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Us Finns Here in Sweden

A Content Analysis of the News on the Finnish
Presidential Election in the Swedish Finnish Media

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Abstract

Title: *Us Finns Here in Sweden - A Content Analysis of the News on the Finnish Presidential Election in the Swedish Finnish Media*

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Aims and objectives: The aim of the study is to look at how national identity and culture and politics meet in minority language media. The focus is on studying how the minority language media portrays the relationship of the minority and the two countries, the one of origin and the one of residence. The aim is also to find out if the minority status of the minority group for which the media content is aimed at comes across through the reporting of a chosen event - the Finnish presidential elections – and how much and what kind of content is broadcasted.

Method: Quantitative content analysis

Empirical data: The data includes all the election-related news items, a total of 99 individual items, broadcasted on the nationwide news in the Swedish Finnish media (SR/SVT) between January 17th and January 23rd 2012.

Results: All in all the Finnish presidential elections seemed to interest the Swedish Finnish news media during the chosen period of time. The radio and TV news devoted 25% of the broadcasting time to election-related items, which were also broadcasted daily.

The election-related reporting showed indicators of the Swedish Finnish minority group having two home countries: something, that I argue, most likely occurs also within other minorities with immigrant background. It seems that in the Swedish Finnish radio or the TV news the news stories from Finland are not categorized as domestic news but not foreign news either. Although the Swedish-Finnish media provided sufficient enough information, explanations and discussion around election-related topics to fill the media's democracy related tasks, the Swedish Finnish minority media did not have the minority on the agenda in the election-related news. The minority and its issues remained silent and invisible in the data.

Key words: minority language media, Swedish Finnish minority, national identity

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1 Introduction

There are several minority languages in Europe (Cormack 1998, 36). Here in Sweden, a law was passed in 1999 granting Finnish, Meän Kieli, Sami, Romani and Yiddish the status of a national minority language (Moring et al. 2011, 181). My interest lies in Finnish, my own first language. This thesis is about Finnish media produced in Sweden and, in a wider context, about the minority language media and society.

As already noted, I am a Finnish speaker and a Finn myself. During my life I have lived in Sweden in three different occasions and in three different places. The few months I spent in Stockholm as a child feel like a part of my background mostly because of all the stories about that time that are still from time to time shared in my family. After nearly 20 years of living in Finland I moved back to Sweden again. This time alone, as an exchange student to conquer the town of Uppsala – unintentionally following the footsteps of my grandfather, who also did the same kind of journey in the late 1940s. We both left Uppsala, but unlike my grandfather, I did so without a Swedish spouse and ended up in Lund after a detour. Albeit that I, through my grandmother, am part Swedish, I was raised in Finland in a Finnish-speaking home and environment. This in combination with me living in Sweden should make me Swedish Finnish or a Sweden Finn and thus a member of the largest minority group in Sweden (a wider discussion on who is considered a Sweden Finn will follow later on).

But my background was not how I became interested in minority languages and the minority language media. How did it happen then? It all started with a course assignment. In the spring of 2011 I put together a research plan for an imaginary study of Sami media. While researching for this assignment I came to think about the minorities and their media in the Nordic countries: how this media works and what role they have for the minorities. This way I came to think about the Finns in Sweden – like myself, although I do not really know if I should be counted in this minority group, I knew people who most certainly would be. Some months after the faux research plan and the initial decision to write my thesis about Swedish Finnish media, I became a part of that group. I got a part-time job working as a journalist at the Swedish Radio's Finnish department Sisuradio in Southern Sweden, based in Malmö where I still work today. Already at

this point it is worth noting that I will not analyze any media content that I have produced myself.

2 Aims and Objectives

Studying minority language media is important since the studies can focus the attention to the links between media, collective identity and language – and even contribute to the debate on media's role in the maintenance of national identity (Cormack 1998, 34). The need to hear and speak the language to follow the media have to stem from somewhere. Issues regarding minority language media are also tied to cultural and communication practices and the issues regarding minority language media are therefore a good way to analyze the evolution of such practices (Guyot 2007, 49). Studying minority language media issues is also “*relevant to the assessment of the relationships between culture and politics in contemporary democracies*” (Guyot 2007, 49).

My aim is to analyze the Swedish Finnish news media in regards to how it reports on an event connected to national identity and democracy. On a wider scale my aim is to study how national identity, culture and politics meet in media, more specifically in minority language media. My focus is on studying how the minority language media portrays the relationship of the minority and two countries, the one of origin and the one of residence; issues of national identity, culture and belonging. My aim is also to find out if the minority status of the minority group for which the media content is aimed for comes across when reporting on a chosen event: again discussing the issues of identity, but most of all communication practices as the meeting point of culture and politics.

I will study these issues in a specific setting concentrating on the Swedish Finnish news reporting on the Finnish presidential elections in January 2012. The presidential election provides an interesting example on a nationally bound issue: all Finnish citizens who are at least 18 years old can vote - also people permanently living abroad (The Constitution of Finland 731/1999, Section 14). In Finland the political role of the president is diminishing and thus the role is becoming more and more symbolic: the president is first and foremost the symbolic leader of the Finns and therefore as a character and an institution possibly connected to people's feeling about nationality.

My aim is to find out how a minority language media positions the news content in relation to the country it operates in and the country of the lingual heritage. The main question of interest is therefore:

- What kind of relationship is constructed between the Swedish Finnish minority and Finland and Sweden in the Swedish Finnish news broadcasts?

With the help of theory I will also discuss this in the light of influencing a national identity. To find possible answers for this question with help of a specific example I have selected a current news event: the Finnish presidential elections for reasons that were stated earlier. The remaining questions are therefore more case-specific.

- How much media space is given to the election-related news?
- Who gets to speak?
- How do issues and symbols concerning national identity come across in the broadcasts – or do they?
- Are there differences between two different media types, TV and radio?

I will answer these questions with a combination of theoretical discussions and a content analysis of the TV and radio news broadcasts of the selected media.

Issues concerning minority media have, as already stated an intimate connection to an individual's identity and in a way can be seen as issues of cultural life and death (Cormack 2005, 107). Therefore it is alarming that the Finnish language media in Sweden has not been widely researched – at least for academic purposes. To my knowledge there have only been three academic studies concentrating solely on the Finnish media produced in Sweden. The most recent is a Master's Thesis written in 2011 at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, concentrating on the history and development of the Finnish programs on SVT (Tapiola 2011). There are also two theses concentrating on the radio: a thesis for Master's degree (One year) [D-uppsats], written in 2002 at the University of Uppsala; and a Master's Thesis about the digital radio channel aimed for Sweden Finns from 1997, written at the Swedish School for Social Science in Helsinki and cited in Moring (2000), which I have not been able to get hold of.

Why has there been so little research performed on the topic? Is it because of the problems of defining who the Sweden Finns are: a group of immigrants with a national minority status? Or

perhaps it is because of the language – Finnish is after all the majority language of Finland. These are also some of the issues that I am likely to face and hopefully tackle in the course of my study. Furthermore many of the theoretical concepts will require a thorough discussion.

3 Background

The aim of this chapter is to describe the history and main characteristics of the Swedish Finnish minority and give a brief description of the Swedish Finnish media.

3.1 The Finnish Minority in Sweden

To agree on what is meant by the word ‘Sweden Finn’ might seem like an easy task but it has proven to be the opposite. Leonor Camauër (2003, 72) captures the ‘built-in’ flexibility and ambiguity of the concept of Sweden Finn as she writes “*Swedish Finns are described as persons who live in Sweden, have Finnish as their mother tongue, were born in Sweden or Finland and, irrespective of their citizenship, identify themselves with the Swedish Finnish ethnic minority*”.

This definition serves as my starting point and guideline when writing about the Swedish Finns. It is worth noting that some sources (see for example Sametinget 2012a) do not include the capability of speaking or understanding Finnish as an obligatory part of defining Sweden Finns.

But how did the people of Finnish heritage become the biggest minority in Sweden? The base was built during the time the two countries were one. Until 1809 Finland was a part of Sweden and ever since the Middle Ages there has been a Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden (Sametinget 2012a). During the 20th century the minority grew considerably in size. This was due to two separate events. First, during the Second World War, Sweden took in around 70 000 Finnish children, the so-called war children, ‘krigsbarn’ – some stayed, some returned to Finland (Sametinget 2012a). Afterwards, during the 1950s and 1960s, many Finns migrated to Sweden to work due to the imbalance in the Finnish labor market after the Second World War (Moring, Husband, Lojander-Visapää, Vincze, Fomina & Nieminen Mänty, 2011, 181).

These events have led to the formation of the largest minority group in Sweden (Arvidson, & López, 1999, 391). Despite the status as the largest minority group the estimations of the exact number of people of Finnish heritage in Sweden vary. Moring et al. (2011, 181) estimate the Finnish minority in Sweden to consist of more than 600 000 people, most of them being

immigrants from the post-war period. Minoritet.se, a website about the minorities in Sweden created by Sametinget for the Swedish Government, proposes the number to be somewhere between 450 000 to 600 000 people, out of which around 250 000 speak Finnish (Sametinget 2012a). According to Statistics Sweden (2012d) the number is 440 000: these include people born in Finland, people with at least one Finnish parent and people with Finnish citizenship – thus partly excluding for example the third generation Sweden Finns.

In 1999, a law was passed granting Finnish together with the related Meän Kieli, as well as Sami, Romani and Yiddish, the status of national minority languages in Sweden (Moring et al. 2011, 181). This official status means that Sweden Finns have the right to use Finnish for example when using some public services provided by the state or the local municipalities (Government Offices of Sweden 2012).

3.2 The Finnish Media produced in Sweden

The Swedish Finnish minority has also its ‘own’ media: but according to Moring et al. (2011, 181) the range of Finnish media produced in Sweden is “*quite narrow and produced with little resources*”.

3.2.1 Television and Radio

The Swedish public service broadcasting companies (Swedish Radio - Sveriges Radio, Swedish Television - Sveriges Television and Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company - Utbildnings Radio) have the main responsibility for providing programs in minority languages, including Finnish. They need to do this according to requirements in their broadcasting licenses (Moring et al. 2011, 181-182). Public broadcasting is the way, the common policy on how, the minority languages are traditionally given media space in Europe (Guyot 2007, 35).

The programs in Finnish include TV news broadcasts and children’s shows on SVT. From Monday to Friday SVT broadcasts news in Finnish in a show called Uutiset. The broadcast is subtitled in Swedish. According to SVT’s own description Uutiset comprises of the most important Swedish Finnish, Swedish and Finnish news of the day as well as foreign news (SVT Public Service Redovisning 2011, 29). During 2011 a total of 243 hours of television programs were broadcasted in Finnish in Sweden. These constitute around half of the total airing time for minority language programs on SVT (485 hours). Out of the Finnish broadcasts 52 hours were devoted to news. (SVT Public Service Redovisning 2011, 29).

The public service radio offers also a range of Finnish language shows daily both locally in different parts of Sweden and nationwide through the Finnish channel Sisuradio, broadcasted mainly via P2 and P4 and P6, as well as digitally (Sametinget 2012b). In 2011 Sisuradio aired a total of 8084 hours of programs. Out of these 620 hours were broadcasted nationwide, 1733 regionally and 5730 hours in the digital DAB. (SR Public Service Redovisning 2011, 73-74). Sisuradio's broadcast time constitutes 43% of the total share of minority language broadcasts (SR Public Service Redovisning 2011, 76).

News from Finland is an essential part of the content for both Sisuradio and Uutiset: both have a correspondent stationed in Helsinki (SVT Uutiset website 2012 & SR Sisuradio website 2012).

3.2.2 Print Media

On top of the audiovisual media also Finnish print media is produced in Sweden. A weekly nationwide newspaper Ruotsin Suomalainen ['Sweden's Finn'] was established in 1964 (Sametinget 2012b & Ruotsin Suomalainen 2012). The newest contribution to the Swedish produced Finnish media sphere is Suomen Uutisviikko, also a weekly newspaper. The first issue was published in February 2012. What is interesting is that Suomen Uutisviikko states, unlike other Swedish Finnish media, to mainly concentrate on Finland and Finnish news. On its website the newspaper's aim is described as *"to keep us Swedish Finns updated about what is happening in Finland, keep our language vital, give our children the opportunity to use Finnish and not least to retain a connection to Finland"* [author's translation] (Suomen Uutisviikko 2012).

3.2.3 The Situation of Swedish Finnish Media Today

The different media forms provided in Finnish can be considered as both important for the Swedish Finnish culture as well as being part of the services provided by the Swedish state (Sametinget 2012b). The Swedish Finns as well as for example the Sami people are guaranteed specific cultural rights in Sweden. There are specific policies that demand the Swedish society to support these languages as part of the public sphere of the nation state. In regards to specifically media, the public service radio and television broadcasting have constituted a key to this inclusion. (Moring 2000, 188).

Yet the situation of the Finnish media produced in Sweden is what can only be described as unbalanced in regards to the size of the minority group. Camauër has researched and catalogued the Swedish minority media during the first decade of the 21st century (see for example Camauër

2003 or Camauër 2005). She has found out in her studies that for the most part when it comes to minority language periodicals and radio in Sweden there seems to be a direct relationship between the size of the ethnic groups and the number of programs. However, Finnish language radio broadcasting is an exception; the number of Finnish programs is lower than one would expect (Camauër 2003, 80). Although there is media content produced in written form and not only in radio and TV, the Finnish media production in Sweden relies heavily on public service and also to some extent on the voluntary work of the members of the minority (Camauër 2003, 84).

There have also been cutbacks in the Finnish Unit of SVT (Camauër 2003, 85) and the regional hour of broadcasting time during weekdays at P4 has recently been from time to time replaced by Swedish broadcasts due to different sports events¹. Moring et al. (2011, 181) see that due to the current situation of the minority language media produced in Sweden, the media consequently plays mainly a complementary function in the media use of the Finnish speakers.

Additionally, many of the Finns in Sweden are bilingual or at least understand Swedish (Moring 2000, 191 & 196). So why do they choose to watch or listen to the more limited media selection provided in Finnish? The results from audience research concerning Swedish Finnish minority's listening habits show that language, in this case hearing Finnish, is a major listening motive for people who listen to minority language stations (P7 Audience report, 1997 as cited in Moring 2000, 196). Results from Moring et al.'s research (2011, 180) indicate that the choice of media language in many ways relates to the identity process; "*it is not only a consequence of a person's background, but also a vehicle for identity maintenance*".

Against this background a conclusion derived from the P7 audience report (in Moring 2000, 198) seems convincing: although a general feature of Finnish speakers in Sweden is that they seem to prefer Swedish media for their normal news services, the services in Finnish both produced in Sweden and relayed from Finland, respond more to "*their cultural needs and their needs to keep informed about events in Finland*" (Moring 2000, 198). Another quite similar conclusion was drawn in an interview-based study by Moring et al. (2011) among Sweden Finns: The choice to use Finnish media produced in Sweden among those who were interviewed was based on the

¹ Because I work at Sisuradio I am informed about these types of changes in broadcasts. These changes could have of course also been observed by the listeners, when instead of the Finnish program something else is broadcasted.

wish for a particular angle. The interviewees wished for “*in-group information, news concerning ‘our matters’, but for also a wider perspective*” as well as “*to get access to life stories of people who are in their situation, speaking Finnish but living in Sweden*” (Moring et al. 2011, 182).

4 Theoretical Concepts and Discussions

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss some of the central theories and concepts regarding minority language media. First I will give a definition for minority language media studies accompanied by a short overview of previous research done in the field. After this I will go deeper into the concepts of minority language, minorities and immigrants, especially in relation to negotiations on identity and policies. Finally I will discuss minority media and the public sphere. The relationship of news media, democracy and politics is also discussed.

4.1 Minority Language Media Studies

Minority language media studies is an interdisciplinary subject, a meeting point of language studies, area studies, linguistics, sociology, cultural studies and media studies (Cormack 2005, 108). Concepts from disciplines such as law, political science and political economy of communication can provide to be useful in the field as well (Guyot 2007, 49). Minority language media studies can be seen as a category of its own with distinctive issues and problems, but still to be included into the field of media studies (Cormack 2007, 9-10). Studying minority language media does not only mean choosing between or combining different disciplines. The subjects of research – the different minorities, their languages and media – include a great variety as well.

Indigenous languages and indigenous media have interested many scholars who have studied minority language media all over the world. There have been a number of previous studies stretching from Welsh, Gaelic and Irish media in Europe (see for example Hourigan 2001 and Cormack 2005) to Maori entertainment media (see Glynn & Tyson 2007). In the Nordic countries the Sami languages and the Sami media have also been researched to some extent (see Pietikäinen 2008). In these examples the multidisciplinary roots of minority language media studies shine through in the theoretical and methodological choices. While Hourigan and Cormack approach the minority media from a more social scientific or multi-disciplinary starting point, Pietikäinen takes a more linguistic or language studies inspired approach.

