Europe: they are more oriented towards societal questions and they historically developed from organisational women's magazines (ibid. 21; Töyry 2006, 213). For example, *Me Naiset* has in recent years actively discussed various phenomena related to globalisation (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 71), including people in other countries and migration to Finland. Politics are discussed in women's magazines regularly (see e.g. Railo 2011; Saarenmaa 2010).

At the same time, life politics and individual and personal choices as to how people live their private lives has gained importance in society and has become a part of mainstream politics as well. Personal choices and family life are no longer a 'private' or feminine area only – if they ever were – but are very much public issues in society (see e.g. Ruoho 2005). Therefore, it is important that also magazines deal with the field of life politics and show how people of various origins are living their lives and making choices, e.g. whether to have children or not, or whether to work or stay at home to take care of the children.

This is an area of life in which Finland and the Netherlands differ quite significantly. In Finland, as in other Scandinavian countries, women have worked full time since World War II and in increasing numbers since the 1960s. The Nordic welfare state was constructed and maintained with the idea of a right and a duty to work (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990; Kettunen 2008 and Schmauch 2011). Working is perceived as a sign of normality and fulfilling the role of a good citizen. The welfare state and social security system have thus been built to enable both parents in the family to participate in working life. This is made possible for example through the provision of daycare as a basic and compulsory municipal service for families. A double income is also a necessity in providing a proper livelihood for a family. In the years from 1992 to 2005, both women's employment rate and the full-time employment rate in Finland were well above sixty per cent. The difference between the share of women and men having full-time employment (a minimum of 33 hours a week) was only 6.4 per cent (Thévenon & Horko 2009, 239).

In the Netherlands, the one-income model has long been the standard, meaning only one of the spouses works, usually the man, while woman stays at home and takes care of the children. Only from 1990s onwards has the share of women participating in working life reached the same levels as in the Scandinavian countries. This change has been part of the new neoliberal regime of market economy that measures the value of a person in terms of employability and productivity. People are not to be a burden to the society but to make themselves useful by working (Schmauch 2011). Still, there is a remarkable difference in the full-time employment rates: in 2005, 41.7% of Dutch women worked full-time, in comparison to 71.7% of Dutch men and 62.3% of Finnish women. Dutch women mainly work in part time, and there is a clear tendency for women to quit full-time jobs once they have children. Even though women already work in significant numbers, they do so on a part-time basis. The daycare system is not as established as in the Scandinavian countries: it is expensive and, on average, a child under two years is only cared for by that system for 17 hours per week, which also indicates that one of the parents is not working full time (Thévenon & Horko 2009, 239, 249, 264). In terms of financial support required from the spouse and the

necessity to partly provide childcare, Dutch women thus remain tightly bound to their households.

These differences in the two societies are reflected in the magazines studied here since the magazines have to offer solutions on these and other issues that touch the lives of the readers (Siivonen 2005; Töyry 2005, 224). My aim here is to acknowledge the strong bond that also women's magazines have with society at large and societal debates and to analyse how questions of women's lives, immigration and ethnic diversity are discussed in the magazines, without forgetting the characteristics of the media being analysed.

To accommodate or exclude?

For format-based women's consumer magazines such as the ones analysed here, the reader is the starting point for all choices made and journalism produced. The people presented, stories told and views taken have to be such that the ideal reader finds them interesting and suitable (Töyry 2005, 18–19; Töyry 2009). Whichever item the magazines want to introduce to their readers, it has to be done in a way that offers the readers an acceptable viewpoint on this specific item, or such solutions to possible conflicts in the life world of their readers so that they will still keep on reading the magazine (Töyry 2005). All items and phenomena thus have to be dealt with in a manner that touches the lives of the average readers of a magazine. The magazines 'make the journey together with their readers' (Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 25). This does not have to mean that the journalism in women's magazines has to be subjective, uninteresting or commercial only, but what is sought after is the right balance between suitable and intriguing (ibid. 28–29).

Another option would be to exclude the items from the magazine that would endanger the harmony within the magazine, cause too much dissonance in the reader (Holmes & Nice 2012, 131) or represent a risk to the maintenance of a readership by being too taboo, for example. This does not mean that the magazines could never take risks or make completely new openings. David Abrahamson discusses 'magazine exceptionalism': magazines are a specific media because, more than other media, not only are they a reflection of the sociocultural realities of the moment of their publication; they can also function and have functioned as catalysts of change in those sociocultural realities (Abrahamson 2007, 667; 2008, 146). As an example, he discussed the girls' magazine Sassy that, in the 1970s, began addressing the sexuality of teenage girls, unlike any other magazine before it. Today this is a central aspect in the most popular girls' magazines. Women's magazines have, on the other hand, been described

as trend followers rather than trend-setters when it comes to social conditions for women (Holmes & Nice 2012, 124). This does not, of course, hold for all magazines to same extent.

The option of accommodating items as a part of the magazine's inner world is chosen by *Me Naiset*, *Libelle* and *ET* when it comes to discussing immigrants and ethnic minorities. This suits the magazines' formats as well, since all magazines consider their readers to be active, interested in new things and following societal developments. *Me Naiset* acknowledges the arrival and presence of relatively new groups in society and their need to be part of society, whereas *Libelle* is not ignorant of the fact that the Dutch population consists of people with various cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and that this co-habitation has been heavily under debate lately. The magazines make an effort to accommodate these groups and debates in the world of the magazine: a world of women, families and other close relationships. Also *ET* is able to make such an accommodation, albeit it discusses these issues less often than the two women's magazines do.

Various techniques for bringing the people represented close to readers and building a common understanding can be observed in the magazines. The magazine texts articulate several discourses based on shared experiences and dialogic encounters between various groups. First of all, a discourse on family life offers possibilities for identifying oneself with or relating to the immigrants and ethnic minority members and their life situations. In a second discourse on multicultural encounters and integration, people and especially women of various backgrounds are brought together in the texts to share a dialogue on societal issues. In the third discourse, the shared experience of being a woman is an important aspect when stressing commonalities. Finally, personal interviews articulate a discourse on the celebration of personal immigration histories and also offer a place for individual voices of immigrants and ethnic minority members. Yet the discourses in the magazines are also attached to ongoing societal debates, and the discourses are not without requirements towards the immigrants and ethnic minority members discussed.

I will analyse the discourses and presentation techniques used in the magazines to discuss how the magazines articulate immigration and ethnic diversity. I will also analyse how the people discussed in the texts are articulated as individuals and in relation to others around them (including readers). I will at the end summarise and discuss the subject positions and symbolic communities that are articulated in the texts. The complete text material was read through for analytic purposes, and those texts that demonstrate the discourses the best are discussed below as examples of these discourses.

Family life as a positive form of cultural exchange

The first discourse articulates families and family life as sites of positive cultural encounters. The format description of *Libelle* states clearly that family is a central aspect for the readers, similarly to *ET*. In *Me Naiset* this aspect is not very pronounced, and there seem to be fewer texts concentrating on family issues than in *Libelle*, but overall the issue is visible in the magazine. The content analysis (see Chapter 4; N=84 in *Me Naiset*, 16 in *ET*, 160 in *Libelle*) showed that family relationships and matters are present in majority of the texts in all three magazines introducing or discussing people with an immigrant or ethnic background. In all the magazines, the typical representative of immigrants and ethnic minorities is articulated around families and close relationships, as well as professional identity categorisations. The people discussed were in most cases relatives, friends, close acquaintances or colleagues of Finnish and Dutch people, but also when they were not related to the Finns or Dutch, they were still discussed as family members of someone else.

A discourse on family relationships and families is not unusual for the representation of other groups of people in women's magazines. For example, politicians have, especially since the 1990s, discussed their personal lives and organisation of family life in women's magazines (Railo 2011; Ruoho & Saarenmaa 2011, 62, 68, 73). This development is partly in line with the personification of politics that encourages politicians to use women's magazines as a source of positive attention (Railo 2011). At the same time, it has become more acceptable for politicians to discuss their private lives in public. Jonita Siivonen has analysed how aspects of family life are discussed in personal portraits of various people (Siivonen 2007, 269), and Sanna Kivimäki studied the importance of family and other relationships in the portraits of male and female writers (Kivimäki 2002, 15–18) and found that these relationships were stronger in the portraits of women than of men. It seems then that immigrants and ethnic minority members as a group are not given a treatment that differs remarkably from the way in which other people are discussed in magazines and in the interview genre.

In the material studied here, the themes of family life are explicitly discussed, for example in articles entitled 'We are a family' (a series of interviews in 2003), 'Thea Laroussi has already been happily married to a Muslim man for thirty years: It is about respecting each other' (22/2004, 66) and 'Mothers and daughters' (12/2005, 40) in *Libelle* and 'A mother by adoption' (40/2003, 58) and 'The sons-in-law of the Finnish maid' (10/2005, 26) in *Me Naiset*, just to name a few examples. The idea of these texts seems to be to show through interviews how the Dutch and the Finnish are sharing their lives with people that originate from other countries or (religious) cultures and

how, besides reproductive work of home care and relationships, also cultural exchange takes place at this core level of society.

In the texts, the people interviewed are mostly Dutch or Finnish women by origin, and the texts discuss their view on family life, intercultural relationships, raising children and other daily matters. In the Dutch texts, the visuals used support the setting in the interviews: it is the Dutch woman on the front in the photo, while the foreign-born spouse is faded in the background (e.g. in 'We are a family' [2003] and 'Thea Laroussi has already been happily married to a Muslim man for thirty years' [22/2004], see photo on page 185). There are texts, however, like 'The sons-in-law of the Finnish maid', or the series of interviews 'The new Dutch' (in *Libelle* in 2003), or 'In Finland like at home' (in *ET* 2005) in which the foreign-born spouses are the main actors discussing their Finnish or Dutch partners and spouses, and other texts in which they are at least important co-actors. *Libelle* interviews adults that were adopted as children about their experiences (e.g. 51/06, 71; 10/05, 69), while *Me Naiset* also interviews the parents of young adopted children (e.g. 40/2003, 58; 19/2004, 10) and *ET* represents the grandparents' views on adoption ('I became a grandmother in China on 11 July 2004', *ET* 18/2006, 16). A broad variety of family relations are covered by the magazines, taking into account the variation in the family ties in the real lives of their readers.

In the examples mentioned, no matter who is interviewed in the texts, the issues discussed and points made are similar. People tell how their relationships began and how they ended up where they are now. An important element of the story is to tell who moved to which country and at which point – in all the stories the purpose was for the persons involved to live their lives together.

> *Massimo was supposed to come to Finland for six months, but in February it was six years. The Soini-Ferraguto family lives in a flat in Espoo. At seven in the evening, Riikka is cutting onions for the dinner, Massimo is feeding six-month-old Sara, and Sofia, 2, is playing on the floor* (*Me Naiset* 10/2005, 28).

> *It is a lazy afternoon in the Kim family. Sons Jorma, 16, and Aleksi, 14, are playing on a computer in their room.…Su Ran became an inhabitant of Nakkila by marriage. She got to know her husband in 1985 on a building site in Artjom, near Vladivostok.…'We got married in 1987 in Artjom'* (*ET* 7/2005, 26).

The people also discuss their ideas on their partner's native culture and how it fits together with what they themselves are used to in and outside their home environment. This offers points of identification, since the reader can observe that, despite some cultural differences, daily life and the reproductive work in families remains the same. One needs to earn a living; house-keeping chores have to be done

and the children fed, no matter what background people have. At the same time, one can observe a differentiation taking place, since the texts do tell about different habits belonging to different cultures and how these differences had to be dealt with in the relationships.

> *How does living with a foreign man differ from a Finnish relationship? 'It is more colourful, more difficult and asks for tolerance. Because we don't have a common mother tongue, you cannot always avoid misunderstandings'* (*Me Naiset* 10/2005*,* 29).

In the end, however, these differences are dealt with in a positive manner. All those interviewed say that even though understanding each other might sometimes take more effort than in a relationship between partners sharing a common national or cultural background, the interviewees regard their relationship as a highly valuable one, not only for them but also for their children, since after all:

> *I think it is a really great advantage to grow up in two cultures. It can only enrich your life. You are more open to new things. You understand people from another culture better* (*Libelle* 22/2004*,* 67).

By showing that cultural differences or mixing cultures is not a negative matter, the texts offer a positive view of the multicultural lives of families and the individuals in question. The couples have something good going on, and the persons interviewed are generally happy with their family lives. The foreign-born people are also explicitly praised by their loved ones: they are caring, adjusting easily into a new situation, kind and social. They are shown to have adopted local habits, and in that sense they have become 'normal' and like 'us' the Finns or the Dutch. Men even share in the housekeeping chores and in this way the reproductive tasks that traditionally belonged to women. At these points, also the gender contract between men and women is negotiated and occasionally stereotypical ideas on foreign men from 'masculine cultures' not taking part to reproductive work are being challenged: 'Massimo pays tremendous attention to me; he buys flowers quite often, too. He also does housework chores; a traditional Italian macho man would not do that' (*Me Naiset* 10/2005, 28).

Families and motherhood, or the maintenance of generations and daily human needs and thus reproduction, are according to feminist theory one of the three areas of the social contract in which women's place in society is negotiated (Töyry 2005, 49; Vuori 2010, 111; originally Pateman 1989). Besides reproduction, motherhood has been discussed as a cultural and social institution, as a question of sexuality and gender equality, as well as the division of labour in society (see e.g. Vuori 2010, 112–119). Due to the centrality of this issue in society and in women's lives, it is not surprising that it

is discussed in women's magazines. Women's magazines are also an arena of publicity in which the female identity in relation to family, relationships, home and nurturing can be negotiated as sources of joy and not only as obstacles (Siivonen 2006, 232). This attitude is shared in the examples discussed here, as they all articulate families and relationships as a positive factor in the people's lives.

It is the positive relationship with the native Finns or Dutch that defines the foreign family members as well. According to Maija Töyry, relationship stories in women's magazines are interpretations of actual relationships that the magazines have chosen to represent on purpose. The stories are written so that they reflect the values and goals of the magazine (Töyry 2005, 37). Seen in this light, multicultural relationships can be interpreted as a positive value that all magazines discussed here are promoting on purpose.

The views discussed here are, however, also an easy and safe choice for the magazines. Probably the publishers believe it is easier for their readers to accept people as part of 'us' when those people are already sharing their lives with at least some of 'us', so they offer easy-to-digest examples of cultural co-existence to their readers. It would be a more brave choice for the magazines to show people who come from actual immigrant families or ethnic minorities and do not have any contact with the society around them through family relationships or friendships. These texts are there, too, but to a much lesser extent: in *Me Naiset* there is one text discussing the life of an immigrant family ('The Finnish happiness of Fatima and Omar', 50/2003, 31) and *Libelle* portrays some ethnic minority families as a part of reports that cover various families.

Families and friends in letters from readers

Letters from readers in *Libelle* (one-fifth of all texts) continue the same discourse on foreign-born family members and friends as the family-centred texts discussed above. Readers of the magazines typically write in the sent-in-letters about a family member or a friend, or another person they are close with. People who immigrated to the country a long or short time ago also regularly send in letters and tell about their Dutch family members and friends. This shows that, in the Netherlands, people with an immigrant or ethnic minority background are not a distant group to the readers. Instead, they are people that the readers share their lives with and with whom they have common experiences and histories. Or the writers are readers of the magazine themselves, equal to other readers. In *Me Naiset*, letters from readers did not comment on this kind of issue, and the only letter from reader that dealt with immigration discussed adoption.

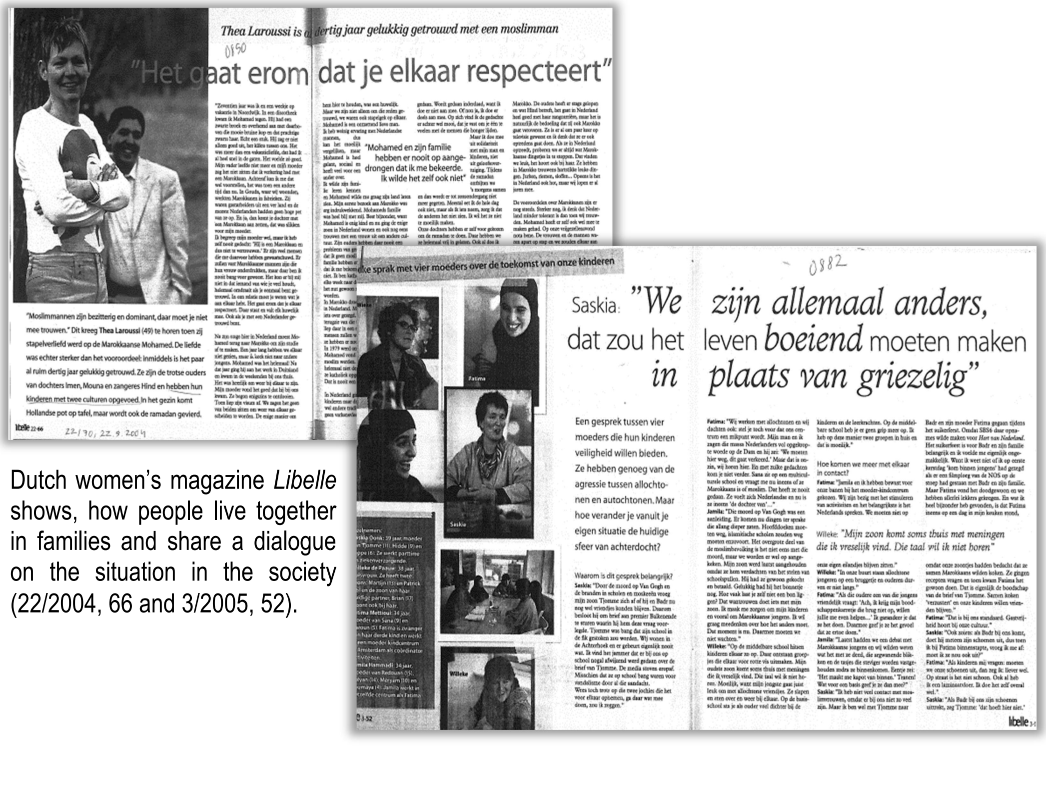
In *ET*, there was one letter commenting how one person and a close relationship can change your whole life – the writer seems to be an immigrant.

The tone in these letters from readers is altogether positive towards immigrants, the multicultural society and the people of different origins that live in it. People in *Libelle*, for example, write about how cultural differences have not been an obstacle to a long marriage (35/2003, 8), how happy they are with an African son-in-law who has made their daughter so happy again (19/2004, 8) or with their hardworking home help with a refugee background and how the writer and the home help share the experience of fighting red tape, albeit for different reasons (20/2004, 9). Readers who themselves are immigrants but married to a Dutch person, write how they have integrated and how much they appreciate their Dutch friends and families (e.g. 8/2004, 9; 7/2004, 9). Also, the opposite type of examples are published: there are letters stating how a marriage with a foreigner will not work out, probably due to cultural differences (9/2003, 6), and how attitudes in society have become harsher (43/2005, 9).

Letters that discuss negative events in society are in favour of actions that bring people closer together and create a common understanding. The readers show in their letters how they or others help illegal migrants (1/2004, 6) or would like to pay more attention to suppressed Muslim women (13/2005, 6). People are worried about society when their adopted children or friends of their children of colour are not tolerated (2/2003, 6; 27/2004, 6), or even 'completely devastated' when they have heard someone saying on the radio that maybe it was a good thing that illegal migrants were killed in a fire at Schiphol airport, because then it is eleven fewer persons living lives paid for by society (4/2006, 8). With various examples, people show that their lives are touched by ethnic minorities, immigrants with origins in various backgrounds and immigration, and that they have nothing against it.

Since letters from readers are included in a magazine as a result of a selection performed by its editors (Töyry 2005, 87), it is not surprising that they are in line with the positive attitude of the magazine towards cultural exchange in people's personal lives. Letters from readers can be read as testimonials, as they put forward the real-life experiences of actual people. Due to their authenticity, they may even be more powerful as testimonials than journalistic texts can ever be. Letters from readers continue and strengthen the discourse on positive intercultural family and other close relationships that the magazines articulate in their journalistic texts and make it more credible. They contain a strong articulation in favour of cultural encounters between various population groups. As such, they offer strong evidence to the editors of the magazines that the choice they make in introducing these views to the readers is well-placed.

The theme of family life and relationships is not the only way in which the magazines show this kind of connection between people of different origins. No matter what the theme is, immigrants and ethnic minority members are in most cases presented as family members, friends, colleagues or something else related to Finnish and Dutch nationals. Of course, this is not remarkable as a fact: people who live in these countries are likely to encounter other people in those countries and build relationships with them. What is remarkable is the regularity with which and the way in which the magazines articulate these connections. The magazines seem to want to pay attention to the friendly and close coexistence of various people instead of the idea of separateness. Family and other close relationships are the nodal point around which the representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities is articulated. This is maybe a light way to approach the issues, but it is also in line with the experiences of many of their readers, who do not perceive the matter to be complicated or value-laden, but rather to be personal and intimate.


Thea Laroussi is dertig jaar gelukkig getrouwd met een moslimman

"Het gaat erom dat je elkaar respecteert"

"Mohamed en zijn familie hebben er nooit op aangedrongen dat ik me bekeerde. Ik wilde het zelf ook niet"

"Moslimmannen zijn bezitterig en dominant, daar moet je niet mee trouwen." Dit kreeg Thea Laroussi (49) te horen toen zij stapelverliefd werd op de Marokkaanse Mohamed. De liefde was echter sterker dan het vooroordeel: inmiddels is het paar al ruim dertig jaar gelukkig getrouwd. Ze zijn de trotse ouders van dochters Imen, Mouna en zangeres Hind en hebben hun kinderen met twee culturen opgevoed. In het gezin komt Hollandse pot op tafel, maar wordt ook de ramadan gevierd.

...ke sprak met vier moeders over de toekomst van onze kinderen

Saskia: "We zijn allemaal anders, dat zou het leven boeiend moeten maken in plaats van griezelig"

Een gesprek tussen vier moeders die hun kinderen veiligheid willen bieden. Ze hebben genoeg van de agressie tussen allochtonen en autochtonen. Maar hoe verander je vanuit je eigen situatie de huidige sfeer van achterdocht?

Waarom is dit gesprek belangrijk?

Hoe komen we meer met elkaar in contact?

Willeke: "Mijn zoon komt soms thuis met meningen die ik vreselijk vind. Die taal wil ik niet horen"

Dutch women's magazine *Libelle* shows, how people live together in families and share a dialogue on the situation in the society (22/2004, 66 and 3/2005, 52).

Multicultural dialogue and integration

The second discourse on multicultural dialogue and integration reveals itself especially in some reports in *Libelle* and *Me Naiset*. These magazines published reports on a variety of societal issues that, on the surface, do not seem to have a great deal in common. When looked at in the context of ethnic diversity and immigration, however, they articulate a discourse which creates communality and common understanding between individuals and groups of different backgrounds, while also sharing similarities in other respects. I call this a multicultural integration discourse, since it acknowledges certain problems in the society, as well as the existence of various cultural groups and their right of existence, but still creates a bond between various groups. In comparison to the first discourse discussed above, the second discourse exits the terrain of families and guides the readers towards larger societal questions. The magazines take an actively positive and community-building stance towards current issues in the society that threaten to drive various population groups apart.

One obvious example of this multicultural discourse is to be found in a report that was published in *Libelle* in January 2005 (3/2005, 52–54): We are all different: That should make it interesting instead of scary' (see photo on previous page), published after the turmoil caused by the murder of Theo van Gogh in November 2004. After a series of events in which both Christian schools and Muslim mosques had been attacked and set on fire, the magazine called together a group of Dutch women with and without an ethnic minority background. A common denominator of the group was that they were all mothers and about the same age. These women discussed what in their opinion should be done about the growing atmosphere of anxiety in society and told readers how they were talking about the situation with their children. In photos, the women were shown sitting around a table, talking with each other.

The report was written in the form of a dialogue between the women and, as the subheadings show, the purpose was to elaborate on how to build up a mutual understanding and a sense of communality: 'How do we get more contact with each other? How do we get rid of the prejudices against each other? How are we going to get further with each other now?' In the text, the women bring up examples from their and their children's lives of how they connect with 'the others'. The women discuss the importance of learning the Dutch language and being active in society. They tell how their children play together with other children, how they do not accept insulting language towards Muslims or Christians from their children, and how they have made contact with a family of a different ethnic background. For example:

Fatima: Many women are afraid to be excluded, so when a Dutch woman with a smile on her face comes to a Moroccan who does not know the language that well yet, then I do have the idea that she would begin to flourish.

Jamila: This time everyone passes on the responsibility to someone else. That goes wrong. Nobody searches for it by her/himself. You cannot throw it all on the government. Look at your own deeds and responsibilities.

Willeke: But that does not yet bring you together. I would like to organise an event where everyone could show what they eat in their country. We don't always have to discuss the difficult questions, right?

The report can also be read as a practical guide for meeting 'the other' in a positive way. Following the ideas of contact hypothesis, public journalism and socialisation by George Herbert Mead, Pentti Raittila (2004, 223–257) argued that when journalism represents people that belong to a minority 'out-group' in a natural contact with the majority 'in-group', it increases the likelihood that the reader will accept the minority member in the in-group as well. Dialogue in journalism, represented between immigrants/minority members and majority members, may enhance contact and dialogue in real life as well, and helps to decrease the feeling of 'otherness' towards each other, though this cannot be guaranteed. Presenting women from different backgrounds in a meaningful dialogue with each other has the potential to function this way. Especially in situation in which there have been conflicts between various population groups, the magazine is actively promoting an approach that enhances common understanding instead of conflict.

Another example of the multicultural integration discourse on the dialogical coexistence of different people is a report on a VMBO high school (a vocationally oriented high school that many children with an immigrant background typically go to and which is often perceived as being of lower quality) in which some teachers, but mostly the students of one school class are interviewed. In short personal interviews, the children discuss their families, friends, school, hobbies and dreams. The representation is the same to everyone, regardless of their family background. By pointing out who is friends with whom and what the children think about possible cultural differences, the text also shows that children from majority and minority backgrounds have a natural contact with each other at school. Jeroen, 14, relates for example, 'I spend time with Mohammed, Hamza and Zakaria, Moroccan boys, but that does not matter at all to me.' On the other hand, Bas says, 'The boys in our class are in two groups. The Moroccan boys are more lively than the Dutch: sometimes they listen less, but we get along well.' Zakaria of Moroccan heritage says, 'I judge a Moroccan boy or a Dutch boy on who he is, what they does. Not on his group. Mostly

I spend time with Moroccan boys' (48/2005, 61–70). Also here, the magazine actively seems to articulate the view that neither VMBO high schools nor their pupils are a source of societal problems, as often is maintained in public discussions. Instead, the schools are an arena for positive multicultural encounters.

The multicultural society and how to live together is also discussed for example in an article called 'Five years after September 11', published in 2006 (36/06, 41). In the article, a teacher who is Moroccan by origin, a florist from Amsterdam and a policewoman relate how they promote cultural dialogue in various ways in their work. Similarly, the director of a prize-winning multicultural centre discusses how 'We have to co-integrate more than integrate' (53/2004, 29). The three last-mentioned articles are not constructed in the form of a dialogue, but their idea is to promote multicultural dialogue in other ways: by giving a voice to various people who, each in their turn, tell readers how to create a dialogue or by giving an expert in multicultural dialogue the opportunity to speak.

Besides its regular articles, *Libelle* also chose to actively promote integration and multicultural dialogue. In October 2004 (41/2004, 23–37), *Libelle* published twelve pages of special articles and interviews dealing with multicultural society and integration. The special section was inspired by a similar special issue that had been provided for the use of feminists at the forefront in previous decades. In *Libelle*, women's participation in working life – also participation by women from ethnic minorities, was discussed on a few occasions as the second wave of feminism. The 'PaVEM' pages were to promote the participation of minority women and, in this sense, they also form a part of the feminist project that the magazine, at least subtly, was taking part in. The pages were related to the work of the national Participation of Women from Ethnic Minorities (PaVEM) commission, and Princess Maxima, Argentinean by origin, was a member and the public face of this commission.

In the work of PaVEM, language is seen and promoted in the texts as the key issue in working towards integration. The call is especially directed to Muslim women and minorities. If these women learn the language of their adopted country, they are no longer isolated and can participate in society, as well as become more emancipated at home. The women can also help their children to participate and function better. The role of women as mothers relates to reproduction, through which they are taking care of their families and children, but also bringing them up to be suitable citizens in the society around them (see e.g. Vuori 2010, 113).

These texts are also an articulation of the Dutch integration policies that consider language skills as a key element for immigrants and ethnic minorities to become accepted as members of society (see also section 5.3). In learning the language, also the women of ethnic minorities are required to show their willingness to be members of

society. Perhaps in the future, in conformity with neoliberal and market-oriented policies, they could even become employable and productive members of society. (See also Schmauch 2011.) The women have a double role, since they are not only expected to be useful themselves, but also to assist their children in becoming useful in society. By learning the language and becoming independent of their husbands, especially women of Muslim origin can also be liberated from patriarchal rule.

This message is repeated in the report of Maxima's visit to a women's cultural centre at which language is taught, in Maxima's letter to *Libelle* readers, in the introduction to the twelve pages and in interviews that represent women (a woman from Suriname and her daughter, who is Dutch, and a former refugee from Iran) who have done what is necessary to integrate. These women learnt the language, studied, worked and found their place in society while ensuring that their children also find a place. They are the good immigrants or minority members who strive to be 'normal' and useful members of society. An article that presents a dialogue between two neighbours, a Dutch woman giving Dutch lessons to her neighbour and the neighbour, who is originally from Afghanistan, is in line with this central message: it is important to get to know each other and the language, to participate and to teach it all to your children as well.

In *Me Naiset*, work is articulated as the factor that brings people of various origins together in a multicultural dialogue. The magazine published for example articles titled 'What unifies them' (11/2003, 20), an interview of people who clean for a living; 'Colour at work' (20/2005, 13), a presentation of Finnish and foreign-born nurses, and 'The girl who went into the army' (50/2006, 30). This is probably no coincidence, as one of the strongest lines of argument in the Finnish public discussion, which tends to be negative towards immigration in general, is that immigrants are welcome as long as they work or do something useful for their money (see e.g. Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010; Simola 2008). Work has also traditionally been the most important way to integrate into Finnish society, which was built on the idea of full employment (Kettunen 2008). It is a requirement of both the Nordic welfare state and present-day neoliberal policies that people are employable and thus useful to society (Esping-Andersen 1990; Schmauch 2011). In reports of this kind, *Me Naiset* shows that immigrants are hardworking people and, importantly, also colleagues of Finns.

In 'What unifies them', four cleaners are interviewed about their opinions while they work. This is what unifies them in the text: they all have the same job and share similar experiences with their work. The text consists of short individual interviews and is not written in a dialogue form. The cleaners are not talking with each other, but to the reader of the magazine. The photo, however, shows the cleaners together and gives the impression that the people interviewed are close colleagues: the four of them are

sitting close to each other, smiling. The photo is surrounded by short descriptions of the four and their hobbies. One is the 'angel in the house', second one a 'technique freak', third one is a 'dreamer' and the fourth 'an artistic soul'. The photo and texts together seem to be saying that these people have in common their work but also the fact that they all have another life and identity outside their work. They are not only cleaners, but individuals, too.

In 'Colour at work' a nurse of South American origin is mainly discussed by her Finnish colleagues and in the photo (on the next page) she is surrounded by them, everyone with a smile on her face. The Finnish colleagues tell the readers what it is like working with a foreigner and what they personally have in common with her. For one of them, it is motherhood; for another grief and caring for family members. Luza, the main character, makes her point by saying that things get settled when you are active and go and talk to the employers. The report also makes a statement about how hard it is for foreigners to find a job in Finland and how the immigration officials should be proud to have South American Luza and other immigrants working at the hospital. Also this text shows an example of how people of various origins have natural contact with each other in their day-to-day work. The texts also articulate the view that work is a normal part of life through which immigrants can attach themselves to Finland and the Finnish way of life, and thus become more like 'us'.

The examples coming closest to the actual discourse of integration and multicultural dialogue in Me Naiset are a short story about a school class with a total of 23 different mother tongues spoken and several children saying a few lines each (8/2005, 9) and another text on Muslims, 'The Muslim among us' (11/2004, 8). The latter text is quite an exception, as Muslims were hardly discussed in the Finnish magazine material at all. In the latter text, a Finnish student of photography and her Muslim-origin model, both women, discuss how they experienced a photo shoot session with one taking pictures of the other and what they learnt from it culture- and religion-wise. Muslim women were the focus in one other report that discussed the use of scarves by Muslim women (3/2005, 22: 'Lots of noise about scarves').

viikon**olennaiset**

KOONNEET **KAISA VIITANEN, LAURA HÄKLI** KUVAT **ARI K. OJALA**

GALLUP

Millaista on, kun on **ulkomaalainen työkaveri?**

■ Sairaanhoitaja **Minna Heiskanen**: "Luza on tosi säkenöivä tyyppi. Uskon, että se johtuu osittain hänen alkuperästään."

■ Perushoitaja **Kirsti Luoto**: "Yövuorossa tulee puhuttua paljon. Mieheni kuoli viime syksynä. Luza kertoi, että Kolumbiassa suku ja ystävät tekevät lesken puolesta kaiken, jotta hän voi keskittyä suremaan. Silloin olisin toivonut asuvani Kolumbiassa. Viime aikoina olemme puhuneet ruuasta, ja sain Luzalta kylmän feta-paprikakastikkeen ohjeen."

■ Sairaanhoitaja **Riina Mattila**: "Äitiys yhdistää meitä. Kun Luza kävi Kolumbiassa, hän raahasi tänne kaikenlaista synttärirekvisiittaa. En vielä kään ole unohtanut hänen tekemäänsä valtavaa Hello Kitty -kakkua!"

Miten työhön sopeutumista voisi helpottaa?

■ Sairaanhoitaja **Luza Aroca**: "Minä ja chileläinen mieheni olemme aina itse koputtaneet työnantajan ovea. Uskon että tutustumalla ja puhumalla asiat selviävät. Esimiehen taidosta on paljon kiinni."

