

Scandal framing:

Armband scandal in the Finnish online news media

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract		
<p>Digitaalisella ajalla media elää skandaaleista, jotka usein tuovat laajaa julkisuutta niiden keskiössä oleville poliitikoille. Poliitiikan henkilöityminen on osaltaan lisännyt skandaalien painoarvoa. Media jäsentää mielellään poliittista kamppailua itselleen taloudellisesti hyödyllisten skandaalien ympärille. Erilaisten kohujen nähdään toimivan normatiivisen moraalien rajojen tarkasteluna, mutta uutisoinnin keskittymistä niihin myös kritisoidaan. Esimerkiksi sosiaalisessa mediassa tapahtuvat mölättykset paisuvat valtaviirran uutisoinnin myötä usein verrattain suuriksi.</p> <p>Pro gradu -työn tavoitteena on selvittää digitaalisella aikakaudella tapahtuvan poliittisen puheskandaalin synty- ja kehitysprosessia sekä siihen vaikuttavien viestintään ja journalismiin liittyvien ilmiöiden keskinäisiä suhteita. Median murros näkyy nopeutuvana uutisvirtana, jonka arvioidaan vaikuttavan sisältöjen laatuun. Se, miten sosiaalisessa mediassa käytyä keskustelua kehystetään ja tulkitaan valtamediassa, herättää kritiikkiä.</p> <p>Tutkimuskohteena on niin kutsuttu hihamerkkikohu, joka johti kansanedustaja James Hirvisaaren väliaikaiseen erottamiseen perussuomalaisen puolueen eduskuntaryhmästä keväällä 2012. Tutkimus yhdistää määrällisiä ja laadullisia analyysikeinoja tarkasteltaessa kohun kehystymistä suomalaisessa mediassa. Lisäksi tarkastellaan, minkälaisia lähteitä uutisoinnissa käytettiin. Aineisto koostuu 96 uutisartikkelista, jotka on julkaistu suurimpien suomalaisten medioiden verkkopalveluissa.</p> <p>Hihamerkkikohu on rakenteeltaan tavanomainen skandaali, johon kuuluu normirikkomus, kolmannen osapuolen julkinen paheksunta ja kliimaksi. Skandaaleja koskevan teorian laajempi tarkastelu paljastaa, että puheskandaalit eroavat hieman muista skandaaleista. Niihin ei aina liity salailun ja paljastuksen elementtiä. Eri medioiden vertailu tutkitun tapauksen puitteissa osoittaa, että iltapäivälehdet ovat hanakampia uutisoimaan kohun eri käänteitä. Niiden oma toimituksellinen panos on kuitenkin hyvin pieni. Kaupalliset mediat käyttivät sidosorganisaatioiden, kuten uutistoimistojen tai samaan konserniin kuuluvien toimitusten tuottamaa materiaalia. Ensimmäisen julkaisijan rooli tulkinnallisen kehuksen määrittelyssä on tässä tapauksessa korostunut. Hihamerkkikohu kehystyi selkeimmin perussuomalaisten sisäisenä valtataisteluna.</p> <p>Tyypillinen digitaalisen ajan puheskandaali syntyy, kun sosiaalisessa mediassa käytyä keskustelua uutisoidaan päämedioissa. Kohun keskiössä ei kuitenkaan usein näytä olevan korkean profiilin poliitikkoja. Täten voidaan todeta, että median murrokseen liittyy myös poliittisen agentuurin käsitteen laventuminen. Lisäksi tapaus antaa viitteitä siitä, että verkkojournalismin nopeasta luonteesta johtuen yksittäisen toimittajan vastuu kokonaisen julkaisun linjasta on korostunut.</p>		
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Puheskandaali, Uutiskehukset, Lähteistäminen, Poliittinen agentuuri, Hihamerkkikohu		



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<p>Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract</p> <p>The media thrives off scandals in the digital era which often bring broad publicity to politicians who are involved in them. Also, the increasingly image-centered nature of politics adds to the significance of scandals. The media constructs and frames the political struggle through scandals while gaining economic benefits in form of audience attention. Scandals are seen to function as a test process for normative morals, but broad attention of the press towards them is also criticized. For example, random utterances that happen in social media have a tendency to expand to questionable proportions when a mainstream media covers them.</p> <p>This master's thesis aims to clarify the birth and development processes of political talk scandal in a digital era context. Also, the investigation examines the role of various journalistic and communication related phenomena that affect on scandals. The change in the conditions, especially in terms of speed where the media operates, is argued to affect the quality of journalism. Media receives criticism over its choices of framing the debate that takes place in the social media.</p> <p>The case under investigation is the so called Armband scandal which took place in Finland in spring 2012. As a result a member of Parliament James Hirvisaari was temporarily suspended from his parliamentary group. The study mixes quantitative and qualitative methods in order to examine the framing of the scandal in Finnish media. In addition, the study examines how the news was sourced. Data in this study is composed of 96 online articles of major Finnish media.</p> <p>Armband scandal is a regular political scandal in terms of structure. It has a breach of a moral norm, a condemnation of a third party, a public criticism and a climax. Examination of the scandal theory reveals that talk scandals do not necessarily require elements of concealment and revelation. Comparative analysis of various media within the case context shows that the tabloid press is most eager to cover various aspects of the scandal: however, their own journalistic input is small. The commercial media uses material that is provided by a cooperative partner organization or a media belonging to the same conglomerate. The role of the first publisher is highlighted in determining the primary interpretative frames. The armband scandal was clearly framed as an internal struggle of <i>The Finns Party</i>.</p> <p>Typical digital era talk scandals appear when the mainstream media reports a debate taking place in social media. However, the scandals do not seem to involve high profile politicians. Therefore it can be argued that the digital era has instigated an expansion of the concept of political agency. Also, in these conditions the responsibility over a publications profile is increasingly in the hands of individual reporters.</p>			
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1. Introduction

The past thirty years have witnessed an increase of scandal reportage in the news coverage. The prominence of scandals is connected to a larger shift in the philosophy of journalism and the function of media. Information overflow is often pointed as a visible example of symptoms of this fundamental change (Kantola 2011). The foundation of the significance of scandals was laid in the fall of President Nixon during the Watergate scandal, which as single event has changed the conventions of how press coverage affects politics, publicity and power (Apostolidis and Williams 2004). John B Thompson (2000) sees scandals as a measure of political attitudes and as a symptom of a change in the social constructions. Scandals reflect normative morals and test the general attitudes of the validity of those morals. A scandal as phenomena thus is a test process of social conditions.

In Finland, political scandals have been studied by Anu Kantola et al. (2011), who have provided an excellent summary about the increasing significance of the role of scandals in Finnish political life and journalism. Laura Juntunen (2011) and Esa Väliverronen (2009) have examined the ethical challenges the journalists face while covering scandals, and the connection of changing relations of politicians and media. Literature also includes extensive case studies on notable political and art-related scandals of past decade (Paasonen et al. 2011). Overall the scholarly literature about the essence of scandal is exhaustive (Thompson 2000; Kantola et al. 2011; Allern and Pollack 2011; Pernaa et al. 2009; Apostolidis and Williams 2004; Lull and Hinerman 1997). However, there is a gap in the knowledge when considering how the digital era platforms such as social media have affected the birthing processes of scandals. Especially the framing of scandals is something that should be investigated more, because journalists rely increasingly on social media channels when sourcing for news material. As recently witnessed, the contemporary journalism features more and more scandals which originate from controversial language, targeted to limited “friendly” audiences of the closed “inner circles,” that are characteristic to for example Facebook or blog discussion. An increasing amount of debate among the

professional journalists and academia deal with if online material should be considered private or public, and how this material should be treated.¹

1.1 Aims of the study and research questions

This study examines the case of the “armband scandal,” which took place in Finland in spring 2012. The scandal started when Helena Eronen, a parliamentary aide to James Hirvisaari of *The Finns Party* (previously *the True Finns*), wrote a blog text proposing armbands for foreign immigrants to help the police identify them better. The blog text was reported by *Turun Sanomat*. The writer of the blog text claimed that the entry was intended as satire. Regardless of this claim, the story of *Turun Sanomat* resulted in a scandal involving Eronen, Hirvisaari and *The Finns Party*. Eventually Hirvisaari was suspended from the parliamentary group for a fixed period of time.

The case compresses many significant issues of the journalism of our time. Firstly it is about the use of online material as a source in mainstream reporting. Secondly, the case triggered a scandal which has political significance. It deals with a grey area that exists between the freedom of speech and appropriate political rhetoric. Thirdly, the case provides an example of journalistic practice from the perspective of current professional imperatives, while the structures of news production are going through turbulent times.

The aim of the study is to examine this specific type of scandal – a talk scandal. The study looks upon how the Finnish mainstream media framed and sourced material in order to cover the case. As the framing theory has solid links to the concept of media power and public opinion, the literature review will cover theories regarding agenda-setting. In addition, an overview of scandal theory and the conditions of current media economy and the impact of technology are reviewed.

¹ JSN – Timo Huovinen blog <http://www.jsn.fi/blog/twitter-uutislahteena/>
JSN – Riitta Ollila blog <http://www.jsn.fi/blog/facebookin-julkinen-tila/>

The study is conducted on textual online news content, and it combines quantitative and qualitative methods. Sources, agents and variances in the coverage among various news media constitute the quantitative part, while examination of frames and representations of the persons involved, is done through qualitative analysis. The data material consists of 96 articles that were published in the period between April-November 2012 in online news services of major Finnish media. These media are: *YLE*, *MTV3*, *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Turun Sanomat*, *Aamulehti*, *Iltasanomat*, *Iltalehti* and *Uusi Suomi*.

The main research question is: What kind of framing devices appeared in the online media coverage of the armband scandal?

The sub-questions are: a) how was the armband blog text referred to throughout the scandal? b) How were the characters/participants of the scandal presented? c) How frequent was the use of online sources throughout the scandal?

1.2 Main concepts and the structure of the thesis

The central concepts which appear frequently in the text are **political talk scandal**, **tabloidization**, **social media sourcing**, **agenda-setting** and **framing**. I will briefly cover these concepts here, and more in-depth examination can be found from chapters three and four.

Political talk scandal is a specific type of political scandal, where a person who is considered to have political status, verbally transgresses a moral threshold (Ekström and Johanson 2008). A person in such a scandal has uttered a specific idea or opinion which results into a public outrage. Utterance can be intended or unintended to wider audiences, nonetheless it results in a scandal. In this study I will treat written online commentary as a type of talk.

Tabloidization is a concept that condenses the inclination of the media to publish content that has entertaining qualities in the expense of serious issues (Esser1999).

Social media sourcing is an increasingly more prominent trend among the journalists to use social media platforms such as twitter, Facebook and blogs to obtain news material (Heinonen and Domingo 2009).

Agenda-setting is explained to be the power/characteristic trait of the media, in the form of influence over what issues get prominence in the public debate (e.g. McCombs and Shaw 1972).

Framing is a spin-off theory of agenda-setting, where media content is seen to carry specific meanings in its visual and lexical form. Framing creates meaning, promotes a particular interpretation and is argued to affect how opinions form (e.g. Entman 1993).

The thesis is structured in a manner where the primary introductions and study objectives are followed by a narrative description of the scandal case under study in chapter two. Chapters three and four cover the literature that will be reflected in the results. Chapter five explains the employed methodology, the data set and the questions of validity. Chapter six covers the results of the used method, and chapter seven provides conclusions regarding the findings.

2. Description of the armband scandal

The following description of the events of the armband scandal is based on broad range of material including items which are not part into the data set of this study. Primarily these extra data are the reportage of foreign news media, audiovisual broadcasts such as news and current affair magazine programs and print media articles. This description serves the purpose of getting the reader acquainted with the case.

April 11: The scandal starts

April 11 2012 is marked as the day the armband scandal erupted. Scandal started from a blog entry, written in online newspaper *Uusi Suomi*'s blog board. Author of the blog was Helena Eronen, who had been hired in as an aide to a Member of Parliament, James Hirvisaari of *The Finns Party* in January 2012.

Eronen's blog had been popular among the readers of *Uusi Suomi* for some time, and her entries frequently appeared in the top 10 recommended blogs in the *Uusi Suomi* portal.² Eronen's style, prior to the scandal, can be seen as critical of the establishment, unpolished and polemic. During the scandal Eronen herself described her style as "satirical" and "exaggerated." She had a faithful readership among the users of the blog service who encourage her to write. Her entries are among the most commented at the service. My personal assumption is that her success as a blogger encouraged Hirvisaari to hire her. Eronen had no experience of politics and at the time of the scandal, she was not a member of the *The Finns Party*. She could be best described as an independent "online voice."

Hirvisaari on the other hand had built himself a profile of a critic of immigration. He is considered to be a so called "Halla-aholainen," who are a group of MP's within *The Finns*

² Uusi Suomi www.uusisuomi.fi

Party, considered to be right oriented monoculturists.³ Hirvisaari has received a court sentence for "agitation against the ethnic minority."⁴

Eronen posted the blog entry on the April 11 in the afternoon. *Uusi Suomi's* editor in chief Markku Huusko removed the entry some hours later, due to a perception that it was "against good taste."⁵ While the blog entry was accessible online, it was sourced by a reporter of *Turun Sanomat* newspaper, which published an online article at 17:11PM titled "MP's aide proposes armbands for immigrants."⁶ Reporter's identity has not been disclosed. *Turun Sanomat* interprets the blog entry as a serious proposal and quotes Eronen proposing armbands for immigrants, so that the police could identify them better. *Finnish information agency (STT)*, which is jointly owned by major domestic news media, including *Turun Sanomat*, spreads the story to domestic and foreign media.

Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* called Eronen for additional comments.⁷ Eronen's quotes are presented in the *Dagens Nyheter* article, where she elaborates the text to have been a satire, although she understands why it was misunderstood. Helsinki University docent Johan Bäckman claimed that Russian news agency *Interfax* relayed the story to Russian and central Asian media.⁸ According to Bäckman, the story was featured broadly in different media and it made to the evening news broadcast of *Russia Today*. Russian media did not make a follow up story about the matter in following days. During the first two days, the story was disseminated to an audience of 100-150 million people, with a frame of serious political proposal. Most of the foreign exposure took place in former USSR countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.⁹

³ Simula (2011) Persujen eduskuntaryhmään kuusi Halla-aholaista. *Suomen Kuvalehti* 18.4.2011

⁴ YLE Lahti (2011) Kansanedustaja James Hirvisaarelle tuomio vihapuheista. *YLE Lahti* 12.12.2011

⁵ Huusko (2012) Asiaton on asiatonta. *Uusi Suomi* 12.4.2012

⁶ Turun Sanomat (2012) Kansanedustajan avustaja ehdottaa ulkomaalaisille hihamerkkejä. 11.4.2012.

⁷ Rolfer (2012) Sannfinländare vill märka utlänningar. *Dagens nyheter* 12.4.2012

⁸ SIF Ry 15.4.2012; <http://antifasistit.blogspot.fi/2012/04/helena-eronen-ja-tsuhnafasism.html>

⁹ Turun Sanomat (2012) Hihamerkkikolumni kuohuttaa nyt Venäjän tiedotusvälineitä. 15.4.2012.

Turun Sanomat modified its story over the course of the evening of April 11. At 21:29PM published, updated version of the story also contains satirical elements, such as "the hamburger armbands for Americans." The story continues spread in the social media, where users shared the article of *Turun Sanomat* or *Iltasanomat*'s and *Iltalehti*'s ripped skeleton versions.¹⁰ The original blog entry was not accessible from the original source, as it was removed earlier by the *Uusi Suomi* moderation. However, the entry is posted elsewhere online, and is accessible with a little search effort. In the evening of April 11, former Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen shares the article of *Turun Sanomat* on his Facebook profile, and comments the proposal as "repulsive." *Iltalehti* reports Vanhanen's reaction.¹¹

April 12: The scandal magnifies

The day breaks with Eronen's blog entry being high in the agenda of the press. At 9:24AM *Uusi Suomi*'s editor in chief Markku Huusko writes a blog entry where he explains his decision to remove Eronen's blog text.¹² Huusko grounds the removal on the requirement of "good taste," which according to him was absent from Eronen's blog entry.

