

Wanted? Western White-collar Women, Western Working Men - Genders and Employment in Communication for Immigrants

International Business Communication

Master's thesis

Erna Bodström

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Aalto University
School of Economics

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ABSTRACT

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The objective of the study was to research how genders and employment intertwine in communication materials aimed at immigrants. The study focused on a booklet titled *Working in Finland*, produced by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, to find answers to the two research questions of the study: (1) How are genders and employment presented in the material? and (2) What are the members of the hypothetical audience like, based on the textual and pictorial components of the material?

Qualitative Methods and the Interdisciplinary Theoretical Framework

Since the research data entailed both text and images, three qualitative methods were used to analyse the data: (1) discourse analysis to look at the text, (2) image analysis to read the images, and (3) integration analysis to evaluate the interaction between the text and the images. The theoretical framework of the study was, in an interdisciplinary way, based on gender studies, migration research and the communication discipline.

Five Main Findings and Conclusion

From the data analysis, five main findings were defined. The first three findings answered to the first and the two latter findings to the second research question. (1) The research data portrayed paid-employment of women as a peculiar cultural trait, whereas paid-employment of men was presented as self-evident and natural. (2) The data reinforced and reproduced the gender segregation of the employment field by, in particular, depicting women in professions requiring higher education and men in occupations requiring little education. (3) The study, additionally, illustrated how the equal rights between genders are used as a symbol of cultural differences, hence placing women at the border of the nation. (4) Based on the study, the preferable immigrant workforce is culturally fairly similar to the culture of Finland. (5) The studied material does not, however, seem to encourage finding employment, even though the material is titled *Working in Finland*. Furthermore, it is likely that similar patterns may be present in other communications with immigrants. Thus, the findings of the study suggest that the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and other producers of communication materials for immigrants should pay more attention to how genders and employment are presented and to what kind of audience the materials are aimed at.

Keywords: gender, immigration, migration, employment, communication, cross-cultural communication, intercultural communication, international business communication, discourse analysis, image analysis, multimodality

TIIVISTELMÄ

Aalto-yliopiston kauppakorkeakoulu
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Toivotut työntekijät? ”Länsimaiset” koulutetut naiset ja työläismiehet - sukupuolet ja työllisyys maahanmuuttajille suunnatussa viestinnässä

Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää, miten sukupuolet ja työ kietoutuvat toisiinsa maahanmuuttajille suunnatuissa viestintämateriaaleissa. Tutkimus keskittyi Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriön tuottamaan Working in Finland -nimiseen esitteeseen löytääkseen vastauksen kahteen tutkimuskysymykseen: (1) Miten sukupuolet ja työ esitetään viestintämateriaalissa? ja (2) Millaisen kuvan hypoteettisen yleisön jäsenistä teksti- ja kuvamateriaali rakentavat?

Laadullinen tutkimusmenetelmä ja poikkitieteellinen viitekehys

Koska tutkittava viestintämateriaali sisälsi sekä tekstiä että kuvia, analysoinnissa käytettiin kolmea laadullista tutkimusmenetelmää: (1) diskurssianalyysia tekstin tarkasteluun, (2) kuva-analyysia kuva-aineiston tutkimiseen ja (3) integraatio-analyysia teksti- ja kuva-aineiston välisen vuorovaikutuksen arvioimiseen. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys oli poikkitieteellinen ja perustui viestinnän tutkimuksen lisäksi sukupuolen tutkimukseen ja maahanmuuttotutkimukseen.

Viisi päätulosta ja johtopäätökset

Tutkimusaineiston analyysista nousi esiin viisi päätulosta, joista kolme ensimmäistä vastasi ensimmäiseen ja kaksi viimeistä toiseen tutkimuskysymykseen. (1) Tutkimusaineistossa naisten palkkatyö esitettiin erikoisena kulttuurisena piirteenä, kun taas miesten palkkatyö esitettiin itsestäänselvänä ja luonnollisena. (2) Työn sukupuolistuneisuutta tosinnettiin ja samalla vahvistettiin tutkimusaineistossa esittämällä naiset ensisijaisesti korkeaa koulutusta vaativissa ammateissa ja miehet pääasiallisesti vähän koulutusta vaativissa työtehtävissä. (3) Tutkimus osoitti lisäksi miten sukupuolten tasa-arvoa käytetään kulttuurierojen symbolina asettaen näin naiset kansakunnan rajalle. (4) Tutkimuksen perusteella toivottu työperäinen maahanmuuttaja näyttää tulevan kulttuurillisesti Suomea lähellä olevasta maasta. (5) Tutkimusaineisto ei varsinaisesti näytä rohkaisevan lukijaa työnhakuun, vaikka aineiston nimi viittaa siihen, että se on suunnattu Suomeen työskentelemään tuleville maahanmuuttajille. Vaikuttaa todennäköiseltä, että vastaavat asenteet ovat läsnä myös muissa maahanmuuttajiin liittyvissä viestintämateriaaleissa ja -tilanteissa. Näin tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriön sekä muiden maahanmuuttajille viestintämateriaaleja tuottavien tahojen tulisi kiinnittää enemmän huomiota siihen, miten sukupuolet ja työ materiaaleissa esitetään, ja siihen, millaiselle yleisölle materiaalit on suunnattu.

Avainsanat: sukupuoli, maahanmuutto, maahanmuuttajat, työ, työllisyys, työllistyminen, viestintä, kulttuurienvälinen viestintä, kansainvälinen viestintä, diskurssianalyysi, kuva-analyysi, multimodaalisuus

There are only two tragedies in life:
one is not getting what one wants, and the other is getting it.

- Oscar Wilde

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- Appendix B: Detailed Account of the Discourse Analysis
- Appendix C: List of Images in Working in Finland Booklet
- Appendix D: Detailed Description of the Image Analysis
- Appendix E: Detailed Information on Integration Analysis

1 Introduction

After being chosen for a leadership post, a Russian immigrant residing in Finland asked her future employer what had been her biggest weakness as an applicant. “That you’re a Russian woman”, answered the employer. She continued by inquiring which the employer thought was worse – being Russian or being woman. The reply: “That you’re a woman.” (Haapala 2010.)

Within the last two decades, Finland has grown in popularity as a destination of immigration (see e.g. Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002). Consequently, the need to communicate with immigrants about the customs and beliefs in Finland has increased. As Jaana Vuori (2007) writes:

Whereas Finns learn to know their society gradually and receive variety of guidance bit by bit in school as well as independently using public services, an immigrant is often thrown unprepared in the middle of an odd and unfamiliar society (ibid., p. 128).

According to Statistics Finland (2011), in year 2010, circa 168,000 foreign nationals, of whom approximately half were women and half men, lived in Finland. Thus, the issue is highly current. It is even estimated that immigration will be one of the major themes of the Finnish Parliament election held in April 2011.

Regardless of the current interest in immigration and immigrants, the latter concept remains seldom defined. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the concept immigrant refers to a person who has arrived to Finland within the last three years for an indefinite stay and does not know Finland or its culture very well. In general, this study views immigrants as a potential for cultural and societal development, not as a threat or deficit. Respectively, people who have resided in Finland for more than three years are referred to as residents regardless of nationality or nation of origin.

The rhetoric of immigration has, in Finland, concentrated vastly on economic issues (see e.g. Forsander, 2003; Simola, 2008) and finding employment is widely viewed as an important factor in settling (see e.g. Forsander, 2004a; Lister et al., 2007). However, previous studies have shown that finding employment is highly problematic for immigrants (see e.g. Forsander, 2004a; Liversage, 2009) and that the problem is of gendered nature (see e.g. Forsander, 2004b; Min, 2001). Anecdote above, published in the leftish newspaper *Voima*, accurately illustrates that both of these issues, problems of finding employment and the gendered nature of the problems, do exist in Finland.

There is abundant research on the gendered employment issues of immigrants. However, there is little research addressing the issues from communication perspective, which is the research focus of the present study. Thus, the study builds, in an interdisciplinary way, on literature drawing from gender studies, migration research and the communication discipline.

The study is based on the foucauldian idea of discourse as power (see e.g. Knights & Morgan, 1991). Thus, the study presupposes that text and images construct the way people see the world. In line with this supposition, the study uses the convention of marking some concepts, such as 'western', with apostrophes, indicating that the writer uses the concept with hesitation and is aware of possible negative connotations it evokes (see e.g. Valovirta, 2010, p. 93).

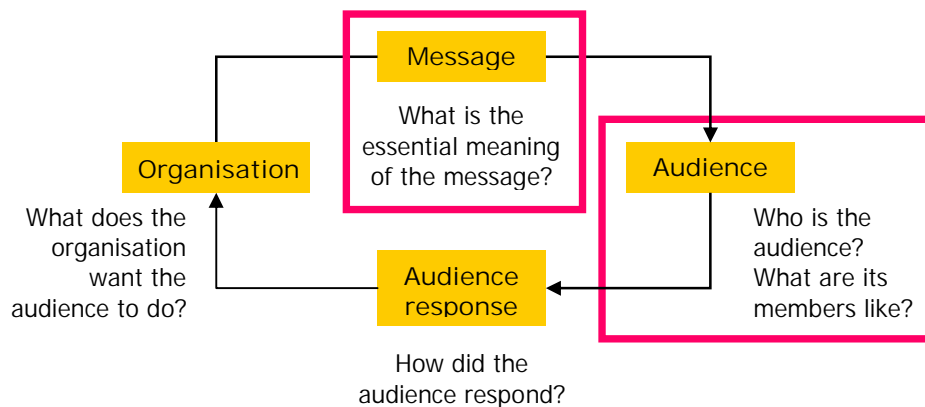
The idea of discourse as power is particularly relevant in this study, as the power is even greater with issues one has little first-hand experience about. For example, a person who has never been to Afghanistan or does not know any Afghans, probably bases the image of the country on texts and images of Afganistan. Similarly, texts about Finland may form a central part of an immigrant's image of Finland.

The study looks at how gender and employment are represented in a booklet titled *Working in Finland*, produced by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and apparently aimed at immigrants. The Ministry of Employment and the Economy (2009) is mainly responsible for three areas: first, for securing the functionality of the labour market as well as the employability of workforce; second, for creating an operating environment that supports entrepreneurship and innovations; and third, for supporting regional development within the global economy.

As this section has presented the research area and its potential, the next section discusses the research problem as well as presents the main findings of the study.

1.1 Research Problem and Main Findings

The study looks at communication from the strategic point-of-view coined by Paul A. Argenti (2007), highlighting the meaning of the message and the importance of the audience in the communication process, as shown in Figure 1.1.



(adapted from *Corporate Communication Framework* by Argenti 2007, p. 35)

Figure 1.1: Meaning and audience in the communication process

From the communication framework illustrated in Figure 1.1, the two research questions of the study are derived. In line with the framework, the first question concentrates on the essential meaning of the message and the other focuses on what the members of the audience are like. Thus, the research questions of the study are:

1. How are genders and employment presented in the material?
2. What are the members of the hypothetical audience like, based on the textual and pictorial components of the material?

The findings of the study show how paid-employment of men is still presented as more natural and self-evident than that of women. In addition, the findings show how gender segregation of the employment field is reinforced by, in particular, depicting women in professions requiring higher education and men in occupations requiring little education. Furthermore, the findings illustrate how women are placed at the border of the nation by using the equal rights between genders as a symbol of cultural differences. Additionally, the findings suggest that the preferable immigrant workforce comes from a culture fairly similar to that of Finland. However, even though the material is titled Working in Finland, it does not, in fact, seem to encourage finding employment in Finland.

This section has explored the research problem, presented the research questions and introduced the main findings of the study. The next section positions the study within the research field of International Business Communication.

1.2 Position within the IBC Discipline

In this section, the present study is positioned in the research field of International Business Communication (IBC). As the study focuses on communication between immigrants and residents, it is, by definition,

communication between cultures and, thus, international. However, the link between the study and business communication may seem less obvious.

Kitty O. Locker (1998, p. 15) defines the subject of study for business communication as “communication in the workplace”. As many definitions of business communication emphasize the business context (see e.g. Louhiala-Salminen, 2009), research within the discipline has largely omitted non-commercial places of work. However, a few examples published in the *Journal of Business Communication* describing studies that included (see Amidon, 2008) or focused solely on (see Palmer, 2008) non-commercial organisations might suggest some newly awakened interest directed outside the commercial context. The present study, analysing communication of a non-commercial organisation and its stakeholders, positions itself in to the same context.

This section has positioned the present study on the field of International Business Communication. The next section overviews the structure of the report.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This paper is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the study area and data, the research questions and the position of the study within the International Business Communication discipline.

Chapter 2 reviews previous literature in gender studies, migration research and communication discipline. Section 2.1 presents genders as cultural constructions and, additionally, discusses genders and employment. Section 2.2 looks at immigration issues in general and immigrants and employment in particular. As the study views communication as a tool for meaning making, Section 2.3 addresses communication from the perspectives of genders and

immigrants and from the point-of-view of intercultural communication. To conclude, Section 2.4 briefly presents the theoretical framework of the research.

Chapter 3 introduces the three complementary methods used in the research process. Section 3.1 overviews analysis of discourse, Section 3.2 analysis of images and Section 3.3 analysis of integration. To conclude, the trustworthiness of the study is discussed in Section 3.4.

Chapter 4 briefly overviews the process of collecting and narrowing down the data.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the study. The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 5.1 looks as the findings of the discourse analysis, Section 5.2 the findings of the image analysis and Section 5.3 the findings of the integration analysis. Finally, Section 5.4 discusses and consolidates the overall findings of the study.

Chapter 6 concludes the paper and discusses practical implications, ethical considerations and limitations of the research project as well as ideas for further research.

This chapter has introduced the research area and problem as well as positioned the study within the International Business Communication discipline. The next chapter overviews previous literature and presents the theoretical framework of the study.

2 Literature Review

This chapter reviews previous literature and studies in the area of gendered communication aimed at immigrants. Thus, the literature review is interdisciplinary and draws from gender studies, migration research and the communication field, as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The goal of the chapter is to present theoretical background and to construct the theoretical framework of the study.

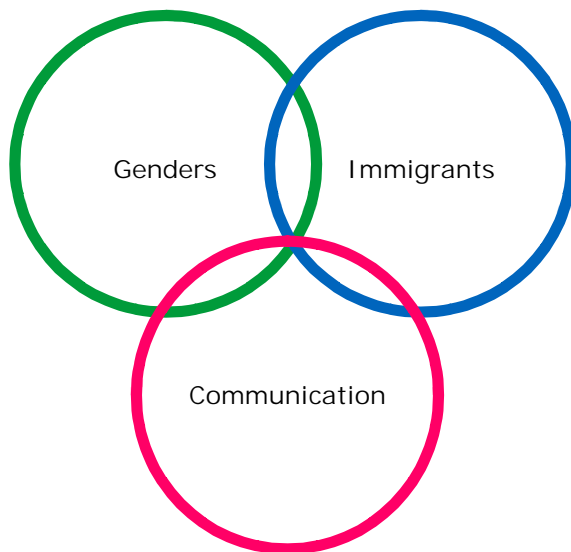


Figure 2.1: Fields of the literature review

The Literature Review is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the social and cultural nature of genders as well as the relation between genders and employment. The second section addresses immigrants and immigration in general as well as from the points-of-view of employment and genders. The third section looks at communication as a tool for meaning making and approaches it from three perspectives; communication and genders,

communication and immigrants and intercultural communication. To conclude, the fourth section presents the framework of the study.

2.1 Genders as Cultural Fabrications

We are surrounded by gender lore from the time we are very small. It is ever-present in conversation, humor, and conflict, and it is called upon to explain everything from driving styles to food preferences.
(Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 9.)

This study views genders as historical, cultural and social fabrications and manifestations of power, which are constructed and maintained through discourse. This means, as Leena-Maija Rossi (2003, p. 12) points out, that genders differ and change in time and place. For example, Janet M. Bing and Victoria L. Bergvall (1998, p. 500) point out that the idea of female and male bodies as essentially different is relatively new; in Europe, before the Age of Enlightenment, the body and sex organs of women were considered to be the same as those of men, merely less developed and, thus, inferior.

However, genders are so embedded in culture that their existence independently from sex is often questioned. As explained by Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 9), the thorough embedding of genders in the beliefs make them appear as completely natural. This can also be called naturalisation, which refers to “people’s sense of what needs no explanation” (ibid., p. 43).

Still, acknowledging genders as distinct from sexes does not mean denying that some biological differences do exist between women and men (see e.g. Bing & Bergvall, 1998; McElhinny, 2003). However, the problems arise when, as argued by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 15; cf. Bing & Bergvall, 1998), the social differentiation of genders is used to justify the unequal treatment of women and men.

Discussion about genders is often discussion about equality. For example, Bonnie McElhinny (2003, p. 22) argues that “theories about gender always have more than theoretical significance; they always suggest a cause of inequities.” However, it seems that equality is understood differently in different cultures. According to Rossi (2010b, p. 28), the continental gender ideology focuses on emphasizing and appreciating difference, whereas the gender philosophy of the Nordic countries centres on equal treatment and relative similarity. Still, for example the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of gender is so far realised merely in theory, not in practice.

Furthermore, in practice, equality is hardly a problem-free issue. For example, Kirsti Lempiäinen (2002, p. 24) argues that the Nordic equal gender model obliterates genders, makes the actors unigendered and, thus, hides gender differences that do exist. Still, Lappalainen (2002, p. 239) argues that in Finland, when it comes to gender equality, there is a tendency to see the Finnish culture as unproblematic or, at least, as less problematic than the other cultures.

Additionally, discussion about genders often centres on gender dichotomies; what are women essentially like and what are men essentially like. That is, genders are often understood through polar opposites (see e.g. Rossi, 2010b). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 228) argue that people map their world by categorising its content or by combining diverse particulars into a single category and creating relation between the categories. In practice, dichotomies are created by emphasizing and exaggerating differences between categories, such as men and women, and by obliterating differences within categories, such as women of dissimilar ethnic backgrounds (see Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 13; McElhinny, 2003, p. 23).

Gender dichotomies, as genders in general, are historically and culturally bound, and, according to Bing and Bergvall (1998, p. 502) there are several cultures that recognise more than two genders. Even though in some cultures the representants of the additional genders are accepted, they are not always

highly appreciated. However, cultures in which the representants of the additional genders have a respected status do also exist. (Ibid.)

However, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 228) argue that gender categories do not simply express difference, but they also support hierarchy and inequality. This is, of course an aspect that makes gender categorisations problematic. However, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet further argue that the idea of dichotomous genders exists not because the survival of human kind would depend on it, but because people keep it there. This means that people can also change the dichotomies as well as the hierarchies and the inequality they bring. (Ibid., pp. 15, 33-34.)

This introduction has discussed the basic ideas and concepts relevant to construction of gender. The remainder of the section is divided into two subsections. As the concepts of femininity and masculinity are essential for creating meanings of genders and gender dichotomies, they are addressed in the first subsection. In turn, the second subsection discusses the relation between genders and employment.

2.1.1 Women and Men, Masculinities and Femininities

This subsection addresses the concepts of masculinity and femininity. Whereas genders are thought of as dichotomous, their attributes femininity and masculinity are often viewed more as a “continuum, with pure masculinity in one extreme and pure femininity in the other”, as stated by Arto Jokinen (2003, p. 8). For example, some men are regarded as more masculine than other.

This subsection is divided into three parts to illustrate the different representations through which genders are manifested. First, women and femininities and, then, men and masculinities are addressed. To conclude, the less traditional notion of female masculinity and male femininity are discussed.

Women and femininities

One is not born a woman, but rather becomes one
(de Beauvoir, as translated by Butler, 1999, p. 3).

The above quotation illustrates the idea of femininity – and masculinity – as something learned. What are the characteristics that define feminine women of the North Atlantic culture on the 21st century? According to Rossi (2003, pp. 36-39) being a beautiful and feminine woman requires sizeable and firm breasts, proportionally harmonic, carefully made-up face and abundant, long or otherwise clearly feminine hair combined with a tall, slender body (see also Kinnunen, 2010). Of course, these characteristics are likely more prominent in the research field of Rossi, that is, in advertising than in brochures and other communication materials, which are focus of this study. Still, it is interesting that these characteristics of an ideally feminine woman – even in their less aggravated form – do not necessarily translate into success in the employment field.

Anne Hole (2003, p. 318) notes that being slender represents being controlled, desirable and smaller than men. Thus, for a woman being 'fat' has two contradictory meanings; on one hand, it means throwing away all the above-mentioned feminine attributes, on the other, it emphasizes voluptuousness and softness, usually thought of as feminine characteristics. However, in the contemporary North Atlantic culture, the demand to actively form and build the body do not only address women but also men, as noted by Rossi (2003, p. 36). From the perspective of employment, being 'fat' can also be interpreted as being lazy and having no self-discipline, thus, as two characteristics seldom appreciated in employees.

In the North Atlantic culture, the meaning of ageing is also gendered. According to Marianna Laiho and Iris Ruoho (2005, p. 10), marks of ageing are more crucial when they are connected to women than to men. As an example they mention the difficulties of over 40 year old actresses to land parts (*ibid.*). Thus,

it seems likely that in employment in general as well, ageing has a greater effect on women than on men. Irma Kaarina Halonen (2005, p. 17) connects this phenomenon to the linear time system (see Subsection 2.3.3), suggesting that, for an elderly person, the linear system is “inconsolable, even cruel” and that cultures that understand time as a cycle are more flexible regardless of the age of a person. However, she provides no actual prove or examples of this cultural difference. Still, it may be that the effect of ageing on employment is multiplied in cultures following the linear time system, such as Finland.

Even though Finland is a part of the North Atlantic cultural sphere, it also has cultural traits of its own. According to Lempiäinen (2002, pp. 28, 31), the Finnish national discourse describes a Finnish woman as educated rather than uneducated, as mother rather than childless, in paid-employment rather than as a homemaker, in romantic relationship rather than as single, and of middle or working class rather than upper class, rich or a dropout. In addition, Finnish women are seen as strong, particular and able to compete with the women of other nations (*ibid.*). One might argue, however, that this view of particularity and ability is typical in other cultures as well and, hence, it is not a specifically Finnish trait. Still, it seems that paid-employment does play a significant part in the image of a Finnish woman, thus studying employment from the gender perspective can be regarded as significant.

As the concepts of womanhood and femininities are essential for producing meanings of genders, this part has discussed how they are perceived and elaborated on the relation between them and paid-employment. Hence, the next part addresses how manhood and masculinities are perceived.

Men and masculinities

One is not born a man, but rather must earn to become one
(Jokinen, 2003, p. 10).