However, minority languages do not include only indigenous languages. There are a number of languages that are the first or official language in one country, but land in the minority category in another (see section 4.2 for classification of minority languages). In the globalizing world immigration is an evident part of our lives. Therefore both new immigrant communities are likely to emerge as well as the ones with longer historical backgrounds to develop. These minority communities and their media have already reached some research interest at least here in Northern Europe. Tom Moring (see for example Moring 2000 or Moring et al. 2011) has done research on the Swedish-speaking Finns and their media, especially in regards to bilingualism and ethnolinguistic vitality. In Sweden Ylva Brune (see for example Brune 2000) has studied immigrants and Swedish media and Leonor Camauër has researched and catalogued the Swedish minority media during the first decade of the 21st century (see for example Camauër 2003 or Camauër 2005). Yet the Finnish media produced in Sweden has remained almost entirely unstudied (see Aims and Objectives).

All in all, what seems to be the case is that minority media studies are first and foremost an emerging area of interest in the academic world with many uninvestigated issues. Therefore it provides a vast working ground for (interdisciplinary) research. Jacques Guyot (2007, 48-49) concludes that minority language media still requires a great deal of attention from an academic point of view, because many of the issues regarding it are not only quite new but also differ from, for example, more widely studied issues of alternative media.

4.2 Minority Languages

There are several minority languages not only in the world, but also in Europe (Cormack 1998, 36). These languages are marginalized in most countries but their future might look a bit brighter: Minority languages can be seen as one of the most obvious signs of difference, an indication of the world's cultural resources, and claims made for their importance are becoming increasingly common (Cormack 2005,107).

What then constitutes as a minority language? There has been, and there is an ongoing discussion on what these languages should be called (see for example Cormack 2007). According to Cormack (2007, 2) this group of languages should be gathered under the name of minority languages since *“only the term ‘minority’ makes explicit what these languages have in common –*

that they are dominated politically and economically by numerically larger communities within a particular state’.

The main language of interest in this thesis, Finnish in Sweden, belongs to the minority languages that are neither indigenous nor minority-only. Finnish is, of course, the majority language in Finland. But what exactly gives it a minority status, other than legislation (as mentioned earlier Finnish and four other languages are by law the national minority languages in Sweden)? John Edwards’ (1994) approach could be helpful. His classification has been used, for example, Cormack (1998). The classification sheds a light on the characteristics of the languages that can be described as minority languages and also on the environments they operate on. Therefore it provides an important contribution to describing how different from one another the situations for different minority languages can be. (Edwards 1994, 138).

TABLE 4.1 *Typological features of minority languages (Edwards 1994, 139-141)*

TYPE	FEATURES
Unique, non-unique or local-only	Unique means unique to one state while non-unique refers to a language that a minority language in all context but can be found in more than one state. Local-only refers to language that is minority language in one place while being a majority language somewhere else.
Adjoining or non-adjoining	Adjoining language community refers to the same minority language in different states that have a connection with one another. Non-adjoining refers to the opposite situation
Cohesive or non-cohesive	Refers to the degree of spatial cohesion that does/does not exist within a given state

Edwards bases his typology on adaptation of a model proposed by Paul White (Edwards 1994, 139). This model is based on three basic distinctions, which can be applied to indigenous as well as to immigrant languages. These three distinctions, presented in detail in Table 4.1, include the uniqueness, the cohesiveness and the adjoining nature of the language in its environment(s) (Edwards 1994, 139-141).

Following this classification, a description for Finnish in Sweden can be stated to be the following: Since Finnish is the majority language as well as a minority language, it is a local-only language (actually both as a minority and majority language). I would also refer to Finnish in Sweden as adjoining but also cohesive; generally no major differences between the Swedish Finns occur depending on where they live in Sweden – or at least the differences depend more on

their background than the place where they live in Sweden. The language community is also spread throughout the whole country. Also the connection to Finland lives on strong.

4.3 Immigrants and Minorities

The classification of languages leads us to a discussion on another relevant concept regarding minority language media. What is a minority and is there a difference between a minority and a group of immigrants? I perceive this to be a question of a) identity and b) policies and legislation.

4.3.1 Discussions on Identity

Identity is something that not only humans but also organizations seem to possess today. What I mean with identity can be understood as somewhat synonymous to self-concept or how an individual or a group positions itself in relation to others (a similar definition can be found in Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). This means that all of us have an identity - or multiple identities. But an identity is not static: we negotiate our identities, and there are not only subjective definitions for it, what we perceive or feel, but also objective ones; how others group and perceive our identities (Edwards 1994, 126). As I see it, being a member of a minority and to some extent being an immigrant is a question of identity; both how we define ourselves and how others define us. Sometimes these negotiations are based on the concept of ethnicity.

When discussing minorities it might be useful to discuss briefly the relationship between ethnic groups and minorities. These concepts are not synonymous (Edwards 1994, 125). To put it short: all people belong to an ethnic group but not all of us belong to a minority. Still ethnic identity might be closely related to a minority identity, both in subjective and objective sense. Edwards' (1994, 128) definition applies well to a group context, as he writes: "*ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links*". I argue that without the word 'dominant' this definition is applicable to many minority groups as well. Edward also argues that same socialization or cultural patterns do not necessarily have to continue over generations, but some sense of a group boundary must endure. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics such as language or religion, or by more subjective contributions such as a sense of groupness or a combination of both. Yet "*symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past*". (Edwards 1994, 128).

A number of scholars (see for example Anderson 2006 or Hannerz 1996) have noted that this attachment to a collective past or ‘ethno-history’ is also an important part of the national identity. Hannerz (1996, 83) argues that the collective past is also a promise of a collective future – hopefully a glorious one – which again strengthens ties to this community called nationality. Shared symbolic references to the past and references to ancestors held in common build up a sensation of belonging to a family (Hannerz 1996, 83). A national identity entails this way a membership in a family with its own traditions, symbols and shared experiences that I argue are to an extent comparable to the same kind of emotional ties found within ‘real families’.

Another perspective on these issues of identity is provided by Kay Deaux (2000), who has written about immigration and immigrant identities from a social psychological perspective. She argues that “*by definition immigration involves leaving one domain in which identity has been enacted and supported and coming to a new domain in which identity must be resituated and often redefined*” (Deaux 2000, 429). I suggest that a member of a minority, again by definition, is someone with this resituated or redefined identity. But this does not mean the abandonment of the ethnic identity or national identity of their origin and assimilation with the host country, like was earlier suggested in social studies of immigration (Deaux 2000, 424-425), but justification. But not all minorities go through the same type of negotiation: for example indigenous minorities’ negotiations on identity seem to be different (Pietikäinen 2008).

I argue that the negotiations on identity or identities upon leaving one country and settling into another will not only concentrate on ethnic identity but even more so on national identity. I perceive these two interconnected but separate: while both ethnicity and nationality involve a sense of groupness and shared ancestral connections (Edwards 1994; Hannerz 1996; Anderson 2006), nationality in a bureaucratic sense is something that one can change or grow into during time. For example, the concept of ‘being American’ has molded over time and is more fluid and maybe therefore taken in and ‘granted’ to immigrants in a different way than, for example, being British, which can nonetheless be possibly ‘acquired’ at least by some over time (Hannerz 1996, 87).

Even though some might argue that the following also applies to ethnicity, what Benedict Anderson (2006) is known for is to describe nations as ‘imagined communities’. He writes that a nation is an imagined community since “*the members of even the smallest nation will never know*

most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006, 6). People of a certain nationality should then have a sense of belonging together, a sense of connection to other people within the same nationality. This, as I understand it, gives symbolic content to expressions such as ‘us Finns’. At the same time people do also have ‘more real communities’; formed by the people they personally know and usually interact with (Hannerz 1996, 89). Hannerz (1996, 89) argues that it could be these communities that already now or at least in the future might take over the space currently reserved for nations in our negotiations on identity: our friends and colleagues, whatever nationality they represent, are the ones that we hold closer and who replace the nation in a sense. These transnational identities, I argue, still appear in connection to a nation state in the context of immigrants. The ‘original’ inhabitants of a nation state might seem more distant or their nationality might feel more significant to immigrants than the individual nationalities of other immigrants. The immigrants might then form another type of imagined community: ‘the Swedes and us immigrants’.

An interesting example of the identity related language use of immigrants is an interview study conducted as a part of larger research project on the fire in Gothenburg in 1998. The fire being one of the worst fire related accidents that Sweden has faced in modern times killed 63 young people; mostly with immigrant background (Larsson & Nohrstedt 2000, 11). In the interviews, which were part of the study, when talking about the event there was a clear pattern on how young immigrants spoke about themselves in relation to young people with Swedish background. In the interviews the word ‘Swede’ was not used either when the interviewees were talking about themselves or of the other young people with immigrant backgrounds whether born in Sweden or not. While the young people with immigrant background did the line-drawing with the words ‘Swedes’ and ‘immigrants’, expression like ‘us’ and ‘them’ were not used by them but the Swedes who were interviewed. (Olausson 2000, 123-125).

What also seems typical for immigrant identities, is that the identities are negotiated with two languages; the minority language and the majority language. This is because if the immigrant did not already before arrival acquire skills in the majority language of the new country he or she is most likely to do so - and in the course of time to improve these skills (Portes & Schauer 1996 cited in Deaux 2000, 426). Even though the skills in the new language increase this, it does not,

however, need to lead to the decline or abandonment of the language of origin - contrary to earlier assumptions (Deaux 2000, 426).

Yet there are theories on language shift among immigrants. A well-known model includes three stages: the first stage, the stage where the first generation feels the pressure to be bilingual, the next stage is to be a true bilingual and the third is the abandonment of the ancestral language. While bilingualism can in many cases be considered a positive state (see for example Edwards 1994, 55-88), it is the generations that follow, possibly the third or possibly even the second, who are raised as monolingual in the more recently acquired language, that face problems and may well come to feel that “*they have lost something of value*”. (Cormack 2005, 114-115).

Media, quite evidently, offers a space for identity negotiations and language enabling language users to see themselves as a community, which is particularly important for dispersed languages. Media’s role for minority languages - or for any languages for that matter - is to allow the language to “*claim its place in the panoply of linguistic diversity*” and create a public domain “*in which the language can exist*”. (Cormack 2005, 115).

4.3.2 Policies and Legislation

Of course for a group to constitute a minority there also has to be a majority. However the minority status might also involve defined policies and legislation. To constitute a national minority, certain legislation is usually involved. In Sweden, for example, this type of legislation can be found in the Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages (Sametinget 2012a). The act lists out the groups with the official status and the rights a national minority status brings along.

The Swedish policies regarding minorities and immigrants have gone through a change during the last 50 years: Sweden has moved from the Policy on the Treatment of Immigrants and Minority Policy to Integration Policy (Camauër 2003, 74). The first of the policies (based on a report published in 1974) included three main goals (equality, freedom of choice and co-operation), which are still included in what today is called the integration policy. Later on the emphasis of the policies has moved from how the minorities should be treated to integration. (Camauër 2003, 74-75).

The Swedish media policy however lacks recognition of minorities and minority languages. This is still the situation even though in 2001 the Press Subsidies Council was commissioned to investigate the situation of the media chiefly directed to immigrants and national minorities in Sweden (Budgetpropositionen, Prop. 2001/02:1, 113 and Integrationspolitik för 2000-talet, 2002, 82 cited in Camauër 2003, 76). The investigation report was presented in the fall of 2002, but it did not include any proposals for measures or changes even though the report listed out a number of lacks considering the Swedish media system and policy. (Camauër 2003, 75).

Many of the rights that are given to national minorities include a number of rights concerning the ability to use and learn the minority language. Two of the main goals of Swedish policies on minorities and immigrants include language: the equality goal includes the idea that “*immigrants and their children should have real possibilities of maintaining their language, culture and contact with their homeland*” while the freedom of choice indicates that “*individual members of minority groups should be able to decide themselves the extent to which they wanted to hold on to their linguistic and cultural identities*” (Camauër 2003, 74). The latter states what has become quite evident throughout this chapter: Language plays a critical role in ethnic identification and in the identity negotiations of immigrants (Deaux 2000, 426).

4.3.3 Media and Identity

4.4 Minority Media and Public Sphere

The media are integral parts of everyday life in democracy. Therefore it is legitimate for a minority language to demand presence in media. The presence in media also indicates citizenship, that the minority is no longer discriminated against, invisible or marginalized, if it earlier was. (Guyot 2007, 48).

4.4.1 Framing the Reality

To understand media in the context of representations of minorities or in relation to public sphere – a space of appearance – we need to understand media’s significance in how we view our world. Mass media have traditionally been considered a provider, or even the provider of information about the world. Niklas Luhmann (2000, 1) states that our view of the society and even the world is heavily based on what we see and hear in the media; the information and the visual flow that reaches us through mass media.

Another related idea is that the mass media constitute a mirror of a world. The problem here is that we do not probably realize that the mirror also frames this world and something is therefore left outside of the frames. Roger Silverstone (2006, 27) follows the same footsteps as Luhmann, but sees a problem in that what we see in the media does not constitute the whole world as it is. According to him, appearance on screens constitutes reality. Still the media is occupying as space of appearance, providing on and through the screen a version, only a version of the world, which increasingly constitutes the world (Silverstone 2006, 55). This is why there are contradictions on what we see on and outside of the screens but rarely do question the media representations.

The concept of agenda-setting tries to summarize the reality-framing-capability of the mass media. Agenda-setting bases on the idea that mass media or more likely the reality that the mass media create affects not only our attitudes and opinions but even our behavior (McCombs 2006, 171). What the media prioritizes is what we are likely or might prioritize. Agenda-setting theory is essentially about who or what gets to “*stand in the center of attention*”; be on agenda in society and with what consequences. A key point is that mass media plays an essential and versatile role in this play on setting the agenda of the society (McCombs 2006, 16).

4.4.2 Media System and Public Sphere

Another way of seeing the media is to see the media as less as an actor and more as a space - as a public sphere. The concept of public sphere originates from writings of Jürgen Habermas. By definition the public sphere means a place, the agora, “*where private people can gather to form a ‘public’*”. Media plays a very important role in this formation, in the construction of public sphere (Guyot 2007, 49). According to Dahlgren (1991, 2) in a very general matter the public sphere can even act as a synonym for news media.

James Curran discusses media as a public sphere and proposes four approaches that serve as alternative responses “*to the question of how media system can be constructed that enables divergent interests to be fully represented in the public domain*” (Curran 1991, 52). His propositions try to combine two main approaches to organizing media. By combining these two, the free-market liberal and collectivist-statist strategies in four ways Curran aims to “*minimize their defects and capitalize their strengths*” (Curran 1991, 46) and through these approaches

recreate the media as a public sphere. This recreated sphere then takes a form that is “*relatively autonomous from both the government and the market*” (Curran 1991, 52).

It is hard not to try to ‘find the catch’ in Curran’s approaches. A media system constructed so that as many voices as possible are heard and given space while being minimally dependent on the government and the market? This is more or less what seems like the most optimal approach for minority language communities. They have a hard time when competing in the more commercialized media market and government is not always the most helpful or reliable ally (Curran 1991, Cormack 2005, Moring et al. 2011).

The catch here is that one of the four approaches bases on the model of Swedish press subsidies (Curran 1991, 50-51), a system that Curran praises. He suggests that same type of system should be introduced to audiovisual media as well (Curran 1991, 51). Although it is hard to imagine the Swedish media sphere without the press subsidies system, it has not done much for Swedish Finnish media, but on the other hand helped some other minority press (Camauër 2003, 79, 84). Introduction of such system in audiovisual media would possibly help to create additional media selection to complement or to provide an option for the public service media. Still Curran’s model would radically change the media structure in Sweden so that the type of public service media we have in Sweden now would not exist. This would probably be impossible purely economically: the state is not likely to afford both systems, which in the end are created to fill the same need or function.

4.4.3 News Journalism and Democracy

News is essentially important for democracy if the starting point is that for a democracy to function it needs informed citizens. News then can give at least a sensation of sufficient briefing also for people who not have a special interest in topic (Brune 2000, 7). But what is problematic, to say the least, is that media like no other institution of a society is pure or objective: News journalism does not float around in the space of rationality and objectivity, above the culture and prejudice of society (Brune 2000, 19).

Like in many other institutions, the elites of the society are given most space in the mediated public sphere. Brune (2000, 7) argues that news journalism is almost always ethnocentric, by which she means that the elites of the own society are the center of attention and the own culture

is the one that other cultures are described and judged in relation to. Many times the elite are given media space because of “*the need for sources with authority and legitimacy in the society within news journalism cannot be overly stressed*” (author’s translation on Brune 2000, 41).

This situation can be seen as problematic since media and especially news media holds, as already mentioned, the power of constructing what we perceive as reality and setting the agenda. News does not only report on events in our society and its surroundings. At the same time it also participates in cultural and national identity-building, where the borders between good and bad, ‘us’ and ‘them’, normal and abnormal are set – and challenged and sometimes changed (Brune 2000, 19). The news, in other words, plays an important role for minority identities and the surroundings for minority languages both now and in the future. This is due to the fact that news journalism has a great importance when it comes to bringing up certain types of problem descriptions and cooperating with both the actions and statements by the authorities as well as the presumed opinion in its relevance assessments (Brune 2000, 38).

