UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

Saara Rounaja

FINNISH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN MOSCOW

Balancing between external expectations, personal ambitions and working conditions

Master's thesis
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
International School of Social Sciences
June 2009

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

SAARA ROUNAJA: FINNISH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN MOSCOW
Balancing between external expectations, personal ambitions and working conditions

Master's Thesis, 127 p., 1 p. appendix
Journalism and Mass Communication
June 2009

The purpose of this study is to discover the main internal and external influences that determine the mass media content produced by the Finnish foreign correspondents in Russia. The study looks at the overall conditions, where the media products are being created and the processes behind news products, but not the products themselves.

The research material was collected from focused interviews in Moscow, Helsinki and Tampere during 2007 and 2008. The material consists of eight qualitative interviews with foreign correspondents. The hierarchy of influences model developed by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese creates the theoretical framework for my study. The Shoemaker and Reese model and Tuomo Mörä's more interactional liane model have all been used in order to create the themes for the focused interviews and for categorising the answers for further analysis. Finally, the data was analysed using a qualitative content analysis approach that uses a principally already existing theoretical framework.

Based on the Shoemaker and Reese model the internal and external influences have been divided into four chapters, although the model is not followed slavishly and, in some cases, different levels from the model are merged with each other. The four areas covered in the study are the correspondents as individuals and their know-how on Russia; representation of Russia in the Finnish media and the correspondents' goals, available sources in Russia; organisation and extramedia influences, including feedback from the audiences; and, finally, ideological differences between Finland and Russia. My findings do not support view represented by the model that outer influences always dominate the inner levels.

Although the correspondents regarded Russia as captivating due to the amount of drama it offers, four out of the eight interviewees mentioned that they would like to do more stories on everyday life and educate the Finnish audiences by showing them another side of Russia than what is currently available in the media. Still, the economics and politics are placed higher in the hierarchy of news. The correspondents are able to work more independently, because their language skills and knowledge of Russia are on a more advanced level than that of their colleagues. The difficulty of accessing official sources means that the correspondents have had to seek alternative ways for accessing information and they use more ordinary people, non-governmental organisations, scholars and the Russian media as sources.

Having strong language skills and knowledge of Russian society does not automatically mean that one is familiar and comfortable with the culture. Going deeper into the culture often trigger feelings that are not always approving and positive. This indicates that there is something more valuable than knowledge; strong professional capabilities and the will to discover something new. Some interviewees had developed a fairly negative attitude toward Russia during their assignment, which can be partly explained by the fact that their work is so concentrated on the political and economical life that it casts a shadow on the other aspects of the Russian society.

TIEDOSTUSOPIN LAITOS

SAARA ROUNAJA: SUOMALAISET KIRJEENVAIHTAJAT MOSKOVASSA
Tasapainoilua ulkopuolelta tulevien odotusten, omien tavoitteiden ja vallitsevien työolosuhteiden välillä

Pro gradu tutkielma, 127 s., 1 liites.
Tiedotusoppi
Kesäkuu 2009

Tutkielman tarkoitus oli tunnistaa sisäisiä ja ulkoisia tekijöitä, jotka vaikuttavat suomalaisten Moskovan-kirjeenvaihtajien tuottamiin joukkoviestinnän sisältöihin. Tutkimuksen kohteena ovat olosuhteet ja prosessit, joissa joukkoviestinnän sisältöjä luodaan, mutta itse lopputuotteet on rajattu tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle.

Tutkimuksen materiaali koostuu kahdeksasta kirjeenvaihtajien haastattelusta. Tutkimusmateriaali kerättiin puolistrukturoidulla haastattelumenetelmällä Moskovassa, Helsingissä ja Tampereella vuosina 2007 ja 2008. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys on Pamela Shoemakerin ja Stephen Reesen malli journalismiin vaikuttavista tekijöistä. Haastattelujen teemojen luomiseen ja kategoriointiin käytetään Shoemakerin ja Reesen mallia sekä Tuomo Mörän interaktiivisempaa liaanimallia. Lopulta aineisto analysoitiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin menetelmää käyttäen.

Joukkoviestinnän sisältöihin vaikuttavat ulkoiset ja sisäiset tekijät jaettiin neljään tasoon Shoemakerin ja Reesen mallin pohjalta, vaikka mallia ei noudatetakaan kirjaimellisesti ja joissakin tapauksissa mallin eri tasot sulautuvat toisiinsa. Nämä tasot ovat kirjeenvaihtajat yksilöinä ja heidän tieto-taitonsa Venäjästä; Venäjän representaatio suomalaisessa mediassa ja kirjeenvaihtajien tavoitteet; käytettävissä olevat lähteet Venäjällä; organisaatio ja ulkopuolelta tulevat vaikuttimet - tämä sisältää sekä yleisöpalautteen että Venäjän ja Suomen ideologiset erot. Tutkimuksen tulokset eivät tue mallin näkemystä siitä, että mallin uloimmat tasot dominoivat aina sisäpuolen tasoja.

Vaikka kirjeenvaihtajat pitävätkin Venäjää jännittävänä maana sen tarjoaman draaman vuoksi, neljä kahdeksasta haastateltavasta mainitsi, että he haluaisivat kirjoittaa enemmän venäläisestä arjesta. Yhtenä syynä on halu sivistää suomalaista yleisöä näyttämällä heille myös toisen puolen Venäjästä kuin mitä mediassa on tällä hetkellä vallalla. Silti kirjeenvaihtajat sijoittavat talouden ja politiikan uutishierarkiassa korkeammalle. Kirjeenvaihtajat voivat työskennellä itsenäisesti, koska heidän kielitaitonsa ja yleistietonsa Venäjästä ovat paremmat kuin kotitoimituksen kollegoilla. Kirjeenvaihtajien on keksittävä vaihtoehtoisia lähdekäytäntöjä, koska virallisia lähteitä on vaikea tavoittaa. Tämän vuoksi kirjeenvaihtajat käyttävät lähteinä usein tavallisia ihmisiä, kansalaisjärjestöjä, tutkijoita ja venäläistä mediaa.

Hyvä kielitaito ja tieto Venäjästä eivät automaattisesti tarkoita, että kulttuuri tuntuu läheiseltä ja miellyttävältä. Syvempi kulttuurintuntemus voi herättää myös tunteita, jotka eivät ole ainoastaan positiivisia ja hyväksyviä. Tämä viittaa siihen, että tärkeämpiä tekijöitä kirjeenvaihtajien työssä ovat ammattitaito ja halu kokea uutta. Osalle haastatelluista oli kehittynyt lähes negatiivinen asenne Venäjää kohtaan työsuhteen aikana. Tämä voidaan selittää sillä, että osa kirjeenvaihtajista keskittyy niin paljon Venäjän politiikkaan ja talouteen, että heille on syntynyt maasta rajoittunut ja negatiivinen kuva.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

When I selected the topic for my Master's thesis, there were several reasons why I decided to focus on Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow. First of all, Russia is an interesting society, because it has gone trough such a fundamental change since the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the past few years there have been some discussions in the Finnish media and academic journals about the negative representation of Russia in the Finnish media. Finlandisation and the recent history of Finland and the Soviet Union have also been more openly discussed, and my careful hypothesis is that this period will be unwound in the Finnish media and society even more profoundly in the coming years. Furthermore, the murder of the journalist and human rights activist Anna Politkovskaya in 2006 triggered debate on an international level about the safety of journalists working in Russia. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (2009), between 1993 and 2009, 734 journalists have been killed globally. Fifty of those killings took place in Russia, which is the third highest number in a single country after Iraq and Algeria. A majority of those journalists were Russian by nationality, focusing on war, politics, crime and human rights.

By looking at these statistics, it seems obvious that Russian journalists, who practice investigative journalism and examine the depths of Russian society, are in greatest danger. Another reason that motivated me to study Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow was that the political and economic life of Russia has been followed closely by the Finnish media. The transformation from a communist country has offered numerous turns and high-profile incidents. As a result of all these factors, I was intrigued to find out whether any of these factors have a bearing on the Finnish foreign correspondents' work in Russia and on the coverage of Russia in the Finnish media. I wanted to examine the correspondents' working environment and conditions in Russia and see if they differ from the prevailing situation in Finland. The latter point emerges naturally from the research data - before their assignment to Russia most of the correspondents have been working in Finland, which means that they describe the working conditions in Russia as a comparison on their previous experiences of being a journalist in Finland.

Besides internal influences, the thesis explores external influences on the mass media content that Finnish foreign correspondents in produce from Moscow. This means that I will be looking at the overall conditions where the media products are being created and the processes behind news products, but not the products themselves. The approach differs from the prevailing mass communications research practice, because the undertakings of an individual journalist have not sparked much interest during the past years. Research on international news has focused on quantitative analysis of sizeable data and on theoretical research; everyday news practices have been left aside (Pietiläinen, 1998: 19). But "The gap I have in mind, then, might be described as

one between foreign correspondents represented as puppets and as heroes. In the heavily macro-oriented accounts of media imperialism, the individuals who would be its flesh-and-blood street-level representatives at the outer reaches of the news handling apparatus hardly become visible, but by default they can only be understood as willing, anonymous, exchangeable tools" (Hannerz, 2002: 60). In conjunction with Hannerz's (2004) study, my thesis is primarily about news production rather than about news consumption (16). Basically, I am researching what has taken place before the news story or feature itself is read, listened to or watched.

Paying attention to individual media workers and international news is critical, because there is a widely accepted notion that international news affects people's understanding of other countries and cultures. Foreign correspondents are important gatekeepers in the flow and information of international news, presenting and shaping our ideas of other cultures and societies. In this context, the foreign correspondents in Moscow have an important role in shaping the perception of Russia for Finnish audiences. In my opinion, concentrating on individuals is central, as is thinking about macro-level research, because by studying the individuals involved it is possible to find out more about the structures surrounding them. Another reason for why I became convinced that I wanted to study foreign correspondents is that there are only a limited number of studies currently available, and this also applies on an international level. Turo Uskali's *Älä kirjoita itseäsi ulos – Suomalaisen Moskovan-kirjeenvaihtajuuden alkutaival 1957-1975* (Don't write yourself out – The early phases of Finnish foreign correspondence in Moscow 1957-1975) is the first doctoral dissertation that focuses purely on foreign correspondence.

Defining the research question for my study took some time before I managed to deliver and grasp the whole idea in one sentence. The research problem of my study asks: *What are the main internal and external influences that determine the mass media content produced by the Finnish foreign correspondents in Russia?* Additionally, I am asking: *What are the most significant of these influences and why?* To approach the research problem I have employed the hierarchy of influences model developed by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1996) in my study. The model also creates the theoretical framework for the thesis. The model includes five different factors inside and outside media organisations that affect media content: individual level, media routines level, organisation level, extramedia level and ideological level. (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 1). These levels are to some extent inseparably interlinked and interact with each other, but the outer influences dominate the inner levels. This means that all four inner levels are always subordinate to the ideological level (Mörä, 1999: 34). I have supported the model with Tuomo Mörä's (1999) variant that emphasises the element of interactivity and decreases the role of hierarchy. Because the Shoemaker's and Reese's model is so broad, I have decided to concentrate on certain areas, but I am still searching for valuable information from all the levels.

Although I had created an interview structure, some of the featured areas rose naturally from the research material. My approach is content-driven, which means that I chose the themes and structure based on the information received in the interviews, and the theory, information on earlier research, correspondents and international news act as an interpretative frame. By paying a closer attention to the correspondents personal characteristics - including the language skills, knowledge of Russian society, personal goals and their social networks with Russians - I wanted to detect whether the correspondents' individual traits prepare them for the role and have an impact on mass media content. Besides individual characteristics, I will examine the correspondents' motivations for becoming a correspondent in Moscow, their perception on foreign correspondence, correspondents' view on the representation of Russia in the Finnish media and their personal goals, available and used sources in Russia, co-operation with home bureaus, feedback received from audiences and ideological differences between Finland and Russia. By focusing on these areas, I am aiming to recognise the factors that are most prominent in the foreign correspondents' everyday work, and to understand what kind of impact these factors have on the end-product. It will be interesting to see whether the correspondents have to employ different work processes and ways of working in Russia compared with when working in Finland.

I conducted altogether eight semi-structured theme interviews with Finnish foreign correspondents. To limit the scope of my thesis, I am concentrating on foreign correspondents who have been working in Moscow in 2000 or later, after Putin was elected as president of the Russian Federation. This makes the group of interviewees more unified, as they have worked under similar political, economic and cultural circumstances. Although I am interviewing both print and broadcast journalists/correspondents, I am not paying attention to the differences between these mediums, unless it is relevant for the topic under scrutiny.

In the second chapter, I will be looking at the theoretical framework of the study before moving on to key definitions and earlier research on foreign correspondence. The following chapter focuses on the changing landscape of international news and foreign correspondence. I will also take a brief look at how the Soviet Union and Russia have been portrayed in the Finnish media. The fifth chapter concentrates on the research process, introducing the focused interviews and elaborating upon how the data was evaluated and analysed. In the last four chapters, I will be reporting on and analysing the findings.

PART ONE: FRAMEWORK

2. The hierarchy of influences model by Shoemaker and Reese

The focus of my thesis is to explore internal and external influences on the mass media content that Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow produce. The hierarchy of influences model developed by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1996) creates the theoretical framework for my study. The model includes five different factors inside and outside media organisations that affect media content: **individual level, media routines level, organisation level, extramedia level and ideological level**. This approach is different from the traditional mass communication research that tends to use media content as a starting point (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 1). When conducting a study on the influences that affect media content, it is possible to concentrate on one of the aspects. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that "…from macro- to micro-level analysis, the hierarchy of influences approach looks at the forces that shape media messages on separate, yet related levels. There is undoubtedly more than one factor that determines the characteristics of media content" (Ibrahim, 2003: 88). This means that the forces belonging to the model are to some extent inseparable and interlinked. According to Shoemaker and Reese, the different levels interact with each other, but the outer influences dominate the inner levels. This means that all four inner levels are always subordinate to the ideological level (Mörä, 1999: 34).

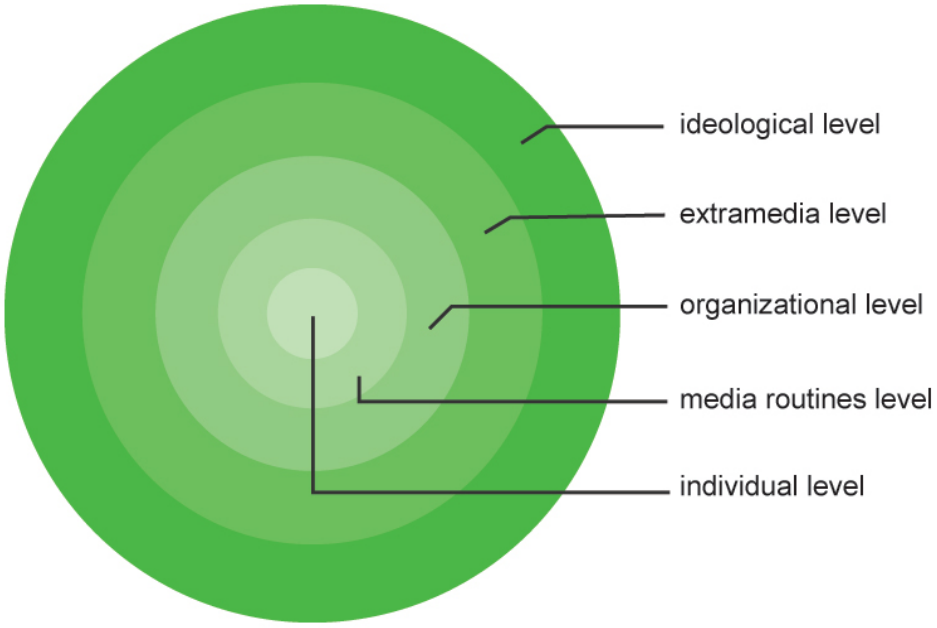

Figure 1.0. The hierarchy of influences model developed by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1996). The model is slightly modified here – I have added colours to emphasise Shoemaker's and Reese's view that outer influences dominate the inner levels.

The model offers various important perspectives on the production of media content, but it is impossible to handle all of them thoroughly and equally in this study. As Uskali (2003), Roiha (2007), Pekonen (2005) and other researchers who have conducted their study on foreign correspondence employing the Shoemaker and Reese model, I am searching for valuable information from all the levels – information that is relevant to my research question and for Moscow foreign correspondents. However, the model has been an important tool for identifying different factors and for my own thought processes. I used the model for creating the interview themes and categorising the research data. In the reporting and analysis phase, I have used more freedom in arranging the findings in an order that best serves my research question.

As well as introducing the Shoemaker and Reese model, this chapter provides examples of studies where the hierarchical model has been utilised. Furthermore, relevant critique and improvements suggested by other scholars to augment the model are also presented.

2.1 Influences on content from individual media workers

Individual influences on media content are intrinsic to the communications worker. Influences on content from an individual media worker include several factors: firstly, the communicator's characteristics – i.e. personal background and experiences, education, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and social class. Secondly, the communicator's personal attitude – i.e. the values and worldview that the journalist holds as a result of his/her background or personal experiences, including political attitudes and religious beliefs amongst others. Thirdly, the perceptions that journalists have of their role and professional orientations as a function of being socialised to their jobs, for example whether or not they perceive themselves as being neutral transmitters of events or active participants in developing the story. Professional roles and ethics have a direct effect on mass media content, whereas the effect or personal attitudes, values and beliefs is more indirect, operating only to the extent that the individuals hold power within their own media organisations sufficient enough to override professional values and organisational routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 64-87).

Ibrahim's (2003) research on international correspondents covering the Middle East used the hierarchy of influences approach, with a particular focus on the impact of the individual influences of the journalist, including the potential impact of personal beliefs, professional perceptions and the schemata of the news. Utilising the Schema theory, Ibrahim says that when in the field foreign correspondents carry with them all the preconceived notions about the country they are currently operating in, including negative and positive experiences. Objectivity is an elusive concept, as

correspondents, like all human beings, are subjective individuals. Instead of the objectivity that is impossible to achieve, reporters should aim for honest reporting (91-92). Ibrahim concludes that making indiscriminate statements about the impact of correspondents' background, religion, experiences, ideals and values on media content remains a difficult issue to study, although definitely an interesting one to explore further (ibid: 98). Previous findings on the influences on content from individual media workers have revealed contradictory results, and Shoemaker and Reese have been unable to make any sweeping statements about them. They contend that by having more power over messages and fewer constraints, it is possible that a communicator's individual characteristics could have more of an opportunity to influence content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996:91). Even though experienced journalists can work more independently, as for example the EU-journalists in Mörä's study (1999:105), this autonomy might be relatively easy to explain. Reporters, who master the journalistic routines of processing news, are valued for their professionalism (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 106). Hannerz also pays attention to the domestication and in-house socialisation of journalists (Hannerz, 2004: 80-81).

Although individual influence might be difficult to measure, several studies on international news and foreign correspondents show that scholars are encouraged to think that an individuals may have power over outside influences (see for example Mörä, 1999 and Uskali, 2003). Willnat and Weaver (2003) are also convinced that the nature of foreign news cannot be interpreted by organisational forces alone, but professional norms, personal characteristics and working conditions have to be taken into account as well (405-406).

Within this study I will look more closely at foreign correspondents' motivations for becoming foreign correspondents, knowledge of Russia, the perception of foreign correspondence, the correspondents' social networks with Russians, and finally, correspondents' professional goals. The individual level is prominently emphasised in this research, as I was keen to explore the individual characteristics of foreign correspondents; to understand how they see Russia and how they would like to portray it, and what kind of skills and expertise they have. Working in a different culture requires some specific knowledge and this is likely to influence the correspondents' position in their organisation.

2.2 Media routines

Shoemaker and Reese define media as patterned, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs that enable media organisations to operate more effectively. Routines are needed so that everyday journalistic practices are controllable. These set journalistic practices are not dependant on individuals, but serve a larger context. From one perspective routines can be

viewed as a set of constraints affecting the individual media worker. They also form the immediate context, both within and through which individuals carry out their jobs. The term gatekeeper refers to the role that the individual fills serving a function within a larger systems of gates; for example, a foreign correspondent has to cut down from a larger number of potential messages to a few. This is where media routines become useful. It is important to acknowledge that gatekeepers also represent their profession and the organisations simultaneously both limit their decisions and give them legitimacy. In order to understand these limits, the media systems where journalists operate need careful consideration, including the routines that have such a valid role in systematic information-gathering (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 105-137).

Journalists need to create order out of the information chaos that surrounds them, otherwise papers would not be published on time and resources would be too scarce. The production and dissemination of news requires routines that define how news topics are chosen, the material collected and how it is portrayed. The routines bring predictability and certainty. Production expenses can also be decreased, as the work becomes more efficient through routines (Mörä, 1999: 86).

The uniform-like, standardised pattern of media content exists partly because of media routines. The set routines guarantee that the media systems respond in predictable ways. The requirement for this is that media professionals have integrated these cohesive sets of rules. Routine reliance on other media and the pack mentality of journalists has been nominated as reasons for enhancing the recurring patterns of news and entertainment content. In practice, different media follow closely national and international news streams provided by the news agencies, and at least, to some extent, take advantage of the emphases they have chosen when covering events. Media routines may also prevent significant and important events from being covered in the media, especially if they differ greatly from the major news streams available through the news agencies. Nevertheless, media routines do not develop randomly, but stem from three sources including suppliers (sources), consumers (audience) and producers (media organisations) (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 105-137).

Uskali argues that choosing news is not that straightforward or simple - already the numerous news criterions developed by different researchers prove that the process of selecting news is relatively complicated (Uskali, 2003: 28). Shoemaker and Reese have created a list of six news values: prominence/importance, human interest, conflict/controversy, the unusual, timeliness and proximity (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 111). The pack mentality of journalists is recognisable when paying attention to the position that leading news mediums have among journalists: in America, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and in Europe the *Financial Times* are publications of

prestige and are followed closely by journalists from other papers and mediums. In terms of the broadcasting and coverage of world news, the BBC and CNN are trailblazers and highly respected across borders. In Finland, the broadsheet publication *Helsingin Sanomat* and the public service broadcasting company *Yleisradio* (YLE) have gained high status common among all these mediums enjoying a special, highly-regarded position in the hierarchy of media is that they have long journalistic traditions. They also have better journalistic resources and many young journalists eager to work for them.

It is important to acknowledge at this point that I will not be following the Shoemaker and Reese's model slavishly, and in some cases I will blend different levels from the model with each other, considering carefully how this will best serve my research question. I have not dedicated one specific topic for media routines, and unlike Roiha (2005) and Pekonen (2005), I have not paid attention to any technical problems that correspondents may face, as I did not consider this vital to my research question. The reason why I have not concentrated on media routines in one specific chapter is that journalistic routines 'shine through' in other parts of the analysis, especially in the chapters focusing on sources that the correspondents employ.

2.3 Organisational influences

Media routines are conducted within the boundaries of specific media organisations that hire, fire and promote workers and pay their salaries. This next step in the hierarchy of influences approach studies the constraints at the organisational level, affecting journalists' work and therefore also the media content produced. The media organisation level looks, for instance, at how the chosen identity of the medium and general atmosphere at the workplace influences the journalistic content. The majority of media organisations aim to make a profit, as they are like any other business whose operations are dictated according to market forces. Government-owned media companies are naturally the exception to this rule. Regardless of the medium, the power ultimately lies with the ownership and in the hands of the shareholders. The pressure of extending the profit margins, which has become increasingly competitive in the past few years, has resulted to increased pressure to create more attention-grabbing media content. In reality, this means more entertainment, which has affected televised programming more than newspapers, since they are more prone to economic influences (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 139-147).

In order to understand the organisational structure of the media, the entire structure has to be taken into account, in the newsrooms and beyond, and, ultimately, all the workers and members of an organisation must answer to the owners and upper management. Commonly, there are three general levels within media organisations: the front-line employees, such as writers and creative

staff, the middle level, including managers, editors and producers, and, finally, the top-level corporate and news executives, who create the organisation policy, set budgets, take care of the commercial and political interests of the firm and make important personnel decisions. The roles that people have in the organisation usually determine their views. This hierarchical structure has an impact that imposes itself throughout the different spheres affecting all levels in the media organisation. Journalists learn in the early phase of their career the house style of the media organisation they work for. This includes, for instance, internalising the same news values held by the management and working within these designated parameters. This can also result in self-censorship (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 148-172). According to Ibrahim (2003), senior reporters and correspondents generally find it easier to get their views published whether they conform to official policies or not (91). Mörä also thinks that due to the fact that foreign correspondents are respected, they are likely to receive more support from their management than journalists in the home office do. The foreign correspondents' status in the unofficial hierarchy is high (Mörä, 1999: 58-59).

I will study the organisation's levels through the co-operation between the home office and foreign correspondents. I will also see what kind of guidance the correspondents received from their organisations before their Moscow correspondence began. I did not pay attention to resources and budgeting as such, although, for example, Pekonen (2005) thought that one of the main obstacles correspondents faced in Washington was a lack of resources and budgeting. Tight budgets lead occasionally to contradictory circumstances: the management wants the correspondent to produce stories based on their ideas, but in reality the sheer expenses prevent the correspondents from producing anything 'own'. Constant reminders of tight budgets have also caused self-censorship (Pekonen, 2005: 68, 70).

2.4 Extramedia level

With influences on content from outside media organisation, Shoemaker and Reese predominantly refer to sources of information (special interest groups, PR campaigns and news organisations), revenue sources (advertisers and audiences), other social institutions (business and government), economic environment and technology. Sources have an enormous effect on mass media content, because journalistic work relies on them. Sources may withhold information for numerous reasons or even lie, but they may also influence the news content in less obvious ways. Usually, there are many potential sources to contact regarding an event, but not all of them are equally likely to be contacted by journalists, because people with political and economic power are more likely to have an influence on media content. Big corporations and businesses have employees who specialise in

gathering “suitable” information and making it available for the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 175-181).

All governments and other political institutions exert controls over the mass media through taxes, laws, regulations and licences to some extent. It has been proven by numerous studies that the foreign politics of a nation state directly affect media content, as does competition and the development of technology (Ibid: 199, 209, 215). Also, competition between media organisations and technological development has a significant impact on media content (Uskali, 2003: 32). Other potential outside influences are audience, advertisers, legislation, technology, investors and so on (Mörä, 1999: 34).

The majority of Washington correspondents commented on the difficulty of receiving first-hand information: interviews are difficult to get as is the permission to film, and the acquisition of press cards has to practically be begged for. The reason being that in the U.S. it is weighed more carefully with what is profitable and what is not - time is money so to speak. Communications are expensive and therefore the corporation or the office should gain the most value out of it. Finnish audiences are so small and insignificant that there is no point rewarding them with interviews and other permissions (Pekonen, 2005: 72-74).

When reading through different materials on foreign correspondence, my hypothesis is that Finnish foreign correspondents face the same difficulties in accessing first-hand information as any other reporters from small, insignificant countries that have no or relatively low international influence. It is possible that the correspondents have to come up with alternative sources that may become newly invented media routines. This may offer Finnish correspondents new insights into their profession and new ways of engaging in journalism, as they have to choose stories and collect material through other means than in Finland. I will also pay attention to networking with other correspondents and on feedback received from Finnish audiences.

2.5 The influence of ideology

The outer most level from the hierarchy of influences model level looks at the impact of ideology on mass media content that according to Shoemaker and Reese dominates all the other levels below it. By ideology Shoemaker and Reese refer to a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrating force in a society. Ideology is a composition or a system of meanings, values and beliefs that can be called a philosophy of life or worldview. Here, the goal is to find out how media people, practices and relations function ideologically (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 221-222). Ideology can mean, for example, the market economy, a liberal democracy or private ownership.

Ideology has been studied, for instance, within the sphere of cultural studies, where Gramsci proposed a theory of hegemony that studies the link between power and practice. The ruling power cannot directly supervise media, because of its relative autonomy - the term hegemony refers to the means by which the ruling order maintains its dominance (Ibid: 237). “Media institutions serve a hegemonic function by continually producing a cohesive ideology, a set of commonsensical values and norms, that serves to reproduce and legitimate the social structure through which the subordinate classes participate in their own domination” (Ibid: 237). Shoemaker, Reese and their peers have extensively studied the way in which the media communicate deviance. It was found that those political groups that are perceived as deviant by newspaper editors are given less favourable treatment and their legitimacy was much more likely to be questioned (ibid: 225).

Ibrahim argues that “the disproportionate reliance of journalists on official sources, lack of independent opinions that contradict the accepted norm, and the comfortable acceptance of Western societal values as the guiding structure to reporting are symptoms of a strong ideological influence of elite sources on media content.” (Ibrahim, 2003: 88)

The professional ideology of journalists can also be approached with the concept of paradigm. Science and journalism are empirical information-gathering activities, both journalists and scientists are guided by their observations. All the paradigms, including journalistic ones, are validated by consensus. In media, a change a paradigm shift is evident on a linguistic level, but also realised in the topics that are covered by the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 243). New topics, such as environmental issues, gene technology and animal rights, have become part of the media agenda during the past years. Also, the requirement of objectivity that has been “abolished” from the journalistic language is an example of a change in paradigm within the media (Uskali, 2003: 33).

Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow work in two very different ideological environments: Finland and Russia. The Russian ideology is not something that they have grown up with, and, therefore, it is likely to appear as less natural for them than the ideology of Finland. Through living in and experiencing the country, which is one of the functions and meanings of foreign correspondence, the journalists learn to interpret the prevailing ideology which is then further interpreted by the Finnish audience. The foreign correspondents were very keen on talking about their perceptions of Russia; in fact, this was probably their favourite theme. Even though it is fairly difficult to concretise the meaning of these perceptions on the media content, it is interesting to look at and compare, for example, the foreign correspondents’ goals, in terms of coverage of Russia in the Finnish media, and their knowledge of and perceptions of Russia.

2.6 The hierarchy of influences model revised

In his criticism of the hierarchy of influences model, Mörä is inspired by Giddens' structuration theory, which proposes that seeing a subject and structure as each other's opposite is artificial, as both influence each other all the time. Mörä sees the different levels in the hierarchy of influences model and their relationship with each other as interactional, not hierarchical; and instead of levels, he talks about threads. In different times and places these threads can have a different meaning and emphasis, and the end result is not always caused by something else on a higher level; for example, sometimes routines may have a stronger emphasis on media content than organisational factors (Mörä, 1999: 29-37).

Another key aspect of the theory is that by acting in a world that a subject has not created, the subject re-creates it. When thinking in relation to the hierarchy of influences model, this means that when a journalist works in an organisation that he has not created, he creates and (re)shapes it again. And when a journalist applies media routines he likewise re-affirms their existence (Ibid: 30).

Mörä also notes that according to the hierarchy of influences model, an individual is seen deterministically as a product of those structures, at the mercy of sources, media routines, organisational objectives and prevailing ideologies. As a result, a journalist is a not a subject but an object. The problem with this approach is that journalists are seen as a huge mass of people, not as individuals with different characteristics and nuances (Ibid: 222). In agreement with Mörä, I would be inclined to give more emphasis on journalists' conscious actions and motives and consider them more as subjects as opposed to objects. Mörä's liane model emphasises the interaction between different threads, and I think that this is very useful when categorising and analysing my data. However, there are some threads that are missing from his model; for example, by taking out the extramedia level, also bureaucracy and network of foreign correspondents get wiped off, and these factors have an important role in my study. Therefore, I would title the thread dedicated for sources as extramedia level, as in Shoemaker and Reese's model.

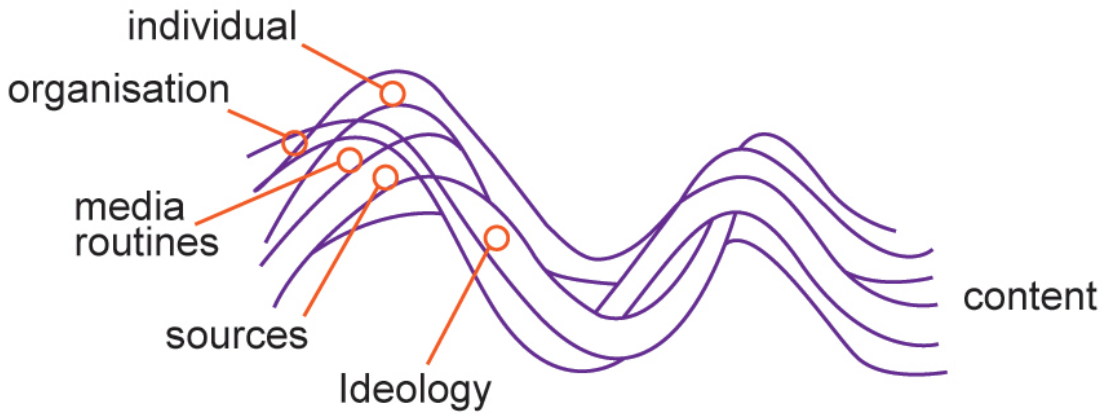

Figure 1.1. Mörä's (1999) liane model

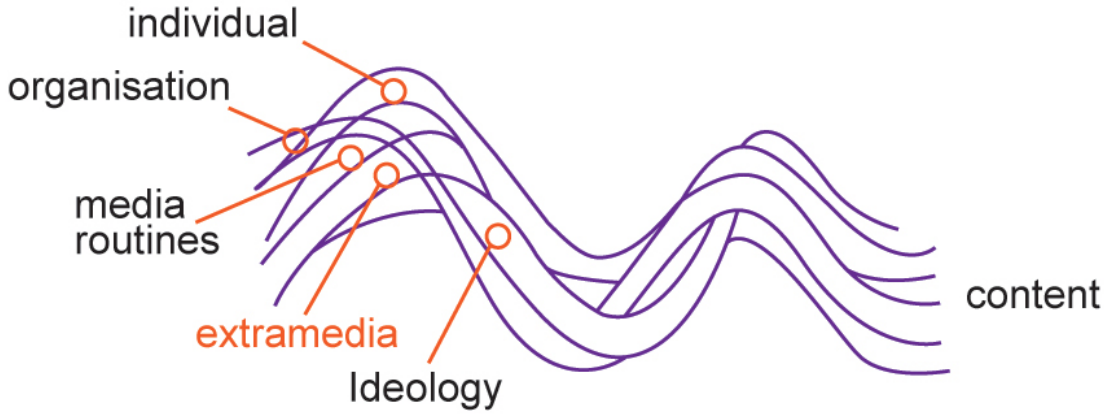

Figure 1.2. Mörä's (1999) liane model modified – I have replaced the thread called sources with extramedia, which is a broader term and more suitable for my study.

But as already highlighted before, I am not employing either of these theories thoroughly, but have taken some parts of them that are useful for my study and research questions. Mörä's model is very useful when paying attention to the interactivity between different levels, and when putting aside the strict dominance of outer levels present in Shoemaker and Reese's model. The hierarchy of influences model, again, is an excellent tool for thinking about what elements can be included at different levels and what factors in general can influence journalist work.