Scandal dominates the news flow of the day. *Suomen kuvalehti*'s columnist Pertti Jarla analyses the text and argues in favor of the satire.¹³ In the afternoon the MP's of *The Finns Party* gathered to discuss a response to the blog entry. They agree to recommend Eronen to be fired. Party chairperson Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner "wants to get rid of these kinds of texts."¹⁴ Decision appears also in broadcast news throughout the day.¹⁵

The matter is now in hands of James Hirvisaari who as a supervisor has the power over his assistant's job contract. *Finnish information agency (STT)* interviews Eronen with a set of

¹⁰ Iltasanomat (2012) Kansanedustajan avustaja ehdottaa ulkomaalaisille hihamerkkejä. 11.4.2012; Iltalehti (2012) Hirvisaaren avustaja ehdottaa hihamerkkejä ulkomaalaisille. 11.4.2012.

¹¹ Iltalehti (2012) Matti Vanhanen tuhtui hihamerkkiehdotuksesta. 11.4.2012

¹² Huusko (2012) Asiaton on asiatonta. 12.4.2012

¹³ Jarla (2012) Yritys analysoida hihamerkkipakinaa. 12.4.2012

¹⁴ E.g. Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Ruohonen-Lerner: Näin vakavilla asioilla ei lasketa leikkiä. 12.4.2012

¹⁵ E.g. MTV3 (2012) Ruohonen-Lerner: Tällaisista kirjoituksista on päätävä eroon. 12.4.2012

questions regarding why she wrote the article, what her aims were and if she thinks she can continue at her current position. Eronen's responses are covered in major *STT* associated media. In the interview Eronen relies on satire, personal style, and concedes that she made a mistake.¹⁶

April 13: "The culprits" strike back.

In the morning Eronen explains her style and thoughts under a new blog entry "H*lvetinmoinen sokora." Her regretful stance has changed into self-defense mode. She announces that she will take the matter to *ombudsman of the press* (JSN).¹⁷ Media moves to include professional analysis regarding the issue. *MTV3* interviews scholars who appear critical of the media coverage.¹⁸ *MTV3* reports the results of a "humorous" armband design competition, where Eronen is acting as a judge. *MTV3* sources the story from radio *X3M*'s interview of Eronen.¹⁹ In the evening Hirvisaari writes a blog stating that he will not fire Eronen.²⁰

April 14 and onwards.

After Hirvisaari refuses to fire Eronen, and the critical tone of scholars towards the media reportage, the scandal goes into brief frozen state. Media also practices self reflection regarding the issue. *Uusi Suomi* editor in chief Markku Huusko explains his original decision to remove the entry. He remarks the matter to not have entered the annals of journalism as any sort of "achievement."²¹

¹⁶ E.g. Aamulehti (2012) Kohun aiheuttanut Eronen hihamerkeistä: "Minulla on tyyli kääntää asioita läskiksi." 12.4.2012

¹⁷ Eronen (2012) H*lvetinmoinen sokora. 13.4.2012

¹⁸ MTV3 (2012) Tutkijalta tuomio "hihamerkkikohusta": Media liioitteli otsikoita. 13.4.2012

¹⁹ MTV3 (2012) Kohuehdotus muuttui myös vitsiksi: Tässä suomenruotsalaisten hihamerkki. 13.4.2012

²⁰ E.g. Turun Sanomat (2012) Hirvisaari ei katkaise avustajansa työsuhdetta. 13.4.2012

²¹ Huusko (2012) Helena Eronen tapaus, näin sen toimittajana koen. 14.4.2012

On April 15, Ruohonen-Lerner says that the role of Eronen, as a parliamentary aide, is not yet decided.²² This reaction makes the scandal internal to *The Finns Party*. Conflicts center moves now between Hirvisaari, who refuses to fire Eronen, and Ruohonen-Lerner. On April 15 Eronen is reported to have considered resignation, which she later denies.²³ On April 16 a private e-mail between Ruohonen-Lerner and party associate Matti Putkonen, is leaked to the media.²⁴ In the mail, Putkonen recommends Ruohonen-Lerner to quit public commenting of the armband issue. *Helsingin Sanomat* publishes the leak resulting to a clash between Ruohonen-Lerner and Putkonen. Putkonen blames Ruohonen-Lerner indirectly for the leak. Ruohonen-Lerner responds that she will not take directions from anybody who works under a title “workman.” Later Ruohonen-Lerner explains to have accidentally sent the email conversation to the whole parliament.²⁵

April 17 Hirvisaari is suspended from *The Finns Party* parliamentary group for four months, due to failure to comply with the demands of the rest of the group. Term “lack of trust” is reported broadly.²⁶ *The Finns* appear relatively unified over the matter, but some objections are also heard. April 20 Eronen appears in *YLE* broadcast magazine program *A-studio* with relatively little new to say.²⁷ Effectively the main energy of the scandal is now exhausted as the broad media attention ceases.

Single and infrequent news items appear in the media after this point. On April 24, JSN announces that it will process the filed complaints although Eronen had made a criminal investigation request to the police. Normally JSN dismisses complaints if a matter is also taken to the authorities.²⁸ On June 22, the state prosecutor dismisses the “agitation against ethnic minority” -case filed against Eronen (Case was filed by Helsinki University docent

²² Turun Sanomat (2012) Ruohonen-Lerner: Hirvisaaren avustajan asema ei loppuunkäsittely. 15.4.2012

²³ Iltasanomat (2012) Hirvisaaren avustaja: Ero on käynyt mielessä.15.4.2012

²⁴ Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Perussuomalaisten sisäinen sähköposti vuodettiin julkisuuteen. 16.4.2012

²⁵ YLE (2012) Ruohonen-Lerner: Putkosen viesti päättyi vahingossa koko eduskunnalle. 25.4.2012

²⁶ E.g. MTV3 (2012) Hirvisaari erotettiin eduskuntaryhmästä määrääjäksi. 17.4.2012

²⁷ Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Kiistelty blogikirjoittaja Eronen: Satiirini kohdistui vähemmistövaltuutetun toimistoon. 20.4.2012

²⁸ Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Helena Erosen blogi-asia tulee JSN:n käsittelyyn. 25.4.2012

Johan Bäckman).²⁹ On July 22, a memorial service in Utöya is reported to feature a speech where the scandal is linked to extremism and the rise of fascism in Europe.³⁰

Eronen announces her resignation on August 13 in her blog saying that she has felt herself as the “wrong girl in a wrong room.”³¹ Eronen says she was “horrified” that her name was connected to massacres in Utöya. On November 22 the press ombudsman JSN gives a critical, but liberating verdict about the reportage to *Turun Sanomat*, *Iltalehti* and *Aamulehti*.³²

November 26 – Rematch

Four days after the JSN decision, a new scandal with same main characters is about to happen. On 26th *Turun Sanomat* publishes an article (09:22AM) claiming Hirvisaari is involved in establishing a new party called Suomidemokraatit. Alleged new party is profiled to far right with criminal and skinhead groups in the core, writes *Turun Sanomat*.³³ Name of the reporter is not disclosed.

Story is sourced from Facebook and turns out to be inaccurate. *Turun Sanomat* removes the whole article. Social media acts faster as a blogger takes a printscreen caption of the article, and post an entry with the image attached (published 11:22). Original entry is also ripped by *YLE-Lapland*.³⁴ *Turun Sanomat* publishes a new article which essentially is about establishing a new party, indeed called Suomidemokraatit. Party active denies involvement of politicians or criminals to the movement. James Hirvisaari also denies his involvement. Helena Eronen (who is not linked to this incident) writes in her blog that her “bile has boiled over” because of the *Turun Sanomat* yet again. Eronen writes she will make a

²⁹ Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Syyttäjä ei puutu Hirvisaaren avustajan hihamerkki tekstiin. 22.6.2012

³⁰ Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Perussuomalaisten hihamerkkikohu sai huomiota Utøyalla. 22.7.2012

³¹ E.g. Niiranen (2012) James Hirvisaaren kohuavustaja eroaa. *Iltasanomat* 13.8.2012.

³² E.g. Helsingin Sanomat (2012) Lehdille vapauttava päätös hihamerkkiuutisista. 22.11.2012

³³ *Turun Sanomat* (2012) Perussuomalaisten haastajaksi tulossa Suomidemokraatit. 26.12.2012

³⁴ YLE Lappi (2012) TS: Suomeen puuhataan maahanmuuttovastaista puoluetta. 26.11.2012

complaint to JSN, “just to see their (JSN) explanations for this incident.”³⁵ *Turun Sanomat* admits that it has removed the original article, because it contained false information. Issue does not spread further. In summer 2013, JSN condemns *Turun Sanomat* over the reportage in the second incident³⁶).

3. Political scandals and the media

This chapter introduces the main theories used to contextualise scandals as sociological, mediated phenomena. Chapter will give an overview of the definitions of scandal in scientific discourse. The focus is on examination of various types of scandals with the emphasis on talk scandals that have political dimension. Besides identifying the main types of scandals, the chapter presents observations about the role of media in them. The end of the chapter covers the influences of changing technical environment on the journalistic work, and trends in the reporting culture, which can be seen to influence the birth of scandals.

3.1 What is a political scandal?

Scandal is, in essence, an event where some kind of morally suspicious matter is exposed to a public scrutiny (Thompson 2000; Kantola 2011; Allern and Pollack 2011; Apostolidis and Williams 2004). Apostolidis and Williams (2004, pp. 3-4) define scandal as “the publication of a transgression of a social norm.” Thompson (2000), in turn, elaborates the definition by dissecting the phases of scandal into five denominators; 1) transgression of norms, values or moral codes, 2) element of secrecy or concealment, 3) third party disapproval, 4) public disapproval and 5) disclosure and condemnation. Thompson says: “ ‘scandal’ refers to actions or events involving certain kinds of transgressions which become known to others and are sufficient to elicit a public response” (Thompson 2000, pp.13-14). The emergence of visible public response is a requirement for scandal to develop. Scandals as such do include input in the form of media coverage that condemns the acts (Allern and Pollack

³⁵ Pelkonen (2012) Uutisankka levisi tänään verkossa: Helena Erosen ”sappinesteet kiehahtivat.” 26.11.2012

³⁶ JSN (2013) Langettava päätös 19.6.2013. <http://www.jsn.fi/paatokset/5095a-sl-13/?year=2013>

2011, p 12). This study focuses on the mediated political scandal, but it suffices to say that as scandals are essentially about norms and values and their relation to public life, they apply to all fields of life in the same way.

Etymology of the word *scandal* is traced to Indo-Germanic, Greek and Latin, where the meaning has got religious connotations. It was considered a situation where the god has put a person (often a religious one) in a test. This divine “trap or a stumbling block” is a situation where individual must take responsibility of their transgressions (Allern and Pollack 2011, p. 11; Thompson 2000, p. 13). English word *slander* is derived from the scandal, but has more accusatory nature. Scandals are often claimed to be based on a slander, as the parties involved take action to explain what has happened. (Thompson 2000, p 13.) So called “*Lautakasagate*,” which featured corruption accusations against Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen in Finland in 2009, ended up in a dead-end when the media, despite of demands, would not reveal its sources to produce evidence of the alleged corruption in Vanhanen’s house building project (Kantola et al. 2011, p.75). Vanhanen accused the media for slander.³⁷ Regardless, the event can be argued to have had an effect on Vanhanen’s imago, or in Thompsons (2000) words, on the “symbolic power” of Vanhanen, as politician. Protecting the sources is a high imperative in journalistic work as it encloses the ideal of the watchdog role in the civic condition of the freedom of speech, but then again the media can only rely on its credibility to establish and maintain its social function. Failures while reporting a scandal can cause serious damage especially to the so called quality media.

Politicians are often in the focus of a scandal since society expects them to be irreproachable in their role (Allern and Pollack 2011). Thompson (2000) identifies and highlights the concept of “symbolic capital” which derives from the politicians’ ability to generate trust and credibility. He establishes a political scandal to be “... struggles over symbolic power in which reputation and trust are at stake” (ibid. p. 245). The level of trust

³⁷ Taloussanommat (2009) Vanhanen: En riskeeraiisi uraani lautakasan takia. 29.9.2009

of a politician is measured in elections, where the candidates seek mandate for their agendas. This mechanism ultimately is the method of empowerment in democratic system. Because of this trait, a scandal offers a change to make politics and wage a political battle. The stakes are high in these struggles since the symbolic capital can be accumulated over years in political office, but it is highly vulnerable asset, much more easily destroyed than built. (ibid. pp. 109-113.) In Finland the general interpretation is that legally the politicians enjoy less privacy due to their position (Juntunen and Väliverronen 2009; see Finnish Crime legislation chapter 24. 8 §). It is also observed that if a politician or any “public figure,” is willingly revealing matters that fall into private sphere, they are in way losing their “virginity” (Vuori 2002). Participation to entertainment broadcast shows and publicity in the tabloids and lifestyle magazines is perceived as an aspect of politics becoming more intimate and personalized (Herkman 2011). This development arguably has made matters that fall into private sphere more prone to get public treatment.

Recent studies show that the digital era features much more scandals than decades before (Kantola and Vesa 2011, p. 43). According to Thompson (2000, p 108), the reasons for the increasing abundance of scandals in the past three decades, are connected to five key factors: 1) the increased visibility of political leaders, 2) the technological development in communication and surveillance, 3) changing culture of journalisms, 4) changing social conditions, and 5) legalization of political life. Since scandals are always unique processes, it will be of use to examine which of these reasons seem prominent in this case.

3.2 Mediated scandals in the digital era

Scandals usually have a clear beginning, but their ending is less clear as scholars agree that the media production process plays a central role in how the matter evolves (Thompson 2000; Allern and Pollack 2011; Apostolidis and Williams 2004). “Disclosure through the media, and commentary in the media, are not secondary or incidental of these forms of scandal: they are partly constitutive to them” (Thompson 2000 p. 61). Allern and Pollack

(2011, p. 22) explain the medias keen interest to a scandal as something resembling a “hunt” and list the following five illustrative factors: 1) wide-ranging, intense and critical reporting directed against one or more persons, organizations or institutions; 2) personal allegations concerning norm violations characterized as scandalous; 3) in a situation where many dominant editors and news media participate over a certain period of time, 4) adopting the same basic perspective, journalistic angle and dramaturgic concept, and 5) where the outcome is uncertain. Thompson (2000, p. 72) argues that the distinctive rhythm of media organizations, political and legislative bodies dictate the evolving process, as new information about the revelations and subsequent political and judicial alignments are presented for the media to cover.

Sometimes the media disregards a scandal at first only to later put significant effort to its coverage (Kantola et al. 2011). Scandals as such can be “retriggered” by something else that adds weight to the issue, or places the focus of media attention on the matter. Initial exposure requires an immediate response by third parties before scandal can manifest (Thompson 2000). Often retriggering comes from investigative journalistic work, of which the election financing scandal in Finland is a typical example (Kantola et al 2011, pp. 65-88). Scandal exposed the unorthodox methods used in collecting money for election campaigns in Finland, and eventually resulted into formation of new legislations and increased vigilance towards the affiliations of politicians, not only by the press but politicians themselves. Kantola et al. (ibid. p.70) note that although the methods of financing were publicly criticized for some time, the scandal did not emerge until a politician admitted in a public broadcast, that the financing is not disclosed because there are no legal sanctions for not doing so. This comment was, in a figure of speech, the last drop that filled the cup. Scandal had significant political consequences especially to the *Center Party*, which fell in the elections of 2011 from being largest parliamentary group to the fourth largest.³⁸ What comes to the media’s role in the case, a study on the perceptions

³⁸ Parliamentary election results 2011, http://192.49.229.35/E2011/s/tulos/tulos_kokomaa.html

of citizens regarding it, found out that most of the media was seen as sensational by the audience (Väliverronen 2012, p. 28).

Sometimes scandalous issues are “shelved” to wait for the “right time” (Thompson 2000). In spring 2013 a scandal about Minister Heidi Hautala’s alleged “under the counter” payment for cleaning services gained a high amount of media attention. After a week of ongoing coverage, the carpenter who was involved in the scandal, disclosed that he had been asked to stay quiet about the alleged payment “until the time is right.”³⁹ Although Thompson (2000) treats the shelving as something that naturally happens in the absence of response to the initial revelation, the example of Hautala points out that a “shelving” can be done by anyone, politician or a layman who possesses a potentially damaging knowledge. Hence the scandals can be exploited as a political weapon (Thompson 2000; Jensen and Fladmoe 2012)

Thompson (2000) has devised an illustrative chart to describe complex mediated scandals and phases in their development. Chart describes the merciless whirl the person(s) in the center of scandal might get into.

