

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO
Sosiologian ja sosiaalipsykologian laitos

SAARENMAA, KAISA:
Representations of Transitional Estonia in Finnish Newspapers

Pro gradu-tutkielma, 77 s.

Sosiologia

Huhtikuu 2006

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The research studies the representations of transitional Estonia in Finnish newspapers. The purpose of the study is to examine the production and reproduction of nationality. Following the tradition of the school of cultural studies, national identities and representations are understood as constructed, dynamic and heterogeneous.

The empirical data consists of 309 articles concerning Estonia. The data is collected from three Finnish newspapers: *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Iltalehti* and *Ilkka*. The data covers texts from years 1992 and 2002, three months each.

The research is presented in chapters that mix theoretical discussion and data analysis. The different chapters approach the data from different points of view: there is a brief quantitative analysis of the data; a study of the actors and photographs in the articles; a study of the rhetoric in the articles; and a study of the gender images.

The study concludes that all the newspapers were greatly interested in the dramatic events in Estonia during the early 1990s. The emphasis was then on domestic politics. However, when the sensations ended and the Estonian society became more stabilized, the interest faded and fewer reports were published. Estonia was increasingly represented in the context of entertainment and through the winners of the transition period. The negative outcomes of the transition received less attention.

It can be argued that the fading interest was also due to a lack of resources ever since the recession of early 1990s and a trend where Finnish interests were concentrating on Western European issues -before and after joining the European Union in 1995. Thus not only the volume of writing, but also the quality of writing, is very much affected by the economic reality.

The data demonstrates a biased representation of Estonian women. Estonian women are represented in contexts of prostitution or erotic entertainment. Few women are represented outside these discourses in contexts of business, politics or culture.

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Preface: Historical Background

Finland and Estonia, both independent republics, are neighbouring countries located in Northern Europe, separated by the Gulf of Finland. Both countries share a border with Russia. Finland, the northernmost of the countries, is neighbouring Sweden and Norway as well, whereas Estonia has Latvia as third of her closest neighbours.

Finnish and Estonian languages belong to the same Finno-Ugrian language group. The languages are quite distinct from Indo-European languages. It is fairly easy for a Finn to learn Estonian and vice versa even if it is not possible to understand the other language without studying it.

The historical perception of Finnish and Estonian people includes an idea that the Finno-Ugrian peoples have from prehistory until modern times lived close to nature, away from urban areas. The Finno-Ugrian peoples have been colonised rather than colonialists; rural and in the periphery, rather than urban and in the hard core. For example, Estonians have called themselves *maarahvas* (people of the land, country people) for centuries and this identity is maintained even today.

In Estonia belonging to the *maarahvas* has historically meant a distinction from the manor owners, from the Baltic Germans (*saksad*) (Alenius, 1997). Namely, the Order of the Sword Brethren and the Danes occupied the territory of modern Estonia and Latvia in the 13th century. The Teutonic Order (*aka* the Livonian Order) occupied the territories later. (Laur et al., 2002:39.) Estonian peasants were suppressed under the power of German knights and after the Order lost its bloom under other foreign rulers including Swedes, Poles and finally Russians until the early 20th century. Estonian peasants were serfs during most of this period and it was only in the early 19th century that serfdom was abolished from the Baltic provinces (Laur et al., 2002:154). Estonia became independent of Russia in February 1918.

In Finland the development during the early modern period was perhaps steadier: Finland was joined with Sweden during the 12th century and was part of the Swedish Kingdom until 1809 when Sweden lost Finland to Russia in war. Contrary to Estonian peasants,

Finnish peasants were most of the time free farmers. This was due to Scandinavian heritage (Alestalo and Kuhnle, 1987). Finland also received autonomy in annexation to Russia, which made the developing and reforming of Finland easier. Finland became independent of Russia in December 1917.

During the 1920s and 1930s Estonia and Finland were young democracies. The decades were a time of crisis for democracies around Europe. Extremist movements of political left and right flourished. It is difficult to determine what started these developments but in both Finland and Estonia right wing politics started to show elements of fascism during early 1930s. In Finland a strong president clipped the wings of fascist projects quite early on. In Estonia, where there was no strong president to thwart the right wing, the danger grew more acute. Finally president Konstantin Päts with the support of general Johan Laidoner made a successful coup to stop the right wing from getting power. In order to save the democracy, Päts and his supporters created an authoritarian state.

In accordance to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, Nazi-Germany left the fate of both Finland and Estonia to the Soviet Union. During World War II Finland fought two wars against the Soviet Union and the War of Lapland against German troops and eventually maintained independence. Estonia's independence was short-lived; it was joined with the Soviet Union by a coup in 1940. Soviet occupation lasted roughly 50 years. The occupation only ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in August 1991.

Scholars have debated that Finland and Estonia had fairly similar preconditions for development during the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s. However, the joining of Estonia with the Soviet Union ceased the uniform development. Annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union meant that Finland and Estonia were in practice out of contact for some 50 years. Estonians got an idea of how life was in Finland by watching Finnish television broadcasts visible in northern Estonia. Some Finns had the opportunity of visiting Estonia via the ferry connection that was opened between the cities of Tallinn and Helsinki in the mid-1960s.

During the period of Soviet occupation the economies and societies of Finland and Estonia developed in different ways: Estonia was part of the Soviet economy whereas Finland had a market economy with close relations to the Soviet Union.

Finally, the decline and collapse of the Soviet superpower brought Estonia re-independence. The Singing Revolution of the late 1980s had raised spirits and the national self-esteem of Estonians (Ruutsoo, 2002). After re-independence in August 1991, Estonian politics has been systematically west-oriented (Laur et al., 1997). In Finland the economy was quite dependent on exports to the Soviet Union and the collapse of the superpower brought an economic recession leaving much of the population unemployed. However, Finland would now have more freedom as the tradition of considering the Soviet opinion (Finlandisierung) would fade.

The Finnish government and the people were unsure of how to react to the Estonian declaration of independence (e.g. Salonen, 1990). Political scientists and historians have argued on the backgrounds of Finland's awkward response towards Estonian independence process.

Transition, Recession and Europeanization

The 1990s and early 2000s is a period of remarkable social changes in both Estonia and Finland. The period is characterized by strong "europeanization": Finland joined the EU in 1995 and Estonia was accepted to join the EU in the autumn of 2002 and after a referendum entered the Union as a member-state in May 2004.

The 1990s and early 2000s have introduced a period of political, economic and social transition in Estonia. We should not underestimate the volume of changes the collapse of Soviet rule and the transition brought to Estonian society and identity. For example Lagerspetz (2001) makes interesting observations on the changes taking place in Estonia in the beginning of the transition period.

During the transition period Estonia was returning to its European roots; taking a leap toward western modernity (Lauristin et al., 1997). Lauristin (1997:30) has listed a set of indicators that describe *westernization* in Estonia during the transition period. The changes seem to cover every sphere of life. Lauristin notes changes in:

1) Spatial dimension

Westernization in terms of economy, international relations, cultural relations, the media, tourism, education, science and law.

2) Type and structure of institutions

Westernization in terms of politics, public administration, production, services, the social sector (meaning western models of social insurance), the media structure and civil society (development of NGOs and charities)

3) Technology

New equipment purchased from the West, telecommunications, computer networks, software etc.

4) Demographic behaviour and family

“Postponed marriages and birth of the first child, increasing non-registered marriages, nuclearizations of the family”

5) Values

Individualism and hedonism

6) Symbolic environment and communication

Symbols of mass culture, consumerism, interactive media-culture, post-modernism

7) Language

English as lingua franca

8) Consumption

Western fashion and brands, credit cards

9) Lifestyle

“Decreasing cultural activities, more time spent on making money, automobilization, gambling, trips abroad etc.”

10) Patterns of behaviour

Attention is laid on personal success, “face”, self-expression, more openness, multiplying behavioral patterns.

In Finland the recession of the early 1990s challenged the Nordic-type welfare state. Moreover, it had become evident that an increasing connectivity and dependence - in economic, political and cultural terms - was the trend of the 1990s. This challenged the traditional perceptions Finns had about the world and about themselves (Alasuutari and

Ruuska, 1998 and 1999). If Estonia was facing a transition period during the 1990s, so was Finland - in her own way.

Taking into consideration these developments and transformations, the reader needs to recognise that even with a title like "Representations of Transitional Estonia in Finnish Newspapers" this study is not so much about Estonia as it is about Finland and changes in Finnish mentality during the 1990s and early 2000s.

Criticism of Historical Explanations

Historians in Finland have claimed that Finnish history is written and re-written in order to explain modern times. Ahtiainen and Tervonen (1996) call this trait as the national tradition of pragmatism¹. The changing social reality calls for new interpretations of the past. (Ahtiainen and Tervonen, 1996:121.) It seems that during the cold war (and right after it) explanations for the relations between the West and the East were especially important in Finnish historiography. With the decline of the *iron curtain* and the emergence of the *new world order*, since the late 20th century, it is interesting to see whether the power of the old explanations lasts or whether focus is directed to other areas.

Estonian and Finnish Societies Today

What can we say of the differences in Estonian and Finnish societies during the 1990s and early 2000s? It can be questioned whether comparison is worthwhile; the developments in the two countries have been so different during the past 60-70 years. However, I will try to depict the value-climate in the two countries.

Inglehart and Baker (2001) have conducted a massive study of world values. In their research "Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values" they study how states/societies can be placed on a two-dimensional map, where one axis measures the persistence of traditionalism vs. rationalism and the other axis indicates focus on survival vs. self-expression (Inglehart and Baker, 2001:29). According to Inglehart and Baker, Estonia lands into the field occupied by other ex-communist countries such as Latvia, Lithuania and the Czech Republic. These societies are dominated by a strong

¹ tarkoituksenmukaisuuden kansallinen traditio

emphasis on survival, and the societies show appreciation of the rational/secular instead of the traditional. Estonia is actually one of the leading societies in both rationalism and survival. The idea of survival includes e.g. an emphasis on materialist values (such as maintaining order and fighting inflation) in contrast with postmaterial values (such as freedom and self-expression). The rationalism/secular emphasis comes in opposition with traditionalism, which in turn suggests the importance of God, obedience, national pride and respect to authorities.

Inglehart and Baker place Finland into the group of Protestant Europe. This group is characterized by rational/secular values in contrast with the traditional values, and moreover, a strong emphasis on self-expression and postmaterialist values. Finland is not the most emphatic society in either characteristic, Sweden is the model example here, but clearly Finland is closer to these than other values. The research by Inglehart and Baker suggests that Finnish society accepts subjective well-being, interpersonal trust, political activism and minority groups (such as homosexuals) fairly well².

Is there any room for self-expression and postmaterialist values in Estonia? In terms of politics, the Soviet time introduced a tradition of elite, strong leadership and a practice where some citizens possessed more privileges than others. This tradition met in the 1980s and 1990s an insecurity of cultural survival and weak ideas about the future in general: how should Estonia develop as a nation? According to Lagerspetz (2001) it was common to be against communism and external domination but there was no vision of a perfect society. The goals of the dissident movements and the Singing Revolution had been conservative: survival of the Estonian nation, language, literature, intellectual life and traditions. The dominating thought had been insecurity of cultural survival as long as the country was absorbing Soviet immigrants. But where to go next? The only way seemed to be taking economic growth and international security as main goals. The developing of a civil society was seen as a secondary issue (Ruutsoo, 2002).

Lagerspetz has written about the mechanisms of hegemonization in Estonia since re-independence. Lagerspetz writes in his essay *Consolidation as Hegemonization* (2001) that

² The reader is encouraged to study further the research by Inglehart & Baker: especially the position of U.S.A. in these studies is interesting.

because of the special, radical, and even dangerous circumstances of transition, the elites in Estonia have been able to legitimise their harsh social policy and *shock therapy*. Opposition to radical actions and the "common national goals" is weak or non-existing. Lagerspetz (2001:411) is writing that e.g. the existence of the Russian minority is supporting the prevailing political discourse according to which Estonia still needs *extraordinary politics*. This means a demand of subduing immediate individual and group interests to the long-term common goals (EU, NATO, prosperity, security) of the nation.

Lauristin (1996:8) pays attention to the importance of people's social characteristics in transition societies: "Gender, age, family background, and geographic location have a great significance when old systems of social support and regulation have ceased to function. The younger generations are, naturally, the most successful in this environment that emphasizes individual qualifications instead of traditional norms and ideological demands." People who are over 35 have fewer opportunities, Lauristin points out.

Considering this background, it is interesting to study the development of Estonian and Finnish relations and mentalities after contacts and mutual dependence have increased with the decline of the iron curtain and after both countries have joined the European Union. How is the other depicted and understood?

1 Introduction

1.1 Study Problem

This study discusses how transitional Estonia is represented in Finnish newspapers and why Estonia is represented in the way it is. The study is based on nationalism and identity debate in the school of cultural studies where national identities and cultural representations are understood as constructed, dynamic and heterogeneous. This understanding enables study of possible changes in cultural representation.

It can be claimed that globalisation has raised a general interest in questions of nationality, mentality and identity (e.g. Alasuutari and Ruuska, 1998, 1999). The meeting - or clash - of civilisations, cultures and nations is a puzzling and a serious matter (Castells, 1997; Huntington, 1996).

The starting point of this study lies in the presumption that the media play an important role in producing and reproducing cultural representations, national boundaries and identities (Rosengren, 1997:24). Considering the power the media have in setting the agenda for public discussion and shaping peoples' opinions it is important that the logic and values behind the headlines is made explicit. Therefore this study examines what kind of picture(s) do the Finnish media give of Estonia. Taking into account the remarkable transformations of the 1990s, as economic and social realities have taken new forms, we need to study whether there has been a change in the cultural representation.

I became interested in the study question as the enlargement to the East of the European Union approached³. How is the West (*aka* the old Europe) meeting the East (*aka* the new Europe)? So far there has been a great amount of studies on the economic or political aspects of the enlargement (e.g. the report by EVA, 2003). This study focuses on cultural aspects.

³ In May 2004

I decided to concentrate on the situation in Finland and Finnish newspapers' writing on Estonia, since Finland is my native country⁴. Following Bauman (1990) I thought that as an insider one has better knowledge of the cultural peculiarities, and understanding of the phenomenon is deeper, than when studying a culture where one is an outsider. On the other hand, choosing a subject so near one's personal interests raised questions during the writing process. I was forced to examine also my personal values and appreciations.

According to Apo, Finns often present themselves, or the Finnish people and Finnishness, in a negative light. Following theoretical concepts of Erving Goffman, the negative speech appears to an extent that Apo calls a self-spoilt identity (Apo, 1998:86). Apo's presumption is that the negative speech is produced by the ideological and political elites and it focuses on the "people" or the "typical Finns". The typical Finn, up until our days, is considered to be a dumb man, violent, a heavy drinker, attached to forests, incapable of communication. This cultural inferiority is based on the idea that Finnish culture is young and always a few steps behind the old cultures of the world. According to Castells and Himanen, Finnish identity has a long tradition in being a minority identity (Castells and Himanen, 2001:138).