As the Giddens' structuration theory creates the meta-theoretical framework for Mörä's study, the hierarchy of Influences model spiced up with Mörä's liane model, which is again motivated by Giddens' theory, forms the meta-theoretical framework of my study. The term 'meta' means that the theory does not act as a basis for testing, interpreting and understanding an empirical phenomenon. Rather, it refers to a group of conceptions that are analytically linked together; it helps in the formation of research questions and when scrutinising research results (Mörä, 1999: 32). The hierarchy of Influences model provides an important tool for getting most out of my research material, and understanding media production processes.

3. On foreign correspondence: Key definitions and earlier research on foreign correspondents

3.1 Key definitions

Over the course of the next three pages, I will briefly describe the main terminology of my thesis. The following chapter, 'The changing landscape of international news and foreign correspondence', is easier to comprehend when the key terminology is explained. The large variety of terminology also underlines the fact that foreign correspondence is currently in flux, constantly evolving and changing, as is the world around foreign correspondence. Additional and more specific words are required to explain the world of international news and foreign correspondence, which is getting more and more complicated as a result of the globalisation processes.

Foreign correspondents can be defined as media personnel, who report and interpret the actions and events of different societies for a selected audience of readers not native to the country. They are important gatekeepers in the flow of formation of international news shaping our ideas of other cultures and societies, holding a vital role in the process of cultures communicating with and across other cultures, and potentially have a central stage in the sensitivity and understanding of people of other cultures. In terms of international news foreign correspondents are among the first important cultural framers of events. The audience takes these cultural frames and then imposes their own frames in the interpretive process (Starck & Villeneuva, 1992: 2, 7). Foreign correspondents can be also called as staff correspondents and as international correspondents (Uskali, 2007: 51-51).

Uskali defines *a Finnish staff correspondent working in Moscow* as a journalist, who has a permanent contract at least with one Finnish media organisation and whose main bureau is in Moscow. With *Moscow foreign correspondence* he refers to journalistic work and to the working conditions existing at a foreign and home bureau. Foreign correspondents usually have a permanent contract with their employer, but they also might work as freelancers. The definition of *a stringer* is more diverse, as stringers might be permanent contributors, who are getting paid a basic salary, freelancers or writers, who are sending stories in occasionally. The responsibilities and job description of editors of foreign affairs are different from foreign correspondents, as they work in a home bureau. They usually work according to set shifts, whereas foreign correspondents are on duty around the clock (Uskali, 2003: 16-17). All my interviewees have, or had a permanent contract with a Finnish media organisation and they work(ed) in Moscow permanently, therefore Uskali's definition is the most appropriate when talking about my study. Starck and Villeneuva are more

concerned about interpreting function, cultural factors and the notion of gatekeeping, which are also important to bear in mind, as they provide a larger framework for the definition.

Lehtola notes that the work of *a foreign correspondent* and *foreign affairs correspondent* are very different. Foreign correspondents do not work according to set shifts and they are more independent, not working under anyone's supervision directly. They are required to have specialist knowledge from several fields, including politics, economics, and culture. Foreign affairs correspondents again follow the news stream coming from the world. News content created from a home bureau is very much based on the material provided by the international news agencies. The foreign correspondent has more freedom to choose stories and cover topics that he finds interesting, although the main emphasis is usually on politics, economics and relationship between Finland and Russia in this case. Usually culture and stories covering every day life are given less space (1986: 130-131).

Fixers help foreign correspondents with various tasks, they are multipurpose resources, who are rarely mentioned or recognised for their contribution of international news publicly. Their work is of great significance to the international or foreign news, as they are often selecting people with whom to speak, setting up interviews and leading the way through territory unfamiliar to the foreign correspondent. These locals provide contacts and penetration into the community. Fixers serve as cultural and geographical guides in the field, essential to the work of a foreign correspondent (Bishara, 2006:21-22, 25). Also Hannerz (2004) points out that the work of local helpers in foreign news work does not tend to get acknowledged. Fixers are often picked up by correspondents on parachutist missions for short-term contracts and their qualifications and conditions of work vary greatly (155).

As with most companies, television channels may also have varying corporate cultures and management practices. Because CNN was planned to be an international broadcaster, its founder, Ted Turner, decided that he would impose fines on correspondents to encourage them to abolish the use of the word foreign when covering other nations and individuals in the world (Hess, 1996: 55). CNN correspondents outside the U.S. were international correspondents. This is understandable because CNN is intended to be an international channel, and its viewers should not feel that she or he lives in a foreign country (Hannerz, 2004: 85). According to the Oxford dictionary, foreign is a characteristic of a country or language other than one's own and dealing with or relating to other countries. This description seems somehow outdated when putting it into the context of globalisation and cosmopolitanism that Hannerz (2004) is so eagerly discussing. Interestingly, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times* - all based in the UK - call their international news sections as world news. In Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Göteborgs-Posten*, and

Sydsvenska Dagbladet call their international news sections as ‘världen’ (world), but Svenska Dagbladet differs from the other large dailies in calling its global news section ‘utrikes’ (foreign news). Avoiding the need of going any deeper into linguistics, it is interesting to see that the largest Finnish newspapers, *Helsingin Sanomat, Aamulehti, Turun Sanomat, Kaleva* and *Keskisuomalainen* have all named their international news sections as ‘ulkomaat’ (foreign countries). It will be interesting to see whether or not the Finnish use of language regarding this matter will develop further once Finnish society becomes more international and heterogeneous.

Hamilton and Jenner (2004a) have created additional categories of foreign correspondence that define the modern media environment in terms of foreign news reporting more accurately. *Parachute foreign correspondence* means that reporters are dispatched to cover a major story. Although this is also expensive, it is less so than having permanently stationed reporters in a number of outposts. *Premium service foreign correspondents* work for ‘wires’ such as Bloomberg News, Reuters and Dow Jones that are enabled and strengthened by the dynamics of global marketplace. These companies that have hugely benefited from the emergence of the Internet, although also using traditional media, gain from the extensive use of local reporters. *In-house foreign correspondents* are people who work inside large organisations, such as World Bank and Ford, providing them with up-to-date information about political, economic and social events abroad that affect or could possibly affect these businesses. *Local foreign correspondents* find local sources and angles from international stories. These locally relevant ingredients in international news picked by the journalists might be for instance locally significant investment and trading opportunities abroad or paying close attention to the ups and downs of foreign markets for crops. People who have a particular interest in another part of the world can read foreign newspapers on-line or watch satellite television. Therefore, a local reporter for *Pravda* or for *the Guardian* becomes a *foreign national correspondent*. With modern technology anyone can become an *amateur foreign correspondent* posting information on their personal website or blogs. Promoters of this ‘do-it-yourself’ journalism have rejoiced in its democratising potential, although in reality they have received comparatively modest attention, although the popularity of blogs has most probably increased during the past couple of years significantly. Last but not least is the *foreign foreign correspondent*, which is perhaps the most interesting category. Traditionally, foreign correspondents have been the ears and eyes abroad depicting events, “translating” and interpreting them symbolically into the language of the home bureau. That is why it has been considered important that there is a Finnish foreign correspondent reporting to a Finnish news media agency/organisation and interpreting the events with “Finnish eyes”. Times are changing, at least in the American media, where the majority of foreign correspondents are foreigners.

Hannerz describes a *'parachutist'* or a *'fireman'*, as a journalist that goes briefly to cover hard news in a place otherwise only seldom reported from, many times under difficult conditions, Jakarta and East Timor being such examples. As Hannerz says this is the kind of practice and experience that makes up the bulk of the mythology surrounding foreign correspondents. Parachutists, or firemen, are close to the more traditional term of war correspondent. *A spiralist* is a foreign correspondent who stays from 3-5 years in each posting going back to an editorial position at a home bureau in between. This is a fairly typical career path for a successful correspondent working for a prosperous news media organisation. The term is borrowed from the classic Manchester School of social anthropology and refers to how social mobility within the hierarchy of an organisation can be coordinated with geographical mobility. *Long-timers* again have a strong commitment to their beat; Hannerz gives an example of a Swedish foreign correspondent who has stayed in China more of less permanently from the 60s until this day (Hannerz, 2007:302-303).

3.2 Earlier research on foreign correspondents

The early studies in the field of mass communications focused on a journalist whose personality, such as values, attitudes, professionalism and education, were considered to have a strong influence on media content. Later on it was discovered that outside influences had much more power than previously thought, taking mass communications research to new levels. As a result, the undertakings of an individual journalist have not sparked much interest in recent years. However, taking into account the increasing amount of international news that foreign correspondents produce, and the fact that correspondents were the first journalists in the history of journalism, the limited number of studies is surprisingly low (Uskali, 2003: 15-16, 24). Research on international news has focused on quantitative analysis of sizeable data and on theoretical research, everyday news practices have been left aside. Theoretically, news stream research can be divided into two groups; those that concentrate on understanding and predicting the amount and directions of news streams. The second group focuses on interpreting those values and factors that decide the nature of the news streams. Pietiläinen also mentions another approach that concentrates on the personal characteristics of journalists and how they potentially shape production of international news (Pietiläinen, 1998: 19). My study focuses very much on predicting those values and factors that are deciding the nature of news streams, or in other words, the coverage of Russia by the Finnish media. I am also looking at personal characteristics of journalists, including their professional experience and education, and how these potentially influence media content.

The majority of the existing research points out that in quantitative terms, the academic literature on foreign correspondence is surprisingly limited (see for example Hannerz, 2004: 8 and Uskali,

2003: 15-16). Putting it more precisely, there is no absence of materials on foreign correspondents, but academic literature is scarce. The majority of the literature that exists is written by the foreign correspondents themselves, who consider their careers and professional lives to be marked by special interest. The result of these autobiographies and biographies is often a grand presentation of both role and occupant instead of portraying mundane features of the profession itself (Morrison and Tumber in Hannerz, 2004: 236). These histories are fairly individual-centred, focusing on the authors as men and women of action who risk their lives in order to witness and report, filing 'the first draft of history'. The existing gap of research material stands between the current research and accounts portraying foreign correspondents either as puppets or as heroes (Hannerz, 2002: 60). There are vast selections of 'personal accounts' available internationally, but also quite a few that Finnish foreign correspondents have written about their own experiences in Russia and the former Soviet Union, such as Aarne Tanninen *Täällä Tanninen* (This is Tanninen), Sinikka Arteva *Idän kirjeenvaihtaja* (1999) (Foreign correspondent of the East), Outi Parikka *Äiti-Venäjän aapinen* (2007) (The primer of Mother Russia) and Anna-Lena Laurén *Hulluja nuo venäläiset - tuokiokuvia Venäjältä* (2008) (They're not sane, those Russians). These books, although interesting, have mainly performed the role of support/background material in my study.

The first study to focus purely on foreign correspondents was John Hohenberg's (1967) *Foreign Correspondence*. His book is fairly war-driven concentrating a great deal on war correspondence, but in the second edition of his book (1995) the chapter looking into tomorrow's foreign correspondence is interesting; for example, predicting more power to women. Gans' (1980) *Deciding What's News*, Gaunt's (1990) *Choosing the News* (Uskali, 2003: 17-18), Tunstall's *Journalists at work* and many other academic books take a brief look onto foreign correspondence, although not diving to great depths with the topic. I also found a fairly large variety of good quality academic articles on foreign correspondence that I have employed extensively in my study, including Starck and Villanueva's study (1992) on cultural framing and its meaning on foreign correspondents' work, Ibrahim's study (2003) on international correspondents covering the Middle East, Hamilton and Jenner's article (2004a) on redefining foreign correspondence, el-Nawawy's (2201) study on Western correspondents' perceptions of the Egyptian and Israeli cultures, Hannerz's (2002, 2007) writings on cosmopolitanism and foreign correspondence and so on. Surprisingly many Finnish researchers (Uskali, 2003, Roiha, 2007 and Pekonen 2007) have not utilised entirely the availability of these timely and international research articles. Taking into account the availability of these articles, the amount of scholarly inquiries is not that limited, although surely, the scope in academic articles is narrower.

Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents (2004) by Ulf Hannerz - a social anthropologist from the University of Stockholm - is one of the most recent and also one of the

most interesting studies on ‘a tribe’ called foreign correspondents, taking an anthropological approach to correspondence. Hannerz has interviewed around seventy foreign correspondents and foreign editors from large, mainstream media organisations, mainly from printed media, for his book. He believes that foreign correspondents are key players in today’s globalisation of consciousness; a modern tribe whose products have a central role in creating the perceptions that people have of the world around them and of which they are a part. Besides globalisation he talks about notions, such as cosmopolitanism, that involve the feeling of being ‘at home in the world’ and the representation of distant events, people and places. Hannerz studies differences and similarities between anthropologists and foreign correspondents, who both report from one part of the world to another, focusing on the work of foreign correspondents who are reporting over greater cultural distances, for example, from Africa and the Middle East to Europe or North America. He calls his study a hybrid between journalism and anthropology that required multi-local fieldwork, Hannerz being more concerned with variations rather than with standards and averages (2-6, 11 and 16).

Tuomo Mörä’s doctoral thesis *EU-journalismin anatomia – Mediasisältöjä muokanneet tekijät ennen kansanäänestystä 1994* (1999) (Anatomy of EU-journalism – Factors shaping media contents before the 1994 referendum) from the faculty of communications, University of Helsinki engages with the journalism of the European Union before the referendum in 1994. Mörä’s thesis, as well as the studies of Hannerz (2004), Hess (1996) and Uskali (2003) is primarily concerned with news production processes rather than with the consumption, reception of news flows or the end product – the news stories themselves. On the contrary, they seek to shed some light on factors that influence media content, including some practicalities in foreign correspondents’ work, trying to find what happens before news products are read, seen or heard. Mörä asks what is the role of a single journalist, his personal attitudes, what is the importance of sources, what professional norms are required from journalists - are journalists socialized to norms, do lack of time or prevailing ideology play any role and so on. He points out that all of these have an influence on journalistic content, but they should not be looked at separately, rather they should be seen as interactive as opposed to static. Traditionally, these factors have been looked at and analysed separately depending on what has been the latest ‘trend’ in journalism and mass communications research. Mörä wanted to find out why certain topics, viewpoints and actors were more visible in EU-journalism than others. Additionally, the theoretical-methodological ambition was to develop a tool that enables the analysis and understanding of the nuances and processes behind media contents. This is where the liane model steps in. Mörä employed Shoemaker and Reese’s hierarchy of influences model in his study, but further developed it because of its static nature. The model is introduced in the chapter focusing on the theoretical framework. Mörä’s conclusion was that EU-journalists shared the elite’s perspective and argument on Finland’s EU-

membership. However, he points out that journalism should be looked at as an organic process, where the influences over journalism change over time and overlap with each other (Mörä, 1999: 1-5, 220, 238). Mörä's notion of interactivity serves my thesis especially well and I will be taking more freedom when reporting my findings and analysing them. His findings provide interesting background material when analysing my research data.

Turo Uskali's *Älä kirjoita itseäsi ulos – Suomalaisen Moskovan-kirjeenvaihtajuuden alkutaival 1957-1975* (Don't write yourself out – The early phases of Finnish foreign correspondence in Moscow 1957-1975) is the first doctoral thesis[1] that focuses purely on foreign correspondence. The study explores the work of the first Moscow-based Finnish foreign correspondents in the era of the Soviet totalitarian regime. The main focus is on the history of journalism, combining also several other research traditions, such as the history of international relations and journalism and mass communications. Uskali has also further developed the hierarchy of influences model creating a so-called hermeneutical drill, which enables him to combine the practices of multi-methodology and various sources with the idea of a hermeneutical circle, where each factor can only be understood as a part of the entirety to which it belongs. With the drill, Uskali looked into the different problems that correspondents had, such as language difficulties, self-censorship, political motives and so on. With his thesis Uskali wanted to find out what kinds of media texts the foreign correspondents created, how they worked and why they worked as they did. Uskali found out that the journalism that the Finnish foreign correspondents created in Moscow was more diverse than what had previously been believed before and that the correspondents learnt to write "between the lines". Understandably, the most influential factor on the correspondents' work was Soviet totalitarianism itself (Uskali, 2003:15-20, 280, 436-439). Uskali's work is definitely interesting for my study, because the history enables me to see how we got to the point where we are today and what kind of factors have influenced the Moscow foreign correspondents' work before and how they have coped with them. Providing valuable information from the past, it prepared me for the interviews with today's Moscow correspondents.

Although foreign correspondence has not been studied widely there are some Finnish Masters theses on the subject[2] matter, of which the most recent is Maarit Roiha's (2007) *Juttuja Luoteis-Venäjältä - Suomalaisen Pietarin-toimittajien työskentely-ympäristö ja työn erityispiirteet (*Stories

[1] Before his doctoral thesis, Uskali (1990) had already looked at the affect of Glasnost on Yleisradio's foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union when graduating from the Tampere journalism school. In his Masters Thesis (1994) he studied how the work of Moscow foreign correspondents changed during 1985-1993. And finally, in his Licentiate Thesis (2001) he looked at how the journalists of Kansan Uutiset and Uusi Suomi worked in Moscow during 1957-1975.

[2] Other Finnish studies on foreign correspondece: Pekonen (2005), Kohonen (2000), Torniainen (1989), Kippo (2003) and Knif (1980) and Ahvenainen (1964)

from North-West- Russia - the working conditions of Finnish journalists in St Petersburg and special characteristics of their work). Roiha's thesis is the most relevant one of this group, because it offers interesting comparisons between St Petersburg and Moscow, although focusing on slightly different factors.

Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, came out with an excellent study on foreign correspondence, *International News and Foreign Correspondence*, in 1996. Hess went through altogether 24,000 foreign news stories from American publications and television. Additionally, the chapters in the book are based on a survey of 404 foreign correspondents and 370 former foreign correspondents. Hess also observed U.S. foreign correspondents at twelve overseas posts and visited the foreign desks of twelve U.S. news organisations (Hess, xiv). This is the broadest study conducted on foreign correspondence that I have come across so far. Hess asks what information about the world are we given by the mainstream media, how much and how good (Ibid: 3). He also provides an insight on correspondents' educational and professional background, which was particularly useful for my study. According to him, the correspondents are coming ever more from an elitist background, which is discussed in greater detail in the latter chapters. This is also relevant for my study, because I want to question whether we could receive other kinds of news from Russia besides politics and financial news, and what is needed in order to switch this direction and tradition.

4. The changing landscape of foreign correspondence and international news

4.1 Early days of foreign correspondence

As with all academic research on foreign correspondence, the availability of written history documentation is scarce. Internationally, the only work found to trace systematically the historical development of foreign reporting is John Hohenberg's *Foreign Correspondence: The Great Reporters and Their Times* (Dell'Orto, 2004). In Finland, several books on journalism include some information on foreign correspondence, including Rantanen (1987), Vesikansa (1997) and Nordenstreng (ed.) (1994), but Uskali's (2003) book offers the most in-depth insight into foreign correspondence in Moscow.

Foreign correspondents are, in fact, the first reporters in the history of journalism. It can be further noted that on occasion some travellers, diplomats, sea captains and merchants also practiced the work of journalists. Internationally, the London-based *Morning Chronicle* was the first newspaper that had its own network of foreign correspondents, even as early as 1769 (Uskali 2007: 49-50).

The French Revolution set new requirements for the British media, because the uprising distressed the public on the other side of the Channel. Although much of the content was copied directly from the French newspapers, the *Times* decided to hire foreign staff to cover the Revolution. Besides translators, the paper hired agents in Paris and a few other foreign news centres, messengers to carry dispatches across the Channel, and the requisite office help required for processing the new order of foreign correspondence. On the continent, the most outstanding single publication for its handling of foreign affairs was the *Swiss Zürcher Zeitung*, which re-appeared after being overhauled for lack of readership as *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, soon enthusiastically read in every European capital because of its respected coverage of foreign affairs (Hohenberg, 1967: 2-3, 14-15). In the U.S. the proportion of international news increased significantly between 1838, when the *New York Herald* established the first official corps of foreign correspondents in the American press, and 1859, at the eve of the Civil War (Dell'Orto's, 2004).

Finnish newspapers already had foreign correspondents before the independence was declared in 1917, but they were typically infrequent contributors and international newspapers acted as the main sources until the end of the nineteenth century. There were only occasional stringers and helpers, for example *Helsingfors Tidningar* had a war correspondent covering the events of the Crimean War (1853-1856). The early forms of foreign correspondence can be found from *Tidningar*

utgifne af et sällskap i Åbo in 1773 (Rantanen, 1987: 57-58). According to Knif, who has explored the early phases (1860-1870) of foreign correspondence in Finland, some correspondents worked professionally already in the 1860s, although the definition of a foreign correspondent was still somewhat vague. It is likely that correspondents worked as freelancers selling their articles for various newspapers in different countries. Studying individual contributors from the early years is difficult; because correspondents often left their stories unsigned or simply added their initials. During the autonomy nearly all foreign correspondents were foreigners; Joel Lehtonen, working for *Helsingin Sanomat* from Paris, was a rare exception. According to Knif, the Finnish newspapers did not have foreign correspondents in Russia between 1860-1870, and he thinks that political reporting concerning Russia was especially censored, as none of the stories found covering Russia were political in nature (Uskali, 2003: 21).

Until 1910 international news sections were considered secondary in Finland, until the publications in the capital city realised their selling potential. The Second World War increased the demand and international news was to stay in Finland, though by the end of the nineteenth century only *Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Päivälehti* and *Uusi Suomitar* had full-time foreign correspondents (Uskali, 2003: 22). The Swedish news agency *Tidningarnas Telegrambyrån* (TT) took care of Finland's news coverage for nearly forty years and only in 1962 did the Finnish news agency (STT) start to receive international news. *The Information Telegraph Agency of Russia* (TASS) was more popular in Finland than in other Western European countries (Kivikuru & Rantanen: 2000: 133). *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Uusi Suomi* were the first newspapers to create foreign correspondence networks. Ada Norna, who was based in Berlin and regularly sent stories to *Uusi Suomi* from 1920s until the Second World War, is regarded as the first fixed Finnish foreign correspondent (Vesikansa, 1997: 326-327). The first person deliberately assigned to a foreign correspondence post was Yrjö Niiniluoto, whom *Helsingin Sanomat* sent to Geneve in 1926 to follow the work of the League of Nations. He stayed there until 1933 when he was transferred to London. *Helsingin Sanomat* set up another post to Berlin in 1939 and *Uusi Suomi* hired and sent Juho Timonen to London in 1932. The Second World War made the work of the foreign correspondents of the two papers particularly difficult, but due to the lack of academic research there is not much information available from this period. It is known though that *Helsingin Sanomat* sent a correspondent to Stockholm in 1942, which has remained a key location ever since. *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Uusi Suomi* started to revive their networks in the 1950s: *Uusi Suomi* created again a post in London in 1956 and West-Germany in 1957, *Helsingin Sanomat* sent a foreign correspondent to Paris in 1959 (Uskali, 2003: 22).

4.2 First Finnish foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union

At the end of the 1950s there were roughly only a dozen or so international foreign correspondents in Moscow, and it was a common practice that journalists were sent to Moscow for short reportage visits when visas were accredited. The openness of the 1950s compared to the earlier decades triggered by Stalin's death, enabled some tourists and journalists to travel from Finland to the Soviet Union and vice versa. Before foreign correspondence, the image of Russia was mainly based on travellers' journals (Uskali, 2003: 112, 116&118). However, the development of the Soviet Union was closely followed, although it was mainly closed to Western media (Vesikansa, 1997:324).

Large European communist papers assigned foreign correspondents to Moscow in the mid 1950s and this trend was also followed in Finland; *Kansan Uutiset* sent its first correspondent to Moscow in 1957. *Uusi Suomi* again was the first non-communist paper to assign a correspondent to Moscow in 1958, the novice was Aarne Tanninen (Uskali, 2003: 120,122,135). In 1964 *Yleisradio* decided to create its own foreign correspondence network, based predominantly on the model coming from Sweden, but also the BBC and the commercial radio channels from the U.S. also had some influence (Salokangas, 1996:179). A year later a post was established in Moscow and Aarre Nojonen - a former foreign correspondent at *Kansan Uutiset* - was invited to the position; his language skills and political orthodoxy played a key role in the nomination. Besides Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Associated Press (AP) STT was an important source of information for Yleisradio (YLE), the Finnish Broadcasting Company. STT had a contract with TASS that provided valuable information due to its Soviet perspective. This separated Yleisradio from the so-called bourgeois papers. STT assigned a foreigner correspondent to Moscow together with Swedish, Danish RB and Norwegian NBT in 1966. *Helsingin Sanomat*, the newspaper with the biggest circulation, and *Tiedontantaja*, the Communist Party paper, established posts in Moscow only in 1975 (Uskali, 2003: 239, 245, 257, 322). This meant that all the major Finnish media companies established foreign correspondent posts in Moscow during the 1970s. The use of TASS did not increase, but the Soviet APN producing feature articles and commentaries created a relationship with over 100 Finnish media organisations (Kivikuru & Rantanen, 2000: 140-141).

The first posts were created in Moscow in 1957; around that time the Soviet officials gave permission to the Finnish media organisation to accredit correspondents to Moscow. There are three main reasons for this: non-communist papers could finally afford to send correspondents to Moscow, the Soviet Union supported financially the foreign correspondence of communist media and thirdly, the increased competition between the media organisations required more international

news. Additionally, the Finnish media organisations have explained this as a need to have a Finnish point of view of the coverage coming from the Soviet Union - competition required staff correspondents and the Soviet Union was a superpower, Finland's neighbouring country and an important trading partner (Uskali, 2003: 417-418).

Between 1957 and 1975 there were altogether seventeen Finnish foreign correspondents who worked in Moscow. Uskali divides them into communists and non-communists, though there are degrees of variations within these two groups. The correspondents, who were communists, were expected to have party trustee mentality, and the Soviet Union paid a large chunk of their salary. The correspondents of the National Coalition Party Paper *Uusi Suomi* were not required the same loyalty; YLE correspondents again were close to the party line. YLE had an important role in creating the Soviet 'image' in Finland, as the role of television increased in the 1960s. It also had a monopoly over the television news until the beginning of the 1980s. The correspondents believing in the communist ideology reported mainly positive news about the Soviet Union and negative news that was only officially endorsed. The non-communist correspondents wanted to find out more about topics that were not discussed publicly (Ibid: 417, 421).

All Finnish foreign correspondents practiced self-censorship; in fact this was required by their home bureaus. The depth of self-censorship is difficult to measure, as it did not remain static all the time - the political situation in the Soviet Union dictated the strength of it. Sensitive topics were, for example, Baltic States, the constraints of journalistic work, KGB, Kekkonen and the negotiations conducted in the Soviet Union, prisoners of war, the ceded territory of Karelia, the Winter War, spying, photographing and filming. Still, nearly all correspondents wrote about activists, about their judicial proceedings and their literary works, although less than their Nordic colleagues from Sweden and Norway. The years between 1962 and 1966 was 'the golden period', because during this time the correspondents had the most freedom to write critical stories concerning such topics as social ills, alcoholism, crime and corruption, and the diseases and accidents that smouldered beneath the surface. These stories of grievance originated in Soviet papers (Uskali, 2003: 406-407).

Although the preventative censorship of journalistic texts was discontinued after 1961, images were under strict control well into in the 1970s, filming was closely watched over and regulated. A person representing Soviet censorship was always present with foreign camera crews; his task was to ensure that 'atypical events' would not be captured on camera; for example, the filming of long queues outside groceries was not allowed. Yleisradio and other international television correspondents Used Soviet footage in the 1960s and 1970s; in 1974 Yleisradio started receiving footage from APN. However, securing quality footage was problematic for a long time, because

obtaining shooting rights was complicated. As a result, it was laborious to illustrate news. Fortunately, the film archive of Pasila offered some relief. It was also arduous to obtain face-to-face interviews in the Soviet Union and, therefore, Soviet papers - especially *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* - were important sources. The soviet officials organised propagandist information sharing sessions and the tone was occasionally noticeable in the correspondents' stories. Protection of sources and citing them anonymously was necessary for the Finnish correspondents. This, of course, weakened the quality and credibility of their stories (Uskali, 2003: 359, 402-404).

Having a closer look at the stories written in Soviet times, different nuances can be found; the Finnish foreign correspondents developed alternative ways of reporting on important and sensitive news: writing in between the lines, telling the news directly to the home office and writing in Swedish were the correspondents' main counter strategies. Due to demanding work conditions and lack of fact-based information and sources alternative ways for information gathering and disseminating the news were required; for instance, interpreting Soviet society became more important. Also, the use of citations was common because the correspondents did want to put their names under the propagandist language used in the Soviet sources. Many Finnish foreign correspondents assisted and wrote for Western newspapers. It is a known fact that many sensitive stories relating to the relations between Finland and the Soviet Union were first published in Sweden, however, only a few knew at the time that the source of those stories was the Swedish speaking part of STT. And furthermore, some Finnish journalists worked anonymously for overseas media organisations, such as French AFP, *Economist, the Times, the Independent* and *New York Times*. This way the journalists were able to express views and opinions the Finnish media was not able to print. After the story was published abroad, it could be cited in Finnish papers (Uskali, 2003: 372-373, 409-410, 417). Uskali found out that the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow concentrated mainly on news reporting because in commentaries journalists have to speak out with their own name, which was difficult under the totalitarian conditions that were then enforced in the Soviet Union (Uskali, 2003: 393). Usually, foreign correspondents focused on backgrounders and commentaries, whilst standard news reporting was left for news agencies to cover, although the portion of news agency material has increased the past years (Kivikuru & Rantanen, 2000:140).

Reflected on the Shoemaker and Reese model, Uskali found out that the biggest constraints for the correspondents' work resulted from the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its totalitarian conventions; for example, it is descriptive that 'the golden period' which gave more freedom for the correspondents resulted from the change in state politics. The correspondents were able to bring some personal difference and nuances to the coverage, but it was practically impossible to question the set boundaries created by the officials. Employing Mörä's liane model, the thread of

totalitarianism was the thickest of all threads in Uskali's study, which covers the years between 1957 and 1975. As with Mörä, Uskali found out that different levels in journalists' work were all the time having an effect on each other. The correspondents continued to follow the rules of preventative censorship even after it was terminated, which basically meant that they covered stories only after they had been published in the Soviet media. Ideological differences were prominent between the Finnish parliamentary democracy and Soviet totalitarianism. Also the conception of the role of journalism in a society differed and this created conflicts. Negative and critical reporting was considered damaging in the Soviet Union and the officials actively tried to impact media content and decided who was to be assigned and where. There was not much interesting information available and the correspondents had to rely on rumour and hearsay often. The Cold War juxtaposition was visible in the journalists' work every day and many stories handled disagreements between socialist and capitalist countries (Ibid: 423-424).

The political changes at the end of 1980s increased coverage from and about the Soviet Union and its former satellite states. Also, interest in and throughout the rest of Europe increased. In Soviet reporting, Finnish news transmission created its own profile; the standard was created through its own foreign correspondents and stringers, not through international offering, feature material increased from the Soviet Union during the 1980s especially (Kivikuru & Rantanen: 2000: 141,144).

The Finnish media have received news from St Petersburg since 1992 when the Soviet Union disintegrated. Roiha's study reaches until the year 2003 and by that time nine Finnish journalists had been working from St Petersburg. *Turun Sanomat* and STT have assigned foreign correspondents in St Petersburg, which makes them the only Finnish media organisations that have permanent, full-time correspondents outside of Moscow. Also, travelling to St Petersburg to cover news is common (Roiha, 2007: 1-2). Although Finnish foreign correspondents work in Moscow, Northwest Russia has become a more important region for Finland, but there is still no real competition over news as none of the Finnish media organisations have steady foreign correspondents in St Petersburg (Manninen, 2008: 127).

4.3 Development of foreign correspondence and international news

The body of research available on international news is vast and there is a widely accepted notion that international news affects people's understanding of other countries and cultures, and, as a result, also on foreign politics. Foreign news is also interesting because people base important decisions on the information that it delivers. Much of the research on international news has been concentrated on finding out how international news events are reported in different countries and

why certain events are chosen as international news. The aim has been to find out the differences and similarities in reporting globally. International/foreign news is thought to shape and create people's perceptions of the world (Pietiläinen, 1998: 15-16). el-Nawawy has also pointed out that decision-makers rely on information available to them via the news media to formulate state policies. He argues that in periods of conflict, this information is a key factor in influencing government negotiation strategies. He also believes that Western correspondents in Egypt and Israel can enhance the information flow between the two governments in a way that cultural misunderstandings are reduced (el-Nawawy, 2001: 1). Foreign correspondents are important gatekeepers in the flow and information of international news, presenting and shaping our ideas of other cultures and societies. They also have a key role in the process of cultures communicating with each other across cultures, which can be an important factor in the sensitivity issue of understand people from other cultures. As the events in the world continue to exert a growing global impact, the role of foreign correspondents becomes increasingly important requiring closer examination (Starck & Villeneuva, 1992: 4-5). Large-scale opinion surveys indicate that besides the impact of foreign policy, international news reporting can shape the public's knowledge, perception and attitude towards foreign countries (Wu & Hamilton, 2004: 518).

In the 1970s the network of Finnish foreign correspondents increased gradually. Even the smallest party papers created foreign correspondence posts to strategically important locations. Ten years later, in the 1980s, large Finnish media organisations began dismantling their foreign correspondence networks due to high costs. Parachute reporting was becoming more fashionable internationally and the Finnish media companies followed this trend. YLE, for example, terminated its foreign correspondence posts in developing countries. The topics of international news also started following more closely to the interests of the international news agencies: finance, defence, sports and popular culture coverage have increased, whilst the proportion of social politics again began to decrease. Internationally, the portion of foreign news in the Finnish media is high. Throughout its history, the Finnish news industry has been exceptionally interested in the world outside Finland. The proportion of foreign news has stabilised to between 20-35 percent; the share is slightly higher in online channels and the larger dailies. The quantity has not increased in the past years, but during the economic depression of the 90s, the international sections shrank in many papers noticeably. Although the Finnish media organisations are interested in international news, the attention is directed towards Europe. At the end of the 90s, the share of news coming from Europe had stabilised to somewhere between 60-65 percent. Finnish foreign correspondents especially have an important role in covering the nearby regions and countries that international news agencies are not covering thoroughly enough. Because of the increased costs related to international assignments, reporting has focused increasingly on the neighbouring countries of Sweden and Russia (Kivikuru & Rantanen, 2000: 139-140,144, 147-150).

The number of Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow has decreased from the late 1980s and early 1990s, from the Glasnost period when around twenty foreign correspondents worked in the city. The number of Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow resembles a wave like movement, which is partly explained by the fact that Moscow is a very expensive city. At the moment there are around ten Finnish foreign correspondents working in Moscow. When a media organisation does not have its own foreign correspondents, reporting is based on news agency material (Ahonen, et al. 2008: 119). It is an indisputable fact that the U.S. has now become the world's only remaining superpower following the collapse of the Soviet Union (Wu & Hamilton, 2004: 517). The changing balance of power in the world politics is likely to influence the posting of foreign correspondents - Russia no longer a superpower in the sense that it used to be, although its politics in the past few years show that it aspires to become one yet again.