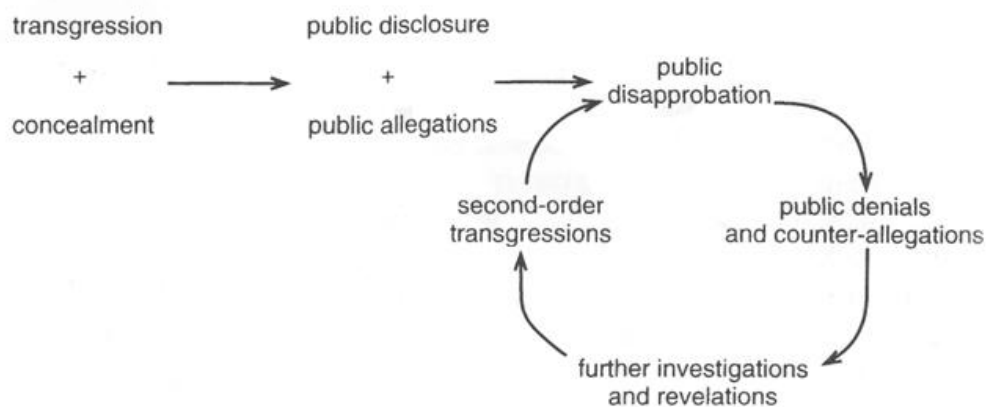


Figure 1: *Development cycle of a scandal* (Thompson 2000, p. 24)

³⁹ Uusi Suomi Maija Vehviläinen (2013) Hautalan remonttimies aikoi tulla jo vuosi sitten julkisuuteen – ”Mulle sanottiin, että ei vielä.” 20.3.2013

Media functions as engine to the cycle by keeping the issue under attention and reporting more details. Media makes further investigations on the observed transgression, by seeking comments from political opponents and legal instances for example (Jensen and Fladmoe 2011). Lull and Hineman (1997 p 13) argue that scandal stays active as long as it can maintain a drama that creates broad interest and facilitates discussion. Based on the responses given by the accused, a second order transgression can occur when for example a lie is detected. Media develops a story by reporting what is being said, but often the differences in the interpretation of the meanings lead to a conflict between the accused and the media (Thompson 2000, p.74). Media treatment and choice of interpretative angles, the frames, as such create the arc of drama taking place in a scandal.

The scandal is literally played out in the media, and the activities of the media personnel and organizations, with their distinctive practices and rhythms of work, play a crucial role. The media function as a framing device, focusing attention on an individual or an alleged activity and refusing to let go (Thompson 2000, p. 74).

The relentless demands for comments and explanations manifests clearly in the whirl the politician is put into. A lie in a scandal situation can get bizarre dimensions, as lapses in memory for example are often labeled as lies. It is a great risk for politician to say anything from top of their heads when a scandal is at hand. Vague estimation about how things have proceeded can later turn out to be fatal mistakes if conflicting evidence appears.

3.3 Taxonomy of scandals

Scandals exist in all fields of life ranging from religious institutions to academia, sports and politics to name some but few. I will concentrate on the political scandal and in particular a talk scandal.

Thompson (2000, p.120) identifies three main categories of political scandal; economic scandal, sex scandal and power scandal. The economic scandal sets itself in the middle of sex scandal and power scandal in terms of publicity and social significance. Power scandals

(such as the Watergate) are infrequent, high profile cases which reveal the abuse and corruption, often bringing down even the most powerful leaders. They possess high public significance and often raise moral panics and cause reforms in legislations. Sex scandals are more intimate in nature, but often result in personal destruction of those involved. They have become more frequent in recent decades due to changes in journalistic culture which appears to put emphasis on the imago of politicians (Kantola et al 2011; Allern and Pollack 2011).

Thompson (2000 p. 91) asserts that any scandal which includes a “political figure” is a political scandal, but also acknowledges that the approach is not very insightful. Silverstein and Marcovits (1988 p. 6) propose that the political scandal arises from the nature of the transgression at hand. They emphasize the “violation of due process” which means the legally binding rules that influence the use and allocation of political power. They assert that the power is often used in secrecy and is exclusive in nature, whereas due processes are the visible political outcomes which get a treatment in public. Political scandals arise from the region where these two spheres overlap.

Perception takes into account the political processes which include a lot of negotiations and compromises among adversaries. To the public these “deals” or “cabinet politics” often seem suspicious because openness is not their nominal feature. Leaks are events which often result into a scandal due to their sensitive nature. They also reveal the dirty side of political struggle and are very dangerous for imago.

3.3.1 Talk scandals

Talk scandal is a specific type of scandal where the transgression is oral in nature. Ekström and Johanson (2008) have proposed that talk scandals should be added to Thompons (2000) list as fourth significant type of scandals of contemporary setting. Notable to talk scandal is that they not only get treatment in media, but are in fact often created in media (Ekström and Johanson p. 62). Talk scandal can start as an inconsiderate comment or outburst – a transgression of a norm, which causes outrage in significant amount of people or in some

particular interest group. Ekström and Johanson (ibid.) also note that out of Thompsons (2000) five denominators (see p.11), all are not necessarily present in the talk scandal. Talk scandal does not require an attempt of concealment. As such it does not also require the investigative journalistic work. Typical example is a “bad choice of words,” or “I did not know the camera was on,” which is often used as explanation if the culprit is trying to do some damage control. A notable example in Finnish context is a scandal that involved National Coalitions (Kokoomus) party’s youth wing leader Saul Shuback in winter 2012. Schuback had written a comment in his Facebook profile, where he perceived the child support benefit as something that only encourages the breeding of the “weakest members of the society.”⁴⁰ Schuback apologized for his comment, but the scandal did not recede until he resigned.

Second example of more recent nature took place in summer 2013 when the Christian Democratic Party’s chair, and the Minister of Interior in office Päivi Räsänen, was alleged to have promoted the bible above the mundane law.⁴¹ First media coverage was published by a small regional paper *Kankaanpään Seutu* and it resulted into broad attention in other domestic media. As a result, over 6500 members were reported to have resigned from the church.⁴² Räsänen responded that her speech was taken out of context and misinterpreted.⁴³ Räsänen’s speech was 20 minutes long, whereas quoted issues fit into one sentence. Media coverage created a controversy by selecting an interpretative angle that was prone to raise a controversy, especially because Räsänen’s role as the Minister of Interior. The case depicts the power of selection of the frames and interpretative contexts the media is employing, but also that the position can affect liberties of expression.

Ekström and Johanson (2008) emphasize that the talk scandal requires the element of speech that can be quoted in journalistic fashion. In the sphere of politics, the position of

⁴⁰ YLE (2013) Kokoomusnuorten vpj: Lapsilisät poistettava - "järjenvastaista tukea heikomman aineksen lisääntymistä." 2.11.2013

⁴¹ Kankaanpään seutu (2013) Räsänen: Mielihyvä on aikamme epäjumala. 7.7.2013

⁴² Eroakirkosta.fi http://eroakirkosta.fi/media/none/tiedote_08_2013.html?year=2013

⁴³ Päivi Räsänen blog 10.7.2013 Suomen lakia on noudatettava
<http://www.paivirasanen.fi/ajankohtaista/17-blogit/591-suomen-lakia-on-noudatettava>

the agent becomes a significant factor determining what can be said. This essentially is connected to the imago and normative behavioural restrictions that seem apply especially to high profile politicians. Talk scandals rarely result into legal cases, but can most certainly cause destruction of political careers. Ekström and Johanson (2008) introduce a division in “front- and backside utterances” and propose that the “collapse” of these spheres can lead to a talk scandal. Backside essentially is region where utterances are given “off the record” or they are otherwise unintended for open disclosure. Front side constitutes an area where an utterance is subjected to the agent and made public, such as live interview or quoted material. Utterance can as such be overheard, leaked or even accidentally aired to public. Speaker can be unaware that he or she is being recorded for media purposes. (ibid.)

In autumn 2013 the *MTV3* reported that it had obtained a memo over internal investigation of working environment in the second tier of Finnish judicial structure (Hovioikeus).⁴⁴ Memo disclosed that the judges use inappropriate language during the breaks of the court sessions. Judges allegedly refer to the plaintiffs, defendants and their aides with racist and discriminating terms. Disclosure triggered a scandal that exemplifies the collapse of front and backside utterances as characteristic to a talk scandal.

3.4 Social significance of a scandal

When scandals become mediated and publicly assessed, they are charged with social significance (Kantola et al 2009; Thompson 2000; Lull and Hinerman 1997; Allern and Pollack 2012). Scholars argue that scandals function as points of re-evaluating the moral codes and threshold of their braking (Lull and Hinerman 1997, p. 5). Thompson (2000, pp. 234-245) has proposed four theories for scandals when assessing their social impact: *functionalistic-, no consequence-, trivialization- and subversion theory*. These theories are to a degree overlapping each other, but they emphasize certain perspective. *Functionalistic theory* explains a scandal as, that although they can have serious social consequences, they

⁴⁴ MTV3 Jarkko Sipilä (2013) Hovioikeuden presidentti: Tuomareiden rasistiset puheet täysin sopimattomia. 8.8.2013.

essentially are means to enforce the status quo, as the coverage of moral transgression often implicitly posits traditional and conservative views under attack: “ In our modern mediated world, scandal is a secular form of sin” (Thompson 2000 p. 235).

No consequence theory suggests that the scandals do not have real social significance as the media fabricates the material of most scandals to serve its own needs. Thompson (2000, p. 234) sees that it also reduces the social impact of scandals to nothing, as many scandals, although prominent in visibility, have not resulted into significant changes in social conditions.

Scholars argue that the emphasis on the sensational and emotionally charged media content, the so called tabloidization, reduces audience’s capacity to make informed choices, which is damaging to functional democracy (Adam and Maier 2010; Esser 1999, p. 315). Thompson (2000, p. 238) responds to these views with the *trivialization theory* of scandals, where the phenomenon is seen as highly destructive from the perspective of public discourse. Scandals arguably highlight trivial matters, such as the sex lives of politicians, and neglect socially important topics like poverty, inflation, crime or unemployment (Ibid.).

Thompson (ibid p 242) calls his last approach the *subversion theory* of a scandal. Theory posits that scandals are loaded with significance when they challenge the norms of journalism and politics, in a fashion that is typical popular culture texts that focus on the personality and character of politicians. *Subversion theory* targets the powerful and privileged and as such give a channel for public to laugh and reflect on mischief of politicians. “Popular news, by contrast undermines the power-bloc by rejecting the norms of objectivity and truth, provoking skepticism and disbelief and fuelling the popular imagination with vision of alternative realities” (Thompson 2000, p. 244). The undermining attitude in popular texts is most vividly present in yellow press, but the critique is unforgiving in quality papers also.

Scandals are always unique and the categories are general at best. The social significance, however, becomes clear when the issue receives broad public attention and condemnation. This happens in Thompsons (2000) scandals phases three and four (see p. 8). Moral panic is term for a phenomenon where a vocal objection among public is triggered, threatening the social stability (McLuhan 1964). The panic either reinforces the breached code, or alters it to fit social circumstances. Lull and Hineman (1997) have proposed that moral panics are created to enforce established social order by discrediting behavior which is seen as inappropriate. However, they see moral panics as reaction to behavior of a group, often a marginalized minority, rather than of an action of an individual, which is often simply frowned upon (ibid.). Many cases however hint that if the moral panic is not treated and responded to, it has a tendency to erode the public trust into the political system. In 2007 a Finnish energy company Fortum, which is partially owned by the state, handed out valuable stock options to its key personnel. Public outrage was huge and demands to cancel the benefits were heard from many directions. State was however unable to cancel the option system within the legal framework, which arguably discredited the political leadership although they could not legally influence the matter.

Scandals offer a change to make political profiling in individual and party level. Clarifying own political message in form of adopting a viewpoint or distancing oneself from certain matters, are constitutive to the political profile. This is symptomatic to the politics which in current times is seen to have become more image centered and trust based. (Thompson 2000, p. 113; Perna et al. 2009.) Politicians take a stand towards an issue by passing judgment thus distinguishing themselves from political opponents. In the figure in page 13, the political opponent can be a part of the *third party*, which condemns the exposed transgression. Jensen and Fladmoe (2012, pp. 51-55) claim that in some cases, the scandals are orchestrated, or at least partially contributed by political rivals or even by rivals within the same political organization. Colleagues often avoid giving support to somebody in the eye of the storm. Scandals as such carry a tool for political profiling both between and within political parties.

3.4.1 The role of the media in scandals

Journalists are seen as the moral guardians of society (e.g. Marder 1998). Frank Esser and Uwe Hartung (2004 p1047-1048) have observed three roles attributable to media in the process of a scandal; 1) media functions as a stage for the scandal, where the developments are covered and framed with textual and audiovisual tools, 2) media has to react to events taking place in the context of the scandal and subsequently influence the scandals development processes, 3) media represents the public opinion regarding the issue the scandal deals with. In addition, media also has a role in scandals through the investigative nature of certain types of journalism, as they often deal with something that is “exposed” (Thompson 2000).

It is commonly agreed fact that the media performs its role of watchdog by covering scandals, but by doing so it wields significant power, as it affects how the matters unfold, what is promoted and what is neglected. Media coverage ultimately creates the framework for the scandal by employing certain, as Entman puts it (1993, 2003) “framing devices.” Media as such creates the drama of the scandal and acts almost as a director of the play, but due to the volatility and unpredictably of the scandal as mediated whole, media’s role is perceived more reactive than active (Allern and Sigurd 2011; Thompson 2000; Esser and Hartung 2004; Kantola et al. 2011). Media accelerates scandals by creating extensive coverage which provides continuous details to depict and mystify them (Jenssen and Fladmoe 2011, p. 60-63).

Scholars who have studied the media framing are inclined to emphasize media treatments impact in the development of scandal (Entman 2012). Links between the political and economic elite are often highlighted as significant factors (Edwards & Chomsky 1989), but also race, social class and gender appear to matter when assessing how media construct the frames (Kendall 2011; Entman 2012).

[A]dministration figures and other elites maintain social and professional contact with upper-tier journalists, exchanging information off the record and on, at receptions, conferences, and elsewhere. This interface between journalists and elites is a key transmission point for spreading activation of frames, and it is not always easy to determine where the line between “elite” and “journalist” should be drawn, or who influences whom. (Entman 2003, p 420)

Entman (2012 p 419) argues boldly that the politicians and the elite in general are able to manipulate the media through their connections and insider information, and call this structure the “cascading network activation model” (Entman 2003, 2012). What is notable in the model is the potential involvement of the media in a deliberate attempt to shape the public opinion in association with the elite. Here scandal as a weapon, as Thompson (2000) says, can be used to serve political purposes.

In Finnish context, Juntunen and Väliverronen (2009) argue that in the coverage of the Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen’s resignation, the various media outlets appeared to treat the case according to their own profiles, yet apart from one another. Collectively the media formed a dramatic play, where quality papers stated the facts, while yellow and tabloid press were in charge of speculative dramatization.

Tumber and Waisboard (2004, p. 1124-1125) in turn propose that the role of yellow press is to bring forth the scandals for the quality media to feed on, if it deems the matter to be of important enough. With this “symbiosis” of the low and high quality press, the scandals are more prone to trigger even from relatively small issues. Juntunen and Väliverronen (2009 p. 262-267) also note that although the scandals (especially sex scandals) often start from the yellow press and tabloids as gossip, they become prominent and potentially dangerous when the traditional main stream press covers them. Jensen and Fladmoe (2011 p. 60) claim that in a case of political scandal, the first report is often exclusively coming from a particular media who “has the story,” but that the other media follows immediately, if the

political agent is considered significant. These views generally emphasize the primary reactions importance to the development of a scandal.