Bearing in mind Apo's theory, I hope my study will not contribute to the tradition of stigmatising Finnishness. I am especially conscious of this in the light of the notion by Jokinen that a researcher does not only depict social reality, but is also creating it (Jokinen, 1999:41). I believe that the reproduction of this tradition can only be avoided if we pay closer attention to the values and norms that affect cultural representations. Why is Estonia represented the way it is? The easy explanation would be that Finnish people are barbaric, xenophobic and incapable of meeting the Other. The purpose of this study is to find other explanations.

1.2 Previous Research

International and cultural relations stand on a well-established ground - if not in the very center - of Finnish intellectual debate (Fält, 2002). Especially relations with Russia and the Soviet Union have been discussed abundantly (Alapuro, 1997; Piirainen, 1993;

⁴ Moreover, I have lived one year (2002-03) in Tartu, Estonia and studied Estonian language and society.

Luostarinen, 1986). In Finland the questions *who are we* (especially in relation with our neighbours), *where can we find allies* and *what others think of us* have been central for centuries. It can be maintained that the questions have been repeated by each generation of Finnish intellectuals⁵.

Also the Finnish-Estonian relations have been under academic discussion in Finland. In the late 1990s a historical perspective dominated the academic debate (Alenius, 1997 and 2002; Immonen and Onnela, 1998; Roiko-Koskela, 1997 and 1998), but also journalists, politicians and economists (e.g. Valkonen, 2000; Ollila and Jöerüüt, 2003; Torvi, 2003) have raised discussions and took part in them. In his doctoral thesis at the University of Tampere Raittila (2004) depicts how Otherness is produced in images of Russia and Estonia. Moreover, in his master's thesis at the University of Tampere Salonen (1990) writes about the Singing Revolution in Estonia and how it was covered in the Finnish newspapers during the late 1980s.

At least two reports on the relations of Finland and Estonia were published in the year 2003; the report by “two wise men”, Ollila and Jöerüüt, in May 2003 and a report by Finnish Business and Policy Forum (EVA) based on interviews of both Finns and Estonians in October 2003. The report is titled “*Partners in the European Union - What the Finns and the Estonians Think of Each Other?*”

In Finland there was much speculation on the effects of the EU enlargement. The hopes and worries were connected with business and economy. Especially the idea of huge masses of Estonian workers wanting to enter Finnish labour market raised fears. Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) published a research report in 2000 stating that some 400 000 Estonians were interested in working in Finland. The figures were viewed with some suspicion as 400 000 is more than 1/3 of the Estonian labour force.

The advantages of the enlargement to business were described a bit less in the media. However, in 2004 (3/23), an editorial of the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* stated that the closeness of Estonia was a blessing for Finland. The editorial was quoting a Finnish

⁵ One explanation for this search of identity is that it must have resulted from Finland's position as a borderland between “Western and Orthodox civilizations”.

business journal (Chydenius-magazine, 1/2004) where Finnish companies were encouraged to take advantage of the low wages in the Baltics, find subcontractors there and thus increase profitability. Moreover, the editorial quoted a Finnish businessman who according to the editorial thinks that Finland will obtain a higher competitiveness than most European countries thanks to the example given by Estonia. This is because Finland needs to compete with Estonia's tax policy and change the labour markets into more flexible ones.

“Geography has traditionally been a problem for Finland. Finland has been a small peripheral country in the intersection of civilisations. When the Baltic countries will become members of the EU and the economy in Russia stabilizes, our geographic position will become an advantage economy-wise.” (HS-editorial, 2004)⁶

A same kind of attitude was later (2005) portrayed in a report by Laura Järvinen for the Finnish National Fund for Research and Development (SITRA). The report is titled “Kuka opettaa ja ketä? Viro EU:n jäsenenä”, freely translated “Who teaches whom? Estonia as an EU member”.

1.2.1 The Big Brother Attitude

Some authors have claimed that Finland or Finns share a big brother attitude towards Estonia and Estonians. For example the discussion around the report by Ollila and Jöerüüt (2003) brought about the theme of this supposed big brother attitude. In an article published in Helsingin Sanomat on May 8th, 2003 “Jöerüüt says that the fact that Estonia has been on the receiving end in bilateral relations [of Finland and Estonia] has led to a kind of big brother attitude among Finns. Jöerüüt feels that it would not be right to gloss over the tensions that exist beneath the surface of the good relations that prevail between the countries.”

Scholars in cultural studies have debated that hierarchies in relations are reproduced by polarising the Other. For example Hall (1992) has written about the stereotypes white

⁶ “Maantiede on perinteisesti ollut Suomelle ongelma. Suomi on ollut syrjäinen, kulttuurien rajalla sijaitseva pieni maa. Kun Baltian maista tulee EU:n jäseniä ja Venäjän talous vakiintuu, maantieteellinen asemamme kohenee taloudellisessa mielessä huomattavasti.”

societies have for black people: blacks are polarised as either naive or as aggressive and sexual. Hall sees that male-dominated societies polarise women in the same way: a woman is either the Madonna or a prostitute/witch. Thus we obtain an additional study problem: If we can recognise a biased representation of Estonia, how is the biased representation produced?

1.3 Data and Methods

The empirical data for this study is collected from three Finnish newspapers: Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti and Ilkka. The data consists of articles discussing Estonian issues. The data includes all articles that tell about Estonia, not only the major ones. However, sports news were left outside the study.

A particularity of Finnish newspapers is that they are generally subscribed to and the delivery takes place during early hours. The tabloid newspapers are an exception. In Finland, some 89 % of newspaper sales were made through subscriptions. (Jyrkiäinen and Savisaari, 2001:65.)

Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest daily newspaper in Finland, was a natural choice: Helsingin Sanomat (HS) is generally considered to be the most influential newspaper in Finland. Helsingin Sanomat is read by some $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population in the capital city region and by 20 % of all Finns. Helsingin Sanomat is independent. The newspaper was founded in 1904 but its roots go back to the 1880s. The circulation of the newspaper in the year 2003 was 429 244 and circulation on Sundays was over 500 000.

(<http://www.sanoma.fi/mediat/?folder=21>.)

Iltalehti is the second largest tabloid newspaper⁷ in Finland. In Finland there are basically two major tabloid newspapers: Ilta-Sanomat and Iltalehti. The latter was chosen because Ilta-Sanomat belongs to the same corporation (Sanoma WSOY) as Helsingin Sanomat. Iltalehti is published 6 days a week with a circulation of some 121 000 in the year 2003. The weekend edition reached a circulation of 148 632 in the year 2003. Iltalehti is the third largest newspaper in Finland. It was founded in 1980 and is today a part of the Alma

⁷ The concept *tabloid newspaper* refers to so called *boulevard newspapers*, not the paper format on which the newspaper is printed.

Media Corporation. In the year 2003, Iltalehti was read daily by over 600 000 people. ([http://www.iltalehti.fi/info/iltalehdesta/.](http://www.iltalehti.fi/info/iltalehdesta/))

By choosing Iltalehti as data material I hope to get more diversity in reporting and thus receive a more coherent view of Finnish publicity and the *conversational space* (concept from Alasuutari). Including a tabloid newspaper point of view to the study seemed like a good idea: in the school of cultural studies it is argued that culture includes all fields of life. Culture is the crossing point where popular culture meets higher arts (Hall, 1992:11). Thus I felt that when studying cultural representations, the more common sides of culture should also be taken into consideration.

I decided to take a local newspaper into the study as well. The main reason for taking a local newspaper into the data was the hope of receiving a wider perspective of representations concerning the studied phenomenon. In Finland such newspapers are for example Turun Sanomat, Kaleva, Keski-suomalainen, Savon Sanomat, Karjalainen and Ilkka (Jyrkiäinen and Savisaari, 2001:66-67). In international comparison, Finland has a strong base of local and provincial newspapers (Jyrkiäinen and Savisaari, 2001:62). *Ilkka* was chosen for this study due to the simple reason that this newspaper was available at the University of Tampere Library. *Ilkka* is published in Seinäjoki, Ostrobothnia. *Ilkka* is published seven days a week and calls itself independent. It was founded in the year 1906. The circulation of *Ilkka* reaches some 55 000. The area of circulation for *Ilkka* is the Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia. In the year 2003, *Ilkka* reached some 147 000 readers daily. ([http://www3.ilkka.fi/servlet/page?_pageid=3869&_dad=portal30&_schema=PORTAL30&file=text/info.html.](http://www3.ilkka.fi/servlet/page?_pageid=3869&_dad=portal30&_schema=PORTAL30&file=text/info.html))

The main focus in this study is not in the comparison of the three newspapers and in the possible differences of their practices. Therefore it is not meaningful to manage and analyse the data only according to the type of newspaper. The newspaper articles form a heterogeneous group and it is not difficult to find differences in styles of writing. This study does not focus on the intentions of the newspapers and what motivates individual journalists to discuss an issue concerning Estonia. Instead, in the fashion of discourse analysis, the focus is on the actions of speech and how the speech constructs meaning (Jokinen, 1999:45). The study wishes to seek and recognise possible common elements in

the different newspapers (see also Ruuska, 2002:21). In other words, what is the macro-tale formed by these articles?

The period from which the study material is gathered is limited to two years: 1992 and 2002. The two years were chosen due to various reasons. First, it should be interesting to study Finnish newspapers (and culture) before the accession to European Union and compare the results with newspapers (and culture) after accession. In order to receive some variations it was clear that the years must lie at some distance from the actual accession in 1995. For Estonia's part the year 1992 was of course interesting because it saw the beginning of the transition. As the accession of Estonia to the European Union would be expected to happen in 2004, it was interesting to see whether this expectation resulted in particular reporting in the Finnish newspapers. Thus, the year 2002 was picked; by then the membership of Estonia in the EU in not so distant future was fairly evident⁸.

In order to keep the data within manageable numbers the analysis was concentrated on three months from both years 1992 and 2002. The months were randomly chosen and turned out to be January, June and December.⁹

1.3.1 Procedure

The data for the study was collected following a procedure where the newspapers were browsed from either microfilm or from binders at the University Libraries of Tampere and Helsinki. The articles were marked and photocopied or an information card where the key contents of the article were described was created (similar practices e.g. in Heiskala, 1990:252). As the key contents of the article I determined:

a) Newspaper;

b) Year in which the article was published;

⁸ Naturally the results of the future referendum were not clear by that point but several surveys suggested a positive vote.

⁹ Reflecting on the choice today, I understand that even a smaller data may have produced the patterns found in analysis. However, this was not completely clear when I started to collect the data.

- c) **Month** in which the article was published;
- d) **Author** or **source** of the article;
- e) **Title** of the article;
- f) **Subject, theme** or **context** of the article;
- g) 1-5 main **actors** appearing in the article;
- h) Whether the article included any **pictures**.

The key contents of the articles were coded on Excel tables on a computer. The computer was a useful tool because the data was relatively big (consisting of 309 articles). The photocopies were useful because the analysis involved discussions on the photo material in the articles.

1.3.2 Finnish Publicity

Newspaper articles are a good choice of data because when studying Finnish publicity. Following a definition by Alasuutari (1996:27), publicity is formed by communications (or the media) that help *everybody* to become aware of the “same things”.¹⁰ Moreover, the media have an important role in setting the agenda for public discussions: making the audience aware of certain issues - and remaining silent about other issues (Rosenberg, 1998).

Today, with the massive development of new media forms, a study that takes into consideration only data collected from newspapers can perhaps be seen as somewhat archaic. It may well be that in the future if a scholar wishes to receive a coherent picture of public opinion and culture s/he must look into discussions in other types of media as well.

An advantage in studying newspaper articles is that they are not intended for the use of a researcher: thus there is the benefit of “the dead scientist” as mentioned by Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter (also referred by Ruuska, 2002:19; see also Jokinen, 1999:42).

¹⁰ “Julkisuudellahan tarkoitetaan sellaisia kansalaiset yhteen liittäviä viestintäyhteyksiä, joiden seuraamuksena kaikki tulevat tietoisiksi joistakin samoista asioista...” (Alasuutari, 1996:27)

1.3.3 Representativeness of Data

When making conclusions on possible changes in the *conversational space* and studying a change in the quantity of reports, we are naturally faced with the problem whether the collected data is sufficient – is the data representative? As Alasuutari (1996:35) argues, there are no clear “technical” answers to such a problem. It is difficult to determine a concept like “Finnish publicity” and what kind of group would represent the publicity in a coherent way.

At first thought it seems unfortunate that a researcher must base the analysis on such few examples, but bearing in mind the character of the study problem it is apparent that more than searching particular numbers we are interested in capturing the quality of argumentation: the emphasis of the study is rather on the question “how” instead of “how much”, even though the latter question is also important. Thus we will be following the ideal of the discourse analysis method: "saying a lot about little" (Jokinen, 1999:43).

The studied years 1992 and 2002 are at a considerable distance from each other. This allows a moment for speculation on changes in cultural representation and the issue of cultural change. We bear in mind Ruuska’s argument in his dissertation that ten years is a short period for a cultural change to take place (Ruuska, 2002:15). However, while making this remark, Ruuska suggests that the years 1985-97, which his data material spans, were especially extraordinary and thus even such a short period could represent a cultural change. Ruuska claims that during this period such practices that earlier had been hidden and taken as self-evident were suddenly questioned. During this period issues of nationality and identity became re-negotiated.¹¹

Yet it seems somehow problematic to discuss a historical period as being especially extraordinary. We should not hide the fact that we are lacking a competent tool to measure historical extraordinariness. Therefore I would, in the end, base the argument of "extraordinary times" on a subjective experience: for those living through this period

¹¹ “Tämä aika poiki monenlaisia keskusteluja, joissa näkymättömäksi luonnollistuneet ajattelun tavat otettiin neuvoteltaviksi, pohdittiin niiden ajanmukaisuutta, esitettiin tulkintoja nykyhetkestä ja siihen sopivista toiminnan muodoista. Tämän tutkimuksen kysymysten esittämiseksi aika oli erityisen sopiva.” (Ruuska, 2002:15)

(including myself and many others) it certainly felt as if old perceptions of social life were to be re-evaluated¹². Finding my theoretical background from cultural studies, I take this subjective experience - let us call it an *insider's hunch*, as a sufficient point of departure for this study (compare with Alasuutari, 1996:35¹³).

1.4 Theoretical Background

The theoretical background of this study is based on the discussions and debates in the school of cultural studies. But what is meant by cultural studies? Hall visions cultural studies as being about intellectual self-reflection. The aim, or the possibility, of cultural studies is to cross boundaries between the academic and the “real world”, between different academic disciplines and to create a room for discussing problems that do not meet up with the existing perceptions of categorizing knowledge. (Hall, 1992:12.) Among the main topics of the cultural studies school so far have been class, race/ethnicity, colonialism and gender. Key concepts in theoretization are e.g. culture, ideology, representation, power and subjectivity/objectivity.