As masculinity and femininity are viewed as a continuum, a masculine man should be everything a feminine woman is not. What does that include in the contemporary North Atlantic culture? According to Anthony J. Cortese (1999, in Rossi 2003, p. 43) a masculine man is good-looking, well-groomed, clearly muscular, and has a strong and angular jaw line. In turn, Rossi (2003, p. 44) argues that ruggedness is also allowed to masculine men, especially if the attribute is combined with traditionally masculine physical activities. However, as was noted above while discussing the idea of female femininity, these characteristics are likely to be more salient in advertising than in communication materials, on which this study concentrates.

Nonetheless, the characteristics may be transferred to real-life, as Jokinen (2003, pp. 8, 10) argues that in the contemporary society being a masculine man has become synonymous with the ideal man. According to him, contemporary men are expected to earn their masculinity by showing such masculine characteristics as being active, dominant, rational, physically powerful and even violent (*ibid.*), the idea of which was reflected in the quotation above. Furthermore, Elina Lahelma (2002, pp. 205-206) argues that in Finland the active and even violent military service is commonly seen as a rite of passage for Finnish boys to become masculine, heterosexual men.

Still, not all men are masculine nor are all women feminine. Thus, the issues of female masculinity and male femininity are explored next.

Female masculinity and male femininity

This part addresses the unconventional ideas of female masculinity and male femininity. Being a masculine woman is probably easier than being a feminine

man. According to Rossi (2003, p. 59), the Nordic equality discourse has made it possible for women to take on both masculine and feminine social positions, even though it has often meant that women have also taken on both domestic work and paid labour.

According to Rossi (2003), advertising has not presented female masculinity only through appearance – for example, short hair and boyish clothing - but also through independent actions, such as paid-employment. However, Rossi notes that most often masculine female characters are blatantly marked as heterosexual. Similarly, male femininity, marked through being decorative, passive, emotional et cetera, is allowed and, according to Rossi, even welcomed as long as the marks of masculinity are, at the same time, present sufficiently strongly. This refers to the importance of heteronormativity, which means that men and women are seen as opposites that complement each other through a heterosexual relationship.

As the concepts of femininity and masculinity are essential for gendered meaning making, this subsection has addressed them and, additionally, elaborated on their relation to paid-employment. Next, this relation is discussed further from a broader perspective.

2.1.2 Genders and Employment

...in Finland, people like to think the country is so equal that gender in work-life is not something that needs to be taken account...
(Korvajärvi, 2010, p. 193)

This subsection addresses the relation between genders and employment. It seems that perceptions about gender differences affect both how employment is viewed and how people act in work-life. Bing and Bergvall (1998, p. 504) even argue that the dichotomous view of genders makes it possible to limit working opportunities based on gender.

The gendered ideas of work-life are, according to Päivi Korvajärvi (2010, p. 187), repeated in the cultures and everyday practices of workplaces. In fact, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 45) argue that the gender dichotomy is strongly embedded in workplace ideologies, as in seeing the 'rational male' as more suited for managerial work. In turn, a woman moving into leadership positions is mainly viewed as co-operative and emotionally intelligent, thus erasing the woman's rational abilities (ibid.).

Furthermore, Robin Lakoff (2003, p. 162) points out, that there are different words to describe similar behaviour in men and women. For example, for women interested in power such labels as shrew or bitch are used, presupposing the inappropriateness of the behaviour. According to Lakoff, there are no equivalents suitable for men.

The gender dichotomies do not only affect people, but also professions. According to Korvajärvi (2010, pp. 186-187), gender segregation has been proven to lead to lesser appreciation of professions of female majority. In fact, Caja Thimm, Sabine C. Koch and Sabine Schey (2003, p. 528) argue that sex segregation can manifest itself through gender stereotyping, gendered expectations and related behavioural performances.

Not only do the perceived gender differences affect employment, employment also affects gender differences. For example, McElhinny (2003, p. 32) argues that gender differences are constructed in, for example, the division of labour into paid and unpaid work, creation of 'men's work' and 'women's work' and wage differences.

As the study focuses on data produced in Finland, the relation of genders and employment are next discussed in the case of Finland, in particular. Then, as the Finnish employment field is clearly segregated by gender, gender segregation is addressed.

Genders and employment in Finland

This part addresses genders and employment in Finland. Elina Moisio (2010, p. 180) argues that the economic growth of Finland has been based on the large number of employed people. In practice, this means that the economic boom of the country has been based on the employment participation of women. In fact, according to Korvajärvi (2010, p. 185), women are now forming the majority of working people in Finland. Additionally, in Finland women generally work full-time, in contrast to many other European countries in which women often work part-time (ibid.).

However, this should not be taken for granted, as the early 20th century debates in Finland show that there was a disagreement about whether the place of women was on paid-employment or at home. According to Maria Lähteenmäki (1995), the debate was prompted by the increasing number of working mothers. Some of the debaters contended that a municipal day care system should be created, as many women had no choice but to take on paid-employment. Others opposed establishing day care facilities and argued that, instead, the society should provide mothers with a large enough benefit to enable them to stay at home. (Ibid., pp. 119, 228.)

Even today, with women forming a majority of the workforce, the employment field cannot be regarded as agreeable for women. Korvajärvi (2010, pp. 188-189) argues that in the recruiting and dividing of working hours, organisations most often comply with practices beneficial to men, with which women are expected to conform.

However, not all male employees are benefiting either. Deborah Cameron (2003, p. 462) argues that, in the North Atlantic societies, globalisation has particularly affected the non-elite male workers by exporting the jobs they were previously expected to do to parts of the world where labour is more economical. Thus, many working-class men are left unemployed (ibid.). This divide also projects onto the segregation of the Finnish employment field, which

is one of the defining characteristics of the field in Finland. As the research project concentrates on data produced in and describing Finland, the gender segregation present in the country is looked at next.

Gender segregation in Finland

The Finnish employment field is clearly segregated by gender, as is noted by Korvajärvi (2010, p. 185). This means that women and men work in different occupations and in different tasks. Korvajärvi reports that within the last ten years only one fifth of employed people in Finland have worked in same occupation and in similar tasks with both women and men.

According to Korvajärvi (2010, p. 185), the amount of women in paid-employment has increased especially in health care, social services and teaching. At the same time, the amount of men has risen in commercial, office, technical and scientific fields.

Gender segregation occurs also within occupations, as Korvajärvi (2010, p. 186) points out. For example, being a medical doctor is today viewed as a non-segregated profession. However, the occupation is segregated internally, as the largest proportion of surgeons is male and the largest proportion of paediatricians is female.

Korvajärvi (2010, pp. 186-187) argues that, especially in the private sector, the gender segregation is visible in that the economically important positions are primarily held by men. Indeed, according to Korvajärvi, it is mainly the highly educated women who experience their gender as a barrier in employment.

Indeed, Thimm et al. (2003) found in their study that men still appear to be the 'default gender' of successful or leading positions. Anne Mikkola (2010, p. 224) argues that in a world where the leading positions are defined as the 'men's job', the abilities of women are often left unused. Additionally, Thimm et al. (2003,

p. 528) argue that sex segregation in the working life is one of the pillars of gender inequality.

This section has defined genders as cultural fabrications and discussed the impact of gender on employment. As the study centres on communication materials aimed at an immigrant audience, the next section focuses on immigrants and immigration.

2.2 Immigrants as Cultural Potential

The only thing that immigrants have too much is their own culture, which in the language of integration shows a deficit rather than something added (Forsander, 2004a, p. 218).

Immigrant is a widely used but seldom defined concept. In the wide sense, as in the definition of Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language (1989), it simply means a person, who moves, possibly for a permanent residence, from one nation to another. Thus, as immigration and being an immigrant are defined through movement over national borders, the meaning of a nation is essential for immigration.

Tuula Gordon (2002b, pp. 27, 38) defines nations as historical, imaginary, cultural, political and economic constructions, of which power relations are based on differences, but which, at the same time, are grounded on unity. This makes nations paradoxical constructions. Nations, as genders, are constructed through repetition (*ibid.*).

Nira Yuval-Davis (2002, p. 53) argues that state territorial borders are only one way in which community boundaries are dividing people into those who belong to the nation and those who do not. According to Lempiäinen (2002), nationalities are formed in performances (cf. Subsection 2.3.1). However, in nationality performance, the performer is often a collective, neutral and non-gendered subject like the society, our welfare state, Finland or we (Gordon,

2002a, pp. 27-28; Lempiäinen, 2002, p. 20-22). Katri Komulainen (2002, p. 146) argues, however, that constructing nationality, telling stories about us, the Finns is contradictory, as it holds an idea of a stable and mythical being of the nation but, at the same time, an idea of continuous development.

Nationality is also constructed through the binary relation of inclusion and exclusion (see Gordon, 2002a; cf. Lister et. al., 2007; Stychin, 2001). According to Lempiäinen (2002, p. 23) the 'normality' of nationality becomes clear in comparison to people who are not members of the same nationality. By labelling the people of different nationality as strangers, 'others', 'immigrants', 'refugees', and as the people who do not belong, people simultaneously define and label themselves as 'familiar', 'known', 'residents', and as the people who do belong (ibid.). As Yuval-Davis (2002, p. 552) points out, both national and ethnic communities are built around boundaries separating the world into them and us.

As the Finnish nationality is mainly perceived as 'white' (see e.g. Lempiäinen, 2002), ethnicity can be seen tightly linking to nationality. However, Yuval-Davis (2002, p. 51) reminds that nations rarely correspond to the territorial borders or the ethnic composition of a nation. According to Rossi (2003, p. 182), ethnicity can, similarly to gender, be approached as a constructed phenomenon always in change. Still, Sara Trechter (2003, p. 423) notes that ethnicity is usually foregrounded only when it is 'non-white'.

Most often, the discourse about immigrants and immigration is dominated by the residents. According to Forsander (2004a, p. 218), the discussion revolves around the logic of problems, deficit of cultural norms and not belonging. As methods to rectify the 'integration deficit', Forsander names education - language courses, among other things - assisted employment and apprenticeship.

Forsander (2004a, p. 218) argues that behind the rectifying measures is the idea of paid-employment as a key to full participation, that is, that only by doing

'decent' work is it possible to become 'full' citizen. However, she notes the paradox between this idea and the high threshold to 'decent' work, especially for immigrants, in the Nordic welfare states (ibid.). The issue of immigrants and employment is further discussed in Subsection 2.2.2.

Forsander (2004a, p. 218) further notes, that as immigrants are seen as defective, the process of making an immigrant a 'full national' is endless. Additionally, according to Sari Hanafi (2009, pp. 130, 142), immigrants are set on the site of conflict between different ideologies, values and lifestyles. In fact, Rauni Räsänen (2002, p. 103) argues that deserting one's cultural heritage and its practices is a price many immigrants have to pay in order to success in the mainstream culture.

Still, many researchers (see e.g. Forsander, 2004a; Lappalainen, 2002) wonder whether there is a time limit after which a person would no longer be labelled as an immigrant. In fact, people who have been living in Finland for decades and who may have Finnish citizenship may still be labelled as immigrants.

Immigrants arriving to Finland have a right for an integration service within three years of entry (Ministry of the Interior, 2005). Thus, for the purposes of this study, immigrant refers to a person who has arrived to Finland within the last three years for an indefinite stay and does not know Finland or its culture very well. Thus, as immigrants this study includes, for example, persons moving for work or for family reasons or arriving as refugees. In turn, the definition of immigrant in this study excludes expatriates, who arrive to the country for a limited stay only, and cultural Finns, who return to the country and are already familiar with the culture. People who have resided in Finland for more than three years are referred to as residents regardless of nationality or nation of origin. This categorisation highlights the process of settling instead of the process of moving and, hence, presents immigrants as a potential for cultural and societal development, not as a threat or deficit.

As the study looks at data produced in Finland, immigrants and immigration in Finland are discussed next in more detail. Then, as the research project focuses on employment issues particular for immigrants, these issues are looked at closer. To conclude, as the study centres on the meanings of gender, the gendered issues of immigrants are addressed.

2.2.1 Immigrants in Finland

As the study focuses on data produced in and defining Finland, this subsection looks at immigrants in Finland. Within the last two decades, Finland, among other European countries, has experienced a wave of immigration (see e.g. Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002). Kathleen Valtonen (2001) notes, however, that Finland is a latecomer as a destination of immigration, previously being a place of emigration. Indeed, as pointed out by Forsander (2003, p. 65), it was only in the early 1990's that immigrants started arriving to Finland in any significant amount.

Finnish nationality is, as stated by Lempiäinen (2002, p. 29; cf. Markkola, 2002), narrow; it is mainly 'white', Lutheran and Finnish speaking. Even though Finland has always been home to several cultural groups, such as the Finno-Swedes, the Tatars, the Russians and the indigenous Sami people, according to Elina Valovirta (2010, p. 96), Finland has not been regarded as a multicultural country. Indeed, Forsander (2004b) argues that, in Finland, multiculturalism is seen as something brought on to Finland by immigrants. Thus, the different than 'white', Lutheran and Finnish speaking multiculturalism is seen as embodying in immigrants.

But who are the immigrants in Finland? According to the statistics of the Finnish Immigration Service (2011), altogether 55,078 people arriving to Finland outside the EU and ETA area were granted a residence permit or an asylum in years 2008, 2009 and 2010. The largest national groups among them were Russians, Indians and Chinese, as is shown in Table 2.1. Unfortunately,

these data do not give an accurate picture of immigrants in Finland, as they omit all the nationals of EU and ETA countries.

Table 2.1: Immigrants arriving to Finland in years 2008-2010 by nationality, excluding the EU and ETA countries

1	Russia	12,713
2	India	4,392
3	China	4,032
4	Somalia	2,968
5	Ukraine	2,231
6	Iraq	1,987
7	Turkey	1,839
8	Vietnam	1,499
9	Thailand	1,386
10	U.S.A.	1,308
Total (all nationalities)		55,078

(Finnish Immigration Service, 2011)

Table 2.2: Foreign citizens living permanently in Finland 2010

1	Estonia	28,965
2	Russia	28,459
3	Sweden	8,569
4	Somalia	6,592
5	China	5,433
6	Thailand	5,022
7	Iraq	5,006
8	Turkey	3,987
9	Germany	3,700
10	United Kingdom	3,496
Total (all citizens)		167,962

(Finnish Immigration Service, 2011)

By looking at the statistics of the Finnish Immigration Service (2011) on the foreign citizens living permanently in Finland, as is visualised in Table 2.2, the view changes. The largest groups are the Estonians and the Russians, followed by the Swedes. Meanwhile, the Chinese are on the fifth place, whereas the Indians are not included among the ten largest nationalities. Thus, by looking at these statistics, it seems clear that most of the foreigners living in Finland are, in fact, of European origin. Unfortunately, these statistics do not tell how long the people have been living in Finland.

However, immigrants arriving to Finland do not only differ in nationality and nation of origin, but also on the basis of arrival. According to the data of the Finnish Immigration Service (2011), in years 2008, 2009 and 2010, family reasons were the most common reason to arrive in Finland, followed by studying and employment, as illustrated in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Basis for arrival in Finland years 2008-2010, excluding nationals of the EU and ETA countries

1	Residence permit based on family reasons	16,747
2	Residence permit based on studying	12,979
3	Residence permit based on employment	11,800
4	Residence permit based on other reason	8,080
5	Asylum	3,942
6	Residence permit based on self-employment	167
Total		53,715

(Finnish Immigration Service, 2011)

The information presented here is based on statistics. However, the information given by them is only superficial and does not describe the people behind them. Most likely, the immigrants differ from the residents and from one another in culture, religion, age, ethnicity, education, employment situation, et cetera.

As the study concentrates on data describing Finland, this subsection has looked at the immigrants in Finland. However, as the research questions address employment, the particular issues of immigrants and employment are discussed next.

2.2.2 Immigrants and Employment

...in late capitalist societies, the paradigm of active citizenship increasingly is defined in terms of employment...
(Stychin, 2001, p. 293.)

This subsection focuses on employment, which is, according to the Ministry of Interior (2005), the aim of immigrant integration. Thus, employment is clearly viewed as an important part of one's life. In line with the quote by Carl F. Stychin above, Forsander (2004a, p. 219) even argues that, in the Nordic welfare states, paid work is the measure of the value of an individual.

However, economic values do not merely determine the value of an individual. Additionally, capital and markets can be seen as central powers in the accelerating trend of immigration and globalisation, as is noted by Gordon,

Komulainen and Lempiäinen (2002, p. 11). Hence, economy affects immigration in several ways.

Nevertheless, the position of immigrants in the Finnish employment field is, according to Forsander (2003, p. 66), marginal, although the situation has improved. Additionally, the position of immigrants is unstable as they are especially prone to changes in employment caused by, for example, economic trends (Forsander, 2004b). According to Jens Rydgren (2004, pp. 702-703) and a study he made of the Swedish employment field, this may be caused by the lack of country-specific human capital - or integration deficit, as defined by Forsander (2004a) - that is, lack of knowledge of the local language and culture. However, this only explains the marginal situation partly, while the rest is explained through discrimination by the employers (Rydgren, 2004). Indeed, in a non-academic study published by the Ministry of Labour (2008) it became clear that Finnish employers value knowledge of the Finnish culture and language above, for example, education and work experience.

According to Forsander (2003, p. 68), a disproportionately large part of immigrants in Finland are employed by the service sector. For example, the transportation field and especially bus companies employ immigrant men (*ibid.*). However, as is stated by Korvajärvi, (2010, pp. 193-194), approximately half of the world's migrant workers are women. This becomes especially visible in care professions, such as in the case of the Philippine nurses imported to Finland (*ibid.*).

Still, paid-employment of women is primarily a North Atlantic phenomenon, as is noted by Korvajärvi (2010, p. 193). Forsander (2003, p. 66) adds that full-time employment of women is even more common in Finland than anywhere else in Europe. However, this status quo translates into the expectations the residents place on immigrant women (*ibid.*).

According to Forsander (2003, p. 66), the number of immigrant women in paid-employment is, in general, significantly less than that of men. However, the

differences between nationalities are great, and immigrants arriving to Finland tend to follow the lines of employment segregation. Thus, many immigrant men work in the technical field and metal industry, which are traditionally male dominated fields. In turn, many immigrant women, having a degree from a male dominated field, prefer to change their profession into traditionally female dominated fields.

This subsection has addressed the particular employment issues of immigrants. As the research project looks at communication materials aimed at immigrants from a gender perspective, the issues of immigrants and genders are next addressed more comprehensively.

2.2.3 Immigrants and Genders

Immigrant women make 20 cents to a euro (Helsingin Sanomat, 2010).

Gender research has, for a long time, been colour-blind. For example, Valovirta (2010, p. 92; cf. Bucholtz, Liang & Sutton, 1999) notes that traditionally 'being white' has not been considered as an ethnicity but as a neutral norm. However, critique has shown that 'being white' is, in fact, thoroughly permeated by ethnic power relations (ibid.).

The quotation above can be seen as an example of intersectionality. In gender research, intersectionality is a term that brings out the variety of power (see e.g. Valovirta, 2010), that is, that for example immigrant women are oppressed not only because they are immigrants but also because they are women. Valovirta (2010, p. 94) defines intersectionality as taking 'race', ethnicity, sexuality, religion, societal class, et cetera into account. Intersectionality can also be used to describe the approach of this study.

According to Forsander (2003, p. 65), the gender ratio of immigrants in Finland is approximately fifty-fifty. However, the distribution varies by group. The gender distribution is most balanced in groups that have arrived to Finland as

refugees, since refugees are allowed to apply for family reunification. Groups with female majority include the Thais, the Philippines, the Russians and the Estonians, whereas groups with male majority consist of the Dutch, the Brits, the Italians, the Turks and the Moroccans. For both of the latter groups, marriage is a common reason for arrival in Finland.

Genders and gender relations are often seen as constituting the essence of culture, as is argued by Yuval-Davis (2002, p. 51). In fact, Hanafi (2009, pp. 147-148) points out that sexuality and the female body have become two major sites for moral entrepreneurs to impose their vision upon society increasingly defined by diversity. She argues that wearing a mini skirt, for example, is not a universalistic value as such, but that woman's choice to dress how she likes in the public sphere should be universalistic (*ibid.*). Then again, Rikke Andreassen (2005, as paraphrased in Lister et al., 2007, p. 98) reminds that the gender equality model should not be interpreted only as a right to take of your clothes.

Women and girls are often seen as carriers of cultural difference, as is stated by Lister et al. (2007). This is apparent, for example, in the public debate about wearing headscarves, hijabs, by some Muslim women. Lister et al. argue that the hijab has simultaneously become a symbol of women's oppression, their resistance to oppression and their right of cultural autonomy and religious freedom. Especially in the Scandinavian countries, the debate about hijabs has centred on women's right to wear a headscarf at work. (*Ibid.*, pp. 90-98.) In this study, hijabs were shown to be used as markers of Muslim women in Finland.

Gordon et al. (2002, p. 14) argue that women have a symbolic position in creating unity and boundaries of a nation. In Finland, women are, as argued by Maija Urponen (2002, p. 124), positioned at the border of the nation through using the societal status of women and equal rights between genders as a symbol of cultural differences. However, as women embody borders and boundaries, they also embody, according to Yuval-Davis (2002, p. 63), the possibility of crossing and cracking them. Furthermore, Trechter (2003, p. 426)

notes that immigrant women can also function as “cultural brokers” between the traditional culture and the new matrix culture.

As this research project focuses on communication materials aimed at an immigrant audience, this section has discussed immigrants and immigration as well as the particular employment issues of immigrants and gendered meanings of immigration. Since communication is, in this study, viewed as an essential tool in meaning making, the next section centres on communication.

2.3 Communication as Meaning Making

This study views communication as an essential tool in the meaning making that produces and reproduces genders and cultural ‘others’. Hence, communication uses the power of discourse, as discussed in Chapter 1. Therefore, this section addresses communication.

As discussed in Section 1.1 and illustrated in Figure 1.1, this study looks at communication from the strategic point-of-view coined by Paul A. Argenti (2007). The strategic framework emphasizes the meaning of the message and the importance of the audience in the communication process.

As the focus of the research project is on gendered meanings of employment, the first subsection looks at genders and communication. Since the study centres on communication materials aimed at an immigrant audience, the second subsection discusses immigrants and communication. To conclude, as the analysis concentrates on communication between immigrants and residents, the third subsection addresses communication from the intercultural perspective.

2.3.1 Communication and Genders

...the action of gender requires a performance...
(Butler, 1999, p. 178.)

Gender was first defined as performative by Judith Butler. Being performative means that genders are not stable identities from which various acts follow, but rather identities constantly constructed in time through repetition of acts and gestures (Butler, 1999, pp. 173-179). The performative nature of genders makes them also communicative, as genders are not only constructed in non-verbal actions but also in verbal expressions and visual representations.