Foreign news is one of the areas where the sense of community and otherness respectively – something happening ‘here’ or ‘there’ – is emphasized. Whether the link between a country abroad and the home country is a foreign correspondent or a news agency, some cultural translation needs to be done. A reader or a viewer is not expected to know exactly what is happening in a foreign country in the same sense as he or she is expected to do when reporting about domestic issues - with some exceptions though: Hannerz (1996, 119) mentions USA as an example of a culture that many beyond Americans themselves have some type of idea about. Still in many cases this borderline between foreign and domestic news seems quite evident. But where is this line drawn when it comes to immigrant media? What constitutes domestic and foreign then? The empirical data of this of this thesis might give an insight to this issue.

Media, especially news media, are an information source in a variety of important issues. If this was not stressed enough earlier, it is important to note that news media cannot step away from politics: the information most people have on politics and public issues is gathered mainly from media (Strömbäck 2004, 267). Alternative ways that Strömbäck (2004, 267) mentions are personal experience and conversations with other people; still these he argues weigh relatively less than the influence of media. These alternative sources I argue might also be influenced by media content so that the role of media as a vehicle of political information seems evident.

People are aware of this to some degree at least: at least in Sweden the citizens think that media are the most important information source if one wants to 'be informed', which is seen as important. In this sense media has a duty: a democratic one - to keep us informed (Strömbäck 2004, 270).

This duty, I might add, also includes moral considerations since the media is trusted to keep us informed. And informed we are: There is a connection between mass media's prioritizing of certain objects and the formation of public opinion. At the same pace as, for example, a public person gets more noticed in the media the public also notices and forms an opinion about this person. (McCombs 2006, 165). The audiences learn from the media (McCombs 2006, 104): in a number of agenda-setting studies conducted during elections in the United States as well as in Spain, presented by McCombs (2006, 102-105), the media's agenda-setting seemed to have an influence on the attitudes and attitude changes towards candidates.

The agenda-setting done in the media not only influences what key questions and issues the citizens find important during the elections, but can also further or hinder the success of a political actor through prioritizing chosen views: the media reporting is likely to influence the views of the public in who is the most capable in solving the problems and questions on the agenda (McCombs 2006, 166).

In Sweden this central role that media have for political democracy has been acknowledged in a number of policies originating from the 1970's that were approved and accepted by the major Swedish media institutions such as Svenska Journalistförbundet (Union for Swedish Journalists) and the Swedish Radio. In the State Press Investigation Report [pressutredning] from the year 1972 (cited in Hadenius, Weibull & Wadbrink 2011, 28) the role of the Swedish media was summarized in four main tasks: information, comments, examination and group communication. The first of these tasks, information, means that mass media are very important sources of information for both citizens and politicians in regards to information about society. Commenting on and examining what is happening in the society intervene both with power relations in the society: media can take a role as a spokesperson for different groups in the society and it is also expected to examine and criticize the acts of the people who have power in society – such as politicians. The fourth task demonstrates the importance of media in communication in different groups and between different groups in the society – media as a

public sphere in a sense. Later on the third and fourth task were combined under the name forum for debate (Hadenius, et al. 2011, 28-29)

The power and the responsibilities that media have become explicit especially during political elections; voting behavior is not purely based on people's values. Strömbäck (2004, 268) argues that opinions are always based on "*a combination of values, personal attitudes and the information that is available*" [author's translation]. And as already stated, much of this information comes from the media.

To put it short, media seems to act as a very important vehicle for information about the society and politics. Media constitute a source available to many and used by both politicians and citizens. Although this thesis is not a study on media effects I think it is important to add that even though the (framed) information found in media is widely used and appears to be important in for example when voting (see Strömberg's note earlier), the audience is not passive, ignorant or least to say stupid. Especially all the new platforms of communication provided by the introduction and mass-use of Internet today have lead to a situation where the political discussion is not always mediated through mass media, but the direct contacts between citizens as well as between citizens and politicians are on the rise (Hadenius et al. 2011, 30). This development Hadenius et al. (2011, 30) argue is bound to change the conditions for the system of political communication. McCombs (2006, 185) argues that the rise of the Internet and the multiplicity of sources that followed will also mean the end of the power of agenda-setting as we now know it. Multimedia is the future (Guyot 2007, 46-47).

5 Method

The purpose of this chapter is to describe my method of choice. A discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the method is also included. The selection of data as well as the coding process are also explained and discussed in detail.

5.1 Content Analysis as a Method and Methodological Considerations

"*Texts and technologies have the capacity to shape understandings*" (May 2011, 216). But news texts do not stand alone nor do other documents. They need to be situated within "*the contexts in which they are produced in order that its content is rendered intelligible and a theoretical frame of reference so it is amenable to analysis*" (May 2011, 209). May (2011, 209) argues that content

analysis can be used for this purpose. Content analysis is also one of the methods used more commonly within radio research (Åberg 2012, 37-38) as well as in agenda-setting studies (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold 1998, 93), both essential to my topic. Although also a qualitative approach could be chosen over a quantitative approach, the latter so more specifically a quantitative content analysis will be used in further analysis.

Content analysis is a systematic method and therefore “*less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies*” (Hansen et al. 1998, 91). At its simplest a content analysis can be said to comprise of three stages (May 2011, 209). First one is to state the research problem, the second to retrieve the text and the third stage to employ sampling methods and to interpret and analyze. The focus in a quantitative content analysis lies in the frequency with which certain words or particular phrases occur in the text as a means of identifying its characteristics i.e. words and phrases are transformed into numbers. (May 2011, 209-210).

The number of times a word occurs in the text is then taken as an indicator of its significance, “*a strategy assumed to enhance both the reliability and validity of the classified data*” (May 2011, 210). But like any other method, quantitative content analysis has its limitations. The method tends to concentrate on the [media] product and might say quite little of the process: “*In the context of this discussion, it deals only with what has been produced, not the decisions which informed its production which tell us so much about its received and intended meanings*” (May 2011, 210). This can be considered as a limitation: too much of the production or the reading process cannot be interpreted from the interpretations of the data analyzed with this method.

One should also be thoughtful when it comes to the selection of the data: only information which can be measured and standardized is, according to May (2011, 210), suitable for this method. Yet I argue that many types of texts or documents are suitable for the method and ‘simplifying’ data into categories, as May (2011, 210) puts it, should not be thought as purely negative – one should only be cautious and take this ‘simplifying’ aspect into consideration when analyzing the data and drawing conclusion i.e. not to put too much meaning into the frequency with which words or phrases occur in a text alone. The relation between the frequency and significance should therefore not be considered as too straight-forward (May 2011, 210). What is therefore

important is that quantitative content analysis is “*enriched by the theoretical framework*” (Hansen et al 1998, 91).

5.2 Scope

Like any other method, content analysis is just the means of research – what is also needed is the data. The data of this research concentrates on the nationwide news broadcasts in Sweden broadcasted in Finnish during the Finnish presidential elections. The choice of data concentrates only on the nationwide radio and TV content. This means that I will leave out the Finnish language newspapers as well as the regional radio broadcasts. To further narrow down the data, the data only includes news broadcasts and therefore the longer reportage-type broadcasts i.e. the ‘election specials’ broadcasted on the radio are not included in the selection. These criteria enable me to concentrate solely on the news genre.

Although the main language of the data is Finnish, some parts of the broadcasts include data in Swedish – also these parts are taken into account in the analysis. When it comes to the television news broadcasts also the visual data is analyzed in regards to the research questions.

5.3 Sampling Strategy

To understand the nature of the event-specific news coverage, Hansen et al. (1998, 102) suggest taking into account media coverage from both before and after the event. Therefore a week long period including five days before the election day, the election day and the following day during the first round of the Finnish presidential elections 2012 was chosen, the exact dates being from Tuesday, January 17th to Monday, January 23rd.

Another sampling strategy, which is often used when conducting a content analysis would be to base the sample on a ‘rolling’ or continuous week; Monday from one week, Tuesday from the following and so on, but since the data in this case is event specific, the reporting is concentrated to the near past/future of the event (Hansen et al. 1998, 103). Therefore choosing data on this basis would probably not provide widest possible data on the election reporting but instead a more general view on the Swedish-produced news reporting in Finnish. On top of this, news journalism is characterized by being to-date: it is both produced and consumed in fast pace (Brune 2000, 7). Therefore data for research comprising only of news on specific event is likely to from a relatively short period of time.

5.4 Choice of Data and Limitations

The final selection of data includes the following broadcasts (more in detail in Appendix 1):

- The nationwide radio news broadcasts broadcasted on Sisuradio called Sisu-uutiset, during a week long period: (Tue – Fri & Mon; 9 broadcasts/day = 8 broadcasts á 4 min + 1 broadcast á 7 min/day) + (Saturday 6 broadcasts á 4 min) + (Sunday 7 broadcasts á 4 min) = 53 broadcasts á 4 minutes + 5 broadcasts á 7 minutes = 58 broadcasts, total weekly broadcasting time of 247 minutes
- The TV news broadcasts on SVT, called Uutiset: daily newscasts (Tue-Fri & Mon; á 15 minutes) + 2 election special broadcasts on Sunday January 22nd (á 10 and 15 minutes) = 6 broadcasts á 15 minutes + 1 broadcast á 10 minutes = 7 broadcasts, total broadcasting time 100 minutes.

Both the radio and TV news have websites, which include short news stories in written form but these are excluded from the study. The choice of data is limited purely to audio-visual media, here referring solely to TV and radio: therefore neither the websites nor the Finnish language print media in Sweden is considered.

The data for the study was acquired through Swedish Media Database, a search engine and database for National Library of Sweden's (Kungliga Bibliotekets) audiovisual archives (SMDB 2012).

5.5 Units of Analysis

Units of analysis refer to the 'pieces' that are counted in the analysis. These can be anything from a single word to a news item, a source or a scene - just to name a few. As already noted, content analysis is a quantitative technique based on counting how often something occurs in texts as well as what the prominence of different aspects is to other aspects or dimensions. For this type of quantitative analysis to be meaningful it is important to define clearly what is being counted; the units of the analysis. This process, defining the units of the analysis results then in a coding schedule. In this thesis the units of analysis are mostly individual words or expressions relevant to the research questions. These units of analysis are then counted from individual election-related news items. (Hansen et al. 1998, 105).

5.6 Constructing a Coding Schedule

“A content analysis should never be merely a fishing expedition on applying a conceived category set to an ‘unknown’ body of text” (Hansen et al. 1998, 107). To avoid this, a researcher conducting a content analysis should get somewhat acquainted with the data to be analyzed in order to be able to set up categories that *“will be sufficiently sensitive to capture the nuances of the texts”* (Hansen et al. 1998, 107).

In order to reach some familiarity with the general nature of the data selected, parts of the data were listened and watched through before constructing a coding schedule. This was done in two sessions (February 14th and 20th 2012), one for the radio news and the other for TV, in order to get an overview of the data. All the broadcasts used for this primary screening are listed in detail in Appendix 2.

Four radio news broadcasts from each of the selected dates were listened through while taking short notes on whether or not there was any news on elections as well as to get an overview of what kind of topics the broadcasts might cover in general. The primary sample included roughly half of the total sample, a total of 28 broadcasts of the 58. These 28 broadcasts included the first three broadcasts of each day as well as the evening broadcasts (during the week a longer than regular 7-minute broadcast; regular broadcast time being 4 minutes).

All the TV-news broadcasts were also browsed through, which appeared to be useful since two of the files including the broadcasts had technical problems and had to be requested to be substituted with new versions. In the end five TV-news broadcasts were browsed through from beginning to end and one partly. The broadcast of January 17th could not be viewed at all. Same type of note-taking system as with the radio news was applied.

After listening and watching through the selected parts of the data, identifying the key factors was begun and a coding schedule was sketched. The original coding schedule can be found in Appendix 3. Applying Hansen et al.’s (1998, 106-107) approach some identifier categories were included in the coding schedule. These are V1 Medium, V2 Date and time of broadcast, V3 Duration of the item and V4 Position within broadcast. These are considered standard categories in a content analysis (Hansen et al. 1998, 106). Another variable V5: Included in the intro was added because together with V3 Duration of the item and V4 Position within broadcast it

signifies the priority of a certain news item among the other news items (Østbye, Knapskog, Helland, & Larsen 2004, 223).

Since the research questions of this thesis include questions on relationships between different actors as well as media representation, variables including these issues were formulated and added to the coding schedule. By asking who is portrayed as saying and doing what to whom and with what key attributes, an understanding of media roles in social representation and power relationships can be gained (Hansen et al. 1998, 108). These ideas were converted into variables by partly applying Ericson, Baranek and Chan's (1991 as cited in Hansen et al. 1998, 108) model of coding. Following variables were included: V6: Number of sources, V7: Type of sources, V8: Source context, V9: Gender of the source, V10: Nationality of the source and V11: Type of knowledge provided by the sources.

In addition to actor/source variables something that could be described as a theme variable was added to the coding schedule. The variable V12: Main theme was included to in order to “*classify types or sub-categories within the area of general interest*” (Hansen et al. 1998, 112).

Finally some variables related to the lexical choices or wording were included. Already many of the early studies using context analysis took wording matters into consideration and this interest has continued ever since (Hansen et al. 1998, 113). The variables chosen for this coding schedule try to track down the use of the names of candidates, a possible indicator of power relations and uses of different words and expressions regarding nationality and belonging in order to analyze the news item's relation to Finland and Sweden. The wording variables include variables V13a-V16b. This analysis of lexical choices and vocabulary will also open a door for wider discussion on the data and its qualitative qualities as well as its “*wider linguistic and discourse analytic framework*” (Hansen et al. 1998, 113).

Finally to include the visual qualities of television additional visual variables were included. The variable V17: Visual symbols indicating nationality used is designed to include all thinkable nationalistic symbols from a flag to a lion (the Finnish coat of arms centers around a lion with a sword). Additional variables V18a and V18b, possibly complementing or conflicting variables 13a and 13b, were included to code the visual representation of the candidates.

The next step was piloting the coding schedule on a small sub-sample. This was done in order to help to reveal possible inadequacies and inconsistencies in the coding schedule (Hansen et al. 1998, 118) and to further enhance the measurement validity, “*the degree to which measures successfully indicate concepts*” (Seale 2004, 134). The coding schedule was piloted on two broadcasts, one from radio and one from TV. The chosen broadcasts were simply the first news broadcast of each media type of the sample: the 06:30 radio news from January 17th and the 17:45 TV news from the same date. The piloting turned out to be useful and some subtle changes were made to the coding schedule, mostly regarding the order of the variables and the layout. Another option for V11: Type of knowledge was also included. The final coding schedule can be found in Appendix 4. After this the data was prepared and coded. The codebook for the coding schedule can be found in Appendix 5.

5.7 The Coding Process

During the coding process all the news items in the broadcasts were counted, whether or not election-related, in order to specify the percentage of election-related news items in relation to other content. The coding process was done in four occasions within a week-long period in March 2012.

All the broadcasts were listened or watched through from beginning to end. The election-related items were coded to individual coding schedules: one item per schedule. This was done while listening or watching. If needed, the item was paused from time to time or in some cases listened or viewed through a second time to enable a fully completed coding schedule.

Even if the content of some items were almost identical (in radio news broadcasts), these were coded as separate items. In the end the total number of election-related items was 99. Because the coding was done by hand the data was then moved to statistical analysis software *IBM SPSS Statistics* (later referred to as SPSS) to enable further analysis.

6 Empirical Findings

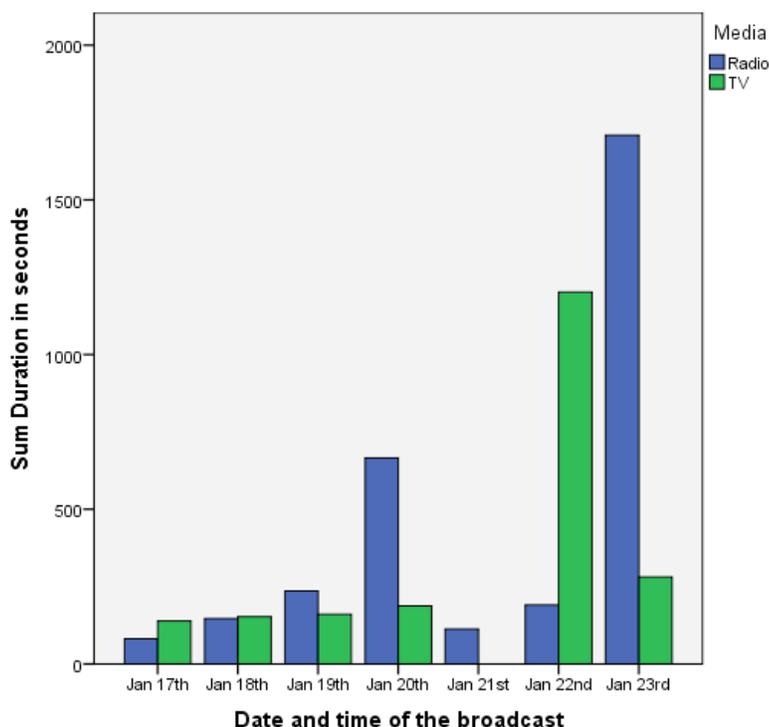
In this chapter an overview of the findings retrieved from the statistical data is given. The statistical analysis software SPSS was used for analyzing the data.

Principally all the numbers and percentages are rounded up to the closest even number e.g. 72,7% => 73%. The only exceptions are figures indicating statistical measures such as significance and mean values in selected cases where rounding up had meant that the differences would have disappeared. These numbers and figures will therefore include decimals.