According to Hall (1997) culture is about “shared meanings” represented in the form of a common language among the group (or society) members. Language operates as a representational system. The sounds, written words, images, musical notes – even objects – that are a part of our language, work as signs and symbols to represent thoughts, ideas and feelings. Following Hall (1997), language is central to the processes by which meaning is produced. This implies that it is possible to acquire knowledge of a culture by examining the signs and symbols produced and reproduced within the society.

The study of representations has a key position here. As Hall (1997:15) writes, representation refers to “using language to say something meaningful about, or to

¹² This idea may be further related with Lagerspetz's notion that during the early 1990s there appeared a great amount of UFO reports in Estonia. Lagerspetz claims that such observations tell about an extreme sensitivity among the population: all laws can be questioned!

¹³ “*Miksei voi myös sanoa, että taustana on myös osallistuvaa havainnointia: olenhan varttunut ja elänyt tutkimassani...[ajassa, tilassa]... Omakohtainen kokemus on varmaankin tehnyt minulle mahdolliseksi tunnistaa ja paluttaa mieleen tutkimusaineiston pohjalta sellaisia jollekin ajanjaksolle ominaisia kehyksiä, joiden oivaltaminen olisi kulttuuria tuntemattomalle voinut tuottaa enemmän päänvaivaa.*”

represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.” Representation is an important part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture.

Hall (1997:25) recognises three theories of how representation actually connects meaning and language: reflective, intentional and constructionist. During the last years the constructionist approach has received the most attention in the school of cultural studies. According to the constructionist approach we should not confuse the material world, “where things and people exist”, and “the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate.” The material world does not convey meaning; only the language system conveys meaning. Social actors use the language system to construct meaning.

Moreover, the cultural studies school finds influence from Gramsci’s theories of hegemony: culture is a place of struggles, where new identities are taking form and hegemonic and anti-hegemonic groups fight with each other. Here one should bear in mind that the positions and relationships of these narratives are not self-evident or static – one could rather put it so that the elements on the setting are in constant dialectics with one another. This dynamics in the cultural field also influences our identities both on an individual and a collective level. My hypothesis is that social change brings about changes in positions of hegemony and thus also in cultural representations. Representations are produced in a historical setting.

Globalisation has raised much interest in the school of cultural studies. Scholars in cultural studies share a special interest in how globalisation affects culture and our sense of locality. Globalisation has many sides: political, economic, social and cultural. Socio-cultural globalisation means the co-existence and connectivity of previously historically and geographically separated people. Cultures never remain pure but must adjust to new situations and connections. Transculturation happens when two previously separated groups meet.

Ethnicity arises at this point to preserve the old lifestyle, values and beliefs (Hall, 2003:113). Hall (2003) remarks that ethnicity seems to arise both among the colonialists and the colonised, in the core and in the periphery, in primitive/traditional and in modern

societies. Ethnicity, according to Hall, is a defensive reaction against the cultural mixture that globalisation encourages.

1.4.1 The Media

Having collected my data from newspapers, the theoretical discussions about the media and especially about newspapers should be taken under consideration. Rosengren (1997:24) describes the modern mass media as an agent of socialization. The agent is extremely powerful, as according to Rosengren “[no] other type of society has had anything comparable.” The power of the mass media is based on the following features:

- It is acting several hours each day in virtually all homes of the society;
- It establishes the agenda of political, economical and cultural debate;
- It offers “endless flows of entertainment and information”;
- It also provides formal, educationally oriented socialization;
- It helps to conserve existing structures of power and in addition helps to prepare the ground for changes taking place in “any modern, industrial and post-industrial society.”

Thus media representations and power operate closely together.

“The ever-increasing capacity of the international mass media system tends to eliminate the traditional borders between societies and cultures [...] The world system grows increasingly ‘systematic’ in the basic sense of the word. Obviously, this fact will exert an increasingly strong influence on all things national and international.” (Rosengren, 1997:23)

If we take Rosengren seriously -the world system growing more systematic with the impact of the mass media- it should be very important to "unriddle" the logic of the media and analyse the representations that establish our perception of the world.

1.4.2 Rhetoric

When trying to unriddle the logic of the media, it is useful to focus on the patterns of rhetoric. Rhetoric can be defined as the art of using language effectively. Studying rhetoric, we study manners of influence. In order to study the applied rhetoric one must have good

knowledge of for example the issue discussed in the text, about the objectives of the text and some knowledge of the potential audience and how they are expected to react to the text. Furthermore, one needs to understand the applied language, i.e. how argumentation works. (Kakkuri-Knuuttila, 1998:234.)

Study of rhetoric focuses particularly on the fine details of the language: metaphors, comparisons and expressions and whether the language is rich or poor and how these attributes make the text reliable. Emphasis is put on the applied emotional expressions and the relationship between the speaker and his/her audience.

Moreover, attention can be paid on the amount of argumentations and what is repeated. "What is repeated tends to be important. What is repeated is true." (Kakkuri-Knuuttila, 1998:237-238.) Some attention should also be paid to possible distractions in the text: how unimportant details are repeated in order to keep the audience's attention away from other issues. (Ibid.)

Rhetoric, according to the classical definition by Aristotle, is built of the following elements: logos, which includes the contents, the arguments of the text; ethos, which expresses the manner in which the speaker justifies his/her cause and reliability; and pathos, which means the stand of the audience, its emotions and state of mind. (Kakkuri-Knuuttila, 1998:233.)

1.5 Structure

This study is structured so that the research is presented in chapters mixing theoretical discussion, analysis and results. Chapter 2 will focus on the quantitative analysis of the data; Chapter 3 will discuss the actors who represent Estonia in Finnish newspapers and moreover focus on the photo material in the newspaper articles; Chapter 4 will examine the patterns of rhetoric in the articles especially in connection with the themes of nationality, borders and consumption/material culture; Chapter 5 will discuss the representation of nationality through gender images and finally in chapter 6 I will conclude the results of the study.

2 Quantitative Analysis

How much attention does Estonia receive in Finnish newspapers? In which contexts is Estonia mentioned? Which sources are used in reports? Have any important changes occurred during the 1990s and 2000s? The questions are answered by making a systematic quantitative analysis of the collected newspaper articles. Based on answers provided by the data we will try to form an opinion on Estonia's status in Finnish newspapers.

What does Estonia's "status" in Finnish newspapers mean? One of my starting points is the classical work of Wallerstein (1974) and the world-system theory. In his work Wallerstein drafts an interpretation of world politics where he divides states and actors into three categories known as the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery. The core states are characterized by their hegemonic position as leaders in the world-system. Generally they possess the necessary military power to overrule the less dominant states. The ambition of the semi-periphery is to rise into the league of core states. The periphery in Wallerstein's analysis is incapable of creating stable administrative structures and will be influenced and abused by the leading world powers. (Wallerstein, 1974.)

The world-system theory can be widely applied to describe different phenomena. Here it is used in interpreting the notions Finnish newspapers might have of the new world-order¹⁴ and the position of Estonia in it.

According to Pietiläinen (1998:86-87) the most common foreign countries that appeared in Finnish foreign news reports during the late 1990s were the United States, Sweden, the European Union, Great Britain, France and Russia. Most foreign news concentrated on European affairs, North America and Asia. Developing countries appeared in less than 20 % of the reports.

Pietiläinen mentions that the overall distribution has not changed dramatically since the 1960s, when the first statistics on reporting were made. However, by the 1990s reports

¹⁴ Here, "new" refers to the situation after the early 1990s, when the Soviet Union had collapsed and a new international status quo was being created.

concerning African countries had decreased into half of what they were in the 1960s, whereas Asian reports had almost doubled in amount (Pietiläinen, 1998:89). Pietiläinen sees that the figures almost exactly follow the structure of Finnish foreign trade (Pietiläinen, 1998:103).

How does an issue make the headlines? Pietiläinen (1998:86) points out that the country most often appearing in Finnish foreign news reports is Finland: the importance of the news grows, when countrymen are taking part in the action. In the material Pietiläinen collected and studied, some 50 % of foreign reports included Finland or a Finnish actor. It is typical - especially for news topics concerning Estonia - that Finland or Finns are somehow involved in the story (Pietiläinen, 1998:102): in Pietiläinen's material 71 % of news about Estonia included a Finnish actor.

As has already been pointed out, the distribution of Finnish foreign news reports shows similar patterns as Finnish foreign trade. Indeed, an important player that helps an issue make the headlines is its relevance to the market economy.

Rosenberg (1998:120-121) describes how the daily news reflect the economic resources that different media have. Rosenberg mentions that an increasing scarcity of resources since the early 1990s has resulted in fewer foreign reports. In the Finnish case, the scant resources are put on reports that concentrate on Western European affairs. This trend Rosenberg calls "europeanization" (ibid.). The scarcity of resources forces the media to focus news reporting on the from an economic point of view "most essential" areas at the cost of "secondary" areas, Rosenberg writes.

In addition to the above mentioned trends, it has been argued that today the media in established democracies (such as Finland) are facing challenges of e.g. commercialisation, fragmentation and globalisation, which all create new demands for efficient and reliable journalism (Hague and Harrop, 2001:98). Social scientists have especially criticized commercialisation, the development where communication - also political communication - is turning into an important business. The development can be seen as a part of a phenomenon where citizens are considered more and more as consumers (Bauman, 1998).

Following Rosenberg, "europeanization" has been the trend in Finnish media during the 1990s. Europe has increasingly become the "most essential area" from a Finnish point of view. Estonia's status in Finnish newspapers can be determined against this background. In this world-order, is Estonia a part of the European "essential area", in the "core", or rather in the periphery? In order to study this I will ask:

- Has the volume of writing (concerning Estonia) changed between the years 1992 and 2002?
- In which contexts is Estonia mentioned and have any changes occurred during the 1990s?
- Which are the most common sources and have any changes occurred during the 1990s?

2.1 Data Analysis

In order to answer the study questions, the article data was coded into the following categories and sub-categories:

1) Newspaper

- a) Helsingin Sanomat (HS)
- b) Iltalehti (IL)
- c) Ilkka

2) Year

- a) 1992
- b) 2002

3) Date

- a) January
- b) June
- c) December

4) Title

Several alternatives

5) Author or source

- a) Finnish reporter
- b) Estonian reporter
- c) STT (Finnish news agency)
- d) Foreign news agency (such as Reuters)
- e) no data
- f) other than above

6) Subject of article

- a) Economy (as concerning national economy)
- b) Business (as concerning private companies)
- c) Security/Foreign politics
- d) Domestic issues/politics
- e) Culture

- f) Civil society (as concerning life of "ordinary Estonians")
- g) Entertainment/Travel
- h) Environment
- i) Crime (including prostitution)

Category 6 is perhaps the most problematic of the categories: it was necessary to make some simplifications in order to fit the articles into greater themes. The most difficult cases for coding were articles discussing Estonia's past: these articles are coded under themes "Culture" and "Civil society" depending on their point of view. Naturally some articles could fit into several themes. However, only one subject was coded for each article. While determining the subject/context/theme attention was paid to the section of the newspaper in which the article was published, the event or topic the article discussed and the actors in the article.

2.1.1 Volume of Writing

Table 2.1: The amount of articles written about Estonia per month in a newspaper in 1992 and 2002

	HS		Iltalehti		Ilkka		Total	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
January	60	23	12	7	17	10	89	40
June	44	9	6	4	17	9	67	22
December	37	12	17	6	10	9	64	27
Total	141	44	35	17	44	28	220	89

There has been a significant decrease in the amount of reports concerning Estonia in all three newspapers (Table 2.1). In Helsingin Sanomat, the amount of reports in 2002 (44 reports) was less than one third of the amount of reports in the year 1992 (141 reports). When comparing the month of June in 1992 with 44 reports in Helsingin Sanomat to June 2002 with only 9 reports, the change seems especially significant.

In Iltalehti and Ilkka, where the reporting on Estonia was not very extensive in 1992, the change to the year 2002 is more moderate even if there is a clear decrease in articles: Iltalehti in 2002 holds one half of the reports it had in 1992 (17 articles in 2002, 35 articles

in 1992) and we meet similar figures in Ilkka: 28 articles in 2002 when the amount of articles in the year 1992 was 44.

How should the figures be analysed? First, we must bear in mind the dramatic, even dangerous events that took place in Estonia in the year 1992: Estonia had recently achieved re-independence, but with thousands of Soviet-Russian army troops in the country, the sovereignty of the state was still on a fragile base. In 1992, Estonia introduced a new constitution, which received a lot of attention in Finnish newspapers. Moreover, Estonia released its own currency (kroon) - and this too made many headlines in Finland. In January 1992, Estonia was facing both energy and a food crisis - not to mention her first government crisis.

Jukka Rislakki was working as a reporter in Helsingin Sanomat during the 1990s. Rislakki (2001) writes in a recent essay that after the re-independence of Estonia Helsingin Sanomat was practically flooded by news concerning Estonia. Eventually, according to Rislakki, the editorial board introduced a concept called "Estonia-pornography" and hit brakes on reports from this area.

*"We figured that focus [of the editorial board] was redirected to the most essential issue, that is the European Union, due to which the east and the south were not to be 'over-emphasized'."*¹⁵ (Rislakki, 2001: 238. Translation by Kaisa Saarenmaa)

Also Valkonen (2000) points to a similar phenomenon: Estonia was considered interesting by the Finnish media as long as the "sensations" lasted. When the situation in the country became more normalized, the Finnish media left to "find entertainment elsewhere".

Suhonen has explained the change in another way: Suhonen sees that in 1991 the Finnish media and public put great interest on the situation in the re-independent Baltic countries. Attitudes changed in 1994 when the ferry *Estonia* sank in Finnish territorial waters with the loss of over 800 lives. Most of the victims were Swedish and Estonian. According to

¹⁵ "Päätelimme, että tutkaimet oli päätetty kohdistaa olennaisimpaan eli Euroopan unioniin, ja että tästä syystä varottiin korostamasta "liikaa" itäistä ja eteläistä ilmansuuntaa." (Rislakki, 2001)

Suhonen, the Finnish media were the first to point an accusing finger at Estonian officials and seamen. (Suhonen, 1997:185.)

In his doctoral thesis Raittila (2004) recognizes the role of the tragedy in shaping or reshaping the opinion Finns had about the Estonian state and culture. The tragedy reinforced perceptions many Finns had of Estonia: Estonians were thought to be representants of a Russian, a Soviet or a communist culture, whose image on the other hand was very much biased. (Raittila, 2004.) On the other hand, the change can be traced to a general hardening in values and attitudes in Finnish society with the recession of early 1990s. Attitudes on Estonian migration to Finland were quite positive in 1987, while during and after the recession attitudes towards immigrants became more negative (Raittila, 2004:165).

Whatever explanations we may believe, taking into account the dramatic drop in news reports the Estonian case seems to fall into the category of "secondary areas" in Finnish foreign news reporting that Rosenberg mentions. However, attention needs to be paid to other factors as well.