Judy Cornelia Pearson (1985, pp. 14, 17) defines communication as people negotiating the meaning of a phenomenon, encoding and decoding verbal and nonverbal codes. In fact, according to Butler (1999, pp. 178-179), the repetitive nature of gendered acts provides a way to resist the social meanings of gender, through failure to repeat or distorted repetition. In other words, it is possible to resist the meanings of gender by encoding genders differently. Then again, McElhinny (2003, p. 31) argues that gender is so easy to conform in only a limited range of activities, such as in films or masquerades.

However, something each and everyone can do is to decode meanings of genders differently. For example, Rossi (2003) suggests reading images so that they bring forth meaning which might not be conforming or might even be conflicting with the intended message, but still be meaningful. This unconventional decoding is also taken into consideration in this analysis.

Both language and representations are tools of gendered meaning making. In fact, according to Stuart Hall (1997a, p. 15), representations connect language and meaning to culture. Therefore, the meaning making of genders is next looked at in more detail, first, from the point-of-view of language and, then, from the perspective of representation.

Language and genders

It is by virtue of the accumulation of these [small day-to-day] performances that the gender order is maintained, and it is by virtue of small changes in these performances that the gender order can be restructured (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 55).

Language is a system for “making meanings”, as suggested by M. A. K. Halliday (1994, p. xvii). According to Arja Jokinen, Kirsi Juhila and Eero Suoninen (1993, p. 18), by giving the world meanings language also organises, builds, reproduces and redefines our social reality. Thus, language can be viewed as a powerful tool in constructing and maintaining the gendered world. However, Shari Kendall (2003, p. 604) notes that people do not usually choose linguistic options for the purpose of creating feminine or masculine identities (see Subsection 2.1.1), but they draw upon gendered linguistic strategies to perform interactional functions and, consequently, construct their roles in a gendered way.

From a more linguistic point-of-view, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 60) define language as a structured system of signs and combinations of form and meaning. Gender is embedded in these signs and their use in communication. Gender can be the actual content of a linguistic sign, as in English third-person singular pronouns she and he. The relation of gender and linguistic sign can also be secondary, as in the adjectives pretty and handsome, which both mean good-looking, but are used gender-specifically.

Then how to produce meaning without gender-based discrimination? According to Anne Pauwels (2003, p. 556), there are two principal mechanisms to achieve linguistic equality: gender-neutralisation and gender-specification. Gender-neutralisation aims to minimise the expression of gender in reference to humans, whereas gender-specification promotes making gender of human referents explicit and symmetrical (ibid.). In practice, gender-neutralisation operates by avoiding gender, for example, by using plural expressions as

choosing the plural they instead of the non-plural he or she. In turn, gender-specification would systematically use she and he or he and she, thus explicitly including both women and men.

Next, some of the strategies for gendered meaning making are explored. These strategies include

- labelling,
- context,
- agency and
- presuppositions.

The act of labelling participates in constructing gendered identities by characterising and categorising people, as is pointed out by McGonnell-Ginet (2003, p. 69). For example, an adult person may be labelled as a woman, a girl or a bitch, with all of the labels categorising and adding different characteristics to the person.

Additionally, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 34) argue that language does not simply reflect pre-existing gender categories, but also contributes in constructing and maintaining them. Furthermore, Jokinen et al. (1993, p. 20) note that the categorisations are often based on bilateral differences in meaning. For example, as noted by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 36), the omnipresence of the view of male and female as opposites is constructed and maintained in the common English expression the opposite sex. Alternative expressions such as the other sex are rarely used (ibid.).

Gender ideologies do not only unfold in explicit talk about genders, but also in the context in which genders are talked about. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 42) refer to these as affiliations, often reflecting contemporary stereotypes. For example, women can be described as emotional and nurturing, whereas men can be said to be rational and career-oriented. However, by describing genders in accordance with these stereotypes, the stereotypes are reconstructed and maintained.

Agency looks at the participants of a sentence. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, pp. 72-73) argue, word combinations of sentences provide ways of communicating essentially the same message, but with different emphases or perspective. For example, the subject of an active sentence is the star actor in the event, whereas the object simply receives the action initiated by the subject (*ibid.*). Therefore, if representants of a gender are consistently portrayed only as subjects or as objects, this can affect the way people interpret the positions of genders in the society.

However, even individual concepts charge their targets with hidden presuppositions or implications of what is natural, as is pointed out by Jokinen et al. (1993, p. 19). As an example is the label bitch used for women interested in power (Lakoff, 2003, p. 162), as discussed in Subsection 2.1.2. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, pp. 204-205) note, however, that presuppositions are not themselves a bad thing and are, indeed, essential to communication. What makes presuppositions of interest when looking at genders and language is, according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, that the covert or hidden messages often have a greater impact on creating and maintaining gender systems than the explicit messages do. For example, by talking explicitly about female doctors or male nurses invokes the covert presupposition that doctors are 'normally' male and nurses are 'normally' female (*ibid.*, pp. 71, 192, 201).

As the study concentrates on the gendered meanings of employment, this part has discussed how gendered meanings are produced verbal language. Next, the gendered meaning making of visual cues and representations is looked at.

Representation and genders

Representations, as defined by Laiho and Ruoho (2005, p. 8), portray agents for a group or a cause in images or text. Additionally, Hall (1997a, p. 16-17) argues that representations can be thought as phenomena that enable people to make

sense of the world and reach common understanding of complex issues, thus - similarly to language - producing meaning.

Pauwels (2003, p. 553) argues that the presentations of women and men are characterised by semantic asymmetry, which expresses the perceived value and status of men and women in the society. Taking the thought even further, Rossi (2010a, pp. 261-263) calls representations politicising acts, which manifest what issues can be made visible or talked about and how. Thus, as argued by Susanna Paasonen (2010, pp. 45-46), representations have an impact on how people understand the world overall and themselves as members of society. More distinctively, Rossi (2010a, p. 268) argues that representations produce crucial norms for genders and sexualities.

According to Rossi (2003, p. 11), advertising that uses human characters always advertises genders as well. Therefore, any form of communication about human characters can also be regarded as communication about genders, which is the approach adopted in this study.

Are there, then, any gender-specific ways of representing human characters? Jukka Kortti (2007, p. 108) notes that women are often represented by parts of their body, such as eyes, hands or feet. Laura Mulvey (1975) argues that in films these tightly framed shots are used to erotically objectify the character for the viewer, as the size of frame gives the image flatness and the quality of an icon rather than verisimilitude. Of course, it is to be noted that Mulvey's views were based on films of her time, that is, films made more than three decades ago. Thus, it seems inevitable that filming conventions have changes somewhat – at least, female characters play a more active role in many contemporary films.

In turn, Janne Seppänen (2001, p. 44) argues that as important as what is presented is what is not presented, since invisibility means exclusion from the cultural reserve of available representations. Seppänen also notes that journalistic materials present rarely images of members of, for example, sexual or ethnical minorities, thus making them invisible (*ibid.*). That is, as meanings

of genders are built through communication, similarly are the meanings of immigrants constructed in communication. Therefore, the next subsection discusses the issues of communication and immigrants.

2.3.2 Communication and Immigrants

This subsection looks at how meanings of immigrants and immigration are shaped through communication. As noted in Subsection 2.2.1, Finnish nationality is mainly comprehended as 'white', Lutheran and Finnish speaking (see Lempiäinen, 2002, p. 29). According to Rossi (2003, p. 181), media imagery is one way of sustaining the idea of homogenous nationality and of producing difference between them and us. For example, in television advertising, Finns of 'non-white' ethnicity are nearly invisible and non-existent (ibid., p. 217).

One way of forming the 'other' is stereotyping, which, according to Hall (1997b), is part of maintaining the social and symbolic order by constructing a symbolic boundary between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal'. He argues that stereotyping is central to the representation of ethnic difference, as it "reduces people to a few, simple characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (ibid., p. 257). Furthermore, it stiffens the exaggerated and simplistic features, thus giving them no chance of change or development. According to Hall, a common strategy of representing the 'others', whether being an immigrant or a woman, is representing them as naïve and childlike.

The conceptualisation of 'others' can also be executed through labelling. According to Forsander (2004b), for example, the immigrants in Finland were first referred to as *ulkomaalaiset* - foreigners in English - and then as *maahanmuuttajat*, which means immigrants in English. Nowadays they are sometimes referred to as *uussuomalainen* (ibid.), which could be translated as a Newfinn. However, this concept does not seem to have become very popular in the public use, at least not so far.

According to Rossi (2003, p. 182), ethnicity can, similarly to gender, be approached as a constructed phenomenon always in change. Thus, many of the communication issues discussed in Subsection 2.3.1 in reference to genders – labelling, affiliation, agency, presuppositions and representation - also apply to immigrants. Therefore, only labelling and representation will be discussed in more detail here.

Language is often one of the main initial barriers confronting recent immigrants, as argued by Teresa Casey and Christian Dustmann (2008, p. 661). Furthermore, language fluency is increasingly regarded as a key requirement for qualifying as an immigrant.

However, language is not only a barrier, but also a gendered barrier. Anika Liversage (2009), for example, found that during the first immigration years, regarded as the most crucial time from the language-learning perspective, many immigrant women in her study were restrained at home. Later, as the women were able to move more outside the home, the labour market structures, with high linguistic demands, excluded the women from getting into working life, in which they could have interacted with the majority population and, thus, benefited from this linguistically (*ibid.*). Although Liversage conducted her study in Denmark, it seems relevant for Finland as well, as many immigrants seem to experience that linguistic demands are very high in Finnish companies.

Furthermore, the gendered nature of the language barrier does not only have an immediate impact. Casey and Dustmann (2008, p. 682) argue that language improvement of first-generation immigrants also plays an important role in improving the lingual performance of 'second-generation immigrants'. Of course, the 'second-generation immigrants', brought up and educated in the host-country, may form an essential part of the future workforce of the country.

From a linguistic point-of-view, the categorisation and labelling of people seems to be constant and never-ending. For example, Sara Ahmed (2000, p. 8) argues that whenever meeting others, people seek to recognise who they are by reading

the signs on their body, or by “reading their body as a sign” (emphasis in the original). People easily conceptualise the world by labelling and categorising others according to differences, which, according to Rossi (2010a, pp. 271-273), easily produces hierarchies that are in no means solid or natural. According to Ahmed (2000, pp. 8, 21), a stranger is recognised as anybody whom the person does not know; that is, a person recognised as a stranger or as out-of-place is due to the process of recognition labelled as a stranger.

Furthermore, Rossi (2003, pp. 196-197) argues that Finnish advertising tends to mark ethnically non-Finnish characters clearly as foreigners. This is accomplished, for example, by setting the characters to a clearly non-Finnish milieu or by showing them in Finnish milieu but clearly marking them as visitors, not residents.

In addition, it is hardly insignificant who is the one recognising the ‘strangers’ and making the conceptualisations. For example, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 7) argue that to “be able to dictate categories for the rest of the society” can be regarded as the ultimate power; that is, to be able to determine what ‘racial’ categories are and which people are viewed as ‘having no race’. As discussed in Subsection 2.2.3, gender research has, for a long time, been colour-blind, treating ‘being white’ not as an ethnicity but as a neutral norm (see Valovirta, 2010).

Still, Forsander (2004b) reminds that whatever labels the categories carry, they in any case suggest that the people are something different than ‘full Finns’. However, Rossi (2010a, pp. 271-273) brings out a new perspective on the discussion by arguing that the differences do not have to be thought simply and solely as means of exclusion and hierarchical construction as they often are, but they can also bring forward plurality that deconstructs and questions the hierarchies. To achieve this, Ahmed (2000, p. 9) suggests that the differences should be positioned in the “relations between people”, instead of seeing them in the people representing ‘the other’.

Since the study centres on communication materials aimed at immigrants, this subsection has looked at how meanings about immigrants and immigration are formed through communication. However, as the focus is on communication between immigrants and residents, and consequently on intercultural communication, the next subsection takes a slightly different point-of-view by looking at communication between immigrants and residents.

2.3.3 Intercultural Communication

Western man sees his system of logic as synonymous with the truth
(Hall 1976, p. 9).

Intercultural communication is, for the purposes of this study, defined as communication between people with different cultural backgrounds. It is viewed as an important tool for mutual cultural growth and understanding. Culture, in turn, is viewed as constructed by fluid and changing values and customs (cf. Lappalainen, 2002).

Culture, as Fred E. Jandt (2004, p. 1) defines it, is something learned, not inherited, including symbolic, arbitrary meanings. Tracy Novinger (2001) names language, nationality, ethnicity, values and customs as some of the differences commonly defined as cultural. Edward T. Hall (1976, pp. 16-17), in turn, defines culture in a very down-to-earth way as being the personality of people, how people express themselves and show emotion, how they move, how their transportation systems are organised, et cetera. Furthermore, Hall argues that all aspects of human life are touched and altered by culture (ibid.).

As for intercultural communication research, James W. Chesebro (1998, pp. 180-182) establishes three characteristics of the word culture especially essential for it: first, culture is a social, immaterial construction; second, culture is constituted with and transmitted through culturally linked symbols and, third, culture refers to societal understandings that are transferred from one

generation to the next. According to Novinger (2001), intercultural communication being intercultural indicates taking several differences into account in communications, such as language, national origin, ethnicity et cetera.

As the intercultural aspect of this study is on communication between residents and immigrants, that is, between culturally quite monolithic Finnish residents and a culturally very varied group of immigrants, it is not possible to draw on studies that only look at communication between two culturally coherent groups, such as the Finns and the Swedes (see e.g. Louhiala-Salminen, Charles & Kankaanranta, 2005) or the Finns and the Brits (see e.g. Meriläinen et al., 2004). Furthermore, the cultural uniformity of national groups may be questioned. For example, according to Daphne A. Jameson (2007, p. 205), national identity may, in fact, be the most salient part of one's identity, and other factors, such as profession, societal class, religious identity and ethnicity, may be much more crucial for identity building. Hence, this study draws on literature about general differences in cultures and looks at how these differences have been acknowledged in the research data.

Literature about cultural differences specifies a number of aspects to consider in intercultural communication. These aspects include, but are not limited to:

- individualism / collectivism (Hofstede, 1983),
- power distance (Hofstede, 1983),
- face (Novinger, 2001),
- eye contact (Novinger, 2001),
- interpersonal space (Novinger, 2001),
- physical extensions (Novinger, 2001),
- values (Novinger, 2001),
- gender roles (Novinger, 2001),
- value of context (Hall, 1976), and
- sense of time (Hall, 1976).

Next, the aspects are elaborated and their relevance to this research project is evaluated.

Individualism / collectivism, according to Geert Hofstede (1983, p. 79), addresses the relation between an individual and one's fellow individuals. In some cultures, the ties between individuals in the society are very loose and everybody is supposed to focus on one's self-interest. In turn, in other cultures people are expected to take care of the interest of the community and share its opinions and beliefs and, in return, the community is expected to protect its members. (Ibid.) The individualism / collectivism aspect also affects, for example, how independently people are expected to work and what kind of teamwork abilities are demanded from them.

Power distance is, as conceptualised by Hofstede (1983, p. 81) related to the power differences between those who have a great deal of power and those who have little power. In organisations, power distance is indicated by degree of centralization of authority and the autocratic leadership (ibid.), and is, thus, directly related to working life.

Closely related to power distance is face, which, as coined by Novinger (2001, p. 31), is the value or prestige that a person has in the eyes of others. In many cultures maintaining face is of great importance, although the processes differ (ibid.). Thus, face is a crucial tool in producing and reproducing relationships, including the relationships formed in professional life.

Novinger (2001, p. 65) notes that cultures have explicit rules about having eye contact, including staring and frequency of contact. Seppänen (2001, p. 35) argues that cultural norms influencing gaze are also highly important for how people organize what they see. For example, in the Finnish culture, it is regarded polite to look one's interlocutor in the eyes, although for not too long (ibid.). With regard to the professional life, eye contact is regarded important in, for example, job interview situations.

Interpersonal space includes, according to Novinger (2001, pp. 67-68), the distance kept in interpersonal encounters. In cultures where people tend to interact closely, a greater distance can be interpreted as a sign of coldness, condescension or disinterest. In turn, in cultures where the personal space is great, an intrusion to the personal space can be seen as pushy or disrespectful. Culture also influences whether persons interact face-to-face or side-by-side and whether waiting in line is seen as necessary. (Ibid.) In professional life as well interpersonal space is an important factor in interaction between colleagues.

According to Novinger (2001, p. 71-72), people communicate, consciously or unconsciously, by physical extensions of themselves, such as dress and accessories. However, their interpretation varies from culture to culture (ibid.). Of course, physical extensions are a fairly visible part of working life as different professions and places of work have, for example, different dress codes.

Values can be defined as, according to Novinger (2001, p. 39), “learned organization of rules for making choices and resolving conflicts”. Values can be viewed as a basis of all interaction, including interaction in working life. For example, punctuality may be regarded as a highly important virtue and as a mark of appreciation in some cultures and far less essential in others.

Gender roles, as described by Novinger (2001, pp. 35-36), address the behaviour regarded feminine or masculine in culture. The idea comes close to Hofstede’s (1983) concept of masculinity vs. femininity, which additionally addresses the fluency of gender roles in a culture. Genders and gender roles also play a significant role in working life, as discussed in Subsection 2.1.2.

Cultures assess value of context in communication differently. According to Hall (1976, pp. 91, 101), in high-context cultures, most of the information is embedded in the physical communication context, while very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message. In turn, in low-context cultures, the largest part of the information is vested in the actual communication code. (Ibid.) In

professional life, the value of context can be clearly seen in, for example, how people behave in meetings or how they write e-mails.

Sense of time can be divided in monochronic and polychronic time systems, as suggested by Hall (1976, pp. 17-19). A culture that understands time as monochronic, stresses schedules, segmentation and promptness, whereas in a culture viewing time as polychronic, many things happen at the same time. Monochronic time is often considered as linear, a road extending forward into the future and backward to the past, whereas polychronic time is viewed as a sacred point. Thus, monochronic time is treated as more tangible than polychronic time, and systems following monochronic time can even be seen as time-dominated. (Ibid.) Related to working life, the sense of time can be seen in, for example, what is regarded as being punctual - whether it means coming five minutes in advance, exactly at time or fifteen minutes late.

As this study views communication as a tool of meaning making, this section has addressed communication from the perspectives of genders, immigrants and intercultural communication. Based on this section and the previous sections discussing genders and immigrants, respectively, the next section summarizes the theoretical framework of the study.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research project, as depicted in Figure 2.2, is based on the presupposition that both genders and cultural 'others', such as 'immigrants', are socially constructed and maintained in communication. Thus, communication is viewed as tool of meaning making. Furthermore, the study assumes that the socially constructed ideas of genders and cultures have an effect on the employment field (see e.g. Bing & Bergvall, 1998), as, for example, on gender segregation of employment in Finland (see Subsection 2.1.2).

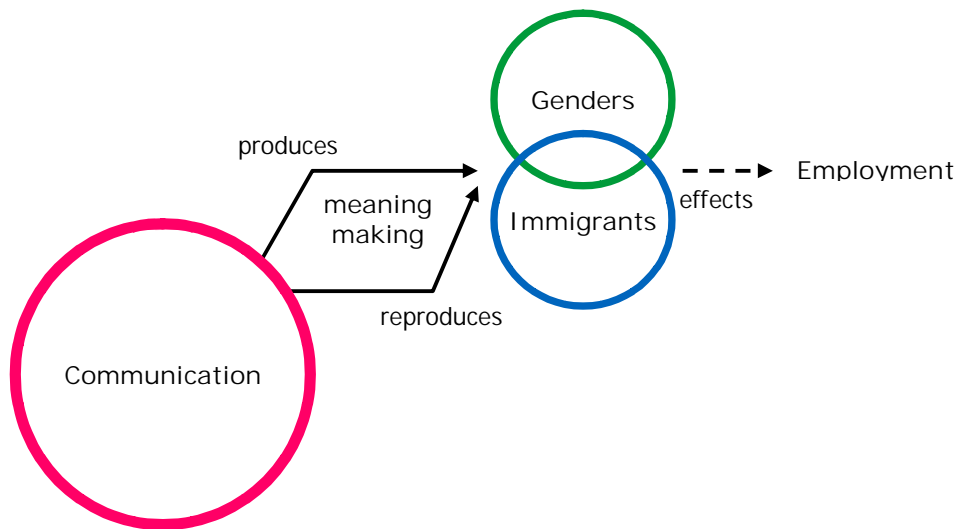


Figure 2.2 Theoretical framework of the study

This chapter has reviewed previous literature and studies in the area of gendered communication aimed at immigrants. The next chapter addresses methods.

3 Three Complementary Methods

The previous chapter presented the literature and the theoretical framework of the study. This chapter concentrates on the research methods.

The study will be a qualitative research, which, according to Pamela Maykut and Richard Morehouse (1994, p. 2), examines people's words and actions in descriptive or narrative ways. Thus, in qualitative research the researcher tries to capture how people interpret the world by discovering patterns that emerge from the data.

The research data entail printed materials including text, images and other visual cues. Thus, the data are multimodal, signifying that the meaning is realized through various semiotic codes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177). Therefore, three research methods, complementary to one another, will be used in the analysis: discourse analysis, image analysis and integration analysis. These three methods are discussed more elaborately next.

3.1 Discourse Analysis Reveals the Meaning in Texts

This section addresses discourse analysis as a research method. The findings of the discourse analysis are discussed in Section 5.1. The analysis is based on the idea that the world – and, therefore, the gendered world - is, as formulated by Mary Bucholtz (2003, p. 45), “produced and reproduced in great part through discourse”. In this analysis, discourse is viewed as an extract of written or spoken language, larger than a sentence (see e.g. Bucholtz, 2003, Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002), which is closely interrelated with social life (see Fairclough, 2003).

Language is a system for “making meanings”, as suggested by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (1994, p. xvii) In turn, discourse analysis, as

defined by Arja Jokinen, Kirsi Juhila and Eero Suoninen (1993, p. 18), is grounded interpretation based on a dialog between the researcher and analysis of data. According to Norman Fairclough (2003, p. 124) discourses can be seen as representations of three aspects of the world: the material, the mental and the social world. However, discourses do not only represent the world as it is, but are projective and represent the world as it is seen to be. Additionally, discourses only represent a particular part of the world and from a particular perspective. (Ibid.) Thus, this analysis aims to unfold how the writers of the data project world and the Finnish society.