Because the media is arguably in a decisive role in the formation of scandals, some of the possible motives ought to be covered. Croteau and Hoynes (2005 p.15-17) divide the media motives into two models labeling them, the *public sphere model* and the *market model*. ” *Public sphere model* emphasizes the social function and responsibility of media and the *market model*, the economic aims. However, media’s choice of reportage is often characterized by expressions such as “if it bleeds, it leads,” which essentially emphasize the importance of drama as a factor of the news value and the prerequisite for well selling news. Reiner et al. (2005, p. 13) have argued that the “deviance is quintessential element of the newsworthiness.” The desire for drama and something of interest, in the post modern fashion, is argued to be a reason why media go on a hysterical mode during a scandal. Scholars have called this behavior “attack culture,” “feeding frenzy” (Sabato 1992), or “media circus” (Kurtz 1993).

3.4.2 History of mediated scandals in Finland

Finland is a typical Nordic democracy regarding scandals, which have increased due to the heightened transparency requirement for those in public office (Kantola et al. 2011; Allern and Pollack 2011). Changes in media legislation since the 1980’s, emergence of private broadcasters and political shifts brought by the end of cold war, spiced up with the impacts of the digital era, have affected how journalism is produced. Changing norms in journalistic production and consumption culture have paved the way for more dynamic media where the speed is a dominant feature. (Välvirronen 2009; Hallin and Mancini 2004.)

Prior to this change in broadcasting the emergence of yellow press papers such as “Hymy” in 1958 challenged the cultural norms by providing audiences stories that supposedly catered to the common interest. Gossip, sensationalism, crime and other human interest

stories boosted the market shares for these publications and triggered minor scandals which hinted of changing culture. Attempts to control the progress took shape in form of "Lex Hymy" in 1974, which introduced legislation concerning the public distribution of matters belonging to sphere of individual privacy. (Tiilikka 2007.)

Kantola et. al. (2011) see that the journalistic culture faced a change in the 1980's, when political climate started to shift toward more liberal market economy model. Prior to the 1980's the mechanisms of social agenda-setting were mostly in the hands of politicians due to the reporting culture where politicians and journalist had more personal connections (Kantola et al. 2011 p.42-64). Post-war rebuilding effort is seen as the main reason for tame approach of journalism to political elites, as the nation states built their cultural identities and used the mass communication technologies to create a sensation of togetherness among war ravaged populations (Hallin 1992). Radio and TV functioned as major mass mediums in promoting common national values. Newspapers were still somewhat politically aligned and struggle over the control of national broadcasting was settled by allocating the seats in the board by basing them on party memberships (Hallin and Mancini 2004).

In the period after the WW2 until the 1980's, the political agency in Finland was dominated by strong presidential institution and ideologically aligned parties, whose respective electorate comprised of bourgeois, agrarian and industrial labor bases. Consensus politics dominated the public agenda as the country balanced to maintain its sovereignty under the influence of its eastern neighbor. (Kantola 2011.)

The end of the cold war signified a relaxation in Finland's relations to USSR/Russia, which in turn opened a channel for alternative voices especially in terms of reporting of foreign politics. Relationships between journalist and politicians, who had previously an unspoken agreement about how the story is made, started to break. Whereas before the relationships between journalists and politicians might have been rather "close" bordering on friendship, the changes in the perception of professional imago of journalist eroded this mutual

cooperation. (Uskali 2003 p.59-63, Salminen 2006 p.17.) Thompson (2000) identifies the Watergate scandal as the key watershed in the breakup between journalists and politicians in the US. In Finnish context, a similar event is suggested by some to have been the publishing of *Tamminiemen pesänjakajat* (1981). Published by a group of journalists, it speculated with the health of President Kekkonen as well as who will be his incumbent (Kantola et al. 2011).

The reasons why scandals seem to have multiplied in a contemporary setting are many, but emphasis is often put to the watchdog role of journalists which intensified in the 1980's (Luoma-aho 1991 p. 113; Salminen 2006; Kantola 2011 pp. 115-141). Generations of old well-connected journalists gave room to a younger generation, who had grown in the increasingly liberal environment, and were hungry to establish their careers. Hakala (2011 p.98-105) observes this generational difference to be rooted in the change in social and political conditions that affected the ethos of journalistic work. Older and well-connected generation appears more conservative, whereas younger generations are characterized by an inclination to change (Kantola. 2011 p.115-141). Statistics show that the amount of reported scandals doubled during 1980's. Increase has been gradual until today. In the first decade of 2000, 37 separate scandals were featured in media, whereas in the 1970's only four gained coverage (Kantola and Vesa 2011, p. 43). Reasons for this increase are exemplified in the trend where politics are seen to have become more imago centered and personalized (Borg and Moring 2005, p. 49). Elections in Finland are argued to have become a sort of beauty pageant contests where a politicians' credibility is measured by their attractiveness and personality, rather than political stances (Pernaa et al. 2009 p.10). The term "prime minister elections," condense the idea of imago centered elections as it implies that the figurehead is the only meaningful projected outcome (Pernaa and Pitkänen 2006).

2.5 Economic hardship and the quality issues of media in the digital era

Fundamentally the norms attributed to media are impartiality, objectivity and truth, which postulate that the media has an obligation to provide a variety of viewpoints and present facts (Hall 2000). Media however appears to face increasing criticism over its reportage in the digital era.

Commercial media bases its functional philosophy on for the assumption that the news is a commodity to be sold and made profit from (McManus 1992). Transition to digital era has caused a collapse in the earning logics of media, as paper subscriptions have plummeted and advertisers have moved online, forcing a search of new ways to make profit (Doyle 2013). Also the ongoing media consolidation into big multinational corporations is perceived partially to be a result of toughening competition (Doyle 2002). Finnish media is to a great extent in hands of two main publishing companies SanomaWSOY and Alma Media (Jyrkiäinen 2004).

Many studies conducted on the audience perception have showed that media is losing the approval of the public (Jyrkiäinen 2008). This process is however not new, as media has been seen, since 1990's, to concentrate on trivial matters, and at worst was criticized for being scandal oriented "trash machine," interested only in scoops and gossip, which have no meaning whatsoever for the social progress (Dahlgren 1991 p.11). Research on media professional and audience's attitudes in Finland has shown that media power is perceived as having increased in the past 30 years, but also that the audience sees it as negative development. Journalists themselves are not generally happy about the development, as they perceive the growing performance pressures, the increase of entertainment in the content, and requirement of speed as factors that reduce the quality of journalism, and as such undermine their professional self image. (Jyrkiäinen 2008, p.6.)

Economic pressures have caused the media organizations to employ a set of measures, such as sacking staff, reducing the size of publications, increasing advertising, developing products that would sell better to certain audiences, and most of all finding a balance between these measures. This development has been found to be especially hard for journalists, who often have sought their career in media due to the ideological qualities of media institutions (Korhonen 2006, p 8).

Jyrkiäinen (2008) has observed that reporters' workload has increased significantly during the economic downturn as the time to concentrate on a topic has been cut in the name of efficiency, and newspaper reporters are expected to take on other tasks, such as creating layout and making web news or even audiovisual productions. Pietilä (2007) sees that the marketing has eaten resources from journalism, when newspapers have started to put effort on brand management on the expense of content. Critical journalism is as such speculated to be in danger of succumbing to economic demands (ibid. 2007, p.218).

Many publications have shifted a bulk of operations to the Internet, which as a publishing platform is much more cost effective than traditional print format. However, it is also a highly competitive environment, where speed and actuality are the keys for success. Speed is not only a positive feature, as it is argued to be the reason for degrading quality of the press among professionals (Jyrkiäinen 2008; Vehkoo 2009). As a result, for example Davies (2008) claims, that in Britain, the pr-department of public and private institutions are responsible for up to 80% of the news that is presented to the audiences as journalism. Juntunen (2011, pp. 20-22) finds that some elements of PR-material can be found from 34% of news but that the percentage varies according to the type of the news. According to Juntunen (ibid. p.24) the pr-material has the highest chance to pass unfiltered to the web publications and short stories. Reporters have also expressed that the "media crisis" essentially is about the inability of journalism to produce ethically sound content in current conditions (ibid. 2011).

A great deal of debate surrounds the question of how to maintain the quality of journalism in the toughening economic conditions. Kantola et al. (2011, p 82-85) posits an answer this question, in a scandal context, by looking at the strategy of the sourcing and releasing the news during the election financing scandal in Finland. They claim that the media used a strategy of releasing the findings over an extended period of time, thus keeping the scandal alive. Eventually the observed transgressions appeared to be rather circumstantial, for example which businessman had been to a birthday party of a certain politician, but new angles and small developments kept the issue fresh and in the agenda of media. Similar observation has been noted by Paasonen and Pajala (2011) in the case of Prime Minister Vanhanen's break-up with his girlfriend Susan Ruusunen. Ruusunen had given to media only two interviews about the break-up. Releasing of the details of these interviews was spread to a period of two months, which gave an impression that Ruusunen was constantly pushing herself for publicity (Paasonen and Pajala. 2011, pp. 122-128). Kantola and Vesa (2011) see that, for example in Ruusunen's case, the "quality media" entered to the field of tabloid media due to competition pressures.

Scholars have pointed also out that it is problematic to establish what quality means (e.g. Vehkoo 2009). John Zaller (1998, pp. 2-4) observes the quality in news to be the inclination to provide news about the larger world, and matters of political and social significance. He argues that the market causes to be the most influential single reason for the degrading quality of media, and claims that the traditional media is not inclined to let the citizen journalism flourish due to professional and commercial (mainly commercial) self interests. Instead the "quality" is promoted as some abstract concept attributable to institutions that have an organized and long tradition, namely the established media. (ibid. 1998.)

Sánchez-Tabernero (1998) proposes the following list as the backbone of quality journalism; *exclusivity and uniqueness; adaptation of content to durable human needs; company identity; precision, veracity and internal coherency in media product; pleasing content; originality, imagination and creativity; timeliness and temporal or emotional*

proximity, comprehensibility; attractive presentation; physical base. Picard (2000) criticizes attempts to define quality by concepts like accuracy and truthfulness by arguing that none can possess absolute knowledge. He also rejects the use of abstract concepts such as *imagination and creativity* (Sanchez-Taberner 1998) because these are impossible to measure accurately. Instead he argues that the journalistic quality is derived from the journalistic activity, and that the measurements should be made on how much time is used on development of the content.

A recent study on Finnish audiences revealed that the current expectations on what journalism should offer, is not as much news that is “interesting,” but news that has “depth” (Heikkilä et al. 2012). This expectation indicates that fast journalism, that appears to be a trend now, does indeed have a counter-reaction among audiences.

2.6 The power of media in the digital era

Media is considered the fourth power of society, whereas its power is considered to be of symbolic nature (van Dijk 1995b). Recently, the concentration of media ownership is raising concern among scholars since it is perceived to be a threat to pluralism of media messages (Albarran 2002; Bagdigian 2000; Karppinen 2012). Many scholars argue that the consolidating media industry has even become a threat to the democracy, due to its tendency to support the establishment (Herman and Chomsky 1989; Nichols and McChesney 2013).

[C]oncern with narrow control of the media does not require belief that corporately owned media are totally devoted to their owners’ personal propaganda. Modern media are complex, and the need to capture and keep large audiences inhibits propaganda that is too obviously propaganda. The major media carry much that their owners personally disagree with. But this does not prevent propagandistic use

of emphasizing certain issues and de-emphasizing others, by pursuing some subjects relentlessly and quickly abandoning others (Bagdigian 1997 p.70).

Bagdigian (1997. p.71) continues the argument by saying that even though the reporters are not directly told what to write, they are most often told what to write about, which essentially functions as a subtle guidance. A variety of motivations do apply to individual journalists in a similar manner they do to organizations.

Thompson (2000 p.78) lists four key areas of possible motivators of individual reporters as agents in the creation of a scandal, which are; 1) financial gain, 2) political objectives, 3) professional self-conception and 4) competitive rivalries.

Journalists like any other profession are rewarded for good performance. Salary increase and professional prestige are strong motivators to produce results which in turn can be converted in brand value, sales and online traffic. Pietilä (2007 pp.94-95) argues that economic aims have incorporated themselves to the work of journalists during the past twenty years, whereas previously the economic department was kept strictly separate from the journalistic content. This reflects perceptions that there is a decline of ideology in the role of journalism (Korhonen 2006, p.8).

In Finland, most of the media aims for the status of impartiality. Hallin and Mancini (2004) call this the democratic corporatist model of the press. However, obviously the individual reporters have their personal political preferences whose transition to the media content cannot be avoided. Finnish editors-in-chief view the party affiliation as an issue that belongs to the personal sphere and is not asked to be disclosed, although if known, it does affect what kind of stories these reporters are given as work assignment⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Journalistiliitto:

http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/journalisti/lehti/2009/21/artikkelit/puolueelliset_vahtikoirat/jasenkirjaa_ei_sovi_salata/

Thompson (2000 p.83) views that the third motivation – professional self-conception, is influenced by the profile of the media, and identifies factual and entertainment oriented profiles. Some media organizations place journalistic values, truth – objectivity – impartiality, into high position, whereas for example the yellow press has less inclination for these values. Values are in many countries commonly agreed by bodies of civil society, such as the *press ombudsman* (JSN) in Finland.

Thompson's (2000) fourth factor – competitive rivalry, is a peculiar construction of cooperation and competition between media institutions. Media aims for scoops, but on the other hand tend to cover the same issues as competitors, thus creating the daily set of hot topics, the “daily news.” The volume of the coverage is observed to be a contributing factor to a scandal (Jensen and Fladmoe 2011, p.60). Messner and DiStaso (2008) call the transfer of the news between the media a “source cycle.” McCombs (1972) called it the *inter-media agenda-setting*. Major daily news is always the same ones, although media aims to discover scoops and make their profile stand out from competitors.

In Finland the role of news agencies, such as *STT*, as agenda-setters has been thought to be significant and even highlighted in the case of online reporting (Juntunen 2011, pp.42-43). Juntunen (ibid.) has observed that Finnish media is diligently disclosing the use of news agency material in the coverage, but also that for example domestic *STT* news agency is considered reliable to a point where checking of the information is often neglected.

Herkman (2009 p. 45) claims the media to be collectively producing the coverage and calls this phenomena the *mediajournalism* emphasizing a viewpoint that media circulates news created by the media themselves, while disregarding professional practice of checking the facts. The degree of uniformity in coverage has not only significant meaning if the media's collective power to set an agenda is considered, but the stale, cannibalized content is also seen to reduce the quality (Patterson 1998; Redden and Witshge 2009). Scandals on the

other hand are bloated by uniform coverage throughout the media (Juntunen and Väliverronen 2009, pp. 281-284). Coverage of the same topic, often with the same quotes, creates strong emphasis that forces public attention on the matter. There are signs that the new media is getting involved into this process, as bloggers redistribute and analyze material reported by online news services (Messner and DiStaso 2008). Chadvick (2013) proposes that the real time nature of the online environment combined with the attention of professional and “non-elite” citizen journalists alike have created increasingly “hybridized” news environment, where the traditional media relies heavily on the analysis and perspective arising from various online sources. Chadvick (ibid.) elaborates the interaction with political journalism, and scandals, which develop so rapidly that online participants, even casual commenter’s, might indeed have influence on the journalistic processes.

2.7 Tabloidization as a reason for the increase of scandals

The term “tabloidization” was coined to express the tendency of so called quality media to move into the direction of gossip and tabloid magazines in their style or reportage due to commercial interests (Esser 1999). Scholars agree broadly that the news production is nowadays faster and more economically oriented than before as entertainment content such as game shows, infomercials, and celebrity feature stories have gained more visibility in the media during past 30 years (e.g. Sparks and Tullock 2000; Hallin and Mancini 2004, pp. 280-281; Herkman 2005, pp. 131-132). Also economy related news is perceived to have gained prominence since 1980’s (Luostarinen and Uskali 2006, pp. 182-184). The limits between various media genres appear to blur and mix, while the salability of the material becomes the primary quality (Nieminen and Pantti 2012). Tabloid newspapers typically use attractions such as big provocative headlines and ingresses which aim to attract readers to buy the tabloid paper in a newsstand (Kivioja 2004, p.56).