2.1.2 Contexts where Estonia is mentioned

Table 2.2: Frequency of articles on a particular subject in different newspapers in 1992 and 2002

	HS		Iltalehti		Ilkka		Total	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
Economy	21	1	0	0	3	2	24	3
Business	6	7	2	0	3	3	11	10
Security politics	19	6	0	0	3	2	22	8
Domestic	50	5	11	2	18	6	79	13
Culture	28	2	3	1	2	4	33	7
Civil society	5	8	7	2	13	6	25	16
Entertainment/Travel	4	9	2	6	0	2	6	17
Environment	6	1	0	1	1	1	7	3
Crime	2	5	10	5	1	2	13	12
Total	141	44	35	17	44	28	220	89

In the year 1992, all the newspapers paid great attention to domestic issues in Estonia: in all three newspapers the greatest amount of articles was written on domestic issues. However, the themes that received second and third most interest in the newspapers varied, and perhaps in some way revealed the orientation of the newspaper: in Helsingin Sanomat, culture and economy hold second and third place, economy being only slightly ahead of foreign/security politics issues, whereas Iltalehti was interested in reporting of crime and civil society. Ilkka on the other hand was especially interested in civil society related issues, but gave little information on other topics.

Examples of titles in 1992

One bread factory feeds all of the half a million Tallinn citizens
Estonia goes for its own currency
Reality surpassed art: Documentaries most touching in the Baltic photo exhibition
Hot-blooded Estonians shined. Kangasniemi music festival not disturbed by cancellations
Estonia survives with bread and potato
Expert in Tallinn claims: Contract killer from Estonia for 30 000 FIM
Aid for prostitutes: "Do not take all Estonians and Russians for prostitutes"
The Lions' fund-raising nearly done: Police cars going from Vähäkylä to Estonia
130 000 pairs of eye-glasses donated to Estonia

Figure 1

In 1992, Helsingin Sanomat reported little on crime, entertainment or travel related issues. Iltalehti was not focusing on economic or security/foreign politics, and I did not find any news reports about environmental issues. Ilkka was not writing about entertainment and travel issues, and gave one article on environmental issues and one on crime.

Thus it can be concluded that with titles such as *One bread factory feeds all of the half a million Tallinn citizens* (1/19/92) and *Estonia goes for its own currency* (6/23/92), Estonia was represented in Helsingin Sanomat in 1992 on one hand in connection to the many reforms and crises taking place. On the other hand, Estonia was defined through a selection of higher arts (titles include: *Reality surpassed art: Documentaries most touching in the Baltic photo exhibition* (1/23/92) and *Hot-blooded Estonians shined. Kangasniemi music festival not disturbed by cancellations* (6/30/92)).

In Iltalehti, with titles such as *Estonia survives with bread and potato* (1/17/92) Estonia was first and foremost reported in relation to the crises and reforms taking place. Secondly, Estonia was represented in relation to crime and social misfortune with titles such as *Expert in Tallinn claims: Contract killer from Estonia for 30 000 FIM* (6/4/92) and *Aid for prostitutes: "Do not take all Estonians and Russians for prostitutes"* (12/17/92).

In Ilkka the focus was, next to daily politics, on the many ways Finnish people (mostly from Ostrobothnia) tried to support Estonians in their livelihoods: several articles discussed fund raising and collection of goods that could be sent to Estonia. Examples of the articles include titles *The Lions' fund-raising nearly done: Police cars going from Vähäkyrö to Estonia* (6/11/92) and *130 000 pairs of eye-glasses donated to Estonia* (12/18/92).

In the year 2002, the distribution of themes is less clear. However, compared with the year 1992 several changes can be noticed:

Examples of titles in 2002

Estonia moves singing from one union to another: Eurovision song contest-audience in Tallinn can feel the effects of EU even in the kitchen
Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco: Estonian girls are true, Russian girls are yummiie
Amphetamine found in spare wheel of Estonian taxi
The whole nation in fever over Eurovision song contest
Baltic states commemorate anniversary of deportations
Could Estonia have done otherwise?

Figure 2

Helsingin Sanomat has moved towards reporting on events concerning the civil society, e.g. the life of ordinary Estonians (often with a presence of historical background). Some of the titles include: *Estonia moves singing from one union to another: Eurovision song contest-audience in Tallinn can feel the effects of EU even in the kitchen* (1/28/02) and *Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco: Estonian girls are true, Russian girls are yummiie* (6/16/02).

Business news have come to play an important role in reporting. Only one article is published on national economic issues. Articles discussing entertainment or travel

opportunities have increased. Higher arts or culture, which was such a popular source of reports in 1992, plays only a minor role in 2002 (2 articles).

Iltalehti is focusing in the year 2002 mostly on crime related issues, with titles like *Amphetamine found in spare wheel of Estonian taxi* (12/20/02). The second most common themes are entertainment and travel with articles such as *The whole nation in fever over Eurovision song contest* (1/7/02).

No attention is paid to economic, business or security/foreign politics issues. However, the amount of articles in the year 2002 is so small in Iltalehti that it is difficult to form a comprehensive picture.

In Ilkka the scarcity of reports leads to similar difficulties. However, it may be concluded that next to issues related to civil society, reports refer to daily politics - and to some extent to cultural features (e.g. history). Articles include *Baltic states commemorate anniversary of deportations* (6/15/02) and *Could Estonia have done otherwise?* (12/22/02).

Obviously the increase in entertainment/travel issues (especially in Helsingin Sanomat) reflects the massive tourism of Finns in Estonia. The nature of Iltalehti as a tabloid newspaper demands "a search for the sensation" and in the Estonian case this means headlines about illegal narcotics and prostitution. Nevertheless, I would like to consider a possibility that the increase in entertainment issues is connected with a global trend of commercialisation in the media (if we take the stereotype of "what sells" seriously).

Only Helsingin Sanomat gives some relevance to business news. This would suggest that again from a Finnish point of view Estonia does not fall into the sphere of immediate public economic interest, even if the many entertainment and travel news reveal that the private household economies obviously share some interest in Estonia.

2.1.3 Sources

As it was mentioned above, if the newspapers can afford to send their own journalists to report on news, this means that the country/issue is considered important, and if the

newspapers rely only on Finnish or foreign news agencies this would suggest the country to be a "secondary region" (following the idea presented by Rosenberg).

Table 2.3: Sources of the articles in different newspapers in 1992 and 2002

	HS		Iltalehti		Ilkka		Total	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
Total	141	44	35	17	44	28	220	89
Finnish reporter	57	29	13	14	5	8		
Estonian reporter	30	0	5	0	5	0		
STT	5	6	0	0	0	12		
Foreign agency	3	3	2	0	0	5		
no data	30	1	15	2	34	3		
Other	12*	5*	0	1**	0	0		
Missing	4	0	0	0	0	0		

* Helsingin Sanomat named as source, no individual writer named

** From women's magazine Me Naiset

In 1992 in several cases the source is not declared in the article. Some 25 % of the articles in Helsingin Sanomat do not mention a source, in Iltalehti almost 50 % of the articles do not have a reported source and in Ilkka as many as circa three quarters of the articles do not declare a source. (Table 2.3.) Jukka Pietiläinen mentions, that in his study of foreign news reports one in four lacked a source (Pietiläinen, 1998:99). Thus, my results are perhaps not that surprising. In the year 2002 similar problems do not occur: in Helsingin Sanomat only one article of 44 is without a source, in Iltalehti 2 of 17 and in Ilkka 3 of 28 articles (Table 2.3).

With so many sources missing in 1992, it is difficult to determine the actual ratio of newspapers' own journalists and news agency clips. For the newspaper Ilkka in 1992, it may be assumed that the 34 articles with no reported source come from news agencies, since no reports from news agencies are mentioned otherwise. I see the trend being similar in Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti, even if it is hard to tell for sure.

In Helsingin Sanomat, a named journalist (Finnish or Estonian) had written some two thirds of articles. The figure is quite impressive in comparison with e.g. Pietiläinen's

notions on foreign news reports in general. In Pietiläinen's study, newspapers' own journalists wrote some 43 % of foreign news reports (Pietiläinen, 1998:99). In Iltalehti, named journalists wrote some 50 % of the articles. In Ilkka, the figure is somewhat smaller - less than one third. What is interesting in Helsingin Sanomat in the year 1992 is the great number of articles by Estonian-born authors.

In 2002, the ratios in Helsingin Sanomat seem to stay similar as before - 29 articles of 44 written by a named journalist. In Iltalehti, the articles are now produced almost entirely by the newspaper's own journalists (14 of 17), whereas Ilkka favors news agencies (Finnish and foreign). Ilkka's own journalists write little more than 25 % of the articles. This would suggest that the bigger newspapers (Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti) have greater interest in sending their own journalists to write an article. Naturally, the leading newspapers have more resources than a small local newspaper, but Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti also have their offices in southern Finland, which may facilitate travel to and contacts with Estonia.

2.2 Conclusion

All the newspapers were greatly interested in the dramatic and even dangerous events taking place in Estonia during the early 1990s. The emphasis was then on domestic politics. However, when the sensations ended and the Estonian society became more stabilized, the interest faded and fewer reports were published. Moreover, it can be argued that the fading interest was also due to a lack in resources since the recession of early 1990s and a trend where Finnish interests were concentrating on Western European issues -before and after joining with the European Union in 1995. One can even speculate how much the sinking of the ferry Estonia affected writing.

The data shows that the most popular, and the most neglected, context or theme in reports varies between newspapers. The different newspapers give different meanings to Estonia: while Helsingin Sanomat pays more attention to business and economy news than the other newspapers, Iltalehti is concentrating on crime related news and Ilkka on movements in the civil society.

In addition to these notions, in Helsingin Sanomat we meet an interesting trend where news about Estonian higher arts have disappeared almost totally by 2002. Instead, Estonian

culture in 2002 is represented in relation to entertainment, travel and consumption. Furthermore, in 2002 Helsingin Sanomat has moved from reporting news concerning the Estonian national economy to news concerning business of private companies. This is quite natural when we consider Estonia's movement towards market economy, and the interest Finnish companies have had in investing to Estonia.

Especially Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti have relied on their own journalists in reporting. In Ilkka, news agencies have played a more important role. This can be explained with Ilkka's fewer resources on one hand, and partly in relation with Ilkka's base area – Ostrobotnia, which is fairly far away from Estonia. Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti are based in Helsinki.

On the basis of my data, in the early 2000s Estonia, when represented, was connected with entertainment, crime and civil society and to some extent business. Thus, from the point of view of a Finnish newspaper Estonia seemed to stand rather in the periphery of interests than in the core. This argument can be based on the following facts: 1) there has been a significant drop in reports compared with the year 1992 and this would suggest (following the notions of Rosenberg) that Estonia is not considered to be a part of the European project; and 2) except for a relatively small amount of reports in Helsingin Sanomat, Estonia is rarely mentioned in contexts of economy and business, thus there are few links with the "most essential area".

However, instead of relying on Finnish or foreign news agencies, Finnish newspapers are quite interested in sending their own journalists to report on Estonian matters. This would suggest Estonia to be part of the "essential area" (following the idea of directing scarce resources, as presented by Rosenberg). Yet, when Estonia is such a close neighbour to Finland, travel to and contacts with Estonia does not demand large resources.

From a Finnish newspaper's perspective Estonia did not belong to the western civilization (or Europe) during the 1990s and early 2000s. Estonia may have been linked more with Russia, especially after the catastrophe of ferry Estonia, as some writers (e.g. Suhonen) observe. However, this image may well change later. It seems that economic interests play an important role in determining the status of an area.

3 The Faces that define Estonia

In this chapter we will have a closer look on the different actors that Finnish newspapers present when reporting about Estonian issues. This chapter answers the questions: i) What kind of actors are seen and heard in the news reports about Estonia? ii) Have any changes occurred in the quality of the actors between the years 1992 and 2002?

The questions are answered by analysing both text material and photo material from Finnish newspapers in 1992 and 2002. The text material is analysed from newspapers *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Iltalehti* and *Ilkka*, but the photo material is analysed only from newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, as this newspaper offers the richest source of pictures. While studying the photographs, I focused on the themes and actors that receive the most attention.

In order to answer the questions the data material was studied and from each article I encoded 1-5 most important actors. Secondly, I separated articles from newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* and from these articles separated the ones that had any photographs from those that did not.

3.1 Analysis

3.1.1 Distribution of Actors

What kinds of actors are seen in the news reports? It could have been possible, and it was considered as an option, that the actors would be coded under relatively large categories. For example Pietiläinen (1998:98) uses such large categories in his study, where he names five categories for actors: 1) State officials or nations; 2) International organizations; 3) Private sector or businessmen; 4) Individual citizens; and 5) Public sector or NGOs.

Pietiläinen compared the results according to the country represented. According to him, news reports from Russia are often discussed through actors who belong to the category "state officials or nations" (42% of news, compared with 22 % in news about the US, and in 29 % of Estonian news). United States, Great Britain and Latin America are typically represented through an actor who belongs to the category "individual citizen" (over 50 %

of news reports), and also Estonia is typically represented through individual citizens. In Pietiläinen's material 40 % of the news reports about Estonia had an actor who could be categorized as an individual citizen.

Surprisingly, in Pietiläinen's observations the private sector and business are well represented in news about Estonia. According to Pietiläinen, business is covered in 17 % of reports, while e.g. in news from Sweden the share is only 8 % (ibid.).

I decided not to search for some specific actors in the articles, as Pietiläinen has done. Instead, I recorded the actors that show up – and only afterwards formed some frames for categorizing the actors. After studying the text material and the character of the actors presented in the articles, I drafted a list of categories under which most of the actors would fall. The categories are quite specific as I considered it more interesting to have a detailed picture of the distribution.

- a) **Estonian politician** (ministers, MPs, president, government, opposition, city council)
- b) **Foreign politician** (ministers, MPs, president, government, opposition, city council)
- c) **Business** (Estonian or foreign businessmen, banks, companies, sponsors)
- d) **Industry** (industrialists, workers, craftsmen, farmers)
- e) **Artists** (musicians, painters, writers, architects)
- f) **Academics and the media** (teachers, schools, scholars, scientists, reporters, journalists, the mass media)
- g) **Church** (the institution, clergymen, nuns)
- h) **Officials** (Estonian or foreign bureaucrats, diplomats, government departments, the police, army, experts)
- i) **Celebrities**, sportsmen and sportswomen
- j) **Citizens** (ordinary citizens, consumers, travellers)
- k) **Organizations** (parties, citizen movements, international organizations)
- l) **Criminals**, suspects, convicts, prostitutes (mafia)
- m) **Finland**, Finnish people
- n) **Estonia**, Estonian people
- o) **Russia**, Russian people
- p) **Other foreign people**, foreign countries
- q) **Children, youth, elderly people** (infants, toddlers, schoolchildren, students, pensioners)
- r) **Women, men**
- s) **Animals** and nature
- t) **Material culture** (transports, buildings)
- u) **Other** (to be specified)

The distribution of different actors may not seem especially surprising: while discussing economy news, the articles refer to different experts and representatives of the government; and while discussing business matters, businessmen/women and companies are addressed (Table 3.1).

Security issues are depicted through armies, politicians and different experts. Usually security issues discuss the relations of different countries. Domestic issues are represented through politicians (the government and parliament). Culture reports give the voice to artists. Events in the civil society are usually depicted from the point of view of the private citizen or consumer.