Discourse can be viewed as consisting of two entities: the context it exists in and the linguistic regularities it holds. According to Brown and Yule (1983, p. 40), the more discourse analysts know about the features of context, the more likely they are to be able to predict the intended meaning of the discourse. However, Brown and Yule also introduce the “principle of local interpretation”, which instructs the reader to not to construct a context any larger than necessary to secure an interpretation (ibid., pp. 59-60). This analysis, therefore, in terms of context, follows the principle of local interpretation, limiting the interpretation to the type of writer, channel, indicated topic, time, place and the intended audience (see e.g. Brown & Yule, 1983).

Discourse analysis addresses and describes the regularities of the data existing in groups, phrases, clauses and discourse. As the data is quite extensive given the dimensions of this study, it is not possible to analyse every group, phrase and clause of the data. However, according to James Paul Gee (1999, p. 88), discourse analysis can be based only on the details of writing assessed to be relevant for the situation and to the arguments the analyst is attempting to make. Thus, as argued by Pekka Pälli, Janne Tienari and Eero Vaara (2009, p. 924), discourse analysis can focus on a selected few linguistic features or on many features simultaneously.

The features looked at in this analysis derive from the theories of language and gender by Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet (2003). More precisely, this study focuses on the following linguistic regularities:

- labelling, that is, what labels are used to categorise and characterise;
- usage of personal pronouns, especially gendering she and he pronouns and othering they and we pronouns;
- agency, looking at who is doing what to whom;
- context, examining what is the context when speaking about employment, gender or immigrants; and
- presuppositions, that is, what is indicated by presenting something as taken-for-granted.

Labelling, usage of personal pronouns and agency are looked at the rank of groups and phrases. In turn, context and presuppositions are analysed on the level of discourse.

As for agency, this analysis deploys the types of participant roles Actor, Goal, Carrier and Senser coined by Halliday (1994). Actor is a participant taking part in a process of material doing. The object of doing is called Goal. In turn, Carrier is a participant who is or has something assigning quality. Senser is a participant who engages in a mental process of sensing. (Ibid., pp. 165-175.)

As text is an essential part of the research data, this section has addressed the tools used for analysing the text. Simultaneously, it has presented first of the three research methods, discourse analysis. Since images also form an important part of the data, the next section looks at the second research method, image analysis.

3.2 Image Analysis Reads the Visual Cues

This section presents image analysis as a research method. The results of the image analysis are addressed in Section 5.2.

As gender is a characteristic associated with human beings, the image analysis will focus on the pictures of human characters only. According to Stuart Hall (1997a, p. 19), even when visual signs and images bear close resemblance to the things they refer to, they still need to be interpreted. Michael O'Toole (1994, p. 15) explains that people "read" the characteristics of human characters from the same kinds of clues by which we "know" people in everyday life.

The image analysis is mainly based on the theories of O'Toole (1994). O'Toole divides images in three categories: narrative themes, scenes and portrayals. Narratives are simply images designed to tell a story. Scenes, in turn, are images set out to depict something without any action being presented, for example landscape photographs. Portrayals represent a person or a group of people. The categories may overlap and, thus, do not exclude each other. (Ibid.) This analysis concentrates on the narrative and portrayals only, as scene images typically do not include any human characters.

This analysis looks at the human characters and their actions, named by O'Toole (1994) as Figures and Episodes respectively. Furthermore, this analysis centres on the Representation Function (ibid.), as it endeavours to convey information about reality.

For looking at the representational function of figures, O'Toole (1994, p. 21) names five elements of analysis, as is shown in Table 3.1: Characters and their Acts, Stance, Gestures and Clothing. Additionally, he notes that clothing and accessories often carry important clues of the role and social status of the character.

The analysis of the representational functions of actions does not only look at the actions themselves, but also the roles of the characters in the actions, as

suggested by O'Toole (1994, p. 21) and as visualised in Table 3.1. Agents, Patients and Goals describe the roles of the characters, Agents being the subjects of action, Patients the object of the action and Goals produced by the action.

O'Toole (1994) classifies Gaze as a modal element, thus engaging the attention and interest of the viewer. Gaze does not, however, only affect the relation between the viewer and the character, but also the relations between the characters. Indeed, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996), define it as the most fundamental element of images. Therefore, the element of Gaze is used in this analysis as well, as illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Elements focused on in the image analysis

	Representational	Modal	Compositional
Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative themes, scenes, portrayals • Interplay of episodes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhythm • Gaze • Frame • Light • Perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gestalt: framing, horizontals, verticals, diagonals • Proportion: geometry, line, rhythm, colour
Episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions, events • Agents, patients, goals • Focal / side sequence • Interplay of actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative prominence (scale, centrality) • Interplay of modalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative position in work • Alignment, interplay and coherence of forms
Figure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Character / object • Act, stance, gesture • Clothing components 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaze • Stance • Characterisation • Contrast (scale, line, light, colour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative position in episode • Parallelism / opposition • Subframing
Member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of body / object • Natural form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylistation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohesion (parallel / contrast / rhythm) • Reference

Main focus

Lesser focus

Minimal focus

(adapted from O'Toole, 1994, p. 24)

Additionally, this analysis looks at what kind of paradigmatic choices the images make, that is, what kind of characters, marked as 'women' and 'men', have been chosen from all the available, cultural female and male representations, as

suggested by Leena-Maija Rossi (2003, p. 17, see also Paasonen, 2010). Furthermore, the analysis will discuss the syntagmatic choices of the images, that is, how the marked characters are combined and presented together.

However, the analysis does not aim at offering univocal answers on how the images analysed should be read, but merely strives to offer a gender sensitive alternative for reading the images.

Since images form a large part of the research data, this section has addressed analysing images, which is the second of the three research methods used in this study. However, as images in the data do not exist independently from the text, analysing the integration of these components is discussed next as the third research method, integration analysis, is presented.

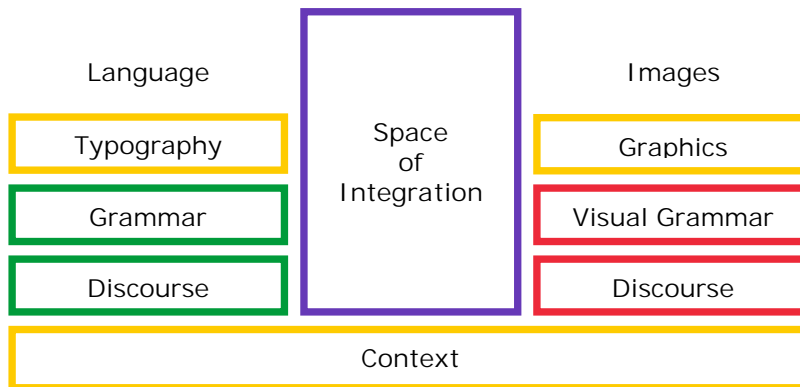
3.3 Integration Analysis Looks at Composition and Interaction

This section presents integration analysis as a research method. The findings of the analysis are discussed in Section 5.3.

Although it is widely accepted that meaning is rarely made by language alone, there still exists a lack of understanding of how meanings arise in multimodal media (see e.g. Cheong, 2004; Lim, 2004). Still, Victor Lim Fei (2004, p. 228) argues that both lingual and pictorial components serve different, although complementary roles and are, thus, equally important.

Kay L. O'Halloran (1999, p. 320) argues that meanings arising from the interactions and interdependence of semiotic choices and elements in multimodal materials may be considered in relation to the meaning potential of each individual semiotic. However, Lim (2004, p. 225) argues that the total meaning arising from the interaction and integrations of semiotic components is "more than just adding up the meaning made by each independent modality".

This is illustrated in his model for multisemiotic analysis, as depicted in Figure 3.1. The Space of Integration, as suggested by Lim, reflects the multiplication of meanings that arises through the integration and interaction of the semiotic components. This is also the starting point of this integration analysis.



(adapted from the Multi-Semiotic Model by Lim 2002, 2004)
 Figure 3.1: Model for integration analysis

The integration analysis consists of two elements. The first element is the analysis of composition, which follows the principles of O’Toole (1994) as presented in Table 3.2. It looks at how the different components relate to the frame and each other horizontally, vertically and diagonally. The second element, illustrated in Figure 3.1, is interaction between the components, which, according to Lim (2004, p. 239), can be viewed as the focus of analysing multimodal texts.

Table 3.2: Elements concentrated on in the composition analysis

	Representational	Modal	Compositional
Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative themes, scenes, portrayals • Interplay of episodes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhythm • Gaze • Frame • Light • Perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gestalt: framing, horizontals, verticals, diagonals • Proportion: geometry, line, rhythm, colour
Episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions, events • Agents, patients, goals • Focal / side sequence • Interplay of actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative prominence (scale, centrality) • Interplay of modalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative position in work • Alignment, interplay and coherence of forms
Figure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Character / object • Act, stance, gesture • Clothing components 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaze • Stance • Characterisation • Contrast (scale, line, light, colour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative position in episode • Parallelism / opposition • Subframing
Member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of body / object • Natural form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohesion (parallel / contrast / rhythm) • Reference

Main focus

Minimal focus

(adapted from O'Toole, 1994, p. 24)

Since the text and the images of the research data affect one another, this section has presented the mode of analysis looking at the integration of the two. Simultaneously, the section has reviewed the third and final research method of the study. As any research project should reflect its own trustworthiness, this is addressed next.

3.4 Trustworthiness of the Study

This section looks at the reliability of the research project. However, as the quantitative criteria of reliability and validity are by many researchers deemed as inappropriate for evaluating qualitative research (see e.g. Bryman & Bell, 2003), the concept of trustworthiness, presented by Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba (1985) for estimating the reliability of qualitative research, is used here. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four criteria for showing

trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, consistency and neutrality. Each of these criteria and how the present study meets them is next discussed more thoroughly.

Credibility, as argued by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 296), is proven by carrying out the study according to the paradigm of good practice and submitting the findings to the constructors of the realities being studied. One of the techniques they recommend to enhance credibility is using triangulation of methods (*ibid.*, pp. 305-307). This analysis follows the frameworks of well-established researchers, such as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) and O'Toole (1994). The paper is made available at the library of the publishing institution and is, thus, available for examining by the constructors of the reality. In addition, the study uses three different methods, first examining text, second studying images and the third looking at the integration of the two.

By transferability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) address the issue of applying the findings in later research. They argue that to meet the criterion, the researcher should provide sufficient descriptive data to make it possible for another researcher interested in transferring the findings to make a decision about whether transfer is an alternative (*ibid.*, pp. 296-298, 316). To meet the criterion of transferability, this study provides an overview of the methodology and terminology used. As describing the process of analysis in detail in the body of this report is estimated to be neither space-efficient nor reader-friendly, a more thorough description of the analysis process is included in appendices to further enhance the transferability of the findings.

The criterion of dependability, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 298-299), seeks to overcome the factors of instability and change in qualitative research. The most essential parts of the study material are reproduced in this report to enhance the dependability of the study. Additionally, choices made in selecting the material, selecting the methods, et cetera, are explicitly shown and rationalized.

Confirmability, as presented by Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 299-300), means that the findings are based on the characteristics of the data. As the data of this study consists of a public, printed material, it would be possible to duplicate the study with the same research questions and research methods. However, any research project, qualitative or quantitative, is affected by its researcher (see e.g. Bryman and Bell, 2003). Therefore, it is to be noted that the researcher of this study identifies with female gender, is of Finnish ethnicity and has lived in Finland for most of her life. Were any of these researcher characteristics changed, it is possible that, even though the main finding would probably be similar, the interpretation of them and emphasizing of particular findings would likely differ.

This chapter has presented the study methods and discussed the trustworthiness of the study. The next chapter looks at the process of data collection.

4 Data Collection, Selection and Analysis

This chapter overviews the process of data collection, selection and analysis. Although the analysis focuses only on a sample of communication material, this material was chosen among a set of 18 separate communication materials. The set of data was collected in order to map what kind of public, printed materials are available for immigrants. However, not all the materials were considered suitable for the scope of this study, mainly for the reason that not all the materials address employment issues. Furthermore, considering the scale of the study, it was not practical to study more than one sample of data. Thus, in the end, the data was narrowed down to a booklet titled *Working in Finland*, as it for its content seemed most suitable for the scope of this study.

The collected set of communication materials are produced by:

- Finnish Refugee Counsel,
- Finnish Red Cross
- the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and its predecessor until year 2008, Ministry of Labour,
- Ministry of the Interior,
- Ministry of Justice,
- Office of the Ombudsman for Equality,
- Office of the Ombudsman for Minorities and
- the Police Department.

The materials are between one and 69 pages long, some including only text, some additionally photographs and illustrations. Three of the materials are cartoons. Some of the materials are available in as many as 14 different languages, some only in Finnish. More detailed information of the materials is available at the end of the paper, as Appendix A.

The sample of data chosen for this study, *Working in Finland*, is a booklet produced by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy. It consists of 40-pages of text and coloured pictures and illustrations, as is shown in Table 4.1. It is available in print at the Employment and Economic Development Offices and electronically at the website of Employment and Economic Development Office (www.mol.fi).

Table 4.1: Structure of the *Working in Finland* booklet

Topic of the page(s)	Number of page(s)
Front cover	1
Table of content	2
Introduction	2
Finnish culture	6
Working in Finland	16
Education in Finland	2
Social security on Finland	6
Contact information	2
Check list for an immigrant	2
Back cover	1
Total	40

The booklet is produced in Finland by Finnish authorities. It is undated, but the fact that the Ministry of Employment and the Economy was first formed in year 2008 and that the booklet includes data of Finland from year 2007 indicate that the booklet was first published in year 2008.

As this introduction has overviewed data collection and explained data selection, the process of data analysis is looked at next.

4.1 Process of Discourse Analysis

This section presents the process of discourse analysis. Since *Working in Finland*, the title of the material, suggests it is aimed at people coming to Finland to work or find employment, all the text in the material is treated as relating to employment.

The process of analysis was divided into four steps, using the terminology defined in Section 3.1. These steps were:

1. labelling,
2. usage of personal pronouns,
3. agency,
4. context and
5. presuppositions.

Each of the steps was carried out for different concepts essential for the scope of this study. First, concepts related to employment were looked at, second, expressions concerning genders, and third, words related to immigrants. In practice, the steps required finding the concepts, counting and comparing how often the concepts were used, looking at their context and reading between the lines to find the presuppositions.

Next, each of the steps is explained in more detail with relevant examples from the analysis. The detailed account of the analysis is included as Appendix B.

Labelling refers to the concepts used to characterise and categorise objects. For example, immigrants are most often labelled as immigrant(s) or foreigner(s), as is shown in Table 4.2. Additionally, foreign is often used as prefix.

Table 4.2: Occurrences of groups and phrases labelling immigrants

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
31	immigrant(s)
10	foreigner(s)
3	foreign jobseeker
3	foreign citizen
3	foreign national
3	a person / persons moving to Finland
3	foreign employee(s)
2	newcomer(s)

Usage of personal pronouns is only applicable to concepts referring to genders and immigrants. As an example, immigrants are most often referred to actively as you. The othering personal pronoun they is used far more seldom, as is illustrated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Occurrences of personal pronouns referring to immigrants

Number of occurrences	Concept
138	you
9	they

In turn, the genitive personal pronouns are used to refer to the residents, as is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Occurrences of personal pronouns referring to residents

Number of occurrences	Concept
6	our
5	their

Even though the usage of genitive pronoun our is nearly as common as the usage of genitive pronoun their in referring to the residents, it is to be noted, that in the material the genitive pronoun our always refers to residents and never to immigrants. In turn, immigrants are referred to with genitive pronouns their and his/her, as is visible in Examples 1, 2 and 3.

- (1) Finns appreciate ... their own culture (p. 5).
- (2) Our [people of Finland] economic growth is mainly based on the success of our export industry (p 5).
- (3) Immigrants are helped to find out how their foreign qualifications or degrees can be made to meet the requirements set by Finnish working life (p. 16).

Looking at agency, that is, who is doing what to whom, shows that concepts related to employment are most often presents as Actors or Carriers, as illustrated in Examples 4, 5, 6 and 7.

(4) Finnish economic life is undergoing a period of transition. (p. 10)

Actor

(5) Working life is changing rapidly. (p. 10)

Actor

(6) Job creation is expected to be especially strong... (p. 13)

Carrier

(7) Labour availability problems are also common... (p. 13)

Carrier

In turn, concepts related to employment are only rarely presented as Goals, as shown in Example 8.

(8) ...foreigners may undertake paid-employment in Finland... (p. 24)

Goal

As for context, immigrants are seldom placed in the context of employment as in Examples 9 and 10.

(9) If you will be working in Finland for no longer than six months...

(p. 20)

(10) Foreigners planning paid employment in Finland must usually get a residence permit... (p. 21)

In turn, the residents are mainly presented as liking and appreciating, as shown in Examples (11) and (12).

(11) Finns like to live in a detached house with a private garden (p. 11).

(12) Finns appreciate --- many fields of culture (p. 7).

Looking at presuppositions means finding what is indicated by presenting something as taken-for-granted. Thus, finding presuppositions requires reading between the lines.

As for employment, it is evident that the reader of the material is expected to be familiar with the concepts of market economy, such as labour market and supply of labour, as these concepts are used without explanation.

Looking at genders, the material holds presuppositions about women as caretakers of children, about men as breadwinners and about a two-parent heterosexual nuclear family, as is illustrated in Example 13.

(13) In Finland, women commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities (p. 36).

For the sentence above to make sense, it needs to presuppose that men work outside home. However, by emphasizing women's paid employment and leaving men's work unmentioned, the clause naturalises both paid employment of men and homemaker role of women. Additionally, the clause supposes two parents; a woman and, as the counterpart, a man, thus reinforcing the model of a two parent heterosexual nuclear family.

This section has presented the process of discourse analysis. Next, the process of image analysis is looked at.

4.2 Process of Image Analysis

This section presents the process of image analysis. As the title of the Working in Finland booklet suggests it is aimed at people coming to Finland to work or find employment, all the images in the booklet are treated as relating to employment.

The booklet includes in total 48 images. They are listed in Appendix C. The analysis concentrates on images that present adult, human characters at work.

With most pictures the choice to include or exclude an image was simple, but with few pictures the choice was more complicated. There were five images, with which it was somewhat difficult to establish whether the people are working or not. One of the pictures portrayed adults studying (see 5.14 in Subsection 5.2.2). This image was included in the analysis, as adult education can also be regarded as work. In turn, three of the five images – a picture of a group of women measuring a cloth, presented in Figure 4.1, a picture of a woman on a laptop, depicted in Figure 4.2 and a picture of a man talking on a mobile phone, shown in Figure 4.3, were excluded as it was not possible to establish whether they were work related and, if they were, what kind of work was in question. Additionally, an image portraying hockey players, shown in Figure 4.4 was excluded, as even though the picture may present professional hockey players, playing hockey is hardly a typical profession in Finland.



Figure 4.1:
Women measuring cloth



Figure 4.2:
Woman on a laptop



Figure 4.3:
Man with a mobile on the street



Figure 4.4: Professional
male hockey players

Altogether this analysis includes 14 images, listed in Table 4.5, and 24 characters, which of whom 13 seem to be marked as female, nine as male and two are ambiguously marked.

Table 4.5: List of analysed images

Number in the thesis	Name ¹	Representational function (O'Toole, 1994)	Number of analysed characters		
			F	M	A
5.1	Hand doing automatic control	Narrative			1
5.2	Welder	Narrative			1
5.3	Female kindergarten teacher	Narrative	1		
5.4	Female dentist with female nurse	Narrative	2		
5.5	Female doctor and male construction worker ²	Portrayal	1	1	
4.5 / 5.6	Businesswoman ²	Portrayal	1		
5.7	Male workers at a bus depot	Narrative		4	
5.8	Male mechanic	Narrative		1	
5.9	Saleswoman	Narrative	1		
5.10	Two female pharmacists	Narrative	2		
5.11	Office workers in a meeting room	Narrative	3	1	
5.12	Female teacher of higher education ²	Portrayal	1		
5.13	Female primary school teacher	Narrative	1		
5.14	Male students in a classroom	Narrative		2	
Total			13	9	2
			24		

F = female, M = male, A = ambiguous

Three of the images were reframed for the purposes of this report, as the original images included large areas of background space. Reframing the images made it possible to show the characters – that is, the primary element of analysis – as larger and, thus, with more details. All the reframed images are marked in Table 4.5 as well as in the image text itself.

The analysis looked at the human characters and their actions, as was discussed in Section 3.2. As for the characters, the analysis concentrated on their stance,

¹ As the images appear without names in the original material, all the images are named by the researcher.

² Image was reframed for the purposes of this paper as the original image included large space with no characters. The reframing made it possible to show the primary element of analysis – the character – as larger and, hence, with more details.

gaze, gestures, clothing and accessories. For example, Figure 4.5 is a portrayal image of a light-skinned woman, in her thirties, holding a picture of a laptop. She could be categorized as ethnically Finnish. She gazes directly at the viewer, thus engaging the viewer. She is marked as a woman by her long blond hair, careful make-up and a narrow, dark blue skirt. She is also wearing a matching jacket and beneath it a white-black striped shirt. Her stance, however, is not very feminine, as she seems to be pushing her hips forward. Her glasses, as well, seem quite unisex. Based on her appearance and the picture of a laptop, she seems like a businesswoman, possibly working in the traditionally male-dominated information technology industry. Still, she is one of the most traditionally feminine women represented in the material.



Figure 4.5: Businesswoman ³

Furthermore, the analysis looked at all the analysed images as a group, focusing on the kind of characters that have been chosen for the booklet as a whole and the combinations they form, as was discussed in Section 3.2.

³ Image was reframed for the purposes of this paper as the original image included large space with no characters. The reframing made it possible to show the primary element of analysis – the character – as larger and, hence, with more details.

All the images included in the analysis are presented in Section 5.2. A more detailed analysis of all the images is included in Appendix D.

This section has presented the process of image analysis. Next, the process of integration analysis is looked at.

4.3 Process of Integration Analysis

This section looks at the process of the integration analysis. The Working in Finland booklet includes in total 20 spreads that are in this analysis treated as multimodal entities. However, as the extent of the study limited the range of the multimodal analysis, the analysis was narrowed down to two entities, which were assessed to be the most useful in answering the research questions.

The first entity, depicted in Figure 4.6, was chosen because it includes a text section entitled Equality and anti-discrimination, thus entailing the main section of the material discussing gender issues. The second entity, shown in Figure 4.7, was elected since it is the first entity of the section explicitly discussing working in Finland. This suggests that the components present in the entity are presented as important for employment seeking in Finland.