Väriä töihin

EI OLE HELPPOA OLLA ulkomaalainen Suomessa. Maamme 150 000 maahanmuuttajasta peräti kolmannes on työttömänä.

Työhaluja ja koulutustakin olisi, mutta suomalaiset työnantajat eivät edelleenkään kutsu eksoottista nimeä työhaastatteluihin saati ota tätä töihin. Työministeriön vähemmistövaltuutettu **Mikko Puumalainen** pitää tilannetta surkeana.

– Suomalainen yhteiskunta on ilmeisesti tosi äveriäs, kun se voi pitää yhden ihmisryhmän työelämän ulkopuolella, Puumalainen puhisee.

Mutta toukokuisena maanantai-iltana helsinkiläisessä Marian sairaalassa sisätautiosastolla ei ole ulkomaalaisvastaisista asenteista tietoakaan. Ikämuorit katselevat pastellinsävyisissä aamutakeissaan A-studiota, kun sairaanhoitaja **Luz Adriana Aroca**, 35, saapuu yövuoroon.

– Mites Emman kröhä, alkaako yhtään helpottaa, Luza kysyy kansliassa kollegansa **Minna Heiskasen** tyttären vointia.

– Paranemaan päin, onneksi, iltavuoroa lopetteleva Minna vastaa ja ojentaa potilasraporttinsa Luzalle.

Puumalainen olisi varmasti näkyvyn tyytyväinen. Osasto S8:ssa on kansainvälinen henki. Luzan lisäksi potilaita hoitaa muun muassa somalialainen sairaanhoitaja **Mohamed** sekä lääkärit perulainen **Jesus** ja venäläiset **Andrei** ja **Alla**.

– Kerran yksi mummo kurkisti varovasti ovesta ja kysyi: "Helsingissä minä menin nukkumaan, missäs minä nyt olen?" Luza kertoo.

Luza tuli Suomeen kolumbialaisesta Tunjan vuoristokaupungista 17 vuotta sitten. Hän opiskeli erikoissairaanhoitajaksi ja meni naimisiin, sai kolme tyttöä ja teki sairaalassa 13 vuotta pätkäkeikkaa.

Kaksi viikkoa sitten oli Luzan uran juhlahetki. Hän sai vakituisen työpaikan.

Me Naiset pays special attention to women, who work as colleagues of Finns (20/2005, 13).

Altogether the attempts to present or create dialogue between different population groups are less common in *Me Naiset* than in *Libelle*, they are not that clearly discussing the issue of how various population groups can live together in a multicultural society. However, the texts do have a similar tone that tries to show positive points of contact between members of minority and majority groups and occasionally even create a dialogue. Reports that looked for commonalities on the one hand and differentiating aspects on the other through a theme that connects people were also commonly used in the multicultural television-programme *Basaari* by Finnish public broadcaster YLE in 1996–2008. According to Karina Horsti, cultural differences become negotiable and

ambivalent in this type of report, and are no longer a static or given fact (Horsti 2005, 223). The reports contributed, then, to a positive image of cultural coexistence.

A difference between *Basaari* and the magazines discussed here is that the magazines were not established for the specific purpose of promoting a discourse of integration and multiculturalism. It can be argued that, in comparison to media products that have that kind of goal, the magazines are actually making an even clearer statement in favour of a positive view on multiculturalism, as it is not self-evident for them to make such claims. At the same time, both magazines are approaching multiculturalism, immigrants and ethnic minorities from a perspective that borrows central elements from the integration discourses in both societies. These discourses contain requirements that people integrate and become normal like 'us' by learning the language, working and, in so doing, being employable and useful to society.

Celebration of womanhood and shared experiences

A third discourse in *Libelle* and *Me Naiset* concentrates on strong women who have a common experience of some kind to share. For example 'Mothers in politics' (37/2005, 22), 'The women of the black school' (29/2006, 40), 'Women in the Netherlands, strength, courage, trust: Nine women tell about their lives '(49/05, 57), 'From a troubled child to a successful woman' (23/2005, 24), 'A new beginning is...' (1/2004, 39) in *Libelle* and 'Always under judgement' (51–52/2003, 26), 'A girl who went into the army' (50/2006, 30) and 'Faith defeats death' (15–16/2004, 26) in *Me Naiset* represent this discourse. The women in these articles discuss a certain experience in an individual interview, and the interviews are bound together with an introductory text.

Significantly often, at least one of the interviewees has an immigrant or ethnic background. The magazines are showing how experiences are shared by people of various origins and how all these women are strong in their lives. Being a woman and all that comes along with it connects the women: they all have to find a way to deal with their relationships, care, children, work, and many more aspects of their lives. There is a strong sense of celebrating womanhood in the texts. The women are heroes in their own lives, no matter what their origin is.

Their shared womanhood also leads to active questions of emancipation in *Libelle*: the questions of being financially independent, of working and of caring for others are questions that are central to all Dutch women, who have traditionally been stay-at-home mothers ('Time for a new wave of emancipation', 48/06, 56; 'Emancipation: 8 women, 8 opinions', 10/06, 51). It is possible for the magazine to discuss Dutch

women of all origins as having a similar goal in this respect. In the Netherlands, many women still do not work at all, and the ones that do work part time (see page 177 above). In the societal neoliberal discourse, women are pushed to work, as society also needs the tax income of working women. Women are no longer seen as being useful enough when staying at home with their children: instead, they should also be active in the labour market. However, this is sometimes perceived as problematic by the women themselves, who despite being highly educated, often prefer the traditional model of one breadwinner that enables them to stay at home and take care of the children (Thévenon & Horko 2009, 239, 249, 264).

As a result, Dutch women sometimes need to be pushed to make the step towards working outside the home. *Libelle* takes part in the societal debate by discussing women who work outside the home, but also women who have decided not to work. *Libelle* cannot risk losing readers by giving its support to working women only. The emphasis is, however, more on the women who have decided to work and on the question of how they combine work and childcare. The challenge for women of ethnic minorities is a more complicated one that sometimes includes lacking language skills and education. Yet the goal for women of all origins in the Netherlands is more or less the same: to become employed outside the home. To an extent *allochtoon* women actually more often have jobs than their native Dutch sisters: of Surinamese women, 45% are financially independent versus 39% of native Dutch women, the magazine reminds the readers (21/2006, 28; see also Tesser & Dronkers 2007, 382, 390). The ethnic minority women can also be an example to other women in this respect, like the three women in 'Emancipation: 8 women 8 opinions' show.

In the *Me Naiset* article 'Always under judgement' (51–52/2003, 26), four women (of which three are at least second-generation immigrants) share a critical view of the expectations that society and women themselves have in relation to their looks: the emancipatory goal for women is to accept themselves as the persons they are.

More typical of *Me Naiset* than reports with women of both Finnish and immigrant origins is, however, to interview and discuss immigrants or people with immigrant background separately from Finns. There are more reports only discussing immigrants, their lives and *their* shared womanhood than there are reports that show how the experience of being a woman is shared by people with different origins. Examples of such reports are 'It's going well' (37/2005, 32), a report on candidates in the 2004 municipal elections in 'The essentials of the week' (43/2004, 10) and 'Oh the persevering Finnish sister!' (28/2003, 18). The tone of the reports on immigrants is positive, and the reports show how various immigrants are indeed making the best out of their lives in Finland, how they work, what they think of the Finns and Finnish culture, and how they have integrated themselves but still preserve their own culture.

The texts maintain a heavy articulation of the view of what is considered to be acceptable and desirable behaviour from immigrant women. These people are connected with the Finns by family ties, since almost all of them are married or in a relationship with a Finn, and many have children with Finns. The women are told to be active in life: they all work or run their own businesses and have many hobbies; they write books and are even active in associations and politics. As mothers and spouses, they also have a clearly defined place in society. The article 'It's going well' announces that the text presents immigrants who are doing well and enjoying their lives in Finland. These women 'have been invited to discuss, why some immigrants integrate better in Finland than others', and it is obvious that these women belong to the group of well-integrated and strong women: they have many qualities that are desirable for all immigrants and women to achieve. In one photo, one of them is presented among Finns in a dance class, well-integrated and smiling (see page 196). These immigrants are also an an example of people who have managed to become useful and 'normal' like 'us' in ways that benefit society. In addition to womanhood, successful integration is celebrated in these stories.

In these articles, it is not only the foreign women who discuss their personal lives, since it is also the Finnish (women) that are discussed. The texts turn the gaze of the reader from the immigrants to the reader herself, as the immigrants are telling how they see Finnish women and Finland. In 'Oh the persevering Finnish sister!', this is the explicit purpose of the article, while in other texts the 'ethnic mirroring' is a more subtle element in the text. In 'Oh the persevering Finnish sister', foreign-born women comment while washing the rugs, 'Finnish women are strong and get things done. All their time is spent taking care of work, home, children and husband. They have zero social life (28/2003, 21). In other reports, immigrants are involved with very Finnish things as well: for example, they go to the sauna and enjoy it (' Enchanted by the steam of sauna', 25/2003, 19). Ethnic mirroring is a strategy often seen in Finnish media texts. Instead of focusing on the main actors of the texts, the purpose is to hear what they have to say about 'us' and our habits (Horsti 2005, 240). Texts in Me Naiset also put this strategy regularly in use. The ethnic mirror shows the readers what is perceived as normal and desirable, and thus what the immigrants should strive for in their own lives.

Even when the matters dealt with and the language used are similar to the reports and interviews in Libelle, in favour of the multicultural society and integration, and celebratory towards women and successful immigration histories, the fact that immigrants mostly appear on their own, separately from Finns, tends to isolate them and stresses their difference and different position in society. When the focus of the immigrants is regularly directed towards Finns and Finnish culture instead of common

and shared aspects of life, the immigrants are also articulated as external commentators watching others from a distance and striving to become one of 'us' instead of already belonging to 'us'. Rather than a real critique of Finnish society, the discussion also often turns into one of the stereotypical behaviours and habits of the Finns. However, a positive value can also be seen in this, as the immigrants at least have a personal say on the subjects and possibly offer new insights for readers who would otherwise be observing these topics from their persistent personal perspectives. Sharing views on Finnish way of life could also be interpreted as a shared experience with the readers.

It does generally seem that in *Libelle* ethnic minority or immigrant women are seen more on a line with their originally Dutch sisters. They share similar societal goals concerning issues of employment and upbringing. Employment outside the home is articulated as the standard that all women should try to achieve in their lives. When *Me Naiset* separates immigrant women from Finnish women and allows the immigrants to comment on Finnish women, it represents Finnish women as being somewhat ahead of the immigrant women in terms of paid labour outside the home and thus emancipation. Finnish women are articulated as the model of the 'normal' and desirable standard which also immigrant women should strive to achieve in their personal lives.

In Finnish women's magazine *Me Naiset* immigrant women are doing well with integration (37/2005, 32-36).

Personal interviews: A celebration of personal histories and a space for individual voices

Finally, personal interviews articulate a discourse on the celebration of individuals and their immigration histories and lives. Interviews also give space for individual voices to be heard. A total of 90% of all texts in *Me Naiset* feature one or more immigrants being quoted personally. Also in *Libelle*, ethnic minority members and immigrants were quoted regularly, i.e. in almost half of the texts. The reason for the less regular use of quotes in *Libelle* than in *Me Naiset* is partly due to the text types that are common in *Libelle* when it serves as a forum for discussing ethnic minorities and immigrants: letters from readers, other opinion texts and columns. Letters from readers and other submitted opinion texts, for example, form one-fifth of all examined texts in *Libelle*, and these texts quote minorities or migrants in only every tenth case. In these texts quotes are not typical, as the texts usually only present the opinion of the writer. The most typical piece in *ET* in 2003–2006 was a personal interview of an immigrant.

All in all, personal interviews are popular as a genre in women's magazines. Jonita Siivonen has analysed different functions and uses of personal interviews in her dissertation (2007), and they include a description of a life history, a personal portrait and paying a tribute to a certain person. Personal interviews offer readers the opportunity to see persons they normally know from the news in a new light or discussing issues other than the usual. For the interviewees, the interviews are a chance to influence their public image; for the interviewers they are a form of relationship building with their journalistic contacts. For all these reasons, it is important that the tone in the interviews remains positive (ibid. 352–353). In personal interviews it is the person that is central, not a certain issue or events. The interviews are thus not only an extension of topics in the news, they are an alternative way to view human lives (ibid. 354).

Generally, the most popular targets of personal interviews are artists of various kinds, politicians and people who are active in some area of culture, sport or business – i.e. they belong to an elite of some kind. 'Normal' people are mostly represented in the role of a victim or otherwise have an interesting story to tell (ibid. 129, 147). The person interviewed can be portrayed in the form of an autobiography (more or less truthful), through a specific theme, or in relation to some important others, for example, as is often the case when women are interviewed (ibid. 106). All these findings seem to be of relevance when it comes to the interviews in *Libelle*, *Me Naiset* and *ET*. Personal stories of immigration histories from regular people are celebrated, but also the celebrities are given voice.

In *Libelle*, the personal interviews present roughly three types of people. Firstly, well known artists and other celebrities (singers, actors and television personalities) are interviewed, but generally not very often. In the Netherlands, it is no longer so rare to have people with an immigrant or ethnic minority background in visible or remarkable positions in the society, so interviews with them could actually be more common. Both first- and second-generation immigrants (mainly those whose both parents were born abroad) are presented in this group of interviewees. The interviews discuss their personal lives and careers in ways that do not hide the ethnic background of a person, but without making it the only central element in the interview. For example, in the interview of singer Ruth Jacott (1/2003, 33), the interview first concentrates on her career. Then the discussion turns to the influences of famous black singer groups on her music and, finally, moves from there to her Surinamese roots and experiences as a Surinamese woman in the Netherlands.

The singer is not hesitant to maintain that she is Surinamese 'down to her toes', and that it is her roots and family she gets her strength and energy from. The second part of the article is devoted to a discussion of her family background and life. Perhaps the relative intensity of her maintaining her identity as Surinamese is why this line was made the title of the entire article. The title marks the importance of having an ethnic background. In this context, having an ethnic background is articulated as an asset, a personal quality that makes an individual the person she is. Even when ethnicity or being a migrant has caused people trouble or difficulty, for example because their migrant parents were poor, it is something that has made them stronger or ends up being a key factor in their lives. Ethnicity or an immigrant background is something to be proud of.

In *Me Naiset*, the celebrity 'immigrants' interviewed are actually not real immigrants, but second generation. In most cases, only one of their parents was born abroad and that is why these persons look a bit different than Finns usually do. Many of the interviewees are 'regulars' in Finnish women's magazines, including ex-Miss Finland Lola Odusoga, television presenter Axel Smith and actor Jani Toivonen. There are also new personalities, mostly from television: a weather girl, a TV chef, and presenters. Ethnicity or being an immigrant is most visible in the texts, in which the person interviewed is least known to the general public. There seems to be a need to discuss why and how the person differs from others. For example, in an interview of a Iranian-Finnish presenter, questions were about being an immigrant, about whether the interviewee had the identity of an Iranian or a Vantaa local, whether he had been to Iran, whether he was patriotic and served in the army, etc. ('Man of the week: Aram Aflatuni', 30/2003, 17) – despite the fact that he was born and raised in Finland (see also Haavisto 2011 about the different discussion of celebrities and ordinary people).

In other interviews, it is more common to discuss what a person does for living and how they ended up in that position, and only briefly mention their background or origin. In interviews with Lola Odusoga, a regular, the emphasis is wholly on her being a mother, her summer job as an actor or her plans to get married. She is a real celebrity whose background no longer needs to be discussed each time she is interviewed: the interviewer can concentrate on what is happening in her life right now ('Lola as mother', 18/2004; 'It is a luxury to be yourself', 32/2003, 9; 'Summer brides' 21/2005, 14). Odusoga's representation in Finnish publicity has been analysed as an exemplar of Finnish multiculturalism. She has been used and celebrated in the media as proof of the new tolerant Finland, as she marked the new era in Finnish beauty contests by not being a typical blond Miss Finland. At the same time, however, her non-whiteness was mostly not discussed (Kyrölä 2003; also Haavisto 2011).

It is remarkable how many of the people interviewed in *Me Naiset* were second-generation immigrants. This was probably another safe way for the magazine to 'show its colours' and multiculturalism in the magazine. Actually, it is members of the in-group who just look a bit different were portrayed. This also reflects the situation in Finland: there are or were not yet that many immigrants who are celebrities or show their faces regularly for publicity purposes, and by that virtue be interesting personalities for a women's magazine to interview. Those people do actually exist to some extent, however, and the ones that were interviewed in *Me Naiset* were active in cultural life: dancers, designers, singers or writers. Mostly they were Europeans or Americans and had white skin colour.

Some of them have become well known personalities, like writer Roman Schatz, a German by origin, but still it is his role to comment on Finland and the Finns when he is interviewed. At any rate, it is what he is mostly known for, and he has made a living out of it (5/2006, 31). His interview in the research material represents a typical personal immigration history: why and when did he come to Finland, how has it been, what are his family relations here, what does he think of the Finns and what is he doing now. In between these questions, his literary work is discussed. Schatz is celebrated as a foreigner who has gained a special position in Finnish society and, as such, he is allowed to present his views on 'us'. Again the texts represent a showcase model of a successful immigrant.

This discourse of celebration of ethnicity or an immigrant background can also be seen in the second type of interviews with lesser-known people: immigrants or ethnic minority members who are not publicly known or who have, for example, written a single book based on their personal experiences and are thus experiencing their fifteen minutes of fame. These persons are celebrated in the interviews because of their experiences as immigrants or because of their ethnic background, which makes them

special in some sense. An example of this approach is a series of articles that *Libelle* published in 2003, entitled *Hollandse nieuwe*, or 'the new Dutch'. The series presented women who had moved to the Netherlands for various reasons. Newness seems to have been a relative denominator here, as some of the interviewees had lived in the country for as long as 20 years or more at the time of the interview.

The interviews concentrated on the immigration aspect of the personal histories and posed rather stereotypical questions on integration, differences in food culture and habits, possible plans to return and whether they felt at home in the Netherlands. It is very unlike Dutch texts to ask how a person feels about the Netherlands or the Dutch, but these texts asked that as well. The purpose of the series was to point out that

> *The Netherlands is no longer a country of wooden shoes only, but also a country of wraps and couscous. Knowing each other means understanding and respecting each other. And we here at Libelle want to lend a helping hand. Therefore every week a new Dutch person will be given the floor.*

The introductory text indicates that the introduction to these 'new' people is not meant to happen on a very deep level, but rather at the level of visible habits, traditions and artefacts. It can be questioned whether such an approach in the series actually serves to reinforce stereotypes rather than challenge them. Since the purpose of the articles was to bring people closer to each other by showing how people of various origins think and act in their daily lives, the articles could, however, be read as a way to celebrate 'the new Dutch' by giving them a face and a voice. This form of celebration is narrower than in the case of actual celebrities: outside the questions on food and other habits, there is not much room for other opinions or discussion.

This type of interview in *Me Naiset* has already been discussed above (e.g. 'It's going well', 37/2005, 32). *Me Naiset* has also discussed asylum seekers and refugees (mostly women) in various articles over the years. This is probably not a coincidence but an effort by the magazine, knowledgeable of the prejudices towards this group in society, intended to present this relatively new group to the readers in a positive light. Refugees and asylum seekers are articulated in a similar way as other immigrants. The magazine shows how they are doing well and being successful in life despite the difficulties that they faced earlier, that they work or at least want to work, and how they now may even be living a Finnish dream and making themselves useful ('I am an asylum seeker', 15/2003*,* 18; 'The two fights of Rheza' 40/2004, 22*;* 'The Finnish happiness of Fatima and Omar', 50/2003, 30).

Also *ET* published a series of six interviews in 2005 with a similar view on immigration: 'In Finland like at home' (in *ET* 2005). Regular immigrants, who mostly are in a family with Finns, are given a voice in personal interviews. The interviews

discuss the lives of the people, who they are, what they do for living, how they ended up in Finland, who their family is and what they were doing and thinking at the time they were interviewed. The interviews are personal immigration histories and as such, they portray the individuals quite extensively. The tone is positive: people are articulated as hard-working, caring, independent, professional and possessing other good values. Their lives in Finland are worth celebrating – although they are in Finland only 'like' they are at home, as the title reminds us.

Besides personal issues, there is even room to discuss more 'serious' societal and cultural issues, for example how elderly people are often left alone in Finland, unlike in other cultures, how Finland is a good place for women who want to live an independent life or how Finnish legislation is much softer on crime than in other countries. The interviewees can then also discuss societal questions that are relevant to them and potentially to the readers as well. A similar degree of freedom is given to one of the refugees interviewed in *Me Naiset* ('The two fights of Rheza', 40/2004, 22), who discusses Finland as a social democratic country and how that circumstance enables people to achieve more in their lives. Although the position offered to immigrants is narrow in the sense that it is restricted to commenting on one's own life and a few things around it, it is a positive thing that, through these interviews, the personal viewpoints and life histories of immigrants do receive some attention.

The third type of interviews in *Libelle* introduces politicians and other influential people, who discuss immigrants and ethnic minorities in particular or in addition to other topics. In *Me Naiset* and *ET*, these interviews are not to be found, which indicates that immigrants in Finnish society had not yet gained expert positions as some *allochtoon* have done in the Netherlands, or that these societal issues were not found worth discussing. Such multiculturalism experts in *Libelle* are, for example, Dutch Minister for Integration and Immigration Rita Verdonk (52/2004, 22; 51/2006, 24), politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali (50/2004, 62; 2/2006, 22), Amsterdam municipal official Ahmed Aboutaleb and Amsterdam mayor Job Cohen (13 and 15/2005). In these interviews people discuss their life and work, in which immigration and multicultural issues somehow play a role. The interviews of influential people differ from other personal interviews in that they are more issue-oriented than other personal interviews: they are based on a news event or other recent events or discussions in society. Thus these interviews are not so much celebrating them as persons as heralding their expertise and influential position.

Even when the interviewees themselves have a minority background, their position means they comment on the issues of multiculturalism or ethnicity not so much as a personal matter, but more as a matter that mainly affects other people. The interviews show these minority members in a special expert position, and the texts tell how these

minority group members fought their way through difficulties to insightful positions, mainly by working hard. Since these experts still represent a minority, their expertise is even more valuable than the expertise of other people. For example, Ahmed Aboutaled says, 'Muslims in the Netherlands cannot accuse me of racism, so I can say more' (13/2005, 56). He is not only an expert: he can also use words that others cannot use. He is articulated as a role model to other minority members when he says, 'Don't blame others; do something yourself.'

Besides ethnic minority members appearing in expert positions, *Libelle* published a series of interviews in 2006 in which a journalist with a Turkish minority background interviewed well known politicians, artists and other actors on their work and their lives. One could criticise this series of articles for being stereotypical in the sense that a journalist of minority background is interviewing others on minority and multicultural issues or interviews other persons with a minority background (Deuze 2002a, b; Ramdjan 2002). This would be too simplistic of a conclusion, since for example also top politicians such as Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende are interviewed in the same series, and not only on multicultural issues. Remarkably, the interview with populist politician Geert Wilders, who is famous for his anti-Islamic opinions, manages to avoid a discussion of the multicultural society and minorities and concentrates on party politics and elections instead.

The texts give an impression of a free and outspoken journalist who is not afraid to challenge her interviewees. For example, in an interview with a female politician, she asks, 'But how is it going to work out, then? Your party will soon win the election: you will become a minister, and then you will suddenly go on maternity leave? Some minister you are' (4/2006, 40). Or, in an interview with a well-known lawyer: 'You are the lawyer of Mohammed B., the murderer of Theo van Gogh. Murderers do not deserve a lawyer: they should be hanged upside-down from a church tower' (6/2006, 40).

The reader actually gets to know the interviewer as a person as well, since the interviews are written in the form of a dialogue, and the texts remark upon the interviewer and her behaviour through the interviewees. The interviews not only represent a dialogue between people with different backgrounds, but they actually also manage to give a very strong voice to a journalist who herself belongs to the Turkish minority. Not only can people in ethnic minorities have a voice as interviewees in *Libelle*, they can also be interviewers with a personal voice and insights and show their expertise in this way.

To summarise, it can be stated that no matter what the position of the interviewee is, the tone is celebratory towards people and their life experiences or expertise. Celebrities are permitted to discuss their lives more freely, also without talking about

their histories as immigrants or their belonging to ethnic minorities. For them, ethnicity or a foreign background is an asset and a personal quality that makes them the insightful individuals they are. *Me Naiset* regularly chooses to discuss second-generation immigrants, a group of people that probably are for readers easy to accept, yet who also give a bit of colour to the magazine.

'Regular' immigrants are interviewed precisely because they are immigrants, so there is less room for them to discuss other issues in the texts. People are celebrated for their successful immigration histories. There is a heavy emphasis in the articulations of the 'regular' immigrants as successful and achieving what is expected from them: they have managed to make themselves useful in life and in society. In the Dutch case, successful immigrants are also used as a voice of authority that teaches other immigrants how to live their lives to become useful to society. Experts of an ethnic or immigrant origin are missing in the Finnish magazines, as are first-generation immigrants interviewed as celebrities. In other words, there are fewer interviewee roles available to these groups in the Finnish magazines than there is in *Libelle*.

Conclusion: Conditional celebration of multiculturalism, immigration and integration

All the four discourses that are articulated in the women's magazine and senior magazine *ET* take a positive stance towards immigration and integration issues. The four discourses – on intercultural exchange in families, multicultural dialogue and integration, celebration of womanhood and celebration of personal histories and individual voices, each articulate from a slightly different perspective how people encounter each other in real-life situations or immigrate and integrate successfully. The magazine texts give several examples of lived 'everyday multiculturalism' that touches people in different aspects of their personal lives and which is articulated as a positive factor. The discourses use similar elements in their articulations and therefore there are many similarities in the discourses.

In this sense the magazines share an approach that can be described as the opposite of that of the news magazine material that will be discussed next (see section 5.3 below) and as the opposite also of the approach in the construction workers' magazines. Instead of focusing on the 'multicultural crisis' in society, on potentially threatening trends in immigration, or on distances and differences between various groups, the magazines discussed in this chapter and the texts in them seem to aim to narrow down possible gaps or differences. Still the matters that are touched upon in the magazines are the same societal issues that are being debated in other areas of

society, which shows that women's magazines are not a separate domain of life. The crisis in society or the existing challenges are not neglected, but the way that these magazines regard societal changes is benevolent at its foundations. In their positive approach, these magazines could be trendsetters.

Womanhood and the world of women, including the issues of family, reproduction and work outside the home, remain central throughout the discussion of immigration and integration issues. Also where immigrants and ethnic minorities are concerned, the magazines offer solutions to the issues that are central to women's magazines and the lives of women. In this sense, the people discussed whatever their background is and the readers through the magazine texts share similar interests and issues in life. This element of sharing makes them all members of a symbolic community of women.

The discourse in the magazines reflects an understanding of society based on dialogue and mutual respect, as well as regular everyday contact between various groups and people in society. This approach is probably also a tactical one, as the magazines are in this manner more likely to maintain an inner harmony and an element of 'the good life' and optimism that might be lacking if they emphasised conflicts and societal problems. After all, they are lifestyle magazines primarily attempting to bring relaxation and pleasure into the lives of their readers (see e.g. Hermes 1995; Holmes & Nice 2012, 125). It must be noted that sometimes this need for 'easiness' leads into somewhat superficial articulations of people and issues. Magazines also make an easy choice in not seeming to invent anything new to add to their usual ways of writing about topics. The magazines also choose to discuss groups of immigrants that are already close to the life-words of the readers and therefore probably easy to accept. In this sense, the journalism on immigrants and ethnic minorities follows existing trends rather than sets them.

Although the tone towards ethnic groups and immigrants is positive at the outset, the magazines also borrow many aspects from the neoliberal integration discourses. Immigrants and ethnic minority members are discussed in terms of their usefulness to society and their ability to be or become like 'us'. Their success as immigrants is articulated in comparison to 'us' and in relation to their ability to achieve what is perceived as normal and standard, i.e. knowing the local habits and the language, and working. The Finnish magazines articulated this more often than *Libelle*, but also *Libelle* articulated the view that, in an ideal situation, an immigrant or ethnic minority member is supposed to have certain qualities and to speak Dutch at very least. This integration discourse, which is not always very explicit, shows that women's magazines are tightly attached to societal discourses and that the magazines follow the general trend in their chosen articulations.

When it comes to the subject positions offered to immigrants and ethnic minority members, their articulation shows closeness between various people: immigrants and ethnic minority members are represented and articulated as parts of families, groups of friends, colleagues and other real life communities – and thus are living in one social space and sharing it with each other in different ways. The articulation of symbolic communities in the women's magazines and in *ET* builds on a multicultural understanding of social life, in *Libelle* slightly more obviously so than in the Finnish magazines. *Libelle* is taking a clear stand in favour of a multicultural society by explicitly introducing the issue to the readers. *Me Naiset* is not choosing as clear an approach, but is nevertheless also regularly writing about immigration and integration and is positive towards cultural exchange in society.

In *Libelle*, immigrants and ethnic minorities are offered a versatile selection of subject positions as celebrities, politicians, experts, journalists, and cultural and other elites, as well as 'regular' ethnic minority members or immigrants that take part in societal debates. In *Me Naiset* and *ET*, many of these subject positions are mostly available to second-generation immigrants and white immigrants. 'Regular' immigrants are celebrated for their immigration and integration successes, and in that role they are permitted to comment on Finland a great deal as well – in some cases in a more in-depth manner than in other cases, but often they are not allowed to really take part in the important societal debates as equals with others. In this way, people of immigrant and ethnic backgrounds are somewhat isolated from other people and the society around them and excluded from the in-group of 'us'. In *Libelle*, women of ethnic minority origins are permitted to discuss matters more as equals of Dutch women, both societal issues and other experiences attached to being a woman and a mother. However, it must be added that some women are perceived to need more help from the originally Dutch than others: mostly it is the analphabetic Muslim women who are articulated as subordinate and needing help for example in learning the language.

The subject positions are, then, quite similar in all the magazines, but there are differences in the space and the opportunities to act afforded the subjects within their subject positions. Generally, the subject positions are due to the personal way that people are represented versatile; they consist of a diversity of identity categorisations. Immigrants and ethnic minority members are permitted to be more than just that. The individual representations, voice and views that are available to immigrants and ethnic minority members in these magazines is generally a positive matter, considering the overall publicity given to these groups.

5.3 News magazines and the seniors' magazine *Plus Magazine*: Discourses on organisation of diversity, bonding and bridging

The materials used for the analysis in this study are the Dutch magazine *Elsevier* and its Finnish equivalent *Suomen Kuvalehti*. Both magazines are well read (with circulations of 128 000 and 86 800 respectively, with 750 000 and 303 000 respective readers) and well established leading news magazines in their countries. *Elsevier* was first published after the war in 1945, whereas *Suomen Kuvalehti* was founded as early as in 1916. Furthermore, they are both read predominantly by highly educated and rather wealthy people. The readers of both magazines are considered by their publishers to be active, to have various cultural and other hobbies, and to be interested in economics, finances, business, politics, culture and science.[42] Both magazines direct their contents towards these interests of the implied and actual readers and mostly cover issues related to the above-mentioned topics.

Suomen Kuvalehti has traditionally had a role as a forum in which a certain societal establishment and renowned writers discuss their views on politics and other current issues. It has strived to be an opinion leader and a quality magazine. As such, *Suomen Kuvalehti* has been an influential medium over the past few decades. It has also offered international perspectives and debates from early in its existence. For example, when Finland was about to join the EU in 1995, the magazine took an active role in the debate and offered a variety of viewpoints, itself taking a positive but not too strongly announced stance in favour of EU membership (Kivikuru 1996, 59, 204–205; Leino-Kaukiainen 92, 216–218). *Elsevier* shares a similar approach, as it is aimed at and also reaches certain political and decision-making layers of the establishment.

From the beginning, *Elsevier* has had a sharp style, in the past taking a strongly active and oppositional stand in relation to communism, for example. Nowadays, the magazine announces strong opinions concerning immigration and integration politics and in environmental issues. The style is described by the magazine as having 'edge without ideology'[43]. Politically, however, the magazine leans heavily towards market liberal-conservative views. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is very much on the same end of political spectrum, serving both market liberal and conservative publics, yet columnists with different backgrounds are used in both magazines and this (supposedly) brings variety

[42] For readership descriptions, see http://mediatiedot.otavamedia.fi/tuotteet/printtimediat/yleisaikakauslehdet/suomen-kuvalehti.aspx and http://www.elseviermedia.nl/merken/elsevier/elsevier-weekblad, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

[43] Short history of Elsevier: http://www.elsevier.nl/Over-Elsevier/, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

to the viewpoints presented. As weekly news magazines, both magazines are tightly tied to the news of the day. Most of the material in the magazines comments on topical issues or provides in-depth analysis or prognoses. They reflect the general news and societal debates in both countries at a given moment, and in that sense they give an overview of societal topics concerning migration and ethnic diversity in 2003–2006. Both magazines are somewhat elitist, as reading news magazines requires a broad knowledge of timely issues and the world (Kivikuru 1996, 60). Different types of interviews, reports and columns are the most common material in these two magazines. In their coverage of immigration and ethnic diversity issues in 2003–2006, interviews (22%), opinions (20%) and reports (17%) were the most typical material in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, whereas reports (34.3%), news (24.4%) and columns (19.9%) were predominant in *Elsevier*.

For this qualitative study, I analysed the 2003–2006 editions of both magazines, using a selection of texts from the complete research material.[44] All the material discusses immigrants, ethnic minorities, immigration, integration or ethnic diversity in some way. For the purposes of the analysis conducted in this chapter, I concentrated on the texts that discuss integration and immigration and especially solutions for these issues (N= *Elsevier* 123, *Suomen Kuvalehti* 38). The selection was based on relevance as apparent from headlines and leads, especially in the case of *Elsevier*. For the analysis of *Suomen Kuvalehti*, texts only hinting at these issues were also analysed due to the more limited volume of the material. In addition, some other texts highlighting a few supplementary views will be discussed where necessary.

