

Mapping Minorities and their Media: The National Context – Finland

Ralf Kauranen & Salla Tuori
Department of Sociology
Åbo Akademi University

1. Introduction

The aim of this country report is to offer a descriptive account of the diasporic minorities and their media in contemporary Finland. The problems associated with presenting such a description are discussed in the general introduction of the project *Diasporic Minorities and their Media in the EU – A Mapping* (Georgiou 2001). Therefore, this report does not discuss the theoretical framework or associated concepts, unless this is necessary to enable an understanding of the specific Finnish case. Mapping diasporic minorities, and their media, is about writing similarities and differences. This introductory section is creating similarity between a Finnish majority culture and certain minorities in Finland as it is shortly presenting some minorities and ruling them out of the focus of the report. This is the case with the Swedish-speaking minority and the Sami people. This introduction also shortly presents the other so-called old minorities of Finland, the Jews, the Romany, the Tatars and the so-called “Old Russians”. These three are the old migrant minorities, which acquire a special status also in Finnish legislation, as compared with newer migrant minorities. We have included the media of the Romany and the Tatars in this mapping. The Jews are such an integrated minority that we have not included their media. In the case of Russian media we have looked at the contemporary situation, which obviously excludes the media of the “old” Russians in the pre-WWII period.

As Finland is traditionally understood to be a homogeneous society this introduction also points to possible readings of Finland as a “multicultural” society. This is in line with the analysis of Finnish nationalism, according to which the discourse of a homogeneous Finnish people and country is the result of a nation building process and identity construction with a strong presence since the 19th century (cf. Alapuro 1988). Whereas Finland, as no other country can be described as homogeneous without often rude generalizations, the idea of cultural homogeneity has an influence on how diversity is treated, for example in the case of the inclusion of new minorities in society (cf. Lepola 2000, 21).

Finland has been characterized as a meeting point between the cultural spheres of east and west in Europe (e.g. Pentikäinen 1995). The geographical position of Finland between Sweden and Russia has undoubtedly had an impact on the way the minority situation in Finland and migration from and to Finland is to be characterized. In comparison to many other EU countries Finland gained independence relatively recently: the declaration of independence was made on December 6, 1917. Before that Finland constituted the eastern part of the Swedish kingdom until the war between

Sweden and Russia in 1808-09, when Finland became part of the Russian Empire.

The majority of the population of Finland is Finnish speaking. The largest linguistic minority is the Swedish-speaking, which constitutes 5,63 % of Finland's population (of a total of 5.181.115 by December 31, 2000) in the year 2000 (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2001, 112, 114). The number is based on individuals' own registration of "Mother tongue" in the central register of the Population Register Center. Although the Swedish-speaking Finns are a numerical minority, the Swedish language in Finland is granted the same position as the Finnish in legislation, and in that sense it is misleading to present the Finland-Swedes as a minority. The Constitution Act of 1919, as well as the new Constitution of 1999, defines Finnish and Swedish as the two national languages of Finland. The Constitution, along with the Language Act of 1922, furthermore confirms to Finnish citizens a right to use either Finnish or Swedish in their contacts with government and the judicial system, as well as equal provision for "cultural and economic needs" of both language groups. The main policy level of authorities' usage of Finnish and Swedish is the municipality. Based on individuals' registration of mother tongue a municipality is either monolingual (Finnish or Swedish) or bilingual with either a Finnish or Swedish linguistic minority. (On the Swedish-speaking in Finland, see Liebkind & al. 1995; McRae 1997.) The Swedish-speaking minority, and their media, are out of the scope of this report, both because of the legal status of the minority group in Finland, as well as based on the many non-distinctive features of the minority compared to the Finnish-speaking majority. The criteria of diaspora listed by Cohen (1997, cited in Georgiou 2001, 12) do, despite some aspects of the cultural identity and everyday life of Swedish-speaking in Finland, mainly not fit this particular minority, especially with regard to the references to an "original homeland" outside the country of residence.

The media of Swedish-speaking in Finland are also extensive with regard to the size of the population. There are nine Swedish newspapers published 4-7 days a week and six papers published 1-3 times a week (Moring 2000, 214). The Finnish public service broadcaster, YLE, has two radio channels in Swedish, Radio Extrem and Radio Vega, and YLE's two television networks send Swedish programs daily, approximately 1000 hours a year. Since fall 2001 the program amount has increased due to the launch of YLE's Swedish digital television network, FST-kanalen, which aim is to double the hours of Swedish programming.

Another minority of Finland not fitting the criterias of diaspora presented in the project's general framework is the Sami people, an indigenous minority. The Constitution of 1999 grants the Sami the status of an indigenous people. The Act on Sami Parliament of 1995 gives the Sami cultural self-government. There are various estimates of the Sami population in Finland. According to one, the registration of mother tongue, the minority makes up 0,03 % of the country's population (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2001, 114). The Sami population in Finland is also estimated to be about 6.500 (Nousuniemi 1999, 53), ??? % of the whole population. Most Samis live in the northernmost

municipalities of Finland that may be considered part of the Sami “homeland” also covering northern areas of Norway, Sweden and northwest Russia. In these countries there are over 60.000 Sami altogether with the largest population in Norway. The media landscape of the Sami in Finland is not as extensive as the Swedish minority’s, but similarly as the Sami homeland, it is transnational. Among Sami media, radio is the most important, as both television production and print media have been marginal. As Nousuniemi notes about radio’s importance for the position of Sami: “The [Sami] language has had official status on the Radio for much longer than in the society” (Nousuniemi 1999, 60). The public broadcasting companies in Finland, Norway and Sweden produce Sami language programs partly broadcasted in all countries.

Historically Finland has been a country of emigration, not immigration. It has been estimated that about 1 million Finns have left the country, some to return. During 1860-1930 and from the 1950’s to the beginning of the 1970’s the emigration was especially large. In the first period the destination was mainly North America and in the latter Sweden was the most common destination (Korkiasaari 1989). Although emigration has dominated Finnish migration patterns, there has been some migration to Finland as well. The greatest part of this is, until the 1980’s made of Finnish returnees, but there are also some much older “migrant minorities”. These are the Roma, the Jews, the Tatars and the so-called Old Russians.

The first Roma immigrated in the 16th century. The number of Roma living in Finland is today estimated to be about 10.000, with an additional ca. 3.000 Finnish Roma living in Sweden (Hernesniemi & Hannikainen 2000). A couple of hundred Roma have arrived in Finland in the past years from former Yugoslavia and Romania. Also a few Slovakian Roma have applied for refugee status, but the applications have for nearly all been decided negatively upon (ibid.). The Finnish Constitution grants the Roma “the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture”. Also, the Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Company recognises the special need to produce services in the Romany language.

The Roma have traditionally been, and in some respects still continues to be treated with prejudice in Finland. The Romany are a segregated group, with often strong commitment to their own traditions and cultural values, which has been considered a problem rather than a strength. In this sense the Romany, that only marginally are a linguistic minority in Finland, are comparable to the new migrant minorities. Hence, the Romany media, unlike the Sami and Finland-Swedish, are included in this mapping.

As measures to enhance the inclusion of the Roma in Finnish society there is subordinate to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health the Advisory Board on Romany Affairs with members representing the government and Romany associations. The tasks of the Board are, for example, to follow the situation of the Roma in Finland with regard to inclusion in society and living conditions and to report to authorities on the developments. Moreover, the Board is to make initiatives to improve the situation of the Roma in educational,

employment and economic issues, to work against racism and to promote the Romany language and culture.

One of the Board's initiatives resulted in 1994 in the establishing of the Education Unit for the Romany Population, under the National Board of Education. The unit is "assigned to develop and implement nation-wide training and education for the Romany population, to promote the Romany language and culture, to engage in information and publicity activity on Romany culture and education, and to carry out the increasing number of international tasks which have arisen as a result of Finland's EU membership" (<http://www.oph.fi/info/Romanyt/>). Neither the Advisory Board on Romany Affairs nor the Education Unit for the Romany Population has an explicit policy concerned with media, but the latter has a role as publisher of the journal *Latšo Diives*. A recent report on Romany affairs in Finland commissioned by the ministry of Social Affairs and Health (Suonoja & Lindberg 2000) in its recommended strategies also neglects the role of media or media policies.

First, as a part of Sweden and later during the autonomy under Russia, Finnish laws were those of the Swedish kingdom. These forbid Jews to settle in the country, with the exception of some cities on Swedish territory. The Turku peace treaty of 1743 gave Jews the possibility to settle in the south-eastern Finnish territory and this is where the first permanent Jews in Finland lived. When Finland became a Russian Grand Duchy Swedish law came into force in the south-eastern area as in the whole country. During this period, the only Jews allowed to settle in Finland were those who had been employed in the Russian army, and this was the usual way of immigration. In the beginning of the 1870's the number of Jews in Finland was ca. 500. The senate's policy on residence permits was strict and the increase in the number of Jews was very limited. In 1918, Finnish Jews were given the right to become Finnish citizens. Between the world wars the Jewish community in Finland had ca. 2000 members (Harviainen 1999). Today there are ca. 1300 Jews in Finland (Forsander & Ekholm 2001).

There are two Jewish congregations in Finland, in Helsinki and Turku. The Jews in Finland may be regarded a religious and cultural minority, whereas ethnically and linguistically Jews are a heterogeneous group. The educational level of the Finnish Jews is high and the group is very strongly assimilated in Finnish majority culture. Consequently, the media of Finnish Jews, for example, the Finnish language newsletter of the Helsinki congregation, *HaKehila*, are not to be regarded as in the scope of this report.