As an example of the analysis process, the opening entity of the working in Finland section is included next. The process of the analysis is presented as a whole in Appendix E.

The entity, presented in Figure 4.7, is composed of rectangular shapes. As shown in Figure 4.8, the left side is framed by a whole-page image (1) and the lower part of the right page by image and text (2). As with the previously analysed entity, the upper part of the page is framed merely by the name of the booklet and the page number (3) and under these components is a blank space (4). Other components of the entity include three types of heads (5, 6, 9), body text (7, 10), links to websites (8, 11), images (1, 12) and a quotation of the body text (13).



Figure 4.6: The entity discussing equality



Figure 4.7: The opening entity of the working in Finland section

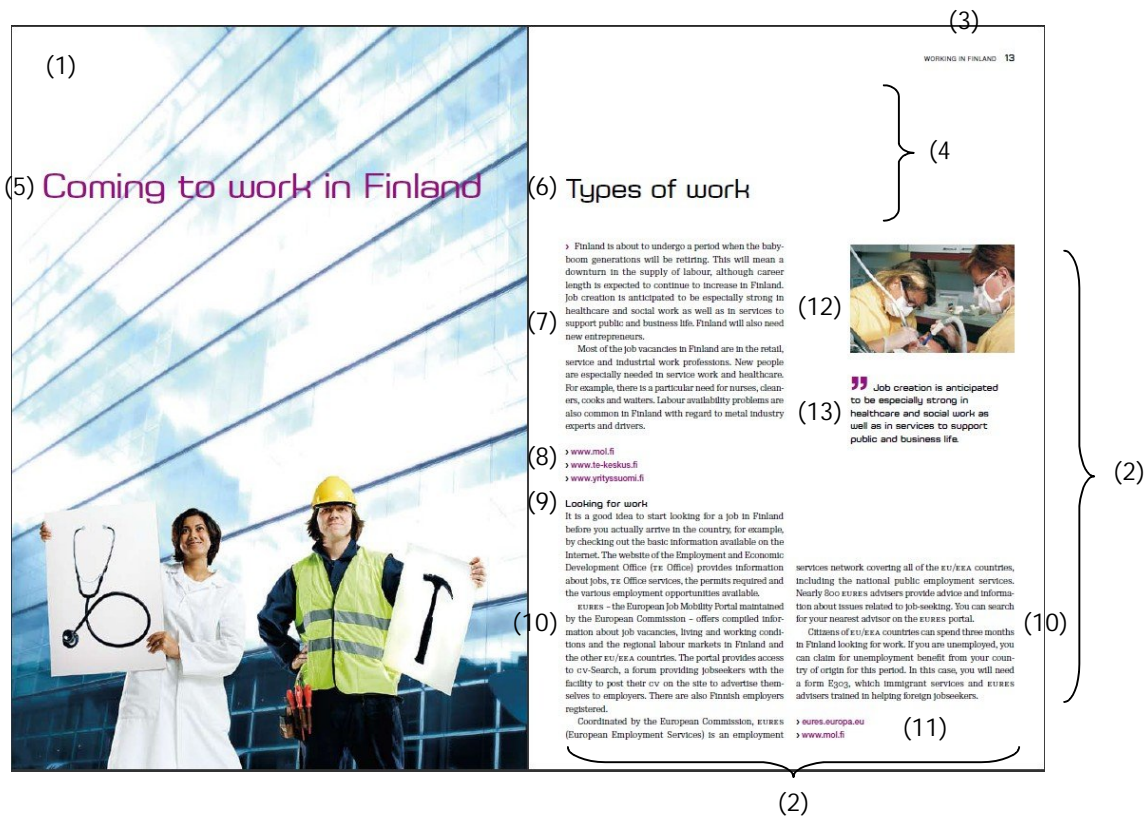


Figure 4.8: Components and composition of the opening entity of the working in Finland

The first body text (7) of the entity and of the whole working in Finland section discusses change and needs of the Finnish employment field, as illustrated in Example (14).

(14) (a) Finland is about to undergo a period when the babyboom generations will be retiring. (b) This will mean a downturn in the supply of labour, (c) although career length is expected to continue to increase in Finland. (d) Job creation is anticipated to be especially strong in healthcare and social work as well as in services to support public and business life. (e) Finland will also need new entrepreneurs.

(f) Most of the job vacancies in Finland are in the retail, service and industrial work professions. (g) New people are especially needed in service work and healthcare. (h) For example, there is a particular need for

nurses, cleaners, cooks and waiters. (i) Labour availability problems are also common in Finland with regard to metal industry experts and drivers. (P. 13.)

Clause (d) of the example is duplicated and emphasized further in the quotation of the entity (13). The images represent healthcare and nurses and are, thus, in line with the text. Otherwise the text of Example 14 seems, however, to have little to do with the images.

This chapter has overviewed data collection, selection and analysis. The next chapter addresses the findings of the study.

5 Findings and Discussion

This chapter discusses the analysis and findings of the study. The chapter is divided into four sections. Each of the sections is further divided into two subsections: the first subsection always answers the first research question: How are genders and employment presented in the material? The second subsection answers the second research question: What are the members of the hypothetical audience like, based on the textual and pictorial components of the material? The research questions were presented in Section 1.1.

As for the sections, the first section addresses the findings of the discourse analysis, the second the findings of the image analysis, and the third the findings of the integration analysis. Finally, the fourth section looks at the overall findings of the study, thus consolidating the findings presented in more detail in Sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.

5.1 Findings and Discussion of the Discourse Analysis

This section presents the findings and discussion of the discourse analysis. The findings of the analysis are addressed in reference to the research questions presented in Section 1.1. The first subsection discusses the key meanings of the text concerning genders and employment and the second subsection looks at the hypothetical audience of the text.

5.1.1 Women Work Especially, Men Just Work

Essentially, the text seems to convey that gender is not an issue in employment in Finland. When gendering personal pronouns are used, the form is always he/she, the masculine pronoun written first. However, when genders and employment are specifically discussed, the paid-employment of women, not

men, is addressed. Furthermore, working of women is not presented as something women do but as something the society enables women to do. Additionally, women are represented as markers of equality.

All these issues are depicted in Example 1, in the part of the material titled Equality and anti-discrimination (p. 8).

(1) (a) In 1906, Finnish women were the first in Europe and the second in the world to gain the right of suffrage and to become electoral candidates even for the highest of public posts. (b) The parental leave and the child day care system enable Finnish women to actively participate in working life. (c) The majority of women work outside the home. (d) More and more men also have the opportunity to participate actively in caring for their children.

(e) More than one half of higher education students in Finland are women, and (f) women also hold an increasing proportion of leading positions at workplaces and in administration.

(g) The year 2004 saw the entry into force of the Finnish Non-Discrimination Act. (h) The Act's [sic] purpose is to foster and safeguard equality in working life and other areas of society. (i) Finnish law also safeguards the equal rights for everyone, including ethnic minorities and different religious groups. (P. 8.)

Although, the issues of genders and employment are brought up in several other contexts as well, Example 1 is mainly used to illustrate them, since it captures them all. Thus, the issues will next be discussed in more detail in relation to Example 1.

Women work outside the home

In general, gender is presented as invisible and irrelevant in the text. This seems to be in line with the note that nationality performances are often collective, neutral and non-gendered in nature (see Section 2.2).

When gender is referred to, the issue is usually gender equality – in form of work or education – or parenthood. The gender referred to is most often the female gender, reinforcing the idea of male gender as the non-gender (cf. ‘being white’ as non-ethnicity, see Subsection 2.2.3). This is illustrated in Examples 1b and 1c, which specifically discuss the paid-employment of women. However, as paid-employment of men is totally omitted, the examples present paid-employment of women as something exciting and extraordinary, whereas paid-employment of men is depicted as taken-for-granted and naturalised. Similarly, Example 1f seems to underline the speciality of women working in leading positions. Additionally, Example 1e specifically talks about women in higher education. What is left without saying is that less than half of higher education students are men. Were men treated as first and foremost in gender equality, this sentence would look like a discriminatory situation against men and, thus, nothing to boast about.

In turn, as shown in Example 2, the male gender is specifically mentioned in the context of the military service, which can be thought to reinforce its status as a masculine rite of passage (Lahelma, 2002; see Subsection 2.1.1).

(2) All Finnish male citizens --- must perform compulsory military service
(p. 9).

This part has looked at how women are specifically addressed in relation to work. The next part looks at how the role of society is presented vis-à-vis to paid-employment of women.

Women get to work thanks to society

Even though the material underlines the fact that women do work in Finland, it also seems to suggest that this is not thanks to the women themselves but thanks to the societal institutions. This is shown in Example 1b which implies that without day care services Finnish women could not participate in working

life and, thus, puts the Finnish society in the role of the active agent that enables participation in working life for the passive women, as illustrated in Example 3.

(3) The parental leave and the child day care system enable

Actor

Finnish women to actively participate in working life.

Goal

Furthermore, the notion is reinforced later in the text, as is shown in Example 4.

(4) In Finland, women commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities (p. 35).

Of course, paid-employment of women, in fact, predated the municipal day care services, as was noted in Subsection 2.1.2.

Additionally, both Examples 1b and 4 presuppose that it is the woman's work to take care of the children. In fact, by emphasizing women's paid-employment and leaving men's work unmentioned, the sentence naturalises both paid-employment of men and the homemaker role of women. This is further reinforced in Example 1d, which presents men as having the opportunity, not an obligation, to participate in childcare. Additionally, the clause indicates that men may only take part in child-care, thus, not take the full responsibility of it.

This part has discussed how the role of society is presented in relation to gender and employment. Next, the role of women as a marker of equality is looked at.

Women as markers of equality

Example 1 about Equality and anti-discrimination suggests that equality is first and foremost understood as gender equality. As the example concentrates highly on gender equality in general and on women's rights in particular, it simultaneously leaves ethnic and religious equality to turn pale in comparison. In fact, the rights of ethnic and religious minorities are mentioned only in

Example 1i, which forms the last clause of the example. However, sexual equality is not mentioned even there.

Thus, it seems that women are presented as the marker of gender equality and that gender equality is first and foremost equality of women in comparison to men, which is in accordance with the argument by Urponen (2002; see Subsection 2.2.3) about using the societal status of women and equal rights between genders as a symbol of cultural differences.

This subsection has looked at how genders and employment are conveyed in the text and has, thus, addressed the first research question. The next subsection addresses the second research question and, hence, discusses how the hypothetical audience is presented.

5.1.2 Work Or Not, But Know the Values of the Residents

In general, the hypothetical audience is presented as differing from the residents and from one another. However, at the same time, it seems that the hypothetical audience is from a culture relatively similar to the Finnish culture. Additionally, even though the material is titled Working in Finland, the text does not seem to be certain whether the hypothetical audience comes to Finland to work or not.

Next, these issues are discussed in more detail. The first part looks at how the hypothetical audience is presented, the second what its members are presumed to know and not to know and third how employment is addressed in relation to the hypothetical audience.

The united colours of audience

The hypothetical audience of the material is presented as a group differing in area of arrival, age, education et cetera, as is shown in Examples 5, 6, and 7.

(5) Most of Finland's immigrants are from the area of Russia, Estonia and Sweden (p. 11)

(6) ...if you are 17 to 64 years of age... (p. 32)

(7) Those with a university degree... (p. 17)

The hypothetical audience may also speak different languages, as the booklet is available in Finnish, Swedish, English, French, Russian and Estonian. Of course, this indicates that the hypothetical audience is expected to be able to master at least one of these languages.

However, what the audience is presented to have in common is the idea of employment as a market that functions according to the laws of supply and demand. This is evident in Examples 8 and 9.

(8) This will mean a downturn in the supply of labour... (p. 13)

(9) Labour availability problems are also common in Finland.. (p. 13)

Thus, the unwarranted usage of the market terminology naturalises the idea of employment as a market. Additionally, it holds a presupposition that the audience understands and perhaps even embraces these concepts, even though they are firmly grounded in the North American cultural sphere.

This part has looked at how the hypothetical audience is presented in the text. The next part discusses what the audience is presumed to know and not to know.

What every immigrant should know about Finland

In general, the reader is thoroughly informed about the issues and values of the Finnish culture. In fact, whereas employment is addressed on 16 pages, Finnish culture, education and social welfare are addresses on altogether 14 pages, as

illustrated in Table 5.1. This means that the Finnish culture, education and welfare are discussed nearly as widely as the topic of working in Finland itself.

Table 5.1: Content of the Working in Finland booklet

Topic of the page(s)	Number of page(s)
Finnish culture	6
Working in Finland	16
Education in Finland	2
Social security on Finland	6

Furthermore, the importance of knowledge of the Finnish culture is emphasized by the structure of the booklet; Finnish culture is discussed before the topic of working in Finland.

In Subsection 2.3.3 ten aspects of intercultural communication were discussed: individualism / collectivism, power distance, face, eye contact, interpersonal space, physical extensions, values, gender roles, value of context, and sense of time. Only three of these aspects are addressed in the material: individualism / collectivism, gender roles and values.

However, individualism is brought up in one occasion only, as illustrated in Example 10.

(10) Finns appreciate individuality... (p. 5).

This seems to suggest that the individualism / collectivism aspect is not treated as an issue of importance.

Gender roles are addressed especially in relation to equality and women in paid-employment, as discussed in Subsection 5.1.1. This may indicate that the audience is believed to be less liberal in gender issues and, hence, might be viewed as a manifestation of ethnocentrism.

Values, as presented in Examples 11, 12 and 13, are discussed in length, thus, suggesting that the knowledge of the residents' values is highly important for immigrants.

(11) Finns like to live in a detached house with a private garden (p. 11).

Senser

(12) Finns appreciate and actively participate in many fields of culture (p. 7).

Senser

(13) Most urban Finns also prefer to have --- a sauna (p. 9).

Senser

Furthermore, as Examples 11, 12 and 13 show, Finns are often presented as Sensors of mental processes, hence, emphasizing the importance of how the 'Finns' think and feel.

Additionally, immigrants and residents are both, at times, referred to with personal pronoun they, as shown in Examples 14 and 15.

(14) Immigrants are helped to find out how their foreign qualifications or degrees can be made to meet the requirements set by Finnish working life (p. 16).

(15) Finns appreciate ... their own culture (p. 5).

However, only the residents are ever referred to with the including personal pronoun we, as illustrated in Example 16.

(16) Our [people of Finland] economic growth is mainly based on the success of our export industry (p 5).

As the material includes quite large amount of information about the Finnish culture as well as the social security system of Finland, the presupposition seems to be that these issues are unfamiliar to the immigrant. At the same time, the material excludes information about how to, in practice, apply for a job, how the process of employment works, how to politely greet the interviewer, whether to look the person in the eyes, how large interpersonal space to leave et cetera. Therefore, it seems that the material supposes the immigrants are from an area,

in which the customs and the process of finding employment are fairly similar to that of Finland.

This part has discussed what the hypothetical audience is presumed to know and not to know. The next part looks at how employment is addressed in relation to employment.

To work or not to work

The text seems to send a contradictory message to its audience about finding employment. On one hand, it presents the Finnish work-life in change and, thus, in need of working people, as shown in Example 17.

(17) Finland is about to undergo a period when the baby-boom generations will be retiring. This will mean a downturn in the supply of labour...
(P. 13.)

The text also explicitly brings out certain professions and fields in need for new employees, as illustrated in Example 18.

(18) Most of the job vacancies in Finland are in the retail, service and industrial work professions. New people are especially needed in service work and healthcare. For example, there is a particular need for nurses, cleaners, cooks and waiters. Labour availability problems are also common in Finland with regard to metal industry experts and drivers. (P. 13.)

In the context, Example 18 could be interpreted as professions specially offered for the audience. They are also in line with the fields actually employing immigrants, as discussed in Subsection 2.2.2.

On the other hand, the booklet only vaguely defines its intended audience: those moving to Finland (p. 1), that is, not those moving to Finland to work. Additionally, labels referring to immigrants are affiliated with employment or

working only rarely. Instead, the focus of the text seems to be on all the services and help provided for immigrants, as shown in Examples 19 and 20.

(19) Immigrants are helped to find out how their foreign qualifications or degrees can be made to meet the requirements set by Finnish working life (p. 16).

(20) Immigrants in the working age are supported in accessing working life (p. 14).

Furthermore, concepts related to employment are only rarely presented as a Goal, as shown in Example 21.

(21) ...foreigners may undertake paid-employment in Finland... (p. 24)
Goal

Instead, employment is most often presented as an Actor or a Carrier, as illustrated in Examples 22, 23, 24 and 25.

(22) Finnish economic life is undergoing a period of transition. (p. 10)
Actor

(23) Working life is changing rapidly. (p. 10)
Actor

(24) Job creation is expected to be especially strong... (p. 13)
Carrier

(25) Labour availability problems are also common... (p. 13)
Carrier

In addition, the low modality of the clauses implicitly encouraging the reader to find employment further reduces the effect of the advice, as shown in Examples 26 and 27.

(26) ...foreigners may undertake paid-employment in Finland... (p. 24)

(27) It is a good idea to start looking for a job in Finland before you actually arrive in the country... (p. 13)

Hence, it seems as if the text does not really encourage active participation in job seeking. So, the question is whether the hypothetical audience is actually coming to Finland to work or not.

This section has looked at the textual elements of the data and presented the findings of the discourse analysis. Simultaneously, based on the text, the subsection has answered the two primary research questions of the study. The next section, in turn, focuses on the pictorial elements of the data and discusses the findings of the image analysis.

5.2 Findings and Discussion of the Image Analysis

This section presents the findings and discussion of the image analysis. The findings of the analysis are discussed in reference to the research questions presented in Section 1.1. The first subsection looks at how genders and employment are depicted in the images and the second subsection analyses the hypothetical audience of the images.

5.2.1 Essentially Different and Segregated Genders

The image analysis revealed three distinctive meanings concerning genders and employment. First, women and men are represented as essentially different. Second, the labour market is represented as clearly divided by gender and, thus, it is indicated that men and women do not generally work together. Third, women are represented in professions requiring higher education and men in occupations requiring no higher education. Each of these findings is next discussed in more detail.

Women and men are represented as essentially different

In the images, genders are represented as essentially different and dichotomous. Only prominent characters not clearly marked as women or men, are either only shown partially, as the hand using a pointing device on a screen, as presented in Figure 5.1 or totally covered by protective clothing, as the welder illustrated in Figure 5.2.



Figure 5.1:
Hand doing automatic control



Figure 5.2: Welder



Figure 5.3:
Female kindergarten teacher



Figure 5.4:
Female dentist with female nurse

A few of the characters marked as female can be described as masculine women, since they have short, boyishly cut hair and wear unisex clothing, as the female character in Figure 5.3 and the character on the right in Figure 5.4. However, both of these characters also entail feminine markers, such as femininely shaped glasses of the character in Figure 5.3 and the delicate features of the character in Figure 5.4, as if to balance the masculine traits. Additionally, both

of the characters are apparently portrayed in traditionally feminine occupations, as a kindergarten teacher and as a nurse, respectively.

None of the characters marked as men can be classified as feminine. However, the male character of Figure 5.5 does show some traits that could be classified as feminine, such as hair reaching his neck. However, even this trait is balanced by his straight stance, muscular body, strong jaw and tool belt. The latter indicates that he is a construction worker, thus working in a traditionally masculine profession.

Characters are marked as women through hair length and style, make-up, facial features, figure and clothing, as is shown in Figure 5.6. The character of Figure 5.6 could be characterized as one of the traditionally most feminine character of



Figure 5.5: Female doctor and male construction worker ⁴



Figure 5.7
Male workers at a bus depot



Figure 5.6: Businesswoman ⁴

⁴ Image was reframed for the purposes of this paper as the original image included large space with no characters. The reframing made it possible to show the primary element of analysis – the character – as larger and, hence, with more details.

the analysis. She is marked as a woman by her long blond hair, careful make-up and a narrow, dark blue skirt. Her stance, which could be described as assertive, however, is not very feminine. In turn, characters are marked as men by hair length and style, stubble, figure, facial features, stance and clothing. For example, Figure 5.7 presents four characters marked as men. All the characters have short hair and lack feminine curves. They all seem to be wearing a shirt or a jacket and pants. Additionally, the two men on the left have stubble.

Additionally, characters are also marked as men through the absence of some feminine characteristics, such as make-up. Similarly, characters are marked as women through the absence of masculine characteristics, such as stubble. These absences are not, of course, by themselves enough to determine gender, but they are a contributing factor in constructing masculinity and femininity. However, it is noteworthy that the masculine characteristics, which by their absence mark characters as women, are biological characteristics; most women simply do not grow much facial hair. In turn, the characteristics, which by their absence mark characters as men, are cultural; there is no biological hinder making it impossible for men to wear jewellery or make-up.

The age range of represented men is clearly higher than that of the represented women. For example, the man represented in Figure 5.8 seems to be in his early thirties, whereas in Figure 5.7 the two men in the middle are probably in their fifties or sixties. In turn, the woman, for example, in Figure 5.9 seems to be on her twenties, whereas both the characters on Figure 5.4 seem to be on their late forties. Thus most, if not all, of the women are in child-baring age and presumably some of them even have children, presenting that in Finland women work even though they may have children. The divide, however, echoes different attitudes towards aging of women and men, in line with the notion of Laiho and Ruoho (2005), discussed in Subsection 2.1.1. Still, the age-limit of women in this material seems to be slightly higher than in the example mentioned by Laiho and Ruoho. It is to be noted, however, that older people are present in the material, but they do not represent working people.



Figure 5.8: Male mechanic



Figure 5.9: Saleswoman

Overall, the material includes very little characters, who could be described as overweight. Figure 5.7 is the only exception, presenting two men with beer-bellies. This seems to suggest, that even though being overweight is not a preferable alternative for anyone, it is still more acceptable for men than for women to be overweight.

This part has discussed how the material represents genders as essentially different. The next part looks at gender-segregation.

At work, men and women are segregated

The images present 13 working women and 9 working men. Most of the women are presented in gender-neutral occupations, such as the two women marked as pharmacists by their white-green jackets and the pharmaceutical products they are holding, as illustrated in Figure 5.10. Still, a few women are shown in traditionally female dominated work, such as the woman marked as a nurse by her scrubs, surgical mask and position on the right side of the patient, as illustrated in Figure 5.4. Men, however, are mostly presented in male dominated professions, such as the man marked as a mechanic by his surroundings and the wrench he is holding, as illustrated in Figure 5.8. Furthermore, the images do not include any characters that would clearly be breaking the traditional gender roles, for example a male nurse or a female construction worker, thus enforcing the existing gender-specific image of certain occupations (see Subsection 2.1).