It is good to keep in mind that Finland is the most frequently appearing country in foreign news appearing in the Finnish media, as a linkage to Finland increases the news value. In Pietiläinen's quantitative study conducted on material deriving from 1995, Finland is the most important country in thirty percent of the stories studied, and one out of three most important countries in forty percent of the stories. This means that almost half of the international stories on Finland or Finns have a prominent role in the news. Stories focusing purely on foreign countries constitute half of the stories. The most important countries besides Finland are (in this order) the United States, Sweden, the European Union, Great Britain, France and Russia. The portion of news coming from Asia has also increased, but the share of news from developing countries only accounts for one out of six (Pietiläinen, 1998: 86). Pekonen also found out in her thesis (2005) that as well as covering major, self-evident news from America, there are certain topics that the correspondents follow closely. One of these topics is the position of Finland, the relationship of Finland and America and events taking place in America that have a connection to Finland, including the visits of Finnish heads of state and politicians, the success of Nokia, the achievements of Finnish athletes, as well as Finnish artists and its music industry (Pekonen 2005: 56-57).

Internationally, there is a fairly widespread concern that foreign correspondence as a skilled, continuous, comprehensive, localised or regionalised craft is in some danger in many news organisations. One of the interviewees in Hannerz's study says that foreign correspondence is a dying occupation. In an era of intense globalisation, foreign news has recently been shrinking in many media channels. So, in quantitative terms there has been a decline. Several reasons have been offered; one of them is that media organisations are getting more business-minded than before and economic considerations have taken a more important role. There is a question of whether a large and expensive network of correspondents is balanced or indeed justified by the

number of readers and advertising revenues generated. For most of the media organisations the answer is no. Another explanation for the decrease of international news is that the world was a relatively quiet place in the 90s - the world peace did not generate enough interesting stories. However, this was quickly changed with the events of September the 11th. During the time of conflicts, the space and time devoted to foreign news increases, as does the number of foreign correspondents, although many of these reporters are in fact war correspondents. What can be learnt is that globalisation does not necessarily intensify foreign news reporting. What is also true is that the media landscape is being reconfigured at the moment; there are new ways of finding out information, including specialised publications and the internet (Hannerz, 2004: 24-26).

Like any other form of American journalism, foreign correspondence has evolved over the last 250 years, so that it barely resembles its colonial origins. The foreign correspondent of traditional news media has long enjoyed prestige among professional peers, ranking high in the hierarchy of reporters. This is at least partly explained by the fact that foreign correspondents often have special training as well as their own professional network, journalistic expertise and award systems. In many cases, they also devote large parts of their lives to moving from one overseas bureau to another. Foreign correspondents have a leading role in informing the public, and, at times, even the government about foreign events (Wu & Hamilton, 2004: 519). The same elitism attached to this professionalism comes across from the interviews that Turo Uskali conducted for his doctoral thesis (Uskali, 2003: 15). The Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow belonged to elite networks and mingled with people who they would have been unlikely to know if they had been ordinary journalists working in Finland. Martti Kiuru, who predominantly writes for *Kauppalehti*, but has previously been a foreign correspondent for STT, states in an interview for *Journalisti* that there are two dangers that foreigners easily fall into: cynicism and elitism. Therefore, Kiuru follows Russian life from the suburbs rather than from the area populated by diplomats, also travelling by public transport allows for further interesting insights into Russian life (Kupila, 2009).

John Maxwell Hamilton and Eric Jenner (2004a) argue in their article *Redefining foreign correspondence* that foreign news will be delivered as long as there is a demand for it. Nevertheless, the systems established for people conveying that information are always evolving, in particular the recent and relatively rapid changes in the media environment have led to systematic changes in how we receive news and information from other countries. The economic pressures and technological innovations have especially changed the ways in which foreign news is reported and consumed. Foreign news is now one of the most costly news gathering endeavours. International news appears in new and less traditional packaging (Ibid: 302). These observations lead to a contradictory conclusion – foreign correspondence is simultaneously

becoming more elite, but is no longer the exclusive province of the traditional trench coat wearing journalist, covering news for a network or major print outlet exercising hegemony over foreign news. This paradox results from the fact that while the number of correspondents is decreasing, and therefore the profession is becoming more elite, new forms of foreign correspondence have emerged (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004b: 98). Traditional foreign correspondents have received new members to the club, who offer new possibilities and set new standards for international information gathering available globally. Anne Holohan has conducted 16 interviews with U.S. foreign correspondents who worked in Haiti during the first half of the 1990s; some had been reporting on Haiti for over 30 years, others since the early 1980s and 1990s. Holohan found out that women journalists have brought a new dimension to the experience of foreign correspondence, as have immigrants and non-elite educated correspondents. However, journalists from prestigious news organisations were more likely to be elite educated and male (Holohan, 2003: 739, 741).

The additional categories created by Hamilton and Jenner (2004a), which were introduced in the previous chapter define the modern media environment in terms of foreign news reporting more accurately. Those categories outline that the mass media are not planning to increase the number of foreign correspondents they send abroad, but are looking for cost-saving alternatives. It is not uncommon for a newspaper to budget over $250,000 a year to support a foreign correspondent. According to foreign newspaper editors, this is the greatest obstacle for increasing the use of foreign correspondence. Although this thesis focuses on traditional foreign correspondence, it is important to acknowledge that foreign correspondence has likewise evolved with the changing circumstances in the media landscape. Garrick Utley - a veteran foreign correspondent - has observed that anyone sending information from one country to another is a de facto foreign correspondent. The number of correspondents accredited or not, will rapidly increase. Equipped with camcorders and computers, they will send out and receive more foreign dispatches." (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004b: 99)

According to Wu and Hamilton's study in 2004, 69 percent of foreign correspondents reporting to American media are foreign nationals. This is especially striking because foreign nationals outnumber American correspondents in all news mediums. One strong argument for using foreign nationals is that these reporters will bring a deeper understanding of the nuances of foreign countries to their stories and diversity to perspectives. In reality this might not be the case since according to many studies a universal news value system has emerged and journalist are becoming part of a global elite that attend the same universities, read the same books, speak the same language and share similar political agendas (Wu & Hamilton, 2004: 519, 521, 528).

Although the main motivation behind hiring foreigners is economical – foreign nationals command lower salaries and require less in the way of special allowances, increasing globalisation diminishes the cultural and political rift that was once the basic reason for sending Americans in the first place. In the past editors worried that foreign correspondents would 'go native' and lose their perspective and that is why they were flown back to their home country on a regular basis to distance themselves from the events and culture in the foreign country they were covering. Hiring *foreign foreign correspondents* shows that 'going native' is no longer the professional sin it once was (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004a: 306, 313). This is interesting when thinking about Finnish-Moscow correspondents, because from the very beginning the purpose was to report and interpret Russia from a Finnish point of view. For instance, Uskali notes that when the first Finnish-Moscow correspondents started working in the late 1950s, they became a part of long tradition – they became creators and intermediates of the Soviet image in Finland (Uskali, 2003: 51). Pekka Silvola, Director of Programming, YLE has said that "These overseas news agencies reported the events more or less how they were. But with foreign correspondence we wanted the exact same, but from the Finnish point of view, for the Finns…."[3] (Ibid: 15).

Despite the challenges and changes that Hamilton and Jenner have observed within the landscape of foreign correspondence, the focus of this thesis is on traditional foreign correspondence. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the surrounding debate and changing nature of foreign correspondence has altered the character of traditional foreign correspondence as well. Hiring foreign nationals has had a definitive impact, if not only on reporting at least on how the profession is perceived on a larger scale. Starck and Villanueva have not taken into an account in their study the fact that most of the correspondents working for the American media are foreign nationals. This imperfection comes across within their definition of foreign correspondence. Deeper awareness towards the actual state and existence of foreign correspondence today would have probably provided more varied research results when studying the meaning of cultural framing on foreign correspondents' work. At the same time, it seems inevitable when talking about foreign correspondence on a general level that foreign correspondents could do a better job of accurately and sensitively depicting other cultures if they themselves were more aware of the role of culture in their work (Starck & Villanueva, 1992: 8). Mohammed el-Nawawy, who has studied Western correspondents' perceptions of the Egyptian and Israeli cultures, emphasises that familiarity with language and religion does not fully capture how the correspondents cope with a specific culture. Correspondents' answers to the open-ended question of culture showed that there is more to culture than just language and religion (el-Nawawy, 2001: 11). The meaning of cultural framing on

[3] "Nämä ulkomaiset uutistoimistot kyllä kertoivat asiat niin kuin ne ovat suurin piirtein. Mutta kirjeenvaihtotoiminnalla haluttiin saada juuri tämä samanlainen, niin kuin suomalaisesta näkökulmasta, suomalaisille, tässä mielessä kirjeenvaihtajaverkostoa alettiin kehittää."

foreign correspondents' work is definitely an interesting factor to explore, and will be tackled in greater depth in the analysis below, especially in the chapter focusing on 'Ideological differences'.

According to the research conducted on Finnish foreign correspondence (Uskali, 2003) it still seems to be important that events in Russia are interpreted from a Finnish point of view and for the Finns, whereas in America this has not been considered crucial for some time. Naturally, the language barrier prevents foreigners working for the Finnish media to some extent, but it is possible that a transforming Finnish society will require more in terms of nuances and perspectives when it comes to reporting on foreign countries. These demands are tied to the notion of globalisation and to the fact that the Finnish society is becoming more heterogeneous and international through opportunities for Finns abroad and increasing immigration, which indisputably affects all the spheres of society, including media and mass communication. Ullamaija Kivikuru (1995) writes that the Nordic public service broadcasting companies justify the employment of foreign correspondents with the need of having a domestic angle in world news, which in her opinion might create an obstacle when trying to understand the scale of the reported event. The need of the domestic angle may result in a situation where the reported event may be emphasised in a peculiar way (105). Journalists may, for instance, go to great lengths when studying the possibility of terrorist attacks in Finland in the aftermath of September the 11th, searching for potential links that fundamentalists may have in Finland or in the other Nordic countries. As a result, the end product may appear as even comical.

Foreign correspondence is evolving and new ways to find information, including the Internet, have emerged. The internet can create a distribution network that rivals the reach of any single media chain. Any individuals, including amateur correspondents, can publish stories on the internet. New media have also lowered the costs required for publishing and broadcasting. (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004a: 314, 308). "Sources for foreign news are proliferating. The audience - fragmented and active - is far better able to choose and even shape the news." (Ibid: 308). With the internet, media companies have been able to create special wires, such as Bloomberg News, Reuters and Dow Jones. In-house news and information gathering have also become easier and more economical. But maybe most important of all, consumers have more choice, they can choose what they want to read, view or listen to; for example, people with a particular interest in another part of the world can read foreign newspapers on-line (Ibid: 309-310). Hannerz considers newspaper reading as a ritual that is unlikely to die out. He believes that the majority of people will tend to expect that they can rely on the mainstream media to offer them what they need (Hannerz, 2004:26). I believe that people will not be that faithful to mainstream publications in the future and the ritual of news reading and watching will also transform. This will happen fairly slowly, but the business of

producing news and features is changing without question. For example, the circulation of *Helsingin Sanomat* has declined for several years already.[4]

One recent and strong example is from the U.S. During the Israel-Hamas conflict in Gaza in February 2008 American viewership of Al-Jazeera English rose dramatically, partly because the Al-Jazeera reporters were inside Gaza, while international networks such as CNN were barred by Israel from sending reporters in throughout the uprising. Israeli TV focused mostly on Israeli casualty reports and Hamas rocket barrages. The station's Web-video stream saw a 600 percent jump in worldwide viewership during the Gaza offensive; about 60 percent of those hits came from the United States according to the station's internal figures. The station streamed video of Israel's offensive against Hamas on the Internet and took advantage of emerging online media, such as microblogging and Twitter website to provide real-time updates. The jump in viewership reflects wider trends in global media, where the web is increasingly the place where viewers go to watch video and use social networking sites, whilst citizen journalism is merging with traditional news coverage (Surk & Schreck, 2009). Also Uskali (2007) writes about the revolution of the Internet, although he reminds that it is still predominantly a Western phenomenon. Still, readers are able to follow more and more international information sources in real time - in 2006 young people in the U.S. read more news from the Internet than from newspapers. Uskali argues that the rapid growth of the Internet has diminished the role of large international mass communications channels that have traditionally been significant gatekeepers. Especially audiences skilled in languages have a larger variety of information in their hands. Because of the Internet the news landscape is becoming more disintegrated and tailored: consumers can choose from the Internet a certain topic and geographical location they are following and gain in-depth knowledge of the chosen area. The traditional media again has been offering an all-rounded view of the world, although there are geographical distortions as mentioned earlier (256-257, 266).

If scaling down foreign news operations with time and space devoted to foreign affairs continues shrinking there is strong reason for being concerned. Policy-making depends on public opinion and uninformed citizens cannot be expected to generate opinions. In this sense, foreign affairs are in fact local affairs. International news reporting and foreign correspondents are important for good foreign policy (Wu & Hamilton, 2004: 529). Although there is wide-spread concern that foreign correspondence is declining internationally, a closer inspection shows that the same trend is not completely followed in Finland. The Finnish media has been interested in other countries throughout its history and Finland has a strong tradition of following international news. At the

[4] The circulation of *Helsingin Sanomat* during the past seven years: 2001: 446 380, 2002: 441 325, 2003: 439 618, 2004: 434 472, 2005: 430 785, 2006: 426 117, 2007: 419 791 and 2008: 412 421 (source: Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations)

moment there are approximately one hundred Finnish foreign correspondents and stringers working abroad, which means that proportionally Finland has a fairly large number of foreign correspondents. In other countries journalists travel more and news organisations have more stringers working for them. In the U.S. large media organisations have ramped down their foreign correspondence networks. One reason for this change is the transfer of international news to the Internet, which does not produce significant profits for media organisations. The biggest threat is lack of money, also in Finland. In the 1990s, the media became more cost-efficient and during the twenty first century the Internet caused huge changes. It is still the same countries that are interesting; those nearby or economically interesting. Africa and South-America again are left in the shadows (Luoma-aho & Pylväs, 2008). This geographical distortion has brought forward alternative, international news practices. By alternative international news reporting Uskali (2007) refers to a broader/different viewpoint of the world than what the Western news reporting is offering, or to new ways of reporting, such as civic journalism. One example is Inter Press Service (IPS) that writes about developing countries aiming to give a voice to the poor. (238, 241-242).

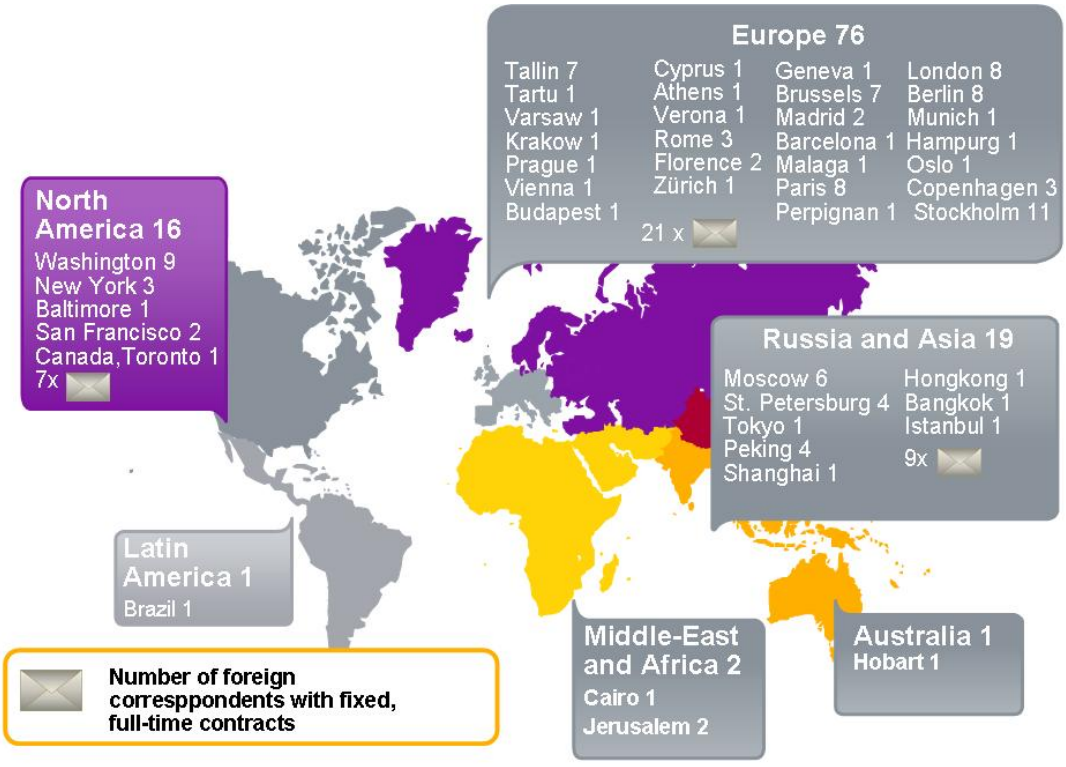

Figure 1.2. A map of Finnish foreign correspondents in the world - adapted and modified from the graphic provided in *Journalisti* (Luoma-aho & Pylväs, 2008). I have also updated the number of foreign correspondents in Moscow for the map.

During the past years Russia has become a more difficult country for journalists to work in: freedom of the press has been tightened during Putin's presidency. According to the Centre for Journalists in Extreme Situations, organisation work permits have been rejected or cancelled for over forty journalists after the year 2000. Common for these journalists is that they have been writing critically about Chechnya (Aro, 2008). I will study whether these acclaimed changes have realised in the Finnish foreign correspondents' work in the twenty first century. Have the changes in the state politics influenced the foreign correspondents' and how?

4.4 The Soviet Union and Russia in the Finnish media

Although the representation of Russia is not the focus of my thesis, I will consider it important to shed some light on how Russia and the Soviet Union have been traditionally portrayed in the Finnish media. With this information it will be easier to reflect upon and understand something about the surroundings and working conditions in which Finnish foreign correspondents are working today. How Russia and Russians have been represented by the Finnish media today is the development of a history that has taken place throughout preceding centuries. Myths and expressions on Russians and attitudes related to them are still in the depths of the Finnish language and culture (Raittila, 2001:125).

The Russophobia in Finland has its roots in the Western European tradition that perceived Russia as an eastern tyranny with a strange culture and heretical religion. This image has been re-produced during the political and military conflicts between Russia and Finland. Russia was criticised in the nineteenth century because of its authoritarianism and backward-looking political views when liberalism, nationalism and socialism appeared in Europe. Finland was established as an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in 1809, and for the most part of that autonomy the relations between Finland and Russia were friendlier compared to other countries bordering Russia. When the autonomy ended growing oppression led to a conflict between Finland and the Russian government. When the Whites gained their victory in the Civil War in Finland, a large campaign was launched to establish anti-Russian and anti-Soviet sentiments: the relationship between the Finns and Russians became politicised. Through this propaganda the young Finnish state was able to consolidate its national identity, although developments taking place in the Soviet Union provided excellent building blocks for the enemy image in creation. Yet the conception of Russia was largely obtained from Finland's own domestic developments and the traumatic memories of the Civil War. The image of Russians created between 1918 and 1944 represented the Russians as an inferior race and as a threat to Western civilisation. This was reinforced in Finland in 1939 and 1944 when the two wars between Finland and Russia took place. This

happened through personal experiences and war propaganda. After 1944, the politicisation changed direction dramatically; in the government statements and the mass media the war propaganda was replaced by expressions of friendship and confidence. The peace treaty between Russia and Finland required that any organisation that spread Russophobia was discontinued and hostile criticism towards the Soviet system was removed from the public domain. The period of Finlandisation meant self-censorship and guardedness, rather than outright censorship. However, ordinary citizens' opinions changed slower than the public image (Raittila, 2003: 153-154). Matti Klinge (2006) argues that the modern Russophobia was first a political movement and then carried on by intellectuals - it was mostly intellectuals who organised the propaganda. According to him the suppression of Polish rebellion in 1830 was a starting point for Russophobia in Western Europe, but in Finland Russophobia started to develop in the 20s. Later on, fear of Communism turned into anti-Russian feelings. Klinge says that Russophobia should have ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union and there must be a reason why it continues as anti-Russianism. Klinge thinks that mental images and pre-conceptions people have on Russia play a big part in this 'phobia'. He notes that it is difficult to examine Russophobia, because the context surrounding it is so complicated.

In his study on Perestroika and changing neighbour images in Finland Raittila (1989), found out that political and ideological factors played an important role in the Finnish image of the Soviet Union. However, the most important finding was that the Finns with different backgrounds had a very similar view of the life of Soviet people and on topical social problems. Before the advent of glasnost there had been a limited public debate in Finland on social problems, such as pollution, food shortages and alcoholism in the Soviet Union. A frequent reference was made to these problems in the study. Raittila writes that the Finnish media has a tendency to highlight these problems and weaknesses, whereas limited coverage is given to other aspects of Soviet society (7, 40, 57).

Finnish researchers have studied the period of Finlandisation and self-censorship rather extensively during the past few years and given various definitions to the phenomenon. Esko Salminen (1996) considers the self-censorship of Finnish journalism during the 1960s as one form Finlandisation. It is an internal control mechanism within Finnish journalism directed towards writings on foreign politics, taking place voluntarily or partly voluntarily, especially publishers and journalists avoided criticism directed at the Soviet Union and other socialist states at the time. Self-censorship took place because there were certain risks involved in Eastern politics, but it was also used as a weapon of power politics (21). Martti Valkonen (1998) thinks that Finlandisation was a national/individual choice and even a technique used to enhance one's career prospects. Self-censorship was silence, Finlandisation embroidering (33). Finlandisation is a larger concept

defining the political climate of that period, whereas self-censorship was realised in individuals' worlds, such as in foreign correspondents' work and in choices that they made. Kaarle Nordensteng (2001) argues that Finlandisation was not as common in the Finnish media than what has been believed afterwards: the portrayal of the Soviet Union was scarce, but fairly comprehensive in the Finnish media - yet, Finlandisation was unhealthy among the political elite. Nordenstreng backs up his opinion by several international studies that have been conducted on international news. For example Kivikuru's and Pietiläinen's (1998) study shows that the international news in Finland has more or less followed the Western European pattern, even though the stories on Eastern Europe have been slightly more approving, but in general news streams have been fairly comprehensive and Westernised. Also professional practices and codes of professionalism are Western. Nordenstreng agrees that the performance of the Finnish media was not ideal and there were many weaknesses, also self-censorship till some extent, but with an international outlook the Finnish journalism performed well during that time (219-223).

Uskali believes that the individual foreign correspondent was able to choose how much Finlandisation and self-censorship was emphasised in his or her journalistic work, although the political orientation of the news medium decided to some extent what was required from a journalist (Uskali, 2003: 63). Aarno Tanninen, who worked as a foreign correspondent in Moscow between 1958 and1963 and as a news editor for YLE in Finland, tells in an interview for *Journalisti* that the Soviet period was tough for journalists, because the political climate caused all kinds of problems including carefulness and pondering. When Tanninen started at YLE he was suspected of supporting censorship and it took some time to get rid of this unpleasant reputation (Arvaja, 2008). When the Soviet Union collapsed at the beginning of the 1990s, caution and 'political correctness' towards Russians was no longer needed. Communism, which had been a risk for the Finnish political orientation, was no longer threatening anymore. The new potential threats were mass immigration, prostitution, drugs and other crime (Raittila, 2001: 125-126).

The ethnic other is understood as different from 'our people' in Western thinking. Ethnic differentiation is a continuous, developing process that can be based on origins, history or special cultural features. It does not automatically mean inequality between different groups, but it can act as a basis for discrimination and concealed racism. Ethnic otherness may also constitute a threat being an enemy. The ethnic otherness may also serve a different function, a state may employ enemy images purposefully when creating and strengthening national identity. Stuart Hall locates his well-known notions on otherness, identity and racism in the context of colonialist societies that cannot be applied to Finland. The otherness of Russians, Ingrians and Estonians, the largest immigrant groups in Finland, is based on cultural and political issues, as their physical appearance is not much different to that of Finns. That is why Raittila employs a historical standpoint in his

research when looking at the representation of Estonians and Russians in the Finnish media (Raittila, 2003: 151-152),

Raittila's analysis on Russians living or visiting Finland is based on a project, where 195 articles from 1999 through 2000 from the Finnish media were analysed, especially from the point of view of the production and deconstruction of otherness. The most important feature producing otherness in Russians was the high percentage of crime news, in nearly half of all the stories studied. Russian criminals were almost without exception distinguished as 'Russians' - as a comparison Finnish criminals were usually identified by age or by their place of residence. There is a possibility that classifying criminals as Russians reproduces the image of a stereotypical Russian'. However, it also possible that these criminals are treated as exceptions, not belonging to the category of 'generalised Russian'. Besides crime, the largest theme in the articles studied was the problems of Russian immigrants adjusting to their new country. Tourism, temporary labourers and berry pickers were some of the more positive stories. The Russians were objects in the majority of the stories and subjects only in one third of the stories dealing with themselves. The stories were monologue-like and lacked interaction between minorities and the majority population, crime news being an exception. However, this is unlikely to deconstruct the negative category of the 'generalised Russian', because all but one of the dialogic crime news stories were reports of litigation cases. Finnish journalism towards Russians is accurate, but structurally distorted. These distortions derive partly from the journalistic routines; the domination of the sources of authority easily obtainable, the monologic nature of articles, the tendency to write on crime rather than on more positive themes and the unnecessary weight given to ethnic background in connection with crime stories. The Russians are mainly covered as faceless criminals who have little interaction with Finns - they are the objects of news journalism. Generalised Russianism was constructed from the large quantity of crime news and from tolerant articles, where the Russians were the object of Finnish compassion. The media texts studied on Russians can be looked at in relation to the construction of Finnish identity - journalism built up attitudes of the superiority of the Finns towards Russians. However, the politicising of Russianism and the threat of Russia are part of the old mythical image of Russians that did not come across in Raittila's study. (Raittila, 159-164).

Susanna Niinivaara, currently a foreign correspondent of *Helsingin Sanomat* tells in an interview for *Journalisti* that she has been accused of giving both a too negative and a too positive representation of Russia. She has received feedback especially on the War in Chechnya and on reporting handling human rights violations in Russia (Aro, 2008). Also Kalle Koponen has been accused on writing too negative news on Russia (Uskali, 2007: 215). Juha Rahkonen (2006), whose dissertation handles the public discussion about Finland's NATO membership, criticises the negative representation of Russia in the Finnish media. According to him, particularly the older

male generation currently leading the Finnish media is suspicious towards Russia and this comes across especially in columns and editorials. News on Russia mainly deal with corruption, crime, lack of democracy and other problems. Rahkonen acknowledges that the Russian society has many deficiencies, but the reporting is too much focused on them and the NATO-discussion is often motivated, typically indirectly, by the potential threat of Russia. Uskali criticises Rahkonen saying that news distortion is part of the Western news tradition and not only a Finnish phenomenon (Uskali, 2007: 215). Pietiläinen (2009) looked at the recent Russia-Georgia War and the representation of it in the Finnish, Russian and Estonian newspapers. Perhaps surprisingly, the Russian media provided the most versatile image of the war. Many Russian papers reported the conflict from both sides, albeit Russia's role was covered with a slightly positive spin. Even though the Finnish papers (*Aamulehti* and *Helsingin Sanomat*) mentioned that Georgia was the first to attack the reporting on Russia's counter attack soon hid this fact. Pietiläinen considers it slightly peculiar that the Finnish journalists moved from Moscow to Georgia to report. As a result, the reporting supported Georgia, which was not balanced enough with other materials. Pietiläinen acknowledges that this can be difficult though, because there are not many researchers, who are specialised in the region (69, 73-74).

Anna-Lena Laurén, who nowadays works as a foreign correspondent in Moscow, writes in *Idäntutkimus* that the Finnish media has never been able to handle Russia in the same way as other countries are, and the symptoms of Finlandisation are carved deep inside. In saying this she means that Finnish journalists would not have the courage to write about problems between Finland and Russia or about Russia's own domestic difficulties, but the Finnish journalists have not been able to detach themselves from their own preconceptions on Russia. They have an aim to portray Russia in a way that adheres more of their own perceptions rather than reality. Russia is full of interesting stories, but the Finnish media concentrates on crime, AIDS, the mafia and Putin's autocracy. Laurén acknowledges that these topics are important to cover because they are based in reality, but the readers and listeners should be offered a more profound and well-rounded image of Russia. This one-sided perception of Russia originates partly in the fact that the identity of the Finnish people is so attached to Russia: throughout history, the Finns have defined themselves as the opposite of Russians, Laurén believes. The Finns do not want to change their perception because it would require a drastic change in their own thinking. That is why it is easy to understand why the portrayal of Russia is so one-dimensional in Finland. The future does not look, in Laurén's mind, much more optimistic because knowledge of and interest in Russia among Finnish journalists is weak. Also, the development taking place in Russia does not improve the normalisation process (Laurén, 2004:21-22).

Martti Hosia, who has worked as a foreign correspondent in Moscow, feels that due to Russia's closeness there is a certain prejudice involved with everyday, ordinary stories about Russia, and he wants to take the Finns by surprise. Kalle Schönberg, who used to work for *Taloussanomat* from Moscow, considers the Finns' strong knowledge of Russia partly as a myth and he feels a certain responsibility when reporting from Russia. There are not many Finnish journalists working in the country and he is in the important position of creating a picture of the Russian economy and society in Finland. The task is fairly complicated, because the events taking place in Russia are complex and hard to explain for Finnish readers. There are many stereotypes circulating on Russia and Schönberg does not want to strengthen them, but instead tries to inform on Russia as broadly as possible (Koikkalainen, 2001: 127-129).

Daily life has changed a lot in Russia during the past ten years, but this change is rarely covered in the Finnish media. The news production routines require hard news from Russia nearly every day, which means that culture, economics and reportage trips are in an inferior position (Ahonen, et al. 2008: 118-119). Manninen considers in her article that the quality of stories handling Russia has increased as has the knowledge of Finnish journalists on Russia. However, more journalists with sufficient language skills and knowledge of the culture are required, so that a trustworthy image of Russia would be portrayed. In Manninen's opinion, a strong prejudice paints the coverage currently (Manninen, 2008:127). Is this really the situation in today's media, and, if so, how are the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow responding to these claims? Have the correspondents set goals for themselves that seek to balance the representations? And if these claims are confirmed by them, why is Russia portrayed in the Finnish media in such a way?

PART TWO: OWN STUDY
5. The research process

The objective of this study is to carry out a qualitative examination on Finnish foreign correspondents based in Moscow. Focused interviews conducted in Moscow, Helsinki and Tampere during 2007 and 2008 constitute the main body of this research.

In this chapter, I give more detailed information about the research process; I introduce the research material, describe how it was collected and explain how the material was analysed. All this is essential for the validity and reliability of qualitative research.

5.1 Research material

The empirical part of this study consists of eight focused interviews with foreign correspondents. Five of the interviewees were working in Moscow as foreign correspondents when the interviews were conducted, and three were ex-foreign correspondents who had been working in Moscow between 2000 and 2007.

My original plan was to interview journalists, who were working as foreign correspondents in Moscow at the time of the interviews. I changed my mind and decided to expand the scope and interview three ex-foreign correspondents additionally, because otherwise the number of interviewees would have been too small for drawing credible analysis. However, I limited the time so that all the interviewees had been working in Moscow in 2000 or later, basically starting when Putin was elected as president of the Russia Federation. This makes the group of interviewees more unified, as they have worked in similar political, economic and cultural circumstances.

Six of the respondents are men and two are women. They all have a university education; work experience within the field of journalism varies from fairly inexperienced (app. three to four years) to very experienced (app. twenty years). Five interviewees had gained 5-10 years' work experience before going in Moscow. The educational and professional backgrounds of the interviewees are examined in more depth in the analysis section.

The interviewees worked and had worked for the following media: *Helsingin Sanomat* (two interviewees), *YLE* (two), FST (one), *Taloussanomat* (one), *Aamulehti* (one) and *STT* (one). The variety of media organisations is rather large and covers different mediums - radio, print and

television. Because of the limited number of potential interviewees, it did not make sense to limit the study on one of these communication mediums, especially because the differences between mediums are not that significant for this study. Another important reason is that I am examining the Finnish foreign correspondence in Moscow as a whole entity, which again means that different mediums have to be taken into account. The correspondents interviewed are referred in citations by numbers (1, 2, 3, etc.) in order to maintain them anonymous.

I did not have to go through a specific selection process, because there are not that many foreign correspondents in Moscow. It was relatively uncomplicated to find first contact points, as the Finnish embassy in Russia lists all the foreign correspondents working in Moscow and St Petersburg on their website. Before heading to Moscow, I carried out two interviews in Finland, one in Helsinki and one in Tampere during January 2007. The first interview acted as a 'test interview' giving me an opportunity to tryout the interview themes in practice and it provided valuable information about the work of foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union (the interviewee worked in the Soviet Union). Even though this data is not included in the study the experience was helpful, and as a result I slightly modified the interview design. The results of gaining some behind the scenes, first-hand information enabled me to feel more confident when stepping out into the 'real' situation. Both of the interviewees were recommended to me by a mutual friend.

I approached the foreign correspondents working in Moscow with an email and all of them were willing to take part in the study. Through one of the interviewees, I became acquainted with one ex-foreign correspondent still living and working in Moscow, but in another role. He was also interviewed. The same helpful interviewee also offered me a place to stay while in Moscow and even organised a driver to pick me up from the train station, as well as take me there when I left. All in all, I conducted six interviews in Moscow during 2-4.3.2007. One ex-foreign correspondent was mentioned in many interviews, as he had been in Moscow from 2000 to 2006 and had experienced many major-scale events, such as the second Chechen War and metro bombings. I thought that it was a great idea to hear more about his encounters first-hand, as well as expand the research material with one more interview.

In reflection, it is interesting to notice that three of my interviewees were found using the snowball sampling method in which initial contact with an informant generates further contacts. Maximum variation sampling was also used in my study that aims to capture as wide a range of 'qualities' or phenomena as possible (Jensen, 2002: 238-239).

Choosing the respondents is not straightforward and it is important to bear in mind the power and knowledge relations in the methodology; I have chosen certain voices and simultaneously other

voices are being included. This, of course, refers to the empirical data, as well as to the literal sources employed. The power and responsibility are in the hands of the researcher. This all comes down to transparency; talking openly and explaining why these people and literature are being included. I am fully aware that interviews with managers from news organisations on this same topic would have generated different results, for example.

5.2 Collecting research material with semi-structured interviews

Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2000) recommend interviewing as a research method when the phenomenon being studied is fairly unexplored and it is hard for the researcher to know where the answers are going to lead. It is possible to seek/ask for clarification with answers, to go deeper into the subject matter, and to ask for explanations and further questions with focused interviews. Additionally, difficult and sensitive topics can be brought up. The person being interviewed should be considered as a subject and given an opportunity to bring forward topics that concern him as freely as possible. Being a subject means the interviewee is an active participant in the study - an individual who creates meanings. Interviews are always co-constructured (35, 49). Regardless of the degree of standardisation and structure, all interviews are interactional generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997: 113).