The Russian army's presence in Finland was the reason also to the arrival of the first groups of Muslims in the country. The Muslim soldiers were mostly Kazan Tatars or Bashkirs, whereas the first stabile community, however, was the result of the arrival of Mishār Tatar merchants in late 19th century. Before the Russian revolution most salesmen had their families in the regions of departure, but in the beginning of the 1920's families and other refugees came to Finland (Halén 1999; Leitzinger 1999). When the first Islamic congregation was founded in 1925 it had 528 members, in 1935 the members were 669 and in 1978 the membership of the Helsinki and Tampere congregations was 938 (Halén 1979, 5). The Tatars are a well-established

religious, cultural and linguistic Turkic minority. It is significant that the small group has managed to preserve the knowledge of the Tatar language for even five generations. The publication activity of the Tatars has been extensive. Publications include religious texts, poetry, plays, novels etc. as well as a few periodicals, the earliest from 1925 (ibid.).

Beside Romany, Jews and Tatars, Russians are the fourth old migrant minority of Finland. The first group of Russians came to so-called Old Finland, the Russian Government of Wyborg, areas that were acquired by Russia from Sweden in 1721 and 1743. Noblemen, who had been offered land there, brought groups of serfs to the area. Russian migration to the area increased during the 18th century. For example, in the most important town in Karelia, Viipuri (nowadays on Russian territory), 30 % of the inhabitants were Russian in 1812 (Kuujo 1993, 22, cited in Nylund-Oja et al. 1995). During the autonomy the share of Russians decreased in Old Finland. In the rest of Finland the amount of Russian merchants increased until the mid-19th century. In Helsinki, for example, the share of Russians among merchants was 40 % by 1850 (Lampinen 1984). Around 1900 the share of permanently residing Russians of the Finnish population was 0,2 %, the number being 7400 in 1910. There were also a significant number of temporary Russian residents, who were military personnel, civil servants or of the Orthodox clergy (Nylund-Oja et al. 1995, 186).

Generally, during the 20th century migration to Finland has been minimal. Until 1981 emigration from Finland surpassed the immigration to the country. Still, however, the numerical turn in 1981 is explained by the amount of returning Finnish emigrants. Not before 1990 was the migration of non-Finnish citizens to Finland larger than the number of returning Finnish citizens (http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/eng/e_12.htm).

2. The most important migrant – diasporic groups in Finland

The old minorities and migration in the pre-WWII period were discussed in the introduction chapter. In this chapter the focus is on "new migration", and particularly on the period from the 1980s until now. There was a shift in politics, legislation and particularly in both number and type of immigration from the mid-1980s onwards.

However, in order to understand the Finnish context, it is important to shortly discuss the migration history of the country. The Finnish history of immigration shows that in the beginning of the independence (1917) there were significant immigrant populations in Finland. Finland received large numbers of refugees from the Soviet Union. Finland was, however, mainly a transit country. Due to the territorial losses in WWII 450 000 Finns had to be resettled in other parts of Finland. After the WWII the immigrant population started to decrease in Finland. During the period between 1945 and 1970 Finland was mainly a country of emigration (e.g. Korkiasaari & Söderling 1998). Until the 1980s

migration was largely about Finns moving to Sweden and coming back. During the whole post-WWII period over 500 000 Finns (more than 10% of the population) have moved to Sweden. Migration was strongest between 1958 and 1970. Emigration to Sweden was mainly about finding work and better living in the wealthier neighbouring country. In the post 1945-period other destinations for Finnish immigrants have been mainly other European countries. Since 1981, remigration from Sweden has exceeded emigration, and in total immigration is today bigger than emigration. Until the end of 1980s, 85% of all immigrants were returning immigrants from Sweden (Korkiasaari & Söderling 1998: 14).

Finland differs from most other Western European countries in that there has been no labour immigration. Instead, Finland was previously a country of labour emigration. The immigration policies have been very restrictive during the whole post-WWII period. This can be seen in the minimal numbers of immigrants in Finland. In 1980 people with other than Finnish citizenship formed 0,2% (12 800 persons) of the population in Finland. Most non-Finnish citizens were from Europe. In 1990 the number had increased to 0,4% (26 300 persons). By the year 2000 foreign citizens reached 1,7% (91 000 persons) of the population (Statistics Finland). During the ten years period from 1990 to 2000, around 20 000 foreign citizens got Finnish citizenship.

The first refugees in the post WWII period arrived to Finland in 1973 from Chile, and altogether Finland received 182 Chileans between 1973 and 1977. Most of the people in this group have since moved to another country or returned to their home country (Korkiasaari 1998, 16). At least half of the Chileans arrived to Finland by accident. The amount of refugees has been and continues to be very low. It was first during the 1990s that the amount of refugees increased to over 1000 per year. Altogether Finland has received around 20 000 refugees. Most have arrived as quota refugees from Vietnam, Iran, Iraq and the former Yugoslavia or as asylum seekers from Somalia (Valtonen 1999, 14). At the moment the largest groups of immigrants in Finland are Russians, EU-nationals, Estonians, and Somalis. Other larger groups are Vietnamese, Kurds, Iraqis and people from ex-Yugoslavia.

There is no statistics in Finland on the basis of ethnicity, but there is on the basis of mother tongue or nationality. On the basis of language groups there is a possibility to get a more refined picture of the immigrant population than merely looking at nationality as some immigrants have Finnish citizenship and some groups, as the Kurds, do not come from only one state. On the basis of **language** the most important groups in 2000 are (groups of more than 200 persons are included):

Altogether	99227 (Others than Finnish, Swedish or Sami)
Russian	28205
Estonian	10176
English	6919
Somali	6454
Arabic	4892

Vietnamese	3588	
German	3298	
Albanian	3293	
Kurdish	3115	
Chinese	2907	
Turkish	2435	
Serbo-Croatian	2166	
Spanish	1946	
French		1585
Thai	1458	
Persian	, Farsi	1205
Polish	1157	
Hungarian	1089	
Dutch	650	
Romanian	604	
Tagalog	568	
Japanese	561	
Bengali	524	
Bulgarian	486	
Norwegian	471	
Greek	450	
Hindi	428	
Danish		397
Pandzabi	346	
Amharic	312	
Urdu	309	
Ukranian	337	
Hebrew	263	
Lingala	256	
Czech	240	
Tamil	231	

(based on the information of Statistics Finland, Väestörakenne 2000)

On the basis of **citizenship** the most important groups in 2000 are (groups with more than 200 persons are included):

	All	
Altogether	91 074	
EU-countries	16 656	
Africa	7600	
South-America	1028	
Russia		20552

Estonia		10839
Sweden	7887	
Somalia	4190	
Iraq	3102	
Ex-Soviet Union	2447	
Ex-Yugoslavia		2371
The UK	2207	
Germany	2201	
The United States	2010	
Iran	1941	
Vietnam	1840	
Turkey	1784	
China	1668	
Bosnia-Herzegovina		1627
Thailand	1306	
Yugoslavia	1204	
Ukraine	961	
France		859
Italy	774	
India	756	
Hungary	654	
Poland		649
The Netherlands	623	
Canada		600
Norway	585	
Denmark	580	
Morocco	537	
Spain	533	
Philippines	527	
Japan	507	
Romania	489	
The Democratic Republic of Kongo	423	
Afghanistan	386	
Bangladesh	384	
Switzerland	355	
Greece		312
Bulgaria	297	
Ethiopia	295	
Kazakstan	295	
Croatia		260
Israel	259	

Pakistan	253	
Ghana		237
Sri Lanka	231	
Nigeria		230
Latvia	227	
Ireland		218
Austria		217
Algeria		216
Lithuania	204	
Egypt	200	

(Väestörakenne 2000, ???)

The Finnish statistics make it difficult to trace immigrants of second generation, especially if they declare Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue. This should, however, not affect the statistics presented herein.

Racism, Multiculturalism, Integration

"Multiculturalism" has become part of the political rhetoric in the 1990s. It is then often seen as a question of equality or equal opportunities (Lepola 2000, 203).

Immigration is, however, often seen as a burden and not as a resource in Finland (Forsander 1999). The attitudes towards immigration also stress fear and threat (Jaakkola 1999). Magdalena Jaakkola (1999) has studied attitudes towards immigration among Finns during a period from 1987 to 1999. When the first study was conducted it turned out that attitudes towards immigration were rather positive, against some expectations. It is to be noticed that the number of immigrants was very small, most of the immigrants were in fact Finns that had remigrated from Sweden and North America, and there was an economic boom in the society. Negative attitudes were strongest in 1993, at the same time as the economic recession was at its worst. In the late 1990s the attitudes grew more positive again, even if still more negative than in 1987.

Due to the Finnish policies on immigration the immigrant communities are young and rather small. As chain migration has not been favoured, except in the case of the Finnish Ingrians from the ex-Soviet Union and to some extent among asylum seekers, the newcomers do not have links to the immigrants that already live in Finland. In consequence, the networks and along them, support from other migrants is not necessarily so well developed. Well-established communities provide support through networks and interaction, which again make integration easier. According to a study conducted in Canada and Finland, in countries such as Finland, where ethnic communities are rather weak, there is more need to social measures and services from the state (Forsander 1999).

The most acute problem for immigrants are the high unemployment rates. All immigrant groups have higher unemployment rates than Finnish citizens. The problem is worst among the Somalis, Iraqis, Iranians, Vietnamese, immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Moroccans, who all suffer from unemployment rates that are over 60%. The labour force participation rate for all foreigners was 55% in 1997. As the unemployment rates, labour force participation varies highly among the different groups. The labour force participation rates are lowest among the groups that have the highest unemployment rates (Ministry of Labour).