Figure 5.10: Two female pharmacists



Figure 5.11:
Office workers in a meeting room

Almost all workers are presented in a same-sex environment. Only two of the images include representatives of two genders, one of these being a staged portrayal image showing no interaction between the woman and the man, as shown in Figure 5.5. In turn, Figure 5.11 shows an office environment with one person marked as man by his two-piece suit and short hair and three persons marked as women by their hair-cuts, clothing and feminine stance. The man stands while the women sit; he presents a chart, making him the active participant of the picture. This divide in the images seems not only to reproduce but also to reinforce the internal gender-segregation in the labour market, as discussed in Subsection 2.1.2.

This part has addressed gender-segregation. Next, the closely related issue of segregation in education is discussed.

Women are highly educated, men are not

The gender divide discussed above becomes even clearer when the education level required for a work is compared with gender. In most cases women are depicted in professions requiring higher education, such as the woman visualised in Figure 5.5 and marked as a doctor by a white jacket and a picture of a stethoscope, and the woman depicted in Figure 5.12, whose business-like dress and surroundings - including a picture of a pen and a calculator in front of

a green blackboard - suggest that she might be a teacher of a higher-level institution, possibly a university.

In turn, men are generally shown in work requiring no higher education, such as a construction worker, as shown in Figure 5.5, or a mechanic, as depicted in Figure 5.8. Additionally, Figure 5.7 presents four men in an open indoor place featuring a bus, thus, in the context suggesting that at least some of the men are bus drivers.



Figure 5.12: Female teacher of higher education 5

This divide seems to reinforce the message sent by the text about the participation of women in higher education as discussed in Section 5.1.1 as well as to construct the cultural differences by emphasizing the societal status of women (Urponen, 2002).

This subsection has looked at how genders and employment are depicted in the images. Hence, the subsection has addressed the first research question. The next subsection addresses the second research question and, thus, discusses the hypothetical audience of the images.

5.2.2 The Audience and the Residents More or Less Similar

According to the image analysis, the hypothetical audience of the images seems to be more or less similar to the residents of Finland. This is based on two observations. First, the images seem to suggest that in order to success in the

⁵ Image was reframed for the purposes of this paper as the original image included large space with no characters. The reframing made it possible to show the primary element of analysis – the character – as larger and, hence, with more details.

Finnish work-life, immigrants should dress like the residents do. Second, present cultural cues are embedded in the images, thus requiring a fairly similar visual culture to interpret them. Next, these issues are discussed in more detail.

Immigrant, dress like the residents do

The images include 18 characters who seem 'white' and could be categorized as ethnically Finnish and five characters who could, in the context, represent immigrants. It is to be noted, however, that this division is based solely on the appearance of the characters, which can be compared to categorisation everyone does when they see people unknown to them (cf. Ahmed, 2000), for example, on the street. However, this does not mean, that the characters classified here as ethnically Finnish mainly by light skin and hair colour are actually Finnish, it only means they appear as Finnish, but they could easily be immigrants from, for example, Russia or the Nordic countries. Similarly, characters classified here by their appearance as ethnically non-Finnish, need in reality not to be immigrants but may have been living in Finland the whole of their lives and may identify themselves as Finnish.

The characters possibly representing immigrants are portrayed differently depending on gender. The two women, depicted in Figures 5.5 and 5.13 seem to be of Asian origin. The female character in Figure 5.5 is marked as an immigrant by her darker skin and black hair, whereas the character in Figure 5.13 has long black hair and seems to have distinctively East Asian facial features. In turn, the men, shown in Figures 5.7 and 5.14, seem to be of African origin, all marked as immigrants by the dark colour of skin. Additionally, as discussed above, women are presented in work requiring education, whereas the men are not. Even the male students in Figure 5.14 do not seem to be in a university class, but more likely in a Finnish language class for immigrants, as none of the persons depicted seems to be ethnically Finnish.



Figure 5.13:
Female primary school teacher



Figure 5.15:
A veiled woman on street



Figure 5.14:
Male students in a class room

All the characters, regardless of gender or ethnicity, are depicted wearing clothing typical to the North Atlantic cultural sphere. This is even emphasized in contrast to an image presenting a person marked as an immigrant woman by her veil, as shown in Figure 5.15. She is shown on the street, standing on the left side of a blond woman wearing typical clothes of the North Atlantic culture. The veiled woman is photographed back to the camera, not showing her face or anything really personal. The only piece of information we get of her is that she is a she and a Muslim and that she is at the street, which can also be interpreted as not at work. This being the only image depicting characters in other than North Atlantic clothing, it may be read as an imperative saying that immigrants need to blend in to the host culture in order to find work.

This part has looked at how immigrants are depicted in the material. Next, the intercultural aspects of the material are discussed.

Large interpersonal space and minimal eye contact

As for the intercultural perspective, of the ten aspects listed in Subsection 2.3.3 - individualism / collectivism, power distance, face, eye contact, interpersonal space, physical extensions, values, gender roles, value of context, and sense of time – only five can be found on the visual cues of the material. These five aspects are individualism / collectivism, interpersonal space, eye contact, physical extensions and gender roles. How they are depicted, is discussed next.

Approximately half of the images presented individuals and half groups of two or more people. This could imply, that Finland is presented as a country not highly individualistic or highly collective.

In turn, the interpersonal space typical in Finland can be depicted from the images that present groups. Figures 5.7 and 5.11, presenting a bus depot and an office, respectively, seem to depict the interpersonal space of colleagues. However, in Figure 5.10 depicting two pharmacists, the distance is significantly smaller, perhaps indicating closer personal relation. However, for a person with a distinctively different cultural background, this subtle difference in space and relations might be hard to interpret.

As for the cultural trait of eye contact, the images mainly describe the absence of eye contact. In most of the images with several characters, the characters do not look at each other but, more often, some shared object of interest, such as in Figure 5.10 where the two pharmacists both look at something held in her hands by one of them.

In turn, the images present extensively what are considered appropriate physical extensions, such as clothing and accessories, in different occupations and for different genders. The images show that, for example, dentists (Figure 5.4) and sales people (Figure 5.9) wear uniforms at work, whereas teachers (Figures 5.3, 5.12 and 5.13) or office workers (Figure 5.11) do not. Women may wear trousers or skirts, but men merely wear trousers. Hats,

scarves, jewellery and other accessories are used minimally, except for rings implicating marriage or engagement, which are mainly used by female characters, such as the characters depicted in Figures 5.5 and 5.12.

Gender roles are mainly depicted through gender segregation, as discussed above in Section 5.2.1.

Although the images include some cultural cues, they may be difficult to interpret unless the member of the hypothetical audience is from a culture with similar visual culture and grammar. Thus, it seems that the images are mainly aimed at immigrants from other North Atlantic and / or technology-oriented societies.

This section has concentrated on the pictorial elements of the data and presented the analysis and findings of the image analysis. At the same time, the section has answered the two primary research questions of the study based on the images of the data. In turn, the next section looks at how the textual and pictorial elements of the data are integrated.

5.3 Findings and Discussion of the Integration Analysis

This section presents the findings and discussion of the integration analysis. The findings of the analysis are discussed in reference to the research questions presented in Section 1.1. The first subsection looks at how genders and employment are depicted in the multisemiotic entities and the second subsection addresses the hypothetical audience of the entities.

5.3.1 Paid-employment of Women - a Cultural Quirk

The section titled Equality and anti-discrimination (1) is positioned on the down-left corner of the entity, as is illustrated in Figure 5.16. Hence, the

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An aerial view of Finland in the summer shows a mosaic in a multitude of blues and greens. Some 70% of the area is covered with forest. The winters blanket the forests and thousands of lakes with white snow – for several months in the north and in many years for some time in the south, too.

(4) 

(4) 

(4) 

(1) **A language easy to pronounce**
 Finland has two official languages: Finnish and Swedish, which is spoken as a native language by approximately 5% of the population. In addition, some 6,500 native speakers of Sámi live in northern Finland. A Finno-Ugric language, Finnish differs clearly from the Indo-European group of languages. Finnish words are characterised by a lack of grammatical gender, and case ending are used instead of prepositions and post-prepositions. Words are pronounced as they are written, with the stress on the first syllable of the word.

(1) **Equality and anti-discrimination**
 In 1906, Finnish women were the first in Europe and the second in the world to gain the right of suffrage and to become electoral candidates even for the highest of public posts. The parental leave and the child day care system enable Finnish women to actively participate in working life. The majority of women work outside the home. More and more men also have the opportunity to participate actively in caring for their children. More than one half of higher education students in Finland are women, and women also hold an increasing proportion of leading positions at workplaces and in administration. The year 2004 saw the entry into force of the Finnish Non-Discrimination Act. The Act's purpose is to foster and safeguard equality in working life and other areas of society. Finnish law also safeguards the equal rights of everyone, including ethnic minorities and different religious groups.

Religion
 In Finland there is a freedom of religion. The official religions are Lutheran and Orthodox Christianity. Some 8% of Finns are members of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church and 1% of the Orthodox Church. Catholic, Jewish and Muslim congregations and communities as well as a number of other smaller religious communities are established in Finland.

(3)

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(4) 

(4) 

(4) 

(4) **National defence**
 All Finnish male citizens aged 19 to 60 must perform compulsory military service. This also applies to Finnish citizens living abroad and former foreign nationals who have been granted Finnish citizenship. The service can be carried out either as military or non-military service. Women also have the opportunity to do military service on a voluntary basis.

(4) **Refreshing and relaxing, the sauna has been a part of the day-to-day life of people in Finland for centuries. Most urban Finns also prefer their homes to be equipped with a sauna.**

www.mml.fi/varusmiehi
www.sivarietuskuus.fi
 For further information about Finns and life in Finland, please visit:
www.suomi.fi
www.infopankki.fi

Figure 5.16: Significant components of the entity discussing equality

(4) 

Coming to work in Finland

(1)

Types of work

(3) Finland is about to undergo a period when the baby-boom generations will be retiring. This will mean a downturn in the supply of labour, although career length is expected to continue to increase in Finland. Job creation is anticipated to be especially strong in healthcare and social work as well as in services to support public and business life. Finland will also need new entrepreneurs.

(2) Most of the job vacancies in Finland are in the retail, service and industrial work professions. New people are especially needed in service work and healthcare. For example, there is a particular need for nurses, cleaners, cooks and waiters. Labour mobility problems are also common in Finland with regard to metal industry experts and drivers.

(5) 

(2) Job creation is anticipated to be especially strong in healthcare and social work as well as in services to support public and business life.

(3) www.mml.fi
www.tu-helsinki.fi
www.yhtysuomi.fi

Looking for work
 It is a good idea to start looking for a job in Finland before you actually arrive in the country, for example, by checking out the basic information available on the Internet. The website of the Employment and Economic Development Office (re Office) provides information about jobs, re Office services, the permits required and the various employment opportunities available. **eURES** - the European Job Mobility Portal maintained by the European Commission - offers compiled information about job vacancies, living and working conditions and the regional labour markets in Finland and the other EU/EEA countries. The portal provides access to cv-Search, a forum providing jobseekers with the facility to post their cv on the site to advertise themselves to employers. There are also Finnish employers registered. Coordinated by the European Commission, **eURES** (European Employment Services) is an employment services network covering all of the EU/EEA countries, including the national public employment services. Nearly 800 eURES advisers provide advice and information about issues related to job-seeking. You can search for your nearest advisor on the eURES portal. Citizens of EU/EEA countries can spend three months in Finland looking for work. If you are unemployed, you can claim for unemployment benefit from your country of origin for this period. In this case, you will need a form E303, which immigrant services and eURES advisers trained in helping foreign jobseekers.

eures.europa.eu
www.mml.fi

Figure 5.17: Significant components of the opening entity of the working in Finland section

salience of the entity does not seem to be very high, and this might suggest that equality is not promoted enthusiastically in the material. The sections above (2) and next (3) to it discuss language and religion, respectively. The images (4) of the entity do not seem to have a lot in common with the subject of gender equality or paid-employment of women, as the images illustrate architecture, the Finnish map and people on leisure time. In fact, it seems that the images are connected to the text discussing language, equality and religion merely by the common nominator Finnish culture. Thus, the material seems to present gender equality and paid-employment of women as a mere cultural quirk and not really as an issue of importance.

This subsection has looked at how genders and employment are presented in the analysed multisemiotic entities. Hence, the subsection has addressed the first research question. The next subsection answers the second research question, that is, how the hypothetical audience is presented in the data.

5.3.2 Wanted: Healthcare Professionals

Figure 5.17 shows the opening entity of the section explicitly discussing working in Finland in the material. The first body text (1) of the entity and, thus, of the whole working in Finland section discusses change and needs of the Finnish employment field (for more elaborate analysis on the text, see Subsection 5.1.2). This seems to suggest that these are issues considered highly important to people coming to work in Finland. This is even emphasized in the quotation (2), presented in Figure 5.18, which duplicates a clause (3) of the first section of the entity.

” Job creation is anticipated to be especially strong in healthcare and social work as well as in services to support public and business life.

Figure 5.18: Quotation on the opening entity of the working in Finland section

Additionally, the text mentions healthcare and nurses, among others, as the fields and occupations in need of professionals. This seems to be further highlighted in the images, which present a medical doctor (4), and a dentist and a nurse (5), respectively (for further analysis of the images, see Section 5.2). Thus, the hypothetical audience the entity addresses might be especially, although not limited to, qualified healthcare professionals.

This section has presented the findings of the integration analysis. Simultaneously, the section has answered the two primary research questions of the study. In the next section, the overall findings of the study are consolidated and discussed.

5.4 Overall Findings and Discussion

This section overviews and consolidates the findings presented in Sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. The findings are reflected through the two main research questions, presented in Section 1.1. First, how the material presents genders and employment is discussed and, second, the hypothetical audience of the material is looked at.

5.4.1 Highly Educated Women Work, Especially

The material seems to imply that gender is a non-issue in employment in Finland. However, when genders and employment are referred to, the gender specifically mentioned is always the female gender. Thus, the paid-employment of men is, nonetheless, presented as more natural and self-evident than that of women. Paid-employment of women is even presented as a mere cultural trait. Additionally, even though women are presented as having the opportunity to work, this is not thanks to themselves but thanks to the societal institutions providing services such as childcare and maternal leave.

The material depicts, and hence reinforces, gender segregation of the employment field. Almost all the working people are represented in a same-gender environment. In addition, the professions and the education level required are segregated by gender. Women are primarily presented in gender-neutral occupations requiring higher education, such as a doctor, a pharmacist or a dentist. In turn, men are predominantly presented in male dominated professions requiring little or no education, such as a mechanic, a construction worker and a bus driver.

It is possible that, in the material, the gender-specification of women in employment tells less about the views of the producers and more about the presuppositions of the producers about the hypothetical audience. However, the material still takes part in reproducing and maintaining the idea of paid-employment of men as self-evident and paid-employment of women as extraordinary. Furthermore, the material seems, thus, to position the women at the border of the nation by using the equal rights between genders as a symbol of cultural differences, as suggested by Maija Urponen (2002, p. 124).

Hence, to summarize, even though gender equality in employment and education is emphasized, the female gender is still presented as the extraordinary gender. Additionally, the gender segregation of the Finnish employment field is reinforced and maintained.

As the material analysed was aimed at an immigrant reader, the intercultural aspect of the study is next discussed through looking at the hypothetical audience.

5.4.2 Welcome, If You Are Almost Like We

Since the analysed communication material was aimed at an intercultural audience, this subsection considers the intercultural aspect of the study and addresses the findings regarding the hypothetical audience.

What the members of the hypothetical audience have in common is that they are likely to move to Finland. They form a group differing in area of arrival, age, education et cetera. However, the audience has to have a sufficient knowledge of Finnish, Swedish, English, French, Russian or Estonian language, as these are the languages the material is available in. Additionally, the material suggests that the culture of the hypothetical audience is quite similar to Finnish culture, as intercultural issues are practically non-existent in the material.

Even though the material is titled *Working in Finland*, working is not the primary subject. Furthermore, the material does not seem to encourage the reader to find employment. Additionally, it seems to imply that to find employment in Finland, the hypothetical audience needs to adopt the local dress code.

Thus, the hypothetical audience is presented as a group with different backgrounds but still quite similar to the Finnish residents. In case the audience member does not come from a similar culture, the material seems to suggest that the person needs to adopt the local customs at least in form of a dress code.

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. The next chapter concludes the report by discussing the study in general as well as its practical implications, ethical considerations, limitations and further research.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to analyse how gender and employment are represented in communication materials aimed at immigrants. The study was a qualitative research utilizing the tools of discourse, image and integration analysis. The study was motivated by the current nature of immigration issues and by the lack of research on the gendered employment issues of immigrants from the intercultural communication perspective. The research questions that the study set out to answer were twofold. First, the study analysed how genders and employment are presented in the material. Second, the characteristics of the hypothetical audience were studied, based on the textual and pictorial components of the material.

The findings of the study show that, although gender is explicitly presented as a non-issue in paid-employment, implicitly paid-employment of men is, still, presented as more natural and self-evident than that of women. Additionally, the material depicts and, thus, reinforces the gender segregation of the employment field by, especially, depicting women in professions requiring higher education and men in occupations requiring little education. Furthermore, the material positions women at the border of the nation by using the equal rights between genders as a symbol of cultural differences.

Paid-employment of men is naturalised by explicitly bringing up that women work outside the home and omitting the fact that men also do the same. One might argue that this finding does not primarily reflect the attitude of the producers, but the ethnocentric presuppositions they have about the hypothetical audience. Although that may be true, it does not change the fact that the material reproduces and maintains the idea of 'the man' as the natural breadwinner and 'the woman' as the natural homemaker. Furthermore, the impact is even fortified by the fact that, as argued by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), implicit messages are more powerful than explicit messages.

The findings suggest that the hypothetical audience of the material is a group differing in area of arrival, age and education, among other things. However, as the intercultural issues are addressed only minimally, the material indicates that the culture of the hypothetical audience is still quite similar to the Finnish culture, thus maybe being part of the North Atlantic cultural sphere. Furthermore, the material implies that even if the members of the hypothetical audience do not belong to the North Atlantic cultural sphere, adopting the local dress code is essential in finding employment. Still, even though the material is titled *Working in Finland*, it does not primarily address issues of work or encourage finding employment.

The findings of the study are consistent with the arguments of, for example, Janet M. Bing and Victoria L. Bergvall (1998) and Päivi Korvajärvi (2010) about gender segregation on the employment field. The study also lends support to the findings of Maija Urponen (2002), suggesting that, in Finland, the societal status of women and equal rights between genders are used to symbol cultural differences.

The results of the study suggest that the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and other producers of communication materials for immigrants should pay more attention to how genders and employment are not only explicitly but also implicitly presented in the materials. Furthermore, the findings raise the issue that the hypothetical audience is considered very narrowly, thus, excluding a large part of the available workforce. Therefore, the practical implications of the findings are addressed next. Then, as the study presupposes that discourse is power, the ethical considerations of this thesis are discussed. Subsequently, as any research project has its shortcomings, the limitations of the study are addressed. To conclude, suggestions for further research are made.

6.1 Practical Implications

As the findings of the study showed, the analysed material has its disadvantages. Thus, this section discusses some practical implications of the study whereby the materials could be developed.

The findings suggest that the material presents paid-employment of men as more natural and self-evident than that of women. This is mainly derived from clauses that explicitly emphasize the paid-employment of women, while leaving paid-employment of men unmentioned, as in Example 28.

(28) In Finland, women commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities (p.35).

However, it is possible to express the same idea without presenting paid-employment of men as self-evident. A suggestion for this is illustrated in Example 29, where women and men are made into a joint participant for the process work.

(29) In Finland, women and men commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities.

Even though Example 29 does not naturalise paid-employment of men, it does explicitly state that in Finland women also work outside the home. This may be important, if the practice is uncommon in the cultural community of the hypothetical audience.

The study shows that the material depicts and, hence, reinforces gender segregation of the employment field. To avoid this, the material could, for example, include more images presenting men and women working together in similar tasks. Additionally, the material could include images of men working under a female manager as well as pictures of women working under a male manager. This would assure that the reader is aware of the fact that women and men, indeed, are employed in same places of work. Specifically, the material could challenge the traditional gender roles by presenting women and men in

occupations not typically associated with them – such as female bus drivers or male kindergarten teachers.

The findings of the study indicate that the material is produced for a narrow audience, the members of which are culturally quite similar to members of the Finnish culture. To become a useful source of information for a wider and more varied audience, the material could explicitly address intercultural issues. For example, shaking hands is the common way of greeting a job interviewer or colleagues in Finland and, thus, it could also be addressed in the booklet. Similarly, holding eye contact in a job interview situation is appreciated and could be elaborated in the material. In addition, punctuality, for example, is greatly valued in Finland and, therefore, it would probably be beneficial for the reader to know that, in Finland, it is better to be five minutes too early than 15 minutes too late for a job interview.

Furthermore, the material seems to imply that adopting the local dress code is essential in finding employment. In order to avoid this, the material could, for example, entail images of working people dressed in a non North Atlantic fashion, such as presenting a sales person wearing a hijab.

Even though this analysis only studied one piece of communication material, it seems likely that similar contradictory messages may also be present in other materials aimed at an immigrant audience. Furthermore, it is possible that the contradictions are present even in face-to-face communication with immigrants, as Jaana Vuori (2007) argues that issues regarding, among other things, genders are discussed in very similar terms in face-to-face contact as in the guide booklets. Hence, the results may be applicable to a considerably wider sphere than only the one piece of communication material analysed.

This section has looked at some practical implications of the study. As the study presupposes that texts and images produce and reproduce meanings, the ethical considerations of this report are discussed.

6.2 Ethical Considerations

In this section, the ethical considerations related to the study project are discussed. As the study presupposes that texts and images are expressions of power, a lot of thought was spent on how the discourse presented in this thesis uses that power, in particular, regarding issues of genders and immigrants. These considerations are discussed next.

As for writing about genders, this thesis uses both strategies of gender-neutralisation and gender-specification. When it comes to people in general, gender-neutral pronouns are used. Instead, when it comes to specific people, gender is made visible by using a technique suggested by Liisa Tainio (2002, p. 52). Thus, the thesis uses both the first and last names of the persons when they are originally referred to. This approach was chosen because there is no denying that gender has an effect on how people are treated in every-day life and that the tradition of hiding the gender in academic and other types of writing also tends to hide the problem. Additionally, the approach correctly reveals the gender deviation of the work – in this case, the deviation is in favour of female researchers.