Tabloidization also effects the digital media environment. Online news is often reached through various portals, which aggregate the material together from various media. These services, such as Ampparit.com in Finland, list up-to-date headlines and provide a fast flow of news, where the headlines change rapidly and compete for the visibility in various kinds of “most popular” lists. The popularity is measured by the amount of clicks the headlines have generated, which has given incentive to design attractive, even provocative headlines, which invite the viewer to visit the news site (Bessonova 2013). This development has birthed a term “*Klikkihitti* [eng. *Clickhit*]” to describe an online new story which attracts large amount of page views. As an example of the apparent establishment of the term, *MTV3* online editor-in-chief for example, launched a blog called “*Klikkihitti*” in October 2013, which concentrates on examination of consumption of online news.⁴⁶ *Clickhit* as a concept appears to include the element of quantifiable measurement to the, previously impossible field of determining the quality of a news item. The reporters are able to see the success and quality (commercial) of a story by looking how much attention it gains in the aggregation sites. This assumption expects the reach of a news article to be a significant quality denominator, since it is assumed that a good news article spreads. The *Clickhit* is an observable manifestation of the economy as the absolute goal in online journalism, since a story about police announcement, which is written in a few minutes, can surpass a large, time consuming current affairs reportage in amount of page traffic. Previously, a matter of high qualitative character – the quality of a news item, has in a certain way become quantitative in the digital era. Criteria have shifted to emphasize elements such as the headlines on the expense of matters of political and social significance. The phenomenon of headline tweaking (Ibid. 2012) resembles print tabloids tactics which aim to sell with attractive front page headlines.

Besides this, Juntunen and Väliverronen (2009) estimate that the networks are not limited by the same quality expectations as the print media, which could explain why certain kind of news are more likely to appear online rather than in the print format. Items are also

⁴⁶ Jyrki Huotari – Blog *Klikkihitti* : <http://blogit.mtv3.fi/klikkihitti/>

updated constantly to a point where the last version of the news has little resemblance to the original version (Pitkänen 2009).

The importance of aggregation services does not limit to headline design. Juntunen (2011) says that the potential lifetime of a “scoop” is measured in minutes. Media are fighting for clicks by trying to be fast and innovative in covering news, especially ones which originate from official sources such as police. Crime and accident related news are the type of items which require “immediate attention” and if the matter is spotted even a few minutes “too late” it is already “gone” (Juntunen 2011). The logic follows the news aggregation services tendency to list similar news under the same title, where the first item gets the head position thus attracting the majority of the revenue generating page traffic. This can be evaded by designing a headline which tricks the aggregation service into thinking that that items are about different matter. The rapid environment of online news appears to have created a news culture where the headlines are more important than the content. Tabloidization has thus very strong dimension in online news.

This development raises a question if online media, especially commercial advertising based media, should come up with different kind of means to measure the audience in order to secure its ideal role in society. Rather than concentrating on the amount of clicks, the time spent in the page, for example, should be considered as a factor when determining the reach or the “exposure” to the advertising.

4. Sourcing in the digital journalism

News is increasingly sourced from online sites. Social media platforms such as Facebook and blogs are now commonly used as sources in professional journalism, but this tendency has received mixed reviews in terms of journalistic ethical standards such as accuracy (Newman 2009). Sourcing is a subject important to journalistic ethics as reporters and their sources interact under a certain confidence (Weaver 1998). The relationship of the source and the journalist is under pressure, since Facebook comments, for example, occasionally end up on front pages without the consent of the person involved.

Also, in online news production, it is observed that the threshold to cite a competing media establishment is significantly lower than in print media (Juntunen 2011 p.54). This tendency to cite has been speculated as one reason for the increase and volume of political scandals (Pitkänen 2008). This chapter looks into the trends in the sourcing, and their relation to media scandals from the perspective of current conditions of sourcing. First the chapter presents the landscape of online sourcing from blogosphere and social media, followed by views on the concept of source cycle.

4.1 Blogosphere and the sourcing of social media in scandals

Social media has started to have a profound impact on how global communication plays out and how information disseminates. It has not only made the distribution of information more horizontal, but has also created a memory cache of political and social conditions (Meyers et al. 2011).

The social media discussion, opinion and commentary will remain, to a varying degree, available for journalists and public to examine. Careless comments can come back, a considerable time later, to haunt politicians, who have for example changed their opinions depending on political climate. Ekstöm and Johanson (2006) argue that the type of talk

scandals which are presented as quotations of spoken word, do not necessarily cause significant damage, since matters can be countered by saying that they were taken out of context. In the case of blogs and Facebook commenting, the situation is less forgiving.

Besides this long term effect of which results are not yet fully visible, there is an ongoing debate about the matters of privacy in many social media forums especially concerning advertising (Newman 2009, p.49). Scandals connected to comments in Facebook and blogs are examples of the shifting line (if there ever was one) of private and public sphere in social media environments. In Nordic context the Facebook for example is considered a source like any other in normal journalistic work, with the exception of Denmark where the line between private and public profile is drawn to 130 Facebook friends.⁴⁷

Blogs are claimed to exemplify the changes in the media and journalism, but due to their recent emergence, their influence has been hard to assess (Heinonen and Domingo 2008). There is evidence that in certain quickly developing events such as the Boxing Day tsunami of 2004, the blogs provided a source of information to journalists who were otherwise unable to obtain reportable material (Allan 2006). Prior to this the September 11 2001 WTC events in New York, illustrated the multiple functions of blogs as forum of debate, advocacy and reporting (Mooney 2003; Old post gazette⁴⁸).

Weblogs have become an integral part of journalism, as Heinonen and Domingo (2009 p.69) put it, the question whether blogs matter is not important anymore, what matters is how important they are. Blogs are increasingly used as material to frame the social debate. Finnish online newspaper *Uusi Suomi* is an example, as it sources material to its stories from the entries of high profile bloggers who public texts in papers blog service. Fulton (1996) theorized that the new technologies might be able to break the vertical and hierarchical structures of media institutions in terms of access. She painted a view where

⁴⁷ JSN-Blogs Uimonen 19.6.2012 <http://www.jsn.fi/blog/facebook-journalistien-lahteena/?search=19.6>

⁴⁸ <http://www.chrismooney.com> / <http://old.post-gazette.com/forum/comm/20030202edmoon02p1.asp>

the “megaphone” effect associated to journalism as top-down profession is starting to erode (Ibid. pp. 19-26). Although this has not so far happened along the most radical expectations, the news media has made the leap into the internet, and third sector institutions for example, use the networks successfully to have access to their audiences.

However, the Internet has not brought all the theorized changes. The majority of emerged online media such as online papers, bulletin boards etc. concede to distribute the information of the mainstream news producers, instead of producing the content themselves (Domingo 2006, Heinonen & Kinnunen 2005). Also, as the main stream media is itself part of the power structures, it tends to rely on sources which come from approved parts of the structures, the elite (Gillmor 2004, p.79). Bennet’s (1990) indexing hypothesis postulates that journalists intrinsically narrow the critical discussion, taking place in society, by limiting the conflicting views within the elites. News media is inclined to support the existing structures, and there is evidence that the news cycles are dominantly generated in mainstream media, and only then transferred to the new media (Roberts et al. 2002). This supports the view that the agenda setters have not changed.

During the past ten years the number blogs has risen to millions, due to the development of easy to use publishing platforms and general mainstream visibility of blogging as a hobby. However, the rising numbers of blogs has not made them more prominent, due to the fact that many are infrequently updated and are loaded with personal bias, thus failing to generate constant traffic and maintain their ”brand” (Matheson 2004). As such, blogs appear to fail the objectivity and impartiality which are the traditional attributes of professional journalism.

Regardless, the networks within the internet are theorized to be the ”fifth estate” (Dutton 2009), which monitors the lower “estates” through, for example, so called ”watch blogs.” These are maintained by persons who are keen to follow the media reportage and the work of reporters, in terms of quality and journalistic values (Cooper 2006). However, bloggers

are neither limited by professional, ethical norms attributed to journalists, nor as such are limited from publishing ethically questionable material. For instance a member of Finland's parliament Teuvo Hakkarainen, distributed a link, in his facebook profile, to a court decision over a rape case where the defendants were juvenile.⁴⁹

Blood (2003, p.63) emphasizes the transparency of blogs to be their main contribution to the public discussion. This view treats the blogs as passive sources, where all who are exposed have to make a personal assessment of the validity of the claims presented. Scatchman (2002) noted that journalists see blogs as a first line alert system in determining newsworthiness of a particular issue. This view still maintains the separation of bloggers and journalists. On the other hand in the US, a blogger has been granted a White House press pass, which indicates that blogs are still looking for a place in the media landscape (Heinonen and Domingo 2009).

Media economy has significant meaning when assessing the role of blogs. Besides being early warning systems, the blogs can be direct sources for news material, as the *Uusi Suomi* example mentioned above point out. Heinonen & Domingo (2009) maintain that media has been eager to exploit the blog phenomenon, but not to broaden the gatekeeper concept, which has been seen as the "right" of journalistic practice (Heinonen and Domingo 2009). Contrary to this Regan (2003 p.69) and Matheson (2004, p. 452) perceives, that development has reached a point where the media has at least partially lost its role as the gate-keeper, due to popularity of blogs. The strength of blogs is in their ability to involve readers through commenting, thus creating, at least theoretically, more "democratic" dialogue (Matheson 2004, p. 452).

Messner and DiStaso (2008) have studied the impact of weblogs on political discussions in traditional media. They propose that a strong source cycle phenomena exists between

⁴⁹ Keskisuomalainen 20.4.2012 Teuvo Hakkarainen levittää rikoksesta tuomittujen nimiä verkossa - "En suojele raiskaajia"

blogosphere and traditional media, in fashion where the journalists monitor blogs to find topics and details of potential news value, while bloggers read news to comment and analyze public discussion.

[H]owever, the weblogs can only reach a limited public, as the majority of the public do not read weblogs. Nevertheless, the traditional media are increasingly paying attention to the blogosphere and use it as a source, reference and topic... thereby, the issues that was initiated by the traditional media and absorbed by the bloggers can be transferred back to the traditional media, which then can be monitored and used by the bloggers (Messner and DiStaso 2008, p. 459).

Social media has as such impact to the public sphere, but the exposure is still very limited. Hindman (2010) has argued that the anticipation for internet to democratize media, for example through web blogs, is to largely extent false hope, since the majority of online traffic is located on sites that are owned and managed by the established media conglomerates. The content as such does not reach the audiences.

4.2 Media power and agenda-setting trough framing

When discussing and conceptualizing media power there is always the need to clarify whether the issue is being approached from the perspective of institutional power or individual power that is present in the process of journalist at work. Media is perceived to have certain power over the thoughts of the readers, but this power is often seen as symbolic and persuasive, as the media cannot naturally force the audience to follow particular instructions (van Dijk 1995).

Media power is as such coercive and it relies on the subtle mechanisms of manipulation of public opinion trough repetition and shaping attitudes. This is called the “agenda-setting” (McCombs 2004; McCombs and Shaw 1972; McCombs and Estrada 1997). Although the media cannot be said to directly feed opinions to the audiences, the studies have pointed out

that media coverage has significance over what issues the audience has any type of opinion at all (Mc Combs and Shaw 1972, p.176-187). Iyengar (1991 p.133) calls this *priming*. In his more recent studies, McCombs (2004) argues that there is evidence that media also takes issues which are causing a concern among public to its agenda, and calls this “reverse agenda-setting.” This hints that the active bloggers and other online communities can affect the media content.

McCombs and Estrada (1997 p.240) propose the agenda-setting to have two dimensions. First being the “transmission of object salience” in other words the importance of certain matter in the public agenda, such as the economy or crime for example. Second dimension “the attribute salience” has more elaborate function as it operates through frames placed on a particular matter or person for example.

Cappella and Jamieson (1997 p.45-46) argue that the frames have agenda-setting qualities by prompting certain topic forward and pushing others back, but also assert that by doing so the ethical norms pinned to journalism are subjected to testing. They state the following: “How the frames invite sense making through ”definition,” ”diagnosis,” judgment and remedy while adhering to the journalistic norms of appearance of objectivity is less clear” (ibid. p. 45-46).

Many scholars decline the absolute connection of framing and framing effects, as the tests have showed, that the framing theory can be verified in controlled environments (Gamson 1992, Entman 2000, Cappella and Jamieson 1997). Patterns of interpretation are in real life situations much more complex and as such harder to distinguish. Cappella and Jamieson (ibid.) sum the case as follows:

[T]he effects of framing, if any, will be subtle ones. They require direct access to the messages processed by news consumers, not long inferential leaps from assumptions about what is being read and watched. (Cappella and Jamieson 1997 p. 57)

4.3 Summary of the literature review

Literature review has covered the scholarly views on scandals, which is a phenomenon that can cause serious damage to a politician. Scandal is a process that is constructed in the media. Its building blocks are always the same, but resolutions change. Firstly; it requires an observed breach of norms, secondly; it needs a vocal condemnation, and thirdly; a response by the accused. (Thompson 2000; Kantola 2011; Allern and Pollack 2011; Apostolidis and Williams 2004.) When these elements are together, the media can proceed to build a story from various circumstantial pieces of information, related to who, what, when, where, why and how – the typical set of questions in journalistic practice. At this point, the framing of the matter enters the picture carrying the attributes that are intrinsic to it – the power and journalistic practice (e.g. McCombs 2004). Review of these issues aims to support the analysis regarding my main research question: what kind of framing devices appeared in the online media coverage of the armband scandal?

Another dimension I have incorporated into the literature review is the current status of media economy and its relation to journalistic practice. This connects to the digital age that has transformed media to a whole new landscape still looking for its shape. To focus the study, literature presents the scholarly findings regarding the use of blogs and other online sites as journalistic sources. Coverage of these matters supports the attempt to find answers to the research sub questions which were aimed on evaluation of tendencies in sourcing and character presentation.

Overall the literature gives grounding to perform a case study on this particular scandal that has, suffices to say, spawned from conditions that are deterrent to the fact that we are living in the digital era.

5. Methodology

This chapter outlines the research strategy. It establishes the rationale for the research and describes the methods of data collection and analysis. Ethical considerations and matters of validity are covered.

The aim is to investigate how the *armband scandal* was framed and sourced in the domestic online media, by analyzing related online news material with a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative research. The study also builds a holistic picture of what took place during the scandal in a fashion of case centered retrospective study (de Vaus 2001, p.223). “A retrospective design involves collecting, on the one occasion, information relating to an extended period. This requires a reconstruction of the history of the case” (ibid, p. 227). Acknowledging this, the study provides a thick description (see chapter 2) about the events which triggered, fuelled and ended the scandal.

5.1 Mixed research methods in a case study

Study uses the method of content analysis which is conducted by employing a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research. Central focus is on identifying the frames used to put the case in context and the frames subjected upon the agents who were involved in the case. I also look where the various media turned for sources to obtain the so called “framing devices,” as well as how broadly digital publishing platforms such as blogs and social media were sourced.

[N]ews is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. The primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources, and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific newsbeat. (Erickson et al. 1989 p. 337)

Quantitative analysis is used to examine the tendency of sourcing in various media, namely where the respective media obtained the information from. In addition it is used to examine what types of agents gained voice in the case context. Qualitative analysis investigates the data to obtain a picture of the framing devices used to contextualize the scandal, and convey scandals meaning and implications to the public. As the study object at hand consists of a single scandal, the research can follow the lines of a case study.

[A] case is the ‘object’ of the study. It is the unit of analysis about which we collect information. In case study designs it is the unit that we seek to understand as a whole. The unit of analysis may be a person whom we try to build up an understanding that is informed by the context in which the whole case exists. (de Vaus, 2001 p. 220.)

Unit of analysis or the ‘object’ in this case is not a person, but a scandal. Having said this we rely on the perception of Yin (1994 p.13) that a case study deals with technically distinctive situation (armband scandal) with multiple data points derived from several sources of evidence (media content).