In the following part some of the migrant minority groups are discussed. At the moment there are two migrant groups over others in the amount of attention from both the media and the researchers: Russians and Somalis (on Russians e.g.: Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000, Vikat 1996, Kyntäjä & Kulu 1998, Haapanen 1997 and on Somalis e.g.: Alitolppa-Niitamo 2000 and 2001, Hautaniemi 1997; Visapää ???). They are numerically the two largest groups as well as media favourites, even if that position mostly means a great deal of "problem journalism".

Finnish Ingrians, Russians and Estonians

Russians are the largest migrant community in Finland. They are not usually considered as an "old minority" even if there always has been a Russian population in Finland. During the 19th century there was a significant number of Russians in Finland. They lived mainly in the bigger cities as Helsinki and Viipuri (that now forms part of Russia) and worked as salesmen (Forsander ja Ekholm 2001, 106) In the 1920s there was according to the Ministry of the Interior 33 000 Russian citizens in Finland. Many of them had come after 1917 as refugees (Nygård ???, cited in Forsander). However, most of them used Finland as transit country to go further to other countries. Between 1950 and 1980 the Russian immigration to Finland happened through marriage with Finnish citizens. This was practically the only way to migrate to Finland. Most of the people who illegally crossed the border from the Soviet Union and tried to get residence in Finland were deported.

In the 1990s, the number of Russian-speaking people has increased particularly because many Finnish Ingrians have moved to Finland from the countries of the former Soviet Union. President Mauno Koivisto made a statement in 1990 that everyone with "Finnish origin" is considered as a "returning immigrant". That a person is considered as a returning immigrant, s/he, one of her/his parents or two grandparents must have a notion of Finnish nationality in the official documents. There is also a possibility to prove Finnish origin or other special ties to Finland in some other way if official documents are not available (Finnish Alien's Act 1991). In practice the status of a returning immigrant means largely the same rights and services as there is for refugees, and more importantly, release from some requirements in order to gain the residence permit (for example, it is not necessary to have proof of a "sufficient income" or to have a work permit).

In consequence of this decision there is an increased immigration from Russia and other former Soviet Republics since the 1990s. Most of the immigrants are descendants of Finns that moved in the 1600s and 1800s to the St Petersburg area. During the WWII 63.000 Ingrians were moved to Finland. In the Peace Treaty of 1944 there was a closure that all the Ingrians that were moved from the Soviet Union must be moved back. In consequence 55.000 Ingrians were returned to the Soviet Union, many of which directly to Siberia. As they suffered persecution during the Stalin era, many ceased to use Finnish and did not want "Finnish" as their nationality in the passport (Kyntäjä 2001).

This decision to place people of "Finnish origin" in a special position has been explained or approached in various ways. Some argue that it was in fact about labour politics, as it still was estimated in 1990 that Finland would suffer from lack of labour (Forsander ???). Politicians' rhetoric have stressed "ethnic ties", the right to "come home" and Finland's debt to Ingrians as they were deported after the WWII to Russia (Lepola 2000). There have been only few arguments that this policy would be discriminatory towards people with no "Finnish ties". Most of the arguments against the decision have been about that there has been people arriving to Finland as returning immigrants on "false grounds". The decision has been lively discussed in the media and among politicians. Now suggestions are again made among politicians on the highest level that the special treatment of Finnish Ingrians should be ended and they should be treated as any other migrants from non-EU countries. In practise that would mean closing the border for the immigrants from Russia and other ex-Soviet Union republics.

When the returning immigrants started to emigrate from the former Soviet Union, it turned out to be a very heterogeneous group linguistically, historically and geographically. Most of the immigrants have come from Carelia (close to the Finnish border) and from Estonia, but also from Siberia and further Asia. In the group there are also descendants of Finns who moved before the WWII from Canada to the Soviet Union. Family members of returning immigrants also form a significant part.

The Finnish rhetoric of "returning immigrant" suggests that Finland is the imagined homeland. This idea of homecoming was used in official rhetoric sometimes in a very emotional way (Lepola 2000: 102). This might be one reason for the shock among Finnish politicians and media that was experienced when it turned out that many of the immigrants from Russia did not speak Finnish or otherwise were attached to "Finnish culture" or Finland. According to Cohen's (1997) categories Russians are a labour diaspora. Most of the Russians in Finland somehow belong to the group of returning immigrants, either by being one oneself or being wife, husband or child to one. If one is not regarded as a returning immigrant, the entrance gates are hard to open without having a proper job in advance, enough money, etc.

Many of the Finnish Ingrians live in Estonia, which explains the rather big number of Estonian immigrants in Finland. Thus, most of the Estonian immigrants in Finland form part of the group "returning immigrants". Estonian-

speaking immigrants are in a better position than Russian-speaking immigrants are, as Estonian is very close to Finnish. Among the immigrants from Estonia there are also Russian-speakers. Of both Russians and Estonians, 60% are women. This is explained by the fact that more women have moved to Finland through marriage with a Finnish man than men through marriage with Finnish women. Before 1990 marriage with a Finnish citizen was one of the few ways to migrate from the Soviet Union to Finland.

Somalis

Somalis were the first larger group of asylum seekers in Finland. In 1990, 1440 asylum seekers arrived to Finland from Somalia. It might be difficult to understand the discourses on "dramatic increase" or "flow" of Somali refugees, which this relatively small group of Somalis caused in the Finnish press. By contrast, the year before altogether 170 asylum seekers arrived to the country. Commonly it was not expected that any asylum seekers would "find" the northern and peripheral country. Somalis were the first larger group of refugees from Africa and of Muslim background. The internal heterogeneity of the group is pointed out in all literature on Somalis. It is characteristic for the Finnish public discourse to consider the group as homogeneous. The Somali refugees have a background of Islam, but the complexity of Islam as well as individual differences in practise and adherence are often overlooked in the Finnish debate (Valtonen 1999). As Alitolppa-Niitamo & Ali (2001) note Somalis are constructed as the ultimate other of the migrant groups. The majority population has reflected all the fears and threats towards difference or immigration on the group of Somalis.

The media attention that was (and still is) overwhelming considering the rather small amount of Somalis, is partly due to the visibility of the difference. At least as importantly, the economic depression started to hit Finland at the same time as the first Somalis arrived. As the economic situation grew worse, unemployment rates rose radically (from around 3% in 1990 to over 16% in 1993). In the situation of weakened economics, immigrants are in the most vulnerable position. The Finnish programmes on integration stress labour market participation as means or integration in the society at large. This has not happened. There are great differences in the education among the Somalis depending on from which part of the country and how they came to Finland. Women in general are poorly educated. Employment rates for Somalis are very low (Alitolppa-Niitamo ???). As Wahlbeck notes (1999, ??) immigrants are marginalised to such an extent in the Finnish labour market that they cannot experience the luxury of being discriminated against in connection to employment. Many of the Somalis have started to study as the possibilities in the labour market are so limited and a great number of women are taking care of children at home (Alitolppa-Niitamo ???).

Somalis are typically a diasporic minority. Homeland is present as myth, and most Somalis are helping out relatives who live in Somalia. Many have also been active in Finnish developing projects in Somalia. According to the diaspora typologies (REF), they could be characterised as a victim diaspora.

At the moment there are nearly 6500 persons with Somali as their mother tongue. First it was mainly men who arrived from Somalia, but later the figures have got more balanced. A rather big percentage of the Somalis are under 15 years old. Organisational activity among the Somalis has been extensive. In 1997 there were, for example, over 40 Somali associations in Finland. There are, however, attempts to coordinate the different associations and an umbrella organisation (*Suomen Somaliliitto* [*Finnish Somali Union*]) was established in 1997 (Tiilikainen 1999: 72).

Smaller migrant minorities in Finland

Vietnamese were the first quota refugees that arrived in the beginning of the 1980s. There are at the moment about 3500 Vietnamese-speaking persons in Finland (1840 Vietnamese citizens). The Vietnamese have arrived to Finland either as quota refugees or through family unification. The Vietnamese came to a country that was experiencing an economic boom, was still constructing the welfare state, and where there were very few immigrants. Thus, Vietnamese so-called boat refugees were rather well received. The number of people was limited, a hundred per year or so (Quoc Cuong 2001).

The fact that there are no data available on the basis of ethnicity in the Finnish statistics makes it difficult to make exact estimations on the number of **Kurds** in Finland. However, there are more than 3000 Kurdish-speaking persons in Finland. The Kurds in Finland are mainly from Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Most of the Kurds arrived in the 1990s. Many Kurds from Iran and Iraq came as quota refugees as a larger number of Kurds from Turkey came as asylum seekers. Very few arrived in a pattern of chain migration. That is, most of them did not have the intention of coming to Finland nor knew anybody in the country before arriving. The groups of quota refugees and asylum seekers differ from each other rather a lot. The quota refugees were often selected on humanitarian grounds and therefore there are in the group many families and children. By comparison nearly all (83%) of the asylum seekers have been single young men (Wahlbeck 1999: 84-85).

The Finnish resettlement politics have favoured dispersal of the immigrants. Therefore many of the Kurdish immigrants have been dispersed around the country. However, the trend is that most of the Kurds, as other minorities, have later moved to the Helsinki area or to other bigger cities (Wahlbeck 1999: 85). As most of Finland's new migrants, the Kurds arrived to Finland at the same time as the economic recession. In result, the vast majority of Kurds are unemployed and those who have work are self-employed.

Refugees from the ex-Yugoslavia in Finland are mainly **Bosnians** and **Kosovo-Albanians**. Both Bosnians and Kosovo-Albanians have arrived as quota refugees, through medical programs and family unification programmes. The first **Thai** and **Filipino** immigrants arrived to Finland in the 1980s. Both of the groups consist mainly of women (over 80%), and the main reason or means to immigrate has been marriage with Finnish men. Some of the immigrants from Thailand and Philippines have also come to work as

housekeepers mainly in the diplomacies. There are over 1000 Thai people living in Finland. The Filipino population in Finland is not too significant numerically, a little bit over 500.