Regardless of these measures, there is a possibility that this study reinforces gender dichotomy, given that the polarization already exists in the title of the thesis. However, the title correctly portrays the findings of the study, and the title is, thus, an unfortunate consequence deriving from the research material presenting genders as essentially different. To balance this, the thesis also aims at showing the ways people may be presented without marking the gender and, additionally, strives for keeping the presentation of genders as opposites in minimum.

As for immigration, it was carefully considered what to call the people moving to Finland. In the Finnish language, the equivalent of immigrant, *maahanmuuttaja*, has negative connotations. Additionally, the concept defines the people through movement rather than through settling, as discussed in

Section 2.2. However, immigrant is the concept used by migration literature and as, unfortunately, an accurate and easy-to-understand substitutive term was not found, the study uses the concept immigrant. However, in order to avoid naturalising the opposite of immigrant by taking it for granted, I chose to explicitly label and define the opposite term, resident, as well. Furthermore, the concept immigrant is in this study defined narrowly in order to emphasize the idea that immigrants may move from the category of immigrants into the classification of residents.

Additionally, one of the major concerns on writing this thesis was how to avoid othering and stereotyping the immigrants. As discussed in Subsection 2.2.1, immigrants moving to Finland are, in fact, a varied group in nationality, country of arrival, religion et cetera, and this is something the study has tried to make explicit in order to avoid marking the immigrants as a faceless group. Furthermore, I have in this thesis explicitly brought forth some issues that may be used in construction of symbolic borders and, thus, in producing and maintaining the 'other' (see Subsections 2.2.3, 2.3.2 & 5.2.2).

Furthermore, the thesis includes some other concepts, such as western and white and black in reference to race, that may invoke unwanted connotations. I chose to use these concepts for the sake of clarity, but opted to show my hesitation by marking them with apostrophes, for example 'western' , 'white' and 'black', as was noted in Chapter 1.

This section has addressed the ethical considerations of the study. Next, the limitations of the research project are discussed.

6.3 Limitations

As any research project, the present study has its shortcomings. Thus, this section identifies three limitations related to the study.

First, gender and cultural background of the researcher are likely to have biased the results towards the cultural traits and understanding of Finland. However, was another researcher to study the same materials with the same methods, the general findings would likely be similar, although there would probably be differences in which results were focused on and how.

Second, the study is very Finnish in that it studies written materials. This poses barriers toward the immigrant groups acknowledged in the study. Not all immigrants are able to read when arriving to Finland, nor do all the literary people come from a literal culture, as stated by Elina Kärki and Sanna Vainio (2010), coordinators working at a peer support project at Finnish Refugee Council.

Third, as the study was based on qualitative methods and concentrated only on a sample of material, the findings of the study cannot be generalised. However, the implications, that is, paying more attention to how genders are implicitly presented in materials and focusing more on what the hypothetical audience is like, are probably generalisable to many materials aimed at immigrants.

This section has considered the limitations of the study. Next, ideas for further research are explored.

6.4 Further Research

This section suggests ideas for further research. As research on the area of genders and employment from the point-of-view of communication is limited, there is still plenty to study. A few suggestions are presented here.

As the research project concentrated on only one sample of material, the study could be repeated by using another sample or several samples of material. Furthermore, as the analysed material was one of the most recent materials available, it would be interesting to look at the materials and how they have changed on a time line.

This study concentrated on printed materials. However, on the internet, there exists abundant materials aimed at immigrants moving to Finland, and they could also be explored. Similarly, the study only focused on public materials and, thus, materials produced by, for example, commercial entities could also be explored and compared to the public materials.

To conclude, the method of the study could be changed to give more voice to the audience itself. For example, the same materials could be used to interview immigrants and to hear how they react and reflect them.

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List of Collected Materials

Heading	Producer	Nr of Pages	Elements	Available Languages	Electronically Available at:
A home in Finland	Ministry of Labour	25	Text	14 English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Arabian, Dari, Estonian, French, Kurdish, Persian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Somali, Vietnamese	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Anna aikasi, tule mukaan! (Donate your time, join our work *)	Finnish Red Cross	20	Text, images	3 Finnish, Swedish, Russian	-
Equality in Finland	Ministry of the Interior, Office of the Ombudsman for Minorities, Office of the Ombudsman for Equality	24	Text, images	12 English, Finnish, Albanian, Arabic, Dari, Kurdish, Persian, Russian, Somali, Tagalog, Thai, Vietnamese	http://www.vahemmistovaltuutettu.fi/intermin/vvt/home.nsf/pages/index3
Finland – your new home	Ministry of Labour	16	Text, images	12 English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Arabic, French, Kurdish, Persian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Somali, Thai	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
House Rules (Cartoon)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	8	Images, text	1 Finnish	http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/suomen_pakolaisapu/pakolaisapu_suomessa/kotilo/materiaalipankki

Heading	Producer	Nr of Pages	Elements	Available Languages	Electronically Available at:
Ikääntyvien somalinaisten ryhmä (Group for elderly Somali women *)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	1	Text, illustrations	2 Finnish, Somali	-
Information for immigrants regarding liaison interpreting	Ministry of Labour	2	Text	12 English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Arabic, Burmese, French, Kurdish, Persian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Somali	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Kotimaaksi Suomi – perustietoa kiintiöpakolaisille (Finland as a home country – basic information for quota refugees *)	Ministry of Labour	35	Text	4 Finnish, Arabic, Kurdish, Persian	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Kurdinaisten vertaisryhmä (Peer group for Kurdish women *)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	1	Text, illustration	2 Finnish, Kurdish	-
Opportunities for labour hiring from non-EU and non-EEA countries	Ministry of Labour	69	Text, tables, charts	2 English, Finnish	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/459036413b69ebd2c22573b4004466ba/\$file/wenglish.pdf
Restraining order	Ministry of Justice, The Police Department	2-5	Text, illustrations	9 English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Serbo-Croatian, Somali	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Rights and Responsibilities of a Tenant	Finnish Refugee Counsel	6	Text	7 English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Polish, Somali, Russian	http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/suomen_pakolaisapu/pakolaisapu_suomessa/kotilo/materiaalipankki

Heading	Producer	Nr of Pages	Elements		Available Languages	Electronically Available at:
Roskien lajitteluohjeet (How to sort out trash *)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	2	Text, illustrations	12	English, Finnish, Swedish, Albanian, Arabic, Estonian, French, Kurdish, Polish, Russian, Somali, Swahili	http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/suomen_pakolaisapu/pakolaisapu_suomessa/kotilo/materiaalipankki
Sarjakuvaopastus: pyykkihuone (Cartoon Guide: Laundry Room *)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	2+2	Images, text	1	Finnish	http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/suomen_pakolaisapu/pakolaisapu_suomessa/kotilo/materiaalipankki
Sarjakuvaopastus: Sauna (Cartoon Guide: Sauna *)	Finnish Refugee Counsel	3	Images, text	1	Finnish	http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/suomen_pakolaisapu/pakolaisapu_suomessa/kotilo/materiaalipankki
Welcome to Finland	Ministry of Labour	16	Text, illustrations	6	English, Finnish, Arabic, Burmese, Kurdish, Persian	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Working in Finland	Ministry of Employment and the Economy	40	Text, images	6	English, Finnish, Swedish, Estonian, French, Russian	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf
Yhdistystoiminta – opas maahanmuuttajille (Working in an association – guide for immigrants *)	Ministry of Labour	19-37	Text	1	Finnish, Simplified Finnish	http://www.intermin.fi/intermin/images.nsf/files/b8763c9d60a6c11fc22573b4004466ba/\$file/wesitteet.pdf

* As the heading was not available in English, the translation was made by the researcher. Any inaccuracies are the responsibility of the researcher.

Detailed Account of the Discourse Analysis

In this Appendix, the process of discourse analysis is presented in detail. It is divided in three sections, first discussing employment, second gender and third immigrants. Each chapter addresses the issues by, first, focusing on the issues at the group and phrase rank and, then, at the level of discourse.

Employment

In this section, the meaning of employment is analysed as presented in the material. First, labelling is looked at. Second, agency of employment is discussed. Third, the context in which employment is discussed about is studied. To conclude, the presuppositions regarding employment are addressed. As employment is not usually referred to with personal pronouns *she*, *he*, *they* or *we*, usage of personal pronouns is not discussed in this section.

Labelling of employment

At the rank of nominal groups and phrases employment is, as presented in Table 1, most often labelled as *work*, *employment* or *job*. Occasionally employment is categorised as *paid employment*, *career* or *occupation*. Also concepts *working life* and *labour market* are used often.

Table 1: Occurrence of groups and phrases labelling employment

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
46	work
14	employment
12	labour market(s)
10	working life
10	job
4	paid employment
2	occupations
1	Finnish economic life
1	careers
The account excludes compound words or set phrases including the word.	

What concepts are then connected to employment and labour? Employment seems to be something clearly regulated and protected, as it is part of such nominal groups as *terms and conditions of employment*, *employment legislation* and *employment protection*. Additionally, work is presented as entailing *employment opportunities* and *employment services*. One can also create employment opportunities for oneself through *self-employment*. However, some other concepts mirror perhaps the less desirable side of employment: *short-term employment*, *part-time work* and *unemployment*.

Employment is also divided into different types, such as *service work* and *health care*, and more particularly into professions such as *nurses*, *cleaners*, *cooks*, *waiters*, *metal industry experts* and *drivers*.

The labour market is discussed in terms of demand and supply, as illustrated in Table 2. The *job seeking* – and, thus job-demanding – employees form a *supply of labour*. For the demand of the employer this means *labour availability*. The employer, in turn, supplies the employee *job vacancies*, partly through *job creation*.

Table 2: Labour market concepts in terms of demand and supply

	Supply	Demand
Employee	supply of labour	job seeking
Employer	job vacancies job creation	labour availability

Of these concept the most often used, as shown in Table 3, were *job seeking* and *job vacancies*, describing what the employees demand and what the employers supply, respectively.

Table 3: Occurrence of groups and phrases used in the context of labour market

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
8	job seeking
4	job vacancies
1	supply of labour
1	labour availability
1	job creation

This subsection has focused on the labelling of employment at the rank of groups and phrases. Next, the agency of employment is looked at.

Agency of employment

Employment is, at the rank of nominal groups and phrases most commonly presented as an Actor or a Carrier, less often as a Goal, as illustrated in the examples below.

Finnish economic life is undergoing a period of transition. (p. 10)

Actor

Working life is changing rapidly. (p. 10)

Actor

Job creation is expected to be --- strong in healthcare and social work... (p. 13)

Carrier

Labour availability problems are also common... (p. 13)

Carrier

...foreigners may undertake paid employment in Finland... (p. 24)

Goal

So far, the analysis has concentrated on looking at employment at the rank of groups and phrases. Next, the analysis moves to the level of discourse, as the context of employment is addressed.

Context of employment

This section looks at the context, at the level of discourse, in which employment is presented.

Employment and the working life are described as being in the process of change.

Finnish economic life is undergoing a period of transition (p. 10).

Working life is changing rapidly (p. 10).

Additionally, employment and work are paired with life and well-being.

life and work (p. 7)

work and well-being (p. 10)

Ironically, the section titled *Work and well-being* does not actually address well-being, but change:

(1) Finnish economic life is undergoing a period of transition. ... (2) Today's pace of work is hectic in many fields. (3) Working life is changing rapidly and in a multitude of ways. (4) Traditional tasks require an ever-increasing number of new skills and competences. (5) Employees are expected to be both highly educated and constantly updating their skills.

Furthermore, clauses (2-5) seem to implicitly note how the Finnish work-life contributes to ailment rather than to well-being.

Employment is also widely described through the employment services, and the role of information is emphasized:

...the Employment and Economic Development Office --- provides information about jobs --- and the various employment opportunities available (p. 13).

The analysis has now looked at in what kind of context employment is presented. Next, presuppositions about employment are addressed.

Presuppositions about employment

The material uses the term labour market as a fact of being, not signalling that the concept of *labour market*, in fact, is part of the vocabulary of the market economy. The usage of the term is mirrored in other concepts. The unproblematised usage of the concept seems to presuppose, that the reader of the material is expected to be familiar with the concept, and perhaps even to agree upon its validity.

This section has discussed the meanings attached to employment. The next section looks at genders.

Genders

This subsection analyses the meaning of genders in the material. First, labelling gender and, second, usage of gendering personal pronouns is discussed. Third, agency of genders is studied. Fourth, the context in which genders are addressed is discussed. To conclude, the presuppositions regarding genders are looked at.

Labelling gender

At the rank of groups and phrases, genders are differentiated fairly rarely. However, as shown in Table 4, when genders are discussed, the female gender is addressed three times as often as the male gender.

Table 4: Occurrence of groups and phrases labelling genders

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
11	women
3	men
2	mother(s)
1	male citizens
1	father

This subsection looked at labelling gender. Next, the usage of gendering personal pronouns is addressed.

Usage of gendering personal pronouns

When genders are referred to, both the masculine and feminine personal pronouns are used. The masculine pronoun is systematically placed first.

...he/she [the person coming to work in Finland] generally requires a residence permit for an employed person (p. 24).

In addition to the working-age immigrant him/herself... (p. 15.)

In most cases the pronouns refer to the person coming to work in Finland, and in some cases to the family members of the person, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Referees of the gendering personal pronouns

Number of occurrences	Refers to
8	Person coming to work in Finland
3	Family member of the person

This subsection looked at the usage of gendering personal pronouns. Next, the issue of agency and gender is discussed.

Agency and gender

When genders are discussed, the agents are, regardless of gender, usually presented as Actors.

In Finland, women commonly work outside the home... (p. 35).

Actor

All Finnish male citizens --- must perform compulsory military service. (p. 9)

Actor

Thus far, the analysis has looked at gender at the rank of nominal groups and phrases. Next, the analysis moves on the level of discourse while discussing the context in which gender is addressed.

Context of gender

At the level of discourse, the context of paid-employment is emphasized in clauses particularly talking about women:

In Finland, women commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities (p. 35).

The parental leave and the child day care system enable Finnish women to actively participate in working life (p. 8).

Also the participation of women in education is brought up.

More than one half of higher education students in Finland are women... (p. 8)

In turn, men are given the opportunity to participate in childcare.

More and more men also have the opportunity to participate actively in caring for their children (p. 8)

The main obligation of men seems to relate to *national defence*.

All Finnish male citizens --- must perform compulsory military service (p. 9).

Next, this analysis takes a closer look of a section titled *Equality and anti-discrimination* (p. 8).

(1) In 1906, Finnish women were the first in Europe and the second in the world to gain the right of suffrage and to become electoral candidates even for the highest of public posts. (2) The parental leave and the child day care system enable Finnish women to actively participate in working life. (3) The majority of women work outside the home. (4) More and more men also have the opportunity to participate actively in caring for their children.

(5) More than one half of higher education students in Finland are women, and (6) women also hold an increasing proportion of leading positions at workplaces and in administration.

(7) The year 2004 saw the entry into force of the Finnish Non-Discrimination Act. (8) The Act's [sic] purpose is to foster and safeguard equality in working life and other areas of society. (9) Finnish law also safeguards the equal rights for everyone, including ethnic minorities and different religious groups. (P. 8.)

In clause (1), the text differentiates Finnish women from all the 'other' women in the world by emphasizing the long history of gender equality and women's suffrage in Finland.

Clause (2), in turn, implies that there are two societal systems contributing to women's opportunities to work in Finland: the parental leave and the child day care system. It also implies that without day care services Finnish women could not participate in working life, thus presupposing that it is the woman's work to take care of the children. Additionally, the sentence describes the Finnish society as the active agent that enables participation in working life for the passive women. In clause (3), however, the women get to take the role of an Agent.

Men are brought in the context of equality only in the last clause (4) of the paragraph, which flashes the prospect of men taking part in childcare. However, the sentence still reinforces the presupposition of women as the primary care takers of children, as men merely *participate* in it, thus not taking full responsibility of it. In addition, participation in childcare is described as an *opportunity* for men, not as an obligation.

In the second paragraph (clauses 5, 6), the text returns to discussing women by describing their proportion of higher education students and leading work positions. What is left without saying is that less than half of higher education students are men. Were men treated as first and foremost in gender equality, this sentence would look like a discriminatory situation against men and, thus, nothing to boast about.

The last paragraph (7, 8, 9) discusses the Finnish Non-Discrimination Act, which *safeguards the equal rights for everyone, including ethnic minorities and different*

religious groups (p. 8). However, sexual minorities are included only implicitly, as part of *everyone*.

The analysis has now discussed the context in which gender is depicted in the material. Next, the presuppositions about gender are looked at.

Presuppositions about gender

In general, the material holds presuppositions about women as natural caretakers of children, about men as natural breadwinners of the family and about two-parent heterosexual nuclear family. The clause below presents an excellent example of these issues.

In Finland, women commonly work outside the home, so day care services are provided by municipalities (p. 36).

For the sentence above to make sense, it needs to presuppose that men work outside home. However, by emphasizing women's paid employment and leaving men's work unmentioned, the clause naturalises both paid employment of men and homemaker role of women. Additionally, the clause supposes two parents; a woman and, as the counterpart, a man, thus reinforcing the model of a two parent heterosexual nuclear family.

This section has discussed the meanings attached to genders in the material. The next section will look at the meaning attached to immigrants.

Immigrants

This subsection analyses the meaning attached to immigrants. As *immigrant* is a concept often seen as a polar opposite to *resident*, meanings attached to residents are also discussed to illustrate how they differ. First, labelling of immigrants and residents is looked at. Second, usage of othering personal pronouns is addressed. Third, agency of immigrants is focused on. Third, the context in which how immigrants are discussed is addressed. To conclude, the presuppositions regarding immigrants are looked at.

Labelling immigrants

In the material, immigrants are referred to with several nominal groups and phrases, as illustrated in Table 6. *Immigrant(s)* and *foreigner(s)* are the labels used most often. *Foreign* is also a popular as a prefix.

Table 6: Occurrences of groups and phrases labelling immigrants

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
31	immigrant(s)
10	foreigner(s)
3	foreign jobseeker
3	foreign citizen
3	foreign national
3	a person /persons moving to Finland
3	foreign employee (s)
2	newcomer(s)

Also the word immigrant is sometimes added a prefix, such as *working-age immigrants*, *unemployed immigrants* or *Finland's immigrants*. Perhaps the most interesting case of these is the expression *Finnish immigrants*, which would more conventionally refer to migrants of Finnish ancestry living outside Finland. However, the context of the expression prove that the concept refers to immigrants living in Finland:

The majority of Finnish immigrants lived [sic] --- in the Helsinki Metropolitan area (p. 11)

At points, immigrants are divided into different groups based on their citizenship, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7: Occurrences of groups and phrases differentiating immigrants	
Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
21	EU citizens
5	EEA citizens / Citizens of the EEA countries
3	Nordic citizens / Citizens of the Nordic countries
1	foreign citizen from outside that area
1	Non-EU citizen

At points, the immigrants are explicitly presented in contrast to the residents:

...employers are obliged to pay pension, social security, unemployment security and accident insurance contributions for both foreign and Finnish employees (p. 18).

The majority Finns own their home. According to the Finnish legislation, foreigners can also freely purchase a property... (P. 10.)

In the material, the residents of Finland are referred most frequently to as Finns and Finnish citizens, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Occurrences of groups and phrases labelling residents

Number of occurrences	Nominal group / phrase
13	Finn(s)
8	Finnish citizen(s)
2	Finnish women
1	Finnish male citizens
1	Finnish employee
1	Finnish employer

This section has looked at how immigrants and residents are labelled. Next, the usage of othering personal pronouns is addressed.

Usage of othering personal pronouns

Immigrants are highly often addressed through the usage of personal pronoun you. The othering pronoun they is used far more seldom, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9: Occurrences of personal pronouns referring immigrants

Number of occurrences	Concept
138	you
9	they

The residents are referred to as *we* only once, but using the genitive pronoun *our* is more common, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Occurrences of personal pronouns referring to residents

Number of occurrences	Concept
6	our
5	their

Even though the usage of genitive pronoun *our* is nearly as common as the usage of genitive pronoun *their* to refer to the residents, it is to be noted, that in the material the genitive pronoun *our* always refers to residents and never to immigrants. In turn, immigrants are referred to with genitive pronouns *their* and *his/her*.

Finns appreciate ... their own culture (p. 5).

Our [people of Finland] economic growth is mainly based on the success of our export industry (p 5).

Immigrants are helped to find out how their foreign qualifications or degrees can be made to meet the requirements set by Finnish working life (p. 16).

This part of analysis has looked at the usage of personal pronouns in referencing immigrants and residents. Next, the analysis focuses on the agency of immigrants and residents.

Immigrants and agency

At the rank of groups and phrases, the immigrants are most often presented as Actors or as Goals, as exemplified below:

...you should enter into a written employment contract (p. 18).

Actor

You will find information about the Finnish educational system... (p. 29)

Actor

... EURES advisers are trained to help foreign jobseekers (p. 13)

Goal

...the immigrant will be issued a decision... (p. 31)

Goal

In turn, residents are typically given the role of a Senser or a Carrier:

Finns appreciate ... their own culture (p. 5).

Senser

97% of Finns have a mobile phone (p. 10).

Carrier

So far, the analysis has discussed immigrants and residents at the rank of nominal groups and phrases. Next, the analysis moves on to the level of discourse by looking at the context in which immigrants and residents are presented.

Immigrants in context

At the level of discourse, this part of the analysis looks at in what kind of context immigrants are described. When the immigrants are addressed with the personal pronoun you, a high emphasis is put on the modality of what the immigrant *should*, *needs* or *must* do:

...you should check sources such as the Internet for up-to-date information (p. 4).

You will need to pay taxes... (p. 20)

...you must register with the local register office... (p. 27)

Actual working is mentioned only rarely:

If you will be working in Finland for no longer than six months... (p. 20)

Foreigners planning paid employment in Finland must usually get a residence permit... (p. 21)

In turn, a high focus is set on the services and help provided for immigrants.

Immigrants are helped to find out how their foreign qualifications or degrees can be made to meet the requirements set by Finnish working life (p. 16).

When preparing the integration plan for an immigrant... (p. 15)

In turn, the residents are mainly described as liking and appreciating:

Finns like to live in a detached house with a private garden (p. 11).

Finns appreciate --- many fields of culture (p. 7).

Although the material mostly presents both immigrants and residents as undifferentiated entities, some differences are, however taken into account. The area of citizenship is divided into EU or EEA citizens and other citizens, and, on the other hand, on the neighbouring countries of Finland.

EU/EEA citizens ... can be registered as jobseekers. If you are a foreign citizen from outside that area... (p. 14)

Most of Finland's immigrants are from the area of Russia, Estonia and Sweden (p. 11)

Also Finnish citizens may live abroad or in Finland, or in urban areas or in the countryside:

If you are a Finnish citizens returning from abroad... (p. 26)

Most urban Finns... (p. 9).