5.2 Description of data

Data consists of 96 online articles collected from online publications of major Finnish news media. Selected publications are the three largest regional newspapers, *Turun Sanomat*, *Aamulehti* and *Helsingin Sanomat*. In addition to these, the study includes articles from the tabloids *Iltalehti* and *Iltasanomat* and from public broadcaster *YLE* and private broadcaster *MTV3*. Articles of the online newspaper *Uusi Suomi* are also included. Print articles and audiovisual material such as news broadcasts, magazine programs and radio interviews were excluded from the study material, due to their relatively small amount. Also, the online news is faster and more dynamic which highlight the rapid development processes that are strongly present in digital age scandals. Focus is on major newsmedia due to the fact that smaller papers did not put comparable emphasis to cover particular case.

Table 1: *Distribution of articles among selected media*

Media	Nr. of articles
YLE	9
Helsingin Sanomat	11
Iltasanomat	13
Iltalehti	14
Aamulehti	13
Turun Sanomat	18
Uusi Suomi	5
MTV3	13
Total:	96 articles

All the case material is published in the time period April 11 – November 26, 2012. The collection of the data has taken place in the time period April 15, 2012 – April 1, 2013. This rather long collection time span is chosen because the last events related to the scandal were reported in November 26, 2012. Data is searched from respective news media web pages by using search terms “*Hihamerkki* (armband) and *Helena Eronen*.” Data items are saved and printed to A4 sheets for analysis.

5.3 Mixed method data-analysis

There are numerous variances how content analyses are conducted in media studies. Many methods include extensive calculation of the parameters that occur in the news items, such as the length and location of the item. Most include the number of sources, the status of the source and circumstantial attributes such as the physical location. I have chosen to exclude the measurement of location, since the data consists of online news content which is primarily read from full screens and sought by intention. Although layout and length are not meaningless in online news, I see them as less significant than if the analysis would be conducted on printed news.

Instead the focus is on the sources, agents and the frames. The quantitative analysis is subjected on sources and agents, whereas the qualitative analysis deals with frames. The data-analysis is conducted by applying a coding protocol for all the 96 data items. Data analysis is divided in three separate phases: 1) Preliminary examination of the data, 2) analysis of the data by allocation findings to the coding sheet, 3) analysis of coded data.

Parts of the results are presented in charts, namely the results which are obtained from the quantitative analysis. Framing analysis is found among the scientific community to be lacking any formal procedures in composition (deVreese 2005, p. 51). No uniform guideline on proper research on frames is available, but scholars who have investigated them, have developed their own protocols. These protocols are often mixtures of quantitative and qualitative methods. Entman (1993) for example measured the frequency of certain "keywords," which he perceived as hints of prevailing frame.

This study employed a coding sheet (see appendix) which is a revised version of variables from a list suggested by Severin and Tankard (2001, p.101), for content analytical examination of frames in news material. Tankard's suggestion includes the following: 1) headlines, 2) subheads, 3) photos 4) photo captions, 5) leads, 6) source selection, 7) quotes selection, 8) pull quotes, 9) logos, 10) statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs. The list is modified by excluding the analysis of visuals and charts because their small amount in the dataset. The revision leaves seven points which are used to analyze each of the 96 data articles. They are:

1. Media, Date, Headline, Sub-headline and number of sources.

These primary elements clarify the positions of different media organizations in this matter. It depicts the journalistic approach they take while covering the scandal. Differences and similarities can be drawn in the light of the findings on how frequently for example private and public media report the issue. Date indicates the progress of the scandal, and it can give

insight about when the scandal was "hottest" and what kind of life cycle it had. Also, how particular frames prevailed can be observed by looking at the dates. Headlines, sub-headlines and leads are not only important in setting the main theme of the article, but they have been noted to affect significantly on the attractiveness of the article in online news consumption (Zillman et al. 2004).

2. Details of the armband blog text in the article.

Second feature of the coding schedule identifies how the media refers to the original armband blog entry. The role of the armband text in the news item essentially has significant meaning regarding the frame. For example if the text is referred to (source) and taken at face value, it is thus acknowledged as a serious piece of political proposition. This requires in depth observation in a qualitatively fashion, where lexical choices and references has to be observed as whole.

3. Who speaks in the story?

Status of the person who speaks is argued to matter in regards to the weight and context given to the issue in social and political discourse (Entman 2012).

4. Origin of the source

Origin of the source or quote presents the tendencies of sourcing the particular publication has in regards to the case. The major interest within this study is the tendency of reporters to use online sources.

5. Journalistic themes

This section of the coding schedule maps the priorities of the content in the news item. Generally said, it points the order of importance that the topics in the article are given. Logic will follow the general trend of news article writing, where the most important and the "new" information is always placed in the beginning of the article, and additional and less important data is left to the end of the article. This part requires interpretation of

qualitative nature, and it challenges the researcher's skill to make critical analysis of the written content. Relevant issues are identified and condensed into single sentences, which depict the arising framing device present in the article. I have chosen to list three major themes / frames in each article, but other data is also considered as part of the analysis of frames regarding the agents and overall case related frames.

6. Framing components in the direct quotes

Last element of the coding schedule is divided into five separate phases: 1) nature of the quote (thematic/episodic), 2) topic, 3) emphasis (aggressive/defensive/impartial), 4) central value/notion/fact attributable to the quote, 5) keyword.

Division to thematic and episodic framing is derived from the theory of Iyengar (1991) regarding the frames. They are thematic if they do not refer to the event at hand, but to more abstract or overarching themes regarding the matter for example, whereas the episodic frame touches the issue at hand. Topic is a central concept being presented in the quote. Emphasis considers the attitude and opinion of the source regarding the matter, and it is divided into *aggressive*, *defensive* and *impartial* options. Central value of the quote is a philosophical or political concept presented in the quote, and it is reached through qualitative assessment. Keywords are prominent and descriptive term which appears in the quoted sentence. Keyword as such is an actual word uttered by the quoted person, whereas the central value is more abstract concept and an interpretation of the researcher.

5.3.1 Quantitative analysis

First three elements of the used analysis coding sheet comprise the quantitative part of the analysis. After the coding, the raw data will be allocated to charts. Quantitative analysis of coded variables is conducted and subsequent notions regarding it are drawn upon ideas covered in the literature review.

First quantifiable measure of the analysis indicates the role of the original armband blog text in the new articles (Coding sheet question 2). Special interest is to examine how extensively the blog text is referred to and what kinds of points are highlighted about it in the news coverage. Three variables are provided: 1) Text is the main theme (descriptive/analytical), 2) Text is a sub theme (some detail of the text is covered), 3) Text is referred only (author or issue mentioned).

Second quantifiable measure reveals the relative amount of different type of “agents” who gained voice in the selected news coverage. (Coding sheet question 3) These agents are divided into four categories 1) expert; 2) political; 3) author and 4) citizen.

Third quantifiable measure examines the source the reported matter relies on. Variables in the coding schedule are 1) interview; 2) broadcast source; 3) press release; 4) online entry and 5) unknown.

5.3.2 Qualitative framing analysis

Qualitative part of the data-analysis is present in the last two elements in the coding sheet, which are: 6) journalistic themes in the news article and 7) framing components of the direct quote. Central aim of these two phases is to examine the framing devices present in the articles. Therefore it is relevant to explain what framing means.

Framing is considered closely linked to concepts of media power and agenda-setting (Iyengar 1993). It was first theorized by Bateson (1972) to explain the social construction of meaning taking place in human interaction.

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman 1993, p. 53).

Identifying a frame from the mass media coverage is highly qualitative process which places emphasis on the researcher's skill to make in dept interpretations from the data. To achieve proper, accurate frames, I will conduct an extensive investigation and familiarization of the data.

As Denzin et al. advice; (as cited in Peräkylä 2008)

[I]n many cases, qualitative researchers who use written text as their material do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis. By reading and rereading their empirical materials, they try to pin down their key themes and thereby, to draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen. (Peräkylä 2008 p. 352.)

Researcher is a subject to the impact of framing in the same way as a reader of an news article is, which raises the importance of identifying, for example following qualities of the frames.

Goffman (1974, p.24; 1986, p. 21) proposed that humans are inclined to observe matter trough "*primary frames*" which function as the starting point of any interpretation of messages subjected upon them. Similar conception of "*thematic super frames*" was proposed by Minsky (1975) in the field of computer science. Thematic super frames are a type of add on structures, where data units (details on knowledge) adds on information on the super frame that exists on top of the cognitive reality (ibid, pp. 212-223). These views emphasize the importance of primary exposure to an issue. Matters are perceived by reflecting the information on previously obtained idea or conception each individual has. The relevance of primary frames in forming an idea should not be neglected especially in the digital age, when the information flow is much more fast that before. The data accumulates quickly and information one received in the morning can be old and revoked by the afternoon. This makes the process of the reporting more difficult to follow, but will be observed constantly during the analysis.

Frames are also claimed to be strongly affected by cultural traits (Entman 2000). In Finnish context, a red house and a potato field would signify a sense of home, which in a news context would arouse cognitive patterns associated with home for example. Studies on race related framing see that ethnic majorities impact greatly to the formation of frames, which are: "the set of schemas most widely stored in the public's minds and the core thematic frames that pervade media messages" (ibid. p. 49).

Gitlin (1980 p. 7) observes frames to be largely unknown, yet constantly used by audiences and journalists alike, to explain their experiences. He sees frames as "persistent patterns of cognition," a type formulas subjected to choices of adding, deducing and presenting meaning. Frames as such are repetitive, that is, they appear to introduce alike interpretations, or they in fact "persistently" present the same message. Connection can be drawn to the effects of advertizing, which relies on continuous repetition in order to establish for example a brand value. The add-on and persistency are factors that will be keenly monitored when estimating the overall meaning of the scandal.

What comes to the journalistic practice, Gamson and Modigliani (1994 p.376) propose that studying framing can map prevailing tendencies the media has in its practice. Framing has become widely used tool to study the relationship of news content and public opinion in contemporary media research (de Vreese 2005). Framing effects on public opinion are divided into two concepts; the object salience which emphasize the importance of a particular matter, and the attribute salience which clarify certain aspects of the matter (McCombs and Estrada 1997 p 240). Studies that examine framing in news are said to be lacking any formal protocol or operationalization (de Vreese 2005). Capella and Jamieson (1997 p.39) reject most of the framing concept in media as too broad. They view that if a frame is defined by anything that has only to do with "how the story is written," it is too broad. Any textual or visual element could be claimed to constitute a frame. This includes the word choices and rhetorical tools employed and composition of the text and headlines. Another matter they reject is the view that different framing would result into different

outcomes. Much along the lines of Minsky (1975), they see the frames to be connected to prior knowledge, where a preconceived idea forms a structure upon which the text or message is reflected upon: "Framing then serves as an explicit context within which texts are interpreted (and through these interpretations judgments rendered)" (Cappella and Jamieson 1997 p.42). These views postulate that infrequent and less visible views tend to succumb to the consistent and dominant frames, which will be sought from the data in order to obtain solid evidence of the dominant frames.

5.3.3 Types of frames and reframing

Media studies have identified a set of regularly appearing news frames such as strategy-, game-, conflict-, personality-, specific event- and cultural frames (Bennett 1988; Graber 1993; Price and Tewksbury 1982; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Gamson et al. (1992, p.384). argue that not only those who formulate messages employ the framing, but it also the whole readership or anyone who is exposed to any message. According to them the audiences construct personal frames and tend to "reframe" messages before distributing them onwards. The reframing is strongly present in social media environment, where matters are gawked at, criticized and redistributed with personal remarks.

To identify frames from news, two approaches have been proposed: inductive and deductive method. Inductive method refrains from setting preliminary definitions for the frames, but rather creating them during the analysis. Deductive approach sets primary factors which are then being looked from the coverage in order to identify the frame. (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 47; 87-89.)

I have selected to use the inductive method. I will pay special attention on two things while analyzing the articles: Firstly the general frames, the article appears to carry in respect to the reported events, are separated into three themes or framing devices. These can constitute for example *conflict-* or *specific event frames*. Secondly, the source commentary

– either paraphrased or directly quoted is examined in order to establish character related, *personality frames*. I will examine the direct quote as the "true" expression of the source, as it is the only absolute "fact" the article can base its quality and ethical standards on. van Dijk (1991) summarizes the problematic of a quote as presentation of the fact as follows:

[S]ince most statements by sources or news actors are too long or too complex, they are also transformed by selection and summarization, that is, by processes that have an ideological basis. The actual formulation of interpretation and evaluation statements by sources or news actors is itself a complex discursive process. Fragments of statements may sometimes be quoted verbatim, and marked as such by quotation marks and a set of declarative predicates or other discourse presentation signals, such as "He said," "She declared," or "According to." These forms of direct discourse do not always imply, however, that this is what the source or news actor actually said or wrote, especially in contexts of oral communication. (van Dijk, 1991 p.152).

Although there is a valid point that the formulation is "complex discursive process," I will evaluate the content embedded into the direct quotations, and treat them as central facts considering the frames that are pinned on persons and matters in this particular scandal. My perception is that within the context of ethical guidelines of journalism, the direct quote is the backbone of the validity of any news item, and as such essential quality denominator of it. I take this approach, because similar methods are widely used by established scholars who have studied framing and representations of issues like gender, race, racism, social class and scandals among others (e.g. Ross 2007; Van Dijk 1991; Hall 1978; Schneider 2012; Erickson et al. 1991).

To sum up the analysis on articles regarding the last two parts of the coding sheet, part five, *the journalistic themes*, and six, *the framing components of a direct quote*: I will take into account the following issues: the headline, order and prominence of the issues presented, and general matters that attempt to bring salience to the event at hand. Also, attention is placed on how lengthy the coverage on particular aspect is. Articles are analyzed through

cultural lenses by looking at descriptive terminology and linguistic characteristics. By these means and inductive reasoning, I will identify three central journalistic themes from each article and mark them as framing devices. These three themes are condensed into single informative sentences, written into the coding sheet and condensed into a table.

The *framing components of a direct quote* aims to examine the character related frames of the persons involved in the scandal. This is to reflect the construction of personal imagoes and how these affect the overall development and the media narratives of the case. Focus is on the main characters (agents) of the scandal, but some attention is also given to the minor agents who got involved in the scandal through their commenting.

After completing the coding to the data, I will conduct an analysis on the dataset, and make tables to exemplify central findings. The analysis aims ultimately to answer my research questions; what kind of framing devices appeared in the online media coverage of the armband scandal? How the armband blog text was referred to throughout the scandal? How the characters of the scandal were framed and how frequent was the use of online sources throughout the scandal?

5.4 Considering validity and reliability

Personal interest of mine towards scandals is the biggest factor that may have influenced the outcome of this study. I acknowledge the notion of Gadamer (1989) and the hermeneutical perspective, that the universal fact is that subjectivity is persistent force in research of any kind. To exemplify the aim of unbiased action, I have taken following measures to increase the validity of this research process.

To conduct a valid study, I chose to follow to the fullest possible extent, the guidelines of achieving construct validity, internal validity, and external validity (Kidder and Judd 1989 p. 26-29, Yin 1989; 1994). Construct validity deals with setting accurate measures for the

concepts under scrutiny. Central concepts of this study are *sources*, *agents* and *frames*. Sources and agents are accurate and fixed in character, whereas the frames are not. Frames are more problematic since their measure is dependent on subjectivity of the researcher's perception in qualitative fashion. To counter inaccuracy, the applied concept of frame is thoroughly explained in the methodology. Internal validity is achieved by adhering to rigorous assessment of phases of data analysis. External validity expects the results of the study to be generalized to a certain extent (Aronsson et al. 2007). As the study deals with a single case, it is difficult to draw generalizations. However, as the focus is on the phenomena of scandal, certain verifications of already existing theoretical propositions regarding them can be observed.

The research is conducted on online news articles of major Finnish media. Small local papers, foreign papers as well as the audiovisual material of TV and radio broadcasts are excluded. The amount of the excluded audiovisual material is relatively small. Some of the audiovisual materials were also used as sources in the online coverage of various media, which incorporates them to the data set to a limited extent. Regardless, the exclusion can be seen as reductive in terms of the data's exhaustiveness. I have reserved a paragraph, which explains the international dimensions of the armband scandal, into the description of the scandal in chapter two. Although the foreign coverage is not part of the data set, I consider it to be of importance from the point of view of wholeness in a holistic study.