3. Policies on migration and ethnicity

Tomas Hammar (1990) describes different phases in the immigration process as three entrance gates. The first gate refers to how to enter the country for a short period, the second gate how to gain the residence permit and the third gate is about regulating nationality. The groups that easily can pass the first gate in Finland are people from other Nordic countries, EU-nationals, refugees and people who have married with a Finnish citizen. For other people this first gate is hard to open (Lepola 2000, 29). To gain a permanent residence permit two years of continuous living in the country is demanded and for citizenship five years of residence in Finland.

One feature in the Finnish migration politics that locate some immigrants in a more favourable position is "Finnish roots". If a person has had Finnish citizenship or at least one parent has had Finnish citizenship is the person considered to have that "qualification". In these cases the processes are faster and the person does, for example, not have to have proof of his/her economic situation.

The policies on migration and ethnicity could also be roughly divided between how entering the country is regulated and what happens after that. They could also be divided in regulative measures and supportive measures. The regulations on entering the country, visas, residence permits and work permits are defined in the Finnish Aliens Act (1991). The supportive measures in the legislation are defined in the Act on Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (1999).

Overview on Finnish migration policies

During the post WWII period until the 1970s Finland was practically a closed country. Only people with Finnish ancestors and their families (husbands, wives and children) were allowed to immigrate to Finland. This was partly due to the Finnish politics towards the Soviet Union. Until 1990 Finland had a Pact of Co-operation and Friendship with the Soviet Union. During that time refugees were seen as a part of foreign politics, related to the power politics of the western and eastern block. As any tricky questions, it was something that Finland would not interfere in. The amount of asylum seekers was nearly non-existent at that time. It was however, not only because of the peripheral location – many asylum seekers were turned away already at the border so that they had no chance to even apply for asylum in Finland (Lepola 2000, 44).

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 Finland started to open the borders to others than people of Finnish ancestors. However, Finnish policies on

refugees and asylum seekers continued to be restrictive. The aim was to keep the number of refugees as low as possible. According to Scheinin (1997) there was a shift in the Finnish legal culture in the mid-1980s so that also non-Finnish citizens are entitled to social rights. In Finland 'foreigners affairs' were until the 1980s merely a question of regulation and an issue for the police authorities. Only in the aliens act from 1983 the foreigners' legal security was stressed. There was a change towards more openness in the Finnish immigration policies since 1990. Important factors in Finnish immigration policies were the membership in the European Council in 1989, the EEA-agreement and the membership in the EU in 1995 (Similä 2000:2). Finland ratified the European Human Rights Convention in 1990. Human Rights issues started to play a bigger role in immigration policies.

More openness in Finnish immigration politics has been a result of the ratification of international agreements and the joining of the EU, but the policies are generally still restrictive. A number of restrictive measures can be identified such as visa-requirements from "refugee-producing countries" or notions of "safe countries of origin and transit" in which cases the decisions can be made with a quick procedure (Wahlbeck 1999: 79-80). In 1995 Russia and Estonia were redefined as "secure countries" and thus the number of asylum seekers decreased as many of the immigrants had arrived through Russia to Finland. An asylum seeker from a "secure country" could be turned away already at the border without her/him even getting the chance of seeking asylum. The process of getting a decision on asylum in Finland is long, to the extent that it is against the asylum seekers' legal security. In order to solve the problem, Finland has modified the legislation instead of making changes in the administrative machinery. [...] The quick procedures have weakened the asylum seekers' legal security. [KOLLA] As Wahlbeck (1999:80) points out, we might be in a new situation now as other European countries close their borders; Finland is doing the same without ever having had them open.

Practically during the whole independence there has been free movement of persons between the Nordic countries. One could also travel without passport between Estonia and Finland until the WWII. In 1995, one could again travel without a visa to Estonia and vice versa.

In 1997, the government developed a programme for immigration and refugee policies. There had been no political definition of policy before this. The government program defined Finnish policy as "controllable immigration". It was pointed out that even if migration should not be restricted and it is enriching, it must be controlled by the state (Lepola 2000: 112-114).

Immigration affairs are organised in a complex and dispersed way in Finland, altogether seven different ministries are responsible for them. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs deals with visas, residence and work permits, and co-ordinates international co-operation. The Ministry of the Interior is together with the Ministry of Labour in charge of immigration policies. They are divided so that the Ministry of the Interior controls entrance to and departure from the country, citizenship and EU affairs and the Ministry of Labour refugees,

immigration, asylum seekers, integration into working life and Finnish society and work-permits.

Among the bodies that work with immigration affairs are the Directorate for Immigration, Frontier Guard Service and the Police under Ministry of the Interior, Office for the Minority Ombudsman, Employment offices, Reception offices and Employment and Economic Development Centres under Ministry of Labour. In addition, municipalities are in charge of integration of the immigrants (see <http://www.mol.fi/migration/pateng.html>, administration of migration affairs, for a more detailed view on how immigration affairs are divided between the ministries and other bodies).

Relevant Legislation

The Act on Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers came into force in May 1999. According to the Act all immigrants have the right to a personal integration plan made with the local authorities. "Integration" is defined as following:

- 1) the personal development of immigrants, aimed at participation in work life and the functioning of society while preserving their language and culture; and
- 2) the measures taken and resources provided by the authorities to promote such integration.

The Act also defines how reception of Immigrants should be organised and what services are to be provided for the asylum seekers. The Finnish Aliens Act defines the requirements for entering the country, acquirement of residence permit, asylum and grounds for deportation from Finland. According to Forsander (1999: 54) the Finnish Aliens Act is not more restrictive than the legislation in other Nordic countries. Rather, it has been administrative practices and a strict interpretation of the Act that has made Finnish immigration policies so restrictive.

Neither the Aliens Act nor the administrative practices have favoured labour migration. In consequence, the grounds on which residence permit is given are: 1) "Finnish origin" or status of former Finnish citizen; 2) marriage or a child with a permanent resident in Finland; 3) person who is granted asylum and 4) family members of above mentioned categories. In 1990, a section concerning immigrants of Finnish origin from ex-Soviet Union was added in the Alien's Act. In the section about Russian and Estonian immigrants this addition was discussed in more detail.

The Aliens Act that was developed in 1991 had by 1999 been modified already ten times. On one hand the modifications dealt with making the legal security for immigrants better, and on the other the law was restricted what comes to quick procedures, visas and secure countries etc. Legislation in Finland agrees with many principles of what could be called a "multicultural

society". The problem is that the practice does not follow the legislation (see Lepola 1999, Liebkind 1999, ???).

4. Media policies

According to Ullamaija Kivikuru (1998), media policy in a broad perspective may be viewed as defined on the following levels: international level, state level, the level of professional cultures, the institutional level and the level of the individual professional. The importance of the different levels is interdependent, but here the focus is on the state level and more specifically on legislation and government policies. The latter part consists in this case of the government programme, action plans and a support mechanism directed to minority cultures.

Historically, media policy has been, and in many ways continues to be a question about freedom and rights vs. regulation and obligations. Still, freedom of expression and freedom of press are the central basis of media policy on the state level as represented by legislation and it must also be considered a basis for a multicultural media landscape. In the Finnish Constitution entering force 2000 it is stated that everybody has freedom of expression. "Freedom of expression entails the right to express, disseminate and receive information, opinions and other communications without prior prevention by anyone" (The Constitution of Finland [731/1999]). Concerning language and culture the Constitution states, besides what has been said about Swedish and Sami, that "the Roma and other groups, have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture" (ibid.). These definitions of rights of individuals and groups are the basis of the legal system and government policies.

On a judicial level the constitutionally granted freedom of expression is furthermore implemented both with regard to periodicals and radio and television broadcasting. About the publication of periodicals is ruled in the Act on Freedom of the Press. According to the 1919 Act only Finnish citizens could act as publisher or editor-in-chief for a periodical. This changed as late as in 1990 (Vuortama et al. 1990, 21).

According to the Act on Television and Radio Operations (1998/744) the government should strive to, when granting the permission to this kind of activity, the promotion of freedom of speech and the securing of the diversity of program supply and the needs of special groups. The presence of minorities in media is explicitly defined in the 1993 Act on Yleisradio OY (The Finnish Broadcasting Company Ltd.) (1993/1380), the public service broadcasting company (hereafter referred to as YLE). Concerning minorities the aims of YLE's public service duties are to:

- 1) "support democracy by providing a wide variety of information, opinions and debates on social issues, also for minorities and special groups";
- "to treat in its broadcasting Finnish and Swedish speaking citizens on equal grounds and to produce services in the Sami and Romany languages and in

sign language as well as, where applicable, also for other language groups in the country”

(translation from YLE’s web-page: <http://www.yle.fi/fbc/actyle.shtml>). YLE’s role as provider of programs in Swedish and Sami has been described in a previous section. As of the cases of the Romany language and other languages the provision in YLE’s programming is significantly less extensive.