I have chosen the focused interview - often called semi-structured or thematised interviews - as the research method of this thesis. Focused interviews are used when it is known that the interviewees have experienced a certain situation. Before interviewing, the social scientist has done some preliminary work and gone through some key parts, structures and processes on the phenomenon under study, getting an idea of the bigger picture. Based on this analysis she or he has drawn certain conclusions and creates an interview framework. Finally, interviewees talk about their subjective experiences and the situations that the researcher has already pre-analysed (ibid: 47).

A focused interview means that the interview focuses on certain themes in the interviewee's life world. It is neither strictly structured with standardised questions nor entirely non-directive. The task of the interviewer is to keep the pre-chosen themes the focus of attention in the interview within different perspectives and contexts. The respondents then create the dimension they find relevant within those themes or focus areas. The researcher leads the subject toward certain themes, but not to certain opinions about these themes (Kvale, 1996: 31, 34). The themes are the same for all interviewees, but they are not tackled in any specific order or form (ibid: 48).

It might not be possible to provide a mirror reflection of the social world that positivists aim for, but interviewing may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds (Miller & Glassner, 1997: 100). When focusing on social meanings and/or perceptions (Silverman, 2005:96) and describing phenomena or events, understanding certain actions or on giving a meaningful interpretation on certain occurrences, qualitative research methods, especially interviewing, is recommendable (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2002: 87-88). Qualitative interviews allow more flexibility in asking questions and the respondents were able to express their views in a more comprehensive way.

5.3 Evaluating the interviews

How interviewees respond to researchers based on who we are – in their lives, as well as the social categories to which we belong, such as age, gender, class and race - is a practical concern as well as an epistemological or theoretical one (Miller & Glassner, 1997:101). This difference might be emphasised when we study groups that we do not share membership with. Because of the social distances, interviewees might not trust researchers, understand the questions or purposely mislead. It is also possible that a researcher does not know enough about the phenomenon under scrutiny to ask the right questions (ibid: 101).

I do not share a membership with foreign correspondents, and I think that this factor has its benefits and disadvantages. The interviewees might be more willing to disclose sensitive information to someone who is not part of the reference group, as the group of Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow is fairly close knit; all of them know each other. As an outsider, I might have asked questions that an insider would have considered trivial and not asked. Majoring in journalism and having some work experience in the field, although not in foreign correspondence, means that I am not a total outsider. Because of the small number of respondents it is not meaningful to draw generalisations, but it is rather interesting that I spent some informal time outside the interviews with the two female respondents, who are close in age to myself. The interviews with them produced some of the best data, as the atmosphere was very relaxed and more open. Reflecting back, the difference between me and the group under scrutiny was emphasised more in two interviews. One interviewee coming from a different academic background was clearly questioning the validity and reliability of my study:

> Studies conducted on journalists and on their doings… they sound quite exotic. What methods are being used...? (2)

I explained to him what kind of methods are being used in media and mass communications research and why. It is possible that his comment was said in order to take control and show

authority – or because the person was curious to know more about mass communications research.

No matter what kinds of questions and comments come up, the interviewer has to act professionally. Remaining task-centred and gaining information are the most important things for generating valuable research data. There are also other important objectives that should be kept in mind when carrying out the interviews; focused interviews should be conversational and free flowing. Traditionally, a certain 'emotional detachment' from the conversation has been recommend, meaning that a researcher's own role should be minimised; involving one's own opinions and debating are not advised. This is sometimes difficult in a focused interview and the researcher has to be flexible (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2000: 97-98). I did not follow the last guidance that strictly and used my social intelligence and sensitivity in the interviews; this, in my opinion, generated the best results. Warming up in the beginning with more general questions acted as a good indication on what kind path to take. I did not start debating with the interviewees, but in a few instances slight provocation produced enthusiastic responses. I agree with Mörä (1999) that giving technical and general guidance on interviews is difficult. Behind a successful interview are more or less relevant topics for the interviewee, the right method and the researcher's social skills to grasp the situations (23).

There are some ethical guidelines that should be kept in mind when conducting a qualitative study. Informed consent means that the researcher gives information about the research, so subject's can be decided upon and the interviewee can then decide whether or not to take part and to make sure that they understand the given information. This involves a certain balance between detailed over-information and not giving enough information (Silverman, 2005:258). Also, the protection of the subject's privacy is important. Information potentially recognisable to others should be hidden or disguised (Kvale, 1996:114). As mentioned before the citations that I have used are anonymous, but due to the small number of Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow, in some cases, their identity might be recognisable.

Many people do not want themselves revealed in their totality - it is important to recognise and acknowledge this, because there is a possibility to understand our respondent's even deeper (Miller & Glassner, 1997:103). It is also possible that subjects do not always say what they think, or mean what they say - giving socially acceptable answers is also possible (Jensen, 2002:240).

Like Turo Uskali in his dissertation (2003), I have divided the respondents according to their openness; five interviewees were open and three were slightly reserved. I considered one of the interviews quite difficult, because the respondent was giving one word answers. Luckily, the

interaction loosened up towards the end and I was able to gather some interesting insights. Here is a short extract from the difficult beginning, where the subject tries to conceal his opinion:

> **(Interviewer) Has your perception on Russia changed during the years that you have lived here?**
> Not really, not much. Maybe it has a little bit; I could put it this way.
>
> **What way?**
> Maybe I'm less prejudiced.
>
> **What kind of prejudice did you have against Russia?**
> I shouldn't have said anything (laughs). Let's say that when you follow the economics, there's a fairly common prejudice on Russians' general work moral…I had this too, but my perception on that has improved.

One reason why some of the respondents were reserved might be that they have the reading audience in mind. Some of their professional peers might come across this thesis, at least their Finnish colleagues (or ex) in Moscow, who took part in the study. Because the group is so small and its members know each other they are likely to recognise each other from the citations, not revealing all their thoughts on the topic under study might originate from a will to protect themselves, professionally and personally. I realised this, because one of the interviewees was trying to find out how one of his colleagues replied to my questions (I did not, of course, disclose the information). Tight groups are likely to have ongoing internal politics and unwritten rules that an outsider does not have an access to. This is an important factor to mention, because this may have had some influence over the interviews. I noticed on one occasion that a respondent was protecting his colleagues when I asked about declined working accredits to Moscow - he did not want to continue the discussion.

I think that the foreign correspondents were partially enthusiastic about helping me by taking part in this research, because it handles their profession, journalism, and, more precisely, foreign correspondence. Being comfortable with the topic and having expert knowledge on the subject under study are likely to ease the interview situations. All interviews took place in a relaxed, conversational manner; we covered the interview themes, but I managed to find out valuable information from the side walks that we took. The interviewees were keen on discussing Russia as a society and the topics around this theme produced the most interesting data. The foreign correspondents seemed to enjoy the interviews, and, in a way, I felt like they were also willing to discuss their experiences with someone. I gather that their work life is so hectic due to today's 24 hour rolling news that not being able to reflect and analyse is common place.

The interviews lasted from 52 minutes to over two hours[5]. Two of the interviews took place in a cafe (Moscow and Helsinki), three interviews in foreign correspondents' home and three in an office (Moscow and Tampere). The place of an interview did not influence the quality, although the tape recorder had did pick up all the possible noises from the cafes, which made the transcribing quite hard. I transcribed the first set of interviews approximately three months after they were recorded. It was a long process, because I have been working full-time while completing this study, and I transcribed all the interviews myself. I transcribed the interviews word-for-word, but did not pay attention to non-verbalisms, such as stuttering, lengths of pauses and softer tones. I did not see this as contributing any extra value to the interviews, because I am not using conservation analysis. However, I noted if the interviewee was being ironic, laughed or hesitated. Deletes I have marked with three lines. In the end, I had all-in-all 180 pages of transcribed text.

All the interviews remained more or less in the pre-planned themes, although we took many unplanned side routes. I encouraged this on many occasions, because the idea of half-structured interviews is to discover something new and unplanned new as well. The foreign correspondents are great at expressing themselves verbally and it is easy to understand their thinking, as it is so well-packaged. Looking back, it would have been beneficial to stay in Moscow a bit longer, as it was quite intense to conduct six interviews in two days. A week or two would have been ideal, but I found this too difficult because of my work. However, staying in one of the respondents' guest room and spending some time together outside the interview, brought me far closer to the foreign correspondents' world than staying in a hotel would have done. In general, the journalists were able to give constructive criticism and analysis on journalism, Finland, Russia and their own work, which created a pleasant, trustworthy atmosphere in the interviews.

It is always possible that I have interpreted interviewees' responses in a way that was not intended, which means that these interpretations tell more about the researcher (me) than about the object of study. Communication between people always involves this risk. Like Mörä, I too have tried to make my thinking as transparent as possible by using direct citations from the respondents (Mörä, 1999:27).

5.4 Analysing the interviews

The research material is represented at several levels, from the moment of interviewing through to the reading and textual presentation of the findings and conclusions: attending to the experience, transcribing, analysing what has been said and the reading (Miller & Glassner, 1997:101).

[5] The interviews durations: 1) 1h 40 min. 2) 1h 30 min. 3) 2h 20 min. 4) 2h 10min. 5) 1h 10min. 6) 1h 30min. 7) 1h 40min. 8) 1h

Interviews are not simply representations of what people think. All interviews are actions, arising from an interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Interview statements are data or material that becomes a source of information through analysis and interpretation (Jensen, 2002:240). How the research material is analysed should be considered before conducting the interviews, and often the analysis takes place during the interviewing itself. Choosing and modifying the research problem, definitions and notions are part of the analysis process. A researcher creates analysis based on the observable facts, the different forms of culture and the situations taking place in the field, and, if not systematically, at least in his mind (Grönfors, 1982: 145).

There are no standard methods of text analysis compared to the large number of techniques available for statistical analysis. Kvale (1996) thinks that this may be partly due to the richness and complexity of the subject matter (181).

The reporting of qualitative studies can get too extensive, and that is why the researcher has to be able to classify and decide what kind of importance each phenomenon conveys and what to focus on. The fact that everything is not of equal importance does not endanger objectivity, and it is critical to be able to recognise meaningful factors for the research. Placing the interview data in a right context, such as time, place and culture, often helps in the understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2000: 146).

According to Alasuutari, qualitative analysis contains two stages: the purification of observations and unriddling, which is called interpretation of findings in empirical social research. These phases do not follow each other chronologically, but overlap and intertwine in the analysing process. The purification of observation means that the research material is viewed from a certain theoretical and methodological point of view. In this study the hierarchy of influences approach by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese and Mörä's Liane model have all been used in order to create the themes for the focused interviews and for categorising the answers for further analysis (Alasuutari, 1995: 13, 16). So, my study is a qualitative content analysis that uses a principally already existing theoretical framework (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2000: 153).

The themes used in the focused interview offer already classifications that are needed in the analysis phase. Classifying the data has to be done so that comparisons can be made and different types can be found. The researcher has to be able to justify the chosen categories or groups. For example, when studying the same subject matter as someone else before, but not using the same categories, the researcher has to explain and give good reasoning for this (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2000: 147-149). This is an important factor when thinking about my research,

because Finnish foreign correspondents have been studied before, but I have ended up emphasising partly different themes. I decided to focus on Russia as a country and the kinds of people working in Moscow as foreign correspondents, and what kind of perceptions they have of Russia, on media routines in Russia and how these factors influence the end product: coverage on Russia. The majority of the earlier research on foreign correspondence (excluding Uskali's dissertation) has not been that country or region focused as mine is, but instead mainly looked at different media routines, extramedia and organisational influences.

I have not followed the two models literally, but modified them slightly and emphasised certain elements in them in order to find answers to my research questions. Finding the view point typically takes some time and requires thematising, arranging and looking at the material from many angles, but once the choice is made it is important to follow it systematically. This also makes the research material more manageable, as only those parts in the data that are essential fall into the chosen perspective. After the observations have been chosen they can be combined. Combining numerous observations into a single or a few observations happens by finding a shared denominator or by creating a rule that applies to all data. In the unriddling phase an interpretative explanation is given to the phenomenon being studied (Alasuutari, 1995: 13, 16).

When several different versions on the same theme have been collected and the object of study has been defined at a meta-level so that it covers all the variation amongst the cases included in the material, then we are no longer operating with isolated, individual cases. A picture of the phenomenon is built based upon all the clues available that finally help to resolve the mystery (ibid: 147).

When conducting the interviews, transcribing and arranging the material, it became clear that certain themes were frequently coming up from the data. Many of these themes were included in the loose interview structure that I had naturally prepared prior the interviews, but I also discovered some new, interesting themes that came up in the interactions with the foreign correspondents. This means that I use in my study both emic and etic classifications. Etic classifications are created by the scholar and emic classifications are found within the text itself. Although this study is content-driven, using inductive reasoning and emic-classification, a researcher can never do without etic-constructs (Alasuutari, 1995: 67-68). I agree with Mörä (1999) that the observations we make are influenced by our earlier experiences and the literature that we have read. When the study process moves between the data, field notes and theoretical frameworks it can be called iterative (22). When thinking about my study, the theme of perceptions on Russia and its different nuances emerged from the research data, whereas the theme focusing on knowledge of Russia was introduced by me.

Another problem with a pure content-driven study is that analysis turns a blind eye to topics that are not included in the research, but could be relevant for the study. For example, in an interview study it is meaningful to address what the respondents do talk about, but also the subjects that are left uncovered (Mörä: 1999: 20). I have avoided this trap by using pre-terminated themes in the interviews that I brought up if the interviewees did not start talking about them independently as a part of the conversation.

Even though I had built up the interview themes according to the Shoemaker and Reese's model, I have not organised the material in the reporting and analysis part of this thesis according to their model. I have started organised the material according to my research question(s) and then constructed a certain 'narrative'. The research question asks what factors influence the coverage of Russia in the Finnish media – I started opening this up by first concentrating on the foreign correspondents as individuals, what are their motivations for becoming a foreign correspondent in Moscow, their knowledge and perception of Russia and the goals that they had before embarking on a career in Russia, and evaluating how these goals have been met. Next, I move to looking at how media routines, extramedia factors and ideological differences affect journalists' aspirations and how they influence the coverage.

6. Who are the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow?

6.1 Motivations for becoming a Finnish foreign correspondent in Moscow

> Before I moved here, my dream had always been to become a foreign correspondent. It was the greatest thing what you can do as a journalist. (5)

The foreign correspondent of traditional news has long enjoyed a high status among professional peers and society as a whole and this surely means greater career prospects in the future and a chance to acquire new skills and broaden one's horizons. These factors are certainly great motivators for becoming a foreign correspondent, but at the same time foreign correspondence is changing and is no longer a profession dominated by Caucasian males over forty years old, who have received their higher education in elite schools.

The declining number of foreign correspondents in Moscow might imply that it is not considered one of the key locations anymore. During Glasnost, at the end 1908s and beginning of the 1990s, around twenty journalists worked in Moscow. At the moment there are approximately ten foreign correspondents. The changing number of foreign correspondents might also be caused by changing economic circumstances and vary accordingly; for example, MTV3 recently hired again a foreign correspondent to be based in Moscow (Ahonen et al. 2008: 119). But as already covered in a previous chapter, the changing landscape of foreign correspondence, internationally media organisations are looking for alternative ways to cover international news and this might be a reason why the number of foreign correspondents has declined in Moscow. Perhaps there will never again be a return to past levels. But at the time of the interviews, YLE had two foreign correspondents in Moscow (plus FST one) - only Washington and Brussels had the same number of correspondents which implies that Moscow is still considered an important location but foreign correspondence as a whole is changing, finding new forms and ways of being.

Although Moscow is an important location for Finland, it seems that the city is not among the most popular destinations. One reason is that Russian language skills set certain limitations for candidates. One of my interviewees was even contacted directly and asked whether she would like to go to Moscow. She said that there are not many journalists who speak Russian and even less so amongst Swedish speaking Finns. Some of the interviewees were the only applicants for the role and encouraged by their managers to apply for the position. Another potential reason for the declining interest is that it has become more difficult for journalists to do their work in Russia. Manninen talks about journalists that travel to Russia for stories, but some of the obstacles she mentions are also valid in foreign correspondents' work and mentioned in all the interviews that I

carried out. These are increased traffic that takes away time from the actual work, increasing amounts of work required for getting press visas and accreditations, strict communications policies, difficulty of getting interviews and so on. These factors have resulted in a situation where it is not so appealing to travel to Russia, compared to the situation ten years ago. (Manninen, 2008: 124-126). Koponen tells in Koikkalainen's (2001) study that it is somehow contradictory that Moscow foreign correspondence is not more popular, as it is one of the best places in the world to work as a journalist; there are not many locations that are equally exciting and interesting. You would think it is in everyone's interest to get hard news so frequently. He mentions that reasons for this non-motivation might be a lack of Russian language skills in Finland and old-fashioned perceptions that living in Russia is dreadful (129):

> I remember my boss suggesting to me if I wanted to go to Stockholm as a summer correspondent in 2000, and I said that if I can choose I would rather go to Moscow. --- Well, she was surprised, because 1) she didn't know that I speak Russian and b) Moscow wasn't considered a place, where anyone wanted to go. (3)
>
> The language sets limits…Usually people, who apply here also know the language. And there aren't many of those people in the younger generation. People, who're still interested in Russia, are probably middle-aged, who had a political honeymoon with the ideology when they were younger --- whereas to the U.S. or London, there are goers on a larger scale. (2)

Three of my interviewees had basically organised a position for themselves in Moscow and the rest had actively applied for the post; therefore, it seems that there are still some, also within the younger generation, who think that Russia is an appealing country for a journalist.

One of Hannerz's interviewees in Hong Kong was able to distinguish between three kinds of foreign correspondent amongst his Hong Kong colleagues: there were the Sinophiles, who wanted to be in China and had become correspondents in order to support themselves there; then there were the correspondents, who had arrived without any expectations but had fallen in love with China; and then there were the journalists with a more generalised curiosity, who saw Hong Kong mainly as another stepping stone in their careers (Hannerz, 2007: 300).

I consider this division interesting and employed the same model for classifying my interviewees; I consider three of my respondents as Slavophiles, who talk about their special interest towards Russia, and some of them even confessed to loving Russia. For them, becoming a Moscow foreign correspondent is the peak of their career; a result of studying the language for years, following the cultural and political events of the country, travelling there regularly, basically having a rather personal and close relationship with the country:

> --- Especially during the past five or six years it has been my ambition to come here, because this is such an important place. This country is important to Finland, but the main reason is that I love Russia and I wanted to get more familiar with this society. (5)

In saying that someone is a Slavophile I do not mean that the relationship with Russia would be left without any critical thinking, even though the interviewees 'loved' Russia, they are also analytical and critical towards the country. In fact, its flawed qualities are often regarded as part of its charm. Two of the interviewees had clearly a more generalised interest towards Russia, the experience offering them better career prospects. Two of the interviewees are married to Russians, and although they were both interested in the country prior the marriage, I believe that the ongoing interest and moving to Moscow are partly triggered by their personal relationships. One of the interviewees had a more distant way of looking at Russia, even though he had specialised in the country for many years, and he looked at it with a certain distance. Therefore, I do not consider him as a Slavophile.

Another one of Hannerz's interviewees told him that she had become a foreign correspondent mostly for selfish reasons – she wanted to write and see the world. Besides this she also felt a certain obligation to better inform her audience about the world. Another correspondent remarked that Americans need to have their presuppositions shaken up and learn something from other places. From these two examples it becomes clear that some foreign correspondents are going to work with the hope of educating people in their home country (Hannerz, 2004: 34). Educating Finnish audiences comes across in the interviews that I have conducted with the foreign correspondents. All the interviewees mentioned that they wanted to show another side of Russia – something that the Finnish audiences are not aware of. The correspondents are aspiring to portray Russia in a different light, which at least partly derives from the fact that they have knowledge of Russia that the majority of Finns do not have. Having knowledge that is naturally accumulated during these experiences and wanting to share it can be understood as a need to educate Finnish audiences:

> --- If there would be enough foreign correspondents, more feature stories could be written. We should offer that kinds of stories for the Finns --- and not only concentrate on politics, because Kremlin is not the Russia that I, for example, love and have a great respect for. (6)
>
> --- I only wanted --- to introduce the world that I'm privileged to know, a different kind of culture I've become familiar with, and those wild stories that take place over there. (1)

One ex-foreign correspondent mentioned that he started feeling that he has a certain obligation towards the readers to inform them about Russia.

Hannerz also mentions a group of foreign correspondents that say that they are merely "doing their job" and a news-person type that is drawn to whatever may shock his audience. Finally, there is a type that Hannerz calls an alarmist or a rejectionist voice; these foreign correspondents are often openly negative towards the foreign lands they are reporting from and have patriotic feelings

towards their home country (Hannerz, 2004: 35-36). I did not recognise the latter type among my interviewees, although many had surprisingly negative perception of Russia, which is discussed in later chapters. But surely this was not a motivation for becoming a foreign correspondent.

When talking about the correspondents' goals and what kind of stories they want to write, many said that there are so many routine events to report on that little space is left for personal objectives. This can be understood as reporters merely doing their job. One of the interviewees represented quite clearly this type; he went to Russia to work as a journalist, to take care of his duties as a reporter. He also mentioned that the experience has improved his career prospects:

> --- Following the daily news offering is laborious, there're all the time things taking place that have to be covered automatically --- therefore you don't have to think much what to do next. (4)

Saying that some of the correspondents are news person types, who want to shock their audiences, goes a bit over board, but the varied news pool and Russia as a happening place are considered more interesting for a journalist. Some locations, such as Sweden and Germany were Even categorised as boring:

> First of all Russia is going through a huge change and societies that aren't ready are more interesting than societies that are ---. And I know it's very elitist to think this way, because it means that the people over here --- have to work hard to understand what's happening in their country and make it through all the changes taking place. But personally and professionally such places are more interesting. (3)

> --- When going to Finland from Moscow I always felt that the Finnish news world is very naïve and light. Our news topics are quite flimsy. In Moscow buildings exploded and airplanes dropped down, there were different conspiracy theories taking place and so on. And then in Finland people go on about whether drink vending machines should be taken away from schools. (1)

> I remember well when Yeltsin bombed the parliament in the beginning of 90s and there were foreign correspondents reporting from Moscow. There were bombings, bullets going over people's heads and I was like: 'I want to be part of that'. (5)

> I knew that I wanted to become a foreign correspondent, but the positions are quite rarely available and I was interested in China and Russia. I applied to a position in China, but I didn't get it. ---I felt that it's quite strenuous to work at the international news desk in Helsinki. --- Then I realised that the place in Russia will become available soon and I was very goal orientated applying for it --- I thought that if I don't get it know, it means that I will never get a foreign correspondent position. In that case I would have come up with something else. (3)

Also the news world of Finland and working at the international news desk in Finland are considered boring and tiresome by some, and the opportunity of becoming a foreign correspondent offers a way out of the routine work. Wanting to do something different and being mobile were obviously motivators for going to Moscow. A foreign correspondent, who worked in Sarajevo, considers it indecent to say that journalists are having the most tremendous fun in the midst of all that misery, but says that it is an experience that he/she would not have liked to miss (Hess, 1996:

58). Koikkalainen interviewed a Finnish foreign correspondent in early 2000 and received similar replies; covering Russia is captivating due to the amount of drama it offers. Also, the Finnish audience is interested in the stories coming out of Russia, which is motivating for a foreign correspondent (Koikkalainen, 2001: 128).

One interviewee estimated that she travelled approximately twice a year when covering international news from Helsinki, saying that it is too little because things look different when you are physically present. Also, autonomy or independence of the work was considered a significant reason in making the work of a foreign correspondent more appealing. Willnat and Weaver (2003), who studied foreign correspondents working in the United States, found out that 'autonomy of the work' was one of the important reasons when analysing job satisfaction besides the editorial policy of their organisation and 'pay'. The reported importance of autonomy in foreign correspondents' work was supported by fairly high levels of journalistic independence they claimed in their work (412, 418):

> Being a foreign correspondent is different; this is like a different profession than being a news reporter in Pasila. The work of foreign correspondents is usually meaningful, whereas the work of a news reporter based in Pasila isn't usually meaningful. (7)
>
> **Why is it not meaningful?**
> Well, it's mainly handling of a rather superficial mass of information and it's also shift work; it doesn't give me anything really. Foreign correspondents' work is different; it's more independent and you can concentrate on one place, it's more coherent ---. News reporters' work in Pasila is mainly receiving stories from foreign correspondents and making them ready to be broadcasted, so it's more like logistics ---. (7)

There are several reasons why journalists want to work and live in Moscow. The work of foreign correspondent is appreciated by colleagues and it is also ranked high up in society as a whole; it is a prestige profession. The experience and know-how acquired during the stay are considered to enhance career prospects. There is also the ability to travel, which is often fairly limited in the home bureau; the possibility to see and experience something new and exciting. Russia offers more interesting stories for a journalist than Finland or other Western countries and a way out from the tiring news routines that are part of the work in Finland. Some love or are very interested in Russia as country and want to learn more about it and share their information with Finnish audiences, also to educate readers, listeners and viewers. The work of a foreign correspondent is also seen as independent and challenging, and an opportunity to gain more in-depth knowledge on The Commonwealth of Independent States (CSI)

6.2 Language skills and knowledge of Russia

Correspondents' knowledge of languages varies a great deal. As a general rule, language skills are often better amongst long-timers than among spiralists, but this is certainly not true in every single case. There are foreign correspondents who have lived in Jerusalem and Tokyo for decades, but whose language skills in Hebrew and Japanese remain limited. Then there are those who arrive on a new assignment and already have a working knowledge of the local language. Knowledge of languages can have some role in deciding what assignments foreign assignments will be given (Hannerz, 2004: 89).

Major American newspapers would not assign anyone to Moscow who is not a Russian-speaker, but this was not necessarily the case in the past and not even now necessarily among television people. Also in China and Japan correspondents are desired to speak Chinese and Japanese, whereas in postings such as Delhi, Hong Kong and Jerusalem the belief is that one manages with English. The media organisation might offer language training for foreign correspondents prior a new assignment, but this is not a common practice because of the time spent off work whilst learning the language, and, therefore, this is not very appealing to the employer or colleagues (ibid: 89).

Hess has drawn slightly different conclusions and says that at least in the United States the percentage of pre-assignment training has gone up from 16 percent in the 1960s to 24 percent in the 1980s. The wire services have the best records and the television networks the worst. One Associated Press journalist was paid to attend a graduate school before he was assigned to Moscow with two years additional training during his three year stay (Hess, 1996: 81). By 1990 all but six of the 49 foreign correspondents in the U.S. press corps in Moscow had received language training before their post began. Russian language skills among the U.S. journalists have improved over the years, because the media gradually caught up with the importance of the Soviet Union in the Cold War era (Ibid: 84-85). Interestingly, women exceeded men 11 percentage points at the most proficient level and were more skilled in every major language except Arabic. Men were twice as likely not to know the language of their posting (Ibid: 80).

All the interviewees had studied Russian prior to their assignment and their proficiency varied from passable to excellent. Seven had studied Russian at school, one had had a private tutor, and one went on an intensive language course in St Petersburg before he was sent to Moscow. Many had followed and covered Russia already whilst still working in Finland. Brushing up on Russian language skills prior to the assignment was fairly common, although irregular due to the constraints of full-time work. Two of the people with the best language skills had kept their language ability

active after their school years, either by living in the country and/or having strong social networks with Russians. Having some knowledge of Russian was considered important by all interviewees and there was a general acceptance that strong language skills improve preparedness to work in Russia. As already mentioned in the chapter that focuses on the motivation for becoming a foreign correspondent in Moscow, one of the main reasons for the low number of candidates is the insufficient language proficiency. Knowing the language was considered so important that some of the interviewees expressed slight discomfort when asked about their language skills and how important they thought it is for their work:

> How would I say it, Russia had been very dear to me for a long time, in a way secretly. Russian was my A-language at school, which I don't like to publicise really. I started studying it at the elementary school. And the reason why I don't like to publicise it and I've even lied to (another foreign correspondent) --- straight to his face, when he asked for the first time, because I'm so annoyed that I've studied it for so long that I don't speak it fluently, but at the same time why should I be ashamed of it. (3)

When one of the interviewees was asked why no one was sent to Moscow after he left the post, he replied that besides financial reasons language skills set certain limits:

> I think that they didn't find a suitable person. There aren't many journalists who know Russian and it doesn't make any sense to send there someone who doesn't know the language. (1)

Another interviewee had set himself the long-term goal of becoming a foreign correspondent. Mastering the language of the future destination was considered so important that he started studying besides work:

> I told my manager that I wanted to go to China as a foreign correspondent and I started studying Chinese, but then they told me that I should change it to Russian. Two years before I went to Moscow I studied Russian ---and then I was surprisingly chosen as the only candidate to Moscow. (4)

Being able to listen to conversations in the street, being sensitive to perspectives and reverberations can be a great benefit for a foreign correspondent (Hannerz, 2004: 88-89). The same idea is highlighted in Hess' study, where one of the interviewees says that "Anything less than total fluency hinders ability to eavesdrop, the key to good reporting," (Hess, 1996: 79). People usually like to tell about their own lives and the truth might be heard more easily from them than from official sources (Koikkalainen, 2001: 130). el-Nawawy, who has studied Western correspondents in Egypt and Israel, concentrated on correspondents' familiarity with the cultural environment, which in his study refers to language and religion. He found out that foreign correspondents in Israel and Egypt did not consider language as an important factor in their access to information, because all Israeli officers speak English as do most of the Egyptian officials. In other cases they can rely on translators. However, a few correspondents admitted that there is no

substitute for being able to talk to people directly in their own language. Speaking the native language permits correspondents to gain greater insights into how people think and enables them to gain people's trust more easily. Also, translators might not be reliable in translating every word (el-Nawawy, 2001: 7). Not knowing the language means the information reaches a foreign correspondent through filters. If language skills are insufficient the foreign correspondent has to rely on English speaking sources or interpreters, who might be selective in what they are passing along (Hess, 1996: 79).

Of course one could argue that information is always reaching people trough filters: direct sources might mislead or choose what they say and media in a local language can interpret events and people with a certain view point. Certainly the ratio of filtering or representation increases when there is someone 'extra' in between. The use of interpreters by the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow is fairly common, especially when conducting interviews over the phone or when interviewing 'important' people, such as politicians and lawyers.

International journalism is usually assumed to consist of international, rather than local, standards and practices, although, all international news is a cross-cultural product involving the work of people with diverse professional and ethnical backgrounds. Local people often work as photographers, translators, producers and fixers of stories, selecting people whom foreign correspondents should speak to, setting up interviews and so on. These helpers, photojournalists and reporters serve as cultural and geographical guides for foreign correspondents (Bishara, 2006: 22). Also, the Finnish foreign correspondents work with Russian translators, photographers, secretaries, cameramen and general helpers, who not only help the foreign correspondents with every day practicalities and news production, but also serve as cultural guides and insiders, imparting their local knowledge when needed. Although most of the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow work with Russians, it is surprising how rarely they were mentioned in the interviews. One explanation might be that 'these helpers' are self-evident in their work, but there is also a chance that their role is considered so significant and important that the correspondents do not like to talk about it:

> **Did you have a lot to learn when you came here?**
> Yes, of course, a lot. That's why it's good, that the helper that I had here had already worked here with XX for few years, but then her husband got a job and she had to leave. --- that certainly helped in a way, that I had someone, who knows how to go about in here. (3)

Although the definition of foreign correspondence and the foreign correspondents are getting more diverse globally, this is not the case in Finland to the same extent, besides greater gender

diversity. Increased gender diversity can be explained by the increasing proportion of women[6] attending Finnish universities (Statistics Finland, 2007)[7]. All the interviewees had a university degree – three had degrees in journalism, two in political science and one in each of the following; political history, international relations and Russian studies. Four had graduated from the University of Tampere, two from the Åbo Akademi, one from the University of Helsinki and one from the University of Jyväskylä. When it comes to the ethnic diversity, only one of the foreign correspondents was a Swedish speaking Finn. This lack of variety is understandable, because Finland is still a rather homogenous country. Although the Finnish foreign correspondents are more educated than the general Finnish public[8], it is interesting that when reporters go abroad, they are more often criticised for not resembling those on whom they are reporting than not resembling their audience. There some critics who believe that journalists should resemble their audiences, being broadly representative of the society (Hess, 1996: 56).

Compared to other international studies conducted on foreign correspondence (for example Hess, 1996, Wu & Hamilton, 2004 and Willnat & Weaver, 2003) the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow are in professional years less experienced than their international peers. Internationally, the foreign correspondents have typically over twenty years of experience, whereas most of the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow had from five to ten years work experience. I think that there are three main reasons for this; there is a smaller pool of potential foreign correspondents in Finland and less people to choose from; this is further strengthened by the lack of Russian language skills and Russia's unpopularity amongst journalists.

Half of the Finnish foreign correspondents had covered news coming from Russia already when working at the international news desk in Finland. One interviewee had lived and studied in Russia before his assignment. All had travelled to Russia as tourists - the majority of them several times. One correspondent had worked for a newspaper in Eastern Finland and during that time travelled to St Petersburg and Russian Karelia because of work around forty times before he was assigned to Moscow. Finnish journalists working for the biggest media organisations do not often have a

[6] Women constituted on average 64 percent from all the students at University of Helsinki in 2004. This development was recognized a time long before; in the beginning 1920s 33 percent of all new students were women and ten years later already more than forty percent. The number of women students exceeded men in 1948-1949 (Helsingin yliopistomuseo Arppeanum).

[7] The percentage of women from all completed university degrees was 63 percent in 2007. In the humanities women's share was 82 percent, and from the technical degrees men's share was 75 percent (Statistics Finland, 2007).