In addition to the news magazines, I will also discuss and analyse, where relevant, the Dutch seniors' magazine *Plus Magazine* (*Plus*, N=28). *Plus* is mainly read by female senior citizens who are retired and/or above 50 years of age. The magazine has a circulation of 264 000 copies and reaches a little over one million readers per issue. The magazine offers content to societally active and interested people on health, societal trends and finance issues, but also items for entertainment purposes.[45] During the content analysis it became clear that, on one hand, the discussion of ethnic minorities and immigrants in *Plus* has a great deal in common with the views appearing

[44] N=900, out of which 301 texts were first analysed quantitatively; see Chapter 4 for additional information. The texts analysed in this chapter belong to those texts that were analysed quantitatively as well. The material in *Elsevier* that was left out of the quantitative content analysis does not differ in any way from the material that was analysed, as the text types, topics and contents of the texts are similar to the material that was used for the analysis.

[45] http://mediaplusbv.nl/magazines/plus%20magazine/;
http://mediaplusbv.nl/files/2013/04/Factsheet-Plus-Magazine-2013.pdf, retrieved on 27 May 2013.

in *Elsevier* and *Suomen Kuvalehti*, while on the other hand the magazine contained a limited amount of material relevant to this research. Due to the similarities of the discourses in the news magazines and in *Plus*, and the rather great differences between the discourses in *Plus* and the Finnish seniors' magazine *ET*, in addition to the scarcity of relevant material, *Plus* forms a part of this analysis rather than is analysed in a separate chapter.

In this section, I will analyse the magazines in question from the perspective of discourses on ethnically diverse societies. I analyse how four different versions of organising diversity (or difference, see section 2.1) in the society are articulated in the magazine texts and what the central elements and nodal points in those articulations are. For the purposes of this discourse analysis, I will implement some 'sensitising concepts'[46] from the theory of social capital, i.e. that theory will direct my discourse analytic gaze throughout this chapter. I understand social capital, and 'bonding' and 'bridging' in specific as an important theorisation of how people attach themselves to groups in society, but they also function as an analytic tool in this specific case. Where relevant, I will discuss the subject positions that are offered to the immigrants and ethnic minority members within the discourses. I will also use the typical representatives of immigrants and ethnic minority members that were found using the quantitative content analysis in Chapter 4 as part of the analysis of the subject positions when relevant.

Analytic perspective: Social capital, bonding and bridging

In this chapter I will analyse the articulations in magazine texts by using bonding and bridging as sensitising concepts throughout the analysis. They are elements of social capital, which is believed to affect the productivity of individuals and groups, in addition to knowledge-based human and cultural capital and actual physical (financial) capital. Social capital is a form of trust that holds communities together. Social capital 'refers to connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (Putnam 2001, 19). Social capital has also been described as 'a social network of strong and weak ties'. It provides value to individuals, who can rely on these networks of trust in their daily functioning. Social capital and the networks it entails have been found to be of importance, for example in

[46] A sensitising concept is a concept that offers an analytic viewpoint for the research (Carpentier & de Cleen 2007).

terms of employment and entrepreneurship (Light & Gold 2000, 94–95; also Coleman 1988).

Arguably, social capital enhances people's opportunities to be successful in various fields of life and, in the case of immigrants, to succeed in their integration into their new home society. It can also provide stability in society as a whole. Social capital can be generated from an in-group, for example an ethnic minority, when value is drawn from inner-community trust, or it can be generated from an out-group, when social capital builds on contacts with other communities than the one closest to an individual. Bonding refers to the former option, bridging to the latter.

In this analysis, I ask what type of social capital is required from the immigrants in the texts of the magazines in question. In my search for the articulations on required social capital, I analyse whether the magazine texts articulate demands on immigrants in terms of

Bonding: generation of trust within 'inward-looking' networks and reinforcing 'exclusive identities and homogeneous groups', and/or

Bridging: generating trust in 'outward-looking' networks that are 'encompassing people across diverse social cleavages' (Putnam 2001, 22).

In addition, my analysis encompasses the issue of which communities are articulated in the texts as the preferable direction of bonding and bridging and as sources of social capital. Which are the in- and out-communities that immigrants and ethnic minorities are supposed to bond or bridge with? The articulations of bonding and bridging occur in different combinations in the texts, and they are attached to various arguments on social, cultural and human capital, and even financial capital that different communities in society are believed to provide for the immigrants in question.

Bonding and bridging as concepts are tied to the wider social processes of societal cohesion and insecurity that were referred to in the introduction of this dissertation. While new groups are to settle in a society, the ideas of the imagined community or communities that the members of the society are believed to form have to be adjusted. According to Scholten and Holzhacker, 'culturally pluralist nations that contain a variety of cultural communities must define the national imagined communities in different ways' (2009, 83). Whereas states, politics and, for example, scholars all take part in this definition making, the media also play an important role in this process – and in this case it is the news magazines and the seniors' magazine that make suggestions with respect to the imagined communities and also articulate them.

The magazine texts articulate a desired direction in which the ethnically diverse society and the communities it consists of should be imagined, as well as how the

relations between various groups should be organised. For this reason, I also ask in this chapter what kind of discourses on the organisation of ethnic diversity within the society do the requirements for bonding or bridging represented in the texts articulate? In my analysis, I will make use of four models for the organisation of an ethnically diverse society that have been typified as follows (Scholten and Holzhacker 2009, 84–85; see also section 2.1):

Table 25: Forms of social capital and organisation of diversity.

	Bonding within	**Bridging towards**
Assimilation	National community, cultural and national form of bonding	Demand for individuals in minorities to bridge towards society at large and the majority
Multiculturalism	Cultural minority	(Minority) groups with other (minority) groups
Universalism	National community, political and economic bonding	Individuals in minorities towards society at large
Differentialism		No need for bridging; separate groups

These four models of organising ethnic diversity all consist of a combination of various forms of bonding and bridging, showing the direction of desired connections between individuals and groups. Bonding can then take place either within the (imagined) national community or within various national and minority groups, depending on what is understood as the in-group, and bridging can be directed towards other minorities or towards society at large. The models also stress different tools as a form of bonding or bridging, laying stress on cultural, political or economic factors. I will now discuss the contents of the magazine texts and analyse how discourses on the organisation of diversity are articulated around the claims to bond or bridge.

Universalism: Immigrants and ethnic minorities as productive members of the society

A discourse shared by *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier* is the discourse on universalism: a need articulated towards immigrants and ethnic minorities to bond themselves to the national community and society in economic terms and an emphasis on the responsibilities of individuals in this respect.

In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, integration of immigrants is not an actual news item that would be discussed regularly or systematically. It is mostly touched upon, for example, in

occasional personal portrayals of individuals telling their immigration and integration history, or in opinion texts written by readers of the magazine. When immigration of refugees, asylum seekers and foreign labour is discussed by the magazine in reports and news, the question is whether Finland should take or need more immigrants or not, whether the immigration laws are appropriate, too strict or too lenient and, furthermore, what the immigrants that might be allowed in should be like or do. Immigration and integration are then questions of administration and control, like so often in news texts (see e.g. Horsti 2005; Raittila & Vehmas 2005).

The universalism discourse touches on all types of immigration. The nodal point combining the various articulations of each type of immigration is the possible benefit to Finland. Immigration can be allowed and should even be increased when it benefits Finland, its society and economy, but not in other cases. Such arguments have been used in the Finnish debate as early as the 1980s, when refugees were considered to be a possible solution for a shortage of manpower and a decreasing population (Ruuska 1999, 201). These arguments in favour of labour-oriented migration then vanished due to the recession, but pop up again from time to time. They were on their way of becoming really popular in 2003–2006.

An argument in favour of labour migration in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and in the wider debate is that the Finnish population is ageing at a rapid pace, and new hands are needed to do all the work (see also chapter 5.1). In order to fill this manpower shortage and maintain the welfare state, it is said in *Suomen Kuvalehti* that Finland should now be selfish and attract more labour migrants by easing the immigration laws in favour of this group of migrants. It is also argued that it would be shortsighted and stupid not to do this soon. Those in favour of smooth labour migration policies represent mainly industry, but also some *Suomen Kuvalehti* columnists take this view. The magazine also criticises politicians of not being interested in enhancing labour migration or in immigration policy in general (8/2003, 16–17).

> *Our immigration policy has very much concentrated on refugees. We should focus on labour migration, where it can strengthen Finnish society and not drain its social services* (*'Welcome to work',* 19/2004, 10).

> *It is similarly difficult to make Finns understand that immigration should be made easier, not so much for noble humanitarian reasons but for our own selfish reasons: we happen to need many immigrants in the years to come* (*'Decrease in welfare as an option',* 21/2004, 66).

In the texts, as also cited above, humanitarian migration and labour migration are articulated as opposites. The former is not beneficial, as it only costs money, whereas the latter brings in money. These views seem especially common in 2004, when new

Eastern European countries were about to join the European Union. Finland is competing for labour with other countries that have less restrictive immigration policies. It is remarked in the texts that the nations in Western Europe that receive the highest numbers of immigrants are also the wealthiest ones, and the nations that receive the fewest are the former communist countries of Eastern Europe. It is probably quite obvious to the readers of the magazine that, due to historical reasons and identity politics (see also page 54), Finland should be and would like to be associated with the countries in the Western Europe rather than those in the Eastern Europe, so this kind of appeal is quite a strategic one to make. It is also remarked that the Finns should adjust their narrow-minded attitudes and be more positive about immigration, especially labour migration, since the Finns themselves are simply no longer willing to take on all the jobs that are available. Finland does not understand what is best for it when it has stricter policies than others towards labour migration, since in the future no one will want to come to the country anymore, as a *Suomen Kuvalehti* columnist reminded readers in 2005.

> *But hel-lo! There is no queue at our borders! There are many more attractive places in the world....We should get used to the idea that we need each one of our immigrants. If our attitude is tolerant and encourages people to work, working hands will always find their place. Also in Finland* (*'More hands',* 44/2005*,* 93).

In addition, this column reminds readers that there are immigrants in Finland without work. They could benefit Finland if only Finnish employers would give them jobs. Generally, in this discourse of universalism, immigrants are articulated in a positive light. They are welcomed and seen as hardworking people. They are to bond with Finland and the national community in economic terms: by making a contribution to society by working, they also bridge themselves to the nation and society in a positive way. Even the immigrants that come to work through companies that are based abroad and do not pay tax in Finland, are not condemned, but the companies creating illegal practices are the ones to blame. Foreign workers themselves are victims when they cannot contribute to the Finnish economy under the same terms as everyone else. At the same time, in the universalism discourse, people are not really articulated as individuals, but as a mass of 'foreign labour' or 'foreigners' whose right to come to Finland is to be decided by the Finnish state and Finns, as if people were simply removable bargain goods (see also Simola 2008).

Universalism discourse is also found in the texts arguing for stricter immigration policies when it comes to asylum seeking and refugees. In 2004, *Suomen Kuvalehti* reported that the EU had plans of implementing a common immigration policy in the future. If such a policy were implemented, it would most likely mean that Finland

would receive more refugees and asylum seekers than it does now in order to share the 'burden' of immigration more equally among EU member states. This is a development that is not preferred, since it puts pressure on Finland, including extra costs. It also endangers the ability of Finland to control its own labour market and available manpower, the magazine maintains. As implied in the texts, there are within the group of asylum seekers people who are not in real need of asylum: they are only after a better living standard (46/2004, 20–24). They are the 'bogus' asylum seekers that are regularly discussed in European press and which the European Union effectively aims to control (see e.g. Horsti 2005; Gorp 2006; ter Wal 2002).

The then minister of Interior, Kari Rajamäki, known for his preference for strict immigration policies, did not forget to discuss 'asylum tourism' and the importance of stopping this 'wave that overfloods' the Mediterranean region and causes 'those in need of real protection [to] suffer' in an interview (46/2004, 24). And as a reader points out in his letter, it is this kind of immigrant who abuses the Finnish social security system and is not welcome (45/2005, 71). According to this reader, it is important that the 'invasion of immigrants' is stopped by officials, who should perform a process of selection on those arriving. He considers it a pity that the immigrants not willing to even learn Finnish or local habits and are thus negative towards Finland ruin the opportunities for others to integrate. Also here, immigrants are articulated through universalist claims. If they want to claim social benefits but do not even care to learn the Finnish language and Finnish habits, they should stay away. Finland is only open to immigrants who are honest and willing to contribute by working and thus bond and bridge with the Finnish nation and society.

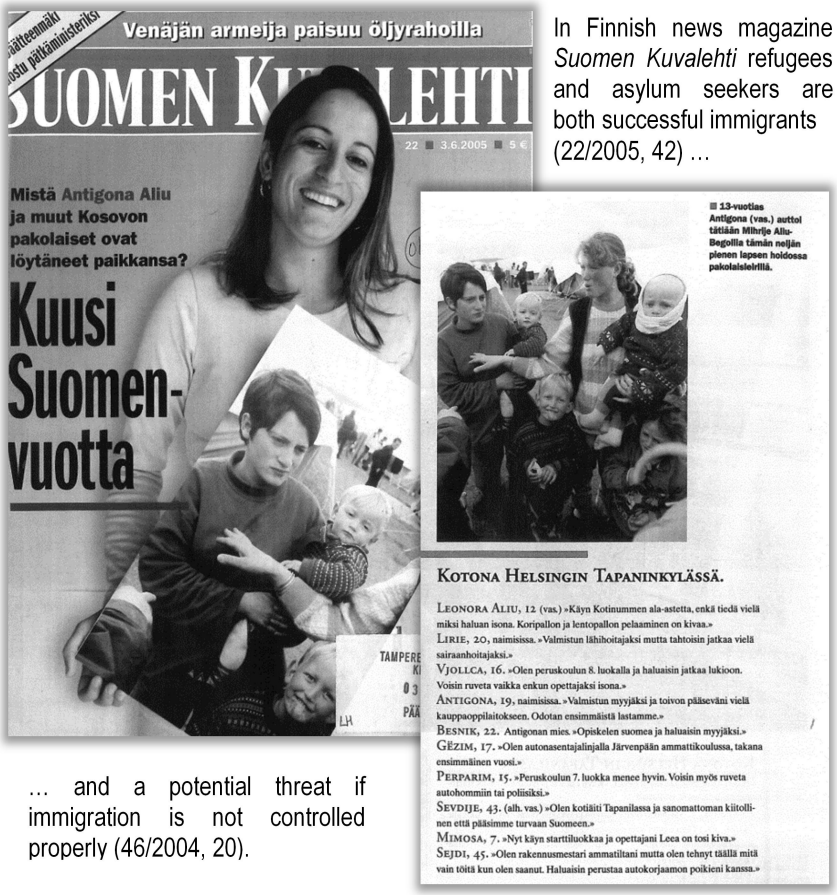
More articulations of bonding and bridging in a universalist sense are to be found in the texts that tell about a successful immigration history. In these articles and interviews, it is made clear how immigrants have fought against difficulties but are now bonding and bridging in ways that benefit both themselves and Finland. For example, a refugee family from Kosovo whose story the magazine followed in several articles and columns, told readers in 2005 how they were doing after six years in Finland. Around family portraits (see the following pages), the texts explain who the people are, how old they are, what they do for a living or what they are studying. Furthermore, it is made very clear in the texts that these people want to work, how they work and how they make themselves useful to society. Their subject positions as persons and as immigrants living in Finland are articulated through the utility of their presence to Finland:

> *I graduate within a year, but I've decided to study further to become a nurse....I'd like to work at a hospital....Their uncle is just reading through anatomy books in Finnish so that he can get a Finnish doctor's licence.... Working felt good....As soon as they got residence permits, they*

sought rental apartments in the Helsinki region and began studying the language and look for jobs....I am a stay-at-home mother and incredibly grateful that we are safe here in Finland (22/2005, 42–49).

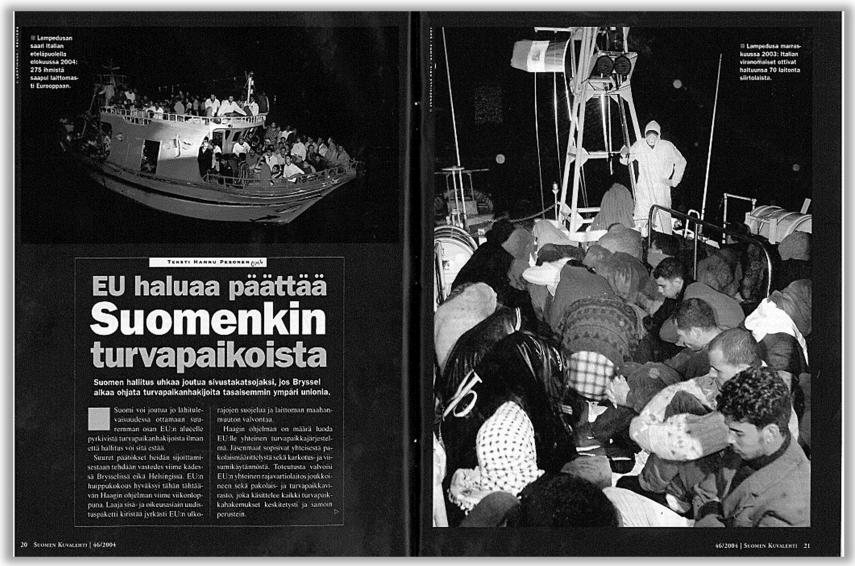
In the same article, the magazine also discussed how the Finnish society hinders refugees from being useful by not accepting their work input. The individuals instead want to be useful; if only they could be allowed to be that.

In another similar article, a Somali by origin relates his immigration history (15–16/2004, 73–75). Also here, it is shown how actively the immigrant has learnt Finnish and worked to have his professional qualifications acknowledged, and how he works, helps other immigrants and even is active in local politics. Although he dreams of going back to Somalia one day, he is currently benefitting Finland by doing the right thing: he works hard and brings in money, helps other immigrants to get work and, as an active local politician, he is surely also bridging towards society as an individual. Both he and the family from Kosovo are ideal immigrants. They came as refugees and have for a while used the Finnish social system and its benefits, but now they are repaying the system and expressing their gratitude. This articulation of the magazine that stresses utility is understandable when the common suspicions about refugees only misusing the social security system are taken into account. Suomen Kuvalehti decided to explicitly show how refugees indeed are useful for society and thus revealed its aspiration to be internationally minded and open.



In Finnish news magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* refugees and asylum seekers are both successful immigrants (22/2005, 42) …

… and a potential threat if immigration is not controlled properly (46/2004, 20).



In *Elsevier*, immigration and integration are discussed very systematically, extensively and fiercely. They are seen as issues that affect all of society and politics in particular, but they are not considered as much a question of individual cases as they are in *Suomen Kuvalehti*. This can also be seen in the fact that migrants or minority members are very rarely interviewed themselves or voice their personal stories: they are instead discussed as a large and impersonalised, voiceless group that politicians and especially various officials talk about. The immigrants or minority members that are given a voice are usually politicians or others who mainly voice the same opinions as mainstream politicians and the magazine itself does. For example, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, critical towards Muslims living in the Netherlands, often gets a say in the magazine.

Universal claims are made in *Elsevier* especially in relation to various forms of immigration that are articulated as desirable or undesirable. There are a few regular writers (journalists) in *Elsevier* that articulate in several texts who the desirable and undesirable immigrants are. In their view, the Netherlands as a society desires only those who will contribute more money than the Dutch themselves can contribute and who can be useful from the very moment they set foot in the Netherlands.

> *It is rational for a country like the Netherlands only to let in immigrants if they are young, highly educated and more productive than the rest of the population* (10/2006, 53).

For this reason, it was not considered beneficial for the Netherlands to let in even skilled migrants from Eastern European countries when they joined the European Union in 2004, since these people would generally not be as highly skilled as the Dutch and would work in lower-pay positions. Before some regulations were changed, the Dutch social security system would also be too attractive for them to abuse. The magazine is not happy with the new laws to increase skilled migration, either, since it also brought to the country Chinese cooks, for example, when the employing restaurants on paper were willing to pay them a big enough salary to make their arrival possible. These Asians are ironically called '[t]he "wokking" knowledge workers' in the magazine (07/2006, 16). There are also texts, however, that articulate Poles as popular and hardworking labour for employers, since they are willing to do the jobs the Dutch look down on.

The actual group of undesirable immigrants are the family members of those immigrants that have already obtained a residence permit, or, as in most cases, family members or future spouses of people belonging to ethnic minorities, especially Turks and Moroccans. According to the texts, this type of family migration is:

> *a curse. They are always seeking for an excuse to legitimate family reunion – that is infuriating....Let the law have a minimum level: if someone falls below that level through their own choice of partner, the person is not suitable for Western Europe* (13/2003, 34–36).

In the same interview, a professor of immigration history also says that '[a]sylum seekers are very expensive', and he admires British premier Tony Blair, who wants to be selective in accepting asylum seekers and only choose 'the most intelligent ones'. The professor, however, supports labour migration, even though it went wrong in the past, when the Turks and Moroccans 'did not have to prove themselves as immigrants', so they did not have to show that they were good citizens before they could draw on the social benefits (ibid.). Besides the professor, the magazine on several occasions interviews important politicians that confirm that selective immigration policy is what the country needs (e.g. socialist party leader Wouter Bos in 28/2004, 24; Christian-democratic premier Jan-Peter Balkenende in 49/2006, 20).

It is not only through interviews that a stricter approach is taken towards immigrants and immigration, and especially the family members of ethnic minorities. Also, reports argue that immigration should be heavily restricted based on its benefits for the Netherlands. According to the magazine, restrictions in asylum seeking and the decrease in the number of asylum applications had hidden the fact that 'the immigration of the most problematic group "the non-Western *allochtoon*" has in total not decreased at all'. In a column that discusses the new research report on the integration of immigrant and ethnic groups in the Netherlands, the magazine comments:

> *The only solution offered by the Blok report means in practice that the consequences of problematic immigration should no longer be experienced only in the troublesome city districts, but must also be spread over the suburbs and the rest of the Netherlands that until now have remained free of the consequences of third-world immigration* (4/2004, 10).

Furthermore, the magazine welcomes the stricter regime of regulations on family migration and integration tests implemented by the government:

> *The age limit will be 21 instead of 18, and the income limit will be raised to 120 percent of the minimum income....The aim is clear. The government hopes to prevent poorly gifted, mostly analphabetic marriage migrants from coming to the Netherlands and generating a new poorly gifted, poorly integrated second generation* (44/2004, 26).

New policies will ensure that at least the 'least talented and least motivated immigrants' will no longer make the effort to immigrate. At the same time, the magazine questions whether the exams would work, since the 'creativity in bending the rules is great'. So

the magazine is saying that many of the immigrants that would have to take the test are fraudulent and would try to cheat to avoid the test (33/2004, 14). Here again the popular articulation of unreliable 'bogus' migrants is put in use (e.g. ter Wal 2002). Accorging to the magazine it is also undesirable for those who are poorly gifted to have children and produce more potentially poorly gifted citizens. Yet in another text, the magazine admires those countries that are openly selective in the immigrants they accept (50/2004, 12). Another column teaches ethnic minorities (Moroccans are mentioned in particular) a lesson by reminding readers that if an immigrant wants to be successful, they will need to be ready to work twice as hard as other people: 'The Netherlands owes them nothing, and being a Muslim means nothing more in a Western country than being a Christian or an atheist' (15/2006, 17). With columns and reports by its own journalists, the magazine explicitly articulates a need to heavily control immigration and regulate the doings and non-doings of the immigrant population. The magazine also apparently grants itself the right to comment on immigrant obligations and freedoms.

In all these texts, immigrants and especially certain ethnic minorities and their family members that could potentially immigrate to the Netherlands are articulated as problematic, costing money, misusing the welfare system and fraudulent, not benefitting the country, making the situation in the country worse and causing various kinds of societal problems unless places are 'kept free' of these people and the problems. This articulation is given prominence in the short news clips that, in each issue of the magazine, report on crimes and other misbehaviours of these groups. The argument is taken to the level of genealogy when the magazine worries on several occasions that the population in the Netherlands would become poorly gifted if the immigrants had children. The magazine makes a case against marriages between close relatives who are Muslim immigrants and draws on genetic evidence that proves that children born in these marriages risk inheriting many genetic diseases (42/2003, 26; 1/2004, 6). Especially when discussing the bodies and reproduction of the ethnic minorities as undesirable, the tone in the magazine is very close to being openly racist.

The texts also articulate that only immigration of immigrants who are intelligent, motivated, hardworking and able to pay the society more than its other members are desirable. The subject position of immigrants is articulated purely in terms of their utility to the Netherlands. The immigrants are to bond with the nation by contributing to it economically and if they do not, they are to be excluded from the nation symbolically in different ways, like the magazine itself does repeatedly.

Whereas the subject position of immigrants and ethnic minority members articulated in *Elsevier* is completely impersonal and subordinate to other people's opinions, in *Suomen Kuvalehti* at least some immigrants are allowed the opportunity to

give a face and voice to those immigrants that are suitable according to the universalism discourse. There is also a slight difference in the fact that labour migration is perceived mainly positively in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, whereas *Elsevier* is highly doubtful about the benefits of labour migration, although very highly skilled migrants are articulated as somewhat desirable. Both magazines are doubtful about the usefulness of refugees, but *Suomen Kuvalehti* reminds its readers that even this group could benefit society when given a proper chance to do so. The discourse of beneficial immigration is altogether popular in the dominant neo-liberal political perspectives today. Similar arguments of economic losses and benefits to welfare states have been used by several anti-immigration parties, but also other parties around Europe in recent decades. The magazines are not alone in their discourse on useful and less useful, desirable and undesirable immigrants.

Assimilation: Local values and norms as standard for all

From the universalism discourse, there is only a short step to assimilation discourse, and these discourses are somewhat mingled in the texts. The discourse on assimilation adds to universalism and mainly economic bonding the requirement that immigrants and ethnic minorities also bond with the national community by learning the language and accepting the local values and norms. This discourse is to be found in some form in all three magazines.

First, in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, immigrants are expected to bond with the Finnish national community and society both culturally and socially. Immigrants should become acquainted with and preferably adopt Finnish norms and values. This argument is the strongest in some columns and letters from readers. These texts worry whether the Finns should be afraid of Muslims due to their religious and political ideology and whether Muslim immigrants are planning to live like everyone else, work and pay taxes and learn the language (8/2005, 68). Readers are also reminded that those groups, such as the Muslim Tatars (10/2005; 45/2006, 61) or Jews that have been hardworking and willing to adjust to Finnish culture, have previously in history been successful in integrating, unlike those such as the Roma, who have retained their traditional way of living (46/2005, 86). In the case of Muslim Tatars, it is even pointed out how they served the Finnish state and nation during the wars by fighting voluntarily against Russia. By fulfilling their citizen duties beyond expectations, they have proved themselves as immigrants willing to assimilate.

Furthermore, in another text, a populist politician estimates that the immigrants who share a similar Christian tradition with the Finns will be successful in integration

(45/2005, 14). An editorial reminds readers in a similar fashion that the Christian Christmas party belongs to Finnish schools, as it is 'one of the few cultural traditions shared by all Finns', and thus immigrants should herein learn to respect the historical values of the country (51–52/2005, 7). Based on bad experiences from the Netherlands, a visiting Dutch columnist advises Finnish politicians to quickly establish an integration policy based on teaching immigrants the Finnish language, cultural norms and values, as well as Finnish culture (11/2005, 70).

In these discussions, religion figures as a central element through which differences are articulated and immigrant assimilation is insisted upon. Muslims as a group are discussed the most in this light. Furthermore, their compatibility with Finnish society was estimated especially on three occations in 2003–2006. The first occasion was a report on the question of 'what is so sacred for Muslims that it may not be ridiculed', which appeared after the murder of the provocative Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh (7/2005, 27–35). The two other occasions on which Islam and especially freedom of expression (10/2006, 80–81) and concervative Islam (14/2006, 41–47) were covered in the magazine were after the Mohammed Cartoon case. The Finnish debate followed events in Europe and took part in that wider debate.

In all these texts, Islam is articulated as a religion that potentially collides with the Western norms and values on which Finnish society is based. For example, in the first report (7/2005, 27–35), leaders of Islamic parishes in Finland explain how they interpret the Koran and what they think about various issues. They maintain that, in Finland, the local laws must be obeyed and if Muslims feel themselves hurt, e.g. when their prophet is ridiculed, they still only should use peaceful and ordinary means to express their discontent. Yet, in the text, it is made clear how Muslim and Finnish ways of thinking or acting collide: men and women have separate areas in the mosques; not all religious leaders who are male are willing to shake hands with the female reporter, nor are they allowed to stay in a room with her alone; one of the leaders denounces Jews as the arch enemy of Muslims and the theory of evolution as a lie; and many of them express their disapproval of the hurtful things that have been said about Islam by using the Western right of freedom of expression. In these practices, Muslims are not bonding with the Finnish nation or culture, the magazine shows.

The report articulates the subject positions of these religious leaders through their religious views in a quite positive manner, giving room for interpretations that are tolerant towards non-Muslims. But at the same time, by highlighting the differences in habits and thinking, the report manages to articulate Islam as a religion that is potentially dangerous. The report ends up concluding how paranoia towards the society around it threatens to gain ground in the Muslim parishes. With one of the interviewed imams saying that the reporter 'can never understand these doubts only

because she is not a Muslim', the reporter is guided out of the mosque, and the report ends. The report leaves the reader puzzled, wondering what to think about the presence of Islam and Muslims in Finnish society. This puzzlement was later indeed expressed by readers in their letters to editor, in which they questioned the loyalty of Muslims towards Finland (8/2005, 68; 10/2005).

Later on, the same theme of Islamic habits and laws potentially colliding with Finnish law was expounded on in detail by a writer originally from Iraq, who maintains in an interview that, even in Finland, some conservative Muslim leaders hold the Koran to be their legal guide instead of Finnish law (14/2006, 41–47). He gives examples of bigamy and discredits the Finnish multicultural policies that have given the conservative Muslim leaders an expert voice in Muslim issues and, through that voice, more political power than they ever could have gained in their countries of origin. As a part of the same report, the Finnish police explain how honour killings could happen in Finland at any time. Also the possibility of Muslim radicalism is covered. Islam then forms a potential obstacle for the bonding of Muslims with Finnish culture.

These views are contradicted in a short interview in which an imam of an Islamic parish confirms that Finnish laws are the standard in Finland, and that there is no fundamentalism in Finland. These views are again contradicted in the following interview, in which a Finnish scholar of Islam explains thoroughly how modern and alternative voices within the Arab community in Finland are silenced. He also discredits the European multicultural policies that have enabled a strengthening of traditional and political views on Islam, which could lead to or have led to problematic and potentially dangerous identification processes for Islamic youth.

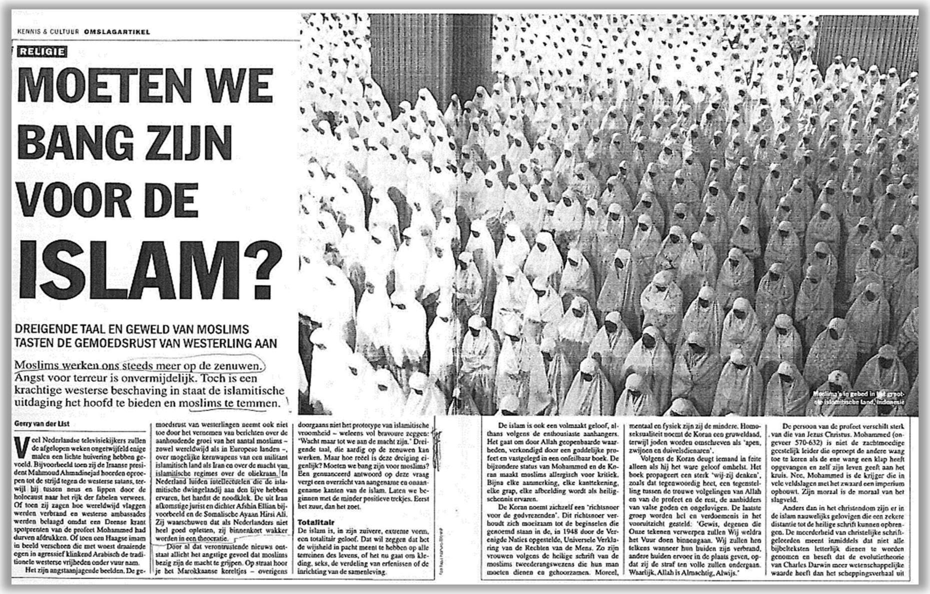
Taking into account the fact that Islam or Muslims were not covered in the magazine very often over the years, it is remarkable how suspicious the tone of the magazine coverage is. On the other hand, this is in line with how Islam is generally covered in the Finnish press, which has the tendency to concentrate on conflicts and problems, not so much in Finland as in the Islamic world, and on the status of Islam as 'the other' in the Western world (Creutz 2008; Maasilta, Rahkonen & Raittila 2008). In this respect, *Suomen Kuvalehti* is not offering anything new or different to its readers. It very clearly also follows and gives voice to the European debate of the time on failed multiculturalism and claimed problems especially with Muslim minorities.

Beyond the discussion of religion, a professor in international relations believes in a column that it is necessary for Finnish people to be served by Finnish-speaking people, for example at hospitals. For this reason, '[w]e must require from immigrants a real integration into Finnish national culture....The best hospital and medical care to a Finn can be given only by another Finn: either an original one or an immigrant whose aim

to integrate with Finnish society persists and is genuine' (40/2005, 94). It can be understood as a positive perspective that immigrants are at least considered as possible Finns in this text, but the view that they can be that only by becoming alike with the Finns includes a strong insistence on assimilation.

These ideas expressed include a strong assumption of a homogeneous Finnish culture and nation, of which immigrants can only become part if they accept the local laws and norms. Several writers have in the past discussed this discourse that they see as typical for the Finnish debate. According to Pertti Anttonen, the Finnish national community has traditionally been kept together with the rhetoric of the country being constantly threatened from outside, both as a state and in terms of a homogeneous and genuine cultural identity. For this reason, it has to be protected all the time, and security policies are crucial to other policies as well (1998, 52). Outi Lepola points out how the idea of homogeneous cultural identity and justification of that idea by the fact that Finns would be intolerant towards strangers by nature due to their history (and that there is nothing wrong with that) dominates the discussions of immigration policies in the parliament (2000, 356, 360, 368; also Förbom 2010). Due to this homogeneity, the Roma and Swedish-spfeaking Finns have been excluded from the Finnish national community, since they are Finnish in a 'wrong' way, just like immigrants (Lepola 2000, 369). Now, to some extent, religion seems to have been added to the list of elements required for cultural bonding and the continuing homogeneity of the nation.