The government programme of the contemporary government – Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen’s second government – does not explicate policies on specifically migrant minorities’ media. Media policies as well as policies on minorities and ethnicity are however defined, one of the goals being “tolerance among people will be engendered”. Concerning media the overarching policy issue is the information society, which overlaps not only media policy but also industrial, educational and cultural policies as well. This is a trend that has dominated through the 1990’s as the main emphasis of official media policy has been in the information society strategies (Kivikuru 1998, 233). The information society is to be “humane” and built to prevent the “exclusion of citizens” and the services of the information society are to be provided “to all on an equal basis”. In communications policy freedom of speech and “pluralism and versatility in communications” are the guidelines of the government. With regard to YLE this means “a wide range of high-quality broadcastings based on the obligation to provide a public service in both domestic languages”; a notably narrow definition of the public service task’s linguistic dimensions, considering the formulation in the Act on Yleisradio Oy. Reference to print media is made by stating that “[m]aintaining selective press subsidies is a guarantee of a wide-ranging selection of Finnish newspapers and periodicals”. The press subsidies are directed only to newspapers with extensive news coverage and which are published at least three days a week. For the moment, there are no such newspapers in Finland in other languages than Finnish and Swedish. The government programme’s media policy is conclusively not at all explicit on the issue of minorities’ media.

Instead, the government’s policies on immigration and ethnic relations have been more important considering the media of immigrants. In March 2001 the Government Action Plan to Combat Ethnic Discrimination and Racism “Towards Ethnic Equality and Diversity” was adopted (see Ministry of Labour, <http://www.mol.fi/migration/etnoraen.pdf>). It is mostly concerned with the public authorities, but defines “the role of the media” as an important aspect of the proposed implementation of the programme. The media, however, mostly is referring to majority media and their content vis-à-vis racism and prejudices. There is however represented the view in the programme, that the existence of immigrant communities and organisations is important. As part of this view it is acknowledged that the organisations need support, e.g. for producing publications. Thus, among the measures of the ministries is a clause stating: “The Ministry of Education will develop the support system for immigrant and ethnic minority organisations, culture and publication activities and the coverage of this system.” In economic terms this effort means an annual sum of FIM 2.500.000 (about € 420.000). Otherwise the action plan does not develop any further the measures to be taken with regard to minorities’ own media. The focus is generally on majority culture media. According to the

action plan these should also give representatives of minorities access to the production process. The suggestions in this respect are the recruitment of journalists with an ethnic minority background, using ethnic minority representatives as outside assistance or writers and as potential interviewees. Also special pages and columns dedicated to immigration and minority issues and local newspapers preparing space for writers representing the minorities are among the suggestions. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour are to investigate "the possibilities and suitable ways of supporting financially establishing traineeship and apprenticeship training for reporters and reporter trainees who belong to ethnic minorities". The Finnish Broadcasting Company is to be involved in negotiations with the Ministry of Transport and Communications, the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education "with the objective of developing and launching programmes in national and regional channels aimed at immigrants and ethnic minorities. They would also develop news and current affairs programmes dealing with ethnic relations targeted at Finns, and generally take into account the plurality of the society in programme supply".

To conclude, on the level of government, the policies concerning minorities and media are threefold. The policies are concerned with, firstly, the issue of racism and prejudices in media representations. Secondly, there is an awareness of the need of the inclusion of minority representatives in the mainstream media production processes. Thirdly, there is the issue of giving support to minority groups to build their own organizations and to produce their own publications. Not diminishing the importance of the questions related to the first policy issue and keeping in mind the relations between the three issues, the latter two are of greater interest in the perspective of this report. How the inclusion of minority representatives in mainstream media production has worked out on a practical level will be touched upon in the section on the media of diasporic minorities, and more specifically in the section 'Majority media'. Concerning Finnish audio-visual media this issue has in some length also been covered by the *More Colour in the Media* study by the European Institute for the Media (see Ouaj 1999). The third government policy issue, about support to minority groups to enable an independent media production, will be further looked upon here.

Among government policies concerning minority media the single most important positive measure resulting in minorities' own media has been the Ministry of Education's support to minority cultures and work against racism. This support mechanism was referred to in the government Action Plan to Combat Ethnic Discrimination and Racism, but there have been posts in the state budget for support to minority cultures earlier as well.

In the state budget of 1996 FIM 2.000.000 (€ 340.000) was reserved for this purpose. Since 1997 the sum has been 2,5 million Finnish marks. Of these, FIM 1 million (€ 170.000) has yearly been directed to the Sami; this money is distributed by the Sami Parliament. The Ministry of Education has distributed the rest for the purposes of either support of minority cultures or work against racism. The support is distributed on basis of applications. In 1999, 60 applicants of 185 received funding. The amount of projects that have received

funding have been about the same in the following years. The sums given to different projects in 1999-2001 vary between 3.000 and 95.000 Finnish marks (€ 500-16.000). Based on the lists of receivers of funding it is hard to say how many of the 61 supported projects in 2001 had applied for and got support for publication activity. On the list published on the Ministry of Education's Internet-pages (<http://www.minedu.fi/opm/avustukset/myonnetyt2001/vahemmistokulttuuri.html>), only in seven of the project descriptions is explicitly mentioned a publication or media activity, but many organisations have received funding for "activity", which also may include the production of, for example, a newsletter. Anyhow, the Ministry of Education's motivations for granting support are clear in mentioning both cultural and publication activity as main objectives. In 2002 the state budget reserves € 252.000 for the aim.

The Ministry of Education's support to minority cultures is without doubt the main channel for minority organisations or publications to receive public funding. Many municipalities also support local organisations, but the amounts of money are small and it has been beyond the scope of this report to attempt to find out how the municipal support mechanisms would have benefited minorities' own media activity.

5. The media of diasporic minorities

With regard to diasporic minorities' media in Finland the distinction between audio-visual and print media is of great significance. The minorities of Finland being so small in number it is not surprising that there are not any own television or radio stations, with the important exception of the Russian language Radio Sputnik. Therefore, print media is the dominating form of minorities' own media production. A mix- or multimedia forum between print and traditional audio-visual media is the Internet, which offers also minority representatives in Finland the means to produce their own – although transnational, bearing in mind Internet's character – www-pages with media messages in text, visuals and sound.

Print media

Although the perspective here is on the current situation, be it mentioned that there is a rich history of migrant minorities' publications in Finland. The list of especially Russian periodicals but also Tatar publications is long. The height of publication activity was between the world wars. According to the bibliography compiled by Harry Halén (1996) at least thirteen different periodicals have been published among the Tatar community. The first was *Mäñrifät* published in 1925. The papers have been short-lived and occasional in publication, *Šimāl ocqonlari*, for example, appeared in eight issues in 1945-77. The scope of the periodicals is broad, the issues covered have been everything from religious questions to the news of a sports association (Halén 1979; 1996). Contrary to the Russian periodicals, the Tatar publications are well documented, although the print quantities were small and there is no

single library or institution that would have a collection of the Tatar publications (Halén 1979, 6). In the case of Russian periodicals in Finland the history seems to be very much undocumented. According to a newspaper article there appeared about 40 Russian language periodicals in Finland in the inter-war period (*Helsingin Sanomat* 5.5.1999). By the 1930's, however, the publication activity had ended, as most Russian immigrants left the country.

Concerning print media the situation is very lively and productive, although generally the periodicals produced are short-lived and small in circulation. Most of the periodicals listed in this report are photocopied and lack ISSN number. The publishers are usually organizations or individuals, not commercial publishers. The production of periodicals is mostly dependent on the activity of single individuals. There are, however, some attempts to produce periodicals on a professional and commercial basis. As is understandable, based on the size of the minority communities, the Russian periodicals of today are the ones that have the chance of existing as professional projects.

There are today five periodicals in Russian published in Finland: *Novye Rubezh*, *Pietarin kauppatie*, *Rajalehti - Po obe storony*, *Spektr* and *Stop in Finland*. Another recent attempt was *Kurjer Suomi*, which only lasted for a year in 1999. *Novye Rubezh – New Horizons* (published by Ostromedia Oy), earlier called *Rubezh*, is a glossy magazine, which aim is to reach an audience not only in Finland but in Scandinavia, Russia and the Baltic states as well. *Spektr* (published by Spektr Kustannus Oy) is a tabloid newspaper published ten times a year and a circulation of 20 000. *Spektr's* readership is Russian, as well as e.g. Polish and Serbo-Croatian in Finland. The paper contains news and information about social matters in Finland. An important part of the paper is also the event calendar and "notice-board" on Russian on-goings in Finland. This specific part of the paper has also received economic support from the Ministry of Education. *Stop in Finland* and *Pietarin kauppatie* are monthly magazines aimed at audiences in Russia, as well as to Finnish advertisers. Their meaning for the Russian communities in Finland is probably not important.

As the Russian community is of its own kind with regard to the size of the periodicals published other minorities are more similar to each other in vis-à-vis their publications. There are (at least) three Somali periodicals: *Golis*, *Midnimo* and *Koor*. The first one, published quarterly since 1993, is published by the organisation Suomen Somaliland Seura ry (Finnish Somaliland Association) with a membership of 800. According to the paper itself it "reaches about 100 families, local officials, researchers, and Finnish citizens and migrant associations." The languages are Somali and English. *Midnimo* is the publication of Suomen Somaliliitto (Finnish Somali Association), published since 1999. The language is mostly Somali, but also some Finnish. The circulation of 400 is among the Somali communities, authorities and NGOs. *Koor* is since 1995 the publication of the friendship society Suomi-Somalia – seura ry., founded in 1986. *Koor* has a prehistory, 1987-1994, when the paper was called *Somalia tiedotuslehti* (Somalia newsletter). The material in *Koor* is

to a varying degree in Somali, Finnish and English. In 1996-1998 also a publication called *Soof* was published.

A similar case to the Somali/Finnish *Koor* is the publication *Behar*. This is the periodical of the Finsko-bosansko-hercegovačko društvo (The Finnish-Bosnia-Herzegovinian Association). Contrary to most friendship associations' periodicals, which generally are in Finnish – only reflecting the membership of the traditional friendship associations – *Behar* is almost exclusively in Bosnian. Whether the publication still exists is unclear to us, the last issue we have seen is no. 16 published in 2000.