While presenting entertainment, the artists or celebrities are in the spotlight and often the newspapers also mention any organizers/companies that are responsible for the events. The environmental issues concerning Estonia quite often seem to have a Finnish expert linked with the project. Crime reports are usually written from the point of view of the officials/police who investigate the crime. Suspects/criminals are mentioned as well.

Table 3.1: Actors in news about Estonia in Finnish newspapers

Context - Actor	Econ.	Bus.	Sec.	Dom.	Cult.	Civ.	Ent.	Env.	Crim.
Estonian politician	11		11	70	7	7	1	1	1
Foreign pol.			4	2	1	2			
Business	8	19		5	4	1	7		2
Industry	2	2		3	1			1	
Artists		1			19	2	6		
Academics	1		3	3	3	3	2	2	3
Church					1	1			
Officials	12		18	16	6	2	2	3	19
Celebrities						1	6		
Citizens			1	11	3	12	4		1
Organization	2			1	3	3		1	
Criminals	1			1			1		22
Finland	4	9	9	5	6	5	1	3	5
Estonia	4	3	7	9	5	4	4	1	2
Russia	3	1	8	7	1	3			1
Foreign	2	2	6	7	5		1		2
Child., eld.				1		4	5		
Women, men		1			1	2	3		4
Animals						1		2	
Material					2	3			1
Other				3**	7****	1*	1***		

* Santa Claus

** Rumours, Democracy, Polls

*** Zoopark, City of Tallinn

**** City of Tallinn, Time, Culture, History

3.1.2 Quality of Actors

Have any changes occurred in the quality of the actors? One way to answer this is to study the photo material published in the articles. While studying the photo material focus was on the following questions:

- 1) If any people appear in the picture,
 - a) Who are they?
 - b) What is the situation where the people are depicted?
 - c) How are the people depicted?
- 2) What is not depicted?

Results in 1992

There were altogether 141 news reports about Estonia in Helsingin Sanomat in the year 1992. I found 73 photographs from the articles. What actors appeared in the photographs?

Politicians

Most of the photographs picture politicians: there were 18 pictures of politicians, all of them male. The majority of the pictures had Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar on them; Arnold Rüütel appeared in a few photographs, as well as prime minister Tiit Vähi. Lennart Meri appeared in one picture. Usually the pictures are taken in Estonia and only Estonian politicians are present: however, in one picture we see Savisaar with Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho.

What are the politicians doing in the photographs? For example in January 1992 the pictures usually presented politicians doing something together, usually chatting. It is also common that only the politician's face is depicted. We often see a politician giving a speech or being interviewed. One picture of politicians (January 17th) I found very interesting, because the politicians (MPs in parliament) look extremely stressed. In the center of the picture there is the figure of Rein Veidemann (then MP) who seems to be in agony. The picture is connected with the government crisis in January.

Agony

Quite many photographs tell of the situation in Tallinn: eleven pictures depict the food, energy and government crises in January 1992. Four photographs picture people on the streets and the market: one photograph pictures a child walking in snow, the other three

picture elderly people. We see a middle-aged woman taking water from a corridor water post. The pictures share an atmosphere of uncertainty concerning the future. The articles describe Estonians' problems in acquiring basic food.

Artists

With Helsingin Sanomat publishing several articles on Estonian culture (higher arts), artists appear in many pictures. The pictured artists are dominantly men - only in one photograph (art museum director) Anu Liivak is pictured with two curators. Two pictures appear of Lepo Sumera, who in addition to his career as a composer is also the minister of culture. Generally, only the heads of the artists are presented. However, in one picture we see three Estonian composers talking with a leader of a Finnish record company (January 29th).

Men

It may be noticed that the pictures generally depict men. For example in the pictures from December 1992 I found 16 men and 3 women: two articles were interviews of Estonian women and their pictures appeared in the articles. One article told about shopping opportunities in Tallinn and there was a young (unnamed) woman pictured next to a man in a market.

In Pietiläinen's study of Finnish foreign news reports in general (1998), men covered up to 70 % of the actors (Pietiläinen, 1998:98).

Results in 2002

In January 2002 Helsingin Sanomat published 23 articles discussing an issue related to Estonia. Interestingly enough, I found 36 pictures from these articles (19 pictures in January, 8 photographs in June, 9 photographs in December). What are the themes and actors that rise from the articles?

Positive Attitude

In the newspaper of January 28th there is an article titled "Estonia goes singing from one Union to another" (article by Kaja Grünthal). The article discusses preparations in Tallinn for the Eurovision song contest that will be held in the following May. The article is joined with a picture of three laughing teenagers, schoolgirls from a secondary school. The

caption under the picture says: "[The students] support songs sung in English, common currency and EU membership." The overall impression of the photograph is light and cheerful: there are expectations in the air.

Western Connections

In June 9th, 2002 there is an article on the visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to Estonia. Helsingin Sanomat publishes a picture (by Kari Pullinen) where Rumsfeld, placed in the center of the picture, walks with Estonian Prime Minister Siim Kallas. Kallas has an especially happy smile on his face; he is placed next to Rumsfeld but in the very right corner of the picture, so we can see only a part of him.

The picture also includes four other men; two security officials checking the environment (for Rumsfeld obviously) and two reporters, one of whom is photographing the walk and the other keeps a microphone over Rumsfeld's head. The overall impression is dynamic, even cinematographic. Rumsfeld is portrayed as a big star - and it is the proud duty of Estonians to host him.

The picture supports the text of the article: Rumsfeld is in Estonia to thank for the cooperation of Baltic countries with NATO. To the critical reader the setting may give an impression that Estonia's success is dependent on the approval of bigger nations, superpowers, which also seems to be the message the Estonian government is sending, according to the article: "A small state, such as Estonia, cannot afford to stay outside the military union [NATO]."

Integration

In June 16th 2002, there appears in Helsingin Sanomat another attractive photograph (again by Kari Pullinen) on Estonia. The stunning picture presents three young women and a young man dancing in an Estonian disco where the floor - and in part the ladies - are covered with bath foam. The title of the article is "Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco. 'Estonian girls are true', 'Russian girls are yummy'". Indeed, the young women in the picture are dressed very attractively. They are concentrated on dancing and seem to have a good time. The article is built up quite nicely: even if it at first look tells about a nightclub, it actually demonstrates the integration process of Russian speakers in the Estonian society.

Success

In December 2002, we meet in Helsingin Sanomat particularly many photographs telling of Estonian prosperity and success. Actually, of the nine photographs picturing an Estonian issue in this month, only one stands on the borders of success and neutrality, others portray the "real winners" of the transition. In December 12 articles are published, but the pictures concentrate on just 4 articles.

Apparently, the pictures (all of them published on two days, December 14th and December 15th) reinforce the news from December 14th that Estonia is accepted to join the European Union together with nine other countries -the negotiations were finished by then. Now, the setting is suddenly upside down: the EU wants Estonia - will she accept?

Right beneath the news report telling of the decision, there is a picture of a photo-model-like young Estonian lady in downtown Tallinn. Blonde, longhaired and dressed in a fur coat she is like the icon of success; very urban and not at all looking like "maarahvas" (countrypeople, how Estonians traditionally see/portray themselves). The high building behind her adds to the impression: Estonia is proud and beautiful, and others should ask her what she wants. The young lady is not looking at the camera, but to the right, perhaps to a distant future. The caption under the photograph points out that in her opinion *NATO is more important than the EU*.

The next day, Helsingin Sanomat is flooded, once more, by news concerning Estonia. Ari Lahdenmäki has written two reports on successful Estonians. The first of the articles is titled "*Sex, Witchcraft and Naked Women*" and it tells about Estonian celebrities and how to become one: one needs to be beautiful and rich. The pictures in the article, five of them altogether, by Kari Pullinen, support the story: all the pictures portray young and slim ladies who appear to be at some nightclub or perhaps at a fashion show. The young ladies look wealthy and "cool".

The article reminds the reader that during the Soviet time people became celebrities on different grounds than today. This gives a flavour of bitter irony to the article.

Beneath the celebrity article, which is quite huge, extending to some two thirds of the newspaper page, there is an article telling about an Estonian academic, a professor, who has written a dissertation on civil society movements in Estonia. The professor refers to the results of his study. There is also a small facial portrait of him (by Jarmo Matilainen) against an urban background. The picture is quite neutral: he seems relaxed and sincere.

However, next to the celebrity article the impression is interesting. In the above celebrity article we have a representation of the Estonian entertainment and capitalist presence, beneath we have a representation of serious, academic Estonia, which is very much interested in understanding the past. The articles seem to be of two different worlds, and yet they describe the situation of one small country.

Perhaps the heterogeneity of the two articles best reveals the nature of a liberal market economy: several truths of one phenomenon are allowed, but "what sells well" will ultimately overpower the essential facts. Thus our professor is left with less room than the half-naked celebrities. Or could the reader imagine a situation where the placement of articles would be the opposite way?

Indeed there is an ironic twist to this newspaper page: if the celebrities described in the above article could not have been celebrities in the Soviet era, neither could the professor speak freely then.

The last pictures of the month make a sort of synthesis on the above-mentioned phenomena: we meet in the Economy and Work pages (section E) of Helsingin Sanomat an AD of an Estonian advertising bureau. The article describes his way from a graphics student to the manager of a successful advertisement business. There is a big picture of him, sitting comfortably in an armchair next to a table with a board game he has designed. The AD is looking down (at the game?) with a curious grin on his face - as if he was planning for the next move. He is dressed casually, slightly balding and with a beard he gives an impression of a bobo (bohemian bourgeois). The article mentions that he has been saving money in order to retire in a few years time because he wants to continue with his actual interest - writing poetry. My photo analysis ends in this AD's bobo-attitude: first you make your way in the liberal economy, and then you retire to live the good life.

3.2 Conclusion

The actors in the articles vary according to the theme or main topic of the article. While discussing economy news, articles refer to different experts and representatives of the government. In business news, businessmen/women and companies are interviewed. Security issues often depict army officers and the military, but also politicians and different experts are mentioned. Security here is understood in the "traditional way" as affecting inter-state relations. Therefore articles about security quite often present states as the main actors.

Domestic issues are represented through politicians: the government and the parliament. In culture news the main actor is often an artist or a group of artists. Events in the civil society are usually depicted from the point of view of the private citizen or consumers. While presenting entertainment, the artists or celebrities are in spotlight and often the newspapers also mention any organizers/companies that are involved in the events.

Environmental issues are represented through experts, and in the Estonian case, Finnish experts are quite often involved. Crime news are usually written from the point of view of the officials/police who investigate the crime. Suspects/criminals are mentioned as well, but Finnish newspapers tend not to present the suspects or criminals very intimately.

What is surprising in the distribution? I was surprised that so few actors in the year 1992 were women. However, bearing in mind the results of Pietiläinen's study, where 70 % of actors in news articles are male, the gender distribution in my data is perhaps not that exceptional.

When studying possible changes in the representation, it can be noted that a change has taken place: In the photographs published in 1992 we meet a trend of agony and poverty. In the photographs published in 2002 we see a clear distinction in what is pictured between on one hand in January and June and on the other hand in December. Whereas most pictures are rather neutral in style, the pictures published in December 2002 suddenly share a great amount of meaning; the photographs in December give examples of Estonian "real winners" - of those men and women who have benefited from the transition. Intended or not, the "success articles" come at hand with the news of Estonia accepting the access prerequisites of the European Union.

When comparing the photographs from 1992 and 2002 one first notices a pattern in 1992, where pictures move from a concentration on politics towards more diverse subjects. In 2002, on the other hand, the focus seems to move from diverse subjects to concentration on pictures of success. Yet it is difficult to make a judgment, as the study material is in the end quite limited (only six months of articles altogether).

Even if we want to withdraw from generalizations, we could point to some obvious problems in the most recent reports. The critical reader can ask in the light of the photographs in the December 2002 Helsingin Sanomat: is the Estonia that has now been accepted to join the European Union only the Estonia of the "real winners"? Is the Estonia Finnish newspapers want to show the prosperous Estonia? Is "the other Estonia" - teine Eesti - now to be forgotten?

4 Logic of Argumentation

In this chapter we will take a closer look at the rhetoric and logic of argumentation in the articles. The data is approached with the questions: i) Who is the speaker in the article (*ethos*)? ii) To whom is s/he speaking (*pathos*)? iii) What s/he is speaking (*logos*)? One of our main interests is whether any changes have occurred in the patterns of rhetoric between the years 1992 and 2002.

Instead of presenting the patterns of rhetoric in the whole data, we will concentrate on a few themes and see how rhetoric is used in the particular cases. Special attention will be paid on the ways the articles address nationality, borders and material culture/consumption. These themes are given a central position as the starting point for this study comes from nationalism and identity debate in the school of cultural studies. It can be claimed that the problematic of identity is well manifested in these issues.

4.1 Nationality Rhetoric

According to the data, the issue of nationality is present but not the most out-standing topic in Finnish newspapers in 1992. How is nationality discussed?

Table 4.1: Examples of titles in articles concerning nationality rhetoric

1992	2002
I don't want to be European (HS92)	Estonia strikes back in Swedish Eurovision song
Piece of cake and the nation (HS92)	contest finale (HS02)
Estonian television can advertise alcohol (HS92)	Estonian and Russian mobs divide Finland into
Laila's leap to the unknown and back (IL92)	prostitution zones (HS02)
Estonia celebrated kroon and victory on Midsummer (Ilkka92)	Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco: Estonian girls are true: Russian girls are yummi (HS02) Preferment of Estonians ends in Estonia's spas: The policy of different prices for different customers was against the law even earlier (HS02) The whole nation in fever over Eurovision song contest (IL02) Girls at Kurikka vocational school: Estonian students are gentlemen (Ilkka02)

An interesting opening for discussion comes from Jaan Kaplinski when he writes on January 4th, 1992 in Helsingin Sanomat an essay titled “I don’t want to be European”. Kaplinski, an Estonian poet, sees Europe as forming into a new super-nation-state with European nationalism as its ideology. Europe is closing itself from foreigners – the non-Europeans – Kaplinski fears. The style of the article is very serious and sincere. The article is located in the Culture section of the newspaper and is likely to attract the Finnish intellectuals. Content-wise (logos-wise), Kaplinski’s essay is interesting because it creates a sense of a beginning: in 1992 we are at point zero and now we must decide how to develop the world. Kaplinski’s essay conveys an air of globalism. In Kaplinski’s essay nationality and identity are understood as something dynamic and changing.

In Ilkka nationality is discussed in a somewhat banal way in June 1992. Peeter Maimik discusses recent reforms in Estonia e.g. how the currency kroon is taken into use. In the same article where Maimik discusses the currency reform he also discusses the celebration of “traditional Estonian holidays” such as the Victory day (June 23rd) and Midsummer. In Peeter Maimik’s article, Estonian nationality is represented as if it had remained unspoilt and pure throughout the Soviet occupation. The nation is represented as homogenous and determined.