Furthermore, Pasi Saukkonen has analysed how guide books about Finland stress the idea of a homogeneous Finnish community and identity by completely excluding immigrants from its descriptions. In addition 'Finnishness' is defined as being a Finnish speaker and proving one is genuine in other ways (1999, 160, 185). Several surveys on the attitudes of Finns also show that the ideas of homogeneity, an original national identity and the need to protect it from outside influences remain strong in the Finnish population (see e.g. EVA 2001, 73–76; Jaakkola 2009). In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, these attitudes are not expressed much by the magazine itself, but the magazine allows these attitudes to be come to light in the writings of others, which it still publishes.


KENNIS & CULTUUR **OMSLAGARTIKEL**

RELIGIE

MOETEN WE BANG ZIJN VOOR DE ISLAM?

DREIGENDE TAAL EN GEWELD VAN MOSLIMS TASTEN DE GEMOEDSRUST VAN WESTERLING AAN

Moslims werken ons steeds meer op de zenuwen. Angst voor terreur is onvermijdelijk. Toch is een krachtige westerse beschaving in staat de islamitische uitdaging het hoofd te bieden en moslims te temmen.

Moslima's in gebed in het grootste islamitische land, Indonesië

Gerry van der List

Veel Nederlandse televisiekijkers zullen de afgelopen weken ongetwijfeld enige malen een lichte huivering hebben gevoeld. Bijvoorbeeld toen zij de Iraanse president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad hoorden oproepen tot de strijd tegen de westerse satans, terwijl hij tussen neus en lippen door de holocaust naar het rijk der fabelen verwees. Of toen zij zagen hoe wereldwijd vlaggen werden verbrand en westerse ambassades werden belaagd omdat een Deense krant spotprenten van de profeet Mohammed had durven afdrukken. Of toen een Haagse imam in beeld verscheen die met woest draaiende ogen in agressief klinkend Arabisch de traditionele westerse vrijheden onder vuur nam.

Het zijn angstaanjagende beelden. De gemoedsrust van westerlingen neemt ook niet toe door het vernemen van berichten over de aanhoudende groei van het aantal moslims – zowel wereldwijd als in Europese landen –, over mogelijke kernwapens van een militant islamitisch land als Iran en over de macht van islamitische regimes over de oliekraan. In Nederland luiden intellectuelen die de islamitische dwingelandij aan den lijve hebben ervaren, het hardst de noodklok. De uit Iran afkomstige jurist en dichter Afshin Ellian bijvoorbeeld en de Somalische Ayaan Hirsi Ali. Zij waarschuwen dat als Nederlanders niet heel goed opletten, zij binnenkort wakker worden in een theocratie.

Door al dat verontrustende nieuws ontstaat allicht het angstige gevoel dat moslims bezig zijn de macht te grijpen. Op straat hoor je het Marokkaanse kereltjes – overigens doorgaans niet het prototype van islamitische vroomheid – weleens vol bravoure zeggen: 'Wacht maar tot we aan de macht zijn.' Dreigende taal, die aardig op de zenuwen kan werken. Maar hoe reëel is deze dreiging eigenlijk? Moeten we bang zijn voor moslims? Een genuanceerd antwoord op deze vraag vergt een overzicht van aangename en onaangename kanten van de islam. Laten we beginnen met de minder positieve trekjes. Eerst het zuur, dan het zoet.

Totalitair

De islam is, in zijn zuivere, extreme vorm, een totalitair geloof. Dat wil zeggen dat het de wijsheid in pacht meent te hebben op alle terreinen des levens, of het nu gaat om kleding, seks, de verdeling van erfenissen of de inrichting van de samenleving.

De islam is ook een volmaakt geloof, althans volgens de enthousiaste aanhangers. Het gaat om door Allah geopenbaarde waarheden, verkondigd door een goddelijke profeet en vastgelegd in een onfeilbaar boek. De bijzondere status van Mohammed en de Koran maakt moslims allergisch voor kritiek. Bijna elke aanmerking, elke kanttekening, elke grap, elke afbeelding wordt als heiligschennis ervaren.

De Koran noemt zichzelf een 'richtsnoer voor de godvrezenden'. Dit richtsnoer verhoudt zich moeizaam tot de beginselen die genoemd staan in de, in 1948 door de Verenigde Naties opgestelde, Universele Verklaring van de Rechten van de Mens. Zo zijn vrouwen volgens de heilige schrift van de moslims tweederangswezens die hun man moeten dienen en gehoorzamen. Moreel, mentaal en fysiek zijn zij de mindere. Homoseksualiteit noemt de Koran een gruweldaad, terwijl joden worden omschreven als 'apen, zwijnen en duivelsdienaren'.

Volgens de Koran deugt iemand in feite alleen als hij het ware geloof omhelst. Het boek propageert een sterk 'wij-zij denken', zoals dat tegenwoordig heet, een tegenstelling tussen de trouwe volgelingen van Allah en van de profeet en de rest, de aanbidders van valse goden en ongelovigen. De laatste groep worden hel en verdoemenis in het vooruitzicht gesteld: 'Gewis, degenen die Onze tekenen verwerpen zullen Wij weldra het Vuur doen binnengaan. Wij zullen hen telkens wanneer hun huiden zijn verbrand, andere huiden ervoor in de plaats geven, opdat zij de straf ten volle zullen ondergaan. Waarlijk, Allah is Almachtig, Alwijs.'

De persoon van de profeet verschilt sterk van die van Jezus Christus. Mohammed (ongeveer 570-632) is niet de zachtmoedige geestelijk leider die oproept de andere wang toe te keren als de ene wang een klap heeft opgevangen en zelf zijn leven geeft aan het kruis. Nee, Mohammed is de krijger die in vele veldslagen met het zwaard een imperium opbouwt. Zijn moraal is de moraal van het slagveld.

Anders dan in het christendom zijn er in de islam nauwelijks gelovigen die een zekere distantie tot de heilige schrift kunnen opbrengen. De meerderheid van christelijke schriftgeleerden meent inmiddels dat niet alle bijbelteksten letterlijk dienen te worden genomen en beseft dat de evolutietheorie van Charles Darwin meer wetenschappelijke waarde heeft dan het scheppingsverhaal uit

Dutch news magazine *Elsevier* represents especially the Muslim minority as a threat to the national cohesion (8/2006, 74).

Elsevier as a media makes even more pronounced and stronger arguments in the direction of assimilation. Within these arguments, bonding and bridging and the direction in which these processes should occur are articulated systematically. It is made clear in numerous reports, columns and interviews that bonding should happen only within the national Dutch community. Bonding with a cultural or religious minority, especially the Muslim community, is seen as a threat to Dutch society, cohesion and internal security. Various examples of the 'wrong' kind of bonding are given and discussed in the magazine, including conservative Muslim perceptions of women, gays, religion, freedom of expression, Islamic schools, radical mosques, veiling of Muslim women, separated living areas and life spheres of majorities and minorities, a special home care service for elderly Muslims, the upbringing of Muslim children, etc. Muslim practices are deemed to be 'old-fashioned, backward; they can hinder participation in work life and lead to radical, fundamentalist stance'. There is also a 'cultural gap' between the Muslims and the Dutch (e.g. 32/2004, 16–18). Muslims by origin who are no longer active believers remark, for example, that in their opinion, 'Islam is medieval and scarves should be ridiculed' (17/2003, 36–38). Especially Muslim men are articulated as reluctant to give away their old privileges, whereas Muslim women should be emancipated so that they are better off (2/2005, 19). The

way that Muslim parents bring up their children is deemed to fail, since their culture is so different to the Dutch culture:

> *The parents think that they are doing it well, only they are not using the Dutch norms....Some cultures go better together with the Dutch and Western European culture than others....In Islamic countries a great respect for power exists: the culture is strongly hierarchical. So it goes only further. Gender differences? The man is the boss; the woman obeys....Whoever lives here has to adapt themselves to our culture. It has always been so. But not with this group. What we think is freedom for woman they see as depravity. Our tolerance is in their eyes a weakness, the social attitude of the police is perceived by them as a lack of masculinity* (4/2006, 13–14).

As part of the discussion, multiculturalism that represents the 'old regime' that was tolerant and supportive towards the cultures of the ethnic minorities and Muslims (for example by letting Muslims have their own schools, a right that the constitution guarantees to all religious groups) is denounced and ridiculed. Instead of supporting immigrant cultures and religions, ethnic and religious minorities should bond with the national Dutch community and show that they can abandon their old-fashioned, especially Muslim habits and adapt a more Western way of living. Knowledge of Dutch culture and language are seen as a prerequisite, along with an acceptance of the liberal Dutch norms and values. The fact that ethnic minorities and future immigrants are finally obliged to at least learn Dutch and some basic cultural values and norms because they have to take an integration exam, is praised in the magazine, although they are doubtful how efficient the courses are (9/2006, 14).

> *People with Muslim background are often very conservative. I definitely agree with what [Hirsi Ali] says about multiculturalists. It is a threat to society, this idea that in place of the culture that we have here – on the basis of which a good society has come into being – there must come something else that can be freely influenced from all sides and in which there does not necessarily have to be cohesion. I think our society needs order and direction....I think there must be a basis upon which other cultures can have an influence, but which the people of those cultures for most part need to adjust to* (2/2003, 27).
>
> *That we kept in believing in the illusion that it was possible that you can succeed [in integration] by maintaining the culture of origin, is criminal in my opinion* (48/2003, 44).
>
> *Religion forms an obstacle to integration of the allochtoon. The development of a Western version of Islam could relieve the problems* (32/2004, 16).
>
> *Immigrants were told that it was possible to integrate while maintaining their own identity – and that was a lie* (15/2006, 17).

> *...multicultural society. The utopian society in which immigrants and their children do not have to integrate that much and have to be given all the freedom to cherish and maintain cultural, value-based and behavioural patterns* (36/2006, 59).

The future is seen to be in the hands of those Muslim youngsters, who have already become more Western and Dutch. These youngsters and the hopeful news of Muslims becoming more secular are greeted with joy in the magazine. There is even a verb used for 'becoming more Dutch': *vernederlandsing* (46/2003, 27). The modern, Westernised Muslims in turn are called '*polder* Muslims' (3/2004, 8); *polder*, which means 'dike', refers here to the Dutch tradition of compromising between various groups and interests.

Bridging towards Dutch society is articulated as an individual duty or prerequisite without which a person should be left without support or not be let into the country at all, similar to the universalism discourse on desirable and undesirable migrants. Bridging should preferably start even before a person enters the Netherlands: it includes mastering the language, sharing similar values and norms and contributing to society financially. Also migrants that arrived decades ago should prove their willingness to bridge with society. It is perceived as a positive factor that immigration and integration tests are now being implemented by the government. The magazine also takes part in an articulation of Dutch culture, norms and values by publishing a report on being Dutch entitled 'What binds us. What does it actually mean, being Dutch? The key to understanding Dutchness is knowledge of the Fatherland's history.' The same article criticises the Dutch, who have such a poor sense of patriotism that they do not even know what their own culture is about (31/2006, 16–23).

The magazine is setting somewhat of a new trend by highlighting the need to renounce and define the Dutch national identity that has traditionally not been of very great interest to the Dutch (see also page 67). On the contrary, the nation has been held together by compromises between various groups and identities, and diversity has been a decisive nominator to the whole. Various freedoms and independence have been provided to different groups as long as they kept functioning in agreed ways within the public domain of pillarised society (see page 43). The magazine seems to suggest that Muslim immigrants trigger the limits of the Dutch identity and national cohesion in such ways that action has to be taken on the level of in-depth identity considerations. This message became popular during the Christian-democratic rule of premier Jan-Peter Balkenende, and the magazine supported it.

The views on the need to redefine Dutch values and norms, abandon multiculturalism and create more cohesion within the nation, for example by not accepting Muslim intolerance of Dutch culture and values, are shared and expressed in *Plus*. Mostly these views are not voiced by the magazine itself, and they are not as fierce

and provocative as in *Elsevier*, but *Plus* allows several experts to give their opinions on the issues (e.g. in 'We and them: How do we become us', 1/2005, 40). In these interviews, some representatives of ethnic minorities are put in the position of an expert, while the subject position of most ethnic minority members is that of a subordinate being discussed and being the source of problems. There is thus a division between good and problematic ethnic minority members. An editorial of the magazine notes that research says '[t]he Dutch feel that their culture is offended by the flood of immigrants, failing integration and the influence of the European Union' and discusses the need for a strong and shared feeling of being Dutch (5/2004, 3).

Furthermore, the discourse on an ethnically diverse society in *Plus* is based on fear of some kind. In the magazine, Muslim terrorism (9/2006, 38), street violence ('Street violence: Learning to live with the evil', 2/2004, 34) and the problems in some city suburbs (2/2003, 70; 9/2006, 42) are covered. In relation to old cities, it is articulated how city districts that have kept their traditional 'village feeling' and remain mainly 'white' are still great places to live, whereas the suburbs that have many cheap houses and are multinational are having problems:

> *There are seventy nationalities living in Babberspolder, that is a lot. Norms and values are becoming vague. The cultural differences between the old inhabitants and the young newcomers, who come there because they have no other place to go, are too great to be bridged. Babberspolder-East is in a free fall, while a couple of streets away, the Vlaardingen Ambacht district flourishes like never before* (9/2006, 42).

It could be that these articulations are, taking into account the readership of the magazine, meant to support feelings of nostalgia, or the memories of the 'good old days', when things were simple and life was secure. At the same time they highlight problems and are possibly causing feelings of fear in the readership.

The assimilation discourses in *Elsevier* and *Plus* are a part of an articulation of a larger societal discourse on failed multiculturalism and crisis in society. Those discourses and the Dutch political and societal situation at the beginning of this millennium have already partly been discussed in sections 1.4 and 2.1 in this work. The texts analysed here represent a moment in history when the Netherlands was transitioning from a moderate style of debate towards a style that quickly became highly provocative and outspoken about the failures of society in relation to immigration and integration.

The discourse from this period has been analysed as 'new realism', in which it was typical to blame those who had believed in multiculturalism in the past, especially those on the political left. Articulations in favour of multiculturalism became politically incorrect and ridiculed, exactly as they were in the texts in *Elsevier* in particular. New

realism also claimed that aside from socioeconomic integration problems, the cultures of the ethnic minorities and immigrants as such were a problem and caused a threat of Islamic terrorism and other anomalies in society. The loyalty of the Muslim population towards the Netherlands was questioned, so an approval of their loyalty was required in integration exams and, for example, in a discourse on Dutch norms and values. The new policy on loyalty was entitled 'shared citizenship' (Prins & Saharso 2010, 78−79). The discourse on assimilation in *Elsevier* especially, but also in *Plus*, is a perfect example of such new realist discourse, which articulates Muslim minorities as the source of numerous societal problems. Furthermore, the same discourse can be found in Dutch immigration and integration policies of that same period (Scholten & Holzhacker 2009), as well as in public debates.

The strong reaction of the Dutch has been given numerous explanations. It has been estimated that the Dutch tolerated other cultures and habits until it was not necessary to recognise them positively in the general public sphere in the strand of political multiculturalism. Alternatively, the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh might have accumulated into a cultural trauma. The long tradition of consensus politics has also been blamed, as well as the political correctness that has been said to have dominated the immigration debates for too long. Also, it should not be underestimated that the Dutch discourse is clearly part of a broader European discourse on failed multiculturalism, and as such not so very exceptional in all its details (Prins & Saharso 2010, 86−87; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

Comparing the discourse in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier*, as well as *Plus*, the articulations of assimilation are rather similar, insisting on a cultural bonding with the national community from the immigrants and ethnic minorities, as well as loyalty to national norms and values. Bridging is expected to happen on an individual level, as each member of society has a private responsibility to demonstrate belonging and loyal citizenship to society at large. Especially the Muslim immigrants should show their loyalty and willingness to bond with the national community. These articulations are present in all three magazines, most prominently in *Elsevier*, and even *Suomen Kuvalehti* is following the European trend of debate that is worried about the Muslim minorities. The reasons behind the discourse on assimilation seem different in the two countries, however. In Finland it may be a question of a deep cultural sense of the nation being threatened and the need to protect it even now, as a precaution, by ensuring homogeneity of the culture that leads to required assimilation. In the Netherlands, it is the very presence of certain minorities and the actual situations in the society that are believed to have generated a need to redefine the national community and re-create cohesion by denouncing foreign cultural influences and insisting on assimilation.

In both cases, the subject position that the assimilation discourse articulates to immigrants and ethnic minorities is that of a subordinate. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are rarely heard in person, but their faith, so to speak, is discussed by experts, politicians, journalists and others. Immigrants and ethnic minority members are faceless and voiceless in the texts, where they are articulated as a problem and a threat to national cohesion and the imagined community. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is an exception in letting the Islamic imams have a voice. In other cases the subaltern only speaks when they are willing to repeat the dominant views. In this role all the magazines use former Muslims who have abandoned the religious lifestyle and supply personal testimonials to the 'down sides' of the religion. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are articulated as possible members of the national community if they do what is expected of them, but it is highly questionable whether, even if they were to fulfil all the requirements, these people would be accepted as full and equal members of the symbolic community.

Multiculturalism: Open door for internationalisation and humanism

Finally, a third discourse that is present mostly in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, but also in *Plus* and to a very small extent in *Elsevier*, relies on multiculturalist articulations of bonding a bridging. This discourse articulates the positive sides of ethnic diversity and even celebrates them, as well as welcomes immigration also for humanitarian reasons (not only for reasons of economic benefit). It shows understanding to those immigrants that are in need of help and to the cultural values of other groups.

Suomen Kuvalehti is the richest one in multicultural articulations. Firstly, the magazine regularly criticises immigration laws, policies and the practices of expelling and deporting asylum seekers (e.g. 'Unruly expellers', 44/2003, 12; 'Rash deportations', 13/2004, 41). These texts explain how these practices are inhuman treatment of the immigrants in question. Also it is criticised that the Finnish government is not interested in integration policies or the societal situation of many immigrants, who are unemployed. The magazine makes arguments for freer immigration policies and a proper integration policy (8/2003, 16–17). A visiting columnists is permitted to discuss the suspicious or even racist attitudes of the Finns against the Russian minority (43/2004, 70), and another columnist, a bishop of the Lutheran church, discusses in two columns multiculturalism and the importance of tolerance, as well as the role of the church in the development of these attitudes (36/2004, 64; 51−52/2005, 84−85).

The latter of the two columns is a response to the European debate on failed multiculturalism. The bishop does not hesitate to say that part of the European

problem has been that immigration and integration policies have relied on ideas of self-benefit of the receiving countries. Now that they have abused immigrants long enough and forgotten them in their suburbs, the immigrants are the scapegoat, easy to blame for the crisis. He also reminds readers that Finland needs new immigrants and that we should take a positive stance towards immigration and a multicultural future while also learning from the mistakes made elsewhere. The Lutheran church in Finland has been an active participant in the immigration debates in the more recent years, representing humane views like here in *Suomen Kuvalehti* (Horsti 2009; 2013).

Support for a multicultural society is perhaps strongest in those short texts and personal interviews that celebrate immigrants who have been successful in their integration efforts and are now contributing to society in a positive way. Short announcements pay tribute to asylum seekers and regular immigrants who have paid a price for their efforts (11/2004, 15; 51–52/2004, 5; 10/2005, 71; 12/2006, 71). Longer articles and interviews give credit to especially artists, musicians, writers, painters and actors (e.g. 38/2005, 58; 9/2006, 58; 40/2006, 80; 44/2006, 68) who have enriched Finnish culture. Long personal interviews portraying especially successful experts and businesspeople and well known artists who are mostly European and other white immigrants are a special space for the celebration of diversity.

These interviews have a great deal in common with the personal interviews with immigrants and their immigration histories in *Me Naiset*, *ET* and *Libelle* discussed in the previous section. The interviews tell when and why these persons arrived in Finland, what they have been doing and what they currently are contributing to Finnish business or culture. An important aspect of the interviews is to let the interviewees say what they think about Finland in general and in relation to the subject matter of their expertise. It seems almost to be the responsibility of these experts to give away their knowledge and personal views to the readers. The idea may be that Finns and other readers can learn about the views of these immigrants, for example on directing television shows and investing. For example, an American business angel estimates that '[w]ith proper guidance, follow-ups and international positioning, these companies have a chance to grow into brands' (19/2006, 42).

Furthermore, the experts are described in very positive terms: it is clear that they are an asset to Finnish economy and culture, for example the above-mentioned business angel is a 'door opener, a survivor of the 9/11 terrorist attacks' and an insightful man. He and those like him (e.g. originally German writer and critic of Finnish culture Roman Schatz and British theatre director Neil Hardwick) are given a journalistic role and a subject position in the texts as commentators on Finnish society and culture, who as outsiders are able to see it all more sharply than we Finns.

This kind of celebration of successful and talented foreigners suits the Finnish tradition of inventing and telling heroic stories about those who have defended the nation and its genuine identity by showing in their deeds that Finland and Finns are much more than a borderland between East and West (Anttonen 1998, 55). According to Pertti Anttonen, Finland has in the past needed and still today constantly needs people that do something special and, in doing that something special, establish Finland in the world, giving Finns a feeling that they are a nation amongst other nations. This explains why Finnish sportsmen and women and war heroes are so celebrated. Maybe in this case those immigrants that have chosen to come to Finland, of all places, and contribute to society in a remarkable way are celebrated not only as potentially one of us, but as one of those heroes that in the long run will put Finland and the Finns on the map of all nations. These people can also be seen as cosmopolites who add an international element to the overall image of *Suomen Kuvalehti,* a value that most probably is important to the readers of the magazine as well (on cosmopolites see also Haavisto 2011).

When it comes to multiculturalism discourses in the Dutch magazines, the previous paragraph already discussed how multiculturalism is mainly denounced as a failure. Still there are a few occasions when it is possible to articulate the multicultural society in more positive and humanitarian ways. *Plus* takes on a humanitarian approach when it discusses how difficult it can be to integrate when one comes from a totally different society (03/2003, 66), how it is impossible for some of the immigrants to go back when they are not given a residence permit (10/2004, 114), how schools are doing their best to educate all children – also those from ethnic minorities, and enhance the dialogue between groups (03/2003, 61; 02/2005, 11) and how Moroccan kids are discriminated against when they try to find an internship (10/2005, 13). In a similar fashion to the texts in *Libelle* (section 5.2), these texts show how various groups are in contact with each other and help each other. Multiculturalism is a fact that happens in the daily contacts between people, contacts that people are not afraid of, even when the encounters are not always simple.

The magazine also gives the voice to the Muslim minority by allowing a girl of Moroccan origin express in a letter the feelings of fear that the societal events after the murder of Theo van Gogh caused her and how in her personal life she has felt the atmosphere become tenser (05/2005, 54). The letter is answered by a reader in the next issue showing support to the writer (06/2005, 8). Yet another form of celebration is to portray the future Dutch national football team: five of the eleven kids on the photo represent ethnic minorities (06/2006, 28). The open attitude of the magazine is not greeted with satisfaction by all its readers: in the following issue, a reader of Dutch origin expresses his worries about the 'colouring' and loyalty of the national team to

the Netherlands and announces he will fight this trend by bringing his grandchildren (native Dutch) to football training each week (07–08/2006, 8).

Finally, *Elsevier* shows positive signs towards a multicultural society when it represents young talents of all origins and young, talented and newlywed couples of mixed origins (both *Talent* and *Marriage* are permanent items in the last pages of each issue of the magazine). In both cases, the people represented in short interviews are from good families or highly educated; they run their own business or have artistic talent. Human interest stories are rather rare in the magazine in general, but when they are published, it shows that apparently also ethnic minority members and immigrants are worthy of celebration if they are good enough. They add something to Dutch culture or society and most likely are also worthy to include in the symbolic community of the national elite that the readers also represent.

Elsevier also accepts a cultural form of multiculturality by regularly discussing literature written by ethnic minorities as well as the positive influences that the presence of various cultures has on the supply of cultural events and the like in the country (e.g. Bollywood films, 23/2005, 34). Perhaps the most surprising item of all is a photo essay published in 2006. In this essay, the 'Dutch' habit of eating supper together is covered by visiting and portraying several families. Amongst those families is also a Turkish or Moroccan family. This is one of the rare occasions when the magazine shows that the majority and the minorities also have things in common (49/2006, 122).

In the multiculturalism discourses in the magazines, people are not so much required to bond or bridge with the nation or society, but the people and various groups are allowed to have their own value. Texts show support and understanding to those people who are having difficulties due to their immigration histories, and humanitarian reasons for helping people are appreciated. Multiculturalism appears as enrichment to society, especially when it is in the form of light and consumable culture. Those immigrants and ethnic minority members who are especially talented and make a special contribution to the society in a positive way due to their ethnic or immigrant background are celebrated and rendered the subject position of an expert speaking with a personal voice, like in *Suomen Kuvalehti*. Furthermore, immigrants and ethnic minorities are given the subject position of the subordinate that is spoken about, but they are also victims of strict immigration laws and a discriminating majority.

To conclude, the fourth discourse on organisation of ethnic diversity, differentialism, is not really articulated as an option in the magazines discussed here. Differentialism is, in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, occasionally denounced as a form of integration policy that has failed elsewhere, and *Elsevier* and *Plus* condemn differentialism as a part of the assimilation discourse, next to denouncing multiculturalism. The thought is that

multiculturalism as a policy has lead into differentialism, which can no longer be tolerated.

The four discourses and their central articulations in each magazine are summarised in the table.

Table 26: Discourses in the news magazines and *Plus Magazine*.

	Assimilation	**Multiculturalism**	**Universalism**	**Differentialism**
Suomen Kuvalehti	- Bonding with the Finnish national culture - Knowing the language, accepting the traditions and laws, accepting the attitude to work, showing a will to become similar - Individual responsibility towards the society and nation to bridge - 'Less immigration is better'	- Immigrant perspective: bonding with and preserving one's (religious) culture is important for integration - Critical perspective: naive to believe in multiculturalism (leads to abuse of the system) - Society's perspective: multiculturalism is an advantage, needed for a better future of Finland, an asset - 'More immigration'	- Hard working individuals are welcome - Finding place in society by being active, working, not costing society money - Knowing how the system works - Individual responsibility towards society and state to bridge and contribute - 'More (labour) migration needed' → to Finland's benefit, securing the welfare state	- Not an option, a mistake of other European countries that must be avoided because it leads to segregation between groups.
Elsevier	- Bonding with Dutch/Western norms and values, and adopting them - Individual duty to bridge with society - Maintaining own culture and values is condemnable - Religious culture of Muslims has to shift towards Western values or be abandoned - 'Less immigration is better'	-Not an option anymore - Mistake of the past - Multiculturalist ideas are stupid, idealistic, naïve, even criminal or 'lies'. - Does not enhance integration as there is no requirement to bridge with society - Supports cultural conservatism and extremism	- Bonding by working, learning the language, having same or higher level of income and education as the Dutch - Being useful to society by contributing financially, not costing money to welfare state - Bridging towards society and state an obligation	- Not an option - Segregation of different groups to be avoided and must be countered by political and legal measures - Cultural activities of minority groups should not be financed unless they support integration with national community

			- 'Less immigration is better'; only very highly skilled professionals welcome	
Plus Magazine	- Bonding with Dutch national community, importance of social cohesion	- Immigrants and ethnic minorities as victims in need of help to bridge - People in daily life bonding with each other		

Conclusions and discussion: How much room is there left for diversity?

In the Dutch news magazine *Elsevier*, the insistence in one direction of bonding and bridging as the only option for immigrants and ethnic minorities is strong: bonding within the national community and bridging towards the society individually in order to belong to it in both economic and cultural terms. This demand to show loyalty towards the national community is especially strong towards Muslim communities: both the people who are already in the country as well as those who possibly arrive in the future. These groups must become more Western and secularised and accept Dutch norms and values as their standard.

Assimilationism (and to lesser extent universalism) becomes articulated as the most favourable form of ethnically diverse society. It is seen as the only possible solution for the Netherlands to remain intact, whereas multiculturalism is a lie of the past. Nowadays it is 'naïve' or even 'criminal' to say that it could work as a model of organising the society. The Muslims and other immigrant groups that do not assimilate or are not beneficial to the nation are articulated as unwanted, and it is the right of the Dutch and the magazine to articulate who these undesirable people are. There are very few immigrants who are desirable to the Netherlands in *Elsevier*'s view, and they are only the very highly educated and talented, as well as those that take the side of the majority in the debate. They are the kind of people that can be included in the symbolic community of the nation, as well as the symbolic community of the national elite that the readers are believed to be a part of.

Elsevier's views are coloured by its position as a conservative, economically liberal and provocative magazine in the variety of Dutch opinion magazines available. During the period that has been analysed here, there is for example a contemporary of *Elsevier* called *Vrij Nederland* ('Free Netherlands'), which is more liberal in its values and took a

completely different tone towards immigration issues. While *Elsevier* in November 2005 published a column about why expelled asylum seekers that suffered during a fire incident at Schiphol airport should *not* be given a residence permit ('Too emotional', 5.11.2005, 14), *Vrij Nederland* published in Spring 2006 undercover reports from one of the ships that were used as a temporary residence for exiled immigrants to reveal how inhumane the conditions there really were ('Undercover on the ship of illegals', 25.3.2006, 22–35; 1.4.2006, 28–36).

In February 2006, *Elsevier* stated in a report that while Muslims worldwide are dangerous, in the Netherlands they are, fortunately, becoming more secular ('Do we have to be afraid of Islam?' 25.2.2006, 74–80*). Vrij Nederland* went out in May 2006 to interview various Muslim leaders and Muslims living in the Netherlands to ask how they, within their religious groups and mosques, think about integration and their situation in the Netherlands ('The future belongs to the worldly Muslim', 6.5.2006, 28–39). So while also in this case one magazine is taking a sceptical stance on the issues and talking about possibly threatening huge numbers of people, the other magazine seeks personal contact and ends up with more understanding views. Reading different news or opinion magazines in the Netherlands causes the world to look quite different.

Elsevier also seems to have been harder in its articulations on the Muslim minorities than national newspapers in that time: newspapers did discuss Islam in the Netherlands more than ever, but conflict frame and economic questions did not gain more prominence than previously. Several Muslims voiced their opinions in the societal debate, and aspects of morality and responsibility were stressed in the debates in the newspapers. (d'Haenens & Bink, 2006.) *Elsevier* then seems to have filled a very specific niche in the national debate on ethnic diversity. Yet its coverage of the issues of immigration and ethnic minorities well represents the societal debates in the years analysed in this research.

Elsevier is heavily taking part in the process of re-articulating the Dutch nation and its imagined community. It expresses a strong need to define what the common denominators of the community are and how an individual or a minority group should behave in order to become 'one of us'. This need is shared by the seniors' magazine *Plus*, but *Plus* is not as one-sided or pronounced in its views as *Elsevier*. Such an aim of re-articulation coincides with the crisis that the Netherlands experienced when it realised that not only is there a large group of former immigrants lagging behind the rest of the population in many respects, but also that it is not clear to anyone what the common denominators for the imagined community actually are.

Finally, *Suomen Kuvalehti* has an ambivalent attitude towards immigration and integration issues. It articulates various options of organising ethnic diversity as a possibility. Also, the articulated direction of bonding and bridging in *Suomen Kuvalehti*

is, rather, towards the national community and broad society and away from cultural minorities, but the enriching qualities of other cultures are not completely denied, and it is still acceptable to show support of and demonstrate humanitarian attitudes towards immigrants. The most important factor, however, is that those who come and are in the country are beneficial to Finland in economic terms and ready to accept the local way of living. The useful migrants is the group that can be included in the national symbolic community. Similarly to the Dutch case, especially Muslim immigrants must prove that they confirm with the Finnish culture and laws, and herein the magazine is being alert to European debates. Universalism and the economic benefits immigration can bring to Finland are articulated most clearly. If immigrants succeed in providing Finland with what is needed, they are generously celebrated also in this magazine. These celebrated immigrants are given the exceptional subject position of an individual expert within the magazine.

The attitude of the magazine reflects the role of the magazine as a forum that supports internationalisation and is keen to represent international views of Finnish society and the societal establishment. Therefore it is understandable that the magazine articulates immigration mainly as something positive that Finland needs in order to build a better future. The magazine reminds its readers in various ways that Finland still needs to open up if it is to be taken seriously in the rest of the world. In this way the magazine most likely also supports the views of the readers that in general are positive towards internationalisation. This can be seen as a careful re-articulation towards a national imagined community that would be a bit more diverse than it is now. However, the magazine also has to take into account the more conservative readers that also belong to the public, and therefore the articulation cannot be too strong. The ambivalence of the magazine towards the favoured form of organisation of diversity is also descriptive of the debate climate in Finland in the period that this analysis covers. At that time, immigration was not yet an issue in mainstream politics.

The discourses in all the three magazines articulate a need for the immigrants and ethnic minorities to be compatible with the local ways of living, norms and values. In Finland, this is in order to protect the supposedly homogeneous national community in advance; in the Netherlands it is to save the nation while there is still something to be saved. In both cases, the question can be asked: What is actually left of ethnic diversity, if assimilationism that does not support versatility is or becomes the preferred option to organise diversity?

6 Conclusions and discussion

In this dissertation I have analysed magazines of four different genres. I have shown how each of the magazine genres forms a specific discursive field and analysed what kind of discourses were articulated around the floating signifiers immigration and ethnic diversity in each of these fields of discursivity. I have also analysed how, in those discourses, subject positions were articulated to immigrants and ethnic minorities in each case and how the readers were addressed in relation to these issues and groups. In that process, also symbolic communities were articulated. In this chapter I will summarise the findings from the previous chapters and draw conclusions based on the findings of the research. I will also continue analysing and discussing those findings in order to answer more thoroughly some of the research questions stated in Chapter 3 (pages 104–105), especially the questions of cluster number 3 concerning the articulation of symbolic communities in Finland and the Netherlands.