[8] 18 percent of the Finns between 25-64 years old are higher educated (degree from a university or polytechnic) (Ministry of Education).

chance to travel to Russia, as the country is considered as being covered well enough by the foreign correspondents:

> --- When I decided to apply for the position I started following Russia more ---. It helped that I met some Russia experts in Finland. And then I read books about Russia. But --- I didn't have in-depth knowledge of Russia; I had to think about basic things, like how the administration works and that sort of things. I'd have liked to be more prepared, I was very interested in Russia and I had given good reasons for myself why I wanted to come here and I had written about Russia a little. --- The places, where there are foreign correspondents we (in-house journalists) write less about --- and now I have encouraged them that they would apply for accredits, so that they could travel to Russia, there is so much land to be covered, especially because we follow Russia's neighbouring countries too. (3)

According to researcher Maija Jäppinen, those journalists and researchers who live and work in Russia become more knowledgeable about the people and the country compared to those who stay in their 'research chambers' in Finland. Journalists often gather information about Russia by interviewing Russia specialists who live in Finland and this is directly reflected in their journalism. Russian people remain unknown, because knowing people requires *being there* (Ahonen et al. 2008: 122). This refers to foreign correspondents as well, as journalistic skills are locally developed and historically situated (Bishara, 2006: 29). All the interviewees had followed Russia because of work or out of their own interest more or less intensively, and they all had at least a basic knowledge in place before they moved to Moscow. The reality of the situation, however, is often very different to the Russia portrayed in books and the media; these quotes emphasise the importance of being there. The experience and knowledge gained about the country accumulates and is shaped by personal experiences and by being under the influence of the local culture:

> **How intensively had you followed Russian politics and how aware of it were you when you went to Moscow**?
> I thought that I was quite well aware, but when I came here I understood that I wasn't aware at all, because this country is so non-transparent --- it takes quite long before you understand how the whole system works. --- In Western countries these processes are transparent and you know why things are like they are and where they might go. But in Russia nothing is clear, because the president decides about everything, just out of the blue. And then everyone tries to interpret those actions ---. (5)

> I had, of course, learnt things from a paper and seen quite a bit of the normal everyday life ---. I knew that there were a lot of competing journalists and that the doors wouldn't open so easily. But maybe the amount of bureaucracy concretised over there. (1)

The Finnish foreign correspondents had learnt Russian through formal schooling and experiences abroad before becoming foreign correspondents, special training before overseas assignment and through learning on the job. Knowledge of Russian is clearly valued in the Finnish media organisations and all of the interviewees had some knowledge of the language prior to their assignments. A basic knowledge about the country was also in place; everyone had read about Russia, some had studied Russian or Russian politics; few had met Russian specialists before their assignment and so on. But is this how cultural knowledge should be understood or is there

something else, something more refined? And were the foreign correspondents completely integrated into Russian society and able to understand the society because of having these knowledge tools in place? Or should 'the book knowledge', which is what most of the correspondents had, be considered as a key that opens the door to 'real experiences'? Are there any other characteristics that the foreign correspondent should have in order of becoming a successful journalist?

6.3 Is there something more valuable than knowledge?

el-Nawawy's hypothesis was that language and religion are perceived as greater barriers by the foreign correspondents in Egypt than compared with their colleagues in Israel. The survey results, however, did not support his hypothesis. The open ended-questions on culture suggested that there are significant differences on how the foreign correspondents view the domestic cultures of Israel and Egypt. Many foreign correspondents were familiar with the culture and language, but this does not fully capture how the correspondents cope with a specific culture, as there is more to culture than language and religion. The correspondents found it easier to operate in Israel, which is more 'Westernised': politically and culturally open. The conclusion of the study was that language and religion are not that significant and have little bearing on correspondents' work in Egypt and Israel (el-Nawawy, 2001: 6, 11). I made several findings from the interviews that highlight this notion; knowing Russia does not automatically mean that a foreign correspondent is familiar and comfortable with its culture. In fact, the result might be the exact opposite. Going deeper into the culture might trigger feelings and attitudes that are not approving and positive. This is where ideological differences are emphasised - they are explored more profoundly in the last chapter, the below comment demonstrates an example of this development:

> **Do you think that better language skills would have made your job easier?**
> Yes, I'm sure it would have made it more insightful. Also friendships, but then again knowing Russian is unpleasant in a sense that you understand what people are talking about around you ---. The attitude towards foreigners – there were many occasions when they said negative things. In a metro I was told quite a few times that this is Russia and you are ought to speak Russian over here. And this tension grew during crises, when there were bombings and tensions in world politics; these were reflected in everyday life also. (4)

The same correspondent mentioned that speaking Russian with an accent was sometimes used as an excuse for not giving an interview, especially by bureaucrats:

> Even though you would know Russian grammar perfectly, but you have a foreign intonation, they often say that: 'I cannot be bothered - you are a foreigner; I can hear that and cannot be bothered to make an effort' and then they hung up. (4)

So, knowing the language is not respected?
Yes or the fact that you are foreigner --- 'This is just a Westerner, they are obnoxious and they want to tell how Russians should live in their own country'. (4)

Another interviewee made an opposite remark:

> If Russians notice that you don't understand anything about Russia or you don't understand their literature citations or something else, they won't open up. They treat you like a naïve foreigner and put on a stage version of themselves. But if they realize that you speak more or less the same language, even though you have an accent or something else it doesn't matter. The Russians are very; at least the Muscovites are, very tolerant - they are used to different kinds of people. It is not the accent, or if you speak a bit bad Russian, but if you show that you don't understand anything about their world, then you don't get the comments. If you are able to talk about the reality --- that is important, so that you are taken seriously. (1)

It is interesting that two people having the same profession can have such different views on the role of language. There is one similarity between these comments though: the language is not playing the main role here, but being a foreigner and knowing/not knowing the Russian culture is seen important. The latter comment belongs to a correspondent, who is not only fluent in Russian but also has a relatively large social network of Russians. Here, cultural knowledge and integration come into play - knowing how to move about in the cultural context. It is not only the language, but a larger socio-cultural framework that enhances the cultural understanding. Knowing the language is an important tool improving the prospects for understanding the culture. A similar contradiction is seen below; a fairly popular and wide spread expression says that Russia cannot be understood, two of the foreign correspondents disagree with this:

Do you consider yourself as an expert on Russia after all those years?
Very difficult, I know why certain things go in Russia as they go, but I don't know why that happens. They follow their own Russian logic, and it is a bit like predicting the stock market that you cannot predict the future in Russia. But I know that this same policy continues; politics of tough declarations. ---(4)

--- One phrase that is being repeated over and over again is that Russia cannot be understood with logical reasoning, and Russians themselves like to strengthen this belief. 'Yes you cannot understand this, if you're not a Russian.' This is complete nonsense, it can be easily understood. No place in the world opens up in a minute, especially a giant state like Russia --- you shouldn't imagine that it opens up straight away or that Russia would reveal itself of following the same principles than Finland does if you just search long enough. That's not the case of course. (3)

There is a common agreement that the cultural background of a foreign correspondent, including language skills, education and professional experience, as well as establishing a background by talking to people and reading relevant literature, are important when entering into a new society. However, not everyone considers this as the number one requirement; having a desire to understand and know more in other words being curios is regarded more important by many correspondents and their employers (Starck & Villanueva, 1992: 18-19). This was also noticeable among my interviewees; the majority of them said that having some basic knowledge is important and helpful, but also adequate. The will to discover new things and having strong professional

capabilities as a journalist were considered more important. Only one of the foreign correspondents thought that general journalistic thinking did not help you to succeed in Moscow, but you need to have good background knowledge so that you can interpret the society and the events taking place there. One interviewee commented that it might be even better that the foreign correspondent is not a Russia expert in order to be more open and less prejudiced towards the culture. It is important to bear in mind that even with an education, there are several versions of history (Ibrahim, 2003: 92):

> Of course it's good that you have basic knowledge, but a person being in a virginal state can go there as well, when you find things out by yourself. It's an interesting journey of exploration. (4)

> --- It helps, but you are here 24 hours a day, live with these things and so it's fairly easy to get into Russia. Surely it depends on yourself, how active you are, how much you want to find out and how much do you want to talk to people, to local people and experts. And how much do you read papers and so on, follow what's going on. (2)

> In principle, general knowledge is enough, because the knowledge accumulates once you're here. (7)

> It definitely helps getting started, because if you would come here without knowing anything, you have to study and find linkages between different phenomena. (6)

> **How important do you consider it that a journalist has a good knowledge of Russia when coming here?**
> It's important on the other hand – this might sound a bit crazy, but I could imagine that it is not necessarily a bad thing that you are not a Russia specialist ---. It might be a good thing, because then you're less prejudiced. --- Because --- you've to start from the beginning when you move here, because everything is so different. --- Of course basic knowledge of Russia and elementary skills in Russian are good to have. But I think that these Russia experts in Finland, it's good that they don't come here (laughs), because journalists are conservative and they don't want to change their opinions. It might harder for them to adapt than for a person, who doesn't know that much, but is interested in. (5)

A journalist in el-Nawawy's study says that it is fair to criticise journalists who lack cultural familiarity, but it would be unfair to assume that this unfamiliarity would make their work less valid. This depends almost completely on their skills as a reporter. Being an outsider might sometimes help for seeing the events more clearly. A good reporter admits to not knowing and makes an effort to find out, this might be hard work especially in countries where cultural bias is a problem (el-Nawawy, 2001: 10). All American news organisations in Hess' study also say that there are qualities that are more vital than language skills, such as curiosity and a concern about the world. Their overseas assignments are preferred to be given to proven and experienced reporters, rather than to those with knowledge of an area and language skills but with no extensive experience (Hess, 1996: 80). The ideal correspondent has 'a fresh eye', 'a sense of wonder', and a certain virtue of innocence (Hannerz, 2007: 306).

The way one is able to handle a foreign news beat depends to some extent on one's interactive and communicative abilities, and somewhat on the social characteristics of the place itself. *'"Anyone Here Been Raped and Speaks English?"* autobiography by Edward Behr (1982) is one of the classics in the literature of foreign correspondence. The book got its title from a question that Behr heard a British television reporter shouting to a group European refugees escaping from the civil war in Congo in the early 1960s. The title is rather self-explanatory in its insensitiveness and says something about what you can do with a language and what you cannot do without the right one (Hannerz, 2004: 88-89). This is where cultural sensitivity should be mentioned. Sensitivity refers to the foreign correspondents' familiarity with the historical and cultural contexts of another society, and involves not only awareness, but also a respect, and even empathy, for the other's way of life. The foreign correspondents could do a better job of accurately and sensitively depicting other cultures if they themselves were more aware of the role of culture in their work (Starck & Villanueva, 1992: 5, 18-19). I took up the topic of cultural sensitivity within this chapter that focuses on knowledge, because like Hannerz (2007), I consider it as a professional requirement, sensitivity to difference and a concern on how to report about it are important professional characteristics for a foreign correspondent to have. This task gets more difficult when correspondents have greater cultural distances to cover and therefore more complex tasks of cultural translation or representation (305).

Although Finland and Russia are neighbouring countries, their cultural distance is strong; for example, linguistic differences, education, business practices and culture enhance the cultural distance (Roiha, 2007: 4). This cultural distance comes also across in Pietiläinen's (2005) study on the coverage of the metro bombings in Madrid and Moscow in 2004 in the Finnish media. These two incidents took place almost at the same time, but the bombing in Madrid was covered approximately five times more than the bombing in Moscow in the four papers that Pietiläinen examined. Beslan school hostage crisis created about the same amount of information than Madrid. The aftermath of Madrid continued long after the incident had taken place, including speculations about the suspects, whereas from Moscow not much new information was flowing in. Also the nature of reporting was very different: there was not editorials about the bombing in Moscow, Finnish people living in Moscow were not interviewed, letters of condolence were not published, impact on Finland was not evaluated and the incident was not compared to bombings in other countries. All this was taken into account when reporting about Madrid. In Moscow it was about domestic terrorism, whereas in Spain the strikes were part of international terrorism. The motives of terrorists in Russia were understood: Chechens were mentioned in the stories handling Moscow, but Basks and the War in Iraq were not talked about when covering the bombing in Madrid. Pietiläinen thinks that through the EU-membership Spain is culturally closer to Finland than Russia. However, the bombing in Madrid was unusual in its scale for Western Europe, which

makes it more interesting for the media. (50-58). I agree with Pietiläinen that the cultural distance between Finland and Russia explains why Russia was handled in such a distant way when the bombings took place in Moscow compared to the rather similar incident that took place in Madrid. Also, the EU-membership has brought the Western European countries closer to Finland. Yet, I am not sure whether Russia has become more distant during the EU-membership - before the membership, the Soviet Union still existed and the information covered by the media was fairly varied in quality. Also, Russophobia has existed in Finland from the early 1920s onwards. The collapse of the Soviet Union was a surprise for the whole world and it surely has some impact on how people perceive Russia today. I think that because of the secrecy and fabrication that took place in the Soviet Union, people feel scepticism toward Russia, not forgetting the recent history. As a result, it might be difficult for the Finns to relate to Russia with the same empathy than to Spain. It is partly down to the correspondents to report on Russia with cultural sensitivity and openness, and by looking at this specific example it seems that there is still a lot of work to do.

Surely, the foreign correspondents in Moscow are generalists and they ought to cover a large variety of topics, but due to the media routines the focus tends to be on politics, international relations and different crises, and this might have an affect not only on the readers but also on the correspondents' perceptions of Russia and on the knowledge they gain from the country. I will look at this aspect more closely in a chapter called Choosing stories. The correspondents have, in my opinion, sufficient knowledge about the country when it comes to language skills and knowledge about the politics, the economy and so forth. And I agree with Hess (1996) that at least appropriateness to the foreign language of the posting should be carefully considered. For journalism, as for diplomacy, knowing languages is a useful tool. Gaining more knowledge about Russia is likely to increase the foreign correspondents' independence, as they are more informed about the country than their colleagues in Finland. Acquired independence brings also responsibility. It is also important to keep in mind that the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow come from a relatively homogenous background culturally. Although journalists have internalised a professional code that might weaken cultural framing, I strongly believe that a foreign correspondent's background, including nationality, education and professional experience and general knowledge about the country, influence the reporting. Hopefully, in the future, Finnish foreign correspondents will be coming from more varied backgrounds and so potentially, although not necessarily, will bring different nuances to the reporting and cultural framing that the Finnish media portray in other countries and cultures. In the cultural sector this has happened already. Sofi Oksanen, for example, has brought forth the history of Estonia as a topic for wider public discussion in Finland, which has again triggered public debate about the relations of Finland, Estonia and the Soviet Union. Of course, journalists do not have the same informality as authors and artists. Naturally, this does not refer to foreign/international news only, but to journalists with

diverse backgrounds, including cultural, who can have an impact on the whole media landscape in Finland.

Within this chapter I touched upon many topics that are covered in more depth in later parts of this thesis, especially in the chapters Choosing stories and Ideological differences between Finland and Russia. This underpins the idea of Mörä's liane model; all the different levels are interrelated and interacting with each other.

6.4 Social networks with Russians

> I think that I knew Russians better than most of my colleagues on a personal level. Therefore I feel that I got a bit closer to the society. I tried to think how things influence ordinary people and what kind of distress people might have, whereas my colleagues might have kept a certain distance ---. In a way they don't really care what happens to Russia and this is one way how Russians categorise people to their own and outsiders. (1)

Over half of the interviewees had social networks with Russians outside work, but only one interviewee had created them during his stay in Moscow as a foreign correspondent. Others had created their networks before their assignment: some had study-related connections in Russia and others had created friendships through their spouses. There are probably several reasons why the correspondents have not built more friendships during their assignment: tight work schedules with a fair share of travelling means there is less time that can be dedicated to socialising. The work is also independent and there are not many natural social contacts during the day. Journalists naturally meet or talk to a number of people on a daily basis, but these are usually short encounters required for getting a story together. The correspondents do not work in a Russian environment in the sense that they would have tight co-operation or team work with Russian colleagues.

Three interviewees did not have any social networks with Russians, aside from some work-related contacts with photographers, journalists, fixers and secretaries. On the other hand, at the time of the interviews, two correspondents had just started working in Moscow, and it is possible that they had not had sufficient time for networking because getting into their new role is so demanding. Few interviewees mentioned the difficulty of building social networks with Russians. Cultural and ideological differences between Russia and Finland, as well as Russia's aspirations of becoming a super-power were discussed in detail, and these factors were considered to have a bearing on personal relationships with Russians by some correspondents. These differences become emphasised during conflicts. Racism was also mentioned as an obstacle for creating friendships with Russians - the Finnish foreign correspondents did not experience racism personally, but Russian racism toward people from the Caucasus region was considered unpleasant by some of

the interviewees. However, two interviewees mentioned that Russians often want to benefit from relationships with foreigners: they had experiences of Russians asking for material compensation when giving interviews.

Also Hannerz observed that in some countries foreign correspondents have less access to the local society than in others, although it seems that correspondents in general socialise with other foreigners. For example, a British journalist had expected to create personal contacts with locals in Johannesburg, because the society is substantially English-speaking, but after five years in the country he had only made two friends. Many colleagues working in South Africa agreed that the society is so segmented, not only by race but also by ethnicity and class, which makes it difficult to gain access to the local society. The urban violence in the city is also restrictive to one's movements. Tokyo is another such city where it is hard to gain entry into local networks and is seen as very problematic. Although in South Africa the difficulties are rooted in social-structural circumstances, whereas in Japan the reasons are more to do with cultural differences (Hannerz, 2001: 91-92). Hess also tells about an African-American correspondent who was able to move and report undetected during the 1976 Soweto uprising. According to him, a white reporter, even with the best skills, could not gain access to the 'off-limits' African majority in Rhodesia or South Africa (Hess, 1996:56-57). Cultural and social differences were highlighted in many of my interviews:

> --- It was fairly easy to approach Russians and get to know them, but many times it meant that both parties benefited from that deal. I didn't end up having close friends from the period of being a foreign correspondent in Moscow. My Russian friends are from somewhere else. (1)
>
> I don't believe that you can be a true friend with a Russian if he lives in Russia. When a Russian person moves to Finland and is under the influence of Western culture he might become a friend. --- Only when I moved back to Finland I realised how huge the cultural differences between the Finns and Russians are. (4)
>
> **Why do you think it is impossible to be friends with Russians?**
> It ends up in a confrontation in all situations. This came across, for example, in the conflict in Georgia. Westerners think that Russia used too much muscle, but Russians think that they saved the Ossetians --- Russians feel that they've a right to do whatever they want to ---. And you can never talk directly to Russians, because they've a strange and somehow a deep feeling of inferiority towards Westerners. If you say something about Russia in a bit firmer way, it's taken as criticism. They're not capable of dealing with conflicting thoughts. You either agree or are an enemy and disagree. (4)
>
> **Do you have Russian friends?**
> Not really. --- When the ethnical cleansing against Georgians took place last autumn my attitude became more negative, also towards ordinary Russians. Nowadays when I'm speaking with Russians I'm waiting when they start talking bullshit about Jewish people or other nationalistic rubbish in general. ---- Of course educated and modern Russians are excellent people. The best analysts are bright, modern and funny. (7)

As the above quotes show, some of the correspondents react strongly to the domestic politics of Russia on a personal level. They feel that Russians are representatives and guardians of the ruling

elite and the choices that they have made. Some correspondents felt that this reservation is directed especially towards foreigners – towards people who are outsiders to Russian culture. Because of the nature of journalism and existing news values, the Finnish foreign correspondents spend a large portion of their time researching, reading and writing about Russian politics and economics. As a result, their concentration is highly focused on these topics, and this is likely to have an influence on their perception of Russia and naturally about Russians as well. If Russia is over-politicised, as one correspondent described the situation, then the correspondents are perhaps more than anyone else creating this over-politicised world.

With one exception, those correspondents who have social networks with Russians consider these relationships useful for their work. Roiha (2007) ended up with similar results in here study: how successfully the journalists were able to take care of their duties in St Petersburg was highly dependable on personal connections (77). Through local contacts, the correspondents learn more about Russian culture and empathise more with the feelings of ordinary people. Locals can give important information about their culture, act as translators of culture and provide background information about complex social affairs. Trough established networks it is also easier to find sources for stories in ad hoc situations:

> **Is it important to have social networks with Russians?**
> Yes, it's very important because through ordinary people you're able to sense what the vibes among normal people are. But of course it's dangerous to base conclusions and analysis on the information that I've received from a handful of my Russian friends here in Moscow ---. What my friends in Moscow think isn't the same than what a farmer in Novosibirsk thinks. --- At the same time Russians have usually large circles of friends and they have good networks. This is how information reaches me from further away also. (2)
>
> I'm visiting Russians a lot, also consciously. If you want to understand the culture, it's important to know the people. Contacts mean everything. Without contacts you aren't getting anywhere in this country. --- When possible, I talk to interviewees personally, because I want them to know me. And --- when we went to St Petersburg I had lunch with a young official, who takes care of our accreditation process. You've to have good relations with officials, so that your things are taken care of. You need to do networking, in order to understand this country. If you phone someone, who you know and ask for an interview it's taken care of in five minutes, but if a person doesn't know you, it might take weeks. (5)
>
> Definitely, because without contacts you don't get anywhere in this country. Only through networking you'll find interviewees and interesting stories. And then there are situations when something happens all of a sudden and you have to find comments quickly - without any contacts this would be very difficult. (6)
>
> Not really because if I need interviews I can organise them, but at the moment I don't need to create personal contacts. It's more like a personality question and I'm not interested in. But there're independent information sources like the Internet, some radio stations, newspapers, where those Russians who have contacts write. I don't have to be in touch with those swines. --- If the government becomes even more authoritarian then it might become unavoidable. Of course, it's broadening to hear what people talk about, but I'm not that social and it's not necessary thinking about our work. (7)

Although nearly all correspondents agreed that knowing Russians is eye-opening and it benefits correspondents' work, it was not considered so valuable by all interviewees that they would actively seek personal relationships. Interestingly, the correspondents who emphasise the importance of social networks are keener to write about everyday life. Those who do not have personal contacts say that their focus is on politics and economics and their sources are often official or trustworthy second-hand sources. That is why they do not see it necessary to create social networks. Reflecting back, they also understood the questions of having social networks as higher-profile contacts, not necessarily ordinary Russians. For example, one correspondent who does not have personal contacts with Russians outside work, said that the networks he considered important were created through the embassies. Meeting and discussing with Russian journalists and other influential people in parties provided enough important knowledge for his stories. The cultural differences are fairly extensive between Russia and Finland, despite the fact that the countries are neighbours. And although over half of the interviewees have social networks with Russian, the experienced cultural differences are prominent in their world also. However, it is likely that those individuals who have Russian friends understand and become more interested in the society and are more inclined to write and produce stories that handle other topics than politics and finance only.

6.5 Perception of foreign correspondence

The hierarchy of influences approach shows that influences on content from an individual media worker also includes the perceptions that journalists hold of their role and professional orientations (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 64-87). That is why the following pages focus on the views the Finnish foreign correspondents based in Moscow have on their role; which is to say the importance of having Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow, viewing Russia with Finnish eyes and the appreciation the role enjoys (or does not enjoy) in today's media environment.

Unsurprisingly, every interviewee considered it important to have Finnish foreign correspondents working in Moscow. Few expressed their support for the cause fairly strongly, but there were three correspondents who did not draw their conclusion so straightforwardly, as challenging developments have taken place in the media landscape. New information channels - especially the Internet - have changed the setting, as audiences have access to unlimited amounts of diverse information. Also, international news agencies have changed the landscape. But what is the added value that the foreign correspondents can bring? One correspondent made an interesting remark that a foreign correspondent does not automatically mean good journalism:

> It's important, but I've a bit critical attitude on foreign correspondents --- I generalise here a bit, but many become cynical and they aren't interested in this country anymore. I notice that in the old foreign correspondents; they've seen and done everything. You shouldn't think that by having a foreign correspondent somewhere means automatically good journalism, but it's still better that someone is here, who tells about things from a Finnish viewpoint, someone who's really interested in this country. It's completely different than what the news agencies have ---. Agencies are never able to provide such closeness. That's why I find it important, but that requires that a correspondent is interested in this country, because we've many correspondents, who're not. They're here, because the compensation is good. (5)

> It's a bit two-sided, because I heard from a journalist working for Reuters that they've thirty journalists in Moscow. Then you get a kind of feeling that, well, what I'm doing here that those thirty journalists cannot do. ---But I think that it's quite important, to write for a Finnish reader. -- You know what the Finns think about Russia and through that notion you can bring them something new and interesting ---. I don't know, for example, if a British journalist has to think that way. (3)

> --- From the Internet you can find all kinds of news sources, that sets a challenge for the Finnish journalists and foreign correspondents, because we should be able to write something else than what a reader is able to get when reading the BBC web pages. (3)

> I haven't thought about it really. --- I'm sure that in some way foreign correspondents shape people's perception of the world ----. Of course there're so many information channels and the Internet nowadays - it's less depending on what correspondents tell. But then again people still watch the main news broadcast from YLE ---. But I don't consider myself being a major shaper of opinions. I just report. (7)

When the correspondents were asked why it is important to have Finnish correspondents, the answers were unanimous: a foreign correspondent is able to interpret the complicated Russian society. For example, being aware of the ownership structures of the Russian media - they know what the reliable sources are and so on. This knowledge accumulates only from being there. News agencies, again, do not usually produce stories, but short news pieces and their offering is more fragmented. Finnish correspondents can choose topics that are meaningful for Finnish audiences, including stories on forestry, energy, border problems and economics among others. Russia and Finland have a great deal in common, but international news agencies rarely touch upon these topics. Western correspondents also pay attention to human rights and democracy in Russia:

> Personally I think that news reporting coming from the U.S. could rely more on news agencies. --- Whereas from Russia there might be hard news that are important to Finland, but they would never reach us through news agencies, because there are so many things that concern us. (8)

Regardless of the critical and analytical thoughts on foreign correspondence, the conclusion always came down to the importance of having a Finnish frame of mind, an ability to examine Russia from a Finnish cultural context that requires an ability to interpret. As already covered earlier in the thesis, foreign correspondents have traditionally been the eyes and ears abroad depicting events, "translating" and interpreting them symbolically into the language of the home bureau (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004a). Lehtola writes that Finnish foreign correspondents do not compete with international news agencies, but bring a Finnish viewpoint and reality to the stories -

being there and seeing things with their own eyes and ears is vital (Lehtola, 1986: 130):

> --- When you've lived all your life in Finland --- it's inevitable that you have a Finnish way of examining and transmitting stories. Every country has its own ways and nuances, even though conventions are more or less the same. --- I think that own nationality and language are carved so deep inside that you don't have to be even afraid that you start looking at the world with Russian eyes ---. If the worldview broadens that's only good and the reason why it's positive to have a foreign correspondent in a big country such as Russia. (7)

Roiha (2007) writes in her thesis that by having reporters in St Petersburg, the stories are more reliable, rather than having someone writing the stories in Finland. Someone who lives in the country has more authority to interpret the society than those who only visit the city or those who write from another country. In the best possible scenario, the journalist reports from St Petersburg as an independent observer, as someone who is curious about society without prejudices but preserving his criticality. Reporters living in the city are able to create relationships with local sources; they are familiar with background information and everyday life in the city. They are also able to tell home bureaus what kind of stories should be covered from Russia. Foreign correspondents and stringers are also able to bring another viewpoint to their stories and there is a danger that journalists writing from Finland covering Russian remain too Finland-centred (69, 95-96). The fact of bringing local nuances and colour to the reporting came also across in my interviews:

> It is possible to do reporting based on the information that is received from international news agencies and save money. But foreign correspondents bring the local colour, and become more knowledgeable than a person, who sits in Sanoma House, Ilmala or Pasila --- institutionalised ---. (7)

The interviewees' perception of foreign correspondence seems somehow conservative compared to the recent developments that have taken place in the international environment (pls. see the chapter 'The Changing landscape of foreign correspondence and international news'). In America, for example, the majority of foreign correspondents are already foreigners (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004a). However, it is possible that these international trends do not arrive to Finland, because, as discussed before, Finland has a strong tradition of following international news and proportionally Finland has a fairly large network of foreign correspondents (Luoma-aho & Pylväs, 2008). Simplifying the notion of looking at Russia with Finnish eyes, the Finnish correspondents understand themselves as members of a nation where the people are more alike with each other than with others across the national border. Anthropologist Benedict Anderson understands a nation as an imagined political community, inherently limited and sovereign. The community is imagined, because it is impossible that members of even the smallest nation will ever know, meet or even hear most of their fellow-members, but in the minds of each member lives the image of

their communion (1991: 6). Some interviewees acknowledged that foreign correspondence, and even reporting from Russia, is likely to change when the Finnish population becomes more heterogenic, and even now the situation is different than ten years ago. But the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow have an imagined political ideal in their own minds when they are reporting from Russia.

> **Viewing Russia with Finnish eyes: is this going to change somehow when the Finnish population becomes more heterogenic?**
> ---It probably will. Before the reporters were 'the children' of the Soviet Union --- many of them had an ideological reason why they were interested in the Soviet Union ---. But now there's a new generation, which is able to start from the beginning and is likely to change the reporting to another direction. It's natural, and the new generation has a little different way of looking at things. (2)
>
> Even though I use the expression also, I think that it's a bit ridiculous to say that I tell about Russia with Finnish eyes, because Finland isn't a homogeneous country anymore. But we've a rather similar background and we usually understand things in the same way ---. And I sometimes think that it's quite cute to be the ears and eyes of the XX over here, but it doesn't go like that. I'm a foreign correspondent that tries to tell about Russia in her own way. (5)

The interviewees agreed that the Finnish media organisations are not investing enough in Moscow foreign correspondence, although financial constraints are generally understood. However, some considered it as a matter of setting priorities, giving the implication that Russia is not that important anymore. Finnish journalists travel to Russia, but mainly to the cities near the Finnish border, and important decisions are made in Moscow. The political and economical importance of Russia has increased again, but this is not reflected in the given resources. And the less Finnish foreign correspondents there are, the more stereotypical and one-dimensional coverage gets. The worry is not completely without ground, because the biggest threat to foreign correspondence internationally is a lack of money, and since the 1990s the media has become more cost-efficient, especially as the Internet has caused such huge changes (Luoma-aho & Pylväs, 2008):

> Money is always the first thing. --- And as far as I'm concerned the need is not ranked high enough in Finland. News stories are needed from Russia and everyone knows that, but no one is willing to pay for that. There's a peculiar contradiction. (6)
>
> I think that it goes down to financing. But at the same time, it's also a matter of prioritising ---. Maybe it's thought that, because Russia is just next to Finland it's easy to travel here when needed. It's difficult to say what's going to happen in the near future." (2)
>
> --- Trade has gone up all the time, and Russia's importance grows in that sector, it's a little odd that the number of Finnish foreign correspondents is going to another direction. And Russia is getting stronger politically and militarily ---. (2)
>
> I feel that that the valuation from the Finnish media organisations has collapsed. I don't know about the audience, but at least from the media. (8)

Judging from the interview material, the correspondents believe that individuals have an influence on media content. They believe that Finnish reporters report in a different way than American or

international news agencies. This does not, however, mean that the individual level would be stronger than the layers above it, because it is possible that individuals follow macro-scale developments in society. For example, ideological differences in Finnish society are likely to ‘create’ journalists that have different kinds of aspirations than the Finnish foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union had. Although the correspondents think that having reporters assigned to another country serves an important purpose, they admit that financial constraints are omnipresent in their work and this is felt coming from the organisation. The interviewees understand that the increasing competition and the fragmentation of media set certain pressures for the media organisations. Also YLE has to compete to achieve enough viewers and listeners in order to secure its future. At the same time all agreed that there are certain priorities and currently Moscow foreign correspondence is not prioritised enough.

7. Choosing stories

7.1 Representation of Russia in the Finnish Media

Some scholars and journalists have claimed that the representation of Russia is negative in the Finnish media (Raittila, 2001 and 2003, Rahkonen, 2006, see also the chapter the Soviet Union and Russia in the Finnish media). Jäppinen argues that journalism from Russia is rather one-sided and careful - the stories should be bolder. According to her Putin and the state of democracy in Russia have been covered broadly, but human rights violations and gendered differences in terms of well-being are not. Also the positions of minorities should be discussed more (Ahonen et al. 2008: 122). In order to understand the foreign correspondents' goals, it is useful to take a brief look on how they perceive the current representation of Russia in the Finnish media.

The Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow consider the representation of Russia in the Finnish media quite critical, even negative and stereotypical, but at the same time fair. According to the interviewees, many negative phenomena are taking place in Russia and they have to be reported. News dealing with Russian politics and society especially tends to be problem-driven, whereas reporting of the financial sector is usually more neutral. However, some said that Russia, and as a result the reporting from Russia, has calmed down under Putin's rule. During Yeltsin's presidency there were constantly stories about oligarchs and their confrontations. One correspondent says that the hysterical attitude towards Russia has changed; now there is a more realistic way of looking at the country. A couple of the correspondents mentioned that the coverage of Russia in the Finnish media is slightly old-fashioned and naïve - Finnish media and audiences do not always seem to understand that important news for the Finns is not important news to the Russian media and public. These topics include, for example, Karelia, lorry queues and border violations. In this sense, the Finnish media portrays an 'imaginary' Russia. One interviewee made an interesting remark: if a journalist writes about violations of human rights taking place in Russia is it a negative story and thinking of whom? It might be a negative story thinking about the establishment and authorities, but for ordinary Russians it is more positive than negative than these problems are discussed publicly in the media even though it would not be portrayed by them initially like that:

> **Some have claimed that the representation of Russia is too negative in Finland, what do you think?**
> I think it's fair. I mean that the representation of Russia in the Finnish media is like it should be. It's quite critical. Russia isn't --- a democracy. These problems are covered quite well in Finland. (4)
>
> I think it's a bit stereotypical. Of course the media can be blamed, but it's also Russia's fault. --- - There's all the time a steady stream of negative news that automatically get reported. --- Someone might say that you always report about negative things, but it's just because they take place. (8)

> Sometimes the stories that I see in the Finnish media portrays an imaginary Russia that I don't even recognise. --- For example, when thinking about the Karelian activists –they have suggested that we should start negotiating with Russia about Karelia and about the lorry queues. I've seen these topics covered once in the Russian television. This shows that it's not a problem for the Russian government, they don't care. Or the forest fires, I didn't see any stories in the papers over here. It's a general misconception in Finland that the things that are important for us are important for Russia also. --- If the Karelian activists think that Halonen or Vanhanen should come here and say to Putin that we have to start negotiating about Karelia, I think that's quite naïve and shows that they don't understand how the modern Russia is like---. (7)

> I don't think so. It's like a jammed record --- always someone is demanding more positive news ---. But it's the old image from the Soviet Union times, something that's fixed in the heads of the older generation, and that has nothing to do with today's world. Of course, I oppose --- writing that causes discrimination and difficulties to Russians living in Finland or to Russians in general. But that attitude is noticeable in the journalists, who work -- in Finland and don't know Russia. I don't believe that the correspondents in Russia or the coverage of Russia would cause discrimination or is too negative. We don't do positive or negative news, we just write news. --- Obviously we look at things from a Finnish viewpoint, where most of the people think that the death penalty and corruption are wrong. ---. If I write a story about Russia's problems with freedom of speech, is it negative and thinking of whom? Why should we look at things from the establishment's point of view? We should look at them from Russians' point of view or from the civil society's or Finland's point of view. --- Maybe two separate things are mixed up: critical writings about Putin's rule and leaning towards authoritarianism, and then the old, traditional hatred towards Russia. (1)

Some of the correspondents said that it is a difficult to give a more versatile image, because the Finnish audience is relatively ignorant about Russia. According to one correspondent, Finland belongs to the American cultural hemisphere and an average Finnish reader is able to name only between five to ten people from Russia. This sets certain limitations for the correspondents and makes writing/producing stories occasionally difficult, because the reader has to be kept in mind. At the same time when highlighting the importance of having Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow, the interviewees noted also that the Finnish audiences are believed to have better knowledge of Russia than Americans or other Europeans due to the shared history of neighbourly relations. That is why many of the Finnish foreign correspondents believe that they are able to provide more in-depth information on Russia, as they do not have to start from the basics. This is seemingly contradictory at first, but everything is probably down to relativism after all. The correspondents do not think that the Finnish audiences in general are particularly knowledgeable about Russia, but they are more knowledgeable than audiences elsewhere, for example in the U.S. Still, it is vital to keep in mind that the correspondents are, or they turn into experts during their assignment, and as a result others' knowledge of Russia, or the lack of it, becomes highlighted.