“During the Day of Victory the veterans of the War of Freedom had a reunion. They said that they want to live until the last foreign soldiers have left Estonia.”¹⁶

In June 1992 nationalities are discussed in Helsingin Sanomat, where Erkki Lyytikäinen writes around the theme how different Finns and Swedes are and how Finns and Swedes have different ways to approach refugees from e.g. Estonia. This article mentions the Finno-Ugrian quality as connecting Finns and Estonians. Finno-Ugrians are set in opposition against Swedes who are described as naive but friendly. Nationality is here depicted as a source of misunderstandings and humour. Nationality makes a good joke.

¹⁶ “Voitonpäivänä tapasivat myös vapaussodan veteraanit. He totesivat, että haluavat elää siihen saakka, kunnes viimeinen vieraiden joukkojen sotilas on poistunut Virosta.”

“In the Estonian community of Sigtuna a line heard over a cup of coffee with a local family remained as an inside joke: - Oh, you are refugees. Please take some more cake!”¹⁷

In 1992, Finnish and Estonian nationalities are generally represented as homogenous and somehow stabilized. However, there are expectations of changes in the air. For example the article *Laila’s leap to the unknown and back* (IL92) gives an idea that Estonia must develop national qualities in order to become something more desirable:

“- Estonian people are wonderful, but they have a long way to the western system, Laila sees.”¹⁸ In this article the recipe to desirability is simple: safety, prosperity and new work ethics.

“- Estonia needs a change of attitude, only then things will start to work, Laila knows.”¹⁹ In this article nationality and national differences are not a source of humour but rather scary things.

The idea of national development can be combined with Apo’s (1998) and Jääskeläinen’s (1998) notions that Finnishness has been understood as something incomplete, as something needing to be developed. The perfect Finn in an 18th century understanding was used to hard work, carrying a burden, bearing cold and heat and staying awake. He was not used to pleasures of any kind. The material world was quite unworthy in his eyes. (Jääskeläinen, 1998:68-70.)

Actually, the article *Laila’s leap to the unknown and back* (IL92) portrays Finns quite along these lines. Communication with Estonian people fails, as the article implies, because Estonians do not share the same qualities. The article implies that Estonians should be made to appreciate these qualities.

In 2002, we find quite a few articles discussing the problematics of nationality. Compared with the year 1992 I see that the issue of nationality has become more important.

¹⁷ *“Sigtunan virolaisten yhteisöön jäi perhevitsinä elämään eräässä kyläpaikassa kahvia juotaessa kuultu repliikki: Ja , ni är flykting, ta en kaka till!”*

¹⁸ *”Niin viehättäviä ihmisiä kuin virolaiset ovatkin, heillä on vielä matkaa länsimaiseen järjestelmään.”*

¹⁹ *“- Virossa tarvitaan asennemuutosta. vasta sitten toiminta alkaa sujua, Laila tietää.”*

Integration and equal treatment of people are considered as important issues (as in the articles *Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco: Estonian girls are true: Russian girls are yummi* (HS02) and *Preferment of Estonians ends in Estonia's spas: The policy of different prices for different customers was against law even earlier* (HS02).

In 2002 nationality could basically be discussed with humour: an attempt is made with the different articles discussing the Eurovision song contest in Tallinn. However, as the article *Whole nation in fever over Eurovision song contest* in Iltalehti reveals, the Eurovision song contest is not considered as a joke but as a matter of some serious quarrelling. How a nation is represented to others is very important. This is not only a matter of pride, but also a real economic issue as the hope is to attract foreign investors to the country.²⁰

Considering the process of globalization, it seems only natural that nationality and ethnicity have obtained certain importance. Therefore it is not surprising if nationality makes more headlines during the 2000s than previously. However, it is also likely that nationality/ethnicity has been stigmatised in the Eastern European context because of the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia. Because of the wars in former Yugoslavia all regions with a heterogeneous population - ethnicity-wise - are under suspicion. Ethnicity has become something that should be monitored. Hall (2003:113) suggests that ethnicity revives to preserve the old lifestyle, values and beliefs that are threatened by globalization of culture. Ethnicity, according to Hall, is a defensive reaction against the cultural mixture that globalization encourages.

²⁰ Bearing in mind the campaign "Welcome to Estonia".

4.2 Border and Security Rhetoric

Table 4.2: Examples of titles in articles concerning security and borders

1992	2002
Estonia aims for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Baltics (HS92)	Former trawlers in charge for Estonian oil fighting (HS02)
Co-operation with Estonian customs increases: Finland continues training of Estonian officers (HS92)	Souvenirs from Tallinn! (IL02)
Keep the Archipelago Clean campaign builds three waste disposal units to Estonia (HS92)	AIDS spreads in Estonia (Ilkka02)
Fear over Baltic drugs moving into Nordic countries (HS92)	
Russia closes its biggest flight base in Estonia (HS92)	
Estonia argues over crisis law (Ilkka92)	
First government of Estonia signs off. Estonia needs unity (Ilkka92)	
10 % of Estonia under Soviet control (Ilkka92)	

The titles for security and border issues in 1992 suggest that security can be obtained by means of government control, laws and monopolies (e.g. monopoly over violence). Security is obtained by unity and standards, as e.g. the article *First government of Estonia signs off. Estonia needs unity* in Ilkka suggests (Table 4.2). Moreover, security is obtained with cooperation. An example of this attitude could be the article *Co-operation with Estonian customs increases: Finland continues training of Estonian officers* in Helsingin Sanomat.

In 1992 it is quite clear that Russia and Soviet military is seen as the greatest threat for security. Some articles suggest the threat of environmental pollution and spreading of drugs. In 1992, drugs are depicted as a potential threat in the future, but not a current issue - as the article in Helsingin Sanomat writes: *Fear over Baltic drugs moving into Nordic countries*.

In 2002 security issues are no more concentrated on combating Russia. A greater threat, it seems, is for example the HIV or AIDS, which is spreading in Estonia. The articles

Souvenirs from Tallinn! (IL02) and *AIDS spreads in Estonia* (Ilkka02) talk about this risk. The former article points to the problem of Finnish men visiting prostitutes in Tallinn. The prostitutes are seen as potential carriers of HIV and there is a risk that Finnish men catch the disease and pass it to their partners in Finland. In addition, poverty, linked with old technology, is seen as a major threat. An example of the risk presented by old technology comes from the article *Former trawlers in charge for Estonian oil fighting* in Helsingin Sanomat.

Thus, if we generalize, the security threats have moved from the public (state) sphere towards the private (individual) sphere. At the same time, it is not clear who are on which side and what the enemy is. In 1992 it was pretty clear that Russia was considered the security threat for both Finland and Estonia - we must bear in mind that Russian troops were present in Estonia for some years after Estonia's independence. In 2002 the explicit enemy is no more one state but rather a collection of vague elements such as prostitution, disease, drugs and poor technology.

4.3 Material Culture Rhetoric

Poor technology is presented as a security risk, but how else do the newspapers represent issues of material culture?

Table 4.3: Examples of titles in articles concerning material culture rhetoric

1992	2002
Estonian police buys winter clothing from Finland (HS92)	Estonia's big farms re-new technology. Hankkija and Kesko companies take over Estonia's growing markets (HS02)
Estonia leaps to the unknown by taking kroon in use. An IMF program balances economy. Queues for krooni at 3 a.m. (HS92)	Rautakirja company takes more of Estonian magazine markets (HS02)
Ostrobotnians collect money for volunteers in Estonia and Ingermanland (HS92)	Kesko company aims for a quarter share in Baltic grocery sales: Retail markets in Estonia under radical changes. Super markets take over, food markets yield (Ilkka02)
Winter of despair in the Baltics: Cold, poverty and increase in prices plague the people (HS92)	Production of uniforms moves to Estonia (HS02)
Cheap food attracts [Finns] to Tallinn. Also fashion, fur, music and art offered to Finns (HS92)	
Who will bring flowers to Helmi's grave? The life of a mother (IL92)	
Machines to Viljandi (Ilkka92)	
Police Lada-cars in co-operation to Estonia (Ilkka92)	

The year 1992 presents an Estonia plagued by need and demand for different goods. The people are in need for money, food, technology and even basic care and sympathy, as in the article *Who will bring flowers to Helmi's grave? The life of a mother*. Finns are often represented as heroes, who will rescue the poor Estonians, as in the article *Police Lada-cars in co-operation to Estonia*.

The articles often present, next to the need and agony, a feeling of empathy and genuine care when strangers across national borders come to help the less fortunate ones. Quite many articles point out that there is also need on the Finnish side, where recession is cutting people's wealth and health. The articles, especially during Christmas holidays, point out that giving things away is important. Thus, I would see that Estonian need is represented as an opportunity for Finns to sacrifice themselves and thus become *saved*: Estonia is a matter of Sundays and holy days to Finns. Estonia is a mass for Finland. The suffering of the Estonian people, today and in the past, is something that Finnish people

need to respect. But times change and holy things face blasphemy. Finns begin their shopping tours to Tallinn. First Finns go after the inexpensive food, clothing and alcohol. These things are much cheaper in Estonia than in Finland and with the recession Finns need to think about their wallets. If we exaggerate the circumstances a bit it can be argued that shopping takes the place of the holy sermon. Estonia becomes a weekend country for Finns instead of just a Sunday country. Shopping and entertainment replace the sermons of giving and caring.

Considering the traditional perception of the hard-working quiet Finn (e.g. Apo, Jääskeläinen), the opportunities for relaxing, shopping and entertainment that Estonia offers seem like a challenge. Estonia makes the (ideally) rational Finns irrational. Moreover, Estonian shopping opportunities offer also the rational travellers an argument: *the stuff is much cheaper here than back home*. In Estonia the rational Finn can afford pleasures that are out of the question at home. From this point of view, it seems that the sinking of the ferry Estonia in September 1994 would be the greatest defeat. It seems like a dreadful punishment for the once-in-a-lifetime chance of relaxing and having fun.

In 2002, the articles about material culture discuss the business movements of Finnish companies in Estonia. Estonian markets are there to be taken over. A funny detail is of course that while in 1992 Helsingin Sanomat wrote that *Estonian police buys winter clothing from Finland*, the situation in 2002 is reversed: *Production of uniforms moves to Estonia*. As is written in an editorial of Helsingin Sanomat in the year 2004, Finnish companies should take advantage of the low wages in the Baltics, find sub-contractors there and increase productivity that way. In this logic, rationality is the first priority on the list of morals.

4.4 Conclusion

While studying the change in rhetoric concerning nationality, border and security, and material culture I found that nationality is the most difficult issue to study of these three. In border and security issues it was fairly easy to recognize that security issues shifted from concentrating on state-to-state issues to the more private side. Concerning material culture, the ethos in 1992 was about citizens giving and receiving charity while in 2002 the focus is on business issues. Nationality, however, does not fit into a clear framework. Nationality

issues generally received more attention in 2002. Integration and equal treatment of people are considered important issues. In 1992 nationalities are perhaps more stable and understood as something homogenous, while in 2002 the possibility of heterogeneousness and national mixture and play is referred to.

Table 4.4: Changes in rhetoric 1992-2002

	NATIONALITY	BORDER AND SECURITY	MATERIAL CULTURE
Logos	identity → crossing borders	military/national security → disease, pollution	charity → consumption
Ethos	individuals → nations	states, organizations → individuals	citizens → business
Pathos	humour → emergency	public → private	ceremonial → casual/ erotic

We could find explanations for the change in border rhetoric from the fall of the Soviet Union. The cold war and the iron curtain immediately affected Finnish-Estonian relations. With the collapse of Soviet superpower the setting was disturbed and transformed. It can be considered that after the end of the cold war security risks are more and more sought outside the traditional state-to-state issues.

The shopping and taking over markets Finns do in Estonia results from a value and norm shift in the Finnish society. The change must have been motivated in part by the disappointments during the early 1990s recession: the ethos of giving and caring soon lost meaning and power when business opportunities were noticed.

The possible growing interest in nationality/ethnicity is in my opinion in part a result of the tragic events in Former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, interest in ethnicity can be a result of increasing globalization and transculturation.

5 Gendered Images

Studying the photo material attached to the articles concerning Estonia, I noticed that few pictures depict women. How is the Estonian woman depicted in the Finnish newspapers? What are the contexts (e.g. economy, politics, culture, entertainment) where Estonian women are portrayed in Finnish newspapers? Who are the depicted women? I am not so much interested in the individual portraits as I am interested in how the individual tales can be seen as variants of a single "macrotale" (Alasuutari, 1995:73).

Gender is central in the construction of a nation. Gender plays a role in influencing the strategies and goals of the participants in nationalist struggles. (Steans; Yuval-Davis.) For example it is common that a country is depicted as the motherland and female icons symbolize the nation. The national icons include for example the vulnerable maid of Finland in need for (masculine) protection and mother Svea, who offers shelter and food to her children, the Swedish people. Other images include Marianne (of the French people) and the statue of Liberty in the U.S. (see e.g. Gordon, 2002:40).

As Finnish scholars have shown in their studies, Finns understand nationality through gendered images from an early age (Gordon, 2002; Lappalainen, 2002). Even a child in kindergarten *knows* that the geographical map of Finland depicts a maiden with only one hand; the other hand, the region of Petsamo, was lost to the Soviet Union in World War II. Such mental images do not only construct national identity, but gender as well (Lappalainen, 2002:233).

Scholars (e.g. Yuval-Davis) have debated that nationalism is Janus-faced: by challenging traditional cultural and political values nationalism opens up a degree of fluidity in social relations, ultimately transforming political identities. Thus a space may be opened for women for establishing new identities or to imagine new possibilities for themselves. However, at the same time nationalism cherishes cultural values drawn from an imagined past. Often it becomes the role of the women to keep the traditions and, according to Steans, "these same traditions and values are used to justify imposing particular constraints

on women's activities, thus keeping women within boundaries prescribed by male elites." (Steans, 1998:66)

Here the female body appears to be in a central position. Yuval-Davis (1997:26) has noted that women's positioning in their ethnic and national collectives (and states) and their "obligations" to these same groups also affect and sometimes override their reproductive rights. Furthermore, Steans (1998:67) writes that women "not only bear the burden of being the mothers of the nation, but their bodies may also be used to reproduce the boundaries of the national group, transmit its culture and become the privileged signifiers of national difference." An immediate cause of this might be that in the relations of nations *our women* and *their women* hold different meanings. Does this lead to differences in the representation of (our and their) women? I am interested in how "the other", Estonian, women are depicted.

According to Jaquette (2001), women in Central and Eastern Europe experienced "forced" or "premature" emancipation under socialism. A famous slogan said *there is no sex in the Soviet Union*. Soviet ideology, according to which every citizen was obligated to have a job, created a situation in which most Estonian families with children were dual-income families. Several sociological studies have revealed that despite the fact that both parents were actively employed, the division of household chores remained traditional: women were doing double to triple days; they were expected to work fulltime, carry out domestic responsibilities and engage in political activities, which all made many women eager to "return home." (Jaquette, 2001:114; Estonian Human Development Report.) Quotas guaranteed high levels of female political participation. Quotas were abandoned after the *refolutions* as relics of the past. Feminism became a truly unpopular concept. According to Narusk (1996:23) gender issue talk in the early 1990s Estonia would lessen one's political capital.