6.1 Summary of the discourses on immigration and ethnic diversity: The subject positions and symbolic communities

To summarise the discourses articulated in different magazines, it can be concluded that all the discourses are based on four different articulations of immigration and ethnic diversity. These issues and the groups involved are articulated as a threat, as a utility, as victims or as objects of celebration (similar positions in newspapers have been discussed by, for example, Haavisto 2011). These articulations are connected to the articulations of the specific subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minorities in each case. They also have a connection with articulations on the options of organisation of an ethnically diverse society, and with that, the articulation of symbolic communities.

The **construction trade union magazines *Rakentaja*** and ***FNV Bouw Magazine*** (*Bouw)* articulated three different discourses on immigration and ethnic diversity. In section 5.1, I called those discourses the discourse of threat, the welcoming discourse and the worry discourse. In the threat discourse, labour migration is articulated as a threat and the immigrants as a threat and/or as victims; in the

welcoming discourse, the articulation is based on utility arguments and the celebration of immigrants; and in the worry discourse, the articulation of victims is central.

In addition, the trade union magazines articulated quite clearly the community that the magazines represent and partly form, as well as the prerequisites for membership of that community. The magazines directed their message mainly to the community of construction workers, but partly also to other readers whose views on the discussed issues the unions considered it important to influence. In the threat discourse, the union community was constructed in the texts by articulating the subject positions of friend and enemy, the friend being the community of union members and especially the leadership of the union. The enemy was twofold: the greatest enemy was greedy employers (potentially) misusing cheap foreign workers (=victims) and to lesser extent the grey labour market itself, which is not as much an enemy as it is a threat to the functioning of the building sector and the employment of the native Finnish and Dutch constructors who are union members.

There was an element of shared solidarity in these articulations, however. In the circumstances at hand, the magazines claimed it was important that the solidarity of the construction workers was directed towards the union and other members of the union. Only if the members remained loyal to the union and its views could the position of the sector be safeguarded. To some extent, they pleaded for union members to show solidarity towards the victims of their common enemy: the foreign workers who were being or had been exploited by employers as cheap labour. It was articulated that, by accepting these foreign workers as union members, safeguarding their working conditions and performing inspections against misuse, the construction workers (members of the union) could survive. These articulations were especially prominent in *Rakentaja*, whereas in *Bouw* it was the rapidly changing situation that made the union change its policies to enhance solidarity by accepting foreign construction workers as members of the union.

Also other forms of solidarity were of importance in the articulations of *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*. In the welcoming discourse, especially in *Rakentaja*, there was a strong preference for the foreign construction workers not only to be union members but also taxpayers in Finnish society. When they abide by Finnish laws and pay taxes to Finland, foreign construction workers were to be accepted as full members of the union but also as full and useful members of society (the utility argument). It was this group of tax-paying, union-affiliated foreign construction workers that got the most positive, even celebratory discussion in the magazine and could be included in the symbolic community of construction workers, as well as the nation, whereas the group of 'grey market labourers' was articulated negatively. A hierarchy was formed between those construction workers who play by the book and those who do not, even if some

of the misbehaving construction workers were seen to be in a difficult situation not of their own making.

In *Bouw*, in the worry discourse, solidarity or support was requested for those construction workers who originated from an ethnic minority and experienced disadvantages in the labour market for that reason. They (the victims) ought to be helped, and they were helped by the union to gain a better position in life and society.

When these three discourses are analysed using the concepts of social capital, bonding and bridging as an analytic tool, the trade union magazines shared universalism as the preferred form of organisation of ethnic diversity in society. Individuals were to bridge with society at large by being active participants on the labour market and contributing to society by working legally, paying taxes and of course belonging to the union, which was the preferred form of bonding besides bonding with the national community. In this case, bridging is not only a one-way process, because it is understood that also the union and its members need to reach out to foreign construction workers, fight for their cause and attract those workers as union members. In that sense, there is a hint of assimilation ideology in the articulations: the construction workers should all represent and bond with one homogeneous group.

Taken altogether, the focus on labour migration and its side effects was more pronounced in *Rakentaja* than in *Bouw*. This is most likely due to the strong position that trade unions in general, but also specifically the Finnish construction trade union FCTU, have as actors in the Finnish labour market and welfare state context. The unions are central negotiators, and FCTU represents a large sector employing a substantial group of people in the society. The union has standardised mechanisms to deal with situations that potentially endanger existing labour conditions on the sector and to communicate their views to political decision makers. These mechanisms of persuasion were utilised in this case as well, as the issue discussed is not only in the union's own interest but also has a wider societal importance. The discourses used are a part of the tactics of the union.

Another factor might be that the Netherlands had already been a popular target of labour migrants for decades; in Finland that type of social movement in the direction of Finland was a relatively new phenomenon. In the Netherlands, labour migration has been an issue for a long time, but it has not been unions primarily dealing with it. Unions were still in the process of incorporating the idea of migrant workers into their core activities. It should also be taken into account that labour migration has been a taboo of some kind in the Netherlands in the most recent decades. The labour migration that took place after the war was regularly deemed as a failure in public discussions because many of those who once came to the country to work later

became unemployed due to changes in the economy and markets, so there did not seem to be a point in attracting more labour from abroad. Now that many Eastern European countries have become a part of the EU, the country has again become a destination for labour migration.

The situation in the Finnish construction sector has not changed dramatically since the years discussed here, and even more foreign workers have come to Finland. Now in 2013–2014, problems with cheap foreign labour still exist, but by now new laws have been implemented that make foreign labour easier to control: the union has finally got what it wanted. The Netherlands is a recipient of foreign workers as well, but there is also a significant group of people who are in the country without official permission and make a living from working illegally.

I analysed four discourses in the **women's magazines *Me Naiset* and *Libelle* and in the seniors' magazine *ET***: the discourses of family life, multicultural dialogue and integration, the celebration of womanhood, and the celebration of personal (immigration) histories. All the discourses shared an element of celebration. The articulation of victims was present in the multicultural discourse, but also the ideas of utility were present, just like in the discourse on the celebration of womanhood and personal histories. Articulations of threat were absent in these discourses.

All the subject positions of the immigrants and ethnic minority members were articulated with closeness and familiarity. The immigrants and ethnic minority members discussed were almost without exception family members, friends or colleagues of Finnish or Dutch people. This is not surprising as a fact, since many of the immigrants or ethnic minority members do share their daily lives at least in some ways with native Finns and Dutch. It is remarkable how often this connection was articulated by the magazine texts.

Besides articulating the close relationship of immigrants and minority members with members of the majority, the magazines also used other techniques to bring immigrants and ethnic minority members close to the readers. They were interviewed in person, represented in a dialogue or co-operation with other people in the texts, and sharing common experiences, interests or worries with other people in society. Women or people of various origins were then not articulated as living separate lives, but as sharing a common space in many terrains of life. The magazines showed several examples of lived everyday multiculturalism. That was something to be celebrated, just like people's personal successes. The symbolic community articulated was the community of families, friends and women, of which both the readers, immigrants and ethnic minority members were a part.

Futhermore, the women's magazines reflect the welfare state systems in Finland and in the Netherlands, when they articulate the desired position of immigrant and

minority women in the society. In *Me Naiset*, women from immigrant backgrounds were represented especially as colleagues of Finnish women and as making a contribution to Finnish working life, as is expected of everyone. On other occasions, they were inspecting their Finnish sisters rather from a distance, articulated as if aiming to become like them by, for example, combining work and family life and being productive and useful for the society (which was articulated as the ideal: the utility argument).

In *Libelle*, native Dutch women and women of ethnic minorities were fighting for emancipation and discussing the challenges of having both family and a job side by side. In the Netherlands, it was articulated as a goal for all women to become working and productive members of society. In some situations, the majority women were helping their related minority sisters (victims) to integrate. Part of *Libelle*'s quest for emancipation of the minority women was directed towards their overall attachment to society by getting them out of their houses and learning the language. Women could be engines of change for their whole families, helping them all to become integrated and productive members of society, as the magazine reminded its readers (the utility argument).

When it came to emancipation in working life, it was sometimes the opposite, and it was some of the women from an ethnic minority that set the example for others. There was then a slight difference articulated between those ethnic minority members who were in the same position as the native Dutch women or ahead of them in terms of labour participation, and those (Muslim) women who were illiterate and stuck at home. Not everyone was quite as equal with each other, but nevertheless, in Dutch society, it was an issue for all the women to find their place in working life. It is quite likely that this shared character of the challenges to all women was what made it easier for *Libelle* to represent all women more as equals than was the case for *Me Naiset*.

The discourses on ethnically diverse society in *Me Naiset*, *Libelle* and *ET* were primarily multicultural, as they articulated ethnic and cultural diversity as an asset, as something to celebrate and enjoy. Instead of articulating immigrants and minority members as separate from the rest of society, they were represented as belonging to society with various bonds and wanting to belong to it even more closely in the future. Even though it was preferred that people bridge to society at large with various contributions and bond with the national community through close relationships, it was not deemed dangerous or unwanted if people also expressed a need to continue some of the habits of their countries of origin or those related to minority cultures. These were represented as being combinable with Finnish or Dutch habits or could even function as enrichment to the majority culture. Especially *Libelle* introduced a new

variant of organisation of ethnic diversity: one based on the idea of lived everyday multiculturalism and sharing.

In combination with the multicultural discourse, the discourses were universal, as they articulated a wish directed at minority members and immigrants that they integrate and become contributing members of society. Women should work, but yet have a family, and continue the reproduction work that they as women still are destined to. Compared to news magazines and their universal claims, the sentiment was, however, very different in women's magazines and *ET*. The difference between the two women's magazines was that *Libelle* articulated itself as an active participant in the process of helping women on their way to emancipation, while *Me Naiset* was taking stances more subtly.

The general news magazines *Elsevier* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* and the seniors' magazine *Plus Magazine* (*Plus)* articulated three discourses on the organisation of ethnic diversity and social capital. These three discourses were the discourse of assimilation, stressing a need to bond with the national community and show loyalty (immigrants and ethnic minorities articulated as a threat to national cohesion); of universalism, articulating a requirement to bond with the national community in economic terms (immigrants and ethnic minorities as a utility and as a threat); and of multiculturalism, stressing the right of the immigrants and ethnic minorities to bond with their 'original' cultures (celebration and victims).

The symbolic community in which immigrants or ethnic minority members were articulated as subjects by the news magazines was the community or society at large in both countries. This is due to the character of the magazines: they are, similar to newspapers and other news texts, written for a general public potentially consisting of all sorts of readers. Similar to newspapers, these magazines have a function of constructing at least an illusion of the existence of a national community within which common interests are shared and a connection with other members of that large community is felt. At the same time, the magazines also serve narrower audiences: the news magazines a national elite of some kind and the seniors' magazine senior citizens. The magazine texts articulated symbolic communities attached to these readerships as well, including a few of the immigrants and ethnic minority members discussed in these communities.

The subject positions of immigrants and ethnic minority members that were articulated in the magazines vary within discourses. In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, there were two significant subject positions. One was articulated around successful immigrants within the universal discourse and multicultural discourse. Furthermore, there are two types of this successful immigrant. One type consists of immigrants who were professionally highly qualified from the start and have in that sense always been contributing

something important or special to Finnish society. They are, for example, artists, businesspeople, media figures or the like. These are the experts that Finns should learn from and that clearly benefit Finland. They are also the living proof that Finland has become an internationally open-minded society.

Another type of successful immigrant came to Finland as a refugee or asylum seeker (=victims) and after some hardship is now making gains. Their success was, in both cases, articulated in the texts as a quality that could be gained by 'doing the right thing'. This included working and earning a salary, adding something special to Finnish culture or Finland's economy, studying and developing themselves (utility arguments), becoming familiar with the Finnish way of life and habits and reproducing them, and speaking the language. When an immigrant then manages to perform the actions that are considered important from the perspective of Finnish society, she/he is celebrated in the magazine. This is also the type of immigrant that is a potentially productive member of the welfare state, who possibly can be included in the national symbolic community that the magazine strives to maintain.

The second subject position in *Suomen Kuvalehti* was reserved for the group of immigrants that had yet to arrive in Finland. This group actually consisted of several types of migrants, mainly refugees and asylum seekers, but also 'illegal' migrants and labour migrants. All these groups and the requirements it was necessary for them to fulfil to gain the right to enter the country were discussed in the magazine by other people. These immigrants were articulated as targets of control (a potential threat), whereas the controllers were politicians, governmental agencies and other officials, along with – not least – the 'ordinary' Finns who were writing to the reader's section of the magazine and commenting immigration issues.

Also for these immigrants, the qualities articulated as desirable were similar to those articulated for successful immigrants: working hard and knowing the language were, for example, mentioned as requirements for letting immigrants in and as tools for them to become successful and useful to society (utility arguments). This group of immigrants was clearly articulated as being outside the Finnish national community, but by doing what is expected from them, they might become part of that community. This included adopting the local habits and the language, and being like Finns. Especially Muslims were a target of suspicions, whether they will be able to adjust to local norms (the assimilation discourse). In addition, there were also articulations in favour of humanitarian forms of migration supporting the arrival of those immigrants that needed help (the victims) and the multiculturalism that follows from immigration.

In the Dutch *Elsevier*, there were also two prominent subject positions: one for ethnic minority members already living in the country and the other one for those who would potentially arrive. The latter subject position resembles that subject position of

the arriving immigrants in the Finnish magazines. The difference between them is that *Elsevier* not as much discussed refugees and asylum seekers as it discussed family-related migration and family members of the people belonging to ethnic minorities who were willing to come to the country from outside to reunite with their families. The texts articulated requirements that would have to be fulfilled if these people wanted to come and settle.

In the texts, the requirements articulated made strong claims on the desired qualities of the immigrants. They should be educated and know Dutch language, history and culture before even entering the country. However, it was considered most desirable to attract and let in only very highly qualified migrants, the so-called 'knowledge migrants' (*kennis migranten*) who could contribute even more than the Dutch themselves (the utility argument). The magazine did not shy away from expressing that an uneducated family member of a person belonging to the Moroccan or Turkish Muslim minority in the Netherlands was an unwanted immigrant, and that it should be made very difficult for such people to immigrate (they form a threat). They were in no way articulated as victims. These unwanted migrants were the targets of the controlling measures and estimations of others and they were not interviewed or heard themselves. It was also articulated clearly that these people were non-members of the Dutch symbolic community, and if they ever wished to become members, they have to work very hard for it.

The most prominent subject position in *Elsevier* was that of a person belonging to ethnic (and religious) minorities, especially to Muslim or Moroccan minorities, which in fact overlap. Besides this group, the Turkish minority was discussed as well, especially together with Moroccans and less often as a separate group. These minorities were articulated as having problems and causing trouble in society. The group was part of society in the sense that they are living in it, but since they were said to be non-integrated and leaning on religious and other 'typical habits' of the minority, using social benefits without making a contribution by working and paying taxes, they did not really belong to the national symbolic community. On the contrary, they were articulated as a threat to the cohesion of the national community, as well as to the welfare state.

To a certain extent, the magazine discussed statistical and other facts concerning these groups and their activities in the society, but the magazine very much also produced its own journalistic view on the issues. What is special in the articulations of the magazine was the one-sidedness and intensity of the articulations. The articulations in the magazine did not contain many nuances or alternatives and, at times, the magazine was not far from using racist arguments. People belonging to the minorities were said to be all the same and, unless the situation changed in the direction suggested

by the magazine, integration of these groups would fail to an even greater degree and society would face serious problems. In the texts, these minorities were almost without exception targets of control, required to prove their loyalty to Dutch society and the national community by accepting local Western and secular habits, norms and values, abandoning Islam as religion, learning the language and importantly, contributing to the economy (assimilation and universal discourses).

Next to Dutch authorities, scholars and other discussants, there were a few individual minority members that were used to voice their views in *Elsevier*, but also in the seniors' magazine *Plus*. These individuals had succeeded in integration, and they crossed the line of expertise. As experts, they were accepted as legitimate and useful members of the national community. *Elsevier* succeeded to a small extent in celebrating talented minority members and multiculturalism in its commercial form. These experts and the talented ones were those that could be included in the symbolic community formed by the magazine's readership, the national elite. Lastly, *Plus* also articulated especially refugees and asylum seekers as victims helped by the readers of the magazine. In *Elsevier*, there were no victims who were immigrants or ethnic minorities, since the magazine did not show sympathy to these groups. Multiculturalism was articulated as a failure and a utopia of the past.

The discourses in the three magazines leaned towards the universal version of the organisation of ethnic diversity when considering the type of loyalty that was required from immigrants and ethnic minorities. Individuals should be loyal and bridge to society as a whole by contributing to it financially. In the Finnish texts, the importance of work was stressed and labour migration was articulated as a positive possibility; Dutch texts were more selective in defining desired labour migration. There is an element of protecting and securing the welfare state in these articulations. In Finland the welfare state can be maintained with enough labour force, whereas in the Netherlands present members of the society should contribute to the welfare state instead of using its resources. In both cases the actual and symbolic citizenship is based on a duty to be productive, instead of social or other rights to benefit from the society.

The Finnish or Dutch national community was articulated as the in-group with which all groups of society should bond instead of minority groups. At some points, discourse turned in the direction of assimilation. This was especially the case of *Elsevier*, when it was articulated that certain minorities should abandon their traditional habits and religion (and languages) and embrace a Western and secular way of life. In these articulations, there was little or no room for cultural variety. In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, some discourses had a slight tone of the multicultural version of pluralism in them, or at least they celebrated the benefits of a multicultural society. These discourses stated that there were individuals and groups still attached to their minority cultures or original

home countries, but, since they were contributing something special that benefitted Finland, this was fine or even something to be celebrated.

Taken all together, the texts in the two magazines articulated a hierarchy between the subject positions available for immigrants and ethnic minority members. In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, the hierarchy was the successful and those who had yet to get there and, in *Elsevier* and *Plus*, the successful who spoke with the voice of the majority and those that did not try hard enough or at all, in the magazine's judgement. In *Elsevier*, the focus of the discourses was very clear, most likely due to the political colour of the magazine as well as the general atmosphere in society at the time of publication. The magazine was in a position where it had to take a stand on the public discussion on immigration and integration, and it did so without hesitation. A similar discourse of societal crisis and a need to do something about it was also articulated in the seniors' magazine *Plus*. In the Finnish context, where the alternatives of immigration were still being explored but the issue was not a societal 'hot topic', the focus in *Suomen Kuvalehti* was fragmented: in one way or other, the magazine articulated many alternatives and views on the issue without really taking a stand. It was also voicing a need for Finland to become more international by being more open to immigration, while also expressing hesitations towards refugees and Muslims.

In conclusion, all the analysed magazines articulate different versions of organisation of ethnic diversity in society. The construction trade union magazines prefer universalism, the women's magazines and seniors' magazine *ET* multiculturalism and the news magazines and seniors' magazine *Plus* universalism and assimilation. In all the magazines, immigration and ethnic diversity and the groups involved are articulated as a threat, as a utility, as victims and/or as objects of celebration. These articulations show up in different combinations in different discourses and they contain various subject positions which are articulated on immigrants and ethnic minority members. These subject positions are for example the more and less welcome foreign construction worker or other immigrant, family members of the Finnish or Dutch, successful immigrants, experts with immigrant or ethnic minority background and undesired ethnic minorities. I will now discuss these subject positions and their composition more in detail.

6.2 Elements of the subject positions articulated to immigrants and ethnic minority members

When further analysing the subject positions articulated on immigrants and ethnic minorities in different magazines, it becomes obvious that these subject positions share similarities, but are also different in some ways. From my analytic point of view, these subject positions include (at least) three elements that play a decisive role in the overall composition of the subject position. One element in the articulations defines whether the articulation takes a collective or individual approach to the person in question, the second element whether and to what extent a subject position includes dominantly an ethnic identity or a non-ethnicity-based identity categorisation, and the third whether the subject position under articulation is represented as belonging to a certain inside group or being on the outside. The three elements are then **1) collective-individual**, **2) ethnicity-non-ethnicity** and **3) inside-outside**.

These elements can theoretically be understood as floating signifiers that are joined together and articulated as partly fixed nodal points in the texts and form subject positions in each articulation. When the three elements are articulated together in different ways, eight possible combinations of the elements can be formed. These eight combinations can partly fix various subject positions that can all consist of different identity categorisations and other qualities articulated to actors in texts. Also subject positions that are somewhere in between these eight combinations are possible, since all the elements vary on a sliding scale: like identities, they are never fully fixed. The eight possible combinations are listed in the table on the next page. For each combination of elements, I have also given an example of a subject position that was articulated in the magazine texts analysed in this research.

Table 27: Elements of subject positions.

Combination of elements	Example of subject position
1. Collective-ethnic-outside	- Potential immigrants in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier* - *Elsevier*'s Muslim ethnic minorities in the Netherlands
2. Collective-ethnic-inside	- Well-integrated ethnic minority, e.g. Tatars in *Suomen Kuvalehti* - The Muslim/minority construction workers in *Bouw* - *Elsevier*'s and *Plus*' Muslim ethnic minorities in the Netherlands
3. Collective-non-ethnic-outside	- Foreign construction workers, who are non-union members in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*
4. Collective-non-ethnic-inside	- Foreign construction workers, who are union members in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*
5. Individual-ethnic-outside	- Individual refugee, not integrated, waiting for an opportunity to return or a residence permit (stories about this type of people are to be found in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Elsevier*, for example)
6. Individual-ethnic-inside	- Successful, well-integrated refugee or other immigrant in *Suomen Kuvalehti* - Expert ethnic minority members in *Elsevier* and *Plus*
7. individual-non-ethnic-outside	- Individual with a non-ethnic or multifaceted identity, attached to original home country, e.g. an expat (these stories were not included in the research) - Successful professional immigrant in *Suomen Kuvalehti*
8. Individual-non-ethnic-inside	- Family member, friend or colleague of a Finnish or Dutch person or a celebrity in *Me Naiset*, *ET* and *Libelle* - Successful professional immigrant in *Suomen Kuvalehti* - Individual foreign construction worker, who is a union member in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*

The first element has to do with whether a subject position is articulated as belonging to a **collective** entity or an **individual** entity. I am not trying to make a distinction between collective, social and personal identities here, but wish to point to the circumstance of whether people are discussed as groups or as individuals in the texts. This element then points at possibilities of immigrant or ethnic actors to be articulated in texts as individuals with individual qualities. When reflected through discourse theory, the representations of both collective and individual entities should be

contingent in the sense that all kinds of elements can be articulated as parts of them. However, individual representations seem to offer more room for these contingent articulations, whereas the collective ones are more fixed.

According to earlier research concerning representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in news journalism, ethnic minority members and immigrants are often predominantly discussed as collectives: there is no room for individual identities or qualities. When represented as collectives, ethnic and immigrant groups become faceless, less controllable and potentially threatening. Similar mechanisms of collectivisation also form the basis for enemy images that are constructed in wartime, for example. In images and discussions about the opposite side, the enemy is often reduced to a collective that behaves in one stereotypical way that differs from the behaviour of the 'home troops'. The enemy is also counted in numbers, not as individuals. This stereotypical and uncountable enemy is somehow easier to handle and potentially destroy than if they were seen as individual human beings thinking and acting individually (Luostarinen 1986). When the enemy has no face, it is not possible to feel sympathy towards the enemy.

The element of faceless and threatening collectives was present in the articulations of general news magazines and trade union magazines when they were discussing the potentially arriving groups of immigrants and those ethnic minorities that were seen as a threat to national and community cohesion. These categories of immigrants and ethnic minorities needed to be controlled, and the ways they were to be controlled were defined in the magazines. These articulations share some similarities with enemy images as well, since also in these articulations the 'enemy', the immigrants or ethnic minorities, is acting in a stereotypical, foreign way and is formed by a large, faceless and uncountable collective. There were also other kinds of collectives, for example the masses of workers that *Suomen Kuvalehti* was expecting Finland to receive, which were articulated in a more positive light: as a useful resource for the Finnish economy.

In a more humanitarian discourse, on the contrary, immigrants have often been discussed as individuals. In these cases, the identity of a person as an 'immigrant' or 'ethnic' being has been faded to the background and those qualities that make the individual recognisable and more acceptable to 'us', the readers, have been highlighted. (See e.g. Horsti 2009 and 2013.) All the analysed magazines, at least in some cases, articulated immigrants and ethnic minority members as individuals, and they were given a chance to present their own individual views and qualities. This happened mostly in interviews.

Individual articulations were most typical in women's magazines and *ET*, where almost the only way to discuss immigrants and ethnic minorities was through stories and life experiences of individuals, to which individual readers can relate their own

experiences, and potentially symphatise with the person they are reading about. Even though the number of these individual representations was small in some of the other magazines analysed, it is still remarkable that, in all the magazines, individual discussions were at least an optional way of discussing immigrant and ethnic minority issues. Often in individual portrayals the tone was celebratory and indeed highlighting those qualities that made the people discussed more alike 'us' and thus potentially more acceptable.

As was suggested at the beginning of this dissertation, magazines *are* then using their potential to tell stories with the voices of the people themselves, although in some cases they could do it more often and the variation in issues that the individuals are allowed to discuss could be greater. Immigrants and ethnic minority members need not only be experts on their personal lives, but they could fill other roles as well, as was sometimes shown in the Dutch magazines.

Ethnicity was present in one way or another in all the articulated subject positions. This is due to the method of sampling the research material: only those texts that explicitly discussed immigrants or ethnic minorities were included in the research. When individuals and groups of immigrants and ethnic minorities are discussed in the media, there is, on the one hand, a risk that media texts simplify and represent people as if ethnicity was their only quality, defining their entire identity, behaviour and subject position. Theories of identity, on the other hand, explain that no identity is 'pure' in the sense that it only consists of one nominator (see section 2.5, page 90). Both views are valid. The significance of ethnicity in different articulations in the magazines analysed here varied a great deal, from almost purely ethnic articulations of subject positions to subject positions in which ethnicity hardly even played a role.

In the magazines analysed, there were several examples of articulations in which ethnicity was highlighted. Ethnicity seemed to be the central and only identity categorisation in the articulations in *Plus*, *Elsevier* and *Suomen Kuvalehti* that discussed immigration rights and integration obligations of people, whereas *Bouw* discussed the difficulties of ethnic groups in labour market. These were partly the same cases in which people were discussed as collectives. When the discussed collective was an ethnic one, the magazine texts seemed to suggest that it was due to ethnicity that certain groups of people behaved in certain ways and had certain problems in society.

In these cases, the ethnicity was articulated as an essential identity, or in terms of discourse theory, the articulation of ethnic identity was near to full closure, it was almost fully saturated with meaning, instead of being over-determined or fluctuating and thus leaving room for contingent articulations (see also section 2.4, page 84). Especially *Elsevier* claimed that if these groups, especially Muslims, would only abandon their ethnicity and ethnic cultural habits, the problems would be solved and the groups

would no longer be a threat to national cohesion. Here also a chain of equivalence is articulated on Muslims as a minority: since some of them were claimed to have certain qualities, all of them are believed to have that quality and to be fully characterised by that quality (see section 2.5, page 86 and 2.7, page 100).

This kind of claim that *Elsevier* was making has been discussed theoretically as potentially cultural racist or neo-racist. Instead of stating that it is their race that makes people behave in a certain unacceptable way and makes them somehow less than people of other races, it is now the ethnic or religious culture that is claimed to cause people's behaviour and marks the carriers of some ethnicities and cultures as less wanted and acceptable than others. The majority group, which is seen as superior to other groups in these ideologies, is not considered as a carrier of any ethnicity, while the minority carries and expresses an ethnicity and alongside it a culture that is perceived to be of lesser value and to cause problems. The minority thus needs to assimilate with the majority by abandoning their culture and ethnicity (Lentin and Titley 2011; Schinkel 2008, 10).

I am not saying that *Elsevier* necessarily used ethnicity for the purpose of creating such a cultural racist articulation, but this was nevertheless an interpretation that was easy to make from what was said in the texts. The magazine was also very close to being racist when it discussed the rights of ethnic minorities to reproduce, worrying that the Dutch population would pay the cost if minorities and especially closely related people within the minority groups have children.

In other cases, ethnicity was highlighted when it was despite or thanks to their ethnicity and the extra trouble that it had caused that people had become successful in their lives in their new home societies. Ethnicity can then be a reason to put people on a pedestal and celebrate their successes (see also Haavisto 2011). The women's magazines, *ET*, *Suomen Kuvalehti* and to some extent the trade union magazines, *Elsevier* and *Plus* used this kind of celebration. Ethnicity can also become highlighted and celebrated as an enrichment to society. These articulations were used, for example, when *Libelle* introduced to its readers the 'new Dutch' and the cuisine of their home countries, or when the women's magazines discussed immigrants who were family members of Finns or Dutch. Ethnicity was probably used in a most neutral way in some of the articles in *Libelle* (and *Me Naiset*) in which women of various origins were discussing a shared experience in a dialogue together. Their ethnicity was present, but what mattered the most was the element of sharing.

The most common **non-ethnic** identities articulated in different subject positions were professional identities and family/friendship-related identities. These were common (not surprisingly) in the trade union magazines and the women's magazines. The magazines articulated and reproduced those identities that were important and

familiar to their readers. In these cases the magazines articulated chain of equivalence on immigrants and ethnic minorities in a positive sense: common qualities between them and other people, including readers, were stressed, so that reader was given a chance to feel that they formed one group.

Also the successful foreign professionals in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and minority experts in *Elsevier* were articulated with help of professionally based identities or a multiplicity of identities. These persons were not articulated as being ethnic, even though they were originating from another country; they were 'only' foreigners, which in this case was totally acceptable since that was, next to professionalism, exactly the quality that made these people so capable of seeing things differently and advising others. These articulations are examples of fragmented and multiple identities that represent the fact that people are not the result of one single identity, but they are collections of different qualities (see section 2.5, page 91).

Especially in interviews, there was also more room for articulations that carried several identity elements in them. In interviews, people's subject positions can be articulated by several identity categories, e.g. woman, mother, professional, immigrant of origin, child of someone, art collector etc. This is true to how people function and are in life. As we are discussing media representations in magazines, it should not be forgotten, however, that all articulations are the result of journalistic selection and writing processes. How true a media representation of any person is, at the end of the day, debatable.

Furthermore, the critique that has been expressed on theories of non-essential and multiple identities (see section 2.5) is valid here as well, since based on the analysis in this research it is clear that not everyone is equally free to express their identity in magazine texts, or to negotiate one's subject position. Power relations in the society, as well as power relations within a single media product significantly affect and limit people's chances to rearticulate or challenge the subject position with attached identity categories that is articulated on them.

Finally, the third element refers to how far apart a person represented in a text is situated from the reader of the text and other people in society: how far from or close to each other the different subject positions, identity categories and people articulated to these positions and categories are believed to be. Theoretically, all identities are based on the idea that there is a constitutive **outside**, an 'other', from which one has to distinguish oneself in order to belong to an **inside** and have an own identity. The outside marks the boundaries of the inside and the in-group, the symbolic and real communities. Furthermore, the outside and the other can be represented in positive, neutral or negative terms (see also section 2.6). As I have pointed out, all the texts articulated the persons in the texts as belonging to some group or category as separate

from others. The position of immigrants and ethnic minority members in societies and various communities was discussed. Magazine texts also carried elements that articulated whether the readers and the person represented were seen to belong to the same or different groups, communities or collectives.

It seems that the persons who were articulated as the most successful in the magazine texts were those who showed the most alikeness with the in-group of readers or the national community. The in-group and the qualities of the in-group were, most of the time, articulated as something positive, so when a person that initially belongs to an out-group starts gaining those qualities that are deemed positive by the in-group, this was valued in the magazines as being successful, and the person was accepted to the in-group as well. These people were celebrated in the magazines. Sometimes, unless a person gains certain qualities, as in the case of foreign construction workers and union membership, it was not even possible to belong to the in-group. Those groups that were articulated most far outside the in-group were those groups that also concretely somehow were outside the society: they were immigrants that still needed to arrive, or if they had arrived, they did not have permission to stay yet, or they were planning to stay only temporarily.

What is most notable and worrying is that some groups seemed to be at the same time articulated both inside and outside the national community. The Moroccan (and Turkish) Muslim minorities in the Netherlands were articulated in such a subject position in *Elsevier*. On the one hand, these people were an actual and living group in society and inherently part of it. On the other hand, in the articulation of the subject position of this group in *Elsevier*, they were placed at the margins of society or even partly outside it due to ethnic cultural identity that the minority carried. This out-group was further articulated as dangerous. According to the magazine, the group could only be counted fully in the in-group of national symbolic community if it changed in many respects, integrated or assimilated itself into the majority culture, and gave up its own ethnicity and culture.

Another subject position that was both in- and outside was the position of foreign construction workers in *Rakentaja* and *Bouw*: they are on the outside until they become union members. Unlike the Moroccan minority in *Elsevier*, this subject position was not marked with ethnicity, but indeed with inside-outside: it was on this scale that there had to be a change so that people in this subject position could start to belong to the in-group. In both positions they remained dominantly professionals. A third subject position that balanced between in- and outside was that of the successful foreign professionals in *Suomen Kuvalehti*. They were insiders because they were making remarkable contributions to society, but they were still outside enough to distinguish

themselves from others in some ways. They were looking at Finnish society from the viewpoint of someone who was still an outsider to a slight degree.

Common to all these three elements is that they position the object of the articulation in a text, but they also at least partly fix the position that a reader can take in relation to a certain group or individual. I am then suggesting that, by using these elements, it is possible to analyse all potential subject positions available to immigrants and ethnic minority members in different types of media texts. The elements leave the actual subject positions open: they can be articulated using various discursive elements that situate the person or group in question somewhere on the scales of individual and collective representations, ethnic or non-ethnic representations and inside or outside an in-group.

The subject positions articulated in magazine texts, or in any media texts, are not insignificant. Also in this research, they revealed how various people of immigrant and ethnic origins can be perceived and what kind of chances they are seen to have in a society. Those subject positions that support individual and varied articulations are most likely the ones that support the inclusion of people in in-groups: there are always some elements in these articulations that people recognise and can relate to. They also offer the people represented the most opportunities to act and rearticulate their position in a society. The most likely subject positions to articulate a person on the outside and limit their possibility of functioning are those based on collective and ethnic categorisations, as these are based on ideas of separateness, and they also make the subjects into objects of someone else's opinions and decisions.