It is commonly observed that the qualitative studies require rigor in the research process to establish its reliability. Therefore the appendix contains a full listing of URL addresses of the data, as well as the coding sheet for peers to review. This study is repeatable due to the availability of the data in online publications of the studied media.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The availability of the data was checked in Jan 1. 2014.

5.6 Summary of the methodology

This mixed method study is descriptive, holistic, single case study, consisting of retrospective content analysis of online media coverage. The study observes the case of armband scandal which took place in Finland in April 2012. Data consists of 96 online news articles.

For analysis, the study uses a coding sheet, which has quantitative and qualitative elements. The coding sheet contains quantitative measuring of how broadly the original armband blog text was used as a source in the news coverage. Quantitative measuring is subjected also on sourcing techniques and on finding out which agents gain voice in the media coverage of the scandal. Qualitative technique is used to identify what kinds of frames are present in the coverage.

6. Results of the mixed method data-analysis of the armband news coverage

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis. Discussion is included within the analysis whenever a theoretical theme or observation arises from the data.

Coverage of the armband scandal by the Finnish media was quite extensive considering the relative short period of time the scandal was prominent during April 11-17, 2012 (The first week of the scandal). It constituted about half of the overall of the total amount of news items. The table 2 below displays the division of articles per medium from the study period April 11 – November 26, 2012.

6.1. Extensiveness of the use of armband blog texts in the reportage

The first quantifiable element presented is the prominence of the armband blog entry within the media coverage.

The estimation was made by looking at how the original entry is referred to in the article. Three variables were used which were determined by how long, analytical and detailed the description of the blogs content were. Category one (1) applies to the detailed description of the blog entry including several examples and interpretations of the content. To fulfill the requirements for this category the text should contain many details. Second (2) category requirements were fulfilled when an article contains some details of the blog entry, but was lacking in more in depth interpretations. The third (3) category was reserved for items that referred to the blog text by only noting that the author caused a scandal when suggesting armbands to foreigners.

Table 2: Amount of the details of the blog text in articles in April 11 -26th November 2012.

Level of detail	YLE*	HS	IS	IL	AL	TS*	US	Mtv*	Total
Detailed	-	-	1	1	2	3	-	-	7
Mediocre	3	4	1	1	1	5	2	2	19
Reference only	5	6	11	12	10	9	3	10	76

*Some articles did not contain any reference to the armband blog entry.

Turun Sanomat is most keen in covering the blog in detail, as it tops the chart with three articles that delve “deep” into the content of Eronen’s blog entry. Detailed descriptions were reported during the first day also by *Iltalehti*, *Aamulehti* and *Iltasanomat*. After the first day only *Turun Sanomat* continued to report multiple aspects of the blog entry. The overwhelming majority of media coverage appears to refer to the armband blog texts contents by simply indicating the reason for the scandal in a following manner: “*Eronen / PS parliamentary aide proposed armbands for minorities*” or “*Eronen caused a stir by proposing armbands.*”⁵¹

As the *Turun Sanomat* was involved in the scandal, the effort to cover it broadly could be explained by the reason that they wanted to get into the bottom of the issue by covering all sides of the story. This interpretation adheres to the virtues of journalism. Also, compared to other media, *Turun Sanomat* mainly published articles that were produced by its own reporters. Another perspective on their keen interest to cover the story in depth is that *Turun Sanomat* wanted to keep the focus of the whole media on the matter, which ultimately benefitted its own aims in terms of economy and prestige.

The lack of a more detailed description of the blog entry could be explained by the fact the original entry was not available for reference anymore, as it was removed by the moderator of the service. The blog, however, was still available, with a little search effort from other online sites; something which all the reporters most certainly knew and very likely also

⁵¹ Iltasanomat (2012) Hihamerkki-blogistille halutaan antaa potkut. 12.4.2012; Aamulehti (2012) James Hirvisaari erotettiin perussuomalaisten eduskuntaryhmästä. 17.4.2012

investigated. Other news media relied on *Turun Sanomat's* article, thus refraining from making an interpretation of the blog entry themselves. This path provided a way to evade responsibility over the accuracy, but still opened a channel to generate traffic and revenues. The lack of details in articles of other media implicates that there was no interest among the press to explain the matter, and the thoughts of the author, in more detailed fashion. *Turun Sanomat* set the primary tone for the coverage. The media aims to present news, which intrinsically are issues that are “new,” but the massively uniform coverage and aggregation of the same perception implies that the matter was considered to be of a nature that did not require more resources for its coverage.

From the perspective of ethical journalistic practice, however, and because the audience is not able to obtain the original entry itself, it would have been reasonable to open up the matter to the widest possible extent (make further inquiries over what is the true intention of the writer of the blog), not only by *Turun Sanomat* but other media as well. Then again, if the media would have contacted the writer for comments before publishing any articles, there would have not possibly been any news to report. Ethical codex expects the media to check the integrity of the information and to check facts. In this case, the whole media spectrum relied solely on the interpretation of *Turun Sanomat*. In November 2012, the ombudsman criticized *Turun Sanomat* for not making updates to the first article, when it had received new data from the author concerning her “humorous intent.”

The primary observation that arises is the obvious inflation of the ethical codex the media claims to follow. Facts are not checked or if they are, no alternative interpretation is brought up by any competing media. Uniformity of coverage does not support the idea of competitive rivalry (Thompson 2000) between media institutions. Competitive rivalry could establish itself through a contest of varying perspectives on the same issue, but here the case is not so. Therefore it could be assumed that competitive rivalry more likely touches only separate issues and first releases of any type of news. This could indicate that the news organizations aim to be first and refrain from releasing critical or conflicting

interpretations about the content of each other. Another possible explanation for a low interest in more open coverage could be argued to be economic. It is considered that polemic and scandal sells better as the contemporary news is considered to favor drama and conflict (e.g. Nieminen and Pantti 2012).

6.2 Investigation of agents who gained voice in the news articles

The second quantitative content analytical feature was compiled by identifying the agent who speaks in the story. Identification was subjected mainly on direct quotes, which in the articles are identified by quotation marks (“---” or -). In some articles there were no direct quotes, in which case the determination of the agent was conducted by looking at the overall voice in the article. Some articles also contained two or more voices which are all counted accordingly, and some articles did not contain a “voice” other than that of the journalist. Agents were (1) experts (e.g. scholars or civil servants), (2) politicians, (3) citizens and (4) the author Helena Eronen.

Table 3: Status of the agents gaining voice in the media coverage

	YLE	HS	IS	IL	AL	TS	US	MTV	Total
Experts	3	6	2	4	3	7	1	2	27
Politicians	5	4	6	8	3	5	2	5	37
Citizens	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Eronen	1	2	5	2	7	7	3	5	32

The division of various voices who gained media access follows the general theoretical observations proposed by scholars (e.g. Chomsky 1997; Bennett 1990). Those in high positions gain more voice than those lower in the social and political hierarchy. Citizens, for example, gained little of voice. Politicians from *The Finns Party* are on top followed by Eronen and experts such as scholars.

This division is typical considering the topic of the scandal; a type of oral or textual transgression involving persons in the sphere of political power: the parliament. The media often asks citizens what they think about these kinds of events that deal with the moral transgression of political figures. In this case no such views are presented in any news media. More interesting aspects arise when this data is combined to the third measured issue: the origin of the source.

6.3 Types of sources used the news articles

The third issue measured is the origin of the used sources in the case context. All quotes were treated as true sources. Variables here are the sources from (1) press releases, (2) through direct interviews in person, (3) from a radio- or TV-broadcast or (4) from online sources such as e-mails, blogs or Facebook for example. Also, there is an (5) unknown variable, which essentially was used if the article does not indicate where the information comes from.

Table 4: Origin of the quote in the media coverage.

	YLE	HS	IS	IL	AL	TS	US	MTV	Total
Press release	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	6
Interview	4	5	6	5	3	11	1	6	41
Broadcast	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	5	11
Online	1	1	5	5	7	6	4	1	30
Unknown	1	1	3	1	1	2	0	1	10

The interview and broadcast programs in the articles constitute the body of the sources as they cover over half (52) of all the quotes. The amount of online sources in the reported coverage is also high (30).

Closer analysis and comparison of the quantitative results reveal that the majority of interviews were subjected on political agents and professionals, such as Ruohonen-Lerner, Hirvisaari, civil servants and scholars. 16 out of 41 interview sources were political figures. Eronen was quoted throughout interviews eight times, primarily in the beginning of the scandal. Press releases mostly came from police and parliamentary offices. Detailed examination of the variance among the online sources reveals that James Hirvisaari and Helena Eronen constitute the majority of the online sources. Helena Eronen is quoted from online sources, such as her Facebook profile or blog, for 19 times. James Hirvisaari is quoted online seven times. This exemplifies that there is a discrepancy in how different agents in this scandal reached the public sphere. An elite agent such as Ruohonen-Lerner, who is a high profile politician, gained press coverage for her interview comments, when Eronen, a parliamentary aide, got access through her blog. The definition of elite is a difficult task, but it suffices to say that Eronen is not the same kind of elite political agent as Ruohonen-Lerner, which is visible in the types of sourcing. Many of Eronens comments were dramatic outburst which she had written in her blog, such as demands for financial compensation when her blog is sourced by *Turun Sanomat* or *Karjalainen*.⁵²

The Finnish information agency (STT) was very actively reporting on the scandal. The impact on overall content is overwhelmingly clear, as the articles in many of its client media were identical. Apart from *YLE* and *Uusi Suomi*, who are not clients of *STT*, all the other media organizations used, to a varying degree, the content produced by *STT* (see table 5 below). *Iltalehti* and *Aamulehti* top the usage by relying almost exclusively on material provided by *STT*. *Iltalehti*, for example, published seven short articles during one day, immediately after the news about suspension of Hirvisaari on 17.4, all based on *STT* information. This sudden surge of interest is clearly aimed to generate as much page traffic as possible. All the articles are short and contain primarily the reactions of various agents active in the case. It is questionable, from the perspective of journalism, to witness this kind

⁵² Roth (2012) JSN ei tutki Helena Erosen kantelua - Eronen vaatii lehdistä 100000 euroa siteerauksesta. *Aamulehti* 24.4.2012

of “lack of consistency” in the reporting of the paper. It undoubtedly reveals the strategy of *Iltalehti* – the aim to reap the economic benefit from this event. *Turun Sanomat* did an extensive cooperation with *STT* and provided the backbone of the data, which then precipitated to the other media. The “own reporting work” of *Iltalehti* during the whole scandal constitutes of sourcing a Facebook comment of Matti Vanhanen, where he condemns the armband blog entry. The impact of Matti Vanhanen’s comment to the development of this particular scandal is unclear, but if reflected upon Thompsons (2000) view on how scandals need a third party reaction in order to manifest, the article could have possibly triggered some larger developments.

Table 5: The usage of Suomen tietotoimisto (STT) sources in reporting

YLE	0/9
Helsingin Sanomat	4/11
Iltasanomat	6/13
Iltalehti	12/14
Aamulehti	9/13
Turun Sanomat	4/18
Uusi Suomi	0/5
MTV3	3/13
TOTAL	40/96 articles

The concept of source cycles (Messner and DiStaso 2008) is prominent in the case as already illustrated in the form of *STT* input. As *Suomen tietotoimisto (STT)* has contributed to almost half of the online articles about the case, it obviously affected how the framing of the issues is constructed. *Mediajournalism*, proposed by Herkman (2009), argues that media increasingly reports news which content is largely based on what other media has published about the matter, or what media professionals think about it. Here it appears as a tendency to base stories on comments given in audiovisual programs in radio and TV. It essentially is an “easy” way to do journalism. This kind of reporting requires minimum

effort and is close to the tendency of sourcing blogs and Facebook profiles. It does not require personal contact with the person quoted. This implies the decline of the role of journalistic work, which is perhaps due to a lack of human resources and available time.

6.4 Analysis of frames in the media coverage

This chapter deals with the framing components identified in the media coverage. Most prominent frames are looked at from coverage of each day of the scandal and presented in a table. To make the analysis more clear, the results regarding framing of the case is divided into 10 phases. The first seven phases stand for each day of the first week of the scandal April 11-18, 2012. Phase number eight covers days April 19 – July 22, 2012. Phase number nine covers dates August 13-14, 2012 and phase number 10 covers dates November 5-26, 2012. I will also present frames which are given to the persons (agents) of the scandal. These people related frames are derived from the analysis of the direct quotes that were present within the coverage.

Primary frames that dominates the coverage of the scandal are Phase 1: the inappropriate proposal, phase 2: *The Finns Party* condemns the proposal, phase 3: Hirvisaari refuses to fire his aide and blames the media, phase 4: crime investigation pleas filed over coverage, phase 5: *The Finns Party* want Eronen to be fired, phase 6: The party are in internal dispute, phase 7 Hirvisaari is suspended, Phase 8: the case will not result into further investigations, phase 9: Eronen resigns and phase 10: papers receive liberating verdicts over the coverage.

Table 6: Progress of frame formation during the armband scandal

Date	Dominant frames	Emergent frames	Declining/minor frames
11.4 Phase 1	PS aide proposes armbands	Armbands and Nazis	Blog removal
12.4 Phase 2	The Finns condemn -Eronen to be fired	Medias biased coverage -Hirvisaari blames media	Eronen's style -Satire

13.4 Phase 3	Media conduct -Complaint to JSN -Hirvisaari blames media	Hirvisaari's refusal Eronen's style -Satire	The Finns condemn -Eronen to be fired
14.4 Phase 4	Media conduct. -Crime investigation	Media downplays	Eronen's style -Satire
15.4 Phase 5	PS party condemns -R-Lerner seeks options -Hirvisaari has lost trust	Bäckman involved -Foreign coverage Katainen condemns Eronen plans -Resign or not?	Hirvisaari's refusal -Cannot act against consciousness
16.4 Phase 6	The Finns in dispute -Leaking is rude! -I do not take directions from "workmen"	PS party wanted firing	Eronen gets support
17.4 Phase 7	Hirvisaari suspended -Unanimously -JH: I accept	No investigations -Police: no crime -JSN: Eronen has no right to complain Hirvisaari takes responsibility	ABT might constitute a crime Eronen's style -Satire The Finns in dispute
18.4-22.7 Phase 8	No investigations -Police: no crime JSN: Eronen has no right to complain PS party doing ok -R-Lerner: no schisms	Eronen's style -Difficult to assess -Satire -Targeted the ombudsman	Bäckman involved -I will complain to European court of human rights. Media protests
13.8-14.8 Phase 9	Eronen resigns	Eronen caused a stir with Armband blog	Hirvisaari was suspended
5.11-26.11 Phase 10	Newspaper receive liberating verdict from JSN	Armband scandal spanned complaints	Papers could have performed better

* Hyphen indicates a quote which functions as an important parameter in the framing of the article.

April 11 is the day the scandal emerges. Media coverage frames the armband blog text as a proposal that comes from a parliamentary aide. Armbands are identified as tools for ethnic segregation by notions on how they were used in Nazi Germany for this purpose. Former Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen condemns the blog entry and is, as such, framed as a defender of good taste. He constitutes as a third party, who presents disapproval. According to Thompson (2000), a transgression requires a public disapproval from a third party, before it becomes a scandal. Vanhanen's comment is the first mediated expression of disapproval from a prominent public figure. All of the coverage also mentions that the blog entry was removed from the site, emphasizing that it indeed contained something that was not appropriate, thus indicating the graveness of the proposal. A primary frame that arises from the coverage is the *inappropriate proposal*.

The first article of *Turun Sanomat* does not contain any references to a satirical nature. It first introduces the proposal, then the theme of segregation and finally notes that the entry was removed. The paper modifies its article several hours later by adding notions about Eronen's "macabre pattern of thinking" and "thought play," but does not add journalistic analysis which would indicate the possibility of a satire. Eronen's proposal is covered mainly by explaining what kind of armbands she thinks would be suitable for different minorities, such as "landmine for Cambodians" and "hamburger badges for Americans." These aspects are the indicators of the possibility of satire, but the overall interpretative frame in the articles (including the ones in *Aamulehti* and *Iltalehti*) is that the proposal is inappropriate. This treatment frames the proposal as something that is put forward seriously, thus making the scandal aspect possible, since other kinds of interpretation would render the blog as simply an example of bad taste.