5.1 Analysis

In the collected data, 48 articles from a total of 309 articles portray Estonian female actors (Table 5.1). In addition to this, Finnish female actors appear in Helsingin Sanomat in 5 (1992) and 2 (2002) articles; Iltalehti presents 6 (1992) and 2 (2002) Finnish female actors

and Ilkka 1 (1992) and 1 (2002) Finnish female actor, but these figures were not coded into table 5.1. The Finnish female actors will be discussed separately later in this chapter.

Table 5.1: Visibility of Estonian women in different contexts and newspapers (a woman actor mentioned - total amount of articles) in 1992 and 2002

	HS		Iltalehti		Ilkka		Total	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
Economy	0-21	0-1	0-0	0-0	0-3	0-2	0-24	0-3
Business	1-6	1-7	0-2	0-0	1-3	0-3	2-11	1-10
Security/ Foreign politics	0-19	1-6	0-0	0-0	0-3	0-2	0-22	1-8
Domestic issues/ politics	7-50	2-5	0-11	0-2	1-18	0-6	8-79	2-13
Culture	4-28	1-2	0-3	0-1	0-2	0-4	4-33	1-7
Civil society	0-5	2-8	2-7	1-2	4-13	0-6	6-25	3-16
Entertainment/ Travel	0-4	4-9	0-2	6-6	0-0	1-2	0-6	11-17
Environment	0-6	0-1	0-0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-7	0-3
Crime	0-2	2-5	5-10	2-5	0-1	0-2	5-13	4-12
Total	12-141	13-44	7-35	9-17	6-44	1-28	25-220	23-89

In the data from the year 1992, Estonian female actors appear in circa 10 % of the articles. In the data from the year 2002, Estonian female actors appear in some 25 % of the articles.

Only three of the 21 business articles mention women. The articles are about 1) Estonian business and city council looking for know-how in a small Finnish town (published in Ilkka, 1992), 2) "the richest woman in Estonia" (published in HS in 1992), and 3) the rearrangements in the Estonian agriculture sector (HS, 2002). One article names women in context with security or foreign policy issues. The article discusses Estonia's possible future EU membership and it is published in Helsingin Sanomat in December 2002. No article names a woman in context with economy, and neither do we find Estonian women in environmental articles.

There are some women appearing in articles concerning domestic issues; in total (both years 1992 and 2002 accounted) 10 articles out of a total of 92 on domestic issues mention

a woman or women. The relative non-existence of women continues in articles about culture: 5 out of 40 articles mention female actors.

It appears that women are more commonly presented in articles that relate to the civil society: 9 out of 41 civil society articles mention women. Female actors appear with a similar frequency in news about crime; 9 out of 25 crime articles mention women. Typically these women are involved in prostitution. Yet it should be noted that in my data Iltalehti's contribution to the articles concerning prostitution is enormous, where Iikka does not publish a single article on the subject.

The most prominent fields Estonian women are depicted in are entertainment and travel articles: 11 out of 23 entertainment articles present female actors. In Iltalehti this is quite obvious. All the articles discussing entertainment in Iltalehti in the year 2002 involved a female actor. She is typically the celebrity Anu Saagim.

It can be concluded that in the Finnish newspapers I studied Estonian women receive attention when in relation to entertainment, crime (prostitution) and civil society ("ordinary women", "everyday life"). It should be noticed that in the year 2002 the same fields define Estonia in Finnish newspapers also on a more general level. In these Finnish newspapers Estonian women were rarely mentioned in relation to politics, business or culture. Yet the reader should bear in mind that this is a representation of Estonian women in Finnish newspapers - not a reflection of "the real world".

The female actors in business articles include an interpreter, a vice-manager of a company and a CEO, or "the richest woman in Estonia". This article is titled "Tiiu is the richest woman in Estonia". It is from the year 1992 and narrates the Cinderella-like story of Tiiu Silves, who at 38 runs a successful metal business in Tallinn when she was selling flowers on a market place only a few years earlier. The article includes a photograph of the prosperous businesswoman. She is pictured in her office next to a desk and a row of small national flags. She seems weary and tired. It is worthwhile to notice that the title gives only the first name of the interviewee.

The only article where Estonian women are mentioned in connection to an issue concerning foreign or security politics is in Helsingin Sanomat, December 2002. The

article is published next to a report stating that the EU negotiations with the ten candidate members (including Estonia) have ended successfully. The article includes a picture of a photomodel-like young Estonian lady in downtown Tallinn. Blonde and dressed in a fur coat she is like the icon of success; very urban and not at all looking like "maarahvas" (countrypeople, how Estonians traditionally perceive themselves).

As already mentioned, some articles depict women in relation to domestic issues although the number of these articles is quite small compared to the total amount of domestic issue articles. Two of the articles mention minister of foreign affairs Kristiina Ojuland and there is a small picture of the smiling politician next to one of these articles. She is one of the two Estonian female politicians mentioned in my data. The other politician is Marju Lauristin -also a well-known scholar, briefly interviewed in Helsingin Sanomat (1992) while she was the leader of the social democratic party. Her name appears in two articles. The other six articles in the domestic issues category depict more or less agony: how women, typically elderly ones, cope with the economic setbacks of the early 1990s.

Culture is connected with Estonian women in five articles. Helsingin Sanomat mentions a female director of an art gallery in Estonia, Anu Liivak, and refers in another article to the doctoral thesis of a young Estonian (female) scholar, Mai Loog. The article discussing her doctoral thesis on linguistics is titled *The woman who was saved from cabbage rolls*. Moreover, there is a female actor mentioned as the editor of a book discussing architecture and female singers of an Estonian choir are mentioned in one article of Helsingin Sanomat in 1992. The fifth article discussing culture is from Helsingin Sanomat in 2002: the article tells about the song festival in Tallinn - and about a group of young girl dancers who will perform at the festival.

There is great diversity in the news concerning the civil society. This means that finding the common denominators of the articles is difficult. One article in newspaper Ilkka describes a nunnery and its nuns. In Helsingin Sanomat we find an article about young women going to a discotheque (the article: *Estonian and Russian youth meet in disco: Estonian girls are true. Russian girls are yummiie*).

As mentioned earlier, Estonian women are remarkably often depicted in two contexts: first, women in relation with crime or more specifically prostitution and second, women in relation with entertainment.

5.1.1 Prostitution

Prostitution of Estonian and Russian women has been a major topic in Finland. My data from the year 1992 includes 5 articles discussing prostitutes or prostitution. All the articles appear in *Iltalehti* in December 1992. Other newspapers did not write about prostitution by Estonian women. In 2002 also *Helsingin Sanomat* publishes two articles that mention Estonian prostitutes. *Iltalehti* publishes two articles about prostitution in 2002. *Ilkka* does not discuss the matter at all. The amount may seem small and concentrated to the tabloid magazines. However, bearing in mind that so few Estonian women are represented in Finnish newspapers, the share that prostitution acquires is big. 9 articles of 48 represent Estonian women in connection with prostitution.

Prostitution is first mentioned in *Iltalehti* on December 14th 1992. *Streewalking has arrived in Helsinki*, the article reads. The reporter is acting as a customer and picks up a Russian-Estonian woman from the street into his car. The article presents several vague pictures of cars, women and corridors of the houses where, according to the article, the prostitutes have been accommodated.

The issue is discussed further in *Iltalehti* later during that week. The journalist acts as a customer in the two following articles as well and tries to interview the women taking part in prostitution (December 15th and 16th). Some of the articles present an interesting perspective into the issue: Estonian and Russian prostitutes are competing for customers with the Finnish prostitutes. The article from December 17th also reminds that some sexually transmitted diseases are more common in the former Soviet Union than in Finland.

The first article discussing prostitution does not discuss the reasons behind the phenomenon. However, on December 15th the reader is told that Estonian women go for prostitution in order to preserve their lifestyle in Estonia. This lifestyle does not include prostitution, but rather an ordinary family life. The article analyses:

*"The unemployment of women in the former Soviet Union is a huge problem. Millions of women are unemployed. Some of them go for prostitution either in their own country or abroad."*²¹

Also Finnish women and men work as prostitutes, according to Iltalehti. An interviewed expert says in the article of December 17th that economic difficulties during the recession have forced many to prostitution. Economic vocabulary, next to economic issues, is repeated in the articles discussing prostitution. Expressions such as "the markets are crowded"²², "easy money" and "demand seemed to exceed supply"²³ normalize and somehow justify the phenomenon. It is represented as only business.

The articles published in 2002 do not discuss the reasons behind prostitution. Personal details of prostitutes or their customers are not discussed. One article in Helsingin Sanomat mentions that the customers are "the society in miniature". In 2002 prostitution is discussed as a matter that involves the police -the articles typically depict a courtroom case- and links to organized crime are also discussed. The articles in 1992 only vaguely suggested criminal organizations as being behind prostitution. In 2002 the involvement of organized crime is seen as a fact. Thus, prostitution is marginalized: it concerns only those who are sitting in the courtroom. The women involved are depicted rather faceless (which may be a good thing).

Penttinen (2004) studies in her dissertation the relation prostitution has to globalization. Penttinen writes that prostitution in Finland is not a private matter but clearly a consequence of processes connected with globalization. In Penttinen's analysis the women who are involved in prostitution are losers in the globalization process. Moreover, the sex industry plays with the image of an exotic and erotic Eastern woman.

²¹ *"Naisten työttömyys entisen Neuvostoliiton alueella on valtava ongelma. Miljoonat naiset ovat työttöminä. Osa heistä hakeutuu ilotyöiksi joko kotimaassa tai ulkomailla."* (Iltalehti, 16/12/92)

²² *"markkinoilla on tungosta"*

²³ *"kysyntä näytti ylittävän tarjonnan"*

5.1.2 Celebrities

The Estonian woman who receives the greatest amount of attention in the newspaper clips from the year 2002 is Anu Saagim. Her “celebrity value” can be illustrated by an example: in the new year's number of 2002 *Iltalehti* publishes a four page long article-interview of Anu Saagim, "the sexiest woman in Estonia" and her friend, who is a fashion-designer. In addition Anu Saagim is a successful Estonian businesswoman, the wife of a Finnish designer and the mother of his son. Even if she is a businesswoman her character in Finnish newspapers is not determined by this status, but rather by her casual image. Therefore I always put the articles concerning her into the category “entertainment”.

Saagim appears in my data material several times: in four clips from *Iltalehti* (on January 5th, June 15th and 29th and December 31st, 2002) and in one article of *Helsingin Sanomat* (December 15th 2002). In connection with Saagim the articles always mention her native country Estonia in one way or another. It is typical for the articles of *Iltalehti* that Saagim is quoted commenting somehow on the differences of Estonia and Finland, especially in relation with gender roles.

*"Pants are tight and skirts are short. An Estonian woman walks on high heels even in the forest."*²⁴ (Anu Saagim in *Iltalehti*, June 14th 2002)

An erotic air characterizes the articles discussing Saagim. In the article *Intimate friendship*²⁵ in *Iltalehti*, December 31st 2002, she is portrayed posing with her young (male) friend in skimpy clothing, with a glass of champagne, and in a bubble bath. The overall impression is full of daring decadence, eroticism and luxury. The main tension of the article comes with what is allowed (whether Saagim's husband approves her friend) and what is prohibited (the article suggests - mostly in the form of daring pictures - that she has an affair with her friend). Obviously this tension is connected with the historical myths of the fallen woman, Eve, and the virtuous woman, the Madonna. Saagim is apparently conscious of this when she refers to her role as a mother:

²⁴ "Housut ovat piukkoja ja hameet lyhyitä, eestiläisnainen tepastelee korkokengissä metsässäkin."

²⁵ *Intiimi ystävyysuhde*

"- It seems like a woman has to fit into the madonna model right after the birth of her child, Anu sighs."²⁶

Moreover, Saagim is referred to as a bitch. However, the moral of the story is that a "bitch" can also be funny and kind. "When you are young you need to have fun" seems to be another moral of the story. Saagim describes her relationship with her husband -who is considerably older than she is: "He is no longer interested in parties. Instead, during weekends, he enjoys a good book at home." In contrast, Saagim is connected with her younger friend and in a social environment. For her family comes next to work, as an obligation. She is free and leisurely only with her friends²⁷.

Saagim is represented as having a great confidence in crossing boundaries; perhaps to an extent where crossing boundaries is a fundamental action. This creates a carnevalistic atmosphere to the articles. In this sense Saagim's attitude also works as an invitation for the reader: next to hard work one needs a chance to relax and take another role. This is exactly what Finns do when they travel to Estonia!

Speculating ahead, if this article were the only story from which the Finnish audience learns about Estonia, the representation would look something like this: Finland is an old man, reading a book at home; Estonia is a young flirting woman who refuses to be tied to roles and obligations. Moreover, Saagim's comments on Estonian femininity challenge the Finnish norm of womanhood. Is the Finnish woman supposed to be gender-neutral? While describing Estonian women, Saagim (and the tabloid magazine) is saying that Finnish women are not wearing tight pants and short skirts nor walking on high heels.

Thus, the Estonian women in the data are commonly polarized, either representing agony and prostitution or representing considerable success. The success often has an erotic or luxurious element attached to it. Relatively few women are named as experts or working in

²⁶ *"- Tuntuu, että naisen olisi pakko sopia madonna-muottiin heti lapsen syntymän jälkeen, Anu huokaa."*

²⁷ *" - Viikonloppu on minulle vähän kuin lomaa. Arkisin minulla on kiireinen työ yrityksessäni [...] sekä tietysti arkisia rutiineja perheeni kanssa. Ystäväni kanssa pystyn nollaamaan näitä asioita. Ja juhlimisen jälkeen vietän taas sunnuntain perheeni kanssa."*

gender-neutral professions. In addition it may happen that even a female expert is depicted first and foremost as a woman (e.g. the woman who was saved from cabbage rolls).

5.2 Finnish Women in the Articles

As pointed out earlier, 17 articles in the data mention Finnish women. A minority of these articles also name an Estonian female actor. What are the Finnish women doing in these articles? Two articles mention a Finnish female politician working with Estonian politicians. In three articles the issue of prostitution is somehow in the spotlight. These articles also mention Estonian women. Five articles present a woman in connection with cultural relations or as an expert.

Yet in my opinion there are two prominent discourses where Finnish women are mentioned in relation with Estonia: in reproduction of national boundaries (at least 3 articles) and with the issue of charity work (4 articles in *Iltalehti*, 1 article in *Ilkka*). Charity work addresses the question of national boundaries in a way as well. Some of the discourses are overlapping, which explains any vagueness in the figures.

5.2.1 Reproduction of National Boundaries

In the summer of 1992, *Iltalehti* publishes an interview about Finnish fashion agent Laila Snellman, who has just returned from Estonia back to Helsinki. The article is titled *Laila's leap to the unknown and back*²⁸. Laila Snellman was running a friend's restaurant in Tallinn but according to the article soon discovered that Estonia needs a change in "attitude climate" before business can work as usual. The project in Estonia did not work out. Now Snellman is back in Helsinki to continue her fashion agency business. The article spans one page. It includes a large picture of Snellman, dressed in a flower-patterned summer dress.