An interesting publishing effort in the first part of the 1990's was the periodical *Scandi-B*, which was preceded by *Finn-African*, a one-issue magazine published in 1992. *Scandi-B* started in 1993 and lasted to 1995. The publication of another journal, *Scandi-African*, was announced in the first issue, but this never happened and the second issue of *Scandi-B* states on the cover: "Incorporating Scandi-African". The paper was glossy and stated in the first letter from the editor that the aim was to become a "publication for the whole of Scandinavia". The issues covered were of a broad range but news from Africa, articles on the situation of immigrants especially in Finland and articles on culture and entertainment were recurrent. In the three years of publication (six issues) the magazine managed to reach a readership also outside the migrant communities.

[The Drum]

There are three Romany periodicals in Finland, however none in the Romany language: *Elämä ja valo* (Life and light), *Latšo Diives* and *Romano Boodos* (Romany message). The language of the periodicals is almost exclusively Finnish, with the occasional poem or prayer in Romany. *Elämä ja valo* is published quarterly by Suomen Vapaa Romanilähetys ry. (Finnish Free Romany Mission) since 1965. *Romano Boodos* (founded 1971, five issues a year) is published by Romano Missio (est. 1906), according to the organization's own description on their homepage "a national child welfare and social service organization" which "also produces Christian and educational services for the Romany (Gypsy) people"

(http://www.romanomissio.fi/engl_ind.htm). *Latšo Diives* (est. 1994) is a periodical of the National Board of Education. The first two publications have a significant amount of religious content, and the third is to a large extent about educational matters, but all three are covering the Romany community in Finland and Romany issues in other countries as well.

Following track of most of the periodicals published by and for the different diasporic communities in Finland is not an easy matter. Knowing which publications still exist would demand contacting many activists in the communities, a task, which has not been possible to realise in this project. Remembrance of earlier periodicals is not always there. Small periodicals have however appeared in at least Albanian, Bosnian, Kurdish, Turkish and Vietnamese (see list for details). Probably the list is both incomplete and not up-to-date. We have also included some periodicals that definitively do not exist anymore.

Radio and TV

In the field of other than print media, one important channel is the Russian language Radio Sputnik that can be heard in the south-eastern Finland and the Helsinki area. It is the only commercial entirely non-Finnish language radio channel in Finland. Until recently Radio Sputnik had emissions also in Internet but due to raised costs they have stopped. Radio Sputnik serves Russian speaking immigrants as well as Russian tourists. The station was launched in 1999. It broadcasts 24 hours a day, and had five full time employees and about ten trainees in 2000 (Ermutlu et al. 2000, 20).

The community radios, Radio Robin Hood in Turku, Låhiradio in Helsinki and Radio Moreeni in Tampere have the most extended broadcasting in various languages made by and for different ethnic communities. The idea behind the community radios is to "let grassroots' voices" be heard. Associations and individuals are provided with the possibility to do programmes in the community radios. They are a sort of an in-between form of diasporic minorities' "own" media and "mainstream" media. To include ethnic minorities in the production is part of the community radio ideology.

Radio Robin Hood was founded in 1990. News programmes in different languages started in 1992 and were produced by the International Meeting Point in Turku. In 1994, a project called "Keppi" (The stick) was started together with the Ministry for Education. The aim of the project was to produce children's programmes in different languages. Radio Robin Hood has had various projects of training of journalists, financed by the Ministry of Education.

Radio Robin Hood in Turku has at the moment programs in French, Albanian, Russian, English, German, Arabic and Vietnamese. The variety of programmes and languages is dependent on interested journalists, associations or private persons and therefore the situation changes rather frequently. There have been programmes in 17 languages. At the moment there is one person working full-time as a coordinator for the programmes in different languages. He is a professional journalist from Rwanda. The programmes cover following areas: news from both "new" and "old" homeland, interviews, cultural and religious issues, Finnish society and culture, Finnish legislation, integration, education and work, local information to mention some.

Låhiradio in Helsinki was founded in 1988. As Radio Robin Hood, Låhiradio started with programmes in different languages in the early 1990s. They send regularly programmes in Arabic, Somali, Russian, Kurdish, Tamil, Estonian, German, French and English. In Arabic there is the program *Ibn-Fadlan – Suomen Arabiradio (Finnish Arabic Radio)* that started emissions in 1996. Main focus in the programmes is to give information to Arabs living in Finland on Finland, politics, people, culture etc. Ibn-Fadlan Arabic Cultural Association produces the programs. *Warsan – Suomen Somaliradio (Finnish Somali*

radio) is a one-hour program sent twice a week. Other programmes include Radio Etiopia, Radio Valeriana, Inkeriradio (Ingrian Radio).

In the area of Tampere, Radio Moreeni, a campus radio in connection with the University of Tampere, is the channel for migrant media production. There are programmes in Spanish (by students), English (aimed largely for immigrants), French, Farsi, Kurdish, Pushdu, Russian and Estonian. The programmes in different languages started in the early 1990s. The radio has set some guidelines for the programs. The programs should promote integration by dealing with cultural issues. Religious or political issues have to be treated with care. The programs often deal with everyday life in Finland and Tampere, informing and promoting different events. Children's programmes are also produced. As in all the community radios, the range of programmes and languages vary quite a lot from time to time. Radio Moreeni, Låhiradio (Helsinki) and Radio Robin Hood (Turku) also cooperate so that the programmes for example achieve larger audiences. For instance programmes in Somali made in Turku have been broadcasted also in Tampere.

There are some spaces in the "mainstream" media production that are worth mentioning even if the inclusion of minority perspectives in mainstream media is poorly developed. There are hardly any spaces in Finland for "ethnic" minority TV-production. In fact, the only one at the moment is the Finnish Broadcasting Company's programme *Basaari* that has come out since 1996. Immigrants, or "new Finns", are working as journalists and the production team consist of both Finns and immigrants. *Basaari* has also organised training in journalism for immigrants where internships have been included. Main focus of *Basaari* has been to do programs on immigrants in Finland by themselves. The language of the program is Finnish. The audience is both Finns and immigrants. Unfortunately *Basaari* comes out at 5pm, which somewhat marginalizes the program. Another space for "immigrant journalists" in the mainstream media is a weekly "immigrant page" in *Aamulehti*, the main local newspaper in Tampere.

Conclusions

The list offered by this mapping must be seen as only indicative as the mapping has appeared to be much more time and resource consuming than was expected in the beginning. This is partly due to the lack of an institution in Finland that would have carried out the work of actively and systematically collecting or mapping minority media. No library, for example, has made the effort to gather this kind of material. Finding out about minorities' media, especially in the case of print media, would need to be based on a broad survey among the immigrant communities and their organisations and activists to be reliable. It would be of utmost importance for some institution, e.g. the national library, to actively, gather material of this kind. The risk of minorities' publications from the beginning of the 1990's and earlier disappearing from collective memory is otherwise overwhelming.

As a result of this mapping, it can be stated that there is a rich publication activity among the minority communities in Finland. The situation is however problematic when it comes to continuity in the field. The main problems are of the following kind. Firstly, the immigrant communities in Finland are small, due to the restrictive immigration policies. Publication activity is therefore reliant on few individuals' voluntary activity and resources. The size and the organisational diversity of the immigrant communities also mean that there are not sufficient audiences to guarantee publishing on a commercial basis, with the possible exception of the Russian-speaking population. Secondly, the public economic support mechanisms to minority publishing are not sufficient to enable a continuous activity. The Ministry of Education's support to minority cultures is crucial in the case of the launching of many periodicals, but it is doubtful if the measures can uphold an ongoing publishing activity. To develop further the co-operation between minority media and the authorities, for instance with regard to producing information material that the authorities want to spread among the minority communities, could be a possible way of enhancing the livelihood of the media. As is pointed out by Eilina Gusatinsky (2000, 76-77), the editor in chief of *Spektr*, immigrants get much information from e.g. ministries when they arrive to a country, but this information possibly is lost since immigrants have so much else to acquaint themselves with when coming to a new country. A periodical, for instance, could perhaps be a more efficient channel also for authorities to share their information. To begin with, however, a study to detect the minority communities' perceived needs concerning publication activity and public support should be carried out.

Despite of lacking resources diasporic minorities' media exist. They are channels of information about Finland to the, often recently established, minority community in many important issues: on employment matters, educational opportunities, social welfare and the legal system. Secondly, the media also offer information on the homelands of the minorities, news that possibly is not covered by the majority media. This aspect is probably of smaller importance today than it used to be in the early 1990s. The existence and spreading use of Internet and satellite television are offering recently acquired channels to this kind of news coverage. Thirdly, the media offer its audiences an insight in the on-goings in the own community. The material with this kind of function is obviously "notice-boards" and event calendars, but also portraits of community representatives, e.g. "success stories", or articles on problems faced by members in Finnish society. In most cases minorities' media in Finland are invisible to Finnish society by large. The periodicals are not available at libraries with a few exceptions, not to mention newsstands and bookstores. In contrast to this some minority media have the aim of showing "Finns" what a certain community is like, for example by means of bilingual periodicals.

There are very limited possibilities for ethnic minorities to partake in the majority, or "mainstream", media production. A change in this respect, to give minority representatives access to majority media, would be of great importance. Particularly the Finnish Broadcasting Company as a public channel has a responsibility to provide services also to in number smaller groups of people. The argument of service provision to minorities is, however,

not the only one. The inclusion of minority perspectives would also be important with regard to the information provided to the linguistic majority (majorities), as this would give a more correct picture of Finnish society and its variations. One possibility, although not at all realised yet, for minorities in TV production could be the increasing tendency towards channels buying productions from private producers and free-lance teams. Digitalisation could also offer a chance to a more diversified media landscape. This process, however, has not yet proved to be as successful as optimistic strategies have suggested.