6.1 The Scope

The final data included 71 individual television news items and 364 radio news items distributed in 58 radio news broadcasts and 7 television news broadcasts. Out of these 28 and 71 respectively were election-related and were coded in detail. During the chosen time period there were, as mentioned already, a total of 99 election-related news items broadcasted in Finnish at the nationwide news on SR Sisuradio and SVT (see Appendix 6 Table 1). The number of items broadcasted on radio was 71, so 72 % of all election-related items and the items broadcasted on TV formed the remaining 28 %.

FIGURE 6.1 Total broadcasting times in seconds of election-related items



All the TV news broadcasts from the chosen time period included election-related news items (see Figure 6.1). Two of the seven TV news broadcasts, both broadcasted on the day of the election, were fully devoted to election-related news (Uutiset January 22nd 20.50 and 23.05).

The radio broadcasted election-related news items every day during the chosen time period (see Figure 6.1), but not in all individual broadcasts. A total of 22 out of the 71 radio news broadcasts did not include any election-related items. These broadcasts without any election-related content were scattered through the first five days of the chosen time period, last one being a day before the election day on January 21st, the afternoon broadcast at 1400 CET. Figure 6.1 shows also that the most election news filled day for the radio news was the day after the election day, while the TV news broadcasted most election-related items on the election day. These news items constituted 23% of all the news items broadcasted during the chosen time period.

From number of items to broadcasting time: the radio news had a total broadcasting time of 247 minutes (14820 seconds) and the TV news respectively 100 minutes (6000 seconds) during the chosen time period, a comprised total of 5 hours and 47 minutes. Election-related items comprised 5268 seconds, so 25% of the total broadcasting time.

Lengthwise the individual news items varied from 3 seconds to 166 seconds (see Appendix 6 Table 2a). Mean value being 53,2 seconds. There seems to be a great variety in lengths, with only some items being of exactly, by seconds, the same length. This can also be interpreted from the negative kurtosis value of -0,306 (see Appendix 6 Table 2b) indicating that the distribution is relatively flat; there are too many cases in the extremes for the distribution to be ‘normally’ peaked (Pallant 2012, 57). The word normal here refers to “*a symmetrical, bell-shaped curve, which has the greatest frequency of scores in the middle with smaller frequencies towards the extremes*” (Pallant 2010, 59)

Still the majority of the items were considerably shorter than the mean value. The duration of 52% of the items was 30 seconds or shorter (Appendix 6 Table 2a). This means that the values are clustered to the low values, which is also indicated by the positive skewness value of 1,066, when value 0 would indicate a normal distribution (Pallant 2010, 57).

The individual election-related items on TV varied from 13 to 163 seconds with a mean value of 67. In total the election-related items comprised of 2124 seconds so 35% of the total

broadcasting time on the Finnish TV news in Sweden during the chosen period of time. On the radio the 71 individual election-related news items counted together added up to 3144 seconds with a mean value of 44 seconds. This means that the Finnish radio news broadcasts devoted 21% of the broadcasting time during the chosen time period to election-related news items. One explanatory factor to this difference between the two media types is that the TV news items had a tendency of being longer, which is also indicated by a significant Mann-Whitney test (see Appendix 6 Table 2c) with a significance level (p) of $p = .000$ -level, where $p \leq 0,05$ indicates significance (Pallant 2010, 229).

In 11 of the broadcasts an election-related news item was the first news item of the broadcast (see Appendix 6 Figure 1). Out of these 9 were on radio and 2 on TV (see Table 3 in Appendix 6). All in all the election-related news items were placed usually in the beginning or in the middle of the broadcast: the mean value of 4 and the median value of 3 convey this.

6.2 Themes

The majority of the election-related news circled around the themes given in the coding schedule (see Appendix 6 Table 4). The leading theme was results: 24% of the election-related items included the theme. TV news included 18 items with the theme results, in 64% of the total of election-related TV news items, while the radio news included 16 items (23%).

The candidates interested both of the media types. While the radio broadcasted 11 items with one candidate on focus and 15 comparative themed ones, the television focused on one candidate at a time: only two items compared the different candidates while 13 items, 47% of all election-related TV news items, were devoted to presenting the views or phenomena around an individual candidate.

When it comes to themes, there were also some differences between the two media types. Polls were more often presented on the radio than on TV: While 15 items on the radio news presented polls; the TV news did this 3 times. Also voting interested the radio news more with 20 items of voting related items, while the TV news broadcasted only one.

Other election-related themes were counted in 29 items. These included themes such as discussion on the possible success/failure of the immigration critical party True Finns

(Perussuomalaiset) (Uutiset, January 23rd 17.45) and the end of the 30yearlong era of social democratic presidents in Finland (Sisu-uutiset Jan 23rd 12.30).

6.3 Sources

The 99 news items included 123 sources (see Table 5a in Appendix 6). To be clear: these are not individual sources, but the number of times any source was mentioned. For example, all the candidates who were used as sources are included several times within this figure. Every individual news item had in mean 1,2 sources. 31 (31%) of the items did not include any references to a person or an institution, which could be interpreted as the source of information. 40(40%) items included one identifiable source, 15(15%) included two sources, four items (4%) three sources, four items (4%) four sources and five items (5%) five sources (see Table 5b in Appendix 6).

When it comes to sources, the categories in the coding schedule seemed again to be quite appropriate; all of the source types in the schedule could be found in the data (See Table 6 in Appendix 6). The most common type of source was an unspecified type of source (37% of all sources). The category included all vague expressions such as “*according to the polls*” (Uutiset, January 18th 17.45) or only the news anchor’s voice without any specification of a source (Sisu-uutiset Jan 23rd 16:00). When the source was specified, the most common source type was an ‘outside’ journalist or medium; 33% (40% of all the sources on the radio and 14% on TV) of all sources were referring either to a journalist who was interviewed or information that was published in other media than Sisuradio or SVT Uutiset.

The candidates were used as sources especially on TV. The candidates were used as sources on a whole 50% of the election-related items on the television news. On the radio the same percentage was 15. When both the TV and radio items were included, the candidates appeared as sources on 26% of the items.

Both on the radio and on TV different experts were used as sources. Of all items in 19% the source could be classified as an expert source (16% on the radio / 29% on TV). The TV news had their own regular commentator (even referred to as “*our elections expert*” Uutiset Jan 20th 17.45), a researcher from the University of Turku, who was used in a number of occasions to explain and comment on the elections. Other experts included former presidents and politicians

(no longer taking part in daily party politics) such as the former member of the European Parliament, Piia-Noora Kauppi (Sisu-uutiset 23rd 16:00) and the former president, Mauno Koivisto (Sisu-uutiset Jan 20th 08:30).

A citizen or a number of citizens, a person representing him or herself as private person, as a source was 8% of all items.

TABLE 6.1 *Types of knowledge provided by the sources*

Type of knowledge provided by the sources ^a	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Primary type of knowledge	95	47%	96%
Secondary type of knowledge	37	18%	37%
Tertiary type of knowledge	17	8%	17%
Evaluative type of knowledge	14	7%	14%
Recommendations	9	5%	9%
Speculative type of knowledge	30	15%	30%
Total	202	100%	204%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

What kind of information was then provided by these sources? Mostly the information was primary; telling what happened or for example reading out the results (see table 6.1): in 95 responses, in 96% of the election-related items this was the case. Secondary or in other word explanatory knowledge type was the second most common knowledge type: 37% of the items included explanatory information; giving reasons, answering a why-question. The option added only in the piloting phase, ‘speculative type of knowledge’ referring to estimations and predictions on what might or what is going to happen, appeared in 30; i.e. 30% of the items. The knowledge category with the smallest share was ‘recommendations’ (9 items, 9%).

6.4 The Candidates

The presidential candidates were not only popular topics for the news but also commonly used sources. 68% of all the election-related news items included the names of at least one candidate. Out of all the eight candidates, Pekka Haavisto was mentioned most often by name (see Table 6.2). Haavisto was mentioned in 53 items, in 79% of the items that a name of the candidate was mentioned. Sauli Niinistö’s name was mentioned almost as often in 51 items or 76 % and Paavo

Väyrynen's in more than half of items, in 34 items, i.e.50% of all of the items mentioning any names of candidates. The female candidates were mentioned by name only on 6 items each, i.e. in 3% of the items with names.

TABLE 6.2 Names of candidates that are mentioned in the broadcast

Names of candidates that are mentioned ^a	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Pekka Haavisto	53	28%	79%
Timo Soini	14	7%	21%
Paavo Väyrynen	34	18%	51%
Paavo Lipponen	15	8%	22%
Sauli Niinistö	51	27%	76%
Sari Essayah	6	3%	9%
Eva Biaudet	6	3%	9%
Paavo Arhinmäki	11	6%	16%
Total	190	100%	284%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

In total, including all of the election-related items (n=99), Haavisto's name was mentioned 139 times, 1,4 times in every election-related news item (see Table 7 in Appendix 6). Niinistö was mentioned 120 times (mean value=1,2), Väyrynen 51 times (0,5), Arhinmäki 29 (0,3), Soini 26 times (0,3), Lipponen 23 (0,2) and Essayah and Biaudet both 6 times (0,1).

When it comes to appearance on screen (see Table 8 in Appendix 6), Haavisto, Väyrynen and Niinistö tie up with an appearance in 17 TV news items (61% of all TV news items) each followed by Soini with appearance in 15 items (54%) and Lipponen in 12 items (43%). The remaining three candidates all appeared in 11 items (39%).

When it comes to appearance on the screen counted in seconds (see Table 9 in Appendix 6) Haavisto gets the highest score with 525 seconds of appearance, each appearance with a mean value of 18,8 seconds . Niinistö takes the second place with 418 seconds (mean value 14,9 seconds) followed by Soini 413 seconds (14,8) and Väyrynen 405 (14,5). Other candidates total around 200 seconds each; Lipponen 215 (7,9), Arhinmäki 204 (7,3), Biaudet 202 (7,2) and Essayah 196 (7,0).

6.5 Nationality

All the sources were given a nationality (V9). This means that even vague expressions such as “*according to polls*” were given a nationality, in this case option 5; ‘unspecified’. This way not only people were classified by nationality. This decision was made on the basis that some vague expressions did include a word referring to a specific nationality. Also different media sources could be given a nationality. This means that all the items (n=99) included at least one source of some nationality even though this could be a nationality of the ‘unspecified’ kind.

The mean values presented in Table 10 (see Appendix 6) convey that one nationality appeared more often than any of the others: every item had 1,2 Finnish sources, 0,02 Swedish sources and 0,3 sources of unspecified nationality. None of the news items included Swedish Finnish sources, at least ones that would have been interpreted as to be Swedish Finnish explicitly.

Another two variables (15a and V15b) were used to track down the words indicating nationality that were used in the items. A total of 74 items (75%) included at least one word indicating nationality. This means that 25 items (25%) did not (see Table 11 in Appendix 6). In 85% of the cases which included a word indicating nationality one of the words was Finland, in 20% it was Sweden, in 16% Finnish and in 7% Swedish Finnish, in 1% Swedish and in 7% of the cases the word indicating nationality was none of the options given in the coding schedule but something else (see Table 12 in Appendix 6).

Continuing on with the theme of nationality, the variables V16a and V16b were used for finding the possible indicator of belonging/connection to a certain nationality that was mentioned in the news item. In 65 (66%) items no indicators of belonging or connection were used (see Table 13 in Appendix 6). In seven (7%) items either the word ‘we’, ‘us’ or ‘our’ was used in connection to a certain nationality (see Table 14 in Appendix 6). Also in seven cases the word ‘here’ was used in connection to a certain nationality. In 20 (20%) items another word or expression indicating belonging or not belonging to certain nationality was used: these included for example “*täkäläistä aikaa*” meaning something like ‘local time here’ (Sisu-uutiset, January 22nd 18.00).

While the words ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘our’ were only used in items with Finnish sources, such as in the following example:

“...that we can have a presidential candidate, who is...” (A Finnish journalist Unto Hämäläinen, Sisu-utiset Jan 23rd 12.30)

the word ‘here’ was connected to the word ‘Sweden’ in all of the seven radio news items using the word ‘here’ in the context of belonging to a nationality:

”Here in Sweden the voting on the second round will....” (The news anchor, Sisu-utiset Jan 23rd 08.30)

Another variable, which was included in the coding schedule mostly because of a connection to nationality issues, was V14: Words used when referring to the elections. Both the expression ‘the presidential election’ and ‘the election’; expressions without any information about where the election is taking place appeared in 49 of the news items, in 50% of the election-related news items (see Table 6.3). In 14 items (14% of the items) the word ‘election’ was not used at all. Yet the addition ‘Finnish’ or ‘in Finland’ appeared in 20 (20%), respectively in 6 items (6%).

TABLE 6.3 Words used when referring to the elections

How are the elections referred to as? ^a	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
The presidential election in Finland	6	4%	6%
The Finnish presidential election	20	15%	20%
The presidential election	49	36%	50%
The election	49	36%	50%
No use of the word elections	14	10%	14%
Total	138	100%	139%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

In addition, the TV news items were also coded for possible visual symbols of nationality. It might be useful to explain further the logic behind the coding in regards to this specific variable (V17). If the option 1 indicating ‘Yes’ the specific symbol or symbols were then written down. Some symbols could be interpreted as symbols of nationality without any further discussion e.g. the Finnish flag or the Finnish coat of arms. Other symbols that I chose to count as symbols of nationality included, for example, the presidential Palace in Helsinki (something that in a sense could be compared to the White House in Washington D.C), of course also a symbol of

presidency and the use of color combination white and blue. As also some political parties (e.g. Kokoomus, the party Sauli Niinistö is a member of) use the white-blue combination in their logos and campaign regularly, the color combination was only counted as symbol of nationality if it seemed to first and foremost represent Finland and not a political party.

Out of the 28 TV news items 12 (43%) included visual symbols of nationality (see Table 15 in Appendix 6). All of which could be interpreted as symbols of Finland. Four items included one symbol each and the remaining eight items included two symbols each.

7 Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to bring together the theoretical perspectives and the empirical findings. In other words, I will analyze the issues regarding the relationship constructed between the Swedish Finnish minority and Finland and Sweden in the Swedish Finnish news broadcasts: how national identity, culture and politics meet in minority language media. One of my aims has been to find out if the minority status of the minority group for which the media content is aimed for comes across in the media content. To analyze this I have chosen to look at the reporting of one specific event: the presidential elections in Finland 2012.

7.1 Politics and the Swedish Finnish Media

Because of the nature of the chosen event, the presidential elections in Finland in 2012, a political election, issues of national identity in the meeting point of culture and politics are now addressed.

7.1.1 *What happened in Reality: the Election Results*

To give background for further analysis it might be useful to briefly go over the results. The first round of elections ended with Sauli Niinistö and Pekka Haavisto taking the two top spots with 37% and 19% of votes respectively followed by Paavo Väyrynen 18%, Timo Soini 9%, Paavo Lipponen 7%, Paavo Arhinmäki 6%, Eva Biaudet 3% and Sari Essayah 3% (Ministry of Justice in Finland 2012a). This meant that since none of the candidates reached over 50% of the votes, a second round was organized. It was organized two weeks after the first round on the 5th of February. On the second round one had to choose between the two top candidates from the first round – Niinistö and Haavisto. On the second round Niinistö gathered 63% of the votes and is the president of Finland at the moment of writing (The Ministry of Justice in Finland 2012b).

As already noted, all Finnish citizens who are at least 18 years old can vote - also people permanently living abroad (The Constitution of Finland 731/1999, Section 14). On the first round the total voting turnout was 73% of the people entitled to vote in Finland and 70% when also the Finns living abroad were counted in (The Ministry of Justice in Finland 2012a). On the second round the figures were 69% and 66% respectively (The Ministry of Justice in Finland 2012b). This means that the Finns living outside of Finland did not vote as often as the Finns living in Finland.

7.1.2 What happened in the Swedish Finnish Media - Domestic or Foreign News?

The results of the election were also introduced and repeated several times in the empirical material: almost one fourth (24%) of all the items were about the results. Also other election-related themes seemed to interest the Swedish produced Finnish media. And they should, considering that media have certain tasks in democracy: in Sweden these are formulated as to inform, to comment and to be the forum for debate (State press investigation report [pressutredning] 1972 cited in Hadenius et al. 2011, 28) – to constitute public sphere (Dahlgren 1991, 2). The Finnish media produced in Sweden have these same tasks. All of the tasks are important especially during political events such as the presidential elections, since the information most people have on politics and public issues is gathered mainly from the media (Strömbäck 2004, 267).

I would assume that many of the Sweden Finns are entitled to vote on the elections – so that they have a double-citizenship or have not given up their Finnish citizenship. But because living abroad they, as in principle all expatriates, have a more limited or at least not as easily reached array of information sources regarding the Finnish politics. Therefore the Finnish media in Sweden was in a sense given a task of great importance with an opportunity to gather the audiences searching information, in order to help them to make the voting decision: voting behavior is not purely based on people's values; opinions are always based on "*a combination of values, personal attitudes and the information that is available*" (author's translation on Strömbäck 2004, 268). And as already stated, much of this information comes from the media. News can give at least a sensation of sufficient briefing also for people who do not have a special interest in topic (Brune 2000, 7).