Few correspondents noted that Finnish audiences still like to read about Russians' misery, although in the 21st Century the economic growth and stories about oligarchs were also found to be interesting, as well as other phenomena that appeared with the increase in wealth. However, one correspondent argued that the economic growth in Russia has not been featured properly in

the Finnish media. For example, the boost in the Chinese economy received much more attention. According to her, the lorry queues have been handled in the Finnish media like they would be Russia's revenge against Finland, although they also mean that the Russian economy is getting stronger and Finland benefits from it. Some interviewees acknowledged that many Western reporters are prejudiced towards Russia, but not usually the foreign correspondents working in Russia. Generally, negative news on politics and society are considered globally more lucrative and appealing, although one correspondent claims that in terms of Russia this emphasises, Russia is expected to produce negative news.

The shared history between Finland and Russia and Finlandisation are still believed to have some impact on the Finnish media and audiences by the interviewees. Or as one correspondent puts it, the 'trauma of Finlandisation' is still there, although it is not necessarily that strong anymore. According to one interviewee this comes across in the way the Karelia activists are treated in the Finnish media - they are portrayed in a comical light, even though in many other countries it is normal that people are demonstrating for the land that has been lost in a war. Somehow this is not acceptable in the Finnish society and the journalists are taking part in this process, which proposes that the journalists are at the mercy of the prevailing ideology. Some said that Finlandisation shows in the journalists themselves, especially in those who worked in the 60s and 70s. One correspondent noted that YLE is still occasionally accused of practicing Finlandisation. According to the interviewees the history comes through when choosing stories: Karelia, re-evaluations and lorry queues are still considered interesting:

> I'm sure it's still there in the background --- If a Russian politician says something slightly disapproving, people are immediately on their toes in Finland. There was only one official opinion in the Soviet Union and people in Finland think that this is still the case. This isn't the case in Russia anymore: people say what they want and represent themselves. --- Quite a few changes have taken place since the Soviet Union collapsed and the Finns find it hard to understand this occasionally. (2)

> --- We once --- asked Putin about NATO and I received a lot of feedback from the readers. People were amazed how Putin can be asked about this - I was taken by surprise by their reactions. --- People think immediately that it was a charged question --- and that it couldn't be a purely journalistic question. --- Afterwards a Finnish minister was asked to comment Putin's interference in Finland's internal affairs in MTV3 news. He didn't interfere; he was asked a question and he had to answer. --- There you could see the history of Finlandisation. --- (3)

> I've thought whether the restoration of Karelia hasn't been dealt with. --- I don't understand why the attitude towards people, who want to have Karelia returned, is so disapproving, like they would be a bit nutty. Why cannot they think that way? Throughout the world history, land has been lost in wars and then negotiated back. Why this isn't allowed in Finland --- I don't remember when they would have been interviewed in a normal way. --- When Putin comes for a visit to Finland and there is no one demanding Karelia back, it's time to get worried. You can disagree with them, but they have a right to be heard. (3)

> The aftermath of Politkovskaya's murder was very strong in Finland; there was a strong emotional reaction. Because I wasn't there I cannot say whether it was caused by the murder, or whether it triggered some feelings that didn't have anything to do with the murder. (7)

7.2 Foreign correspondent's goals

The following pages will cover the ambitions and goals that the Finnish foreign correspondents have and had set out for their coverage of Russia. With this discussion I want to find out not only what kinds of targets the foreign correspondents have set for themselves, but also how these targets have been met and what were the potential obstacles and catalysts fulfilling these ambitions.

It should not be taken for granted that correspondents exercise a cosmopolitanising influence on their audiences, developing some sense of belonging in the world. As already mentioned in the chapter focusing on motivation, some correspondents say they are merely doing their job, others are drawn to whatever shocks their audiences and then there are alarmist or rejectionist voices (I did not recognise this type among my interviewees). News reporting focusing only on negative aspects of a country might mean that people become wary of that place. In the worst case scenario, negative reporting can lead to isolationism and xenophobia, as the world is portrayed in the media as a battle field, full of conflicts, wars and catastrophes. Therefore, it would not be a surprise if 'the man on the street' wants as little to do with it as possible. This risk has been recognised in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, whose foreign news editor says that there should be more reporting that portrays everyday life elsewhere. This suggests a desire to make the experience of the world through the media a richer and more varied experience. Other papers have followed in similar footsteps; for example, the foreign editor at the *New York Times* after the Cold War period gave new directions for the paper's correspondents and suggested that there should be a widening of reporting away from political news to a wider variety of stories - being interested in what makes societies different (Hannerz, 2007: 307-308). The same phenomenon has also taken place in the Finnish media. There is a will to move away from reporting that handles only officials and politicians and cover people's everyday life and other timely phenomena instead. The EU-correspondents in Mörä's study found it difficult to fulfil this goal, because EU-journalism is focused so much on meetings and negotiations (Mörä, 1999: 139 and Ahonen et al. 2008: 118).

This thinking is widely recognised in today's media organisations, and was also noticeable in my interviews; one interviewee mentioned that she wants to write more about Russians' everyday life, even though she finds it a little irritating that writing on everyday life has become the trend. I am certain that this goal is more pronounced in the work and thinking of the Finnish foreign correspondents based in Moscow who ponder and weigh carefully what they are reporting from Russia. The chapter 'Soviet Union and Russia in the Finnish media' captured briefly the role that Russia has and has had in the Finnish media. The shared history between the Soviet Union and

Finland has had its bearing on the media coverage; this peaked during the period of Finlandisation. According to Salminen the press supported the objectives of the Finnish governmental authorities and so the Finnish government lost the essential ingredient of a democratic state: an independent and free media (Salminen, 1996:21). This has taken place in recent history and is recognised by today's journalists and foreign correspondents.

When the correspondents were asked whether they had set any personal goals on the coverage of Russia, four out of eight interviewees said that they would like to do stories on everyday life in Russia. Stories on the middle class were also mentioned frequently, as it was felt that the Finnish audience is not aware of the existence of this class. The foreign correspondents clearly consider their role vital in enlightening the population of Finland, exercising cosmopolitanising influence on their audiences. This is also an area, where the correspondents are able to show clearly their expertise and knowledge of Russia, and bring forward those cultural nuances that they have learnt to understand. The correspondents' assignment in Russia is a journey and they are willing to share this experience with their readers and viewers. They are after all living the everyday life in Russia:

> I had very high ambitions. I wanted to tell about this new generation in Russia, my generation that I know so well ---. I wanted to tell how they work, how ambitious they are, they work long days, travel, and know languages and so on. But I haven't, or I've done stories, where this comes across, but I haven't done a single story on how young people are, because I haven't had time ---. (5)
>
> --- By making it more everyday-like I mean that Russia would be visible somewhere else than in the political section. Sometimes I feel that Russia is over-politicised. ---. Like everything would be here extremely planned politically, although at the end, not everything is. (3)
>
> I aimed to bring forward Russians' everyday life, and not only get stuck on --- politics ---. Like in a concrete way tell how people live over here and what kinds of problems they have and so on ---. (2)
>
> **Why do you think it is important to tell about everyday things**?
> Because general stories on politics can be done from Helsinki, and the added value that can be gained by having a foreign correspondent here --- is just that – that he is able to tell with his own eyes and through these locals how the life is over here, and show how people manage here when it's minus fifty Celsius --- This is something that they cannot do from Helsinki ---. That's our job, the added value that we can give from here is that we go around and see places. And also if we'd get stuck in the office, it'd be the same if I did the stories from here or from Pasila. (2)
>
> I had a goal for the first year --- when I was still able to avoid the president game. --- I thought…I'm a bit annoyed about this thing that you have to write about everyday life, but nevertheless I decided to write about the middle class. And that's what I did last year---. (3)
>
> **Why the middle class?**
> Because the middle class is growing in Russia, and that encourages Finnish and other foreign companies to come here to sell their products. It's the class that is able to cause a revolution by voting if it wants. --- And then also, I sometimes felt in Finland that it hasn't been figured out yet that Russia isn't anymore either penniless or filthy rich, that in the middle there is this population that goes to work and supermarket, pays taxes ---. (3)

Susanne Niinivaara, a foreign correspondent for *Helsingin Sanomat* in Moscow, tells in an interview for *Journalisti* that when she arrived to Moscow, her number one goal was to write about Russians' everyday life. She also figured out that it is something the readers are fond of as well (Aro, 2008). The Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow have more or less identical goals to the Washington correspondents, who want to give a broader and more varied image of the U.S. The Washington correspondents' goals were to travel around the country, write and produce reportages and commentaries, talk with ordinary people, cover grass-roots-level life and broaden the spectrum of stories covering the U.S. and the image of Americans (Pekonen, 2005: 36).

The correspondents give quite a few reasons why more everyday-driven stories are needed from Russia: 1) The Finns do not know about the Russian middle-class or everyday life (life outside politics) - will to educate/enlighten audiences. 2) The added value that a foreign correspondent can bring is the portrayal of everyday life in Russia, because political news can be covered from Helsinki based on the information received from news agencies. 3) The Middle-class is linked to economics in Russia - Finnish and other foreign companies are establishing their operations in Russia, because there is a class that has money to buy their products. They also have political power. 4) News from Russia is over-politicised, more variety is needed. 5) Timing and planning – if there are presidential elections coming up in two year's time, it is good to focus on everyday stories, because once the presidential game is on, there is no time for other news/story types.

The foreign correspondents in St Petersburg say that news reporting from Moscow emphasises politics and economics, whereas the correspondents in St Petersburg are able to handle more everyday stories. Moscow has been traditionally considered as the headquarters of news, and over there politics is prioritised because it is required by the editorial office. However, political stories can also be approached with everyday life in mind at micro-levels (Roiha, 2007: 60-62). In practice, this means that developments in politics and decision-making are followed from a grass-roots level; ordinary people's opinions are asked and policy changes are followed on a practical level.

Three correspondents said that they had not set any specific goals, because 'the news life' is so hectic in Moscow that it does not leave much room for fulfilling any personal goals, though they also mentioned the need to write positive stories, because this gives a more diverse picture of Russia:

> Not really, because it depends on the situation and when there's a terrorist attack --- then it's all about taking care of these ad hoc events. --- When there's something that isn't so day-critical --- I aim to tell about negative and positive things when they occur and convey a versatile image, because Russia is a very complex society. (7)
>
> No, because Russia accumulates work enough ---. (4)

> **What about if you think about story types, did you want to write about certain things?** Yes, of course, I had to write positive stories also. This is because of my own mental health and for the Russians - to show them that we also write positive stories about Russia. (4)

The foreign correspondents in St Petersburg consider stories on culture positive, although, in general, they think that writing from Russia is rather problem-driven (Roiha, 2007:67). I believe that in some instances positive stories and everyday stories carry the same meaning. However, the correspondents, who clearly stated that they would like to write more stories on Russian's everyday life, had a more positive perception of the country and more social contacts with Russians. The correspondents, who said that focusing on rolling news takes the majority of their time and that there is no time for 'choosing stories', had worked in Russia at the turn of the century, when there were many dramatic events taking place, including the metro bombings, terrorism, political murders, massive economic growth, Revolution in Ukraine and so on. This gave them less time for everyday stories, which reflects the final marching order of news values.

Other goals or topics that were mentioned in the interviews included NATO and Russia's perception on Finland joining, culture, financial sector and democracy in Russia. Travelling is also considered important, as well as stories that are not related to anything special:

> --- We have this enormous area to cover, we have Russia and all the CIS countries, then of course we should try to travel a bit everywhere to see what's going on --- so that when you write about these things in Russia you know what you're talking about, because it's a bit funny that you write stories about places, where you have never been to. That's why I travelled a lot in here. It's almost the most rewarding part of this work - Russia isn't Moscow only ---. (2)

> When you leave the centre of Moscow, the real Russia begins ---. The city centre of Moscow is like a show window or a zoo, there is majority of cash points, banks and Mercedes ----. And fashion, there's the top fashion and the most gorgeous women --- but when you go outside Moscow, more traditional, cabbage-like surroundings begin. I didn't travel as much as I wanted to, because there's so much going on in Moscow. If I would have gone to Siberia, something would have happened in Moscow. It's a shame that I couldn't go to the most exotic places. (1)

> You also have do stories on topics that aren't related to anything really. We, for example, travelled to a village in Siberia last year --- We went there right after Anna Politkovskaja's murder and we had been writing about that murder all the time --- then we went to that village in Siberia and the villagers hadn't heard anything about these murders in Moscow. Those stories are important, just to go somewhere. I think that I've never received so much positive feedback from the readers. I also thought that these kinds of stories help readers to understand how huge Russia is --. (3)

There are several obstacles that are hindering the fulfilment of correspondents' goals: economics and politics are still considered the most important stories, especially from Moscow. Wu and Hamilton (2004), who have conducted a study on foreign correspondents from the U.S. and abroad, asked the correspondents to rank the importance of news topics according to a subject matter. In both groups, politics and economics were rated as the most important stories. Sports and religion were considered the most irrelevant topics (524). Ibraham, again, who has studied

foreign correspondents in the Middle East, found out that most correspondents felt that political and military news were sufficiently covered, whereas a large majority said that there was not enough coverage of religious, social and cultural news (Ibrahim, 2003:95). In this case, it is likely that religion and culture are considered as defining the culture in the Middle East so profoundly (also triggering wars) that audiences' understanding of this subject matter should be expanded. The Middle East is likely to deviate from other countries.

Although everyday stories are considered important from Russia, hard news tends to dominate the field:

> When you think about today's needs, the most important thing we should tell is what the Russian political elite is planning to do, because we still don't know what's their political agenda. What is their goal and what is the order that they want to have in this world. Writing and telling about politics is the most important thing, because it influences the Finns, because we are Russia's neighbours. --- Reporting the political life is the most important thing and it takes 75 percent of your time, ---reporting about politics is the priority. (4)
>
> **What is the reason? Is this your personal opinion or does everyone agree?**
> All foreign correspondents on a monthly salary agree that the domestic politics, super-power politics, is the most important topic. (4)

Also Kalle Koponen, who used to work for *Helsingin Sanomat* in Moscow, tells that following the domestic politics of Russia takes most of the correspondents' working time (Koikkalainen, 2001: 130). Mörä (1999), who has studied Finnish foreign correspondents in the EU, found out that the most recognisable motives for covering a certain event were reasons that are very close to the classic news values. These reasons include importance, timeliness, and proximity, unusualness of the event and relevance of it. The journalists consider a story important if it addresses a large group of people - especially finance, manufacturing and topics around foreign and defence politics are considered important. Also, if a story handles Finland or Finnish people its news value increases. The Finnish foreign correspondents' main objective in the EUU was to bring a Finnish viewpoint to the news, which differentiates their reporting from the international news agencies. However, many of the stories the correspondents covered from the EU were triggered by something else than by the traditional news criterion. In fact, Mörä found out that the largest part of the news originates from the interaction between journalists and different external stakeholders, including discussions with sources and information coming from news agencies, other media and journalists. Only a small faction of the ideas comes from the correspondents themselves (89-90, 107-108). However, it is good to keep in mind that EU-journalism and more traditional foreign correspondence are fairly different in nature. It is likely to be difficult to cover any everyday stories from Brussels or Strasbourg, and there is no culture in a sense there is a culture in Russia or Sweden for example

Roiha (2007) notes in her study that stories on finance pay better than stories on culture for the freelancers interviewed in her study (64). This indicates that financial news are more respected. Also Hannerz (2004) writes that the news media are oriented to hard news and foreign correspondents tend to take pride in, and be excited by, being present when history is made (31). However, in my study it is quite clear that the correspondents are willing to dedicate more time on news features and backgrounders than on routine news. This came across also in Willnat's and Weaver's (2003) study, where the foreign correspondents primarily see themselves as interpreters of foreign affairs or cultural ambassadors rather than simple transmitters of factual information from the US (419-420).

It is important to keep in mind that this chapter focuses on the foreign correspondents' goals when covering Russia, which does not automatically mean that the goals are considered the most important stories coming out of Russia. In fact, it is obvious that by goals, the correspondents refer to stories that are handled usually in addition to routine stories on politics and economics. It is undeniable that news work generally gives priority to the hard news of conflict and catastrophe. Unless there is time and space devoted to foreign news, and the fewer foreign correspondents there are, the more pronounced this tendency will be (Hannerz, 2002: 67). So, there is a resource problem as well - the less Finnish foreign correspondents there are, the more stereotypical and one-dimensional the coverage gets. Personal experiences may also change the foreign correspondents experiences and view of Russia – this is likely to modify their goals as well:

> And because I knew them that well --- and because I all time heard negative things about Russia in Finland, I wanted to show that Russia has also this. Well, Russia has also this, but there's a lot more that I wasn't aware of, for example the poverty. But I think that the poverty isn't even the biggest problem, but the fact that the law doesn't bring security, the society is completely corrupted. That's a big problem. --- And third, the bureaucracy gets worse all the time. (5)

Several interviewees mentioned that the political and cultural environment in Russia is so complicated that it is fairly difficult to explain them to audiences - keeping and writing for the audience in mind also sets certain limitations for the work and its goals. Going through the research material and analysing the interviews it has been interesting to discover that the correspondents live in a rather contradictory world, their personal aspirations and goals are often overruled by the professional codes and values omnipresent in journalism, which they also seem to follow quite faithfully, even though there is an aspiration to reporting to new directions. At the same time, I am sure that the move to modernise current journalism, may as well start from the journalists.

7.3 Sources

Production of news requires routines, which are repeating as well as self-evident in nature. News making process can be divided in three phases: 1) choosing and defining a topic 2) acquiring material 3) shaping the story. News routines increase predictability and certainty - they also decrease production expenses and increase feeling of security through the known, patterned practices. They also have a social function - they offer a way to maintain professionalism and cohesiveness with other journalists. The culture of journalism and ideals of journalism are re-created with routines, and many times professionalism is understood as a skill to master media routines (Mörä, 1999: 86-87). Ibrahim argues that reporters are not encouraged for their independent thinking. Correspondents who lack external and reliable standards and benchmarks to measure the quality of their work tend to rely on each other, and wire services, but at the same time they are also competitive. This observation suggests that journalists learn routines and news values also from each other (Ibrahim, 2003: 90). Media routines are not neutral and for example choosing a certain source is already a statement saying what is considered important. (Mörä, 1999: 141). In this chapter I will be focusing on data collection processes, more precisely on sources that the correspondents use in Russia.

7.3.1 Russian media

The majority of the correspondents outlined their goal as to have mainly first-hand sources, especially as news reporting is so fast-paced and they have to rely on Russian media: newspapers, television and the Internet. However, in reportages, the correspondents use their 'own people' and this gets easier when social networks expand. Through existing contacts it is easier and faster to get opinions and further connections. One correspondent admitted that he does not have many first-hand sources because he trusts in analysts from both sides. Also, the media provides excellent background information.

Russian media - especially the newspapers - are important sources for the Finnish foreign correspondents working in Moscow. The correspondents can spend several hours a day reading newspapers and watching television - news monitoring is an essential part of the job and media routines the correspondents perform daily. Only the correspondent of *Helsingin Sanomat* has an assistant who helps with news motoring. The Russian media offers the correspondents important information about Russian society and politics, and helps to understand the culture and decision-making taking place in higher levels. Also, new story/reportage ideas can be found from the media. Few correspondents also paid their respect to Russian journalists and said that by following the Russian media, they have developed professionally. The style is different compared to Finnish

journalism, but many Russian journalists are high-class professionals with courage and boldness to match. The Russian journalists also know the society and they have great contacts – an interviewee mentioned that she has noticed that the journalists of *Novaya Gazeta* have excellent contacts with Federal Security Service:

> --- It's interesting to see how Russians look at certain things, like international politics and what they write about relations between the US and Russia and so on. In this case, I've to talk about newspapers, because in television is so much more superficial. In the press there's still more freedom to write and few newspapers have quite interesting stories. (2)

> "In a way, Russian media is livelier. Then again television stays quiet on many things, but the newspapers are quite interesting. Russian language is very colourful and many writers have strong personalities. I've learnt a lot, and Finns in general could learn from their boldness. There're many people, who've sold themselves and even their grandmothers, but there are many brave ones, who have worked risking their own lives. (1)

Because of the highly centralised ownership in the Russian media, the correspondents have to know what media to follow, especially as Russian television is considered boring and superficial, because of its close linkages to the Kremlin and non-critical approach to people in power. One correspondent mentioned the late NTV-channel owned by Gusinsky and said that the channel 'was very liberal, provided excellent entertainment and new story ideas; it was the best channel he had seen. However, in spring 2001, the owners and staff were changed when Putin came into power. The correspondents have a fairly high opinion of the few Russian newspapers that are still able to write independently; *Kommersant*, *Novaya Gazeta* and *Izvestia* were mentioned particularly frequently during the interviews. *The Moscow Times*, which is published in English, was also mentioned in one interview. Russian media is not completely controlled by Putin, which is a typical misconception in Finland:

> **What were the trusted papers?**
> Well, the financial paper *Vedomosti* owned by foreigners, I learnt to trust that one. *Novaya Gazeta* was a pamphlet-type of paper, but definitely bold and interesting. *Kommersant* has always been a very Russian paper, not in a Western sense a newspaper, but a paper whose news includes commenting ---. For my liking *Izvestia* was too close to the authorities, but I read it too. --- And many small, good papers that I read every day to get an overview. There're many quality weeklies, *Kommersant Vlast* is still good. I threw *Itogi* away after the editorial staff had been changed, I couldn't read that anymore. That bunch is completely following the Kremlin line. (1)

> I watch television as much as I've time, although they're really boring, because the television is completely controlled by Kremlin. --- But it's important to follow it, --- they do quite a lot of reportages from different continents and you can get good idea from those. It's very important to follow the Russian media, because you get a lot of information. In Finland people think that the whole media is in Putin's hands, but that's not the case." (5)

> Television news are very predictable and controlled by the Kremlin, Putin is there nearly every day. The leaders are not criticised in television programmes. Newspapers are different, they write about things from many different perspectives and they are different from one another ---. (3)

Being aware and knowing the media ownership structures of Russian media are considered professional skills that the correspondents ought to have. There have been frequent changes in ownership and the correspondents have to follow them, although the ownership and political linkages usually come through from the media texts rather than self-evidently. Although the more experienced correspondents say that it is not difficult to know and keep track of who owns what media, the newly started correspondent admitted that in the beginning they had to do some desktop research:

> There are all kinds of analytical pamphlets about who knows what and they're quite inexpensive. There are only about five main media organisations and you know in detail who owns what. It's not very difficult to keep on track. (4)
>
> We just started finding out, who owns what paper and what is their connection to the Kremlin and it isn't that easy to find out, but you can a pretty good picture of what's going on in Russia from the papers ---."(3)
>
> In the beginning I had to find out who owns what paper, and based on that information you can draw conclusions on paper's policy. If there are tight connections to the Kremlin it's better to look for that information from somewhere else. (2)

Although, the Russian media is an important sources for the correspondents they have to be careful what they are referencing. One correspondent got into trouble when using *Izvestia* as a source, but eventually the charges were dropped:

> I didn't even know that there was a new law for the printed press that gave more responsibility for journalists and chief editors on the use of sources. I used Izvestia when I wrote a critical analysis on the previous prime minister, an ex-KGB man and I didn't know that the paper had been in court and disputed. I was sent a claim for damages and we almost had a court case. Three ministers pressed charges, one of them was the 13th richest man in Russia at the time and he sent a 50.000 dollar claim - two ex-ministers sent a slander claim. --- I didn't have the original interviews --- and then the journalist, who had written the story, had escaped from Russia. He had burnt his notes long time before. I hired a private detective firm to search for that information, but they though it was too dangerous. (4)

7.3.2 Ordinary people

All the correspondents agreed that it is easy to get interviews with ordinary people, including vox pops in the streets of Moscow and interviews in people's homes. The Russians are seen as talkative, social and outgoing with an ability to express themselves. However, this does not necessarily always mean that they would always be completely open. One interviewee thanked Russians for being great in terms of television aesthetics. Also, Putin can be criticised, although this happens rarely because he is generally liked in Russia. People still have the courage to say what they think, but the wariness is prominent in the bureaucrats:

> That's also strange, there're many paradoxes, but people talk over here. It's so much more rewarding and easier to do vox pops over here compared to Finland. In Finland no one says anything, but over here everyone tells their life story from the beginning to the end. They tell their name, no problem. --- It tells something about this society; it cannot be completely closed and non-democratic. And they say what they think about Putin and the government. Putin is popular over here, a usually people like him, but they say if they don't like. (5)

The findings were pretty much in line with Roiha's study (2007), where the Finnish journalists in St Petersburg say that Russians are willing to give comments. On the other hand, they mention it is good to have a slightly cautious attitude towards their commentaries because Russians often exaggerate. Also the possibilities for sarcasm, irony and even misleading information have to be taken into account. According to one journalist, Russians might test the interviewer with irony and see what is going on in his/her head before giving an honest opinion (82-83). This corresponds also with one of my interviews:

> If Russians notice that you don't understand anything about Russia or you don't understand their literature citations or something else, they won't open up. They treat you like a naïve foreigner and put on a stage version of themselves. But if they realise that you speak more or less the same language with them --- It's not about the accent, or if you speak a little bit bad Russian, but if you show that you don't understand anything about their world, then you don't get the comments. If you are able to talk about the reality, that's important in order to be taken seriously. (1)

At the same time, two interviewees mentioned that Russians often want to benefit from relationships with foreigners and had experiences of Russians asking for material compensation when giving interviews.

Ahonen et al. (2008) write in their article that in news handling Russia the voices are more often Finnish than Russians. Russian experts are interviewed rarely. Kari Ahlberg mentions in the interview that correspondents have an important role in making sure that also Russians talk in news that handle them. He has aspired to mirror events from an ordinary citizen's viewpoint, because that is the added value that a foreign correspondent can bring (120).

7.3.3 Governmental authorities

It is difficult to obtain interviews from governmental officials, and even from local authorities in Russia. This was mentioned in every interview and it is considered to slow down and complicate a correspondent's work. Getting an interview from an official source might require weeks or even months of exchanging information. Many correspondents assumed that this practice is inherited from the Soviet times when it was practically impossible to get any interviews. Few respondents remarked that it is likely that Finnish journalists are spoiled when it comes to getting interviews with politicians, and that is not the practice in any big countries, including Russia. Smaller countries like

Sweden and Finland are more transparent, but also the history of Russia has its bearing on today's media environment. The correspondents noted that Russia is a huge country with Soviet roots and it has not naturally achieved the same degree of openness than for example the Western European societies. At the same time it was remarked that it is probably easier for important publications, such as *New York Times* and *Financial Times*, to acquire access to official sources than it is for smaller and less significant Nordic countries:

> If you want to interview someone from WWF or Amnesty that's works out straight away, but if you want to interview government officials and politicians it can take weeks. You've to send a fax, call and this takes long. And this they (home editorial office) don't understand – it's very difficult to find an official to be interviewed. (5)

> ---If you want an interview from the ministry of environment and natural resources you phone the PR-department, fax the questions, and tell what you've done before. Then they contact you, of they think it's worthwhile to give the interview. I think that in five years time we got an interview this way maybe three or four times. It meant that you had to hassle them for a long time. (4)

> "It's very difficult to get minister interviews here, but then again we've been spoiled in Finland. There isn't another country, where journalists get ministers' mobile phone numbers, besides maybe Estonia. You can basically phone them up and ask almost anything and get an answer. Of course this isn't that kind of country. (3)

Because of the difficulty of getting interviews from the bureaucrats, the correspondents came up with alternative sources, such us non-governmental organisations and the Russian media. No one admitted that the difficulty of acquiring interviews and rights would have an influence on choosing stories - that there would be a pre-selection of stories. There were some who thought that the difficulties were not so serious, because the official Russia, in their opinion, was not the number one priority for Finnish foreign correspondents. It is more interesting to write about everyday life and hear about ordinary people's comments and opinions, also on political developments:

> I didn't have to drop any stories, because I came up with substitutive sources. Very often it was NGOs or simply the Internet. (6)

Overall, the correspondents did not seem too bothered that it is difficult to acquire interviews with governmental officials, politicians, and also with important business men. The main reason is that the official information is not often trustworthy. The comments that would be gained from these interviews would not be that useful, because of being so vague:

> If I had to approach officials, it was always like send us a fax and we look at it. I couldn't be bothered to send them anything really. Official information came from new agencies and it was posted on the Kremlin's web pages. There's no point of approaching them. --- But it wasn't my job to handle the official Russia. It's closed and far away from people's every day life, which is much more interesting for a journalist.--- It's impossible to trust on official sources, write stories only based on them and then say that this is objective journalism. Usually the official information is the most unreliable information. (1)

> That happens all the time - people want to give a certain image and you notice that straight away. It's part of this job, when you interview officials, not ordinary people. You know already beforehand what they're going to say and when they've said that, you have to find someone else, who says that that's not the case. The pattern is fairly simple and sometimes I'm ashamed by it, and it's also quite boring, it always follows the same pattern. But you've got to do that, because they're not telling the truth. (5)

When working in Finland the journalists can phone ministers directly, whereas in Brussels getting an interview with a high-profile EU-bureaucrat is considered as an achievement. It is also a measure of professionalism how high-profile the foreign correspondents over there get (Mörä, 1999: 169)

Also Roiha (2007) and Pekonen (2005) mentioned the difficulty of accessing official sources and acquiring interviews. Some interviewees mentioned in Roiha's study that even obtaining basic knowledge is occasionally difficult. Stories handling everyday life are usually easier, because ordinary people are easier to reach (86). Outi Parikka, an ex-foreign correspondent for MTV3 from Moscow, says that the cockiness of Russian authorities is the most strenuous part of the work. The reason is partly cultural: the authorities do not consider themselves as being obliged talking to the press. Talking to journalists is almost seen as criminal. The again in big companies the practices can be completely Westernised and better handled than in Finland. Koponen sees that the problem derives partly from different journalistic cultures: in Russia facts and opinions are not necessarily separated and stories are usually more or less opinion articles (Koikkalainen, 132: 132). In Pekonen's study even 15 out of 22 interviewees considered the difficulty of obtaining first-hand information as one of the major problems. That is why stories handling the U.S politics and finance are mainly build on using second hand sources: the U.S media and international news agencies. Some correspondents thought that it is difficult to access official sources, because in the U.S it is weighed more carefully what benefits are gained from giving an interview. Communications is considered as a marketing practice by public administration and businesses and there is no reason to spend time and money to rather insignificant Finnish newspapers and television (72-73).

Holohan (2003) found out in her study focusing on US foreign correspondents in Haiti that younger journalist have a different set of professional values and practices than the older journalists and they see official sources as merely one way of getting information. The older journalists, in contrast, continued relying on official sources. She also found out that the younger were clear on what role their values and beliefs played in their reportage, and expressed the impossibility of objectivity. The older journalists again see their profession as a set of transferable skills – they simply went out and reported the news (742, 753). Also Mörä (1999) draw similar conclusions from his study: younger journalists were more willing to think about the needs of audiences. Older and more experienced journalists were often more sceptical toward their audiences, thinking that the audiences are not too interested in their work. (53). Because of my sample is so small it is

impossible to create any age categories on source practices. However, this seems like an interesting topic to explore further. As there has been a wider 'movement' to make journalism less official and closer to ordinary people, it is likely that also source practices are changing, but surely they are doing so slowly.

It is likely that the changing landscape of information streams is making the work of governmental officials of withholding information increasingly difficult. Mobile Internet society means that the information moves so fast that it is difficult for the slow officials to keep on track (Laurén, 2007: 52). According to the Internet World Stats there are currently 38 million Internet users in Russia and the number is growing rapidly. The development of the Internet coincides with the collapse of the Soviet Union. That is why Ivan Zassoursky (2006) points out that the Internet is historically and symbolically important for Russia, because the country has been heavily ruled and controlled in the past. The Internet is not controlled by the state mainly because only a small proportion of the people have an access to the Internet and because of bureaucrats' technical incompetence, though the control is expected to increase. Metaphorically the Internet leaves 'a window of freedom in the communications system…' (Zassoursky, 2004:184)

7.3.4 Other sources

According to the correspondents, the best sources in Russia are ordinary people, non-governmental organisations, academics, think tanks and activists, also Russian journalists. Business people and bureaucrats, again, are the most problematic sources to reach. There are plenty of academics in Russia and interviews with them can be arranged at short notice, though one correspondent mentioned that he interviewed an academic who had been researching how people with military and security police backgrounds had spread to Russia's ruling elite. The correspondent managed to organise two interviews with the researcher before he withdrew due to security reasons. This indicates that interviews with academics can also be difficult to acquire if the topic under scrutiny criticises the people in power. Interviews with business people are equally complicated to arrange because Russian business people are not particularly keen on giving an interview for a Finnish paper or television channel. According to one interviewee, Western business people prefer not to give interviews because they put themselves in danger in doing so, publicity makes them a potential victim of crime. Then again, one interviewee, who focuses almost purely on finance and business, mentioned that half of his sources are first-hand and he has a large network business people:

> There're lots of academics. If you decide at three o'clock in the afternoon that you need an interview in two hours, that can be arranged for. --- However meeting during that same day can be difficult, because Moscow is such a big city. My successor warned me that academics don't

> want to give interviews for XX; because they consider us as such a small player and they don't gain anything from it. I haven't experienced that at all, we reached for example a scholar from the Carnegie Institute.---Of course Finland is a marginal country in Moscow, but there is no reason to underestimate your own work. (3)

The Internet and news agencies were mentioned surprisingly rarely in the interviews. The Internet has been hailed as the last free medium in Russia, but still only one correspondent mentioned the Internet as an important source of information; in fact, he is getting most of his information from the Internet, including the web versions of Russian papers. Other interviewees did not emphasise the role of Internet so clearly either, although it became evident that everyone reads and follows news from the Internet as well. The correspondents follow so many publications and they are so pushed for time that any 'extra' Internet research is simply not feasible on a regular basis. And when it comes to sources, 'official media' is of course the preferred choice. The correspondent who reads all his papers from the Internet and follows the electronic world closely, has been in the country for over ten years, and has probably developed a good sense of the Russian media landscape. Few correspondents mentioned following the news agencies RIA Novosti and Interfax. The agencies provide information about press events the correspondents can attend. One correspondent attends RIA Novosti press events approximately once a week and considers them useful, because ministers and governmental people attend them occasionally, as well as representatives of Gazprom - the world's largest gas company. The correspondents are given an opportunity to ask questions at these events. Also, cocktail parties organised by the Finnish embassy and other press events were mentioned as important spots to meet governmental officials and politicians. Often, these events are the best way to secure interviews with politicians:

> There are many press events staking place in Russia and they often handle trivial topics, but the people presenting there are interesting. --- At the end you can ask your own questions face to face, this is maybe the best way to interview politicians. --- Then of course Russian journalists from different sides are good sources including people from governmental-owned publications and then the people in oppositional papers. Then there are loads of different organisations that are loud. From them you can get as many comments as possible. (1)

In the EU, press briefings have a fairly important role, even though the correspondents admit that they are almost completely at the mercy of the information distributed at these events, because they do not have time or a way to acquire additional information. Often these briefings handle smaller, less significant news not macro-scale policies. Some of the interviewees considered briefing as a system, where the power is transferred from journalists to their sources (Mörä, 1999: 109).