Language skills are often used as an excuse that immigrants are not to a greater extent working in the media. However, the demands for language skills (in Finnish or Swedish) should be revised. A “perfect” Finnish or Swedish as a requirement often places the minority representatives in an impossible position. A reconsideration of in which situations perfect Finnish or Swedish language skills are required should be done. All aspects of media production are not dependent on specific language skills. Linguistic variations in public arenas could also be more welcomed than has been the case to this date.

The Finland-Swedish media production is well guaranteed and established. It could be used as an example for how to organise other minority media production as well, not only in questions of service or programme supply, but also, for instance, in relation to education in journalism and media studies and support mechanisms as state subsidies. It is however with care that one should generalise over measures to be taken to enhance the situation of diasporic communities’ media. The communities vary both in size and social composition as well as in regard to patterns of maintaining one’s own culture in Finnish society and problems met with in processes of integration in e.g. education and the labour market. The situation of diasporic minorities’ media in Finland clearly calls for more research, which would be sensitive to the different needs perceived by the different communities. Research on minorities and media has in Finland to this date mostly been concerned with the representations of immigrant or ethnic minorities in Finnish majority media. The perspectives on minorities and media should be broadened to include also minorities’ own media use and production.

List

In this mapping are listed periodicals, radio and TV-programmes and Internet-pages. The main categories are by ethnic group and / or language and / or “geographic origin”, depending on, for example, the definitions of target group represented in the medium. The subcategories are ‘Print media’, ‘Radio and TV’ and ‘Internet’. The main emphasis is on the 1990s, but when we have obtained information on media during the post-WWII period, it has been included.

African

Print media

The Drum

Helsinki: Africa Centre Finland

-First (only) issue in January 2000

Finn-African. The Magazine for Africans in Finland

Turku: The Finn-African r.y.

-One issue in 1992, followed by *Scandi-B*

Scandi-B.

Turku: Nine-Steady-One Mediaworks.

-Six issues in 1993-1995

Internet

Africa Centre Finland

<http://www.africa-centre.org>

-In English

-With the internet-edition of the periodical *The Drum*

(<http://www.crosswinds.net/~africacentre/the-drum.html>)

Albanian

Print media

Bashkimi.

Turku:

-At least one issue in 2000

Epoka e re: revistë e pavarur.

Tampere: Berki, 2000-

-Unclear whether it is still published and how many issues published

Radio

Albanian ääni (Albania's voice)
-In Låhiradio

Arabic

Print media

Huna wa Hunak

Radio

Ibn-Fadlanin ääni - Suomen arabiradio (Ibn-Fadlans voice – Finnish Arab radio)
-In Låhiradio

Internet

Ibn-Fadlan arabikulttuuriyhdistys (Ibn-Fadlan Arabic cultural association)
<http://www.ibn-fadlan.com>
-In Arabic & Finnish
-Organization based in Helsinki

The Islamic Society of Finland
<http://www.rabita.fi/index.html>
-In Finnish and Arabic, English "coming soon"
-Includes the net-version of the Finnish-language periodical *An-Nur*, published by the society

Bosnia-Hercegovinian

Print media

Behar. List Finsko-bosansko-hercegovačko društva.
Tampere / Mikkeli: Suomi-Bosnia-Hertsegovina –seura r.y. – Finsko-bosansko-hercegovačko društvo 1995-
-At least 16 issues by 2000

Bilten.
Helsinki: Islamski Kulturni Centar Bošnjaka u Finskoj – Suomen Bosnialainen Islam Yhdyskunta.
-At least six issues by 1998

Chinese

Internet

Chinese Student and Scholar Association of Helsinki University

http://www.helsinki.fi/~jrj_cssa/

-Last modified 15.02.2001 (according to page)

Chinese Students and Scholars Association of Helsinki University of Technology

<http://www.tky.hut.fi/~cssa/>

- Last updated: Aug. 26 2001 (according to page)

Estonian

Internet

Turu Kandi Eestlased ry - Turun Seudun Eestiläiset ry

<http://turueestlased.virtualave.net/>

-Estonians in the Turku area

-In Estonian and Finnish

Ethiopian

Radio

Radio Etiopia

-In Låhiradio

Indian

Internet

The Findians Web Complex

<http://www.netppl.fi/~findians/>

-With the net-publication Findian Briefings

Kurdish

Print media

Dengê Kurd

Vaasa: Vaasan läänin kurdien kulttuuriyhdistys, Helsinki: Koçer

-21 issues in 1993-2000

-After 2000 an Internet publication

Dlanpar

Helsinki: Kurdistan National Peace and Solidarity Committee

-In 1994-1997

-In Sorany

Kongre

Helsinki: KKAKNK

-At least one issue in 1995

Korsholms flykting-tidning

-One issue in 1994

-Swedish-language publication of Iranian refugees in Korsholm municipality

Kurdish Review

-One issue in 1978 or 1979

Projekti

Helsinki: Iranin ja Irakin Työllistämisyhdistys ry.

-At least 35 issues

Radio

Radio Hiwa

Internet

Anwari Rashi Awla's homepage

<http://www.geocities.com/anwarfi/index.html>

-Personal homepage of the author

Dengêkurd

<http://www.kurdmedia.com/dengekurd/>

Hasan Dohogu's homepage

<http://www.hut.fi/~hasand/>

-Personal homepage

Kurdistan Democratic Party - KDP Finland Representation

<http://medlem.tripodnet.nu/kdpfinland/>

Meedia. Kurdish Resources, Study, Opinion, Kids, Links &...

<http://www.geocities.com/kurdifi/>

Mehname

-Internet periodical

National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK) Finland Bureau

<http://www.megabaud.fi/~ernk/>

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Finland Comitea

<http://go.to/pukfin>

Romany

Print media

Elämä ja valo – romaaniheimon lehti

Helsinki : Suomen vapaa evankelinen romaanilähetys 1965-
-In Finnish

Latšo Diives. Romaniväestön koulutusyksikön tiedotuslehti

Helsinki : Opetushallitus 1994-
-In Finnish

Romano Boodos. Suomen mustalaislehti

Helsinki: Mustalaislähetys 1971-
-In Finnish

Internet

The Advisory Board on Romany Affairs

<http://www.vn.fi/stm/suomi/pao/ronk/rindex.htm>

The Education Unit for the Romany Population

<http://www.oph.fi/info/romanit/>

Romano Missio

<http://www.romanomissio.fi/>

Russian

Print media

Kurjer Suomi

Helsinki: Aveline Finland 1999
-Finished

Novye Rubezi – New Horizons

Helsinki: Ostromedia 1999-
-Earlier as *Rubez* (Helsinki: Profidend 1999)

Pietarin kauppatie - Peter'burgskij torgovyj put' Finsko-rossijskää
informacionno-reklamnaâ gazeta

Helsinki: Pietarin kauppatie oy (earlier Idän kauppatie) 1993-

Rajalehti - Po obe storony

Virolahti: Kaakon lehtikustannus 1993-, Kaakon rajapalvelukeskus oy 1997-

Spektr: finskää russko-âzycnaâ informacionnaâ gazeta

Helsinki : Kanneltieto, 1998-, Spektr Kustannus Oy 2001-

Vestnik

-Not published anymore

Radio

Radio Sputnik

-Commercial 24 h radio station heard in south-eastern Finland

Radio Gorizont

-In Låhiradio

Radio Valeriana

-In Låhiradio

Internet

Novye Rubezi – New Horizons

<http://www.new.horizons.ru/>

-Homepage of the magazine

Pietarin kauppatie

<http://www.torgovyiput.com/finn.htm>

-Homepage of the magazine

Radio Sputnik

<http://www.radiosputnik.fi/>

-Homepage of the radio station

Rajalehti

<http://www.raialehti.fi/>

-Homepage of the publication

Spektr

<http://www.kanneltieto.fi/spektr/>

-Homepage of the paper

Somali

Print media

Golis.

Helsinki: Suomen Somaliland seura 1993-

Midnimo

Helsinki: Suomen Somaliliitto 1999-

Koor – Kamelinkello. Waa wargeys af-Soomaali iyo Finnish ah – Suomalainen somalilehti.

Helsinki: Suomi-Somaliaseura 1995-

-Formerly (1987-1994) called *Somalia tiedotuslehti*

Soof

-1996-1998

-Poetry periodical (?)

Radio

Radio Sahan

-In Låhiradio

Warsan – Suomen somaliradio

-In Låhiradio

Internet

Dirie Abdirashid's homepage

<http://www.uwasa.fi/~f76941/>

-Personal homepage

Suomi-Somaliaseura (Finland-Somalia association)

<http://personal.inet.fi/yhdistys/suomi-somaliaseura/#tausta>

-Mainly in Finnish

Somalilander.org

<http://www.somalilander.org/finland.htm>

-International page, Finnish page supposedly under construction

Tatar

Print media

Aq yul

Oulu-Helsinki: Sadri Hamid.

-63 issues in 1967-1977.

Beldereš

Helsinki: Suomen Turkki-laisten Yhdistys

-Published since 1948, still existing in 1979 (Halén 1996)

Šimāl očqonlari

Kemi (Helsinki 1952 onwards): Hasan Hamidulla.

-Eight issues in 1945-1977.

Taviš

Oulu: Sadri Hamid.

-Six issues in 1967.

Turkish

Print media

Haber Bülteni.

-Not published anymore

Türk Sözü. Finlandiya türk derneği dergisi.