The symbolic communities supported by the magazines analysed here were the symbolic communities of women, families, construction trade unions and the national (elite) communities. All these symbolic communities exist in the context of Western welfare states, a fact that was also reflected in the articulations of the smaller symbolic communities. These smaller communities were articulated as inclusive symbolic communities towards immigrants and ethnic minority members in the cases in which the immigrants and ethnic minority members in some ways showed similarities to the readers or the people who were articulated as members of the national symbolic communities. When the similarities of people of various origins are stressed in the magazines, the magazines are giving the readers the option of imagining their daily encounters with various people and groups in inclusive terms. Magazines do not directly create people's behaviour, but by showing people as similar to each other instead of different, they do increase the chances that people will encounter each other in real life as equals.

6.3 The findings in relation to magazine genres

One of the central assumptions in this research was that there is something special about immigration-related magazine journalism compared to news journalism. In a time when it is becoming increasingly unlikely that everyone living in a nation state is consuming the same news or other media items, it is important to analyse what is offered to readers in various journalistic products.

This research shows that, all in all, news journalism and magazine journalism share many similarities in terms of issues and views on immigration and ethnic diversity. In that magazines are rather traditional instead of innovative or daring. What however is clearer in magazine journalism than in news is that magazines serve two purposes when they write about immigration and ethnic diversity or other societal issues. On one hand, magazines articulate a symbolic in-community that is important to the magazine and its readers, but, at the same time, they are also saying something about the national community at large. The articulations of the symbolic communities of the readerships and the national community exist side-by-side, but one of them is stressed above the other. In case of construction trade union magazines, it is most of all the community of the trade union that is articulated, and also women's magazines stress an articulation of the community of women (and families), whereas the general news magazines highlight the national symbolic community.

Yet all the magazines also reflect the context of the symbolic community within which they have been produced, in these cases, the societies that are Western welfare states. The magazines analysed here also show that they are not merely identity media, articulating only an in-community of readers, but also political media, discussing society and the groups living in it on a large scale. Therefore, as has been discussed above, all the magazines also share similar articulations on the issues of immigration and ethnic diversity. All the magazines, however, also have a specific way of approaching societal debates, and it is not always the way that we are used to seeing in news journalism.

When the results are considered in the comparative framework of different magazines, it is rather clear that the magazines represent the immigrants or ethnic minorities and related societal issues that are closest to the interests of their readers. The people represented themselves are most likely to belong to the readership at some point (trade union magazines), they are the easiest group for the readers to sympathise with or feel a connection with (women's magazines and *ET*), or the people that are believed to be of special relevance to the readership (news magazines and *Plus*).

This kind of selectivity is understandable from the perspective of magazine formats and functionality of the magazines. Magazines as journalistic products have segmented

audiences and fixed tasks, and they perform those tasks by giving their readers what they expect. This is also the easy and secure choice for the magazines, since taking risks could mean that the readers might not want to read the magazine in the future. However, it is somewhat surprising how little – or no – variation there is in the immigrant and ethnic groups and issues discussed within one magazine. The magazines are really playing it safe. Comparing different magazines was useful, as it not only revealed how various magazines are designed, but also what the specific characteristics and limitations of the representations in each of the magazines are.

The question also remains how much room there is within a magazine genre or format to *really* tell the story of a person or a group, instead of telling the story like the magazine wants it to be told or the magazine genre requires it be told. Magazines vary in what the acceptable topics and issues are, the ways in which things can be told and what the 'taboos' or forbidden issues that should not be touched upon are. As this dissertation shows, the texts in women's and family magazines must contain an element of 'feel-good' or human interest. It would also be rather unthinkable for them to tell their stories using a news format. News magazines have to stick to actualities and serving a broad public interested in societal and political issues, so too many human interest interviews or celebrity gossips would most likely scare their readers off, and the same goes for trade union magazines. News magazines can, for example, publish war reports with details on warfare and bloodshed, while women's magazines would probably cover the issue by interviewing a war refugee about her experiences, if they covered the issue at all. This kind of factor cannot help but affect the end result.

Even with general news magazines, one could still ask how general or broad they actually are in their focus. When it comes to immigration issues and ethnic minorities, *Elsevier* proves that, while the focus of a magazine may be broad in principle, the views represented may be one-sided. This has to do with the fact that, in the Netherlands, there are several news and opinion magazines that cover various political views and tastes. It matters quite a bit in the understanding of societal issues and opinion-forming, which opinion magazine one reads in the Netherlands. On the other hand, *Suomen Kuvalehti* is one of a kind in Finland, and that may be why its focus is so dispersed. The magazine attempts to please different political tastes and interests and is careful not to really take a stand on immigration issues. In addition, in 2003–2006, the time was not yet ripe in Finland to make strong claims concerning immigration or integration policy in any direction.

Individual magazines do not, then, create a very broad or comprehensive understanding of immigration as a phenomenon or immigrants and ethnic minorities as groups or individuals living in Finland and in the Netherlands. To obtain information about or to come to understand various types of migration and the

situation of various groups of immigrants, it is necessary to consult a variety of different media. Luckily, this is also what people usually do: they do not base their opinions or views on a single medium or media representations in one media item (or on any mass media products at all). If that, however, would ever become the case, for whatever reason, then the one-sidedness of magazines that has been observed here would be worrying.

Finally, the views and attitudes expressed in the magazines seem to correlate in interesting ways with some research results on people's attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. Studies of the attitudes of Finns show that men in general and workers especially experience immigration as a socio-economic threat. In 2007, only one-fourth of workers surveyed agreed that Finland should receive more foreign jobseekers in the future, while, in higher professional groups, 60% agreed. Even though men in general are more positive about Estonians as an immigrant group than women are, it is amongst workers that this group is not perceived as positively as by other professional groups (Jaakkola 2009, 27, 41 and 56). Furthermore, highly qualified and educated immigrants are the most welcome group of foreign workers amongst Finns (ibid. 44–46). These results are similar to the findings on the discourses in *Rakentaja* and in *Suomen Kuvalehti*; in *Rakentaja* the foreign workforce is perceived as a threat, whereas in the more elitist *Suomen Kuvalehti* they are a desirable resource, especially the highly educated workers. In addition, while the male-dominated construction worker's magazine *Rakentaja* presents foreign construction workers as a possible risk and threat to the sector, the women's magazine *Me Naiset* discusses immigrants from a positive point of view.

Women in general are more positive about both labour migration and refugees than men.[47] Women are more positive than men about having immigrants as colleagues and about immigrants practising Islam, and more negative about racist opinions than men (ibid. 32, 43, 55, 63 and 65). Gender also plays a role in the discourses on immigration and integration analysed here. Especially in *Elsevier*, discourses articulate Muslim men as the problem: they are said to want to maintain their old patriarchal traditions and status, and women are articulated as the victims that the majority needs to save. This has been a central element in the debates on the rights and veils of Muslim women (see e.g. Keskinen 2012). In Finnish and other national imaginaries, men have a role as protectors of women from a threat that comes from the outside, namely the foreign men. These views are often echoed in immigration debates arguing that especially

[47] However, in research from 2007, the difference was shown not to be that clear when educational and other demographic factors were taken into account (Jaakkola 2009).

foreign men form a threat that must be defeated by native men (on details of this argument see e.g. Anttonen 1998, 60–63; Keskinen 2011).

Based on these insights, one could ask whether magazines reflect and reproduce the attitudes that they know or estimate that their readers already have – this is what I have been suggesting in this dissertation – or whether the magazines actually create or strengthen certain attitudes amongst their readers. After all, magazines are believed to be a medium that especially speak to the emotions and identity processes of the readers, so they could at least potentially have some influence on the attitudes of their audiences.

To be able to answer questions like these, it is clear that analysing immigration and integration discourses in greater detail from a gender perspective is necessary. A gender-specific analysis could have benefitted this dissertation and the interpretations made here as well. I could have paid more attention to the importance of gender issues in various magazines and especially in the magazines that are gender specific. This would, however, have been another twist in the already rather complex setting of my research and therefore perhaps less than easy to realise. These considerations notwithstanding, it could be a point of thought for further research.

Finally, it can be confirmed that, as I suggested earlier in this dissertation, in order to understand the doings and non-doings of individual magazines properly, they must be analysed using magazine- or genre-specific tools. The context in which each of the magazines operates very much plays a decisive role in the end results presented in each of the magazines. To grasp those contexts, each unique study needs unique tools (Holmes & Nice 2012, 142). I could not have analysed the news magazines using the exact same tools as used for the women's magazines or vice versa without missing some important aspects of the discourses. This was also a fact that I noted while conducting my research: especially the women's magazines, with their context of gender, caused pain and trouble for a researcher not so familiar with gender-specific analysis. Although, in the end, some tools were common to all the individual case studies performed here, also this dissertation proves that studying magazine journalism remains an activity that involves finding and applying the most suitable tools.

6.4 Societal discourses on immigration and ethnic diversity: Welfare states at stake

When considering the societal debates in which the magazines were taking part, it is clear that the debates were indeed in different phases in the two societies. The Netherlands was experiencing a crisis of some kind in society in which people felt it was necessary to redefine certain aspects of the country's society and population. The situation was of such importance that also the magazines, no matter what their speciality was, felt the need to comment on it in one way or another. If *Elsevier* is to be believed, the country was experiencing a real crisis of failed multiculturalism. According to the magazine, Dutch society, built upon liberal Western values and norms, and the nation's social cohesion were on the edge, in danger of failing apart unless things changed soon. The magazine also articulated a crisis of Dutch national identity and asked for strong re-definition or strengthening of it by requiring that all the residents of the country bond with the national community. The crisis expressed in *Elsevier* is part of a broader European crisis of multiculturalism that connects to populist and anti-immigration movements in various European countries claiming that the multiculturalist policies have gone too far in accepting and supporting the traditions of immigrants (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010; see also page 70 in this work).

Whether the crisis was real or not, the expressed depth of the crisis varied significantly in different magazines. While *Plus* joined the choir with *Elsevier* to some degree, the world seemed very different when one looked through the *Libelle*'s lens: it was almost an entirely different society being reflected there. While *Libelle* did take an active role in the debate by attempting to improve the position of women in ethnic minorities, the accent was not on the crisis itself but on the shared experiences of people within the society that was admittedly experiencing certain hardships. Even when there were problems that could not be neglected, to *Libelle,* this did not mean that people could not keep on living their daily lives together. The magazine that least took part in the debate was the construction union magazine *Bouw*, which stuck to its own field of expertise rather than interfering in broader societal questions. *Bouw* did not exist in a vacuum, however, so its pages also contained discussions of the position of Muslim minorities on the work floor.

The different stands that magazines take reveal how, in any society – but perhaps especially the Dutch – there are always different interpretations of the same matters. Dutch society also has a long history as a consociation: a socially fragmented society made up of four ideological and political pillars bound together by consensus and power sharing between the groups. Although this system lost its function in the 1960s,

one can still wonder if there ever really has been a strong idea of one culture and one identity within one nation in the Netherlands, and, if not, why it was so important to create it now. The answer probably lies in the extent to which differences between the various groups in society are observed. Even when people were living in different ideological and political blocks, it was at least felt that there was a certain shared basis for society. When the observed difference to immigrant groups that were allowed to live in their own blocks for a couple of decades had, according to some estimations, grown too great, society panicked over its perceived lack of coherence and asked for redefinitions.

Anthropologist Peter van der Veer points to another trauma of the Dutch: the Muslims amongst the Dutch remind them of the days before their liberty. It was, after all and indeed, not so long ago that the Netherlands was a divided country of pillarisation and strict religious behavioural codes. Most of the immigrants that arrived after the birth of liberal Netherlands were practising Muslims following the same kind of strict religious rules that were familiar to the Dutch from their own past. During the same period that the immigrants arrived, the Dutch learnt to value and enjoy their liberties, and enjoyment became the new nominator for the Dutch culture. It is this enjoyment, according to van der Veer, that the Dutch are afraid to lose because of Muslims and the presence of Islam in society (van der Veer 2006).

Furthermore, Dutch sociologist Willem Schinkel has defined the Dutch debate on integration of '*allochtonen*' as a form of social hypochondria. The society defines one group living within it, the ethnic minorities or *allochtonen*, as non-integrated and thus as living at a distance from the rest of the society, or even outside the society. The situation is hypochondriac because the society itself is defining one part of itself as ill and then obsessively trying to heal that part. The society is both patient and doctor. The situation causes a paradox: it is impossible to cut a 'disease' away from the body of a society because that disease forms an inherent part of the society. The society cannot simply rid itself of certain groups of people, so it must work very hard to seek remedies, and that is indeed what has been done and is being done in the Netherlands. It is the moment of the 'hypochondriac at its worst' that the magazines covered by this research were witnessing in 2003–2006 and especially *Elsevier* was reproducing in its articulations.

In the Finnish magazines, there was no single issue debated or one central question of immigration that each media was keen to comment on. What was discussed was immigration in its various forms. The texts discussing immigration were, however, in the end so scarce and the issues so scattered that it is hard to talk about a real immigration debate, except for the questions of foreign labour expressed in *Rakentaja*. On the basis of these magazine texts, the conclusion is that, in 2003–2006,

immigration was still a relatively minor phenomenon in Finnish society. When immigration was discussed, it was not the people who already were in the country and their situation that was found to be most interesting, but the situation of those that might come in the future. The question in Finland was still whether and how much immigration there should be.

In this debate, utility and threat arguments dominated and alternated, and they have been doing so ever since immigration numbers began increasing. The situation of immigrants that had already been around for a while was discussed in Finnish magazines mainly through individual cases and experiences, not as a factor that had some kind of wider societal relevance. It is as if the immigrants would permanently remain in the phase of arriving, instead of being settled already and being legitimate members of the society. If Finland really wants to become a society in which people of different origins live together and contribute to the common good, this is an attitude that needs adjustment.

An element that is common to discussions in all the Finnish magazines studied and to all circumstances of immigration was the insistence that those who come to and are in Finland, should become a part of Finnish working life and thereby become useful to society. This is not surprising in the Finnish historical context. E.g. Historian Pauli Kettunen discusses the Finnish and Nordic welfare state projects after the Second World War as 'strengthening of the societal normality of paid labour'. The welfare systems in the Nordic countries were built on the ideas of full employment and universal social citizenship. Individuals have both the right and the duty to work, as it is 'everyone's right to fulfil the moral norm of having to work'. This idea also resonates with the centrality of work in Lutheran and Protestant doctrines. In this thinking, employment and the partly labour-based social benefits would set people free from insecurity and market fluctuations (Kettunen 2008, 154–162; also Esping-Andersen 1990).

Against this backdrop, it is rather obvious that also people that enter the society as new members are required in the media and public discussions to perform in a similar fashion as everyone else. For the same reason, it is probably easier for Finns to accept the arrival of new labour migrants than that of other groups that are more dependent on society and its social benefits. Utility arguments win over humanitarian arguments. What is not always considered in media texts that plead for more labour migration and high performance in the labour market from all immigrants is that not every newcomer necessarily has the qualities to participate in the labour market immediately after arrival, or that it takes time for them to gain the necessary qualities needed by the labour market. Nor is it always considered that, up until now, the Finnish labour market has been rather closed to immigrants and there are many obstacles that make

participation in the labour process difficult for immigrants. The newcomers are then partly confronted by the media and public with expectations that are impossible to fulfil in the short term.

In the magazine texts from 2003–2006, no really strong worry was expressed that Finnish national cohesion or identity would somehow be in danger, only the usual concerns. Especially in the threat discourses and articulations of assimilation, it became clear that the nationalist protection of Finland and the Finnish way of living are strong. *Suomen Kuvalehti* was following the European sentiments of failed multiculturalism and expressing its suspicions especially towards Muslims as a group. Muslims were not yet a real political threat in the Finnish context, but they were definitely a group to keep an eye on.

The representation of the Finnish national identity was still narrow and homogeneous in the articulations of the magazines. In addition, throughout the material, immigrants were used to observe and strengthen Finnish national identity and cohesion. 'Finnishness' was a strong element in all the representations of immigrants, and it seemed to be the assumption that 'Finnishness' was perceived by others with admiration and a desire to become similar. This should not be taken too much for granted. That we in Finland have a well-functioning society does not mean that we cannot learn from others and even adjust our self-image in order for it to be more open-ended and include the identities of the newcomers better as well.

What combines the discourses and articulations in all the magazines in Finland and in the Netherlands is that they all contribute to social imaginaries and myths about the nation and the society. The magazines were striving to maintain the nation by articulating symbolic communities that mostly were open to those immigrants and ethnic minorities only that had proven the most similar to the 'native' inhabitants. The subject position of an immigrant or a member of an ethnic minority was in both countries articulated to be somewhat on the outside. In the Finnish discussions, the immigrants were 'not really there yet'; in the Dutch discussion, the ethnic minorities were present but they were often located on the outskirts of society.

Immigrants, ethnic minorities and difference were organised with different logics in different discourses, and the logics of nationalism, multiculturalism and crisis of multiculturalism (see section 2.1) did all have a role in this process of organisation. Nationalism could be observed in the Finnish requirements for homogeneity, multiculturalism in the celebration and acceptance of ethnic diversity, and crisis of multiculturalism in the Dutch insistence for re-definitions of the nation and national coherence. Since these imaginaries existed side by side, it has to be concluded that according to discourse theory none of them really managed to become a full

hegemony, or a truly hegemonic imaginery, but they were all 'only' myths, having the potential to become hegemonies.

The strongest and most over-arching societal myth that combined the Finnish and Dutch discourses was the myth of a Western welfare state. In all the magazines, the welfare state and its premises were reflected and immigrants and ethnic minorities and their subject positions were articulated in relation to the welfare state. In Finland the need to maintain the welfare state in the future was decisive on what kind of immigrants and immigration was desired now and in the future. In the Dutch case, the worry for the failing welfare state guided the discourses in the magazines. The neoliberal market logic that requires that each member of a welfare state is a productive member, defined who can be accepted in the symbolic community of the nation and society and on which terms. People were individually responsible to fulfil the requirements and their value as a member of the symbolic, as well as the actual, community depended on their ability to do so. People's membership in the state and the society was not based on civil or political rights, and not even on social rights (see section 1.1), but on a social responsibility to contribute in ways deemed productive: immigrants and ethnic minorities needed to serve the welfare state, not the opposite.

In the years that were analysed here, there were still differences between the two countries in what was in general said about immigrants and immigration situations and in how things could be said. This difference has become smaller in recent years due to the appearance of Finnish nationalist populism and actual immigration debates. What has been a growing sentiment in the Finnish debate in 2007–2013 is the expressed importance of immigration as a societal issue. Even though the immigrant population in Finland is still internationally seen as small, the argument of the populist 'immigration critics' has been that Finland is receiving too many immigrants that cost society too much money and cause too many problems. Utility arguments in service of the welfare state are winning even more ground over humanitarian arguments, although there are contesting voices. During the recent recession, the clamour for more labour migration has not been very loud, but neither has it disappeared from the scene. If there is a need for immigration, then only those immigrants that are useful as workers are welcome, according not only to immigration critics, but also to other mainstream politicians.

Finnish anti-immigration populism has followed the general European sentiment of a crisis of multiculturalism but, in terms of timing, the Finnish populists are lagging somewhat behind. A part of this populism is to claim that Finnish identity and social cohesion are now in danger and, especially for this reason, it is vital that these things are protected by not accepting too many immigrants and by requiring that immigrants show their loyalty to Finland by integrating and bonding to its society. At the same

time, in these articulations, the traditional idea of one homogeneous Finnish culture and one nation remains so strong that one could ask how immigrants will ever fit into such an ideal, if they even wanted to.

At the same time, the Dutch debate has flattened out and the situation in the Netherlands has calmed down a bit. It is not that the debate is not still ongoing or that the societal problems that really exist have been solved for good. While immigration policies and laws in the Netherlands remain strict, the integrations laws and policies have tended to be pragmatic after 2006 and also still emphasise the importance of mutual social cohesion, civic duty and family values. Since 2007, however, the policies have acquired a more humane face (Prins & Saharso 2010, 84). Also the social security system has been adjusted and is now less generous, maybe quieting down the most critical voices. The right-wing party PVV gained popularity until 2010, but in the parliamentary elections of 2012 the old coalition partners from the 1990s – the conservative VVD party and the social democratic PvdA – began collaborating again, and for many this felt like society was returning to the good old, more peaceful times before the turmoil.

In the current recession, the greatest worry in the Netherlands is, for example, the maintenance of a national social insurance system, not the '*allochtonen* question'. Of course these questions are also partly intertwined. It should not be ignored either that the new realist discourse on failed multiculturalism, with its harsh language on the *allochtoon* population, is more or less commonplace and that there is also a great deal of understanding among the general public of the fears about the growing visibility of Islam in society, for example (ibid.). The issue of ethnic and religious diversity again becoming political topic number one is probably only a matter of time.

Both the Finnish and Dutch cases show how the societal context influences the possible ways of discussing issues and partly defines the discourses available. New issues are articulated as elements and nodal points in old discourses, and from these articulations new discourses emerge. Both cases, especially the Dutch, also prove how, in times of change, invented traditions and imaginaries are strengthened on purpose by re-articulating issues that were lost or taken for granted (see also Hobsbawm 1983; Sumiala 2010). At the same time, in both countries, some taboos that may have surrounded the issues of immigration and integration in the past have been dissolved, and there are very few issues that cannot be discussed publicly today.

In the Dutch case, the alternative discourses or antagonisms that ruptured the dominant and hegemonic discourse were those discourses in *Libelle* and to lesser extent in *Bouw* and *Plus* that reminded readers of the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities in society and asked for active support of these groups. This was a brave thing to do in an environment in which other popular discourses were deeming such

ideas to be failed and disastrous. They were important counter-discourses, since they were reminding people of the fact that people in society also need each other, perhaps especially so in difficult times.

In the Finnish case, it is difficult to point out a hegemonic discourse besides the discourse on welfare state and its needs, but if the distancing view with which immigration issues and immigrants were being observed and discussed is seen as the hegemony, then the discourses especially in *Me Naiset* and *ET* that reminded readers that, after all, immigrants are our relatives, friends and colleagues with whom we share our lives, can be counted as the antagonistic view. Again the relevance of these antagonist discourses lies in the idea that immigration is not an issue that is happening 'somewhere out there', but an issue that already plays a role in the daily lives of many of us, and it is not necessarily a bad or frightening one.

Several comparisons have been performed as a part of this research – was it worth the effort? To my opinion, had I not done the research in a comparative framework, I would not have been able to recognise the specificity of a national context in the articulation of discourses on immigration and ethnic diversity, nor the specificity of the discourses in each of the magazines. I would not have been able to recognise the similarities either, nor been able to draw contextually sensitive and nuanced conclusions. The value of comparative research lies in the possibilities it offers to identify various contexts and to relate one's findings to those contexts.

At the end of the day, the question must be asked, which context is more decisive to the discourses and articulations of immigration and ethnic minorities in the magazines, genre or society/nation? Based on the results of this study, it could be claimed that it is the genre above all, since genre is so crucial in determining what issues and which immigrants and ethnic minorities are articulated as having any relevance in a certain magazine in the first place. However, societal context is also vital in determining the current issues that are discussed in any magazine and also the articulations on subject positions of various agents, since these societal agendas and national imaginaries on collective identities and symbolic communities are not created by the magazines alone. On the contrary, all the specific articulations are in one way or another based on these national myths and imaginaries.

So, in the end, both have an influence and cannot be analysed without taking the other into account. Perhaps magazines could, however, play a stronger role in societal debates in the future and become the medium that sets the agenda. Magazines could open up new topics for discussion and set the tone that other media would follow because they would have to do so if they wanted to remain up to date. Magazines could in future play a more important role in societal debates, since the news media are already in many ways trying to copy the way that magazines exploit means to discuss

issues thoroughly by producing in-depth and human-interest views. In this dissertation, I have not discussed in detail how magazines could provide an encompassing public sphere open to the participation of various minorities in societal debates. This could be a focus for following research projects and discussions.

Furthermore, Finnish magazines could learn from the Dutch magazines to represent immigrants and ethnic minority members as being more in a dialogue with each other and living together within a society. Immigrants are not only those who may someday arrive: they are already persons and citizens living with us, and they are legitimate participants in social realities and societal debates and must be given such a position in the media as well. Dutch magazines could for a while forget that ethnic minorities are indeed quite numerous in the Netherlands and discuss individuals and their views instead. This could bring new ideas to the debates, offer minorities more opportunities to act, and remind readers that, in the end, we are all individuals, wishing to live our lives together with others in the best possible way we can.

References

Abrahamson, David (2007) Magazine exceptionalism: the concept, the criteria, the challenge. In: *Journalism Studies* 8:4, 667–670.

Abrahamsson, David (2008) Magazine exceptionalism: The concept, the criteria, the challenge. In: Holmes, Tim (ed.) *Mapping the magazine. Comparative studies in magazine journalism*. London: Routledge, 146–149.

Adaranijo, Maria (2002) *Ethnicity, nationality and democracy in Nigeria: a linguistic study of African and American magazines*. University of Helsinki: Department of English Philology.

Ahmed, Sara (2004) Affective Emotions. In: *Social Text Summe*, 22:2, 117–139.

Alapuro, Risto & Arminen, Ilkka (2004) Vertailut yhteiskuntatutkimuksessa. In: Alapuro, Risto & Arminen, Ilkka (eds.) *Vertailevan tutkimuksen ulottuvuuksia*. Helsinki: WSOY, 7–22. (Comparisons in social sciences. In: Dimensions of comparative research.)

Alho, Rolle (2010) Maahanmuuttajien kokemukset ja ammattiliittojen näkemykset työehtojen polkemisesta Suomessa. In: Wrede, Sirpa & Norberg, Camilla (eds.) *Vieraita työssä*. Helsinki: Palmenia, 93–121. (Experiences of immigrants and views of trade unions on abuse of conditions of labour in Finland. In: Strangers at work.)

Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined communities. Reflections of the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andreassen, Rikke (2005) *Mass media's construction of gender, sexuality, race and nationality. An analysis of the Danish news media's communication about visible minorities*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Anttila, Mirka (2009) *"Että somalin ainoa ominaisuus on se, että hän on somali": kuvailu ja nimeäminen maahanmuuttajahaastatteluissa*. University of Helsinki: Department of Finnish language and literature. ('That the only characteristic of a Somali is that he is a Somali': description and naming in immigrant interviews.)

Anttonen, Pertti (1998) Monikulttuurisuus ja suomalainen identiteetti. In: Pitkänen, Pirkko (ed.) *Näkökulmia monikulttuuriseen Suomeen*. Helsinki: Edita, 52–67. (Multiculturalism and Finnish identity. In: Views on multicultural Finland.)

Appadurai, Arjun (2006) *Fear of small numbers. An essay on the geography of anger*. London: Duke University Press.

Auranen, Tomi-Pekka (1997) *Suomalaisuus uhattuna: ulkomaalaisiin liitetyt uhkakuvat eräissä suomalaisissa aikakauslehdissä vuosina 1990–1994*. University of Helsinki: Department of Politics. (Finnishness under threat: threat images on immigrants in some Finnish newspapers in 1990–1994.)

Awad, Isabel (2008) Cultural diversity in the news media: a democratic or a commercial need? *ICA 2008 Annual meeting Conference Papers*, 1–25.

Awad, Isabel (2011) From minority to cross-cultural programmes: Dutch media policy and the politics of integration. In: *International communication gazette*, 73:5, 400–418.

Awad, Isabel (2013) Desperately constructing ethnic audiences: Anti-immigration discourses and minority audience research in the Netherlands. In: *European journal of communication,* 28:2, 168–182.

Baardwijk, Corry; Dragt, Els; Allerd, Peeters & Paul Vierkant (2004) *Rapport Mediagebruik etnische publieksgroepen 2002*. Hilversum: Nederlandse Programma Stichting (NPS), Publieke Omroep (PO), Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst (RVD). (Report on media use of ethnic audience groups 2002.)

Bahtin, M.M. (1988/1975) *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Translated from the original Voprosy literatury i estetiki by Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist.

Beauvoir, Simone de (1981/1949) *Toinen sukupuoli*. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä. Translated from the original Le deuxième sexe I et II by Annikki Suni. (Second gender.)

Beer, J. de (1998) Migratie naar Nederland. In: Penninx, Rinus; Munstermann, Henk & Han Entzinger (eds.). *Etnische minderheden en de multiculturele samenleving*. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 237–258. (Immigration to the Netherlands. In: Ethnic minorities and the multicultural society.)

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Billig, Michael (1995) *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

Bink, Susan (2006) Media en minderheden in Nederland. In: Overdijk-Francis, J. E.; Boot, J.S.M.; H.M.A.G. Smeets & J.A.C. Verheyden. *Handboek Minderheden II*. Houten: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum/ Lelystad: Koninklijke Vermande, 9/1150, 1–57. (Media and minorities in the Netherlands. In: Minority Handbook II.)

Blomqvist, Outi (1996) Mustien oli määrä viipyä Valkealassa enintään kuukauden. Pakolaiset suomalaisissa sanomalehdissä. In: Jyrki Kalliokoski (ed.). *Teksti ja ideologia. Kieli ja valta julkisessa kielenkäytössä*. Helsinki: Hakapaino, 131–149. (The black were supposed to stay in Valkeala a month at most. In: Text and ideology. Language and power in public discussion.)

Blomsma, G. (2003) *Allochtonen en buitenlanders in de bouw*. Amsterdam: Economisch instituut voor de bouwnijverheid. (Allochtonen and immigrants in construction sector.)

Bradley, Harriet (1996) *Fractured identities. Changing patterns of inequality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brants, Kees; Crone, Liesbeth & Andra Leurdijk (1998) *Media en migranten. Inventarisatie van onderzoek in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Werkgroep Migranten en Media van de Nederlandse Vereniging van Journalisten (NVJ). (Media and immigrants. Inventory of research in the Netherlands.)

Bruijn, Joost de (2003) Het multiculturele gezicht van populair Nederlands televisiedrama. In: Boerman, Tessa; Pisters, Patricia & Joes Segal (eds.). *Beeldritsen: visuele cultuur en etnische diversiteit in Nederland*. Amsterdam: De Balie, 89–101. (The multicultural face of Dutch popular television drama. In: Image breaking: visual culture and ethnic diversity in the Netherlands.)

Brune, Ylva (1990) *Flyktingfrågorna i pressen 1985–1988*. Stockholm: Delegation för invandrarforskning. (Refugee questions in the press 1985–1988.)

Brune, Ylva (2004) *Nyheter från gränsen. Tre studier i journalistik om 'invandrare', flyktingar och rasistisk våld*. Göteborgs Universitet: Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation. (News from the boarder. Three studies in journalism on 'immigrants', refugees and racist violence.)

Calhoun, Craig (2007) *Nations matter: culture, history, and the cosmopolitcan dream*. London: Routledge.

Camauër, Leonor (2011) 'Drumming, Drumming, Drumming': Diversity work in Swedish newsrooms. In: Eide, Elisabeth & Nikunen, Kaarina (eds.) *Media in motion. Cultural complexity and migration in the Nordic region*. Farnham: Ashgate, 37–52.

Carpentier, Nico (2005) Identity, contingency and rigidity. The (counter-)hegemonic constructions of the identity of the media professional. In: *Journalism*, 6:2, 199–129.

Carpentier, Nico & Cleen, Benjamin de (2007) Bringing discourse theory into Media Studies. The applicability of Discourse Theoretical analysis (DTA) for the study of media practices and discourses. In: *Journal of Language and Politics* 6:2, 265–293.

Carpentier, Nico & Spinoy, Erik (2007) Introduction. From the political to the cultural. In: Carpentier, Nico & Spinoy, Erik (eds.) *Discourse theory and cultural analysis. Media, arts and literature*. Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press, 1–26.

Chavez, Leo R. (2001) *Covering immigration. Popular images and the politics of the nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coleman, James S. (1988) Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 94. *Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure*, S95–S120.

Cottle, Simon (1998) Making ethnic minority programmes inside the BBC: professional pragmatics and cultural containment. In: *Media, culture & society* 20:4, 295–317.

Cottle, Simon (ed.) (2000) *Ethnic minorities and the media: changing cultural boundaries*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Couldry, Nick (2003) *Media rituals. A critical approach*. London: Routledge.

Couldry, Nick (2006) Culture and citizenship. The missing link? In: *European journal of cultural studies* 9:3, 321–339.

Covert, Juanita & Dixon, Travis (2008) A changing view: Representation and effects of the portrayal of women of color in mainstream women's magazines. In: *Communication Research* 35:2, 232–256.

Creutz, Karin (2008) The othering of islam in a European context. In: *Nordicom review,* 29: 2, 295–308.

Dahlgren, Peter (2000) Media, citizenship and civic culture. In: Curran, James & Gurevitch, Michael (eds.) *Mass media and society*. London: Arnold, 310–328.

Deuze, Mark (2002a) Allochtone journalisten in Nederland. In: *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap* 30:2, 95–104. (*Allochtoon* journalists in the Netherlands.)

Deuze, Mark (2002b) *Multiculturaliteit en journalistiek in Nederland*. Universiteit van Amsterdam: The Amsterdam School of Communication Research ASCoR. (Multiculturalism and journalism in the Netherlands.)

D'Haenens, Leen; Beentjes, Hans & Susan Bink (2000) Mediabeleving van allohtonen in Nederland. In: Bedrijfsfonds voor de Pers. *Pluriforme informatie in een pluriforme samenleving*. Den Haag: Bedrijfsfonds voor de Pers, 43–112. (Media experiences of *allochtoon* in the Netherlands. In: Pluriform information in a plural society.)

D'Haenens, Leen; Summeren, Cindy van; Frieda Saeys & Joyce Koeman (2004) *Integratie of identiteit? Mediamenu's van Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren*. Amsterdam: Boom. (Integration or identity? Media menus of Turkish and Moroccan youth.)

D'Haenens, Leen & Bink, Susan (2006) Islam in de Nederlandse media: Focus op het Algemeen Dagblad. In: *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschappen*, 12: 4, 351–367. (Islam in the Dutch press: With special focus on the Algemeen Dagblad.)