When it comes to news content in general, Moring et al. (2011, 181) see that due to the current situation of the minority language media produced in Sweden, the media consequently play mainly a complementary function in the media use of the Finnish speakers. In many other topics the Sweden Finns might rely on the Swedish media with the wider selection of news broadcasts. But when it came to the presidential Elections in Finland, the Swedish media did not provide much information. An article in the leading Finnish-Swedish newspaper Hufvudstadsbladet's (HBL) website summarizes the poor quality of journalism stemming from the weak interest that the Swedish media showed towards the elections. The article lists a number of problems and errors regarding the Swedish reporting on the first round of the elections. Included on the list are some of the biggest news providers in Sweden such as TV4, Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter. The mistakes included, for example, using local statistics as national and combining misleadingly names and pictures of candidates (HBL January 23rd 2012). The poor interest in the Finnish elections did not remain unnoticed by the Swedes either (see for example a debate article by Swedish politicians in Expressen February 3rd 2012). I argue that the audience that suffers the most about this 'lack of interest' is the Swedes. Unlike the Sweden Finns they do not have the option to follow either the Finnish media produced in Sweden or the Finnish media.

But even though the news coverage of the presidential Elections in Finland might have been narrow and evidently not of the highest quality, at least in some cases, this was still a foreign news issue for the Swedish media. An average Swede does not need the information to make a voting decision while some – not all – of the Sweden Finns might. So what might therefore give certain importance to Finnish election news is the ability for Sweden Finns to participate. And the information needs that follow. Still the Swedish Finnish media is based in Sweden. A question arises: is the election news or any other news from Finland for that matter foreign news or domestic news?

The issue of domestic or foreign news is interesting for a number of reasons. First of all, the reporting on the chosen event can at least give us some indicators of how the production side sees this issue. Second of all, I would assume that this issue of foreign versus domestic is most likely to occur in other minority media, at least if the minority group has an immigrant background. Essentially this is an issue of identity and belonging: where does the line go

between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘here’ and ‘there’: media are, and like Brune (2000, 19) argues, news is an important factor and actor in deciding where these lines are drawn.

First of all, the information need followed by the ability to vote (Strömbäck 2004) –the opportunity to participate makes the issue closer and more domestic in that sense. Another point that affects the line-drawing in the same way is the imagined community called nationality (Anderson 2006). Assuming that Sweden Finns still feel some connection to Finland or rather to other Finns, they need to know how their ‘family’ is doing. They may also be interested in participating or at least being informed about what is happening to the people, the nation they belong to: to get the first news on the shared future, which might then over time become shared history. I argue that this is also why the Swedish Finnish media devoted space for the election-related items, which were not at all the only Finland-related news items in the broadcasts during the chosen time period: Finland matters.

What does the empirical data of the election-related news items have to say to this? How much interest did the Swedish Finnish news media show towards the elections on television and radio? Sisu-uutiset and Uutiset broadcasted 5268 seconds of purely election-related news items counting up to 25% of the total broadcasting time for news in these media during the chosen period of time. I suggest that if we consider this news foreign news, the attention given to the elections - at least time wise - was great. I have a hard time imagining that other Nordic elections such as the Norwegian or Danish elections would receive as much space in Uutiset or Sisu-uutiset. On the other hand the Swedish elections might be followed as eagerly: but on the other hand the Swedish elections fall quite unarguably on the domestic news category – at least from a geographical point of view.

What also speaks against classifying the election-related news as foreign news is the non-explanatory manner of reporting. When it comes to the common characteristics of the foreign news genre, some cultural translation needs to be done whether the link between two countries is a foreign correspondent or a news agency (Hannerz 1996, 119). This did not seem to be the case in the empirical data of this study. 25% of the election-related items did not include any reference to a nation or nationality and when referring to the elections the most common expressions did not include any direct reference to Finland. Both the expression ‘the presidential election’ and ‘the election’, expressions without any information about where the election is

taking place, appeared in 49 of the news items, so in 50% of the election-related news items while expressions with reference to Finland were not as commonly used. I interpret this so that the public is presumed to understand from the other information within the news items or by relying on previous knowledge that the elections are taking place in Finland, and even more basic things that there is a president in Finland who is chosen in democratic elections every six years and the basic features of party politics in Finland. On other words: no cultural translation is needed.

Still some wording choices make it clear to the audience that the issue of the reporting is mainly taking place somewhere else than in Sweden. Even though the word 'here' did not occur in more than seven items (all on the radio), it was always connected to the word 'Sweden', in the context of connection to a nation. The expression 'here in Sweden' draws this way an explicit line between Finland and Sweden and emphasizes the fact that the newscaster and presumably also the public is located in Sweden. In this sense news from Finland or maybe especially the election-related news from Finland cannot be categorized either as purely domestic news but not as foreign news either.

Based on this discussion, I argue that for immigrants and therefore in immigrant media there are two types of domestic news: news from the country of origin and news from the country of residence. This means, I argue, that the 'traditional' borderline between foreign and domestic news that seems quite evident in many cases does not apply within immigrant media. Or at least it does seem to do so within the Swedish produced Finnish news media.

7.1.3 *The Silent Minority*

The struggle between domestic and foreign is also shown in the sources that were used in the election-related news. For each Swedish source there were 60 Finnish sources, which seems obvious since the elections were held in Finland and not in Sweden. But what I consider interesting and maybe even surprising to some extent is that none of the news items included Swedish Finnish sources, at least ones that could have been interpreted explicitly as such.

Here we arrive to the limitations of the data. Firstly, my data included only a week-long period. Second of all, Sisuradio broadcasts news type- content also outside the news broadcasts. This was also the case with the election-related content. I know from experience both as an audience

member as well as a journalist working for Sisuradio that Swedish Finnish voices were heard on election-related issues on Sisuradio. I myself conducted a short survey-type interview with five Sweden Finns who were voting in Malmö. The interviews were broadcasted in the regional broadcast in Southern Sweden.

Against this background I was surprised that Swedish Finnish voices did not ‘make it all the way to the news’. It is hard to see why it would be a conscious decision not to include Swedish Finnish voices in the news broadcasts although it may be interpreted as such: the elections were in Finland and are therefore at least geographically closer to Finnish Finns. On the other hand it might have been a pure coincidence that no Swedish Finnish sources were used.

No Swedish Finnish issues or other minority issues for that matter made it to the agenda either. The five times that Swedish Finns were mentioned (Table 12 Appendix 6), they were portrayed as voters in the news content, in summarizing the participation percentage among expatriates (for example January 23rd 07.30 and January 23rd 10.30).

In this sense the Swedish Finnish media was sending a message: News journalism has a great importance when it comes to bringing up certain types of problem descriptions (Brune 2000, 38) and the agenda-setting done by the media influences in what key questions and issues during the elections the citizens find important (McCombs 2006, 166). In the empirical findings there are no indications that minority issues are of importance in connection to the Finnish elections.

Basically, if Swedish Finnish voices and issues are wanted in the news they need to be on the agenda: then they would get to the agenda of the public and the politicians as well. But what would this mean in practice: does there need to be a policy on desperately seeking Sweden Finns and placing the majority issues or even the relevance as second. Or are minority issues always the most relevant issues for the minority?

For a minority, the presence in media indicates citizenship that the minority is no longer invisible or marginalized (Guyot 2007, 48). The Sweden Finns have obviously gained presence in media production and as a targeted audience. But if one had only listened to or watched the selected news broadcasts, the Swedish Finnish voices were very few: again this is of course an imaginary situation. It is highly unlikely that someone would have only followed the news and only paid attention to the election-related items. But despite the imaginary nature, I argue that there is a

paradox here: the election-related news items were given a significant part of the total broadcasting time during the chosen period of time, and hence the elections can be interpreted as something that would interest or should interest the Swedish Finnish audience. Still their voices or minority issues were not included.

In the type of content analysis that this study represents, the number of times in which a word occurs – or in this case does not occur in the text is an indicator of its significance (May 2011, 210). And although my selection of data did not include all Swedish Finnish content on the chosen period of time, it included all the nationwide news broadcasts: anyone else could have done the same analysis on the Swedish Finnish audiovisual news content and end up with the same result: no Sweden Finns. So from a methodological point-of-view the ‘invisibility’ of the Sweden Finns is a valid and reliable statement (May 2011, 210).

And apparently it is these voices that would make the Swedish Finnish audience to choose the Swedish Finnish media: The Swedish Finnish interviewees of a study conducted by Moring et al. (2011, 182) wished for “---news concerning ‘our matters’, but for also a wider perspective” as well as “to get access to life stories of people who are in their situation, speaking Finnish but living in Sweden”.

7.1.4 The Winners of the Media Elections

Who was being heard then if it was not the Sweden Finns? Like already mentioned, the Finnish sources were quite evidently the most commonly used category of sources. This is not surprising, since the candidates, who all were Finns, were given air time both on radio and on TV. A candidate or a number of the candidates were used as sources in a whole 50% of the election-related items on the television news. On the radio the same percent was 15.

Of course in election-related news reporting it would seem rather odd not to include any voices from the candidates. Again this is completing the tasks given to the media in the State press investigation report [pressutredning] of 1972 (cited in Hadenius et al. 2011, 28): commenting, providing a forum for debate but also informing. The candidates are the center of the attention during the elections and for both citizens and politicians media are the number one source in regards to information about society, and many people in Sweden recognize this (Strömbäck 2004, 270). But why is it important to know which candidates were given the most attention in

the media? Because there is a connection between the mass media's prioritizing of certain objects and the forming of public opinion. In the same pace as for example a public person gets more noticed in the media, the public also notices and forms an opinion about this person. (McCombs 2006, 165).

Even though I did not count the time that every candidate was given to speak in the broadcasts, some conclusions of publicity that they reached can be interpreted from the sheer appearance on screens and how often they were mentioned by name in the broadcasts. Although it is important to note that many of the times that a candidate was mentioned by name was when summarizing a poll result or the preliminary or final results.

Haavisto was a media favorite, both as a name and also when it came to appearance on the screens. Haavisto was mentioned in 53 items, in 79% of the items in which a name of the candidate was mentioned and reached 525 seconds in visual appearance, each appearance with a mean value of 19 seconds. The winner of the election, Sauli Niinistö, who won also the first round was mentioned almost as often, his name appearing in 76 % of the items in which a name of the candidate was mentioned, but not reaching the same type of visual attention: Although being the candidate with the second longest time of screen appearance, his 418 seconds (mean value 15 seconds) were notably behind Haavisto's seconds. Väyrynen, who was allegedly Haavisto's toughest competition for the second place reached almost the same numbers as Niinistö in visual appearance with a total of 405 seconds (15). But when it comes to verbal appearance, he was mentioned by name in 50% of the items in which a name of a candidate was mentioned against the 79% and 76% of Haavisto and Niinistö. Actually Timo Soini, the fourth runner-up took the third place in visual appearance with also a mean of 15 and a total of 413 seconds, but was not mentioned by name as often as the top three candidates.

The audiences learn from the media (McCombs 2006. 104): in a number of agenda-setting studies conducted during elections in the United States as well as in Spain the media's agenda-setting seemed to have an influence on the attitudes and attitude changes towards candidates (McCombs 2006, 102-105). Haavisto did not win the elections or even the first round. Therefore it is interesting to analyze why it was him who reached the top spot in all the results of the candidate related variables. One fact that could explain the differences is something that I could call here is the knowledge the audience had of the candidates before the election. Sauli Niinistö

ran for president also in the previous election in 2006, losing to Tarja Halonen on the second round. He has also been a member of the parliament in numerous occasions, the Minister of Finance and the leader of his party, one of the biggest political parties in Finland. Paavo Väyrynen is also a well-known public figure, active in the Finnish political scene since the 70's. Haavisto on the other hand, even though having been a 'full-time' politician already for decades was not a household name in the same sense as many of the other candidates.

Not underestimating the role of Haavisto's campaign and without a thorough analysis of how much attention he received in the Finnish media, I still argue that Haavisto is today a household name and was able to gather at least some votes much thanks to the media. Since, as already mentioned through agenda-setting, media has an impact on who or what gets to "*stand in the center of attention*"; be on agenda in society (McCombs 2006, 16).

7.1.5 Elites and Experts

From candidates to other sources: media can take a role as a spokesperson for different groups in the society and it is also expected to examine and criticize the acts of the people who have power in society (Hadenius et al. 2011, 29). This, I might add, also includes certain moral considerations since the media is trusted to keep us informed. These views seem to mesh with Silverstone's (2006) view on media and representation of reality discussed earlier: although this is not a study of media effects or even a discussion if media effects can be studied, my starting point quite evidently is that the representation in media is not meaningless and therefore worth studying. Because of this, the producers of media need to acknowledge this as well and strive for letting 'all sides speak'.

Although arguing that journalism is totally objective seems naive the media is not expected to be subjective either – at least when it comes to news. To back up or legitimate their views or even their agenda, socially legitimate sources are used: "*the need for sources with authority and legitimacy in the society within news journalism cannot be overly stressed*" (author's translation on Brune 2000, 41). Both the radio and the TV used different experts as sources. Out of all items in 20% the source could be classified as an expert source (16% on the radio / 29% on TV). The TV news had their own regular commentator, a university researcher even referred to as "*our elections expert*" (Uutiset January 20th 17.45). Other experts included former presidents and politicians (no longer taking part in daily party politics). The citizens, 'the ordinary people', on

the other hand did not get their say as often as the experts did. I argue that the experts are examples of the elites of the society (though here it seems to the Finnish society that we are talking about) and like in many other institutions the elites of the society are given most space in the mediated public sphere. This could explain the relationship between the number of expert sources and citizen sources.

As already noted, the media like no other institution of a society is pure or objective. News journalism does not float around in the space of rationality and objectivity, above the culture and prejudice of society (Brune 2000, 19). Brune (2000, 7) argues that news journalism is almost always ethnocentric, by which she means that the elites of the own society are the center of attention and the own culture is the one in relation to which other cultures are described and judged. Here we arrive once again to the problematic: what is Swedish Finnish culture in this sense? Would being ethnocentric mean that the elites would have been Sweden Finns and if so who are the Swedish Finnish elites? Do they have to establish themselves in Sweden within the minority community? And how does one do that within the community with probably less opportunities of prestige? Also the Swedish Finnish community is not separate from at least Sweden if not Finland as well: living in Sweden includes also taking part on the 'Swedish life' not only the immigrant communities.

However, I am not stating that there could not be a Swedish Finnish elite: in that manner I perceive the community to be large enough in sheer numbers with an established media system and legal status. But still probably the elite status – gained either through inheriting it or gaining it in other ways – either in Finland or in Sweden and these then might also apply within the Swedish Finnish community. In the election-related items, however, the elite was purely Finnish.

7.2 Identity and the Swedish Finnish Media

One of the aims of this study is to study how the minority language media portrays the relationship of the minority and two countries, the country or the nation of origin and the one of residence. Most of all, it is the issues on national identity, culture and belonging that I have already addressed and will now further address. News do not only report on events in our society and its surroundings, but at the same time also participate in cultural and national identity-building, where the borders between 'us' and 'them' are set or even challenged and changed

(Brune 2000, 19). In other words, the news media play an important role for minority identities and the surroundings for minority languages.

7.2.1 Minority with an Immigrant Background

The Sweden Finns are originally an immigrant community, with history reaching back to the Middle Ages (Sametinget 2012a). The Sweden Finns are also the largest minority group in Sweden (Arvidson, & López, 1999, 391). Whether the size of the minority is counted as 600 000 (Moring et al. 2011, 181) or 440 000 (Statistics Sweden 2012d), the group is undeniably a big group of people from a Nordic perspective. There were 9 490 683 people living in Sweden at the end of February of 2012 (Statistics Sweden 2012a). This means that the Finnish minority in Sweden reaches up to more than 6% of the people living in Sweden, if counted according to the largest estimation. As a group they are as large as the whole population of Helsinki, the capital of Finland (595 384 at the end of the year 2011 according to Statistics Finland 2012) or almost twice as many as people living in the third largest city of Sweden, Malmö (302 835 at the end of the year 2011 according to Statistics Sweden 2012b).

What these people have in common is maybe most visibly their language, although all do not agree on this definition (see for example Sametinget 2012a). Most importantly, it is of course the cultural heritage that makes someone a Sweden Finn. Still it is the Finnish language that seems to be the most visible shared objective characteristic building a sense of a group boundary (Edwards 1994, 128) that cuts the line between the ethnic group Sweden Finns and the ‘majority Swedes’.

Language is also maybe the most visible thing that separates the Swedish Finnish media from the Swedish media. On the contrary, the Finnish media does not differ in language but probably more likely in content. But is it only the language that is the difference between the Finnish news on SR and SVT compared to their Swedish news selection? I do not think so. Minority media is of course a mediated space for the language. It enables language users to see themselves as a community and therefore offers a space for identity negotiations and language (Cormack 2005, 115). Media’s role is to create a public domain “*in which the language can exist*” (Cormack 2005, 115). But most of all there should be other factors – which I argue can come along with the language – that separate the minority media from the majority media. A comparative research setting would have made it easier to pin-point these differences: now I can only try to find

something that might not have appeared in Swedish majority media or in Finnish majority media either.