I decided to analyse this article further because it represents some interesting points of early transitional Estonia and how Finnish people took the situation. In 1992, Estonia is portrayed as exotic in many ways. According to Snellman, living in Estonia is an adventure: Snellman heats her Estonian house with wood, foodstuffs for the restaurant are

²⁸ "Lailan hyppy tunteimattomaan ja takaisin"

difficult to acquire, the Estonian staff is "affected by the old system" and finally the *bad guys* enter the scene when the local mafia makes Snellman feel uncomfortable. Fearing for the safety of her children she decides to go back home.

The article implies several boundaries between Finland and Estonia. According to the narrative Snellman is at first interested in crossing the boundaries: Estonian poverty in early 1990s is not represented as a big issue. Heating her house with wood is uncomfortable in Snellman's opinion, but she can consider it as an adventure. Moreover, Snellman brings her family, two small children, to Estonia and the children stay with her at the restaurant, helping in small chores. The excitement and tension of the article is pretty much based on the idea of exploration: what is Estonia really like? Snellman understands the Finnish society as somehow ready-made, while Estonia is still on the way. Eventually Snellman learns that Estonia has a long way to go to reach the western system. She is frustrated. Besides:

*"Depressing news from Finland struggling with recession reached Laila and she felt that she was needed in her own fashion agency. - Now we need to lay down the groundwork and we will rise when the economy starts to function again..."*²⁹

A patriot, Laila Snellman returns to Finland.

The ultimate boundary in the article comes with what is one's own (Snellman's model agency in Helsinki, native country Finland) and what is somebody else's (the restaurant of a friend in Tallinn, foreign country Estonia). Snellman does not say a final "no" to Estonia, but the article ends with the impression that instead of building a business abroad, good ideas are needed back home.³⁰ This conforms to the idea that a woman's role in the national project is in reproducing boundaries of the national group, transmitting its culture

²⁹ "Suomesta kantautui jatkuvasti masentavia lamauutisia ja Laila tunsi, että häntä tarvitaan Helsingissä omassa mallitoimistossa. - Nyt tehdään perustyötä, jolta noustaan, kun talous taas alkaa pyöriä."

³⁰ "Tallinna - se on tällä erää loppuunkirjoitettu luku. Sinne jäi ravintoloitseminen, joka silti jätti sieluun vimman.: jos vielä saisi Helsinkiin rannalle sesonkipaikan, jossa herkuteltaisiin mutkattomasti päivän parhailta herkuilla."

and being the signifier of national difference. The “leap to the unknown and back” article reproduces this idea.

5.2.2 Charity Work

Moreover, Finnish women are involved in charity work in 4 articles of Iltalehti (all articles from the year 1992) and 1 article of Ilkka (from the year 1992 as well). In one of the articles the charity helps homeless dogs, in another article a social worker is helping prostitutes, in two articles help is provided for elderly people and children. In Ilkka's article a Finnish ladies' organization of a large political party gives charity to Estonian community centres. The articles point that charity is motivated by genuine care for the less fortunate ones. The articles often mention the great amount of work and effort that charity involves and the warm welcome for the donated provisions in Estonia.

5.3 Conclusion

Few Estonian women are represented in context with business, politics or culture. Instead, women are depicted as "losers", vulnerable women in relation with agony and prostitution and during the 2000s increasingly also as "winners" who are young and/or celebrities and generally with a significant erotic air attached to them.

Moreover, the strong air of eroticism (linked with both prostitution and success stories) suggests that the woman is generally constructed in relation with masculinity: especially the tabloid newspapers share a male gaze on Estonian women. Considering the ideal of a gender-neutral Finnish woman it can be argued that the flair of eroticism is “attacking” or challenging the representation of a Finnish woman.

6 Conclusions

The representations of Estonia in Finnish newspapers reflect the changes brought by transition to Estonian society: the early 1990s are dominated by images of agony and crisis, while the early 2000s represent a dynamic culture with a positive attitude towards the changes.

All the newspapers were greatly interested in the dramatic and even dangerous events during the early 1990s. The emphasis was then on domestic politics. However, when the sensations ended and the Estonian society became more stabilized, the interest faded and fewer reports were published. It can be argued that the fading interest was also due to a lack in resources since the recession of early 1990s and a trend where Finnish interests were concentrating on Western European issues -before and after joining the European Union in 1995. One can even speculate how much the sinking of the ferry Estonia in 1994 affected the writing.

The data shows that the most popular, and the most neglected, context or theme in reports varies between newspapers. The different newspapers give different meanings to Estonia: while Helsingin Sanomat pays more attention to business and economy news than the other newspapers, Iltalehti is concentrating on crime related news and Ilkka on movements in the civil society.

Moreover, in Helsingin Sanomat we meet an interesting trend where news about Estonian higher arts have disappeared almost totally by 2002. Instead, Estonian culture in 2002 is represented in relation to entertainment, travel and consumption. Furthermore, in 2002 Helsingin Sanomat has moved from reporting news concerning the Estonian national economy to news concerning business of private companies. This is quite natural when we consider Estonia's movement towards market economy, and the interest Finnish companies have had in investing to Estonia.

Especially Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti have relied on their own journalists in reporting. In Ilkka, news agencies have played a more important role. This can be explained with Ilkka's fewer resources on one hand, and partly in relation with Ilkka's base

area – Ostrobothnia, which is fairly far away from Estonia. Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti are based in Helsinki.

On the basis of my data, in the early 2000s Estonia, when represented, was connected with entertainment, crime and civil society and to some extent business. Thus, from the point of view of a Finnish newspaper Estonia seemed to stand rather in the periphery of interests than in the core.

From a Finnish newspaper's perspective Estonia did not belong to the western civilization (or Europe) during the 1990s and early 2000s. Estonia may have been linked more with Russia, especially after the catastrophe of ferry Estonia, as some writers (e.g. Suhonen) observe. This image may well change later as it seems that economic interests play an important role in determining the status of an area.

The actors in the articles vary according to the theme or main topic of the article. While discussing economy news, articles refer to different experts and representatives of the government. In business news, businessmen/women and companies are interviewed. Security issues – here understood in the “traditional way” as affecting inter-state relations - often depict army officers and the military, but also politicians and different experts are mentioned. Domestic issues are represented through politicians: the government and the parliament. In culture news the main actor is often an artist or a group of artists. Events in the civil society are usually depicted from the point of view of the private citizen or consumers. While presenting entertainment, the artists or celebrities are in spotlight and often the newspapers also mention any organizers/companies that are involved in the events. Environmental issues are represented through experts, and in the Estonian case, Finnish experts are quite often involved. Crime news are usually written from the point of view of the officials/police who investigate the crime. Suspects/criminals are mentioned as well, but Finnish newspapers tend not to present the suspects or criminals very intimately.

The data demonstrates a biased representation of Estonian women. Estonian women are represented in context with prostitution or erotic and exotic entertainment. Few women are represented outside these discourses in contexts of business, politics or culture. The Estonian woman is generally described to be more “feminine” than the Finnish women and

this "Eastern womanhood" is said to challenge Nordic ideal of gender-neutrality and equality.

Concerning changes in the representations of Estonia, it can be noted that a change does take place: In the photographs published in 1992 we meet a trend of agony and poverty. In the photographs published in 2002 we see a clear distinction in what is pictured between on one hand in January and June and on the other hand in December. Whereas most pictures are rather neutral in style, the pictures published in December 2002 suddenly share a great amount of meaning; the photographs in December give examples of Estonian "real winners" - of those men and women who have benefited from the transition. Intended or not, the "success articles" come at hand with the news of Estonia accepting the access prerequisites of the European Union.

Even if we want to withdraw from generalizations, we could point to some obvious problems in the most recent reports. The critical reader can ask in the light of the photographs in the December 2002 Helsingin Sanomat: is the Estonia that has now been accepted to join the European Union only the Estonia of the "real winners"? Is the Estonia Finnish newspapers want to show the prosperous Estonia? Is "the other Estonia" - *teine Eesti* - now to be forgotten?

While studying the change in rhetoric concerning nationality, border and security, and material culture I found that nationality is the most difficult issue to study of these three. In border and security issues it was fairly easy to recognize that security issues shifted from concentrating on state-to-state issues to a more private sphere. The change in border rhetoric may partly result from the fall of the Soviet Union: the cold war and the iron curtain immediately affected Finnish-Estonian relations. With the collapse of Soviet superpower the setting was disturbed and transformed. The data suggests that after the end of the cold war security risks are more and more sought for outside the traditional state-to-state issues.

Concerning material culture, the ethos in 1992 was about citizens giving and receiving charity while in 2002 the focus is on business issues. The shopping and taking over markets Finns do in Estonia results from a value and norm shift in the Finnish society. The change must have been motivated in part by the disappointments during the early 1990s

recession: the ethos of giving and caring soon lost meaning and power when business opportunities were noticed.

Nationality issues generally received more attention in 2002 compared with the year 1992. In 1992 nationalities are perhaps more stable and understood as something homogenous, while in 2002 the possibility of national mixture is referred to. This growing interest in nationality and ethnicity issues may be a result of the tragic war in Former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, interest in ethnicity can be a result of increasing globalization and transculturation.

It can be concluded that the representations of Estonia tell also something about changes in Finland and Finnish mentality during the 1990s. The interest in Estonia fades when Finland joins the European Union and at the same time the recession cuts resources from newspapers: interests are directed to the from an economic point of view most essential areas.

Polarizations and binary oppositions are present in the representations of Estonia in Finnish newspapers. The binary oppositions are useful because by representing Estonia in a way or another, Finnish newspapers are telling something about Finland and Finnish national culture. They are telling something about Finnish identity. The most common binary oppositions include:

agrarian – urban	irrational – rational
barbarian – European	chaos – order
periphery – core	weak – strong
female – male	leisure – work
lawful – criminal	sex – purity

Defending one's identity seems to be important. It could be claimed that in an era of globalisation, urbanisation and multiculturalism as part of daily life, in an era of radical cultural change, the question of identity has begun to puzzle people and scholars more and more. In an age of uncertainties people speculate whether there still could be some continuums or chains where one belongs. The tricky question is: can we locate a positive identity for ourselves without drawing negative stereotypes of others?

Why is Estonia represented this polarised way? Explanations connected with the tradition of stigmatizing Finnishness could argue that Finnish people are xenophobic and incapable of meeting the Other. I would rather point to the changing political, economic and cultural realities that have strongly affected the basic foundation of Finnish society, but also other societies, during the 1990s and early 2000s.

It can be claimed that in 1992 Finland (and the Finnish media) were still very much affected by the reality determined by the cold war. The problematics of borders and security were dominated by the closeness of the Soviet Union that was now more or less in a state of chaos, transforming into the Russian federation. The values and norms were linked with fears and a certain feeling of gratitude that we had it so well -or at least far better than in Estonia. There would be a kind of humbleness when Finnish newspapers were writing about art, livelihood or freedom. Estonians were coping with the same difficult reality as Finns.

After this setting a hegemonization (Lagerspetz, 2001) takes place. The long-term goals of the nation are defined and other interests are devalued and pushed aside. The process of hegemonization was possible because of the radical transformations during late 1980s and early 1990s. There was no certainty of the future. Those who had a vision could easily legitimize their cause. In an air of panic the norms and values of society are directed towards the idea of being a winner. To simplify: dogmatics of enlargement, expansion and civilization are emphasized.

By 2002, Finnish newspapers have put Estonia into the category of the Other because Estonia has come to stand for prostitution, organized crime and catastrophe. However, towards the end of the year 2002, Estonian real winners are lifted more and more to the spotlight. The message is clear: Estonia is not only about losers and criminals. There is *drive* in Estonia: the women are more feminine, the men have more energy, the population and economy is more dynamic and flexible than for example those of the Nordic countries. Finland should follow the Estonian experience closely. This idea is later exclaimed in an editorial of Helsingin Sanomat (2004/03/23).

It is likely that the hegemonization did not reach the periphery in full. If we read articles in Ilkka, very little has changed between 1992 and 2002. The hard core-areas were mostly

affected: the most radical changes happened in the capital city, in business and economy as well as security politics.

The problematic relation Finland and Estonia have towards the European core - how imaginary that place or mentality ever may be - is in my mind one of the main reasons behind the stress in the bilateral relations.

During the 1990s Finns started to practice being European. This process may have started already during the 1980s (as Knuuttila suggests in his book, 1994), but it was reinforced during the early 1990s when much/most of the Finnish population was desperate to get rid of the recession. Some people took the norm of europeanization seriously, and they have become the winners in the Finnish post-recession society. In Estonia, the pattern must have been similar (Lauristin, 1996 and 1997).

In Finnish newspapers, Estonia was first considered to be out of the European project. But as we have found out, this setting is about to change: the Estonian can be a brother, if he is a European, a winner and not a criminal nor a loser. It seems that in an age of europeanization the members of the own nation, perhaps even oneself, can be put under the category of the Other.

Mannermaa (2004:54) writes that it is a poor strategy to think that things will stay the way they are. Simultaneously, we cannot return to the past. Should a sociologist have some kind of an opinion on how things might develop in the future, and should s/he have some kind of an opinion on how they should develop? I am interested in taking a small peek into the possibilities:

Could a special relationship develop between Finland and Estonia within the EU? As the studies by Inglehart and Baker (2001) suggest, Estonia and Finland at this point have quite different value bases and priorities. Finnish society resembles the Swedish and Danish societies more than the Estonian society. However, if Sweden, Norway and Denmark continue to show great Euro-skepticism while Finland stays rather positive towards the

EU, Finland might show greater interest in the Baltics³¹. As we remember, seeking for allies is characteristic to the Finnish society/elites.

Finns have cherished the Nordic welfare state model, equality of the sexes and an ideal of a classless society. Moreover, in style of Sweden, Finland has followed a policy of neutrality during the late 1900s. I see cooperation of Finland and Estonia, on a deeper level, possible only if a general understanding of some questions is found. The decisive questions are:

- whether Finland will have joining NATO as a goal;
- whether neoliberal policies and privatisation of the public sector are accepted in Finland.

Another possibility is that Estonia starts to develop a welfare state. However, at this point it seems that Estonia is not interested in copying the Nordic model.

In Finland citizens have remained skeptical towards NATO. This could change in the future. Historically speaking the Finnish elite has been successful in reforming the public opinion. Estonia is a model example of the above goals. In the near future, debate concerning Estonia will be associated with these issues.

This study has tried to answer the question how transitional Estonia was represented in Finnish newspapers. Simultaneously, it would be interesting to study the other side of the story: how Estonians saw Finland at the same time? On an international level, I see that similar studies could benefit other nations as well: understanding possible biases in national representation is crucial if we want to achieve balanced globalisation and if we want to meet others on an equal level.

³¹ Here I see it unlikely that Finland would face similar Euro-scepticism as Scandinavia. After all, Finland is already part of the Euro-area.

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