Many studies have shown that there is a routine tendency to use the representatives of public administration as sources and that media routines are connected to financial and political processes. Even though the Finnish journalism has striven from the 1990s onwards to move away from the topics that have been defined by officials and politicians and handle more people's

everyday life, is the role of traditional news journalism still strong. Journalists report about the doings of central political institutions and actors, even though there would not be anything meaningful content-wise (Mörä, 1999: 142-143). Because of the difficulty of accessing official sources, the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow correspondents have to rely on alternative sources of information, especially researchers, ordinary people, think tanks, activists and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). They have come up with alternative ways of researching, finding out information and getting comments, because the ideology of Russia does not permit them to operate in the same way as they would operate in Finland. This is not necessarily only a negative aspect - it is possible that the correspondents modernise the Finnish media environment and they have used their creativity and bypassed the ideological barrier to come up with new media routines. Also the interviewees in Pekonen's study employed alternative stories, because of the difficulty of accessing official sources in the US. They mention as well ordinary people and then lower profile authorities like mayors from smaller cities. Also research institutes and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were mentioned as important sources (74-76). Also one third of the foreign correspondents (from 52 different countries and working in the US) studied in Willnat and Weaver's (2003) study, mentioned that they are unhappy because the American politicians and state officials were usually not interested in talking to them. The reason was believed to be that they are not Americans and therefore not considered unimportant (407, 414). It seems that the difficulty of accessing official sources is an international phenomenon, especially for correspondents coming from smaller countries. As a result, the correspondents have re-created news routines and source practices, which are likely to be known widely by the foreign correspondence communities globally.

8. Organisation and extramedia influences

I study the organisations level through the co-operation between the home bureau and foreign correspondents. I will also see what kind of guidance and expectations the correspondents received from their organisations before their assignment. I am not paying attention on available resources and budgeting as such, although Pekonen (2005), for example, thought that one of the main obstacles the correspondents faced in Washington was the lack of resources. Tight budgets lead occasionally to contradictory circumstances: the management wants the correspondents to produce something on/of their own, but in reality the sheer lack of expenses prevent the correspondents from doing this. Constant reminders of tight budgets also caused self-censorship (Pekonen, 2005: 68, 70). Interestingly, this topic did not come across in any of my interviews that strongly. The correspondents, who did not have fixers and assistants mentioned that too much time was spent on routine work and practicalities required by the Russian bureaucracy. At the same time, I did not feel that this would have complicated their work significantly, although it was clear that the correspondents of *Helsingin Sanomat* and YLE had more opportunities to travel than others. This was more down to the headcount than to the straight financing of travel for example.

8.1 Guidance received from the media organisations

Studying guidance that the foreign correspondents received from the media organisations before going to Moscow reveals important, internal viewpoints on foreign correspondence: how much Finnish media organisations are willing to invest in their foreign correspondence, what kind of relationship they want to build with their correspondents, and what kind of expectations they have of their correspondents are just few factors to mention.

By guidance I refer to any training or instructions the foreign correspondents were given prior to their assignment. Training can be anything from language courses to internal training on politics and finance or workshops with Russia experts, and face-to-face discussions and development plans within the organisation. I consider critical discussions important in media organisations, because they present strong perspectives on how to take the media and further develop it. I found out that this is not a standard practice in Finnish media. Neither did the Finnish foreign correspondents in Washington receive any feedback and guidance when moving to the US. Pekonen (2005) thinks that this is caused by the fact the correspondents are unlikely to face similar difficulties as correspondents in China or in the Soviet Union. Another reason might be that the correspondents are experienced journalists (62).

The correspondents had received little or no specific guidance or training from their employers before going to Moscow. Still, only two correspondents criticised the no-guidance approach. Foreign correspondents are generalists who basically have to be 'experts' in every field, requiring the skills to write about a variety of different topics. However, two critical voices remind that knowing the Russian society does not exclude the need for guidance, as the correspondents do not become Russia experts overnight when appointed to a position. One correspondent said that knowledge on finance and politics are needed before the assignment if one has specialised in other fields previously. In-depth discussions with colleagues and guidance from senior managers are also encouraged:

> **Did you receive any guidance before going to Moscow?**
> On the contrary --- I think it's quite strange. It depends on your own initiative ---No one sent me to a language course; I organised that --- and then I had lunches with Russia experts ---. Then I came here and spent five days with the previous correspondent and according to the XX and especially according my manager that was exaggeration – they wondered what we can do for five days together. I was astonished by that. I'd been told that the Moscow correspondent is appointed early; so that there would be enough time to arrange things ---. I worked two weeks in the financial section, and would have liked to stay for a third week, but my manager didn't approve that, which is quite strange ---. I should've stayed there a bit longer; I don't know anything about the stock market ---. (3)

> I think they believe that a person becomes a Russia expert automatically when he's appointed to a position ---. Or maybe they think that it's better to go there without preparations and I hate that, --- in this job you've to do things unplanned so often ---- news just roll in and you've to quickly find out what has happened. Everything that can be prepared beforehand should be encouraged. I talked to people in different sections and what they want, but not with the senior editor in chief. I had some discussions with the editor in chief, but there wasn't much time for that either. This was quite surprising --- maybe it means that I'm being trusted, but newspaper work is based on cooperation. It would have been nice to hear people's thoughts. (3)

> Nothing (laughs). --- It's the same than throwing a child in water and then seeing if she can swim, that's how it happened. I exaggerate a bit, but in principle it went like that. I had never done TV or radio and got a two week's crash course, it was so difficult in the beginning. They think it's if you speak Russian and know the society ----. And even though I'd been here a lot, it's not the same than living here. (5)

> **Would you have needed more guidance?**
> Yes, I think that it's irresponsible to give a person who has never done television or radio a two weeks course and then send them to a country, which is one of the most difficult countries in the world to work as a journalist. --- Many things happened simultaneously and I didn't have time to complain. I just had to digest all the new information, but at some point I'm going to tell them that I hope that they'll never do that again. And I'm quite proud that I made it somehow, because it was really tough. (5)

Two correspondents said that they did not receive any guidance because there was no one who would be able to provide that: Russia expertise was so weak in their organisation:

> Around that time knowledge of Russia was very weak in XX (name of the media organisation). --- I went for a week's course that Sitra organised, but it was basically a waste of time. --- I believe that those wanting to go to Russia or China have followed the countries and are on track what's going on. (4)

> I didn't receive any guidance before coming here. There weren't people who would have been able to give any guidance. (1)
>
> Not really, they were looking forward to interesting and good picture stories ----. There weren't talks on what I should concentrate on ----. Usually every foreign correspondent creates his own role according to his own interests. (2)

Receiving information from ex-foreign correspondents is considered important, but not always that helpful, as Russia and the ways of operating over there change so rapidly – collected networks become quickly out-dated. One correspondent had taken an intensive language course in St Petersburg and another one had worked as summer correspondent in Moscow before, which prepared him for the role. All in all, the majority of the correspondents have internalised the codes of journalism and 'silent' expectations coming from their organisation so profoundly that no further guidance was expected. The correspondents know how to handle their role and responsibilities and, therefore, they do not require any additional training or discussions. However, the correspondents who were disappointed by the lack of support clearly expected some in-depth discussion and reflections on earlier coverage – they wanted to develop their end product in cooperation with others. Also Ibrahim notes that (2003) new journalists quickly conform to the unwritten policies of their organisations and do what is expected of them, including particular interpretations of political parties and economic interests (91).

One correspondent, who worked in Moscow when there were many tragic events taking place, mentioned that it is important that a foreign correspondent has a good relationship with his manager. For example, when going to a war zone you have the knowledge of how to get out and this is where the organisation needs to have preparedness. He received the needed support from his manager, but mentioned that peer support, and good relationships with family and friends, are the best 'tools' for unwinding. At the same time the interviewee mentioned that only a year ago, crisis management training for journalists was organised by the Red Cross in Finland, which he clearly considered important.

8.2 Co-operation with the home bureau

When the correspondents were asked how well their colleagues in Finland understand Russia, the replies varied from very little to moderate. All interviewees agreed that there is some room for improvement, although one of them acknowledged that general journalists cannot be expected to have in-depth knowledge about Russia, because it is impossible to know everything about everything. According to him, it is typical for specialists to feel that other people have inadequate knowledge of the topic they are specialising in. Another correspondent made a similar remark, but

continued saying that Russia is so important to the Finnish media that journalists should know more about it.

Occasionally this ignorance is witnessed by the correspondents as prejudice: Russia is expected to produce negative stories, they are also expected and asked for from Finland, although the correspondents mainly work independently and choose their stories on their own initiative. Journalists in the home bureau, as well as the audiences, are not capable of putting things into a proportion due to the large scope of Russia. The correspondents feel that the same tendency comes through in the representation of Russia in the Finnish media and attitudes of Finnish audiences:

> It's a pity for us that we've to follow such a huge continent, where so many things are taking place. All kinds of accidents --- which we have to tell and report about. --- this kind of reporting feeds prejudice in Finland, because they're not being able to put into a proportion how big this country is and how many people there are --- of course accidents take place more often than in Finland or in Western European countries, but these have to be reported too. (2)

Occasionally the lack of knowledge towards the correspondents' working environment in Russia comes through in everyday work: the home bureau does not understand the realities the correspondents have to deal with when working in Russia; for example, the difficulty in getting interviews with bureaucrats and politicians. One correspondent noted that the knowledge has increased in Finland over the past years and the journalists are more interested in Russia than before. This is partly driven by the economic growth and Russia becoming an important trading partner for Finland.

Most of the story ideas come from the correspondents themselves, although the majority of the news is covered rather self-evidently. There are so many interesting and important events taking place that the correspondents concentrate mainly on handling them. When the correspondents come up with own ideas by following the local media and discussion, they are usually accepted and all the interviewees considered their work in this sense fairly independent. The interviewees in Mörä's study mentioned that expertise increases autonomy, and this comes across as an ability to detach oneself from the influence of daily news stream. In other words the correspondents gained also self-confidence (Mörä, 1999: 105). The home bureaus of the Finnish foreign correspondents ask occasionally for a certain story, but this happens rarely. When the home bureaus have some ideas, they are more general suggestion, for example something around the economic growth and about relations between Russia and Finland. Few interviewees mentioned that the news desk in Finland tends to order stories that reinforce their own pre-conceptions about Russia:

--- They like stories that reinforce their own pre-conceptions about Russia. But in general they don't order many stories that I've to come up with them mostly by myself. They don't follow Russia that much and they understand very little. (5)

What about Russian society and politics?
Very little, but on the other hand it's understandable, because it's difficult to understand. But I'm annoyed that the assumption is always that everything that happens in Russia is bad. Whatever Putin does, it's always against democracy. For example when Anna Politkovskaya was murdered I received messages from Finland that said that Putin did it, which is ridiculous. He's not that stupid that he would get someone murdered. (5)

For one of the interviewees the employer had offered a story with a certain perspective, which after some researching proved to be wrong. The correspondent analysed that the will to write the story from a certain point of view was connected to the ongoing parliamentary elections in Finland and to the fact that the paper she writes for supports NATO-membership. This means that she has to be careful that she is not encouraged to choose a certain perspective for wrong reasons:

Defence minister Ivanov held a speech at the duma about the modernisation of Russia's armed forces ---. Then my boss offered this story with a perspective that the modernisation is connected to the disagreement between Russia and the US about the missiles and that Russia increases its arming by the Baltic Sea because of oil transportations. --- None of my Russian sources though that the speech had anything to do with the missile dispute. A Finnish security source said also that there was nothing strange that Ivanov held a speech like that. As a result, the perspective was completely different than planned and the whole story was quite funny, because they had written some supporting stories in Finland --- and they had clearly tried to twist the tone of the stories, so it would seem that it was somehow worrying thinking of Finland. --- I think that it's interesting that this happened during the spring of 2007. (3)

I think that in general they want to write about Russia being a military threat, and when you read the stories you realise that the researchers don't think that we should be worried. But XX (name of the publication) obviously thinks that we should be worried. (3)

It seems that the foreign correspondents have more freedom when they are writing about 'smaller' topics, but when there are bigger issues in question, such as NATO-membership, managers are more willing to step in.

8.3 Feedback from the audiences

Every correspondent had received some feedback from the Finnish audiences, mainly positive, but print journalists, especially the correspondents from *Helsingin Sanomat*, received more feedback than television journalists. This can be partly explained by the different nature of these two mediums: print journalists' names are out there during the whole experience of reading the news, whereas television reporters are more anonymous, as their names usually quickly appear on a screen:

I don't receive much feedback from the television stories, even though I know that people watch them. --- But very rarely people find out what's the name of a television reporter and his e-mail

> address, because you appear very quickly on a screen and then you disappear and then there is a new story. --- I don't think it means that no one is noticing the stories. (5)
>
> Yes, so much that it was already burdensome. I was all the time bombed by the people, who want to have Karelia returned. That's was one of the reasons why I wanted to change my job. I'm a fairly aggressive writer --- and people tend to get annoyed by my conclusions." (4)
>
> Yes I did. --- In a way it was nice that people contacted me and thought that I had courage to write bold stories. But at the same time you could hear --- that they thought that Russians are awful. --- It was nice to receive positive feedback, but that wasn't the point --- but I didn't receive much negative feedback really. (1)

By saying that receiving positive feedback was pleasant, but that was not the point, the interviewee implies that the readers have misunderstood him and his stories handling Russia. Even though the correspondent has covered Russia in a courageous way, his intention was not to denigrate Russians and Russia. As a result, the positive feedback turned out to be negative: the interviewee did not achieve the kind of reactions that he had aspired to attain. The correspondent behind the stories understands the complexity of Russia, which is difficult to convey to the audience. Although he is putting together negative stories on Russia, he knows and has experienced that there is another side to story: Russia is not always what is seems to be. Yet the audience without the correspondent's experience views the country from a different perspective, which is more straightforward, not understanding the nuances. Also Kalle Schönberg mentions in Koikkalainen's (2001) interview that the events taking place in Russia are so complicated that they are difficult to explain for the Finnish audiences (128).

The majority of the interviewees were not too bothered by the feedback - positive of negative - but understood it to be a part of their job description. Yet there were two correspondents who felt that the tone and amount of feedback received was overwhelming at times. This is likely to be connected to the issue that many interviewees mentioned: there are several groups of people who follow coverage of Russia passionately in Finland. For example, the Pro-Karelia movement, the Finland-Chechnya-Union, some researchers and individual Russia experts were mentioned in the interviews. It is apparent that the correspondents have a fairly complicated relationship with these stakeholders and it is better to keep a certain distance from them. One correspondent also mentioned that traces of Finlandisation are recognisable in some of the feedback that he receives. Although the majority of the feedback is positive, occasionally coverage of Russia is considered too negative by some members of the audience:

> **Did the feedback affect your work?**
> It didn't affect my work, but it's tiring ---. There are few Karelia supporters, who insist that it has to be mentioned in every story that Stalin robbed Karelia and if it isn't mentioned the story is bad." (4)
>
> --- There are these we know-it-all types in Finland, who consider themselves Russia experts and who think that everyone else is wrong. There's no point of listening to them. (5)

> Very little - maybe silence is a sign of gratitude. I'm grateful, because there are so many cults in Finland, who follow Russia passionately and that they haven't approached me. (7)

One of the interviewees attended a journey to Chechnya organised by the foreign ministry, but the correspondent thought that it was worthwhile to go there, as she was able to meet the president and prime minister of Chechnya. The interviewee also witnessed that the war had finished, which was not completely clear before the journey. Because of attending the journey with the foreign ministry, the correspondent received feedback from the Finland-Chechnya-Union. The Union criticised her attending the journey with the ministry, saying that human right violations should also be covered. The interviewee disagreed, saying that it is worthwhile to attend these trips as long as the journalist writes openly about the conditions where the stories are created. Additionally, the correspondent interviewed human rights organisations in Moscow. The Chechens, who she interviewed in Moscow, did not even mention their independence. For them, it would have been more important to have their own house in Chechnya – that would have a good reason to move back there, not independence. According to the correspondent, different opinions and voices have a right to be heard.

Many interviewees mentioned that the Finnish audiences have prejudices against Russia and this shows in their feedback to the correspondents. A study conducted by Gallup International in 2004 showed that from Europe only in Kosovo people have a more negative attitude toward Russian than the Finns. 62 percent of the 621 Finns, who replied to the survey, said that they have a negative or a very negative attitude toward Russia. The following countries were Switzerland and Czech Republic where the figure was 42 percent (Aittokoski & Kovanen, 2004). This is also closely linked to the representation of Russia in the Finnish media: the Finnish audiences still like to read about Russians' misery, although during the past years the economic growth and stories about oligarchs have gained more attention. Many mentioned that the Finns tend to have an image of Russia that is stuck in the Soviet-times - it has been hard for them to understand the change from Russia as a Soviet state to a market economy searching for a way to function as a democracy. Naturally, this huge change has required additional endeavour from the correspondents, as they have to learn about an economy in transition and tell about this process to their audiences. The correspondents feel that the Finnish audiences are still working on this change:

> Our nation has a prejudiced view of Russia, but it's caused by the history and deep trauma. We moved directly from the war to the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, when we weren't allowed to talk about things. --- I feel that in the 90s, during Yeltsin, we started unloading these feelings. We are as a nation in a need of therapy in our relationship towards Russia. --- I believe that this is changing, but slowly. (1)

> There's a lot of strong bias against Russian in Finland. On the other hand, this is completely justifiable, because it's really difficult to operate in this country. ---- And there are a lot of big problems. Of course, I think that it's a shame that it's always thought in Finland that Russia isn't

> ever going to able to develop, --- but at the same time the Finns have a fairly realistic view of Russia. --- The Finns understand that there has never been democracy. You cannot expect that a country starts blooming in ten years, but in Sweden this isn't understood at all. In that sense I rather do stories for Finnish audiences, because they understand better. But in Finland there's Russia-hatred and that's a shame. (5)

8.4 Networking with other foreign correspondents

"Generally speaking, many correspondents would say that in cities where there were few of them, and especially when they were living under tough conditions and perhaps in an adversarial or at least closely guarded relationship with the host society and especially its government, they were likely to stick together more closely. This was the case rather more in South Africa during the apartheid period, in the Soviet Union before glasnost and perestroika ---." (Hannerz, 2004:157). When the life is more comfortable and correspondents do not feel beleaguered, there is a tendency to see less of each other. Especially major Western European capitals and Washington and New York tend to be like that (Ibid: 158).

> Someone told me from our group that there's such a tradition in Moscow that if a Finnish person gets in trouble he can always ask help from another Finn. It's quite intriguing, because people didn't necessarily know each other, but somehow the Finns stuck together. (1)

All the interviewees had social contacts with other correspondents from Finland, and also from other countries. Often the networks include business men and diplomats and for example embassies organise gatherings, where foreigners meet each other. The expatriate world was more emphasised in couple of interviews and it is clear that some were more geared to live in that world than others. The interviewees recognised the tendency to live in a separated reality from the Russians and some made conscious decisions to resign from it as much as possible:

> It's nice occasionally to drink some wine together and tell about your own work day and complain about this and that. --- And the feeling that you're not crazy when certain things bug you over here ---. But many foreign correspondents live in an expat world, where they meet only other foreigners and that's not something that I want. I think that it's important to stay in contact with my Russian friends and meet them as much as possible. (5)

However, almost everyone agreed that it is a relief to meet other Finnish people and foreigners and exchange experiences of life in Russia. It came across in most of the interviews that the networks of foreigners especially from the Nordic countries living in Russia are based on solidarity. The foreigners, especially the Finns help one another and the correspondents gave tips to one another on travelling and so on. Also those correspondents, who have better resources, including an assistant and a driver, helped those who had to come by with less. The tight work schedule set some limitations for socialising, which is usually fairly informal and not related to the work:

> The biggest difference compared to Finland was that the life was extremely communal over there. There was a Winter War mentality between the foreigners, lots of friends and always events around the Finnish school and nursery. We visited one another often and everyone lived close to each other – the social life was extremely lively." (4)

The correspondents do not exchange story ideas with another as such, although in some cases print and television journalists changed ideas if the story was not suitable to one medium:

> **Do you exchange story ideas?**
> Not really, at least I don't. Sometimes if I'm travelling somewhere and I know that one of my colleagues has been there recently, I might phone him and ask some background information, --- like if he knows a good fixer or an interviewee but exchanging story ideas, not really. (2)
>
> I'm pretty sure that doesn't happen anywhere. If I had to go to know Northern Afghanistan I asked some consultations because of security reasons: what route they had taken and what where the dangerous places. In 2001 we travelled from Tajikistan to Northern Afghanistan and four people died in our entourage. (4)
>
> I think that we know roughly where everyone is travelling to. --- Especially in the beginning I met people to know what has happened here. I many times invite them to my place for a dinner and we talk about Russia and have surely exchanged sources too. But I'm sure that YLE doesn't tell about its scoops" (3)

Only two interviewees admitted that there is competition between the correspondents. Others said that they did have time or that they didn't think about it. Especially *Helsingin Sanomat* was used for benchmarking. Help is more practical in nature:

> There is competition. If I'm working on a story I do talk about it, but I don't share my ideas. It's better not to, and there's a mutual understanding, because we don't take each other's ideas, it's better not to talk about them. But we can help by giving phone numbers and so on, at least I do. (5)
>
> Of course there were situations occasionally when I slept over a news story and then noticed that in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In those cases I was annoyed, but my work wasn't based on competition. The most important thing is that you can offer to the home bureau what they need. (6)

The interviewees in Mörä's (1999) study told moving around in groups, discussing together, using each other's stories as sources and also working together concentrically. They for example exchanged notes and asked from one what a certain source had said (121). This is surprising because these factors besides discussions with one another were not highlighted in my interviews. The Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow meet each other outside work, but it is mainly recreational, although Russia is of course discussed at dinners. However, I did not see a major reliance on one another when it comes to work practices.

9. Ideological differences between Finland and Russia

> In my mind, I call Russia an absolute bureaucracy. The power of bureaucracy in Russia is unlimited and the bureaucracy monitors all other organs in the society: bureaucracy monitors mass communications, parliament, judicial system, finance, everything. --- I admire how genius the Russian bureaucracy is, how it makes dozens and dozens of back up copies of itself. There have been several revolutions in Russia, but from every revolution the bureaucracy has survived as a winner. It's important --- It's genius how Russian officials protect themselves and invent new regulations to make sure that they receive most of national property and income. (7)

> Some things might be easy to take care and it's not true that everything is difficult and bureaucratic in Russia. Many times it's other way around, but you never know and that's strenuous. If you would wake up in the morning and knew already that nothing is going to work out today as planned that would be maybe easier. (1)

Bureaucracy in Russia and ideological differences between Finland and Russia where discussed more enthusiastically than any other topic in the interviews. As discussed earlier in the thesis, the majority of the correspondents had a relatively deep understanding of Russia before moving to Moscow, but still there where numerous factors that solidified this point. The eagerness to discuss Russian politics and ideological differences demonstrates that these are topics that the correspondents have to analyse constantly. Following topical issues in Russian society, trying to understand them and interpret about them for Finnish audiences is a core part of their work, but before interpreting the Russian way of life, the correspondents have to explain and understand it themselves. Because Russian society is so complex, understanding and interpreting it requires a lot from the Finnish foreign correspondents, especially because they come from such a different cultural background. It also became clear that the correspondents have employed different methods to reason and comprehend Russian society:

> The question is still why. He (Putin) has said that he wants to return the sovereignty and super power position of Russia, but why he had to tear down so many centers of power --- including oligarchs, press, incipient party system, duma, The Upper House, judicial system, although that has never been independent as such. (1)

Those who had stayed in Russia for several years or had travelled to the country extensively before their assignment agreed that several changes have taken place in the country during the past years, most of them negative. For example, bureaucracy (see Laurén, 2008), state-control and racism have increased. The Russian foreign ministry organises trips for foreign correspondents where the official interpretation is given. This gives the correspondents less independence and one interviewee mentions that the number of closed cities is increasing; at the moment there are 200 places that are off-limits to 'outsiders'. Governmental bureaus and the academy of the Russian state are also closed and the correspondents have to apply for permits to enter the buildings. Some were surprised by how corrupt Russia is.

Russian media is more or less state-controlled, television completely and there are only a few free papers. Many of these changes remind the correspondents of Soviet times. The increasing state-control and disciplinary actions have influenced journalists' work and made it more difficult. Also attacks against NGOs are taking place more and more frequently:

> Putin has said very directly that he considers the NGOs, especially those that receive financing from abroad as Russia's enemies, aspiring to overthrow the power ----. The viewpoint of Russian elite is completely different than our point of view, and of course a super power has a super power mentality, which is completely unfamiliar to us. (1)

Earlier it had been easy for the correspondents to enter the country with a tourist visa, but now accreditation practices have been tightened and the militia is now asking for papers, even on the streets of Moscow. All interviewees had heard about accreditation problems and knew the latest news and developments, but only two correspondents had faced difficulties personally. One correspondent had been declined the accreditation when he was already back in Finland, but wished to retain his work permit to Russia. His application was declined and the correspondent was not given any arguments for the rejection. The interviewee considers the practice of not giving any reasoning for the rejection as a re-appearance of Soviet practices. Previously, he had been asked to bring samples of his work to the Russian embassy in Finland, but he refused, saying that he knows that there are people in Finland who already follow the Finnish media and the coverage of Russia. Also, other correspondents knew about cases where foreign correspondents had been asked to provide samples of their stories. Another correspondent had been declined a visa four times in a row during his stay in Moscow until the Finnish ambassador wrote a note to Russia and the dilemma was solved. The correspondent spoke about how the difficulties had started when he declined to take his curator to an expensive lunch:

> In Russia there's still the system where every correspondent has his own curator in the Russian foreign ministry and all practicalities go trough this person. If you want a visa or any other official document, you've to present it to the curator and he takes it forward. And I had for three years a very unpleasant contact person --- he insisted that everything is taken care of at lunch. --- He insisted that we drink vodka with every course and when you were drunk the interrogation started. --- I was so annoyed that I refused to meet him anymore, and so he revenged. (4)

> Visa problems started later. --- An accreditation card is very important for foreign correspondents --- and getting it has become increasingly difficult during the past years, actually during Putin's period, although it has always been slow, rigid and bureaucratic ----. The problems started when I moved back to Finland and wanted to keep the accreditation, because I had to be ready to go there if something happened. At that point the treatment of journalists worsened --- I wrote about it a lot between 2000 and 2001, but it was taken to concern also foreigners in 2003-2004. (1)

> The Russian Union of Journalism has --- said that the number of accredits has been steadily declining from the year 2000 when the current president came into power and many have drawn a conclusion that this is also the purpose of Russian politics. (6)

One of my interviewees worked for the public relations department at the Finnish embassy during the interview and he knew about several cases, also in Finland, where foreign correspondents were refused to be given an accreditation. According to him, these correspondents have usually written critically about Chechnya. He also told that the Russian bureaucrats do not provide any reasoning for their actions and there are two possible theories: either the reason is personal, originating from a correspondent's work history; or it can be explained by a larger-scale political strategy, where the number of foreign correspondents is constrained in order to limit the amount of information from leaving the country. The interview extracts show that the correspondents have drawn similar conclusions: they have had personal conflicts with key people, but they understand that it has also been a larger-scale trend to discipline and decrease the number of foreign correspondents in Russia.

Russians had also tried to recruit one of the interviewees and according to him there have been three serious and separate attempts to recruit foreign correspondents from *Helsingin Sanomat* during 2000. The interviewee believes that every foreign correspondent from *Helsingin Sanomat* assigned in Moscow will face recruitment endeavours, although they are not discussed publicly. He had been invited to Tehtaankatu, Helsinki, where the Russian embassy in Finland is located and was asked to characterise some Finnish and Russian journalists. Naturally, he refused to do this and reported the incident to the editor-in-chief.

Another correspondent, who had to take care of all practicalities when moving to Russia, had faced the realities from day one onwards; when he was renting a flat, the majority of the landlords wanted to write two tenancy contracts in order to evade taxes. Finally he rented a flat from a Russian journalist who had written extensively about Chechnya. Soon, the Finnish correspondent realised that a bugging device had been installed in their phone, and the line never recovered. For other interviewees, the obstacles were less dramatic and usually the bureaucracy concretises in the growing amount of paper work. For example, one interviewee told that when he went to Moscow in 2001, he had to fill in one tax report in a year, but when I left there were already 26 reports. And when travelling the correspondents have to register at the location, which is difficult if you are staying with your friends. The interviewees told that laws and rules change constantly and it takes time and effort to keep track of the latest developments. Paper work is a heavy burden and it takes time away from journalistic work, which was seen as one of most negative aspect of increased bureaucracy in everyday life:

> The state control is increasing all the time. In practice this means that there's more and more papers that I've to sign. Many practicalities are more difficult to take care of, and new laws and rules are invented all the time. (2)

> In the financial sector the changes have been huge. There're many reasons for it, but for example many companies have become public ---. And PR work has become stronger.
>
> It tightened all the time. In my old stories from the 90s a high ranking police official from the ministry of internal affairs told how some police men had been accused of using drugs or manufacturing them ---. Ten years later it would be impossible that a Russian official would tell criminal charges pressed against other officials. (4)

9.1 Being a foreigner in Russia

> **Are foreign correspondents treated in a different way than Russian journalists?**
> Absolutely. We can basically work here as we want that they don't intervene with out work ---. Of course sometimes you hear that they've told to the staff in the Finnish embassy that there're too many negative stories on Russia. (7)

All correspondents agreed that foreign correspondents are treated in a different way than Russian journalists. A correspondent working for the Finnish television mentioned that it is easier for Russian journalists to receive permits to film in sensitive locations. For example, one correspondent had experienced difficulties in Mari El Republic when covering a story related the conflict that took place in the Republic early 2000. Another correspondent covered the treatment of minorities in Mari El Republic and told how three people had been killed in the conflicts. As a result, the case was handled in the European parliament and a proclamation against Russia was published. Later on the same correspondent received an invitation from a Russian official who takes cares of EU-relations to travel to the Mari El Republic. The intention was to take many journalists there - a pool of journalists - to demonstrate that the situation is not as poor as reported in the media:

> Sometimes --- getting a permit to film is difficult, because the local officials are more and more wary giving permits to foreign correspondents, because the state authorities have been demonetising us, like we would be spies. This is the image that has been given in public and it cannot be without affecting officials' attitude and decision-making. (2)

Press events also often have separate rooms for Russian journalists and foreign correspondents. One interviewee thought that Russians were given more information, which in his opinion was also natural because Russian journalists have more specific interest areas, whereas foreign correspondents have to cover a larger scope, which means that they often require less information. Everyone agreed that Finland and Finnish people have a good reputation in Russia and this makes their work in Russia easier, as there are no huge disagreements right at the beginning. One interviewee told that alongside Germans, Belarusians, Greek, Bulgarians and Norwegians, the Finns have the best reputation in Russia:

> I believe there is more harm coming from the Baltic and CIS-countries. There are prejudices against people from Azerbaijan and Americans, but there's a fairly positive attitude towards Finns and we're considered trustworthy, maybe a little slow and lazy. --- But then again Finland is respected because of Nokia and our technology ----. We've extremely good reputation in Russia and I'm sure that helps, but then again Finland is a small country and when the questions in the world politics are being solved, you don't get a chance to say anything in an info sessions. (1)

Discrimination and racism were topics that were mentioned in many of the interviews: discrimination against homosexuals, racism Caucasians and coloured people, and although it did not come as a surprise to most, it was still considered as one the most negative aspects of the Russian society:

> I think that the atmosphere has become more unpleasant. There's more racism, xenophobia – there has always been anti-Semitism and racism towards Centre-Asians and Caucasians has increased. Almost every week someone gets killed ---. (7)

> In a way it is defending oneself ---. Majority blames the minority for all the difficulties that are taking place, because it's easy and it has also been used as a political tool over here. --- The Russian leaders want to restore the greatness of Russia and receive international recognition that was lost when the Soviet Union disintegrated. I think that minorities and people, who are different, are seen as a threat, as they want to revive the meaning of Russianess. And during the Soviet Union gays were put into a mental hospital and most of the Russians have started their adulthood in the Soviet Union. (5)

Other correspondents have also mentioned that Russia wants to regain its past glory with increased state control and bureaucracy as a result of this aspiration. It was also mentioned that Russian officials as well as ordinary Russians are not capable of receiving critique - if the Western media reports something negative about Russia it is often understood as Russophobia. Also el-Nawawy (2001) produced similar results: there is a general mistrust of Westerners, non-Arabs and non-Moslems by opinion makers and a sense that the foreign media are conspiring against the Arab World, there is a mutual distrust between officials and correspondents. West is associated with colonialism and foreign conspiracies to destroy the country's image (10-11). Most correspondents learnt to understand Russia when living there, but some said that it turned out to be even more illogical than what they had thought. Some interviewees mentioned the trauma caused by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and how often people's talks moved to the Soviet times.

Urpo Laaninen, who works for a provincial paper near the Russian border and has travelled extensively to Russia, mentions that the everyday work of Russian and Finnish journalists is quite similar. The biggest difference is that the journalists in Vyborg are not able to criticise the authority. The political leadership cannot be criticised, because the journalists could receive threats from the mafia or authorities. Because of not being able to practice any criticism some of the journalists

decided not to write about the latest duma elections. According to Laaninen freedom of speech is very weak on a local level in Russia (Ahonen et al. 2008: 120).

9.2 Becoming cynical?

It became clear that some of the correspondents had become cynical towards Russia and Russians while living in Moscow. Some even admitted that this was the case:

> I'm sure it became more cynical and less optimistic, because I felt that nothing can be trusted and everything has another meaning ---. My belief that something is straight and honest faltered ---. It took a year or two when I had come back to Finland to realise that people usually mean what they say ---. (1)

> Yes, they've started to develop. I've been even afraid that when I read Russians' racist stories that I become racist towards Russians ---. I'm tempted to say if everything is genetic, why there're so many pitfalls in Russia. --- Then you realise that the emotional climate is taking its toll or all the propaganda that you've to watch from the television channels. (7)

It is difficult for the correspondents to remain impartial and detached, because they are dealing with difficult issues everyday and the harsh realities are emphasised in their work. Three interviewees note that Russia easily provokes people: there is often a clear polarisation into black and white, right and wrong. Because state control is so strong, the forces that are there to counter it have to be equally strong and if not more so:

> --- I think that Russia provokes easily to think that everything that Russia, if we think about Russia as Putin's administration, is wrong and suspicious and against democracy and human rights ---. Therefore you've to pay attention, because sometime when it's said that Russia is plotting something, it's actually saying it completely openly. This is inherited from the Soviet Union when everything had to be read in between the lines and when suddenly something is said completely openly… (3)

Strong opposition is also a sign of the juxtapositions, and this is where many mentioned Anna Politkovskaya, who became an enemy of the Russian state. No one believed that Putin was behind the murder, which was the general conception in Finland. Dissidents have to be strong and radical because the opponent is extremely strong and equally determined. The correspondents did not believe that Putin ordered the murder of Politkovskaya because she was not that important a person in Russia and Russia has already lost their PR-work abroad. One interviewee mentioned that the Finns simplify the Russian government, which is actually more complicated now. All are loyal to Putin, but there are is a controlled chaos where different clans steal from one another. One correspondent even said that elections in Russia can be manipulated, so that the same thing does not happen as in Germany in 1933. The interviewee believes that Russians are not ready for democracy yet, not the elite or the people. He had changed his mind during the four-year stay in

Moscow and supports the president's administration in this view. In his mind an authoritarian rule is the right choice for Russia currently. Laurén (2007) writes in her book that most of the Russians do not actually want to have democracy, which is often considered as an abusive term linked to Yeltsin's chaotic period. The current authoritarian state is more stable and predictable (175).