One indicator of differences could be the positioning in relation to a nationality. Anderson (2006, 6) writes that a nation is an imagined community, since “*the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion*”. So there is Sweden, there is Finland but there is no own nation for the Sweden Finns: where do they belong?

Following Anderson’s idea of the imagined community, people of a certain nationality should have a sense of belonging together, a sense of connection to other people with the same nationality. This sense of communion, I argue, does not need to be citizenship-bound, at least in the case of nationalities without a nation or immigrant groups like the Sweden Finns. Even though the definition of a Sweden Finns varies, on the bottom lies mostly identification with the group “*Swedish Finns are described as persons who live in Sweden, have Finnish as their mother tongue, were born in Sweden or Finland and, irrespective of their citizenship, identify themselves with the Swedish Finnish ethnic minority*” (Camauër (2003, 72).

But here another question arises: how about identification with Finnish or Swedish nationality? Immigrants, like the first generation Sweden Finns are, have to renegotiate their identities in relation to the old and the new environment. Being and becoming an immigrant does not mean the abandonment of the ethnic identity of one’s origin and assimilation with the host country as earlier suggested (Deaux 2000, 424-425), but justification or renegotiation.

But who are ‘we’ and who constitute as ‘they’? For some immigrants in Sweden the line is drawn by the immigrants and non-immigrants, and an example of this type of language use among the immigrant youth appeared in Olausson’s interview study on the Gothenburg fire. Here a transnational identity mixes with the national one (1996, 89): imagined and real communities mix; the ‘original’ inhabitants of a nation state might seem more distant or their nationality might feel significant to a different degree than the individual nationalities of other immigrants, they formed another type of imagined community: ‘them Swedes, us immigrants’.

Similar type of language use pattern, although with some noticeable differences occurred also in my empirical findings. Even though the word here was connected to Sweden, which seems

evident like already noted, the word ‘we’ or ‘us’ was not used in referring to Swedish people, except for by Swedish speaking Swedes. A Sweden Finn in the Swedish Finnish media does not seem to constitute as a Swede: Living in Sweden? Yes. A Swede? No. An immigrant? Not explicitly.

As already noted, when it came to the election news the word ‘here’ was always accompanied by the addition ‘in Sweden’. In the 20 items where another word or expression indicating belonging to certain nationality was used, there were also other examples of indication to the geographical place of the audience being Sweden. An example of an expression like that is “*täkäläistä aikaa*”, meaning ‘local time here’ referring to the Swedish time (Sisu-uutiset, January 22nd 18.00). On the other hand, expressions like “*maan suurin puolue*” ‘the biggest political party in the country’ (January 23rd 10.30) referred to Finland. Of course these expressions are all rather vague, but what I found interesting is the subtle inconsistency of the expressions: the vagueness, the use of these non-detailed expressions referred sometimes to Finland and sometimes to Sweden. There was also another detail that might mostly be interpreted as a cause of standardized newspeak, a ‘maximum objectivity’, but that could also be connected to this situation to be in-between, undecided: no indicators of belonging or connection to a nationality were used in two thirds of the items, in 65 items.

So is it ‘us Finns’ living ‘here in Sweden’? Or is Finland the past and Sweden the presence and maybe also the future? Symbols are used especially when referring to a past: Shared symbolic references to the past, references to ancestors held in common build up a sense of belonging to a family (Hannerz 1996, 83). A national identity entails a membership in a family with its own traditions and symbols. In my data, the visual symbols that indicated nation or nationality were always referring to Finland, so the shared past. Out of the 28 TV news items 12, 43% included visual symbols of nationality. Some of the symbols could be interpreted as symbols of nationality without any further discussion e.g. the Finnish flag or the Finnish coat of arms. In Finland, like in many other countries, the colors of the flag are interpreted as symbols of the country if used in combination: so it was not too surprising to find that for example the decoration of the YLE presidential broadcast (out of which quite a lot of visual material was taken for the Uutiset) was full of the color combination of white and blue.

7.2.2 *The President – Our President?*

What now seems evident is that the elections were of course an issue bound to nationality and also reported as such: these were not Swedish elections. But were these Swedish Finnish elections? Were they that in the Swedish Finnish media? According to the media, is Sauli Niinistö the president of Sweden Finns as well?

The presidential election was not only a political, but also a symbolic event. As the political role of the president is diminishing, his/her role is becoming more and more symbolic: the president is first and foremost the symbolic leader of the Finns and therefore as a character possibly connected to people's feeling about nationality. Just like presidency as institution, but also the president as a person seem to be national symbols, so are some of the artifacts that are connected to the president. A symbol that appeared also in the election-related news items on TV was the Presidential Palace in Helsinki. The building is located in the Helsinki city center and in a sense could be compared to the White House in Washington D.C. – one of the symbols of president of the United States of America and surely also for USA as such. The Presidential Palace is also where the Independence Day party is held: every year this event, hosted by the president is televised. Watching the television broadcast, comprising mostly of the guests greeting the president one-by-one, is a more or less patriotic tradition for many Finns: more than 2,3 million Finns watched the broadcast in 2011(Finnpanel 2012).

Interestingly, this seems to be something that brought the elections to the media in Sweden. The importance of this symbolic leader to the sense of nationality came across in the data. The way the soon-to-be president, even when not yet knowing who is going to win the election, was spoken about in the Swedish Finnish media was signifying the connection to Finland. The people who would vote were now electing a president for 'us' – 'our president': Already as candidates they were 'ours': "...*that we can have a presidential candidate, who is...*" (Finnish journalist Unto Hämäläinen, Sisu-uutiset Jan 23rd 12.30).

But again: if Finland only represents mostly the past, why is the presidential election a matter of interest? This attachment to a collective past or 'ethno-history' has been noted as an important part of national identity by a number of scholars (see for example Anderson 2006 or Hannerz 1996). The collective past is not only a past – it is also a promise of a collective future, which again strengthens ties to this community called nationality (Hannerz 1996, 83). Finland is

therefore in a sense also the future for the Sweden Finns. By this I do not mean that all the Sweden Finns are thinking about going ‘back to’ Finland – many of them have never lived there even though they are part of this ethnic group. Many, if not most of them are not planning to ‘go back’. Still this collective past is tying them to this one nationality, one nation. And the leader of this nation is a president: a president voted with a democratic election – an election that many Sweden Finns are entitled to take part of as voters and furthermore some of them are even eligible to run for presidency since “*the president has to be a Finnish citizen, born in Finland*” (The Constitution of Finland 54 §).

On the other hand, the later generations cannot run for presidency. And those who do not have a Finnish citizenship are not allowed to vote either. Is it then their president who was chosen in these elections? Or are the future presidents going to be that? This study is about the presidential election of 2012: Are the elections going to get same type of attention in the Swedish Finnish media in the future? My prediction is that probably not. The biggest groups of Swedish Finnish first generation immigrants – so the ones who still have a Finnish citizenship, unless they have given it up and are allowed to vote – are getting older. The largest groups have their roots in the first wave (the so-called war children ‘*krigsbarn*’) (Sametinget 2012a) or the second wave of mass movers (the labor market-based immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s) (Moring et al. 2011, 181).

7.2.3 The Future of the Minority and the Role of Media

It is interesting to think about the timely perspective. If we think about the future, the election of 2018 might still be of great interest but in 30 years the interest is most likely to be smaller. But on the other hand it might not: there is a constant flow of Finns moving to Sweden. In 2011 2 331 Finns moved to Sweden, forming 2,4% of the total immigration, biggest group being Swedes (21,4%) returning back after living abroad (Statistics Sweden 2012c). The number of Finnish citizens moving to Sweden is probably even bigger than these numbers indicate: to be counted as an immigrant one has to register to Skatteverket – the Swedish Tax Agency with the intention to stay in Sweden for at least 12 months (Statistics Sweden 2012c): for example many of the Finnish (exchange) students studying at the Swedish universities might not do this but still might take advantage of the services in Finnish and follow the Finnish media produced in Sweden.

Like already mentioned, the base for the large Swedish Finnish minority was built by immigrants. And with immigrants the question of returning 'home' is always there. Although there are now many generations of Sweden Finns, 'going back' is not an issue that considers all of them. However, Finns, like many other Nordic citizens who have lived in Sweden, do go back: nine out of ten Finnish born people leaving Sweden go back to Finland (Statistics Sweden 2012c).

To 'go back' requires that one still possesses sufficient language skills and cultural knowledge: otherwise one is 'just an immigrant' in their 'homeland' as well. Or maybe it is not required but it would probably make going back easier: Moring et al. (2011, 184) discuss this briefly considering Polish immigrants in England. They write that media is important for young parents to help their children sustain an adequate level of language skills, 'adequate' referring to the skills being good enough to survive upon return. This situation is not probably comparable to the Finnish community in Sweden. I propose two reasons for this: Firstly, Finland is a bilingual country – although the Swedish language is most commonly used only in Southern and Western Finland (see for example Moring et al. 2011) one can get by with Swedish in most of the larger cities in Finland. Therefore returning to Finland does not require Finnish skills for a native Swedish-speaker, although it would probably make it easier. Secondly, the Swedish state provides teaching in Finnish at schools and kindergartens, and therefore media does not have to carry as strong an educational role as it probably is carrying within the Polish community in England.

This option of going back is one of the things that make Sweden Finns different from many of the other Swedish minorities: unlike Sweden Finns, many of the other national minorities in Sweden do not have a country 'to go back to': for example the Sami are indigenous people, a symbolic nation within four nations (Pietikäinen 2008, 23-24). Neither do the speakers of Romani and Yiddish, having a minority status everywhere, have a geographical area that would be their 'home' in the same sense as for the Sweden Finns. Connections to a culture and the language might be similar – due to the shared history and imagined community – but these minority groups are of different kind: the immigrant background for most of them is not as recent as for many of the Sweden Finns (Sametinget 2012c & Sametinget 2012d).

Following the Swedish Finnish media would therefore in theory provide the Sweden Finns not only language skills but also certain cultural and political knowledge: for example information about who ran for president in 2012.

7.2.4 Developing Identities, Developing Media

However, before I go any further in my analysis I want to clarify that I am not suggesting that the Sweden Finns either go back or ‘turn’ into Swedes as time goes by: Maybe just the news from Finland start to become more like foreign news instead of being now something in between foreign and domestic news. What this reflects is the fluidity of identities: there is a constant negotiation on identities: they shift from not only from generation to generation but from person to person.

With improving language skills on the ‘new’ language by every new generation, the identities and the use of the ‘old’ language are in the verge of changing: However, even though the skills in the new language increase, this does not need to lead to the decline or abandonment of the language of origin (Deaux 2000, 426). It is important for these immigrant identities not to lose the other language: While bilingualism can be in many cases considered as a positive state (see for example Edwards 1994, 55-88) it is the generation after, possibly the third or possibly even the second, who are raised as monolingual in the more recently acquired language, that faces problems and may well come to feel that “*they have lost something of value*”. (Cormack 2005, 114-115). The Swedish Finnish media, among other immigrant media, together with the education system is trying to help this ‘preservation project’.

So might the minority media reporting on a nationally bound issue, such as in this case the presidential election, be interpreted as part of minorities’ rights to preserve not only their language but also their culture? Do Sweden Finns have a right to receive information on the Finnish elections in the Swedish public service media? The public service licenses do not go into detail on what kinds of events should exactly be covered and in what language. And as mentioned the Swedish media policy lacks any specification for minority media (Camauër 2003, 75-76). Instead two of the main goals of the Swedish policies on minorities and immigrants include language: the equality goal includes the idea that “*immigrants and their children should have real possibilities of maintaining their language, culture and contact with their homeland*” while the freedom of choice indicates that “*individual members of minority groups should be*

able to decide themselves the extent to which they wanted to hold on to their linguistic and cultural identities” (Camauër 2003, 74) and these, as I interpret, include being able to vote and being able to base the voting decision to accurate and hopefully versatile media content.

7.2.5 Finnish Swedish Finnish Media

Like noted earlier, the Swedish Finnish media like minority media in general has many important tasks in preservation, development and maintenance of the language, culture and identity in Sweden. Still the range of Finnish media produced in Sweden has been described as *“quite narrow and produced with little resources”* (Moring et al. 2011, 181). An indicator of the somewhat little resources is the active use of Finnish media sources that was discovered in the data.

When the source was specified in an election-related news item the most common source type was an ‘outside’ journalist or medium; 33%. Especially in the radio this was very explicit, as 40% of all the sources on the radio were a medium or a journalist not working for Sisuradio – all of these Finnish. On TV 14% of all sources referred either to a journalist who was interviewed or information that was published in other media than SVT Utiset: the Finnish Public Broadcasting company Yleisradio (YLE) was an important source for both media types: on the election day the TV news used quite a bit of YLE’s material: for example some of the interviews with candidates were done by a journalist working for YLE, which could be seen from the logo on the microphone (Utiset January 22nd 20.50 and 23.05).

All the polls that were presented were also conducted in Finland by or ordered by Finnish media: Neither Sisu-utiset or Utiset referred to any polls done by them during the chosen period of time. After introducing these examples it seems reasonable to say that the Finnish media seems to be an important source of information for the Swedish Finnish media, at least when it comes to reporting on this type of event. Although both have correspondents in Finland (SVT Utiset website 2012 & SR Sisuradio website 2012) some of the material that were used, such as the polls, would have required another kind of effort from SVT and Sisuradio.

But is there any harm done using the Finnish produced media content in Swedish Finnish news broadcasts? Maybe the most notable problem is the dependency on the Finnish media that comes along. Would cutting down the references to Finnish media, caused by limited resources, also cut

down the variety of information that the Swedish Finnish news are able to provide? And are not many of the bigger media producers also dependent on other media sources such as news agencies? Why would the minority media be any different?

Another problem could be the appropriate content. Of course the content of the Finnish media is mostly aimed at Finns in Finland, and therefore no Swedish Finnish issues are likely to be taken up, but this might not be so straight forwardly problematic when compared to the current situation: first of all the broadcasts of the presidential election at YLE are national broadcasts meant to serve all Finns and might therefore serve Finns outside of Finland as well, though excluding the minority perspective. But as it seems, 'the minority perspective' was not too explicit in the news content produced by Sisu-uutiset or Uutiset either: no Swedish Finnish sources appeared in any of the election-related news items during the chosen time period. No mentionable minority issues appeared in the news content.

But how much 'minority perspective' can or should minority media reporting on elections or other political news then have? How strong should the agenda-setting be? Of course media can take a role as a spokesperson for different groups in the society (Hadenius et al. 2011, 28) but I argue this is an opportunity that should be used carefully side by side with the main tasks that the (minority) media has. As for media, the same tasks that apply for the Swedish media in Sweden apply also for the Swedish Finnish media. So the question is: can the election-related news be seen as fulfilling the tasks of the state press investigation report [pressutredning] 1972 (cited in Hadenius, et al. 2011, 28-29): information, comments and forum for debate?

I argue that according to the empirical findings of this study the Finnish media produced in Sweden has succeeded in these tasks. The first of these tasks, information, means that mass media is a very important source of information for both citizens and politicians in regards to information about society. This seemed to be the priority in the election-related news reporting: telling what happened: Mostly the information was of primary type. In 95, so 96% of the election-related items this was the case.

The second and the third task, i.e. commenting and on the other hand providing a forum for debate for different groups in the society were accomplished mostly in the use of different sources but also when providing secondary type of knowledge, which means explanatory

knowledge (37% of the items included explanatory information, i.e. giving reasons, answering a why-question) or ‘speculative type of knowledge’ referring to estimations and predictions on what might or what is going to happen (this type appeared in 30 %, i.e. 30% of the items).

To summarize: the Swedish produced Finnish news did provide different types of knowledge or more likely information within the news genre. Going back to the issue of sources what maybe could be criticized is that items with more than one source were a minority (28%): it is therefore debatable if the individual items are forums of debate. But what now needs to be considered is that these items are a part of an entity called a news broadcast: the individual items can therefore act as participants in the same debate. A question might be raised in one item and answered in another: in the empirical data this type of debate went on especially between the candidates.

7.3 What does It All mean?

What does this all mean then? As already noted, the role of media for identity building, cultural and language preservation as well as democracy is apparent. For a minority all these issues are ‘on the table’ most likely in a different sense than for the majority.

To be a member of a national or ethnical minority can mean a number of things. It might require effort to be able to use the language of the language community one was born into. It might require effort to be able to maintain one’s culture. It might require effort to gather the tools that one needs to participate in the debates of the society, democracy. These are, in the end, basic human rights that all should have. Minority media serves all these purposes. Taking this kind of standing point makes issues of minority media, its content and conditions not only scholarly but also political issues (Sümer, B. 2008, 751).

The life of a person representing a minority can be seen as what could be called a struggle. I do not mean that the everyday life of for example a Sweden Finn is a struggle per se. But what this struggle is about is identity: am I always a member of the minority? Can I ever become a member of the majority? Am I both? Are there other people who are in this same situation? I argue that the minority media has therefore a role as a meeting point.

For Sweden Finns the Swedish Finnish news media seems to be a meeting point between the two nations, the two nationalities. A general feature of Finnish speakers in Sweden is that they seem to prefer Swedish media for their normal news services, the services in Finnish both produced in

Sweden and relayed from Finland, respond more to “*their cultural needs and their needs to keep informed about events in Finland*” (P7 audience report cited in Moring 2000, 198).