Dijk, Teun A. van (1983) *Minderheden in de media: een analyse van de berichtgeving over etnische minderheden in de dagbladpers*. Amsterdam: SUA. (Minorities in the media: an analysis of the news on ethnic minorities in daily press.)

Dijk, Teun A. van (1988) *News as a discourse*. Hillsdale New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Dijk, Teun A. van (1991) *Racism and the Press. Critical studies in racism and migration*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dijk, Teun A. van (1993) *Elite discourse and racism*. London: Sage.

Douglas, Mary (1966) *Purity and danger. An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. London and New York: Routledge.

Downing, John & Husband, Charles (2005) *Representing 'race': racisms, ethnicities and media.* London: Sage.

Dragt, Els; Heuvelman, Art; Erik Lohmann & Menno de Jong (2002) Media en etnische publieksgroepen in Nederland. Het aanbod en het gebruik van media. In: *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap*, 30:2, 5–25. (Media and ethnic audience groups in the Netherlands. Media supply and uses.)

Eide, Elisabeth (2002) *'Down there' and 'up here'. Europe's others in Norwegian feature stories*. University of Oslo: Faculty of Arts.

Eide, Elisabeth & Nikunen, Kaarina (eds.) (2011) *Media in motion. Cultural complexity and migration in the Nordic region.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Emmerik-Levelt, H. & Teulings, A.W.M. (1965) *Buitenlandse arbeiders in de pers*. (Book chapter.) (Foreign workers in the press.)

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990) *The Three worlds of welfare capitalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

EVA (2001) *Erilaisuuksien Suomi: raportti suomalaisten asenteista 2001*. Helsinki: Taloustieto, Elinkeinoelämän valtuuskunta EVA. (Peter Ekholm & Pentti Kiljunen.) (Finland of diversities: report on attitudes of the Finns in 2001.)

Fairclough, Norman (1995) *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, Norman (1997/1995) *Miten media puhuu?* Tampere: Vastapaino. Translated from the original *Media discourse* by Virpi Blom & Kaarina Hazard. (How does the media speak?)

Fenton, Steve (2003) *Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fornäs, Johan (1998) *Kulttuuriteoria: myöhäismodernin ulottuvuuksia.* Tampere: Vastapaino. (Cultural theory: dimensions of late-modernity.)

Forsander, Annika (2000) Työvoiman tarve ja maahanmuuttopolitiikka – onko maahanmuuttajien osaaminen vastaus työvoiman kysyntään? In: Trux, Marja-Liisa (ed.) *Aukeavat ovet – kulttuurien moninaisuus Suomen elinkeinoelämässä.* Helsinki: WSOY, 143–202. (Need of labour force and immigration policy – are skilled immigrants an answer to requirement for labour force? In: Opening doors – cultural diversity in Finnish economic life.)

Forsander, Annika (2008) Työmarkkinajärjestöt rakennusalan portinvartijoina. In: Helander, Mika (ed.). *Going global. Ay-liikkeen menestysresepti globaalissa ajassa?* Jyväskylä: Minerva Kustannus, 331–360. (Labour market organisations as gatekeepers of construction sector. In: Going global. The success formula of labour movement in global era?)

Forsander, Annika & Ekholm, Elina (2001) Maahanmuuttajat ja työ. In: Forsander, Annika et al (eds.) *Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta ja työ.* Helsinki: Palmenia, 57–82. (Immigrants and work. In: Multiethnicity, society and work.)

Foucault, Michel (1972) *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Routledge. Translated from original L'archéologie du savoir by A.M. Sheridan Smith.

Frank, Denis (2012) State, union and unauthorized migrants. In: *Nordic journal of migration research*, 2:4, 298–307.

Fraser, Nancy (2007) Transnationalizing the public sphere. On the legitimacy and efficacy of public opinion in a Post-Westphalian world. In: *Theory, Culture & Society* 24:4, 7–30.

Freud, Sigmund (1959/1921) *Group psychology and the analysis of the ego*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc. Translated from original Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse by James Strachey.

Friedman, Jonathan (1994) *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage Publications.

Fuss, D. (1989) *Essentially speaking: Feminism, nature, and difference*. London: Routledge.

Förbom, Jussi (2010) *Hallan vaara. Merkintöjä maahanmuuton puhetavoista.* Helsinki: Into Kustannus. (Danger of frost. Notes on speaking manners in immigration debate.)
Gellner, Ernest (1983) *Nations and nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Gellner, Ernest (1998) *Nationalism*. London: Phoenix.
Georgiou, Myria (2006) Diasporic communities on-line: a bottom-up experience of transnationalism. In: Sarikakis, K. & Thussu, Daya (eds.) *The ideology of internet: concepts, policies, use*. NT: Hampton Press.
Gerritsen, J. (1995) *Hoe leven buitenlanders? Net als Nederlanders! Allemaal verschillend. Een onderzoek naar de integratie van allochtonen in Nederland met behulp van het tijdschrift 'Beautiful Black'*. Den Haag: Christelijke Hogeschool Rijn-Delfland. (How do immigrants live? Just like the Dutch! All different. A research on the integration of 'allochtonen' in the Netherlands with help of magazine 'Beautiful Black'.)
Gillespie, Mary (1995) *Television, ethnicity and cultural change*. London: Routledge.
Gorp, Baldwin van (2006) *Framing asiel. Indringers en slachtoffers in de pers*. Leuven & Voorburg: Acco. (Framing asylum. Intruders and victims in the press.)
Grillo, R.D. (1998) *Pluralism and the politics of difference. State, culture and ethnicity in comparative perspective*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Haara, Paula (2012) Poliittinen maahanmuuttokeskustelu Helsingin Sanomien verkkokeskusteluissa. In: Maasilta, Mari (ed.) *Maahanmuutto, media ja eduskuntavaalit.* Tampere: Tampere University Press, 52–86. (Political immigration debate in online discussion of Helsingin Sanomat. In: Immigration, media and parliamentary elections.)
Haavisto, Camilla (2011) *Conditionally one of 'us': a study of print media, minorities and positioning practices*. University of Helsinki, Swedish School of Social Sciences: SSKH Skrifter 30.
Haavisto, Camilla; Kivikuru, Ullamaija & Maria Lassenius (2010) Toisesta työvoimaksi – maahanmuuttajat mediassa. In: Wrede, Sirpa & Norberg, Camilla (eds.) *Vieraita työssä.* Helsinki: Palmenia, 229–253. (From the other to work force – immigrants in the media. In: Strangers at work.)
Hakapää, Kari (2010) *Uusi kansainvälinen oikeus*. Helsinki: Talentum. (New international law.)
Hall, Stuart (1997a) Introduction. In: Stuart Hall (ed.). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage, 1–12.
Hall, Stuart (1997b) The work of representation. In: Stuart Hall (ed.). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage, 13–74.
Hall, Stuart (1999) *Identiteetti*. Tampere: Vastapaino. Edited and translated from Hall's writings by Mikko Lehtonen and Juha Herkman. (Identity, a collection of writings by Stuart Hall.)
Hall, Stuart (2003/1995) Kulttuuri, paikka, identiteetti. In: Lehtonen, Mikko & Löytty, Olli (eds.). *Erilaisuus*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 85–128. Translated from original 'New cultures for the old' by Juha Koivisto.
Harle, Vilho (1994) 'Vihollisкuvan', 'vihollisen' ja 'toisen' käsitteistä sekä niiden keskinäisistä suhteista. In: *Politiikka* 36:4, 229–239. (About the concepts of enemy image, enemy and the other and their relationships.)
Harle, Vilho & Moisio, Sami (2000) *Missä on Suomi? Kansallisen identiteettipolitiikan historia ja geopolitiikka*. Tampere: Vastapaino. (Where is Finland? A history and geopolitics of the national identity politics.)
Hartmann, Paul & Husband, Charles (1974) *Racism and the mass media*. London: Davis-Poynter.

Hedman, Love (1985) En explorativ studie av invandrarbilden i massmedia. In: Hedman et al. (eds.) *Invandrare i tystnadsspiralen. Journalisten som verklighetens dramaturg.* Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet. (An explorative study on immigration image in mass media. In: Immigrants in the spiral of silence. Journalists as dramaturges of reality.)

Helander, Mika (ed.) (2008) *Going global. Ay- liikkeen menestysresepti globaalissa ajassa*? Jyväskylä: Minerva Kustannus. (Going global. The success formula of labour movement in global era?)

Hermes, Joke (1995) *Reading women's magazines. An analysis of everyday media use.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hervik, Peter (2002) *Mediernes muslimer. En antropologisk undersogelse af mediernes daekning af religioner i Danmark*. Copenhagen: The Board for ethnic equality. (Media's muslims. An anthropological research on media coverage of religions in Denmark.)

Hobsbawm, Eric (1983) Introduction: Inventing traditions. In: Hobsbawm, Eric & Range, Terence (eds.) *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–14.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1994) *Nationalismi*. Tampere: Vastapaino. Translated from original Nations and Nationalism by Jari Sedergren, Jussi Träskilä and Risto Kunnari.

Holmes, Tim (ed.) (2008) *Mapping the magazine. Comparative studies in magazine journalism*. London: Routledge.

Holmes, Tim & Nice, Liz (2012) *Magazine journalism*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Horsti, Karina (2005) *Vierauden rajat. Monikulttuurisuus ja turvapaikanhakijat journalismissa.* Tampere. Tampere University Press. (Borders of Strangeness: Multiculturalism and Asylum Seekers in Journalism.)

Horsti, Karina (2007) Pohjoismaat: Tekstin tutkimuksesta tuotannon, käytön ja vastaanoton tutkimukseen. In: Luostarinen, Heikki; Eskonen, Hanna; Karina Horsti; Kaarina Nikunen & Reeta Pöyhtäri (2007) *Maahanmuutto ja media. Eurooppalaista tutkimusta ja kotimaisia ennusteita.* University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 41, 41–56). (Nordic countries: From text analysis to study of production, use and reception. In: Immigration and media. European research and domestic prognoses.)

Horsti, Karina (2008) Overview of Nordig media research on immigration and ethnic relations. From text analysis to study of production, use and reception. In: *Nordicom review,* 29: 2, 275–293.

Horsti, Karina (2009) Kyllä Suomeen yksi nainen mahtuu! Turvapaikanhakijat uhreina ja uhkana suomalaisessa julkisuudessa. In: Keskinen, Suvi; Rastas, Anna & Salla Tuori (eds.) *En ole rasisti, mutta… Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä.* Tampere: Vastapaino, 77–86. (There is always place for one woman! Asylum seekers as victims and as a threat in Finnish publicity. In: I am not a racist, but… On immigration, multiculturalism and critique.)

Horsti, Karina (2013) De-ethnicized victims: Mediatized advocacy for asylum seekers. In: *Journalism* 14: 1, 78–95.

Horsti, Karina & Nikunen, Kaarina (2013) The ethics of hospitality in changing journalism: A response to the rise of the anti-immigrant movement in Finnish media publicity. In: *European journal of cultural studies* 16:4, 489–504..

Howarth, David (1998) Discourse theory and political analysis. In: Scarbrough E. & Tanenbaum, E. (eds.) *Research strategies in the social sciences.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 268–293.

Howarth, David (2000) *Concepts in the Social Sciences. Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Howarth, David & Stavrakakis, Yannis (2000) Introducing discourse theory and political analysis. In: Howarth, David; Norval, Aletta J. & Yannis Stavrakakis (eds.) *Discourse theory and political analysis. Identities, hegemonies and social change*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1–23.

Hujanen, Jaana & Pietikäinen, Sari (2000) Syrjäinen ja aito, vallan pitäjä ja ulkopuolinen. Paikka ja etnisyys 'meidän' ja 'toisten' rakentumispintana journalismissa. In: *Tiedotustutkimus* 23:4, 4–21. (Marginal and genuine, authority and outsider. Place and ethnicity as a construction surface of 'us' and 'others' in journalism.)

Hujanen, Jaana (2009) Kiinnostavaa vai tärkeää? Ihmisläheisen journalismin kaksi polkua. In: Väliverronen, Esa (ed.) *Journalismi murroksessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 112–128. (Interesting or important? The two paths of humane journalism. In: Journalism in turning point.)

Hultén, Britt (1988) Att skriva om flyktingar. In: Hultén et al (eds.) *Journalister, invandrare, flyktingar*. Stockholm: Journalisthögskolan. (To write about refugees. In: Journalists, immigrants, refugees.)

Hultén, Gunilla (2006) *Främmande sidor: Främlingskap och nationell gemenskap i fyra svenska dagstidningar efter 1945*. Stockholm: JMK, University of Stockholm. (On the strange side. Estrangement and national community in four Swedish daily newspapers after 1945.)

Husband, Charles (ed.) *Race in Britain. Continuity and Change*. Hutchinson University Library.

Hussain, Mustafa (2000) Islam, media and minorities in Denmark. In: *Current sociology* 48:4, 95–116.

Isaksson, Pekka (1995) *Degeneroituneesta rodusta kehitysjäänteeksi, verisukulaisesta ventovieraaksi*. University of Oulu: Department of History. (From a degenerated race to a relict, from a blood relative to a total stranger.)

Jaakkola, Magdalena (1999) *Maahanmuutto ja etniset asenteet. Suomalaisten suhtautuminen maahanmuuttajiin 1987–1999*. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 213. Helsinki: Edita. (Immigration and ethnic attitudes. The attitude of Finns towards immigrants in 1987–1999.)

Jaakkola, Magdalena (2009) *Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta: asennemuutokset 1987–2007*. Helsinki: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus. (Immigrants from the perspective of the Finns: changes of attitudes in 1987–2007.)

Johansson, Jesper (2012) Swedish employers and trade unions, varieties of capitalism and labour migration policies. In: *Nordic journal of migration research*, 2:4, 325–334.

Jokinen, Arja (1999) Diskurssianalyysin suhde sukulaistraditioihin. In: Jokinen, Arja; Juhila, Kirsi & Eero Suoninen: *Diskurssianalyysi liikkeessä*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 37–53. (Discourse analysis and its relation to related traditions. In: Discourse analysis in move.)

Kariniemi, Olli (2010) *Järjestölehden yleisötutkimus yhteisön kehittämisen välineenä*. Tampere: Tampere University Press. (Audiece research of organisational magazine as a tool for community development.)

Karppinen, Kari & Matikainen, Janne (eds.) (2012) *Julkisuus ja demokratia*. Tampere: Vastapaino. (Publicity and democracy.)

Kemiläinen, Aira (1993) *Suomalaiset, outo Pohjolan kansa. Rotuteoriat ja kansallinen identiteetti*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. (Finns, strange Northern people. Race theories and national identity.)

Kenny, Michael (2004) *The Politics of identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Keskinen, Suvi (2011) Borders of the Finnish Nation. Media politics and rape. In: Eide, Elisabeth & Nikunen, Kaarina (eds.) Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region. Aldershot: Ashgate, 107–124.

Keskinen, Suvi (2012) Limits to speech? The racialised politics of gendered violence in Denmark and Finland. In: *Journal of intercultural studies* 33:3, 261–274.

Keskinen, Suvi; Rastas, Anna & Salla Tuori (eds.) (2009) *En ole rasisti, mutta… Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä.* Tampere: Vastapaino. (I am not a racist, but… On immigration, multiculturalism and critique.)

Kettunen, Pauli (2008) *Globalisaatio ja kansallinen me. Kansallisen katseen historiallinen kritiikki.* Tampere: Vastapaino. (Globalisation and the national we. A historical critique of the national insight.)

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (1996) *Vieraita lehtiä. Aikakauslehti ajan ja paikan risteyksessä.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. (Foreign pages. Magazines at the crossroads of time and place.)

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (2000) Kanssalaisten yhteisyys ja 'he'. In: Tapper, Helena (ed.). *Me median maisemissa. Reflektioita identiteettiin ja mediaan.* Helsinki: Palmenia kustannus, 11–49. (The togetherness of co-citizens and 'they'. In: We in the media scenery. Reflections on identity and media.)

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (2009) Popular magazine and responsive news journalism. Is there space for both? In: Kivikuru, Ullamaija & Nord, Lars (eds.) *After the Tsunami. Crisis communication in Finland and Sweden.* Gothenburg: Nordicom, 149–170.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (2012) Aikakauslehdistö. In: Wiio, Osmo A. & Nordenstreng, Kaarle (eds.) *Suomen mediamaisema.* Tampere: Vastapaino, 101–120. (Magazine press. In: The Finnish media landscape.)

Kivimäki, Sanna (2002) Kirjoittamisen kokemus. Suomalaisten naiskirjailijoiden haastattelut aikakauslehdissä. In: *Tiedotustutkimus* 25:2, 4–20. (The experience of writing. Interviews of Finnish female writers in magazines.)

Kivimäki, Sanna (2012) *Kuinka tämän tuntisi omaksi maakseen. Suomalaisuuden kulttuurisia järjestyksiä.* Tampere: Tampere University Press. (How to feel this is your own country. Cultural orders of Finnishness.)

Klinge, Matti (1993) Finland from Napoleonic legacy to Nordic co-operation. In: Teich, M. & Porter, R. (eds.) *The national question in Europe in historical context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koivunen, Anu & Lehtonen, Mikko (2005). Joskus on kiva olla vähemmän aikuinen: kulttuurisen määrittelyvallan siirtymät ja julkisen puhuttelun areenat. In: *Tiedotustutkimus* 28: 2, 4–27. (Sometimes it is nice to be less adult: transitions of cultural naming power and arenas of public address.)

Kraan, H. (1993) *Jij en Yes, een prima stel! Geldt dat voor Turkse meiden wel? Turkse meiden als doelgroep van Yes.* Utrecht: Hogeschool voor Economie en 38 Management. (You and Yes, a good couple! Does that also hold for Turkish girls? Turkish girls as a target group of Yes.)

Kristeva, Julia (1992/1988) *Muukalaisia itsellemme.* Gaudeamus. Translated from original Etrangers à nous-mêmes by Päivi Malinen. (Strangers to ourselves.)

Kunelius, Risto (1998) *Viestinnän vallassa. Johdatus joukkoviestinnän kysymyksiin.* Helsinki: WSOY. (In the power of communication. An introduction to questions of mass communication.)

Kunelius, Risto; Noppari, Elina & Esa Reunanen (2009) *Media vallan verkoissa.* University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series A 112. (Media in the networks of power.)

Kuusisto, Pekka (2000) *Ethnicity in print. Implicit linguistic manifestations of the construction of ethnicity in British and Finnish newspapers.* University of Helsinki: Department of English. Pragmatics, ideology and contacts monographs 1.

Kymlicka, Will (1996) *Multicultural citizenship. A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kymlicka, Will (2010) The rise and fall of multiculturalism?: new debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In: Vertovec, Steven & Wessendorf, Susan (eds.) *The multiculturalism backlash. European discourses, policies and practices*. London: Routledge, 32–49.

Kyrölä, Katariina (2003) Suvaitsevaisuuden symbolista silikonivillikoksi: Lola Odusoga, muukalaisuus ja sukupuoli. In: *Lähikuva* 17:3, 48–63. (From a symbol of tolerance to a silicone-enhanced wild-woman: Lola Odusoga as a gendered stranger figure.)

Lacan, Jacques (1977) *Écrits. A selection*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. Translated from original Écrits by Alan Sheridan.

Laclau, Ernesto (1990) *New reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*. London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto & Mouffe, Chantal (1985/2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Second Edition. London: Verso.

Lassila-Merisalo, Maria (2007) Friend or foe? The narrator's attitude towards the main character in personality stories. In: Lehtimäki, Markku; Leisti, Simo & Marja Rytkönen (eds.) *Real stories, imagined realities. Fictionality and non-fictionality in literary constructs and historical contexts*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 97–128.

Leeuw, Marc de & Wichelen, Sonja van (2005) 'Please, go wake up! *Submission*, Hirsi Ali, and the 'War on terror' in the Netherlands. In: *Feminist media studies*, 5:3, 325–340.

Lehtonen, Mikko; Löytty, Olli & Petri Ruuska (2004) *Suomi toisin sanoen*. Tampere: Vastapaino. (Finland in other words.)

Leino-Kaukiainen, Pirkko (1992) Monipuolistuva aikakauslehdistö 1880–1917. In: Tommila, Päiviö et al. *Suomen lehdistön historia 10. Aikakauslehdistön historia. Aikakauslehdistön kehityslinjat*. Kuopio: Kustannuskiila. (Magazine journalism becoming more versatile 1880–1917. In: History of the Finnish press 10. The development of magazines.)

Lentin, Alana & Titley, Gavan (2011) *The crisis of multiculturalism racism in a neoliberal age*. London: Zed Books.

Lepola, Outi (2000) *Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi. Monikulttuurisuus, kansalaisuus ja suomalaisuus 1990-luvun maahanmuuttopoliittisessa keskustelussa*. Helsinki: SKS. (From foreigner to Finlander. Multiculturalism, nationality and the Finnish identity in the political debate on immigration during the 1990s.)

Leurdijk, Andra (1999) *Televisiejournalistiek over de multiculturele samenleving*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. (Television journalism about the multicultural society.)

Light, Ivan & Gold, Steven J. (2000) *Ethnic economies*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Lind, Rebecca Ann (ed.) (2004) *Race, gender, media. Considering diversity across audiences, content and producers*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Lounasmeri, Lotta (ed.) (2011) *Näin naapurista: median ja kansalaisten Venäjä-kuvat*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Lowenthal, Leo (1984) *Literature and mass culture. Communication in society, vol. 1*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Luostarinen, Heikki (1986) *Perivihollinen*. Tampere: Vastapaino. (The Arch enemy.)

Luostarinen, Heikki (2007) Tietoa, terapiaa ja turbaaneja? Suomalaisen journalismin reaktiot kasvavaan maahanmuuttoon. In: Luostarinen, Heikki; Eskonen, Hanna; Karina Horsti; Kaarina Nikunen & Reeta Pöyhtäri (2007) *Maahanmuutto ja media. Eurooppalaista tutkimusta ja kotimaisia ennusteita*. University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 41, 11–40. (Information, therapy and

turbans? The reactions of Finnish journalism on growing immigration. In: Immigration and media. European research and domestic prognoses.)
Luostarinen, Heikki; Eskonen, Hanna; Karina Horsti; Kaarina Nikunen & Reeta Pöyhtäri (2007) *Maahanmuutto ja media. Eurooppalaista tutkimusta ja kotimaisia ennusteita.* University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 41. (Immigration and media. European research and domestic prognoses.)
Maasilta, Mari (2007) *African Carmen. Transnational cinema as an arena for cultural contradictions.* Tampere: Tampere University Press.
Maasilta, Mari (2010) *Suomen televisio ja monikulttuuriset yhteisöt.* Tampere: Tampere University Press. (Finnish television and multicultural audiences.)
Maasilta, Mari (ed.) (2012) *Maahanmuutto, media ja eduskuntavaalit.* Tampere: Tampere University Press. (Immigration, media and parliamentary elections.)
Maasilta, Mari; Rahkonen, Juho & Pentti Raittila (2008) *Islam suomalaisissa joukkoviestimissä.* University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series A 103. (Islam in Finnish mass media.)
Maasilta, Mari; Simola, Anna & Heidi Af Heurlin (2008) *Maahanmuuttaja mediankäyttäjänä.* Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series A 107. (Immigrant as a media user.)
Mainsah, Henry (2009) *Ethnic minorities and digital technologies: new spaces for constructing identity.* University of Oslo: Faculty of Arts (Acta Humaniora).
Margalit, Avishai (1996) *The Decent society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Markkanen, Mari (2003) *Etnisyys ja rasismi suomalaisissa nuortenlehdissä.* University of Tampere: Journalism research and development centre (research report). (Ethnicity and racism in Finnish youth magazines.)
Marselis, Randi (2006) Afrosurinamske skonheder. In: Eriksson, B. et al (eds.) *Smagskulturer og formidlingsformer.* Århus: Klim, 43–64. (Afrosurinamese beauties. In: Cultures of tastes and forms of intermediation.)
McCall, Leslie (2005) The Complexity of intersectionality. In: *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30:3, 1771–1800.
Mouffe, Chantal (1992) Democratic citizenship and the political community. In: Mouffe, Chantal (ed.) *Dimensions of radical democracy: Pluralism, citizenship, community.* London: Verso, 225–239.
Mouffe, Chantal (2005) *On the political.* London & New York: Routledge.
Mäkelä, Anna; Puustinen, Liina & Iiris Ruoho (eds.) (2006) *Sukupuolishow. Johdatus feministiseen mediatutkimukseen.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus. (Gender show. An introduction to feminist media studies.)
Männistö, Anssi (1999) *Islam länsimaisessa hegemonisessa diskurssissa: Myyttis-ideologinen ja kuva-analyyttinen näkökulma sivilisaatioiden kohtaamiseen.* Tampere: Tapri researches no. 87. (Islam in western hegemonic discourse: Mythical-ideological and visual analytic view on the encounter of civilisations.)
Napoli, Philip M. (2003) *Audience Economics. Media institutions and the audience marketplace.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Niemi, Inari (2008) *Die Produktion von Fremdheit in Zeitschriftenartikeln über Immigranten: Diskursanalysen an ausgewählten Beiträgen aus dem Spiegel und der Suomen Kuvalehti.* University of Tampere: Faculty of Arts, German language and culture. (The production of otherness in magazine articles on immigrants: discourse analysis on selected articles in Der Spiegel and Suomen Kuvalehti).

Nieminen, Hannu & Nordenstreng, Kaarle (2012) Sääntely ja viestintäpolitiikka. In: Wiio, Osmo A. & Nordenstreng, Kaarle (eds.) *Suomen mediamaisema*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 312–333. (Regulation and communication policy. In: The Finnish media landscape.)

Nikunen, Kaarina (2007) Mustan Britannian kuvastoista kohti transnationaalia mediaa. In: Luostarinen, Heikki; Eskonen, Hanna; Karina Horsti; Kaarina Nikunen & Reeta Pöyhtäri. *Maahanmuutto ja media. Eurooppalaista tutkimusta ja kotimaisia ennusteita.* University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 41, 57–76. (From imageries of black Britain towards transnational media. In: Immigration and media. European research and domestic prognoses.)

Nikunen, Kaarina (2010) Rakastamisen vaikeudesta. Internet, maahanmuutto-keskustelu ja tunteet. In: *Media & Viestintä*. 33: 4, 7–26. (On the difficulty of loving. Internet, immigration and emotions. In: Media & communication.)

Nikunen, Kaarina (2011) Satellite Living: transnational television and migrant youth in Finland. In: Eide, Elisabeth & Nikunen, Kaarina (eds.) *Media in motion. Cultural complexity and migration in the Nordic region*. Farnham: Ashgate, 219–236.

Nordberg, Camilla (2007) *Boundaries of citizenship: the case of the Roma and the Finnish nation-state*. Turku: Åbo Akademi.

Paananen, Seppo (1993) *Työvoimaa rajan takaa*. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 54. Helsinki: Työministeriö. (Labour force from behind the boarders.)

Pantti, Mervi (2009) Tunteellisempaa journalismia. In: Väliverronen, Esa (ed.) *Journalismi murroksessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 193–206. (Journalism with more emotions. In: Journalism in turning point.)

Pekkinen, Anna-Maria (2005) Vierasvihaa verkossa – internetin rasismiaineistojen jatkoseuranta. In: Raittila, Pentti (ed.) *Etnisyyttä, rasismia ja dialogia sanomalehdissä ja internetissä*. University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 39, 55–96. (Hate towards the strangers on the internet – a follow up study on racist material on the internet. In: Ethnicity, racism and dialogue in newspapers and on the internet.)

Pietikäinen, Sari (2000) *Discourses of Differentiation. Ethnic Representations in Newspaper Texts*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Pietikäinen, Sari (2002) Etniset vähemmistöt uutisissa – käsitteitä ja aikaisempien tutkimusten kertomaa. In: Pentti Raittila (ed.). *Etnisyys ja rasismi journalismissa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 14–30. (Ethnic minorities in the news – concepts and lessons from earlier research. In: Ethnicity and racism in journalism.)

Pietikäinen, Sari & Luostarinen, Heikki (1996) Vähemmistöt suomalaisessa julkisuudessa. In: Dahlgren, Taina; Kortteinen, Juhani; K.J. Lång, Merja Pentikäinen & Martin Scheinin (eds.) *Vähemmistöt ja niiden syrjintä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. (Minories in Finnish publicity. In: Minorities and their discrimination in Finland.)

Prins, Baukje & Saharso, Sawitri (2010) From toleration to repression: the Dutch backlash against multiculturalism. In: Vertovec, Steven & Wessendorf, Susan (eds.) *The multiculturalism backlash. European discourses, policies and practices*. London: Routledge, 72–91.

Putnam, Robert D. (2001) *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Touchstone.

Pöyhtäri, Reeta (2007) Tuhkimoita ja taitajia – Maahanmuuttajien sosiaaliset identiteetit lukijoiden tulkinnoissa. In: Raittila, Pentti (ed.) *Keskusteluja etnisyydestä mediassa. Suomalaisten, maahanmuuttajien ja tutkijoiden tulkintoja*. University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications Series A 102, 75–106. (Cinderellas and experts – The social identities of immigrants as interpreted by readers.

In: Discussions on ethnicity in the media. Interpretations by Finns, immigrants and researchers.)

Railo, Erkka (2011) *Henkilökohtainen on poliittista: neuvottelu politiikan sukupuolittuneesta työnjaosta Annan julkaisemissa poliitikkojen henkilöhaastatteluissa 1975–2005*. Turku: Turku University. (Personal is political: negotiation of gendered division of labour in politics in the interviews of politicians in Anna in 1975–2005.)

Raittila, Pentti (ed.) (2002) *Etnisyys ja rasismi journalismissa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press. (Ethnicity and racism in journalism.)

Raittila, Pentti (2004) *Venäläiset ja virolaiset suomalaisten Toisina. Tapaustutkimuksia ja analyysimenetelmien kehittelyä*. Tampere: Tampere University Press. (The Russian and the Estonians as Others to Finns. Case studies and developing of research methods.)

Raittila, Pentti (ed.) (2005) *Etnisyyttä, rasismia ja dialogia sanomalehdissä ja internetissä*. University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 39. (Ethnicity, racism and dialogue in newspapers and on the internet.)

Raittila, Pentti (ed.) (2007) *Keskusteluja etnisyydestä mediassa. Suomalaisten, maahanmuuttajien ja tutkijoiden tulkintoja.* University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series A102. (Discussions on ethnicity in the media. Interpretations by Finns, immigrants and researchers.)

Raittila, Pentti (2009) Journalismin maahanmuuttokeskustelu: hymistelyä, kriittisyyttä vai rasismin tukemista? In: Keskinen, Suvi; Rastas, Anna & Salla Tuori (eds.) *En ole rasisti, mutta… Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä.* Tampere: Vastapaino, 67–76. (Migration debate in journalism: flattering, criticism or support for racism? In: I am not a racist, but… On immigration, multiculturalism and critique.)

Raittila, Pentti & Kutilainen, Tommi (2000) *Rasismi ja etnisyys Suomen sanomalehdissä syksyllä 1999*. University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 31. (Racism and ethnicity in Finnish newspapers in autumn 1999.)

Raittila, Pentti & Vehmas, Susanna (2005) Etnisyys ja rasismi sanomalehdissä 1999–2004 – seurantatutkimusten yhteenvetoa ja arviointia. In: Raittila, Pentti (ed.) *Etnisyyttä, rasismia ja dialogia sanomalehdissä ja internetissä.* University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series C 39, 11–32. (Ethnicity and racism in newspapers 1999–2004 – summary and evaluation of follow up studies. In: Ethnicity, racism and dialogue in newspapers and on the internet.)

Ramdjan, Farin (2002) *Hoge drempels. Nederlandse redacties en allochtone journalisten*. Amsterdam: Mixed Media. (High thresholds. Dutch newsrooms and *allochtoon* journalists.)

Reisigl, Richard & Wodak, Ruth (2001) *Discourse and discrimination: rhetorics of racism and anti-semitism*. London: Routledge.

Richardson, John E. (2007) *Analysing Newspapers. An Approach from critical discourse analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ridell, Seija (1994) *Kaikki tiet vievät genreen: tutkimusretkiä tiedotusopin ja kirjallisuustieteen rajamaastossa.* University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications series A82. (All roads lead to genre: explorations on the boarder land between communications studies and literature studies.)

Ridell, Seija (2006) Genre ja mediatutkimus. In: Mäntynen, Anne; Shore, Susanna & Anna Solin (eds.) *Genre – tekstilaji*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 184–213. (Genre and media studies. In: Genre – text type.)

Rossem, Maarten van (2010) *Waarom is de burger boos? Over hedendaags populisme.* Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam Uitgevers. (Why is the citizen angry? On today's populism.)

Ruoho, Iiris (2006) Julkisuudet, naiset ja journalismi. In: Mäkelä, Anna; Puustinen, Liina & Iiris Ruoho (eds.) (2006) *Sukupuolishow. Johdatus feministiseen mediatutkimukseen.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 171–192. (Publicities, women and journalism. In: Gender show. An introduction to feminist media studies.)

Ruoho, Iiris & Saarenmaa, Laura (2011) *Edunvalvonnasta elämänpolitiikkaan. Naistenlehdet journalismina ja julkisuutena.* University of Tampere: Journalism research centre. (From lobby to life politics. Women's magazines as journalism and publicity.)

Ruuska, Petri (1999) Etnisyys ja kansalaisuus. In: Alasuutari, Pertti & Ruuska, Petri. *Post patria? Globalisaation kulttuuri Suomessa.* Tampere: Vastapaino, 199–214. (Ethnicity and citizenship. In: Post patria? Culture of globalization in Finland.)

Rydin, Ingegerd & Sjöberg, Ulrika (eds.) (2008) *Mediated crossroads. Identity, youth culture and ethnicity. Theoretical and methodological challenges.* Göteborg: Nordicom.

Saarenmaa, Laura (2010) *Intiimin äänet. Julkisuuskulttuurin muutos suomalaisissa ajanvietelehdissä 1961–1975.* Tampere: Tampere University Press. (Voices of intimacy. The change of celebrity culture in Finnish popular magazines in 1961–1975.)

Sandlund, Tom (ed.) (2000) *Rasism och etnicitet i den finlandssvenska tidningspressen.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki, SSKH Meddelanden No. 57. (Racism and ethnicity in Finnish-Swedish daily press.)