Helsinki: Suomen Turkkilainen Yhdistys ry. – Finlandiya Türk Derneği

Vietnamese

Print media

Nguôi Việt Turku. Turun vietnamilaiset. Vietnamilaispakolaisten tiedotuslehti Turussa.

Nguôi Việt Turku Tampere. Turun ja Tampereen vietnamilaiset.

Vietnamilaispakolaisten tiedotuslehti Turussa ja Tampereella.

Turku.

-At least three issues in 1991

-In Vietnamese and Finnish

Multiethnic, multilingual & varia

Print media

Kimpassa-tiedote

Turku: Monikulttuurinen tietoyhdistys ry. / Multicultural Information Association

-Newsletter for organisations, authorities and institutions to advertise their activities and events in Turku

-Twelve (?) issues yearly

Monitori

Helsinki: Ministry of Labour

-The Ministry's magazine on immigration affairs

MultiCulti

Turku: Monikulttuurinen tietoyhdistys ry. / Multicultural Information Association

Radio and TV

Basaari

-“Immigrants’ programme” in Finnish Broadcasting Company’s channel

1

-Homepage at <http://www.yle.fi/tv1/basaari/>

Lähiradio

-Community radio in Helsinki

Radio Moreeni

-Community / campus radio in Tampere

-Internet address: <http://www.uta.fi/moreeni/>

Radio Robin Hood

-Community radio in Turku

-Programmes include for example: French hour once a week, two programmes, *Zëri i Vendlinjes* and *Përshëndetje dhe urime*, in Albanian, *Bulletin en Francais* (News in French), *Do I Ot*, a Russian language news and educational programme, *Kaleidoskop*, Russian language satirical news programme, *Film reviews in English*, *Euro Quest* (Radio Netherlands), *Im Deutschen Ek* (German corner), Arabic programme and Vietnamese Children's programme.

-Internet address: <http://www.radiorobinhood.fi/>

Internet

Monitori

<http://www.mol.fi/migration/monitori.html>

-Ministry of Labour's magazine's on immigration affairs homepage

Bibliography

Alapuro, Risto (1988) *State and Revolution in Finland*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne and Ali, Abdullah (2001) 'Somalidiaspora Suomessa – muutoksia, haasteita ja haaveita'. (The Somali diaspora in Finland – changes, challenges and dreams.) In Annika Forsander, Elina Ekholm & Petri Hautaniemi et al.: *Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta ja työ*. (Multiethnicity, society, work). Helsinki: Palmenia.

Cohen, Robin (1997) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: UCL Press.

Ermutlu, Yonca & Salmivaara, Virva & Salo, Jenni & Tamrakar, Byoma (2000) 'Information for immigrants – how and why.' In Ritva Levo-Henriksson ja kevään 2000 viestinnän tutkimuskurssi: *Maahanmuuttajat, mediankäyttö ja kotoutumista tukeva viestintä* (Immigrants, media use and communications supporting integration.). Helsinki: Helsinki University, Department of Communication.

Forsander, Annika (1999) 'Outsiders or Insiders? Ingrian Finns in a Context of Finnish Immigration Policy'. In Maarit Leskelä (ed.) *Outsiders or Insiders? Constructing Identities in an Integrating Europe*. Turku: University of Turku.

Forsander, Annika & Ekholm, Elina (2001) 'Etniset ryhmät Suomessa.' (Ethnic groups in Finland.) In Annika Forsander, Elina Ekholm & Petri Hautaniemi et al.: *Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta, työ*. (Multiethnicity, society, work.) Helsinki: Palmenia-kustannus.

Georgiou, Myria (2001) 'Mapping diasporic minorities and their media in Europe. Studying the media. Investigating inclusion and participation in European societies, European and transnational communities. A working paper for the project: 'Diasporic Minorities and Their Media: A Mapping.' In http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/Media/EMTEL/Minorities/minorities_docs.html

Gusatinsky, Eilina (2000) 'Oma lehti tietotyhjiössä.' (Own paper in an information vacuum.) In *Maahanmuuttaja kahden kulttuurin välissä* (Immigrant in-between two cultures). Helsinki: Euroopan kulttuurisäätiön Suomen osasto.

Halén, Harry (1979) 'A bibliographical survey of the publishing activities of the Turkic minority in Finland.' *Studia Orientalia* 51:11, 3-26.

Halén, Harry (1999) 'Suomen tataarit.' (Finland's Tatars.) In Markku Löytönen & Laura Kolbe (eds.): *Suomi. Maa, kansa, kulttuurit*. (Finland. Country, people, cultures.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Harviainen, Tapani (1999) 'Suomen juutalaiset.' (Finland's Jews.) In Markku Löytönen & Laura Kolbe (eds.): *Suomi. Maa, kansa, kulttuurit*. (Finland. Country, people, cultures.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Hernesniemi, Päivi & Hannikainen, Lauri (2000) *Roma Minorities in the Nordic and Baltic Countries – Are Their Rights Realised?* Publication of the Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law. Juridica Lapponica No. 24. Rovaniemi: University of Lapland.

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (1998) 'Yhteistä hyvää etsimässä. Viestintäpolitiikka pelisääntöjen kehittäjänä ja vapauksien vartijana.' (Search for common good. Media policy as developer of rules of game and protector of freedoms.) In Ullamaija Kivikuru & Risto Kunelius (eds.): *Viestinnän jäljillä. Näkökulmia uuden ajan ilmiöön.* (Tracking communication. Perspectives on a modern phenomenon.) Helsinki: WSOY.

Korkiasaari, Jouni (1989) *Suomalaiset maailmalla. Suomen siirtolaisuus ja ulkosuomalaiset entisajoista tähän päivään.* Turku: Siirtolaisuusinstituutti.

Korkiasaari, Jouni & Söderling, Ismo (1998) 'Finland: From a Country of Emigration to a Country of Immigration'. In Söderling, Ismo (ed.) *A Changing Pattern of Migration in Finland and Its Surroundings.* Helsinki: The Population Research Institute.

Kuujo, Erkki (1994) *Jo Karjalan kunnailla lehtii puu... Moskovan rauhassa luovutettujen alueiden varhaisempia vaiheita.* Lappeenranta: Karjalan Kirjapaino.

Lampinen, Marja-Liisa (1984) 'Russian influence in Helsinki.' In Marja-Liisa Lampinen (ed.): *The Russian Style in Helsinki 1809-1917.* Helsinki: Helsinki City Museum.

Leitzinger, Antero (1999) 'Tataarit Suomessa.' (Tatars in Finland.) In Tuula Sakaranaho & Heikki Pesonen (eds.): *Muslimit Suomessa.* (Muslims in Finland.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Lepola, Outi (2000) *Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi. Monikulttuurisuus, kansalaisuus ja suomalaisuus 1990-luvun maahanmuuttopoliittisessa keskustelussa.* (From foreigner to Finnish. Multiculturalism, nationhood and Finnishness in the debates on migration politics in the 1990s.) Helsinki: SKS.

Liebkind, Karmela (ed.) (1999) *Monikulttuurinen Suomi. Etniset suhteet tutkimuksen valossa.* (Multicultural Finland. Ethnic relations in scope of research.) Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Liebkind, Karmela & Broo, Roger & Finnäs, Fjalar (1995) 'The Swedish-speaking minority in Finland: A Case Study.' In Juha Pentikäinen & Marja Hiltunen (eds.): *Cultural Minorities in Finland. An Overview towards Cultural Policy.* 2. revised edition. Helsinki: Finnish National Commission for Unesco.

McRae, Kenneth D. (1997) *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies. Finland.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Moring, Tom (2001) 'Kielivähemmistöjen media.' (Linguistic minorities' media.) In Kaarle Nordenstreng & Osmo A. Wiio (eds.): *Suomen mediamaisema*. (Finland's media landscape.) Helsinki: Werner Söderström.

Nousuniemi, Juhani (1999) 'In the field of Samiradio broadcasting'. In Frank Horn (ed.): *Sami and Greenlandic Media*. Juridica Lapponica No. 22. Rovaniemi: The Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law, University of Lapland.

Nylund-Oja, Marja & Pentikäinen, Juha & Horn, Frank & Jaakkola, Magdalena & Yli-Vakkuri, Laura (1995) 'Finnish emigration and immigration.' In Juha Pentikäinen & Marja Hiltunen (eds.): *Cultural Minorities in Finland. An Overview towards Cultural Policy*. 2. revised edition. Helsinki: Finnish National Commission for Unesco.

Ouaj, Jamil (1999) *More Colour in the Media. Employment and Access of 'Ethnic Minorities' to the Television Industry in Germany, the UK, France, the Netherlands and Finland*. The European Institute for the Media.

Pentikäinen, Juha (1995) 'Preface.' In Juha Pentikäinen & Marja Hiltunen (eds.): *Cultural Minorities in Finland. An Overview towards Cultural Policy*. 2. revised edition. Helsinki: Finnish National Commission for Unesco.

Quoc Cuong, Nguyen (2001) 'Vietnamilaiset Suomessa – jo kaksikymmentä vuotta yhteiseloä.' (The Vietnamese in Finland – already twenty years of life together.) In Annika Forsander, Elina Ekholm & Petri Hautaniemi et al.: *Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta, työ*. (Multiethnicity, society, work.) Helsinki: Palmenia-kustannus.

Suonoja, Kyösti & Lindberg, Väinö (2000) *Strategies of the Policy on Roma*. Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2000:8. Helsinki: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

Vuortama, Timo & Kerosuo, Lauri & Strandén, Paul (1990) *Viestinnän lait ja säännöt*. (The communication laws and regulations.) Karkkila: Kustannus-Mäkelä.

Wahlbeck, Östen (1999) *Kurdish Diasporas. A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*. London: Macmillan.