The analysis of the empirical data showed that Finland was well represented in the election-related reporting. The Swedish Finnish news media devoted time and space for the elections and provided a lot of information on this Finnish issue. But except for an occasional ‘here in Sweden’-phrases on the radio and the information on the voting abroad, the Swedish Finnish media could have almost been representatives of Finnish media in this issue. However, as already stated the data is limited. The minority perspective was weak in the news content during the chosen seven days but it might have not been that a week after or a week before. Nevertheless if the minority perspective had been explicit and emphasized during other times it seems even stranger that it was so invisible during the chosen period of time.

The Swedish Finnish media – even as a complimentary media source – seems to be important: I argue that the necessity of Swedish Finnish media depends on the topic and the overall media use of the public. In the case of the presidential elections one could get a sufficient briefing by only following the Swedish Finnish media, which can be interpreted as an accomplishment due to the limited resources that the Swedish Finnish media has in comparison to Finnish or Swedish media. However, as there was a lack of minority perspective, almost the same information could have been gathered either from the combination of Swedish and Finnish media or the Finnish media only. This seems evident because of the wide use of Finnish media as a source in the Swedish Finnish news.

But not all minorities have this same option to use the media of the country of origin as the main or the complimentary media source. Swedish Finnish media is therefore in a sense competing about the audience. The minority media with limited resources is competing against not only one but two majority media fields. Language can be the selling point against the Swedish media. What outtakes the Finnish media might be certain economical and convenience factors: Swedish Finnish audiovisual media does not need special subscriptions unlike receiving Finnish media content to Sweden. But these are partly external factors: the minority media content should be the selling point – the interesting topics and the overall quality.

What often stands in the way is resources. This means that there is of course a risk that the limited resources lead to even more limited selection with limited content with limited views. Would the minority media serve as a public sphere then? Would it then be filling the function of democracy? Or the function of cultural maintenance? This seems unlikely.

8 Conclusions

I will now conclude my analysis by answering the research questions. I will first go through the more case-specific questions regarding the election-related reporting and after that give answers to my main research question. Finally, I will suggest topics for further research.

8.1 How much media space was given to the election-related news?

All in all the Finnish presidential election seemed to interest the Swedish Finnish news media during the chosen period of time. One fourth (25%) of the total news broadcasting time was devoted to election-related items, which I argue means that the issue is considered as being not only interesting but also important. During the seven days a total of 99 election-related news items were broadcasted, with 71 on radio and 28 on TV. Although there were some newscasts without any election-related items not a day went by without some kind of election-related reporting.

8.2 Who got to speak?

The election-related news items included a variety of sources, despite the fact that many of the sources remained unspecified. As typical for news journalism many different experts were used for legitimacy, all of them Finnish. Especially the radio news used other media, in this case Finnish media, as a source for information: 40% of the election-related radio news items referred to Finnish media as the source. This indicates a certain dependency on Finnish media as a provider of the information from Finland. On the other hand this situation might be due to the limited production resources or just following the common courtesy of the media field today.

Pekka Haavisto was the most spoken about and visible of the candidates. He appeared on the TV screen as often as Sauli Niinistö and Paavo Väyrynen, in 17 items, but was given more than 100 seconds more time on the screen than the second most 'visible' candidate Niinistö (525 seconds against 418 seconds). Haavisto's name was mentioned more often than any other candidate's and also appeared in more news items than the names of other candidates. Niinistö was the second

most popular candidate in the Swedish Finnish media. In the end Niinistö won the elections against Haavisto on the second round of elections, but it is nonetheless interesting to speculate the potential effects of the potential agenda-setting: whether the media attention Haavisto got – that according to my observations was great also in the Finnish media – had its effect on Haavisto beating Paavo Väyrynen on the race to the second place. What the media attention anyhow did was to make Pekka Haavisto a household name, most likely also among the Sweden Finns.

8.3 How did issues and symbols concerning national identity come across in the broadcasts – or did they?

Issues and symbols came across in the data. Finnish national symbols, such as the flag and the coat of arms could be found in a number of the news items. Additionally, electing a president for Finland is an issue connected to negotiations on national identity: the president's role as the national leader is moving to a more symbolic and less political direction. His or her meaning to the nation state, the imagined community is rather of emotional or symbolic than of political importance.

No Swedish symbols appeared in the news items, nor did any symbols of other nationalities. All in all the reporting was, as I expected, Finland-centered. Finnish voices discussed the election matters: after all the elections were organized in order to elect the future president of Finland. But this issue concerning Finns seemed to concern also the Sweden Finns, although mostly as potential voters.

Because of this opportunity to participate and the potential connection to negotiations on national identity it was almost surprising how invisible and totally silent the Swedish Finnish minority was in the election-related news items. No minority issues were discussed in the election-related news items: at least not concerning the Sweden Finns. The Sweden Finns were not on the agenda in these elections.

8.4 Were there differences between the two media types?

The overall messages were quite similar both in the TV news and radio news. Both were eager to broadcast candidate-centered items and after the results came, the broadcasts included quite obviously many result-related items. The news items had a tendency of being longer which was probably partly behind why the TV devoted more space to the election-related items. Another

reason for this is that Sisuradio had election-related items also within other programs, while Uutiset was SVT's only contribution to the election reporting in Finnish.

The source types also varied. While the radio news had Finnish media as the most common source type for the TV news the most common type was one of the candidates: still some of these interviews were done by YLE, the Finnish broadcasting company. No Swedish Finnish sources appeared either on TV or the radio. On the TV news the word Swedish Finnish or Sweden Finn were not even mentioned. The radio news were also more explicit about referring to Sweden as the current location of the audience ('here in Sweden'), while this did not occur in the same sense on the television news.

8.5 What kind of relationship is constructed between the Swedish Finnish minority and Finland and Sweden in the Swedish Finnish news broadcasts?

The Swedish Finnish minority has quite obviously some kind of relationship both with Finland and Sweden. Finland, the Finnish culture, history and politics play a role in the negotiations of identity of Sweden Finns. All these factors create a sense of groupness between Finns, including most likely many Sweden Finns. On the other hand the place of residence is what separates Sweden Finns from Finns in Finland: whether they want it or not.

All in all the relationship constructed between the Swedish Finnish minority and Finland and Sweden in the Swedish Finnish media included this connectedness to both countries, both nations but not necessarily both nationalities. In the news content of the Swedish Finnish audiovisual media the Sweden Finns are Finns who live in Sweden. Sweden is where the Sweden Finns live: it is their physical home, the presence, maybe even the future. Finland on the other hand is linked to the 'shared history', the past, the origin of the cultural heritage, and most of all it is the home of the Finnish identity.

The news reporting on the Finnish presidential elections showed indicators that the Swedish Finnish minority group has two home countries: something that I argue most likely occurs also within other minorities with immigrant background. The news from Finland in the Swedish Finnish radio or the TV news does not seem to be categorized as domestic news, but not foreign news either. It is both and it is neither. The deeper qualities of the relationship between the Sweden Finns and Sweden and Finland remain to be studied.

But in the news material considering Finland that has been analyzed in this thesis the Sweden Finns are an invisible and silent minority living in the *mittemellanland*, the in-between country – not being Swedes but maybe not purely Finns either, and at same time being a bit of both.

But what is important to note are the limitations of the data and the method. It is hard to draw conclusions on how the news were interpreted and received by the audience purely based on the content analysis and the theoretical discussions. Furthermore, to be able to conduct the content analysis the election-related items were separated from the other news content broadcasted during the chosen period of time, i.e. taken out of the context they are normally viewed or listened and brought to a research context. While this has its negative sides it has also given me the opportunity to look at the reporting as an entity and find, with the help of literature and statistical analysis, tendencies and patterns that might remain unnoticed by an average member of the audience.

8.6 Topics for Further Research

Many questions still remain unanswered, and therefore a number of topics for further research can be proposed. First of all the same research problem and questions could be approached through a comparative research setting by either comparing reporting in the Swedish Finnish media but with a wider timescale: have the quantity and the content of the reporting changed during the years and what does it say about the minority's relationship to Finland and Sweden?

Other potential comparative settings could include comparing the Swedish Finnish media to either the election-related reporting in the Finnish media or to compare election-related reporting in another minority media: are there certain patterns of reporting due to the minority status or are election issues so culturally and nationally bound that the closest point of comparison is not another minority media but a majority media?

Since Swedish Finnish media, like minority language media in general, remains relatively unstudied conducting research on both the journalistic work that lies behind the media products as well as on the Swedish Finnish audience would be not only interesting but important: to my knowledge neither type of research has been conducted applying to Swedish Finnish media – at least not at academic level on greater extent.

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Appendix 1: Final Selection of Data

Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	06:30-06:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	10:30-10:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	12:30-12:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	14:30-14:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	16:00-16:10
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	18:30-18:37
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-17	20:00-20:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	06:30-06:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	10:30-10:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	12:30-12:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	14:30-14:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	16:00-16:10
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	18:30-18:37
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-18	20:00-20:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	06:30-06:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	10:30-10:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	12:30-12:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	14:30-14:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	16:00-16:10
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	18:30-18:37
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-19	20:00-20:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	06:30-06:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	10:30-10:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	12:30-12:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	14:30-14:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	16:00-16:10
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	18:30-18:37
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-20	20:00-20:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	08:00-08:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	10:00-10:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	12:00-12:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	14:00-14:04

Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	16:00-16:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-21	18:00-18:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	10:00-10:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	12:00-12:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	14:00-14:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	16:00-16:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-22	18:00-18:04
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	06:30-06:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	07:30-07:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	08:30-08:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	10:30-10:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	12:30-12:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	14:30-14:34
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	16:00-16:10
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	18:30-18:37
Sisu-uutiset	SR, Sisuradio	2012-01-23	20:00-20:04
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-17	17:45-18:00
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-18	17:45-18:00
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-19	17:45-18:00
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-20	17:45-18:00
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-22	20:50-21:00
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-22	23:05-23:20
Uutiset	SVT2	2012-01-23	17:45-18:00

Appendix 2: List of the Broadcasts used for the Primary Screening for Coding Schedule

Sisu-uutiset:

2012-01-17: 06:30, 07:30, 08:30 & 18:30

2012-01-18: 06:30, 07:30, 08:30 & 18:30

2012-01-19: 06:30, 07:30, 08:30 & 18:30

2012-01-20: 06:30, 07:30, 08:30 & 18:30

2012-01-21: 08:00, 10:00, 12:00 & 18:00

2012-01-22: 07:30, 08:30, 10:00 & 18:00

2012-01-23: 06:30, 07:30, 08:30 & 18:30

Uutiset:

SVT2 2012-01-18 17:45-18:00

SVT2 2012-01-19 17:45-18:00

SVT2 2012-01-20 17:45-18:00

SVT2 2012-01-22 20:50-21:00

SVT2 2012-01-22 23:05-23:20 (partly due to technical problems)

SVT2 2012-01-23 17:45-18:00

Appendix 3: Original Coding Schedule

Coding schedule

In variables V7, V8, V9, V10, V11, V13b, V14, V15b V16b and V18 more than one option can be chosen.

Identifier categories: GENERAL VARIABLES		
V1: Medium	V2: Date and time of broadcast	V3: Duration of the item
1 Radio 2 TV	(yyyy-mm-dd hh:minmin)	(in seconds)
V4: Position within broadcast	V5: Included in the intro	
1 First 2 Second	1 Yes 2 No	
Who gets to speak: ACTOR/SOURCE VARIABLES		
V6: Number of sources	V7: Type of sources	V8: Source context
1 One 2 Two 3 Three 4 Four or more (indicate how many) ____ 5 None mentioned	1 A journalist/ a media source (e.g. a name of a newspaper) ____ 2 A politician ____ 3 "An average citizen" ____ 4 One of the candidates ____ 5 An expert, for example a researcher etc. ____ 6 Unspecified (e.g. only the newsreader or vague expression) ____ <i>Indicate the number/news item e.g. A politician 1</i>	1 An interview ____ 2 A press release ____ 3 Published in other media ____ 4 A press conference ____ 5 Other ____ <i>Indicate the number per news item e.g. A press release 1</i>

V9: Gender of the source	V10: Nationality of the source	V11: Type of knowledge provided by the sources
1 Male __ 2 Female __ 3 Unspecified __ <i>Indicate the number per news item e.g. Male 2</i>	1 Swedish – Finnish __ 2 Finnish __ 3 Swedish __ 4 Other __ 5 Unspecified __ <i>Indicate the number per news item</i>	1 Primary (factual: what happened?) __ 2 Secondary (explanatory: why?) __ 3 Tertiary (descriptive: what was it like?) __ 4 Evaluative (was what happened good or bad) __ 5 Recommendations (What should be done?) __ <i>Indicate the number per news item</i>
What type of content: THEME VARIABLES		
V12: Main theme		
1 A candidate/comparing candidates 2 Voting 3 Polls 4 Other (specify)		
Lexical choices: WORDING VARIABLES		
V13a: Names of any candidates included	V13b: Names of any candidates that are mentioned	V14: Words used when referring to the elections

1 Yes 2 No	1 Haavisto, Pekka 2 Soini, Timo 3 Väyrynen, Paavo 4 Lipponen, Paavo 5 Niinistö, Sauli 6 Essayah, Sari 7 Biaudet, Eva 8 Arhinmäki, Paavo	1 The presidential election in Finland (presidentinvaalit Suomessa) 2 The Finnish presidential election (Suomen presidentinvaalit) 2 The election in Finland (vaalit Suomessa) 3 The presidential election (presidentinvaalit) 4 The election (Vaalit)
V 15a: Words indicating nationality being used	V15b: Words indicating nationality that are used	V16a: Indicators of belonging being used
1 Yes 2 No	1 Finnish (suomalainen, suomalaiset) 2 Swedish (ruotsalainen, ruotsalaiset) 3 Swedish Finnish (ruotsinsuomalainen/ruosu, ruotsinsuomalaiset/ruosut) 4 Other	1 Yes 2 No
V16b: Indicators of belonging that are used (Specify the target of belonging e.g. Here in Sweden)		
1 We 2 They 3 Here 4 There 5 Other		

VISUALVARIABLES		
V17: Visual symbols indicating nationality used (Specify what)	V18a: Images of any candidates included	V18b: Images of candidates that are shown
1 Yes 2 No	1 Yes 2 No	1 Haavisto, Pekka 2 Soini, Timo 3 Väyrynen, Paavo 4 Lipponen, Paavo 5 Niinistö, Sauli 6 Essayah, Sari 7 Biaudet, Eva 8 Arhinmäki, Paavo

Appendix 4: Final Coding Schedule

Final Coding Schedule

In variables V6, V7, V8, V9, V9, V10, V12, V13b, V14, V15b V16b and V18b more than one option can be chosen. The visual variables V17-V18b are only used when coding the TV news.