Sandlund, Tom (ed.) (2002) *Etnicitetsbilden i finlandssvenska medier.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki, SSKH Meddelanden No. 62. (Ethnicity image in Finnish-Swedish media.)

Saresma, Tuija; Rossi, Leena-Maija & Tuula Juvonen (eds.) (2010) *Käsikirja sukupuoleen.* Tampere: Vastapaino. (Guidebook to gender.)

Saukkonen, Miika (2008) Siirtymäaikalaki 1.5.2004–30.4.2006. In: Helander, Mika (ed.). *Going global. Ay- liikkeen menestysresepti globaalissa ajassa*? Jyväskylä: Minerva Kustannus, 205–206. (The law of transition period 1.5.2004–30.4.2006. In: Labour market organisations as gatekeepers of construction sector. In: Going global. The success formula of labour movement in global era?)

Saukkonen, Pasi (1998) Porvari ja talonpoika. Kansanluonteen 'kansa' Zachris Topeliuksella ja Robert Fruinilla. In: Keränen, Marja (ed.) *Kansallisvaltion kielioppi.* University of Jyväskylä: SoPhi. (Burgher and peasant. The 'nation' of the national identity by Zachris Topelius and Robert Fruin. In: Grammatics of nation state.)

Saukkonen, Pasi (1999) *Suomi, Alankomaat ja kansallisvaltion identiteettipolitiikka.* Tutkimus kansallisen identiteetin poliittisuudesta, empiirinen sovellutus suomalaisiin ja hollantilaisiin teksteihin. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura. (Finland, the Netherlands and identity politics of nation state.)

Saukkonen, Pasi (2007) *Politiikka monikulttuurisessa yhteiskunnassa.* Helsinki: WSOY. (Politics in multicultural society.)

Saukkonen, Pasi (2013) *Erilaisuuksien Suomi. Vähemmistö- ja kotouttamispolitiikan vaihtoehdot.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus. (Finland of differences. The alternatives of minority and integration policies.)

Saussure, Ferdinand de (1983/1972*) Course in General Linguistics*. London: Duckworth. Charles Bally & Albert Sechehaye (eds.) Translated from the original Cours de linguistique générale by Roy Harris.

Scheffer, Paul (2000) Het multiculturele drama. In : *NRC Handelsblad* 30: 29.1.2000. (The multicultural drama.)

Schinkel, Willem (2008) Schaf het integratiebeleid. Spreken over integratie is een vorm van sociale hypochondrie. In: *Tijdschrift voor sociale vraagstukken* 2008:4, 8–11. (Quit the integration policy. Talking about integration is a form of social hypochondria.)

Schmauch, Ulrika (2011) Working hard to integrate: The role of gender in integration discourse. In: Davids, Bronwyn (ed.) *Normalization and 'outsiderhood': Feminist readings of a neoliberal welfare state*. UAE: Bentham Science Publishers, 49–57.

Scholten, Peter & Holzhacker, Ronald (2009) Bonding, bridging and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: changing discourses in a changing nation. In: *Nations and Nationalism* 15:1, 81–100.

Siivonen, Jonita (2006) Lohduttava ja piinaava naistenlehti. In: Mäkelä, Anna; Puustinen, Liina & Iiris Ruoho (eds.) *Sukupuolishow*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 226–243. (Comforting and anxious women's magazine. In: Gender show. An introduction to feminist media studies.)

Siivonen, Jonita (2007) *Personporträttet som tidningsgenre. En närläsningsstudie med fokus på innehållsliga teman, berättarkonventioner och kön*. University of Helsinki, Swedish School of Social Sciences: SSKH Skrifter 25. (Personal portrait as a newspaper genre. A close study with focus on themes, narrator conventions and gender.)

Simola, Anna (2008) *Tervetullut työvoimaksi. Työperäinen maahanmuutto mediassa*. University of Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Publications Series A 109. (Welcome as workforce. Labor migration in the media.)

Srebreny, Annabelle (2000) Media and diasporic consciousness: an exploration among Iranians in London. In: Cottle, Simon (ed.) *Ethnic minorities and the media: changing cultural boundaries*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 179–196.

Sterkenburg, P. G. J. van & Verburg M.E. (1996) *Van Dale handwoordenboek van hedendaags Nederlands*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicographie. (Van Dale dictionary of modern Dutch.)

Stevenson, Nick (2001) Culture and citizenship: an introduction. In: Stevenson, Nick (ed.) *Culture and citizenship*. London: Sage, 4–10.

Stevenson, Nick (ed.) 2001 *Culture and citizenship*. London: Sage.

Stevenson, Nick (2003) *Cultural citizenship. Cosmopolitan questions*. Berkshire, Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Sumiala, Johanna (2010) *Median rituaalit. Johdatus media-antropologiaan*. Tampere: Vastapaino. (Media rituals. An introduction to media anthropology.)

Suurpää, Leena (2002) *Erilaisuuden hierarkiat. Suomalaisia käsityksiä maahanmuuttajista, suvaitsevaisuudesta ja rasismista*. Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, Nuorisotutkimusseura julkaisu 28. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino. (Hierarchies of difference. Finnish views on immigrants, tolerance and racism.)

Tarde, Gabriel (1901/2010) Joukko ja yleisö. In: Pietilä, Veikko & julkisuuspiiri (eds.) *Julkisot, yleisöt ja media*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 35–76. Translated from original Le public et la foule by Risto Suikkanen. (Growd and public. In: Publics, audiences and media.)

Taylor, Charles (2004) *Modern social imaginaries*. London: Duke University Press.

Tesser, Paul & Dronkers, Jaap (2007) Equal opportunities or social closure in the Netherlands? In: *Proceedings of the British Academy* 137, 359–401.

Thévenon, Olivier & Horko, Krystyna (2009) Increased women's labour force participation in Europe: Progress in the work-life balance or polarization of behaviours? In: *Population (English Edition, 2002-)* 64:2, 235–272.

Tigervall, Carina (2005) *Folkhemsk film med 'invandraren' i rollen som den sympatiske Andre*. Umeå: Umeå universitet. (Swedish films with 'immigrant' in the role of the sympathetic Other.)

Tufte, Thomas (ed.) (2003) *Medierne, minoriteterne og det multikulturelle samfund. Skandinaviske perspektiver*. Göteborg: Nordicom. (Media, minorities and the multicultural society. Scandinavian perspectives.)
Töyry, Maija (2002) Mitä puuttuu? In: *Tiedotustutkimus* 25:4, 61–66. (What's missing?)
Töyry, Maija (2005) *Varhaiset naistenlehdet ja naisten elämän ristiriidat. Neuvotteluja lukijasopimuksesta*. Helsingin University: Department of Communication, Communication Publications 10. (Early women's magazines and the conflicts of female life. Negotiations of reader agreements.)
Töyry, Maija (2006) Käytösoppaasta naistenlehteen. In: Mäkelä, Anna; Puustinen, Liina & Iiris Ruoho (eds.) *Sukupuolishow*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 207–225. (From etiquette guide to women's magazine. In: Gender show. An introduction to feminist media studies.)
Töyry, Maija (2008) Naistenlehtien keskinäiset erot ja samankaltaisuudet. In: *Tiedotustutkimus*, 31:1, 21–34. (The differences and similarities of women's magazines.)
Töyry, Maija (2009) Lukijalähtöisyys aikakauslehtijournalismissa. In: Väliverronen, Esa (ed.) *Journalismi murroksessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 129–149. (Readership orientation in magazine journalism. In: Journalism in turning point.)
Töyry, Maija; Saarenmaa, Laura & Nanna Särkkä (2011) Monitieteisyyden haaste aikakauslehtitutkimuksessa – kohti konsepti- ja tutkimustietoisuutta. In: *Media & Viestintä* 34:3, 23–39. (Challenge of multidisciplinarity – towards better concept and research awareness in magazine studies.)
Valovirta, Elina (2010) Ylirajaisten erojen politiikkaa. In: Saresma, Tuija; Rossi, Leena-Maija & Tuula Juvonen (eds.) *Käsikirja sukupuoleen*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 92–105. (Politics of intersectional differences. In: Guidebook to gender.)
Veer, Peter van der (2006) Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the politics of tolerance in the Netherlands. In: *Public culture* 18:1, 111–124.
Vergeer, Maurice (2000) *Een gekleurde blik op de wereld. Een studie naar de relatie tussen blootstelling aan de media en opvattingen over etnische minderheden*. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis. (The world through coloured lenses. A study on the relation between exposure on media and opinions on ethnic minorities.)
Verkuyten, Maikel (1999) *Ethnische identiteit. Theoretische en empirische benaderingen*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. (Ethnic identity. Theoretical and empirical approaches.)
Vertovec, Steven & Wessendorf, Susan (eds.) (2010) *The multiculturalism backlash. European discourses, policies and practices*. London: Routledge.
Vikgren, Heli (2003) *Hunnuista ei tietoakaan: ulkomaalaisuuden ilmaiseminen lehtihaastattelussa*. University of Helsinki: Department of Finnish, Finnish language. (No trace of veils: expression of foreigness in magazine interviews.)
Virkkunen, Jaakko (2002) Konseptien kehittäminen osaamisen johtamisen haasteena. In: Virkkunen, Jaakko (ed.) *Osaamisen johtaminen muutoksessa. Ideoita ja kokemuksia toisen sukupolven knowledge managementin kehittelystä*. Helsinki: Ministry of Labor. Reports/Työelämän kehittämisohjelma Raportteja 20. (Developing concepts as a challenge of knowledge management. In: Knowledge management in change. Ideas and experiences on the development of second generation knowledge management.)
Vrij Nederland (2006). Amsterdam: Weekbladpers Tijdschriften.
Vuori, Jaana (2010) Äitiys sukupuolikysymyksenä. In: Saresma, Tuija; Rossi, Leena-Maija & Tuula Juvonen (eds.) *Käsikirja sukupuoleen*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 109–119. (Motherhood as a question of gender. In: Guidebook to gender.)
Väliverronen, Esa (ed.) (2009) *Journalismi murroksessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus. (Journalism in turning point.)

Väliverronen, Esa (2012) Median kuviteltu valta. In: Karppinen, Kari & Matikainen, Janne (eds.) *Julkisuus ja demokratia.* Tampere: Vastapaino, 83–105. (The imagined power of media. In: Publicity and democracy.)
Wal, J. ter (ed.) (2002) *Racism and cultural diversity in the mass media. An overview of research and examples of good practices in the EU member states, 1995–2000*. Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.
Wetherell, Margaret & Potter, Jonathan (1992) *Mapping the language of racism: discourse and the legitimation of exploitation.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Wiio, Osmo A. & Nordenstreng, Kaarle (eds.) (2012) *Suomen mediamaisema.* Tampere: Vastapaino. (The Finnish media landscape.)
Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael (eds.) (2001) *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.
Wrede, Sirpa & Norberg, Camilla (eds.) (2010) *Vieraita työssä.* Helsinki: Palmenia. (Strangers at work.)
Wäljas, Eva (2005) *Monikulttuurista mediaa etsimässä: Tapausesimerkkinä englanninkielinen ilmaisjakelulehti Six Degrees*. University of Helsinki, Department of Communication. (Looking for multicultural media: free newspaper Six Degrees as case example.)
Zoonen, Liesbeth van (1998) A professional, unreliable, heroic marionette (M/F). Structure, agency and subjectivity in contemporary journalisms. In: *European journal of cultural studies* 1:1, 123–143.
Zoonen, Liesbet van (2005) *Entertaining the citizen. When politics and popular culture converge.* New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Research material

Volumes 2003–2006:

Elsevier, Reed Business Media.
ET, Sanoma Magazines.
FNV Bouw Magazine, FNV Bouw, FNV Bondgenoten.
Libelle, Sanoma Publishers B.V.
Me Naiset, Sanoma Magazines.
Plus Magazine, Media Plus B.V.
Rakentaja, Rakennusliitto r.y., SAK.
Suomen Kuvalehti, Otavamedia.

Internet references

All weblinks have been checked on 25 June 2013.

Database of Magazine journalism Studies: http://aikakauslehtitutkimus.fi.

Elsevier Media, Elsevier: http://www.elseviermedia.nl/merken/elsevier/elsevier-weekblad; http://www.elsevier.nl/Over-Elsevier.

Finnish Periodical Publishers' Association (FPPA): http://www.aikakauslehdet.fi/Etusivu.

FNV Bouw: http://www.fnvbouw.nl/Pages/home.aspx.

Media Plus, Plus Magazine: http://mediaplusbv.nl/magazines/plus%20magazine/; http://mediaplusbv.nl/files/2013/04/Factsheet-Plus-Magazine-2013.pdf.

Nordicom's database on Nordic media research publications: http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/nordicom.

Otava Media, Suomen Kuvalehti: http://mediatiedot.otavamedia.fi/tuotteet/printtimediat/yleisaikakauslehdet/suomen-kuvalehti.aspx.

Rakennusliitto: http://rakennusliitto.fi.

Sanoma Magazines, ET: http://www.sanomamagazines.fi/mediaopas/portfolio/et.html.

Sanoma Magazines, Me Naiset: http://www.sanomamagazines.fi/mediaopas/portfolio/menaiset.html.

Sanoma Media, Libelle: http://www.sanomamedia.nl/nl-web-Onze_media-profielen-Libelle.php; http://www.sanoma.nl/merken/artikel/libelle/print/merk-profiel.

Statistics Finland, Statistics, Population, Population structure: http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/index.html.

Statistics Netherlands, Themes, Dossiers, Figures, Allochtonen: http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/cijfers/default.htm.

Appendix 1: Additional information on the selection of research material and the coding tool

Selection of the research material: criteria for texts included in the research data

The texts for the research were selected manually by reading carefully through the periodicals of the selected magazines in various archives and picking out and copying those texts that suited the selection criteria. The texts were selected for the data on the principle that, in order to be included, the texts had to provide an indication of the immigrant or ethnic minority background of a person presented in a text or mention immigration or other related issues (such as integration, multiculturalism, cultural issues etc.) Texts that discussed immigrants and (immigrant/new) ethnic minorities, immigration, integration or related issues as main or minor topics were thus included in the data.

A criterion in this selection was that an immigrant or ethnic minority member was a person who was born abroad or had a foreign nationality, or who had at least one parent who was born abroad or had a foreign nationality. The decision to include also people who were not born abroad themselves, but at least one of whose parents was, was based on the desire to collect the material from both countries in a similar way. In the Netherlands, people who have one parent born abroad are classified and discussed as *allochtoon* (members of a minority). Since this was a category very commonly discussed in the Dutch magazines, I used the same selection criterion for Finnish texts as well. A foreign (non-native) sounding name only mentioned in a text was not sufficient for the text to be included in the data, nor was a photo of a person without that person being characterised further.

Texts presenting a person who regularly appeared in public ('celebrities') that did not mention the immigrant or ethnic background of the person were not included in the data. I made an exception to this rule in two cases. Former Miss Finland Lola Odusoga, now Wallinkoski, was one of the exceptions, as she was most likely a person well known to the target audience of the magazine in which she appeared (the women's magazine *Me Naiset*), and it was likely that everyone knew that one of her parents was not Finnish. In the Dutch data, I also made an exception in the case of politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali, as her story as an immigrant was very well known and her immigrant background tightly bound up with her functioning as a public person.

Texts not selected for the data

Texts that discussed traditional, indigenous or language minorities such as the Sami, Swedish-speaking Finns or Roma in Finland were not included in the data.

Texts that presented foreigners who were only visiting the country in question for a short time (a tourist or person on a trip lasting up to a few months) were not included in the data, with the exception of construction workers and other members of the workforce travelling back and forth between two or more countries and regularly residing in Finland or the Netherlands.

Texts that discussed Islam as a world religion or Muslims of the world in general without a reference to Finland or to the Netherlands were not included in the data.

Texts that discussed terrorism conducted by Muslims or other groups without a reference to Finland or the Netherlands were not included in the data.

Texts that discussed immigration, ethnic minorities, immigration and integration in a foreign context without a reference to Finland or to the Netherlands were not included in the data.

Due to the large amount of material in *Elsevier*, texts that mentioned immigration as a minor detail or issue were not included in the data. For the same reason, only every fourth *Elsevier* text was coded and included in the data for quantitative analysis. The first text of the year 2003 was included in the data and every fourth text thereafter.

The coding tool

Part 1: General questions

1. Article code

The individual code of a text, in which the first two digits indicate the magazine and the rest of the code (1-3 digits) states the number of the text within the corpus of a certain magazine, e.g. 08111 (text number 111 in *Libelle*).

2. Magazine code

01 Suomen Kuvalehti
02 ET
03 Me Naiset
04 Rakentaja
05 Plus Magazine
06 FNV Bouw Magazine
07 Elsevier
08 Libelle

3. Date

The date used is the date the article was published, but it is only used for archiving and reference purposes.

4. Article genre

The coding for the text genre is as follows:

01 News
02 Report (text may include interviews)
03 Factual interview: it presents a certain topic and the person is interviewed as an expert in that topic
04 Personal interview: it presents a person and his or her personality/personal life
05 Short interview, poll: a series of interviews in which several people briefly answer the same question
06 Column, letter from the editor: columns and other opinion texts produced by the editorial staff or a permanent/regular columnist
07 Other opinion piece, column, letter from a reader: opinion pieces or other texts written by visiting writers; letters from readers
08 Review: literary, film and other art reviews, product reviews
09 Info/announcement/event: information on events and announcements (no actual advertisements)
10 Info box: a separate information box as a part of a longer article
11 Other

5. Content of the headlines and lead: immigration, immigrants, ethnic groups or diversity mentioned

01 yes 02 no

6. Topic (main topic of the text)

01 Migration policy: a discussion of migration policy and its implementation, political decision making concerning these policies

02 Integration policy: a discussion of integration policy and its implementation, political decision making concerning these policies

03 Asylum seeking, refugees, residence rights: a discussion of asylum seeking, refugee groups and/or individual refugees, residence rights of different groups and/or individuals, residence permit procedures and laws

04 Illegal migration and border control: migration without legal permission, control of same, border control

05 Labour migration, the demand for labour, employment: migration related to labour, discussion of the need for a foreign or immigrant workforce, discussion of employment situation (mainly of immigrants but also of others) in the receiving country

06 Family-related migration (including adoption): a discussion of family-related migration and adoption

07 Integration: the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, mutual integration between minorities and the majority, integration projects and outcomes, problems of integration

08 Social issues of immigrants: social and other issues specifically concerning immigrants and ethnic minorities, e.g. housing, education, health issues, culture-specific problems such as honour killings

09 Islam in Finland/the Netherlands: Islam as a religion in Finnish and Dutch society, religious life and habits, religious institutions and their activities, practising religion

10 Other religions/churches in Finland/the Netherlands: religions other than Islam practiced by immigrants or ethnic minorities in Finnish and Dutch society, religious life and habits, religious institutions and their activities, practising religion

11 Human rights: a discussion of human rights (civil, political, social and cultural rights; freedom of speech) related to immigrants and ethnic minorities

12 Multiculturality, racism and tolerance, norms and values in society: a discussion of the multicultural society, social relationships between immigrants, ethnic minorities and majorities, racism and tolerance in society

13 General attitudes and attitudes towards immigration and immigrants: attitudes of the majority towards immigrants, immigration and ethnic minorities, the outcomes of these attitudes

14 Media and immigrants: immigrants, immigration and ethnic minorities in the media and media products, actions of the media towards immigrants and ethnic minorities

15 Immigrants contributing to culture/business: presentations of immigrants that have been successful or made a contribution to culture or business

16 Rewarded (successful) immigrants: presentations of immigrants that have been successful in their lives in various ways (other than business and culture)

17 Cultural habits: culture-related habits, values and norms of various immigrant and ethnic groups, minority languages

18 Other: a theme not covered by any other category

19 Immigration history: a personal history of an immigrant or his/her family about how and why immigration took place and how they settled in the new home country

20 Parenthood/grandparenthood, family life, relationships: a discussion of family life and relationships, parents and children

21 Working life, professionalism, professional education: working life, jobs, professions, careers, well being at work, education

22 Food, home, decoration: lifestyle issues related to food and eating, home, living and decoration

23 Fashion, looks, wellness, lifestyle, hobby, travel: lifestyle issues related to looks, wellness and beauty, different lifestyles, hobbies and travel

24 Personal portrait (of a celebrity, tv-personality): a personal story of a celebrity or another person, text without any other obvious purpose than presenting the person

25 General societal issues/problems: social issues concerning society at large, immigrants included, e.g. healthcare, housing, primary education

26 Labour conditions/control thereof: a discussion of labour conditions of immigrants and how labour unions and other actors seek to influence them

27 Underpayment, labour crimes: cases of labour crimes and injustice at work

28 Labour union services and practices, industrial actions: a discussion of actions, services and practices of labour unions

29 Legislation: immigration and integration laws and legislation, other laws effecting immigrants and immigration

30 EU practices: EU practices related to immigrants and immigration, e.g. in connection with the enlargement of the EU

Part 2: Questions concerning actors, speaker roles and objects in texts

7. How many immigrant/ethnic actors are mentioned in the article?

01	1	03	3 or more	05	none
02	2	04	not specified		

The number of immigrant or ethnic actors mentioned in a text in specific by name or with other indicators. In cases of presence of one specified person and an unspecified immigrant group at the same time, the code for 'not specified' is used.

8. How many immigrant/ethnic actors are quoted in the article?

01	1	03	3 or more	05	none
02	2	04	not specified		

The number of immigrant or ethnic actors directly quoted in a text.

9. How many immigrant/ethnic actors are paraphrased in the article?

01	1	03	3 or more	05	none
02	2	04	not specified		

The number of immigrant or ethnic actors paraphrased in a text by discussing what a person has said. An actor can be both quoted and paraphrased in a text.

10. How many immigrant/ethnic actors are the writers of the article?

01	1	03	3 or more	05	none
02	2	04	not specified		

The number of immigrant or ethnic actors that contributed to writing a text. If the text does not mention the immigrant background of a writer, the code for 'none' is used.

11. What is the speaker/writer role of the immigrant/ethnic actor?

On whose behalf the immigrant or ethnic actor is speaking, acting or writing in a text or which role or status she/he is introduced as having or is heard or interviewed as having in a text.

01 Her/himself: The actor is introduced as who she/he is or represented as an individual person, including celebrity status.

02 Family or a group of friends: The actor is introduced as a member or representative of a family or a group of friends.

03 A specific immigrant/ethnic group: The actor is introduced as a member of a specified immigrant or ethnic minority group.

04 Immigrants as a general category: The actor is introduced as a member of a non-specified immigrant group or minority indicated as immigrants, refugees, allochtoon, non-native, foreigners or the like.

05 Immigrant or ethnic organisation: The actor is introduced as a representantive of an immigrant or ethnic organisation, or an organisation that is active in these fields.

06 Other NGO (including labour unions): The actor is introduced as a representantive of another non-profit or charity organisation, including labour unions.

07 Work/employer organisation: The actor is introduced as a representantive of an employers' organisation or a certain professional group or workplace. This group includes self-employed artists and writers.

08 Civic action: The actor is introduced as an initiator or member of a group performing civic actions not based in a regular NGO or other organisation.

09 Politicians: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a political organisation or institution.

10 Officials: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a governmental, municipal or other official institution.

11 Media: The actor is introduced as a representantive of media institution.

12 Research: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a research institution (including research performed by governmental and other institutions).

13 Religious institution: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a religious institution or a member of a religious institution (a parishioner).

14 Reader: The actor is introduced as a reader of the magazine in question; this includes writers of letters from readers without any reference of them coming from a reader.

15 Other: None of the above-mentioned apply.

12. Whom is the immigrant/ethnic actor talking about?

In a text, the immigrant or ethnic actor is mainly talking about the following person(s):

01 Her/himself

02 Family or friends

03 Other members of own ethnic/cultural/religious group

04 Members of other ethnic/cultural/religious groups

05 Immigrants (refugees, allochtoon etc.) in general

06 The organisation that she/he is representing (immigrant organisations or other NGOs)

07 Employer(s) and employer organisation(s)
08 Civic/interest group
09 Politicians
10 Officials
11 Media
12 Researchers
13 Religious authorities or organisation
14 Readers of the magazine in question
15 Finns/Dutch
16 Not applicable/not talking: The immigrant or ethnic actor is not an active actor in a text and not talking.
17 Other

13. Which issues is the immigrant/ethnic actor talking about?

In the text, the immigrant or ethnic actor is mainly talking about one of the following issues:

01 Personal matters or experiences: The actor is discussing his or her life and personal experiences in relation to everyday life now and in the past, and family and relationships. This code is also used when the actor is discussing various issues from personal experience.
02 Personal matters or experiences of others: The actor is discussing the life and personal experiences of others in relation to everyday life now and in the past, and family and relationships.
03 Interest/hobby-related matters
04 Work-related, business-related or professional matters: This category also includes discussions of matters at the workplace or in a field of work (e.g. the construction sector).
05 Attitudes towards immigration/immigrants in general: This category also includes discussion of public opinions on immigration and discussions on multiculturalism, racism or tolerance.
06 Immigration
07 Integration
08 Residence right/permit
09 Other societal issues: societal issues such as healthcare, housing, primary education
10 Politics and policies
11 Religion and related issues
12 New home country, its inhabitants, culture and habits
13 Old home country, its inhabitants, culture and habits

14 Not applicable/not talking: The immigrant or ethnic actor is not an active actor in a text and not talking.

15 Other

14. How many other actors are quoted, paraphrased or writers in the article?

01	1	03	3 or more	05	none
02	2	04	not specified		

The number of people other than immigrant or ethnic actors specifically mentioned in a text by name or with other indicators. The actor must be quoted, paraphrased or a writer of the text. 'Not specified' is used in cases of the presence of both one specified person and an unspecified group.

15. What is the speaker/writer role of the other actor?

On whose behalf the other main actor is speaking, acting or writing in a text or due to which role or status she/he is introduced, heard or interviewed in a text. Only one other actor, the most prominent in the text, is encoded.

01 Her/himself: The actor is introduced because of what she/he as a person represents: this includes celebrities.

02 Family or a group of friends: The actor is introduced as a member or representantive of a family or a group of friends.

03 A specific immigrant/ethnic group: The actor is introduced as a member of a specified immigrant or ethnic minority group.

04 Immigrants as a general category: The actor is introduced as a member of a non-specified immigrant group or minority, including indicators such as 'immigrants', 'refugees', 'allochtoon', 'non-native' or 'foreigners'.

05 Immigrant or ethnic organisation: The actor is introduced as a representantive of an immigrant or ethnic organisation or an organisation that is active in these fields.

06 Other NGO (including labour unions): The actor is introduced as a representantive of another non-profit or benefit organisation, including labour unions.

07 Work/employer organisation: The actor is introduced as a representantive of an employers' organisation or a certain professional group or workplace; this category includes artists.

08 Civic action: The actor is introduced as an initiator or member of a group performing civic action not based in a regular NGO or other organisation.

09 Politicians: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a political organisation or institution.

10 Officials: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a governmental, municipal or other official institution.

11 Media: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a media institution.

12 Research: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a research institution (including research performed by governmental and other institutions).

13 Religious institution: The actor is introduced as a representantive of a religious institution or as a member of a religious institution (a parishioner).

14 Reader: The actor is introduced as a reader of the magazine in question; this includes writers of letters from readers without any reference of them coming from a reader.

15 Not applicable/unknown

16 Other: None of the above-mentioned apply.

17 Various: There are several actors in a text representing various institutions.

16. Whom is the other actor talking about?

The other main actor in the text is mainly talking about:

01 Her/himself

02 Family or friends

03 Other members of own ethnic/cultural/religious group

04 Members of other ethnic/cultural/religious groups

05 Immigrants (refugees, allochtoon, etc.) in general

06 The organisation that she/he is representing (immigrant organisations and other NGOs)

07 Employer(s) + employer organisation(s)

08 Civic/interest group

09 Politicians

10 Officials

11 Media

12 Researchers

13 Religious authorities or organisation(s)

14 Readers of the magazine in question

15 Finns/Dutch

16 Not applicable/not talking: The immigrant or ethnic actor is not an active actor in a text and not talking.

17 Other

18 The primary actor of the text: The other actor is talking about the immigrant or other actor who is the primary actor in the text.

19 A specific group of immigrants: The actor is discussing a specified immigrant or ethnic minority group.

20 Various: The actor is discussing various actors in the text.

17. Which issues is the other actor talking about?

The other main actor in the text is mainly talking about:

01 Personal matters or experiences: The actor is discussing his or her life and personal experiences in relation to everyday life now and in the past, and family and relationships. This code is also used if the actor is discussing various other issues from personal experience.

02 Personal matters or experiences of others: The actor is discussing the life and personal experiences of others in relation to everyday life now and in the past, and family and relationships.

03 Interest/hobby-related matters

04 Work-related, business-related and professional matters: This category also includes discussions of matters at the workplace or in a field of work (e.g. the construction sector).

05 Attitudes towards immigration/immigrants in general: This category also includes discussion of public opinions on immigration and discussions on multiculturalism, racism or tolerance.

06 Immigration

07 Integration

08 Residence right/permit

09 Other societal issues

10 Societal issues such as healthcare, housing, primary education

11 Politics and policies

12 Religion and related issues

13 New home country, its inhabitants, culture and habits

14 Old home country, its inhabitants, culture and habits

15 Not applicable/not talking: The immigrant or ethnic actor is not an active actor in a text and not talking.

16 Other

17 Illegal practices at work, control

Part 3: Immigrant origins and identity categories

Origin of the immigrant/ethnic actor?

18. Finland

What is mentioned in the text as the background of the immigrant or ethnic actor?

01 Somali
02 Other African (other than Somali)
03 Russian
04 Estonian
05 Ingrian (an ethnic Finnish minority from Russia)
06 Former Yugoslavian
07 Romani (Romanian, Bulgarian, Slovakian)
08 Other Eastern European
09 Western and northern European
10 Southern European
11 North American
12 Middle and South American
13 Australian/Oceanian
14 Muslim
15 Middle Eastern/North African (geographical location, including Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Kurdish, etc. populations)
16 Asian I (Japan, South-Korea, Taiwan and other highly developed Asian countries)
17 Asian II (China, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines etc.: developing countries)
18 Immigrant as category
19 Refugee as category
20 First-generation immigrant
21 Second-generation immigrant
22 Various
23 Unknown

19. The Netherlands

01 Turkish
02 Moroccan
03 Antillean and Aruban
04 Surinamese (including Hindu minority)
05 Indonesian (including Moluccas)
06 Chinese
07 Polish
08 Former Yugoslavian
09 Romani (Romanian, Bulgarian)
10 Other Eastern European
11 Western and northern European
12 Southern European
13 North American
14 Middle and South American
15 Australian/Oceanian
16 Muslim
17 Middle Eastern/North African (geographical origin, including Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Kurdish, etc. populations)
18 Asian I (Japan, South-Korea, Taiwan and other highly developed Asian countries)
19 Asian II (Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines, etc.: developing countries)
20 Immigrant as category
21 Refugee as category
22 Allochtoon as category
23 First-generation immigrant
24 Second-generation immigrant
25 Various
26 Unknown
27 African

20. Most relevant identity category of the immigrant/ethnic actor?

The most relevant, most prominent, most discussed or the most important identity categorisation in the text: how the person in the text and his/her qualities are described. The difference between this and the speaker role (Question 11) is that the speaker role functions as an introductory starting point in a text, but a person can be described throughout the text as being something else as well. These two categories can also be more or less the same, but especially in shorter texts.

01 A private person, a random individual: The person is described as an individual without further specification, e.g. a person being polled.

02 Family-related: The person is described as a member of a family, e.g. as a mother.

03 A friend: The person is described as a friend of someone.

04 Organisational/institutional: The person is described as a member of an organisation or institution.

05 Professional/specialist: The person is described as a professional or a specialist.

06 Student

07 Citizen: The person is described as citizen, a resident of a municipality or neighbourhood, a taxpayer, or the like.

08 Activist: The person is described as taking action for a cause in one way or other.

This category also includes activists using violence or other illegal measures.

09 Consumer: The person is described as a consumer of services or products.

10 Unemployed/other social benefiter: The person is described as unemployed or otherwise as a (potential) user of various social benefits provided by the social security system.

11 Gender

12 Religion

13 Language group

14 Lifestyle: The person is described through a certain lifestyle, hobby, values or the like.

15 Ethnic: The person is described by indicators that refer to person's origin, skin colour or other external qualities or cultural definers such as habits, language, religion, traditions or way of life.

16 Immigrant

17 Refugee

18 Allochtoon

19 Reader of the magazine in question

20 Other: none of the above-mentioned

21. Other identity category of the immigrant/ethnic actor?

Besides a main identity category, the text could portray a second identity category: how the person in the text and his/her qualities are described in addition to the first identity category. The second identity is less prominent in a text than the first one. Furthermore, the difference between this and a speaker role (Question 11) is that the speaker role functions as an introductory starting point in a text, but a person can be described throughout the text as something else as well. These two categories can also be more or less the same, but especially in shorter texts.

01 A private person, a random individual: The person is described as an individual without further specification, e.g. a person being polled.

02 Family-related: The person is described as a member of a family, e.g. as a mother.

03 A friend: The person is described as a friend of someone.

04 Organisational/institutional: The person is described as a member of an organisation or institution.

05 Professional/specialist: The person is described as a professional or a specialist.

06 Student

07 Citizen: The person is described as a citizen, a member of a municipality or neighbourhood, a taxpayer or the like.

08 Activist: The person is described as taking action for a cause in one way or other. This category also includes activists using violence or other illegal measures.

09 Consumer: The person is described as a consumer of services or products.

10 Unemployed/other social benefiter: The person is described as being unemployed or otherwise as a (potential) user of various social benefits provided by the social security system.

11 Gender

12 Religion

13 Language group

14 Lifestyle: The person is described through a certain life style, a hobby, values or the like.

15 Ethnic: The person is described by indicators that refer to person's origin, skin colour or other such external qualities or cultural definers such as habits, language, religion, traditions or way of life.

16 Immigrant

17 Refugee

18 Allochtoon

19 Reader of the magazine in question

20 Other: none of the above-mentioned

21 No other identity

22 Various