Immigrants may be of different ages, different educational backgrounds and either employed or unemployed.

...if you are 17 to 64 years of age... (p. 32)

Those with a university degree... (p. 17)

If you are an unemployed immigrant... (p. 33)

This part of analysis has studied the context in which immigrants are presented. Next, presuppositions about immigrants is focused on.

Presuppositions about immigrants

One presupposition of the material seems to be that the concept immigrant is a uncomplicated term and needs no defining. Additionally, as the material includes quite a large amount of information about the Finnish culture as well as the social security system of Finland, the presupposition seems to be that these issues are unfamiliar to the immigrant. At the same time, the material excludes information about how to, in practice, apply for a job, how the process of employment works, what happens in a job interview, how to politely greet the interviewer et cetera. Therefore, it seems the material supposes the immigrants are from an area, in which the process of finding employment is fairly similar to that of Finland.

List of Images in Working in Finland Booklet

Number in the report	Name ¹	Representational function (O'Toole, 1994)	Page in the booklet
	Snowy perches	Scene	1, 40
	Map of Europe	Scene	2
	Aerial view of a city	Scene	4
	Man jumping in an icy lake	Narrative	4
	Field scenery	Scene	4
4.5, 5.6	Businesswoman	Portrayal	5
	Man serving coffee for a woman	Narrative	6
	Male hockey players	Narrative	7
	Modern building	Scene	7
	Parliament house	Scene	9
	View of central Helsinki	Scene	9
	Map of Finland and its provinces	Scene	9
4.1	Women measuring cloth	Narrative	9
	Person in sauna	Narrative	9
4.2	Woman on a laptop	Portrayal / narrative	10
4.3	Man with a mobile phone on the street	Narrative	10
	Aerial view of a green suburb	Scene	11
	Man, woman and two children holding hands	Portrayal / narrative	11
5.5	Female doctor and male construction worker	Portrayal	12
5.4	Female dentist with female nurse	Narrative	13
5.1	Hand doing automatic control	Narrative	14
	Laptop	Scene	14
5.10	Two female pharmacists	Narrative	16
5.2	Welder	Narrative	17
5.9	Saleswoman	Narrative	18
5.7	Male workers at a bus depot	Narrative	18
5.14	Male students in a classroom	Narrative	18
5.3	Female kindergarten teacher	Narrative	20
	Road scenery	Scene	21
	Three children in life jackets	Portrayal / narrative	22
	National flags	Scene	22
	Construction site	Scene / narrative	23
5.15	A veiled woman on street	Narrative	24
5.8	Male mechanic	Narrative	26
	A man, two women and a child	Narrative	26
5.12	Female teacher of higher education	Portrayal	28
	Man, woman and a picture of a child	Portrayal	30

Number in the report	Name ¹	Representational function (O'Toole, 1994)	Page in the booklet
	Playing children	Narrative	31
	Man holding a child	Portrayal / narrative	32
	A man, a woman and three children playing a board game	Narrative	33
	Ultrasound image	Narrative	34
	Baby on ground	Portrayal / narrative	34
5.13	Female primary school teacher	Narrative	34
	Elderly man with ski poles	Portrayal / narrative	35
	Elderly women in uniforms	Portrayal / narrative	35
	Hand holding a magnifying glass	Portrayal	36
	Passport	Scene	38
5.11	Office workers in a meeting room	Narrative	39

¹ As the images appear without names in the original material, all the images are named by the researcher.

Detailed Description of the Image Analysis

In this Appendix, the images analysed in described in detail. The figures are presented in the order of appearance of the body text. The numbers refer to the figure numbers and images on the body text.

Figure 5.1 presents a hand that is using a pointing devise on a screen, apparently doing automatic control. There are no visible wrinkles on the hand, so the character seems to quite young. The hand does not seem very large or small nor does it has any traditionally gender-marked characteristics, such as elaborate jewellery or fingernails painted red. The nails are well attended. The arm shows the character is wearing a deep blue uniform.

Figure 5.2 presents a character completely covered by overalls, helmet and gloves. The character, however, seem to be a welder, traditionally thought as a masculine work.

In Figure 5.3, the drawings on the wall and the age of the children suggest that the milieu is a kindergarten or a preschool. Thus, the woman in the middle seems to be a kindergarten or a preschool teacher, traditionally thought to be a feminine work. The woman, probably in her forties, has short brown hair, light skin and could be, by appearance, categorised as ethnically Finnish. Her eyeglasses are feminine in shape and she laughs showing her white teeth. She is quite slim and wearing a loose yellow t-shirt with long sleeves.

In Figure 5.4 there are two women, a dentist and a nurse, as in Finland dentists usually work as a team with the nurses. The woman at the left can be identified as the doctor and the woman at the right as the nurse, based on their conventional position around the patient and the tools they are using. They are performing a procedure on a patient, of whom only small portion of the face is seen. Here, both female figures can be seen as Agents. The perspective places the viewer in the middle of action, as if watching the procedure next to the nurse. Both women are dressed alike in yellow scrubs, rubber gloves and surgical masks. As they are both

quite blond and light-skinned, they seem as ethnically Finnish. The woman on the left – the dentist – has shoulder-long blond hair and wears glasses. Her gaze is on the patient and she looks very concentrated. The woman on the right, the nurse, has short reddish hair, a golden earring on the visible ear and glasses. In addition to the earring, she is mainly marked as a woman by her delicate features and smooth skin. Both characters are estimated to be in their forties.

Figure 5.5 presents two persons standing next to each other. The character on left is clearly marked as woman by her delicate facial features. Her clothing – a long, white jacket - implies that she is academically educated and works in the scientific field. She is holding a picture of a stethoscope further indicating she is a doctor. Her white jacket, however, makes her to blend in the background somewhat. Her dark hair is neither long nor short and she is smiling slightly. Her skin is darker than that of the other women represented, and she might, in this context, represent a successful immigrant. She bears a ring on her left ring finger, implying marriage or engagement. At first, she seems nearly as tall as the man. However, looking closer, she is actually smaller, a visual illusion partly created by but the diagonal line crossing the characters' heads. The photograph seems to be takes slightly below the persons on the photograph, thus presenting them as superior, perhaps as role models, as something to respect and strive for. The character at right is marked as a man by his strong jaw and straight posture. He is probably in his thirties, muscular and light skinned. The man could be classified as ethnically Finnish. He is wearing a yellow safety vest and a bright yellow helmet, which make him to pop out against the light background. The clothing along with the tools on his belt and the picture of a hammer suggest he is a construction worker, thus working in a traditionally masculine profession. However, his hair reaches his neck and, thus, creates a crack on the masculine ideal.

Figures 4.5 and 5.6 is a portrayal of a light-skinned woman, in her thirties, holding a picture of a laptop. She could be categorized as ethnically Finnish. She gazes directly at the viewer, thus engaging the viewer. She is marked as a woman by her long blond hair, careful make-up and a narrow, dark blue skirt. She is also wearing a matching jacket and beneath it a white-black striped shirt. Her stance,

however, is not very feminine, as she seems to be pushing her hips forward. Her glasses, as well, seem quite unisex. Based on her appearance and the picture of a laptop, she seems like a businesswoman, possibly working in the traditionally male-dominated information technology industry. Still, she is one of the most traditionally feminine women represented.

Figure 5.7 presents four people in an open indoor place featuring a bus, thus, in the context suggesting the people work for a bus company. The person on the left, probably in his forties, is marked as a man especially by his stubble, but also by his short, grey-blond hair and his bodily shape that does not hint breast but a beer-belly. The situation is similar with the second man from the left; the older man – presumably in his fifties or sixties - also has a beer belly and, additionally a hint of man-breasts, visible under the thin t-shirt he is wearing. He has short, grey hair, stubble and glasses. He wears jeans and holds his hands in their pockets. His stance is informal. The third man from the left seems to be the centre of the attention, the Agent of the picture. He is approximately the same age as the second man from the left, but he seems clearly better groomed than either of the men on his left. He has short, grey hair, glasses and no stubble. He is wearing a violet blue shirt, beige pants and a black belt. He is holding and looking a tool of some sort, as if he is explaining something to his colleagues. All these men have light skin and could be categorised as ethnically Finnish. However, the man on the right is marked as an immigrant by his short, black hair and dark skin. He is presumably in his forties. He is well-groomed and wearing dark pants and a dark blue vest over a blue shirt, signalling he is a bus driver.

In Figure 5.8 a man with very short hair and glasses holds a wrench, clearly fixing a machine and, thus, acting as an Agent. He is apparently in his early thirties. His hair is reddish and skin light, and he could be categorised as ethnically Finnish. The man is wearing a brown-green shirt and looking at the machine. His facial expression and the wrinkles on his forehead communicate concentration.

The star of Figure 5.9 is a sales person packing a shopping bag for a customer, of whom only hands and part of the clothed arms is showing. The sales person is quite

young, probably in her late twenties, and is marked as a woman by her delicate features and long reddish hair. She is wearing a sales person's uniform consisting of a pale blue shirt, a dark blue vest and a scarf. She is light-skinned and could easily be categorised as ethnically Finnish. The sales person seems also be wearing make-up, at least lipstick. However, her glasses seem very unisex. She smiles slightly and her upward gaze is apparently oriented in the customer, signalling that the customer is taller than the saleswoman. Interestingly, the perspective of the image is slightly tilted to right and the photograph has been taken from below the salesperson.

Figure 5.10 presents two persons on the foreground and three on the background, forming two separate episodes. The episode on the foreground seems to be the centre of attention, whereas the episode on the background seems to be present by chance. Therefore, this analysis focuses on the two persons on the foreground. They are both women and wear white jackets with green collars, culturally marking them as pharmacists. They are holding pharmaceutical products and the woman on the left seems to be demonstrating something to her colleague, making her the Agent of the episode and her colleague the Patient. The white coat covers the body shapes of the women. The woman on the left – the Agent - is marked as a woman by her long brown hair, reddened lips, an earring on her visible ear and an decorative bracelet or clock on her left wrist. A ring in her left ring finger implies marriage or engagement. She is probably in her thirties and smiles confidently. The younger woman on the right – the Patient – is marked as a woman by her delicate features, make up, long nails and long, blond hair, even if the hair is fasten. Her facial expression communicates perplexity, which, even with the professional status communicated by the white jacket, leads thought to the North Atlantic stereotypes of blond, not-so-bright women. The younger woman has very light skin and the older somewhat darker. Still, they could both be classified as ethnically Finnish. The women stand quite close to each other, signalling that they know each other quite well.

Figure 5.11 presents four persons in an office meeting room with modern furniture, three of the persons are marked as women and one as man. The person

standing on the left is marked as a man by his black two-piece suit and his short, blond hair. He is light-skinned and could be characterised as ethnically Finnish. He is slim and probably in his thirties. He stands while the women sit and presents a pie chart, making him the Agent of the picture. His gaze seems to be on the blond woman sitting third from left. The person second from left is sitting with her back towards the audience; thus the person's face does not show. However, the person is still clearly marked as a woman by her stance – she is sitting with her legs crossed – and by her long, dark hair. The person third from left is marked as a woman by her long, blond hair and the curve of her breast, visible under the fitting, white, two-piece suit. She seems to be in her late twenties. She is sitting with legs tightly together, hands on her lap and looking smilingly and eyes bright at the man on the left. The man also seems to be looking at and speaking to her, making her the Patient of the picture. The woman at the right is largely covered by a chair. She is still clearly marked as a woman by her high-heeled shoes. She probably is in her late thirties and has quite short, blond hair and a beige top covering a white shirt. She gazes at the man on the left. At least the two blond women are light-skinned and could be categorised as ethnically Finnish.

The portrayal in Figure 5.12 presents a slim woman probably in her thirties holding a picture of a pen and a calculator in front of a green blackboard full of numerical formulas, probably signifying that she is a teacher of some other numerical subject. She is marked as woman by her long, brown hair, careful make-up and the jewellery on her right wrist and ring finger. The ring on her left ring finger signals engagement or marriage. She has light skin and could be categorised as ethnically Finnish. She is dressed business-like in a white shirt and black pants, suggesting that she probably teaches at a higher-level institution, possibly at a university. She seems confident and her stance is quite straight, although she leans backwards somewhat.

In Figure 5.13, the desks and the age of the children suggest that the milieu is primary school. The adult person is out of focus, but clearly is slim and has long, black hair, apparently marking the person as a woman. She is wearing a dark, loose

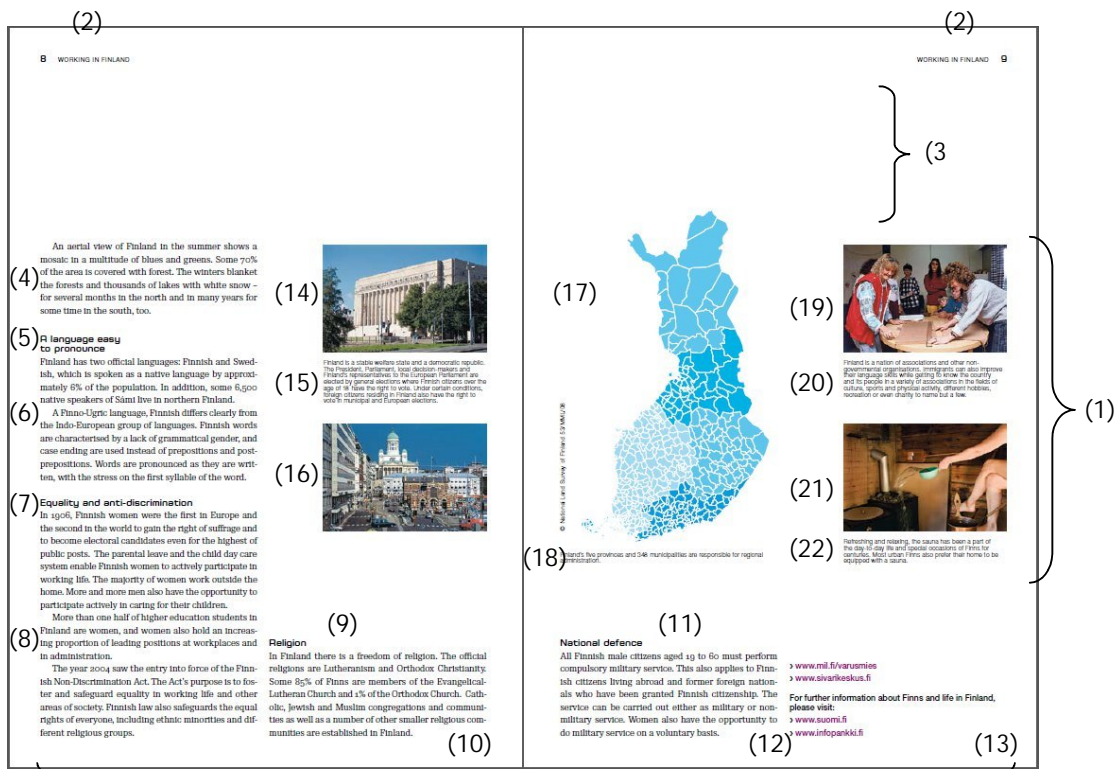
blouse, still revealing the curve of her breasts. The children have distinctively Asian facial features, and the same seems to apply for the teacher.

Figure 5.14 presents a classroom with adult students. As all the persons are marked as immigrants by dark skin colour, the picture might present a Finnish language class for immigrants. As most of the characters are not clearly visible in the image, only the two most salient characters of the picture are analysed. The man on the left is marked as a man by his short black hair and moustache. He is wearing a yellow shirt, a white undershirt and blue or grey trousers. He is leaning forward while sitting behind the desk. His hands are on the desk, right hand holding a pen. He seems to be saying something to somebody out of the picture frame, which makes him the Agent of the picture. The man sitting in the desk next to him is mainly marked as a man by his short, black hair and his features. He is wearing an orange sweater and blue jeans. He is sitting one leg over the other. His bare arms look slender. His right hand is on the table, holding a pen and his left close to his mouth as if he was going to rub his lips. His gazing out of the picture, probably at the same person the man on his left is talking to.

Detailed Information on Integration Analysis

In this Appendix, the process of integration analysis is looked at in detail. The *Working in Finland* booklet includes in total 20 spreads that are in this analysis treated as multimodal entities. However, as it was, considering the limited extend of the study, not possible to look at each of the entities, this analysis focuses on two particular entities. The first entity shows the context of the text excerpt *Equality and anti-discrimination* discussed in length in the discourse analysis and was chosen because the excerpt encapsulates the meanings of the textual data related to genders and employment. The second entity is the opening spread of the section addressing working in Finland and was elected because its prominent status in the section.

Next, the process of analysis is presented, first, regarding the discussion of equality and, second, regarding the opening entity of the working in Finland section.



(1)
Figure 1: Components and composition of the entity discussing equality

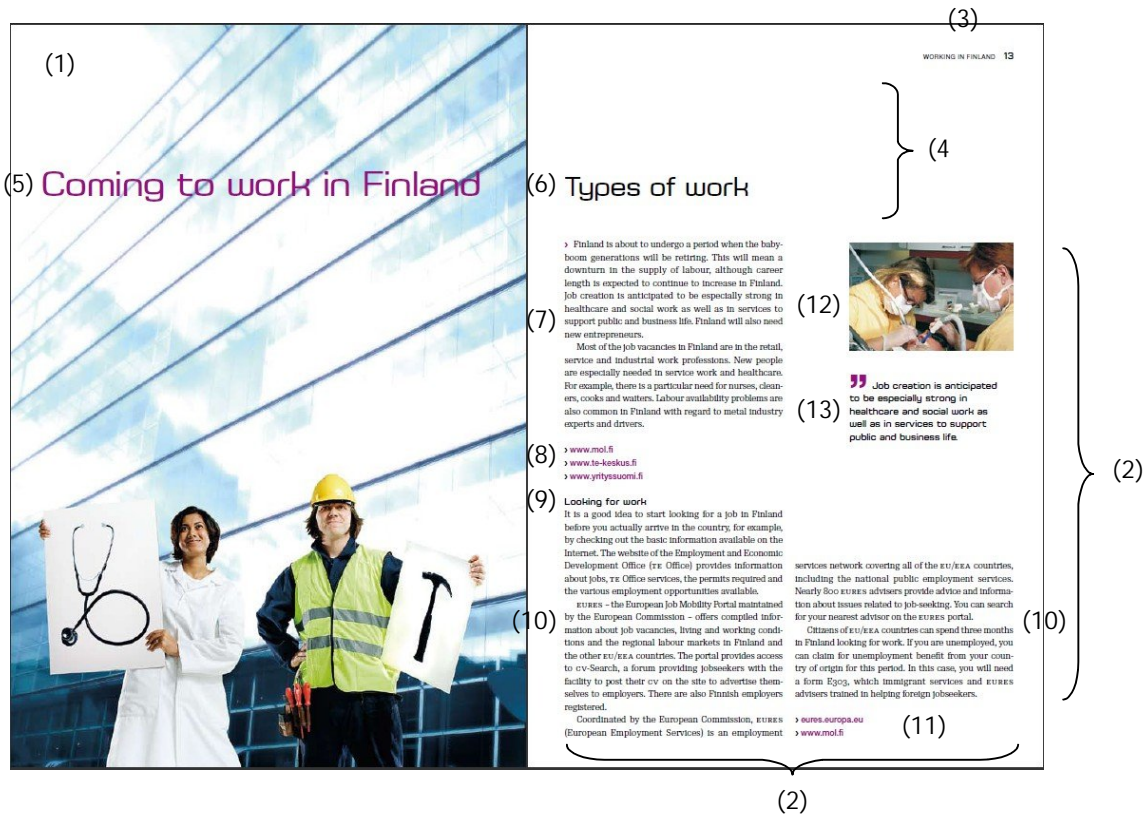


Figure 2: Components and composition of the opening entity of the working in Finland section

Analysis on the entity containing discussion on paid-employment of women

The entity is composed in rectangular shapes. As illustrated in Figure 1, the entity is framed by text and images (1) in the lower part of the page, whereas in the upper part of the page, the entity is framed merely by the name of the booklet and the page number (2). Under these components, there is a blank space (3), which takes approximately one fourth of the whole space. Other components of the entity consist of heads (5, 7, 9, 11), body text (4, 6, 8, 10, 12), website links (13), images (14, 16, 17, 19, 21), and photo captions (15, 28, 20, 22). The components are divided into four columns.

The section titled *Equality and anti-discrimination* consists of head (7) and body text (8) and is situated in the down-left corner of the entity. Hence, the salience of the

entity does not seem to be very high. The sections above (6) and next (10) to it discuss language and religion, respectively. In fact, as the images on the entity present Finnish scenery (14, 15), the map of Finland (17), people doing handicraft (19) and having a sauna (21), the common nominator of the page seems to be the *Finnish culture*, not, for example, employment.

The *Equality and anti-discrimination* section does not seem to have a lot in common with the images on the entity. In fact, it seems that the interaction between the section and the images is minimal and that they are only connected by the common nominator of *Finnish culture*.

Analysis of the opening entity of the working in Finland section

As with the previously analysed entity, the entity opening the working in Finland section is also composed in rectangular shapes. As shown in Figure 2, the left side is framed by a whole-page image (1) and the lower part of the right page by image and text (2). As with the previously analysed entity, the upper part of the page is framed merely by the name of the booklet and the page number (3) and under these components is a blank space (4). Other components of the entity include three types of heads (5, 6, 9), body text (7, 10), links to websites (8, 11), images (1, 12) and a quotation of the body text (13).

The first body text (7) of the entity and of the whole working in Finland section discusses change and needs of the Finnish employment field, as illustrated in the excerpt below.

(1) Finland is about to undergo a period when the babyboom generations will be retiring. (2) This will mean a downturn in the supply of labour, (3) although career length is expected to continue to increase in Finland. (4) Job creation is anticipated to be especially strong in healthcare and social work as well as in services to support public and business life. (5) Finland will also need new entrepreneurs.

(6) Most of the job vacancies in Finland are in the retail, service and industrial work professions. (7) New people are especially needed in service work and

healthcare. (8) For example, there is a particular need for nurses, cleaners, cooks and waiters. (9) Labour availability problems are also common in Finland with regard to metal industry experts and drivers. (P. 13.)

Clause (4) of the excerpt is duplicated and emphasized further in the quotation of the entity (13).

The text of the excerpt seems to have little to do with the images. The images represent healthcare and nurses and are, thus, in line with the text. However, the images also represent higher education professions, such as doctors and dentists, not explicitly brought up in the text.