Identifier categories: GENERAL VARIABLES		
V1: Medium	V2: Date and time of broadcast	V3: Duration of the item
1 Radio 2 TV	(yyyy-mm-dd-hh:minmin)	(in seconds)
V4: Position within broadcast	V5: Included in the intro	
1 First 2 Second 3 Third 4 Fourth Other ____	1 Yes 2 No 3 No intro in the broadcast	
Who gets to speak: ACTOR/SOURCE VARIABLES		
V6: Type of sources	V7: Source context	
1 A journalist/ a media source (e.g. a name of a newspaper) __ 2 A politician __ 3 "An average citizen" __ 4 One of the candidates __ 5 An expert, for example a researcher etc. __ 6 Unspecified (e.g. only the newsreader or vague expression) __ <i>Indicate the number/news item e.g. A politician 1</i>	1 An interview __ 2 A press release __ 3 Published in other media __ 4 A press conference __ 5 Other __ <i>Indicate the number per news item e.g. A press release 1</i>	

V8: Gender of the source	V9: Nationality of the source
<p>1 Male ___</p> <p>2 Female ___</p> <p>3 Unspecified ___</p> <p><i>Indicate the number per news item e.g. Male 2</i></p>	<p>1 Swedish – Finnish ___</p> <p>2 Finnish ___</p> <p>3 Swedish ___</p> <p>4 Other ___</p> <p>5 Unspecified ___</p> <p><i>Indicate the number per news item</i></p>
V10: Type of knowledge provided by the sources	V11: Number of sources in total
<p>1 Primary (factual: what happened?) ___</p> <p>2 Secondary (explanatory: why?) ___</p> <p>3 Tertiary (descriptive: what was it like?) ___</p> <p>4 Evaluative (was what happened good or bad) ___</p> <p>5 Recommendations (What should be done?) ___</p> <p>6 Speculations (What is going to happen/ what might happen next?) ___</p> <p><i>Indicate the number per news item</i></p>	<p>1 One</p> <p>2 Two</p> <p>3 Three</p> <p>4 Four or more (indicate how many) ___</p> <p>5 None mentioned</p>
What type of content: THEME VARIABLES	
V12: Themes	
<p>1 A candidate in general matter</p> <p>2 Comparing candidates: candidates' views on a topic(s)</p> <p>3 Voting</p> <p>4 Polls</p> <p>5 Results</p> <p>6 Other (specify)</p>	

Lexical choices: WORDING VARIABLES

V13a: Names of any candidates included	V13b: Names of any candidates that are mentioned	V14: Words used when referring to the elections
<p>1 Yes</p> <p>2 No</p> <p><i>If option 2 is chosen move to V14</i></p>	<p>1 Haavisto, Pekka</p> <p>2 Soini, Timo</p> <p>3 Väyrynen, Paavo</p> <p>4 Lipponen, Paavo</p> <p>5 Niinistö, Sauli</p> <p>6 Essayah, Sari</p> <p>7 Biaudet, Eva</p> <p>8 Arhinmäki, Paavo</p> <p><i>Indicate the number of times per news item</i></p>	<p>1 The presidential election in Finland (presidentinvaalit Suomessa)</p> <p>2 The Finnish presidential election (Suomen presidentinvaalit)</p> <p>3 The election in Finland (Vaalit Suomessa)</p> <p>4 The presidential election (presidentinvaalit)</p> <p>5 The election (Vaalit)</p> <p>6 No use of the word ‘election’ (vaalit)</p>
V 15a: Words indicating nation and/or nationality being used	V15b: Words indicating nation/nationality that are used	V16a: Indicators of belonging being used
<p>1 Yes</p> <p>2 No</p> <p><i>If option 2 is chosen move to V16a</i></p>	<p>1 Finnish (suomalainen, suomalaiset)</p> <p>2 Finland (Suomi)</p> <p>3 Swedish (ruotsalainen, ruotsalaiset)</p> <p>4 Sweden</p> <p>5 Swedish- Finnish (ruotsinsuomalainen/ruosu, ruotsinsuomalaiset/ruosut)</p> <p>6 Other</p>	<p>1 Yes</p> <p>2 No</p> <p><i>If option 2 is chosen move to V17</i></p>

V16b: Indicators of belonging that are used (Specify the target of belonging e.g. Here in Sweden)		
1 We 2 They 3 Here 4 There 5 Other		
VISUALVARIABLES		
V17: Visual symbols indicating nationality used (Specify what)	V18a: Images of any candidates included	V18b: Images of candidates that are shown
1 Yes 2 No <i>Indicate the number per news item</i>	1 Yes 2 No	1 Haavisto, Pekka 2 Soini, Timo 3 Väyrynen, Paavo 4 Lipponen, Paavo 5 Niinistö, Sauli 6 Essayah, Sari 7 Biaudet, Eva 8 Arhinmäki, Paavo <i>Indicate visibility for each candidate (in seconds)</i>

Appendix 5: Codebook

V1: Medium

Option Radio refers to Sisu-uutiset, the Finnish language news broadcast, broadcasted via Sisuradio on deferent frequencies (FM) or online. TV refers to the Finnish language news broadcasts on SVT2.

V2: Date and time of broadcast

Year-month-date and also starting and ending time for the broadcast in question

V3: Duration of the item

Length in seconds, minutes converted to seconds.

V4: Position within broadcast

Position after the possible intro

V5: Included in the intro

Yes, No or no intro in the broadcast; one of the given options.

V6: Type of sources

One or more of the given options

1 = a journalist or a media source, other than the media in question

2 = a politician, someone involved (by profession) in daily politics, possibly party politics

3 = "an average citizen", a person representing him or herself as private person

4 = one of the eight presidential candidates running for the post on the presidential in Finland 2012; Pekka Haavisto, Timo Soini, Paavo Väyrynen, Paavo Lipponen, Sauli Niinistö, Sari Essayah, Eva Biaudet or Paavo Arhinmäki

5 = an expert, for example a researcher, who is referred to by profession

6 = unspecified e.g. only the newsreaders voice without any source given for the information or a vague expression, out of which an exact source cannot be traced down.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V7: Source context

One or more of the given options

1 = an interview, conducted by a reporter/journalist of SVT Uutiset/Sisu-uutiset OR an explicit expression indicating that the information was gathered from an interview done by someone else.

2 = press release

3 = Published in other media; when broadcasted in Sisu-uutiset this considers everything else but Sisu-uutiset and likewise in TV.

4 = a press conference; not chosen if only visual material is taken from a press conference but the verbal information.

5 = other; specification required.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V9: Nationality of the source

One or more of the given options: 1= Swedish – Finnish, 2 = Finnish, 3= Swedish, 4= other and 5= Unspecified. The nationality does not have to be explicit but for example common knowledge about the nationality of a person or a media is used. All sources will be given a nationality, if unclear, option 5 will be chosen.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V8: Gender of the source

One or more of the given options: 1 = male, 2= female, 3 = unspecified. All sources will be given a gender, if unclear, option 3 will be chosen.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V10: Type of knowledge provided by the sources

One or more of the given options:

1 = Primary; factual information on what happened or simply answering the question what.

2 = Secondary; explanatory information explaining why and giving reasons.

3 = Tertiary; descriptive information, describing what something was like.

4 = Evaluative; giving a negative or a positive evaluation on what happened; was what happened good or bad.

5 = Recommendations; giving instructions to ‘the public’ on what should be done.

6 = Speculations; speculative knowledge; commenting on or proposing estimations on what is going to happen or what might happen next.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V11: Number of sources in total

V12: Themes

One or more of the given options:

1 = a candidate in general matter; no comparisons

2 = comparing candidates; comparing the candidates' views on a topic or several topics.

3 = voting; voting behavior and procedures and locations for voting

4 = polls; polls on voting

5 = results; results for the first round; either complete or incomplete results.

6 = other; specification required

V13a: Names of any candidates included

Yes or No

V13b: Names of any candidates that are mentioned

One of the eight presidential candidates running for the post on the presidential in Finland 2012; Pekka Haavisto, Timo Soini, Paavo Väyrynen, Paavo Lipponen, Sauli Niinistö, Sari Essayah, Eva Biaudet or Paavo Arhinmäki

The order of the names on the coding schedule is the same as their candidate numbers for the election.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V14: Words used when referring to the elections

One or more of the given options: 1=the presidential election in Finland (presidentinvaalit Suomessa), 2 = The Finnish presidential election (Suomen presidentinvaalit), 3=the election in Finland (Vaalit Suomessa), 4=the presidential election (presidentinvaalit), 5= the election (Vaalit) or 6= No use of the word 'election' (vaalit); not combined with other options.

V 15a: Words indicating nation and/or nationality being used

Yes or No

V15b: Words indicating nation/nationality that are used

One or more of the given options: 1= Finnish (*in Finnish*: suomalainen, suomalaiset), 2 = Finland (Suomi), 3= Swedish (ruotsalainen, ruotsalaiset), 4 = Sweden, 5= Swedish Finnish(ruotsinsuomalainen/ruosu, ruotsinsuomalaiset/ruosut), 6= other; to be specified.

V16a: Indicators of belonging being used

Yes or No

V16b: Indicators of belonging that are used

One or more of the options 1= we, 2 = they, 3= Here, 4 = There, 5= other; expression to be written down. Also the target of belonging is specified e.g. Here in Sweden.

V17: Visual symbols indicating nationality used

Yes or No, if yes specification on what symbols.

The number of each option per news items indicated

V18a: Images of any candidates included

Yes or No

V18b: Images of candidates that are shown

One of the eight presidential candidates running for the post on the presidential in Finland 2012; Pekka Haavisto, Timo Soini, Paavo Väyrynen, Paavo Lipponen, Sauli Niinistö, Sari Essayah, Eva Biaudet or Paavo Arhinmäki

The order of the names on the coding schedule is the same as their candidate numbers for the election.

The lengths of appearance counted in seconds. No difference is made between whether the candidate is pictured alone or with other candidates.

Appendix 6: Tables and Figures – Empirical findings

Table 1: V1: Media

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Radio	71	72	72	72
TV	28	28	28	100
Total	99	100	100	

Table 2: V1 Media and V3 Length of the item

A) Frequencies

			Radio	TV	Total
Duration in seconds	<= 10	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	1%	0%	1%
	11 - 20	Count	23	3	26
		% of Total	23%	3%	26%
	21 - 30	Count	23	1	24
		% of Total	23%	1%	24%
	31 - 40	Count	7	3	10
		% of Total	7%	3%	10%
	41 - 50	Count	1	2	3
		% of Total	1%	2%	3%
	51 - 60	Count	0	4	4
		% of Total	0%	4%	4%
	61 - 70	Count	1	2	3
		% of Total	1%	2%	3%
	71 - 80	Count	0	4	4
		% of Total	0%	4%	4%
	81 - 90	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	1%	1%	2%
	91 - 100	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	1%	0%	1%
101 - 110	Count	1	0	1	
	% of Total	1%	0%	1%	
111 - 120	Count	1	2	3	
	% of Total	1%	2%	3%	
121 - 130	Count	9	1	10	
	% of Total	9%	1%	10%	
131 - 140	Count	0	1	1	
	% of Total	0%	1%	1%	
141 - 150	Count	1	2	3	
	% of Total	1%	2%	3%	
151 - 160	Count	0	1	1	
	% of Total	0%	1%	1%	
161+	Count	1	1	2	
	% of Total	1%	1%	2%	
Total	Count	71	28	99	
	% of Total	72%	28%	100%	

B) Descriptives

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Duration in seconds	99	3	166	5268	53,21	45,038	1,066	,243	-,306	,481
Valid N (listwise)	99									

C) Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

	Media	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Duration in seconds	Radio	71	43,21	3068,00
	TV	28	67,21	1882,00
	Total	99		

Test Statistics^a

	Duration in seconds
Mann-Whitney U	512,000
Wilcoxon W	3068,000
Z	-3,746
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000

a. Grouping Variable: Media

Figure 1: Position within broadcast

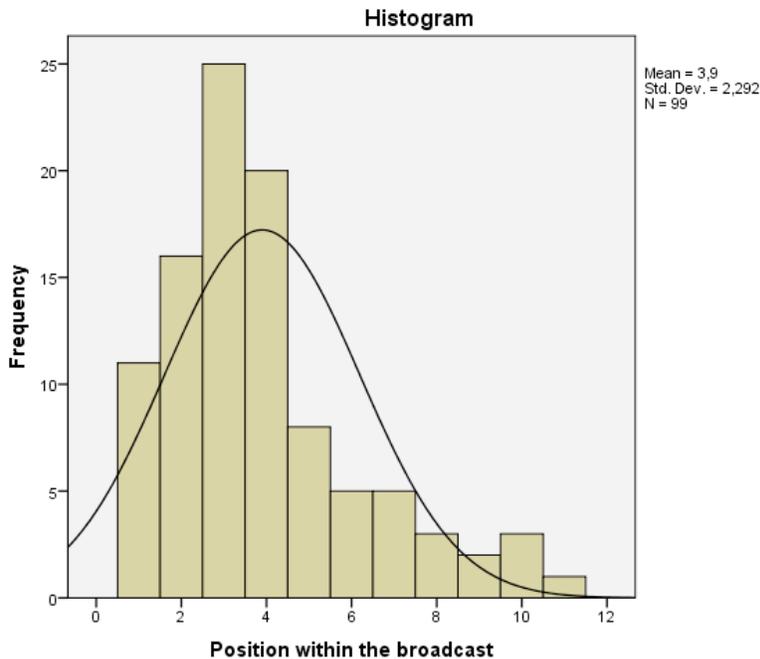


Table 3: V4 Position within broadcast and V1 Media: Crosstabulation

			Media		Total
			Radio	TV	
Position within the broadcast	First	Count	9	2	11
		% of Total	9%	2%	11%
	Second	Count	13	3	16
		% of Total	13%	3%	16%
	Third	Count	21	4	25
		% of Total	21%	4%	25%
	Fourth	Count	16	4	20
		% of Total	16%	4%	20%
	Fifth	Count	5	3	8
		% of Total	5%	3%	8%
	Sixth	Count	3	2	5
% of Total		3%	2%	5%	
Seventh	Count	2	3	5	
	% of Total	2%	3%	5%	
Eight	Count	1	2	3	
	% of Total	1%	2%	3%	
Ninth	Count	1	1	2	
	% of Total	1%	1%	2%	
Tenth	Count	0	3	3	
	% of Total	0%	3%	3%	
11	Count	0	1	1	
	% of Total	0%	1%	1%	
Total		Count	71	28	99
		% of Total	72%	28%	100%

Table 4: V12 Themes and V1 Media: Crosstabulation

			Media		Total
			Radio	TV	
Themes ^a	Theme: A candidate	Count	11	13	24
		% of Total	11%	13%	24%
	Theme: Comparing candidates	Count	15	2	17
		% of Total	15%	2%	17%
	Theme: Voting	Count	20	1	21
		% of Total	20%	1%	21%
Theme: Polls	Count	15	3	18	
	% of Total	15%	3%	18%	
Theme: Results	Count	16	18	34	
	% of Total	16%	18%	34%	
Theme: Other	Count	19	10	29	
	% of Total	19%	10%	29%	
Total		Count	71	28	99
		% of Total	72%	28%	100%

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Table 5: V11 Number of sources

A) Number of sources: statistics

Number of sources in total

N	Valid	99
	Missing	0
Mean		1,24
Median		1,00
Range		5
Minimum		0
Maximum		5
Sum		123

B) Frequencies: Number of sources in total

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
None mentioned	31	31	31	31
One	40	40	40	71
Two	15	15	15	87
Valid Three	4	4	4	91
Four or more	4	4	4	95
5	5	5	5	100
Total	99	100	100	

Table 6: V6 Source type and V1 Media: crosstabulation

		Media		Total	
		Radio	TV		
Type of source ^a	A journalist or a medium as a source	Count	28	4	32
		% within Media	40%	14%	
		% of Total	27%	4%	33%
	A politician as a source	Count	2	0	2
		% within Media	3%	0%	
		% of Total	2%	0%	2%
	A citizen as a source	Count	7	1	8
		% within Media	10%	4%	
		% of Total	7%	1%	8%
	One of the candidates as a source	Count	11	14	25
		% within Media	16%	50%	
		% of Total	11%	14%	26%
	Expert source	Count	11	8	19
		% within Media	16%	29%	
		% of Total	11%	8%	19%
Unspecified source	Count	28	8	36	
	% within Media	40%	29%		
	% of Total	27%	8%	37%	
Total	Count	70	28	98	
	% of Total	71%	29%	100%	

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Table 7: V13: Names of candidates that were mentioned

	How many times was Pekka Haavisto mentioned	How many times was Timo Soini mentioned	How many times was Paavo Väyrynen mentioned	How many times was Paavo Lipponen mentioned	How many times was Sauli Niinistö mentioned	How many times was Sari Essayah mentioned	How many times was Eva Biaudet mentioned	How many times was Paavo Arhinmäki mentioned
N Valid	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
N Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean	1,40	,26	,52	,23	1,21	,06	,06	,29
Sum	139	26	51	23	120	6	6	29

Table 8: V18b Candidates on TV: Frequency

		Responses		Percent of Cases	Percent all items
		N	Percent		
Candidates on TV ^a	Haavisto on TV	17	15%	74%	61%
	Soini on TV	15	14%	65%	54%
	Väyrynen on TV	17	15%	74%	61%
	Lipponen on TV	12	11%	52%	43%
	Niinistö on TV	17	15%	74%	61%
	Essayah on TV	11	10%	48%	39%
	Biaudet on TV	11	10%	48%	39%
	Arhinmäki on TV	11	10%	48%	39%
Total		111	100%	483%	

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Table 9: V18b Candidates on TV: appearance in seconds

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Pekka Haavisto	28	0	70	525	18,8	20,444	417,972
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Timo Soini	28	0	67	413	14,8	19,014	361,528
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Paavo Väyrynen	28	0	58	405	14,5	17,135	293,591
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Paavo Lipponen	28	0	51	215	7,7	13,763	189,411
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Sauli Niinistö	28	0	53	418	14,9	17,410	303,106
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Sari Essayah	28	0	44	196	7,0	12,913	166,741
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Eva Biaudet	28	0	44	202	7,2	12,988	168,693
How many seconds of visual attention was given to Paavo Arhinmäki	28	0	44	204	7,3	13,523	182,878
Valid N (listwise)	28						

Table 10: V9: Nationality of the sources

		How many Swedish Finnish sources	How many Finnish sources	How many Swedish sources	How many sources of other nationality	How many sources of unspecified nationality
N	Valid	99	99	99	99	99
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		,00	1,2	,02	,00	,3

Table 11: V15a Use of words indicating nationality

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
\$WordsNAT ^a	74	75%	25	25%	99	100%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Table 12: V15b: Use of words indicating nationality: frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Words indicating nationality	Finnish	12	12%	16%
	Finland	63	62%	85%
	Swedish	1	1%	1%
	Sweden	15	15%	20%
	Swedish Finnish	5	5%	7%
	Other	5	5%	7%
Total		101	100%	137%

Table 13: V16a: Use of wording indicating belonging to a nation or a nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	34	34	34	34
	No	65	66	66	100
	Total	99	100	100	

Table 14: V16b Indicators of belonging and V1 Media: crosstabulation

			Media		Total
			Radio	TV	
Indicators of belonging to a nation or nationality that are being used	None		40	25	65
	We, us, our		4	3	7
	Here		7	0	7
	Other		20	0	20
Total			71	28	99

Table 15: V17: Visual symbols indicating nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	16	57	57	57
	1	4	14	14	71
	2	8	29	29	100
	Total	28	100	100	