Although the correspondents have faced many difficulties when working in Russia, it was a general belief that there are countries - such as China, where one of my interviewees had worked for many years - that are even more difficult country for journalists to work in. Other big countries, such as the US, are also very bureaucratic with regard to the flow of information. According to one correspondent, people are still able to give their opinions in Russia, but officials are generally more aware:

> In principle the situation is not as bad as what has been told in Finland, that you cannot say anything and that everything is controlled by the state. Basically almost anything can be discussed and broadcasted in television, but the main point is that things are not analysed. Certain contexts and conclusions are left out, but there're still papers that still operate freely. --- It's not so worrying than what has been discussed in Finland. (6)

The correspondents in Pekonen's (2005) study did not admit that their attitudes and beliefs would be visible in their stories, but they said they may affect unconsciously when choosing topics and on their viewpoints. During their stay in Washington the correspondents became more and more aware of the diversity in the American society and therefore avoiding the old clichés of America was considered important. The whole picture became wider and a habit to produce generalisations about the country lessened. Although majority of the correspondents had lived in America before the employment they admitted that the diversity and complexity of the country surprised them. Interesting is though that longer the correspondent had lived in the country and gained knowledge about the American society, more he or she valued the way Nordic or European societies are structured. Also, the superficiality, 'aggressive' climbing the ladder mentality atmosphere in Washington, self-satisfaction of Americans, social ills and racism were mentioned in their comments. Paradoxically, here again, the foreign correspondents wanted to give a broader and more diverse image of America, but at the same time chose topics that enhance stereotypes and clichés on America. This is again explained by news values that determine the news selection process. One of the values that the news selection is based on is to choose news where the differences of the Finns and Americans are the most apparent. These news topics are often concerned with the ills of the American society. (Ibid: 33-36, 58). In this sense the findings of my research seem to be more or less aligned with Pekonen's study.

However, it is very difficult to estimate how much foreign correspondents own attitudes influence media content. A clear majority in Mörä's (1999) study though that their opinions come across from

the stories that they write (47). Also interviewees in Mörä's study became cynical, but mainly because the work was not what they expected. The days are full of meetings, negotiations and different media events and there is no much time for writing reportages or analytical stories (54). This seems to be a general problem for the Finnish foreign correspondents in different locations: the expectations are high, but in reality the work is often very different. It is not only the challenging working conditions, thinking about the amount of work and different working routines that are required, but also getting adjusted to the local culture. So, the challenges that the correspondents are facing are both personal and professional. This can lead to certain contradiction and even cynicism. Adjusting to a new culture is undeniably difficult, especially when the cultural distance is significant. Because the Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow are so concerned about the ideological differences between Russia and Finland, it is likely that this influences the media content somehow. Focus that is given for politics and economics might be one consequence. Because these two areas have a bearing on the correspondents' everyday life, it is likely they wish bring these topics forward to the Finnish audiences also.

10. CONCLUSIONS

My aim in this study was to find out what are the main internal and external influences that have an impact on the mass media content Finnish foreign correspondents produce in Russia and what are the most significant of these influences and why. The Shoemaker and Reese model facilitated in creating the interview structure, but the interviews revealed also other topics that the correspondents themselves brought forward. One of the most interesting aspects of the interviews was to find out what topics the correspondents themselves emphasised in the interviews; ideological differences between Russia and Finland, Russian politics and economics, representation of Russia in the Finnish media and extramedia influences - in this case available sources in Russia – all triggered the liveliest discussions. One of the most surprising findings was to see the negative views some of the interviewees had on Russia, and how this had developed during their assignment in Moscow. This perception was directed especially toward Russian political and economic life, as well as toward the Russian bureaucracy, but occasionally it cast a shadow on other aspects of Russian life, including ordinary Russians.

It was extremely valuable to pay attention to the correspondents' goals, as their ambitions also show what the correspondents think about the current representation of Russia in the Finnish media, because objectives are often set to fulfil an existing gap. Additionally, the correspondents' ambitions often highlight something about the other topics examined: they reveal, for example, how the correspondents perceive Russia and the ideological differences between Finland and Russia. This is explained by the fact that the correspondents' personal ambitions are set based on the information that they hold on Russia and how they see Russia. The fulfilment of objectives pulls into focus something about the existing media routines, extramedia influences and prevailing news values, and how much influence an individual journalist has over the outer levels of the hierarchy of influences model. In the following pages, I will be offering some final conclusions for the different areas that were under scrutiny.

10.1 Knowledge is not everything

If we first look at the individual level and the reasons and motivations for why the correspondents wanted to go Moscow, several reasons were given in the interviews. Although the interviewees thought that Moscow is still one of the most prestige places for a journalist and that Russia is one of the most interesting places in the world for journalism due to the amount of hard news it offers, many noted it was relatively effortless to be assigned to Moscow. Some had been encouraged by their managers to apply for the post and three had basically organised a role for themselves. Lack

of sufficient language skills and a negative perception of Russia were thought to be the main reasons for why journalists are reluctant to apply for a position in Moscow. Then again there were several reasons why the interviewees had applied: I categorised three interviewees as Slavophiles - they had followed Russia for several years, also outside work, studied Russian at school and they even confessed to loving Russia. Although, in saying this, I do not mean that these correspondents would leave Russia without any critical thinking, as they were also analytical and critical. Two correspondents, again, had a more generalised interest toward Russia and they considered the experience as offering them the opportunity for better career prospects. Although only two of the interviewees mentioned better career prospects, I believe that this factor motivated nearly all the interviewees to some extent, especially the correspondents working for *Helsingin Sanomat* and YLE. The level of autonomy the work (posting) offers and a way out of the work routine in Finland were also considered important motivators. The fact that the correspondents perceive having more freedom and autonomy when working as foreign correspondents suggests that the individual level of the hierarchy of influences model is stronger for foreign correspondents than it is for staff journalists working in the home bureau. There are probably several reasons for the gained independence, but it is likely that the correspondents are respected for their professionalism and knowledge in their organisation, because their language skills and knowledge of Russia is at a more advanced level when compared with their colleagues. The correspondents' answers indicated that the level of knowledge on Russia in their organisation varies from very little to moderate, whereas the correspondents become experts when living in Moscow.

Interestingly, nearly all the interviewees agreed that there is something more valuable than knowledge, which is supported by the desktop research that I have carried out. All the interviewees had studied Russian and although their skills varied a great deal, everyone was able to hold a conversation in Russian. Everyone agreed that knowledge of Russian is important when thinking about the work, as it opens many more doors to information, including direct discussions with first-hand sources and a wider access to Russian media; a basic knowledge of Russia is essential, but also sufficient. The interviewees' knowledge of Russian society is fairly strong, although there is naturally some variation among the interviewees - everyone had followed the political, social, cultural and economic life of the country before moving to Moscow, although the reality was quite different than the Russia portrayed in books in magazines. This provided another interesting finding; knowing Russia does not automatically mean being familiar and comfortable with its culture, and, in fact, going deeper into the culture often triggers feelings that are not only approving and positive. Laurén also writes in her book that the knowledge that the West has on Russia is much broader than their understanding (180).

How well the correspondents ‘integrated’ into Russian culture did not depend on their degree of knowledge, and the majority of the interviewees considered strong professional capabilities and the will to discover new more important. How the correspondents perceive Russia and the ideological differences between Russia and Finland generated varying results. Even though the correspondents had basic knowledge prior to their assignment and were fairly well prepared, it was surprising that they had not received any guidance or support from the media organisations. Still, only two correspondents criticised this. Also, the cooperation with home bureaus worked well, although they did not always understand the Russian working environment and the news desk tends to order stories that reinforce their own preconceptions of Russia. The role of the organisation was not very strong in my study, maybe due to the viewpoints chosen: guidance received and cooperation with the home bureau. I think that it is surprising that the media organisations do not have more open internal discussions. For example, on the representation issues and what kinds of stories are gladly received from different countries and why. Perhaps the correspondents are so trusted by their managers that they do not consider that there is a need to have discussions and reviews. I personally see this as a huge development opportunity - discussions and debates increase transparency and analytical thinking. All in all, the organisational level did not have a large role in my study. It would be interesting to study further how the media organisations in Finland review their content and increase the quality, for example, in terms of Russia. Are journalists able to provide their input and vision and if so, how and are they encouraged to do that?

Many interviewees considered the building of social networks with Russians difficult because of cultural differences, and three of the interviewees did not have any close social networks with Russians outside of work. However, with one exception, those correspondents who had social networks with Russians considered these relationships useful for their work. Through local contacts, the correspondents learn more about Russian culture and empathise more with the feelings of ordinary people. Locals can give important information about their culture, act as translators of culture and provide background information about complex social affairs. Through established networks, it is also easier to find sources for stories in ad hoc situations. Nearly all the correspondents agreed that knowing Russians is eye-opening and benefits correspondents’ work. Although, it is not meaningful to draw direct conclusions on this topic because the research sample is so small, it strongly seems that those correspondents, who emphasise the importance of social networks are also keener to write stories on everyday life.

10.2 Stories on everyday life high on agenda - reality bites

One of the most interesting findings of the study was that many correspondents regarded Russia as captivating due to the amount of drama it offers; still four out of the eight interviewees mentioned that they would like to do more stories on everyday life and about the middle-class in Russia. The correspondents want to share their knowledge and consider their role vital in enlightening the Finnish audiences by showing them another side of Russia. In general, the correspondents see that the Finnish audiences have prejudices against Russia and they like to read about Russians' misery. There are also some interest groups that are passionately following news on Russia and the correspondents felt that it was uncomfortable to be in their spotlight. I recognised several reasons why the correspondents considered stories on everyday events critical: news from Russia tends to be politicised and more variety is needed; the middle-class is linked to economics in Russia; the added value that the correspondents can bring is the portrayal of everyday life in Russia, because the Finns do not know about the Russian middle-class and everyday life. There is a slight contradiction: although the correspondents would like to emphasise the ordinary life in Russia, economics and politics are still placed higher in the hierarchy of news. At the same time, the interviewees see the current representation of Russia in the Finnish media as critical, negative and even stereotypical, but also fair. There are many negative events taking place in Russia and they have to be reported. Some respondents were almost annoyed by the accusations that the representation of Russia is negative. At the same time, almost everyone agreed that a more versatile image of Russia should be portrayed, although this is difficult due to limited resources. Also, the set of objectives show that the interviewees are aiming for a more varied image.

Because of internalised media routines and professionalism, the focus tends to be on politics, international relations and different crises. Some interviewees said that the doings of the Russian political elite was the number one priority. For others, the setting out of personal goals but not being able to follow-through due to existing news values and professional codes indicates that in this regard, the individual level in the hierarchy of influences model is overruled by the extramedia and media routines levels, or at least partly. Because Finland and Russia are culturally far away from each other even though they are neighbouring countries, the task of covering everyday events becomes even more difficult. A great example is the Pietiläinen's (2005) study on the metro bombings in Moscow and Madrid. The incident in Madrid had a 'warmer' approach in the Finnish media, whereas the Moscow bombing kept a certain distance from the Finnish audiences in the media all the time. This is where the correspondents' role becomes increasingly important – they have a possibility to portray Russia in a new light, with some personal touch. Many researchers refer to journalists' 'pack mentality' and this is where respect for hard news partly comes from. This

is clear when looking at the stories that have received a Pulitzer-prize - the most prestigious award that a journalist can receive. Since the award-system was established in 1917 stories belonging to the war-category have won altogether 64 prizes, other crises have won 32 stories, the Soviet Union/Russia seventeen prizes, World economy seven prizes and so on, so all of the top categories represent hard news. When Eve-Ann Prentice, Times journalist and a war correspondents in the Balkans during the 1990s, was asked in an interview why there are no stories of women of all ethnicities and backgrounds, who actively do peace, as it seems that war and conflict are a very male thing. Prentice answered:

> I'm afraid that it really comes down to news values. I thoroughly understand that these are wonderful causes and wonderful women that you are talking about it, but very rarely have I seen an opportunity to write about them that would have any chance of getting into the newspaper. Newspapers are still run by men, mostly, and they do like their wars and they do like their blood and guts and thunder. --- There are many things I would have liked to have written about the Balkans, not only the issues you are talking about, but I just know they wouldn't get into the paper, I'm afraid." (Playdon, 2002: 274-275)
>
> **Is that a form of censorship?**
> it's just knowing what will…I know it's a terrible thing to say, but there are so many things one needs to do up against the deadline – what is the point of pursuing something that you know is not going to make it, sadly.

This quote is a perfect example of a journalist internalising the professional codes and knowing the rules of the game. There is no point of pursuing certain (new) kinds of stories further, as it is very unlikely that they would be published. This is partly determined by the ideological level, but also by the other levels going all the way 'down' to the ideological level, as the correspondents have also internalised the ruling ideology, in this case male-domination. Gender studies and journalism is definitely an interesting area to explore, as journalism like any other public arena in society has traditionally been ruled by men.

Yes, most of the interviewees who aspired to report more about the everyday life of Russia had also succeeded in achieving this objective to some extent. Still, there is a steady flow of hard news coming from Russia that needs to be covered automatically by the foreign correspondents. Some interviewees mentioned that it would have made more sense if routine news on politics and economics would be followed from Finland, and the correspondents would concentrate on news features and on stories that bring forward the versatility of Russia. So, basically, more resources are needed. The contradiction in the answers when it comes to the representation of Russia in the Finnish media, the correspondents' goals, perception of foreign correspondents and in some other areas when it comes to the tone (negative, positive) and emphasis of stories (everyday, economics, politics, etc.) derives from the fact that Russia is such a vast and complex country and the correspondents understand different sides of it. They think that a more versatile image should be portrayed, especially concerning ordinary Russia(ns) to make its representation in the Finnish

media more balanced, but at the same time the current representation is also correct, Russia is this, but it is also that, and this is something that is difficult to get across to the Finnish audiences. And if the home bureau appreciates news on politics and economics over everyday stories then the correspondents are more likely to emphasise this in their reporting. The correspondents understand different points of view, but it is hard to keep all of the stakeholders satisfied; a balancing act is required between external expectations, personal ambitions and prevailing working conditions.

It seems that the individual level, which in this study covers the motivations for becoming a foreign correspondent, language skills and knowledge of Russia and social networks with Russians, has a strong impact on the mass media content the foreign correspondents produce from Russia. Through an increased knowledge of Russia, which accumulates from living in Moscow and through knowing the representation of Russia in the Finnish media, the correspondents have set objectives for themselves that responds to their worldview. Why then do the correspondents have so many conflicting views on Russia? It seems that those correspondents who are very oriented on Russian politics and economics in their reporting have more of a negative view on the country and they also have less social networks with Russians. Then again, those correspondents who emphasised the need to cover Russian everyday life were more interested in the society as a whole. They had Russian friends and possibly a more all-encompassing way of looking at the country. Because of the nature of journalism and existing news values, the Finnish foreign correspondents spend a large portion of their time researching, reading and writing about Russian politics and economics. As a result, their concentration is highly focused on these topics and this is likely to have an influence on their perception of Russia and naturally about Russians as well. If Russia is over-politicised, as one correspondent contends, then the correspondents themselves are perhaps more responsible than anyone else for creating this over-politicised world.

10.3 Foreign correspondence still matters

All the interviewees considered it important to have Finnish foreign correspondents in Moscow, although the changing media landscape has set some challenges for the profession, especially the new information channels. One might ask, then, just what are the added values that Finnish foreign correspondents can bring to Finnish audiences? The answers were fairly aligned: Finnish foreign correspondents can choose topics that are meaningful to Finnish audiences, including forestry and energy. The shared history between Finland and Russia is also believed to have some impact on the Finnish media and audiences. Furthermore, a foreign correspondent is able to interpret the complexities of Russian society, which would be difficult when a journalist is covering Russia from Finland or farther a field. The danger is that the stories become too easily Finnocentric. It seems

that the correspondents consider this vital in the sense that the representation of Russia would be 'correct' in the Finnish media and that the content produced in Russia serves the Finnish audiences. Although journalism is about enlightening and educating people, it is also about serving their needs; the balance must be there and this is what the correspondents are aiming to do. This finding points out that the correspondents regard their role as important - they are likely to see their individual performance more visibly, as there are so few Finnish foreign correspondents working in Moscow, and the Finnish media is one of the main channels the Finnish people receive information on Russia from.

Again, the individual level - this time how the correspondents perceive their role and professional orientations - is strong. The correspondents were well aware on what their in Moscow is, although it can be argued that through internalising the professional codes and house training, the correspondents have learnt what is expected of them and so act totally within these preordained set of rules and parameters. I refer to Mörä's liane model here and claim that the different levels in the hierarchy of influences model and their relationship with each other are interactional, not hierarchical. For example, sometimes routines may have a stronger emphasis on media content than organisational factors (Mörä, 1999). This time, thinking about the perception of foreign correspondence, the content is impacted by both individual factors and media routines. The correspondents are aware of the professional codes, but they are also re-creating them. A will to set personal objectives, the critique that the correspondents give to the representation of Russia in the Finnish media, Finnish media organisations and audiences verify this. Like Mörä, I do not see the individual as being determined as a product of the structures within which it works, at the mercy of sources, media routines, organisational objectives and prevailing ideologies. A journalist is a not a subject but an object (Ibid: 222).

Because of the bureaucracy in Russia, which involves difficulties in accessing official sources, the correspondents have to rely on alternative sources of information, especially researchers, ordinary people, think tanks, activists and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which seem to have an important role in Russia. This is interesting because in choosing a certain point of view and a source one is already expression an opinion. The Russian media is also a popular source among the foreign correspondents, but the ownership structures are important to know and they are also considered a part of professionalism. Some Russia newspapers in particular - *Kommersant, Novaya Gazeta* and *Vedomosti*, for instance - were considered still reliable; television, again, is controlled by the Kremlin. The correspondents have come up with alternative ways of researching, finding out information and getting comments, because the ideology of Russia does not permit them to operate in the same way as they would in Finland. I do not consider this to be a negative aspect, because the use of alternative sources refreshes and renews news stories. Traditionally,

the use of NGOs has been relatively low in Finland, and reliance on official, for example, governmental sources high. The Finnish foreign correspondents modernise the Finnish media environment with a new source practice. Although one could claim that the ideological layer dominates the media routines and the extramedia level, I have decided to look at this from another point of view - individuals, the foreign correspondents, have used their creativity and bypassed the ideological barrier to come up with new media routines. Domination by the outer levels is not always permanent and the obstacles, as I have endeavoured to show, can be surpassed.

REFERENCES

Ahonen, Anneli, Koskinen, Heikki, Naakka, Anna-Maija and Turtiainen, Suvi (2008) Arjesta etäinen Venäjä-journalismi, Naapurimaasta uutisoidaan yhä melko suppeasti. *Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja 2008,* pp.118-123.

Ahvenainen, Martti (1964) Suomalaisten sanomalehtien päätoimiset ulkomaankirjeenvaihtajat. Tutkielma sanomalehtitutkintoa varten Yhteiskunnallisessa Korkeakoulussa.

Aittokoski, Heikki and Kovanen, Inka: Suomalaiset suhtautuvat erittäin karsaasti Venäjään. *Helsingin Sanomat* October 11, 2004.

Alasuutari, Pertti (1995) *Researching Culture Qualitative method and cultural studies*. London, Thousands Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Anderson, Benedict (1991*) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, Verso.

Aro, Jessica: Arkisia tarinoita idästä. *Journalisti* February 7, 2008, pp.17-19.

Arvaja, Antti: Täällä Aarne Tanninen. *Journalisti* April 24, 2008, pp.18-21.

Bishara, Amal (2006) Local Hands, International news - Palestinian journalists and the international media. *Ethnography* Vol. 7(1), pp.19-46. SAGE Publications.

Foreman, Jonathan (2007) When the Fix Is In - Fixers, interpreters, and reporting from Iraq. *National Review* September 10, pp.17-18.

Grönfors, Matti (1982) *Kvalitatiiviset kenttätyömenetelmät.* Helsinki: WSOY.

Hamilton, Maxwell (2003) The New Foreign Correspondence. *Foreign Affairs* Vol.8, Issue: 5, pp.131-138.

Hamilton, John Maxwell and Jenner, Eric (2004a) Redefining Foreign Correspondence. *Journalism Vol.* 5 (3), pp.301-321. London, Thousands Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Hamilton, John Maxwell and Jenner, Eric (2004b) Foreign Correspondence: Evolution, Not Extinction. The new correspondents are reshaping foreign news in ways that have potential for good and, without interventions, for bad. *Nieman Reports* Fall 2004.

Hannerz, Ulf (2002) Among the Foreign Correspondents: Reflections on Anthropological Styles and Audiences. *Ethnos* Vol.67:1, pp.57-74. Routledge Journals.

Hannerz, Ulf (2003) Being there…and there…and there!. *Ethnography* Vol.4 (2), pp.201-216. SAGE Publications.

Hannerz, Ulf (2004) *Foreign News – Exploring the world of foreign correspondents*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Hannerz, Ulf (2007) Foreign Correspondents and the Varieties of Cosmopolitanism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol.33, No.2, March 2007, pp.299-311. Routledge.

Hess, Stephen (1996) *International News & Foreign Correspondents*. Washington, D.C: The Brookings Institution.

Hirsjärvi, Sirkka and Hurme, Hurme (2000) *Tutkimushaastattelu – Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö.* Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hohenberg, John (1995) *Foreign Correspondence - The Great Reporters and Their Times. Syracuse*. N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Holohan, Anne (2003) Haiti 1990-6: older and younger journalists in the post-Cold War world. *Media, Culture and Society* Vol.25, pp.737-755. SAGE Publications.

Holstein, James A. and Gubrium, Jaber, F. (1997) *Active Interviewing in Qualitative Research - Theory, Method and Practice.* Sage Publication.

Ibrahim, Dina. (2003) Individual Perceptions of International Correspondents in the Middle East. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies* 65(1), pp. 87-101. London: Thousand Oaks & New Delhi

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (2002) The qualitative research process. In *A Handbook of Media and Communication - Qualitative and Quantitative Methodology*, pp.235-253. Routledge.

Kester, Bernadette (2008) Working at the End of the Assembly Line: A Conversation with Joris Luyendijk about the Impossibility of Doing Western-style Journalism in Arab Countries*. Press/Politics* 13(4), pp.500-406. SAGE Publications.

Kippo, Johanna (2003) Suomalaisten Moskovan kirjeenvaihtajien kokemukset toisen Tsetshenian sodan uutisoinnista. Turun yliopisto: Mediatutkimuksen pro gradu -tutkielma.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija and Pietiläinen, Jukka (1998) *Uutisia yli rajojen – ulkomaanuutisten maisema Suomessa.* Helsingin yliopiston Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija and Rantanen, Terhi (2000) Uutisvälitys. In Nordenstreng, Kaarle and Wiio, Osmo A. (eds.) *Suomen mediamaisema,* pp.132-154. Helsinki: WSOY.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (1995) Journalismin tutkimus. In Sana, Elina (ed.) *Tieto-opista mediapeliin - journalismin tutkimuksen näkökulmia,* pp.93-120. Helsinki: WSOY.

Klinge, Matti (2006) The Problem of Russophobia. An unpublished presentation at the symposium for Russian and East European studies March 18, University of Tampere.

Knif, Henrik (1980) Utrikeskorrespondens efter liberalimens genombrott i Finland. En studie av utrikeskorrespondensen i Helsingfors Dagblad, Åbo Underberättelser och Wasabladet åren 1864, 1870 och 1879. Åbo Akademi. Svenska litteratusälskapet. Helsingfors.

Kohonen, Kitta (2000) EU-kirjeenvaihtajat lähteen äärellä – suomalaisten, norjalaisten ja saksalaisten ja brittitoimittajien uutishankintaa Brysselissä. Tampere: Tiedotusopin pro gradu tutkielma.

Koikkalainen Katja (2001) Moskovan äänet kertovat suomalaiselle venäläisistä. *Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja* 2001, pp. 127-133.

Kupila, Pirjo: Kohtalona Venäjä. *Journalisti* February 12, 2009, pp.14-15.

Kvale, Steinar (1996) *InterViews – An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London, Thousands Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Laurén, Anna-Lena (2008) *”Hulluja nuo venäläiset” – tuokiokuvia Venäjältä.* Helsinki: Teos & Söderströms.

Laurén, Anna-Lena (2004). Median Venäjä-kompleksit. *Idäntutkimus* 4/2004, pp.21-22.

Lehtola, Juhani (1986) Ulkomaantoimittajan työ radion uutistoimituksessa. In Bruun, Mikko, Koskimies, Ilkka and Tervonen, Illkka, *Uutisoppikirja,* 121-136*.* Helsinki: Tammi.

Luoma-aho, Veera and Pylväs, Jukka: Maailman kuva. *Journalisti*, May 22, 2008, pp.18-19.

Manninen, Mari (2008) Venäjä ei houkuttele toimittajia. *Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja 2008* pp.124-127.

Miller, Jody and Glassner, Barry (1997) The ‘Inside’ and the ‘Outside’ - Finding Realities in Interviews. In Silverman, David (ed.) *Qualitative Research - Theory, Method and Practice,* pp.99-129*.* London, Thousands Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publication.

Mörä, Tuomo (1999) *EU-journalismin anatomia - Mediasisältöjä muokanneet tekijät ennen kansanäänestystä 1994.* Helsingin yliopisto.

Nordenstreg, Kaarle (2001) Me, media ja menneisyydenhallinta. In Bäckman, Juhani (ed.) *Entäs kun tulee se yhdestoista? Suomettumisen uusi historia*, pp.218-230. Helsinki: WSOY.

Pekonen, Laura (2005) “Suomalaiset Yhdysvaltain-kirjeenvaihtajat 1966-2003” - Tutkimus siitä miten suomalaisviestinten Amerikan agenda syntyy. Tampere: Tiedotusopin pro gradu tutkielma.

Pietiläinen, Jukka (2005) Miksi madridilainen on läheisempi kuin moskovalainen? – Kaksi terroriuutista suomalaisessa lehdistössä. *Kosmopolis* Vol.35:2: 50-58.

Pietiläinen, Jukka (2009) Georgian sodan erilaiset horisontit. *Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja* 2009, pp.69-74.

Pietiläinen, Jukka (1998) Ulkomailta Suomeen – määrällinen analyysi. In Kivikuru, Ulla-Maija and Pietiläinen, Jukka (eds.) *Uutisia yli rajojen – ulkomaanuutisten maisema Suomessa,* pp-84-108*.* Helsingin yliopiston Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Pietiläinen, Jukka (1998) Ulkomaanuutistutkimuksen vaiheita ja tuloksia. In Kivikuru, Ulla-Maija and Pietiläinen, Jukka (eds.) *Uutisia yli rajojen – ulkomaanuutisten maisema Suomessa,* pp.15-43*.* Helsingin yliopiston Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Playdon, Peter (2002) ”Under Friendly Fire”: an interview with Eve-Ann Prentice. *Journalism Studies* Vol.3, Nr.2, pp.267-275.

Rahkonen, Jukka: Venäjän vastaisuus vaivaa Nato-keskustelua. *Helsingin Sanomat*, January 29, 2006.

Raittila, Pentti (1989) Perestroika and Changing Neighbour Images in Finland and the Soviet Union. University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, Publications, Vol.29.

Raittila, Pentti (2001). Mafiosoja, lada-miehiä, ilotyttöjä. *Journalismikritiikin vuosikirja* 2001, pp.125-126.

Raittila, Pentti (2003) Representations of Otherness in Finnish Culture. Media Images of Russians and Estonians. In Kristina Riegert (ed.) *News of the Other. Tracing identity in Scandinavian Constructions of the Eastern Baltic Sea Region,* pp.151-168. Göteborg: Nordicom.

Rantanen, Terhi (1987) *STT:n uutisia sadan vuoden varrelta.* Espoo: Weilin+Göös.

Roiha, Maarit (2007) Juttuja Luoteis-Venäjältä - Suomalaisten Pietarin toimittajien työskentely-ympäristö ja työn erityispiirteet. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Journalistiikan pro gradu -tutkielma.

Salminen, Esko (1996). *Vaikeneva valtiomahti? Neuvostoliitto/Venäjä Suomen lehdistössä 1968-1991.* Helsinki: Oy Edita Ab.

Shoemaker, Pamela and Stephen, D., Reese (1991) *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content.* USA: Longman Publishers.

Silverman, David (2005) *Doing qualitative research.* London: Sage publication.

Starck, Kenneth and Villanueva. (1992) Cultural Framing: Foreign Correspondents and Their Work. School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Iowa. A Paper presented to the International Communications Division of the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Montreal, Canada, August 5-8, 1992, pp.2-41.

Surk, Barbara and Schreck, Adam: Al-Jazeera gets boost from U.S. viewers during Gaza war, *The Associate Press.* January 24, 2008.

Tiittula, Liisa and Ruusuvuori, Johanna (2005) *Haastattelu - tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus.* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Torniainen, Hanna (1989) Suomalaisten joukkotiedotusvälineiden ulkomaankirjeenvaihtajien työ. Tiedotusopin pro gradu -tutkielma. Helsingin yliopisto.

Tuohino, Lotta: Venäjän tuoksu. *Journalisti,* October 12, 2007, pp.12-15.

Tuomi, Jouni and Sarajärvi, Anneli (2002) *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi.* Helsinki: Tammi.

Uskali, Turo. (1990) Glasnostin vaikutus Yleisradion Neuvostoliiton kirjeenvaihtajien toimitustyöhön. Toimittajatutkinnon tutkielma, Tampereen yliopisto.

Uskali, Turo. (1994) Moskovan kirjeenvaihtajien työnesteet. Tutkimus suomalaisten Moskovan kirjeenvaihtajien työn muutoksesta glasnostin aikana (1985-1993). Jyväskylän yliopisto: Viestintätieteiden laitoksen pro gradu -tutkielma.

Uskali Turo (2001) Moskovan tarkkailijat. Kansan Uutisten ja Uuden Suomen Moskovan-kirjeenvaihtajuudet 1957-1975. Journalistiikan lisensiaatintyö. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Viestintätieteiden laitos.

Uskali, Turo (2007). *Ulkomaanuutisten uusi maailma.* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Uskali, Turo (2003) *“Älä kirjoita itseäsi ulos” – Suomalaisen Moskovan-kirjeenvaihtajuuden alkutaival 1957-1975.* Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Valkonen, Martti (1998) *Suomettuminen jatkuu yhä.* Tammi.

Vesikansa, Jyrki (1997) *Sinivalkoiseen Suomeen – Uuden Suomen ja sen edeltäjien historia I 1847-1939.* Helsinki: Otava.

Willnat, Lars and Hamilton, John Maxwell (2002) Redefining Foreign Correspondence. *The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy – Working Paper Series.* Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Wu, Denis H. and Hamilton, John Maxwell. (2004) US Foreign Correspondents - Changes and Continuity at the Turn of the Century. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies* Vol. 66(6), pp. 517-532. London, Thousands Oaks & New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Willnat, Lars and Weaver, David (2003) Through their eyes - The work of foreign correspondents in the United States. *Journalism* Vol.4(4): 403-422. SAGE Publications.

Zassoursky, Ivan (2004) *The Internet in Russia. In Media and Power in Post-Soviet Russia.* London: M.E. Sharpe.

Zassoursky, Ivan (2006) An unpublished presentation at the symposium for Russian and East European studies March 17, University of Tampere.

Online data sources:

AskOxford.com - Oxford dictionaries. www.askoxford.com

The Committee to Protect Journalists - Journalists Killed January 1, 1992-April 3, 2009: 734
http://www.cpj.org/deadly/

The Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations
http://www.levikintarkastus.fi/english/index.php

Dell'Orto, Giovanna (2004) The Birth of American Foreign Correspondence: Building up from a "Single Electrician at a Seaport Town". All Academic Research.
http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/1/2/9/8/p112983_index.html

el-Nawawy, Mohammed (2001) Culture and Conflict in the Middle East: Western Correspondents' Perceptions of the Egyptian and Israeli Cultures*. The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 4(1).
www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/

Helsingin yliopistomuseo Arppeanum 'Naiset yliopistossa'
http://www.museo.helsinki.fi/nayttelyt/naiset_yliopistossa/naiset_etusivu.htm

Ministry of Education
http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/

Statistics Finland
http://www.stat.fi/

APPENDIX: INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

GENERAL

Experience, career and professional goals

- Education
- Work history before arriving to Moscow and in total
- Selection process for the position
- Personal goals and ambitions on foreign correspondence from Russia
- How well these goals have been met

RUSSIA

Knowledge of Russia

- The knowledge of the Russian society, culture, language and politics before moving to Moscow and how important this is for the work
- Social networks with Russians and how important this is for the work
- Understanding/not understanding Russian every day life
- Guidelines received from the organisation/colleagues before coming to Moscow

On foreign correspondence

- Perception of foreign correspondents' role and importance – still valid?
- Added value offered to Finnish audiences through foreign correspondence
- Contacts with other foreign correspondents working in Moscow – what kinds of contacts – if so how important

Perception of Russia

- Perception of Russia before moving to the country - possible change whilst living there
- Colleagues in Finland and their perception of Russia
- Audience in Finland and their perception of Russia
- Feedback received from audiences in Finland
- Major news and social changes in Russia during foreign correspondence

Representation of Russia

- The representation of Russia in the Finnish media today
- Potential remaining ingredients from the history
- Influence on correspondents' own reporting and possible goals regarding representation
- Changes and developments in the representation
- Finnish way of looking at things in Russia - how does it come across

Working in Russia

- Working in Russia is compared to other countries where experience
- Main differences, demands, obstacles, benefits, challenges, etc.
- Foreign correspondents vs. Russian journalists, are they treated differently by the officials
- Any topics do not want to cover from Russia and why?
- Description or sources and rough estimation of the amount of first- and second-hand-sources
- Potential obstacles to receive information in Russia
- Anyone ever withheld information - if so, who and where?
- What media to follow in Russia and why?
- The Russian media compared to the Finnish media
- The government control over the mass media in Russia – how knowledgeable of this