In the following day, the April 12, the scandal is broadly covered, as all media that constitute this study, publish at least one article about the issue. Helena Eronen gives an interview to *STT* and she is quoted by *STT* associated media such as *Aamulehti*, *MTV3* and *Iltalehti*. The interview follows a pattern whereby Eronen says she intended the text as

satire and made an “erroneous judgment.” Eronen has a frame of *regret* at this point. Some articles explain details from the blog entry as well, this time emphasizing the “elements of satire.” Hirvisaari on the other hand defends Eronen and blames the media for purposeful misunderstanding (*Aamulehti*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Iltasanomat* 12.4.). Hirvisaari is quoted as using terms such as “stupid reporters” and “rotten media,” to depict the reasons for this scandal. Hirvisaari is thus framed as a *mediacritic*. Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner is positioned as the speaker person of the rest of the *Finns*. Ruohonen-Lerner is quoted throughout the media saying that the blog text was “bad humor,” “these issues are too serious to be joked about,” and it “damages the party.” Ruohonen-Lerner also wants Hirvisaari to fire Eronen. Ruohonen-Lerner as such appears as a conservative politician who favors proper speech and dignity. The major frame in the coverage is that *The Finns Party* condemns the blog entry although the root of the scandals is within the party. The presence of internal conflict is thus evident. Emergent frames are somewhat media critical, as they form themselves around comments of Hirvisaari, who aggressively blames the media for distorting the facts. *Uusi Suomi* reports that the Eronens text has been covered in Swedish media, which hints that the case carries potential to affect Finland’s image abroad.

On the second day of the scandal, it appears that the main characters are still looking for their positions. Eronen is regretful, Hirvisaari is angry with the media and Ruohonen-Lerner, who represents the rest of *The Finns Party*, is asking Hirvisaari to take the advice of the parliamentary group seriously, and to sack Eronen. Thompson (2000) argues that scandals open up changes for politicians to profile themselves better. Both politicians are indeed framed in a characteristic way. Hirvisaari is a fierce critic of the media and continues to be one throughout the scandal. Ruohonen-Lerner has a more conservative image as she condemns this kind of joking as a type of rhetoric that is not suitable for the parliamentary scene. She establishes what an appropriate and true speech is for a political agent in *The Finns Party*. The dialogue between these agents is framed through a *conflict frame* (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). At this point the elements of the conflict are present, but do not manifest as a quarrel between the main characters.

The third day, the April 13 is characteristically decisive for the development of the scandal. The frames are of neutral nature and the conflict between members of *The Finns Party* does not arise from the coverage, due to the fact that no member of the party gives comments on the case at this point. The emphasis is on the news that Eronen is planning to make a complaint, about the coverage of *Turun Sanomat*, to the ombudsman of the press (JSN). Eronen is “hurt” and “misunderstood on purpose” (*Turun Sanomat; Iltasanomat*) and she appears as a person who sees herself as a victim. *MTV3* publishes interviews of two scholars who appear to have a critical view on the media coverage. Speech consultant Juhana Torkki sees that the media could let some inconsiderate matters rest, because the repetition and certain interpretation magnify the issues. Torkki also sees that the political speakers are afraid to use humor in “fear of misunderstanding.” Janne Zareff says that the media should correct their original false interpretation, since according to him, the text by no means was a serious proposal. However, Zareff also thinks this will never happen. The scholars constitute a third party to this scandal and the frame pinned to them is one of moderation and media critical. *MTV3* also publishes an article of Eronens visit to *RadioX3M* show, where she is asked to rate the design various armbands (*MTV3*). Article has a humorous tone, as do quotes of Eronen. Eronen thinks crayfish and champagne glass - padge or a muumi -padge to be a “fantastic” option for the Swedish speaking minority. In the evening Hirvisaari announces in his blog that he will not fire Eronen, because he cannot “act against his consciousness” in this matter. The decision “has not been easy” for Hirvisaari considering the wishes of the parliamentary group (*MTV3, Aamulehti, Turun Sanomat, YLE*).

The dominant frame of the third day has to do with media misconduct. The frame gains prominence in the wide coverage where Hirvisaari’s views about media behavior gain visibility and as scholars express mild criticism. Eronen’s agenda to make complaints and investigation pleas certainly contribute to the frame of media misconduct. The coverage on the third day appears to be lacking little in elements which could provide more fuel for the

scandal. The conflict frame that existed between Ruohonen-Lerner and Hirvisaari and Eronen does not escalate for now, since politicians stay quiet. The coverage concentrates on the personalities of Eronen and Hirvisaari in their quest for justice. It is notable that Eronen's blog text is referred to by mentioning either that she has "proposed armbands" or that "she caused a stir by proposing armbands." The frame of the inappropriate proposal is still at play. An overall relaxed tone can imply that the scandal is drying up, but it is still monitored by the media keenly. Scholars argue that scandals require ongoing attention and new revelations or developments in order to become prominent (Allern and Pollack 2012; Thompson 2000). Without further input, there is a possibility that the matter would lose its newsworthiness.

The fourth day of the scandal, the April 14 witnesses a major drop in the volume of the coverage. Only two articles are reported in the selected media. This indicates that the case is possibly drying up due to lack of new developments. *Turun Sanomat* reports that Eronen has made a criminal investigation request about the first article of *Turun Sanomat* to the police (*Turun Sanomat*). Eronen's actions are sourced from her commenting in the *Uusi Suomi* blog service. *Turun Sanomat* editor in chief responds that although going after the media organization through legal channels is always "a serious issue," it does not feel very serious in this case. *Uusi Suomi's* editor in chief Markku Huusko depicts the spreading of the armband scandal as "not the most honorable achievement of Finnish journalism." Thus it could be argued that on April 13-14 the framing of the case moves to reflect the position of the media as the engine of the scandal, emphasizing the media misconduct frame. Eronen continues to have the frame of someone seeking justice.

On the fifth day, the April 15 the scandal takes a fresh start when several new developments are reported. *Turun Sanomat* is very thorough in its coverage and publishes four articles throughout the day. In the articles, the paper thoroughly explains the role of the armband text and even several details about it, including the speculations over its satire. This change of heart in style, exemplifies that the paper wishes to make a clear analysis of what has

been going on in the scandal. Eronen has reportedly been very actively going after the paper for the past days in her quest for justice, and the overall framing in the press has been relatively media critical. *STT* spreads the articles of *Turun Sanomat* to other domestic media such as *Iltasanomat* and *Helsingin Sanomat*. New aspects are the spreading of the armband text to the Russian media, where the impact of the scandal to the image of Finland is said to have been “very negative” (*Turun Sanomat*). This brings a fresh boost to the case as the presentation builds the matter as having an international impact. Prime Minister Jyrki Katainen is quoted to “have no understanding for utterances of this kind” (*Turun Sanomat*; *Iltasanomat*). Again, Katainen contributes to the case as a third party, and his political capital can be argued to emphasize the importance of the case (Thompson 2000). Pirikko Ruohonen-Lerner steps back into the spotlight by announcing that all measures will be sought after to secure the removal of Eronen (*Turun Sanomat*, *Helsingin Sanomat*). Helsinki University docent Johan Backman is reported to have made a criminal investigation plea against Eronen over the armband blog entry. Backman also appears as the informant about how the matter is covered in Russia (*Turun Sanomat*). Eronen is broadly reported to consider resignation (*Iltasanomat*, *Iltalehti*, *MTV3*), which she later denies (*Turun Sanomat*).

It appears that *Turun Sanomat* is very active in covering new angles from the scandal after Eronen makes a crime investigation plea and a complaint to the JSN. Coverage of opinions of third parties who are politicians, increase the prominence of the issue, and the conflict frame becomes a central device once again. A new emergent frame: the issue being something that is “damaging to the image of Finland,” is brought in. Eronen’s regret and contemplation over resignation implies that she does think there is a reason for resignation and guilt. The frame pinned to Eronen is derived from a single sentence, which raises the question whether the point was what she herself wished to convey. However, it puts her “half way” out of her current position as a subtle encouragement to make own conclusions. It is interesting to note that all the new angles emerge after Eronen declares her intentions to take the matter to the authorities. The fresh angles provide material for the press to keep

the scandal going for a while longer although two previous days declining interest was suggesting otherwise.

On the sixth day, the April 16, the conflict frame takes form on how the matter becomes an internal dispute of *The Finns Party*. This manifests when it is reported that a party employee “workman” Matti Putkonen has instructed Ruohonen-Lerner to stop advocating the firing of Eronen in the media. Reporting relies on an email conversation that is leaked to the press. Putkonen argues that the leaking of the private conversation “damages the party” (*Aamulehti*). Ruohonen-Lerner says she will not take advice from anybody working under the title “workman,” but refrains from further commenting (*YLE*). Ruohonen-Lerner has also taken the firing of Eronen to the parliamentary jurisdictional level and is seeking a way to fire her through other means after Hirvisaari’s refusal. Ruohonen-Lerner appears again as persistent and conservative in this matter.

Thompson (2000) argues that the politicians have to tap into their political capital in situations like these. A conflict puts two sides against each other, and establishing viewpoint and backing them with facts, is a type of drama, a battle that is ultimately fought in the media (Jensen and Fladmoe 2012). At this point the personal qualities come into play in a new force. Those with higher profile, better strategy and characteristics such as oratorical qualities usually end up dominating the new agenda. As Thompson (2000) argues, politicians can use the scandals as weapons.

On the seventh day, the April 17 the scandal culminates on the suspension of Hirvisaari from the parliamentary group for five months. The expression “lack of trust” is featured throughout the media as the reason for suspension and that the parliamentary group was unanimous in its decision. Ruohonen-Lerner also gains support from the members of the group (*Iltasanomat*). The youth association of *The Finns Party* and member of the parliament Olli Immonen support Hirvisaari (*MTV3*). The police announces that the criminal investigation filed by Eronen will not proceed and observes that the armband blog

text “might constitute a criminal offence” (*Turun Sanomat; Helsingin Sanomat*). Hirvisaari accepts the decision of the parliamentary group and says that the process has been “the toughest issues so far” (*MTV3*).

The internal conflict frame changes to a defeat frame. Hirvisaari and Eronen suffer a loss after the decisions of parliamentary group and police’s announcement. Subsequent coverage also depicts certain martyr elements. Scandal studies have proposed that the climax is often reached when a political agent resigns (Jensen and Fladmoe 2012). This case appears to verify this perception to an extent as the volume of coverage drops after Hirvisaari is suspended. It suffices to say that the climax can be reached by executing a form of punishment and does not necessarily require resignation.

After the climax, the attention of the press moves elsewhere, but Eronen still gains some visibility in the media. On April 19 Eronen maintained that she was not culpable in the scandal. “It was *Turun Sanomat* ... I threw a piece of meat in the air and hounds (piskit) attacked” (*Iltalehti 19.4*). When queried about Hirvisaari’s suspension, Eronen replied the matter to be “really sad.” She was also “proud that Hirvisaari acted upon his consciousness” (*Helsingin Sanomat 20.4*). Eronen is at times framed as a vengeful person, especially in the tabloid coverage. As a response to the media coverage Eronen demanded that the *Turun Sanomat* and *Karjalainen* newspapers are “not authorized to quote my blog and failing to comply will face a penalty of 100000 euro” (*Aamulehti, STT April 24*). Eronens declaration was received with mild amusement among the media. The quotes of Eronen employed many emotional sentiments, such as “proudness” and “sadness.”

On 19 April *Turun Sanomat* publishes an editorial which analyses the scandal as a signal of “a tightening ideological climate.” The paper promotes the idea that freedom of speech should also include elements of responsibility, especially from those who are employed by the legislative body. The framing here highlights the concept of responsibility. Freedom of speech as a concept is given a concrete example of what responsibility means in regards to

the digital era. The freedom of speech -frame could be argued to be under attempt of clarification in this matter. Direct interpretation would emphasize that one has the right to say whatever they want, but also has be prepared to face the consequences.

On 20.4 the current affairs program *A-Studio* airs a discussion where Eronen explains her motives and scholars analyze the case. *Helsingin Sanomat* publishes an article about the main points of the discussion. Eronen is quoted to have said “I do not think too long before writing matters down, because they create interesting conversations.” Scholars who participate in the discussion criticize *Turun Sanomat* for not understanding the theme of the armband blog. They also emphasize the concept of “position” of those who work in the political field, as something that narrows the liberty to express ideas. The rhetorical style of political agents arises as the main element in the discussion and becomes a frame that is presented in online articles (20.4 *Helsingin Sanomat*). This essentially reflects the positions of Ruohonen-Lerner, who considered the original issue as an inappropriate joke. In light of these findings, it can be argued that Ruohonen-Lerner emerges as a “winner” in this dispute.

In the following week (phase eight of the frame analysis) the media reports a few articles related to the scandal. On 21.4 *Turun Sanomat* reports that a handful of protestors gathered in front of the office of *Turun Sanomat* to protest. “...it is outrageous to remove the issue (armband text) from the context and present it as a serious proposal.” Apart from this single article, other comments from citizens are not included in the coverage of the scandal.

The state prosecutor dismisses the criminal investigation plea against Eronen, filed by Johan Bäckman (*Helsingin Sanomat* 22.4). Eronen’s complaint is dismissed by the ombudsman of press (*JSN*) because she also made a criminal investigation plea. (*Turun Sanomat, Iltalehti, Helsingin Sanomat* 25.4) Issues will, however, be processed because several other complaints were also filed by uninvolved parties.

Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner appears in *A-Studio* and is queried about the leak, which she says was an accident. “I accidentally sent the e-mail to the whole parliament”(YLE 26.4). Ruohonen-Lerner also expresses that the “media has an attitude towards the Finns.” Some days later Putkonen sends an open letter to the media who publish it fully. Putkonen accuses the media for having an agenda where *The Finns Party* are depicted as criminals and incompetent racists. He also says that a “few rotten apples” destroy the reputation of the whole journalistic profession. Putkonen also questions the right of source anonymity (*Iltalehti; Helsingin Sanomat* 26.4). *Turun Sanomat* responds to Putkonen in the editorial, where source anonymity is defended as the pillar of free press and Putkonen is mocked (*Turun Sanomat* 28.4). Although the second act of the scandal is greatly about the internal dispute of *the Finns*, it is notable that only two weeks later, all the previously disagreeing parties are now sharing a view that the media has an attitude towards the party. In the end all major figures of *The Finns Party* bring forth the idea that the media is biased against them.

Scandals are said to be tools for measuring norms and checking normative conventions (Thompson 2000). We can now identify some details about what was tested in the process of the scandal. The editorial of *Turun Sanomat* appears to take the stand that an assistant to the member of a parliament is indeed a type of “political agent” who is deterrent to conventions of proper speech. The case can be argued to set a norm in this matter or strengthen the concept of responsibility in political rhetoric. Another competing frame is the culpability of *Turun Sanomat* in the matter, which is brought forward by Putkonen, protestors, scholars and even Ruohonen-Lerner. Hirvisaari and Eronen have blamed media from the beginning. The frame of media conduct has been present throughout the scandal, but it becomes an overarching point of *the Finns*, only after a resolution has been found.

The ninth phase of the scandal takes place in August when Eronen announces that she resigns (YLE; *Turun Sanomat, Iltasanomat, Helsingin Sanomat, Aamulehti, Uusi Suomi*

August 13). Eronen says she has felt as “the wrong girl in the wrong room” and that “politics is not for me.”

The tenth phase and the final closure of the case came in November when ombudsman of the press (JSN) announced a liberating verdict over the coverage of *Turun Sanomat*. However, the ombudsman still criticizes the coverage for some issues, for example, a lack of revision to the original story, including Eronen’s personal comments, when it clearly had new data available.⁵³ The coverage presents the case as something that the media did according to their right. No rules were breached, stories contained valid viewpoints and the polemic angle was within the proper style (*Aamulehti* November 22). JSN based part of its decision regarding the complaint against *Iltalehti* and *Aamulehti* on the fact that the papers could not verify the information because the blog entry was removed. As such they had every right to assume that *STT* distributed material that was correct (*Helsingin Sanomat* November 22). This interpretation is curious for a number of reasons. Firstly, the blog entry was easily reached with a simple online search at the time of the scandal. In addition, the journalistic profession expects that journalist ought to be creative and persistent in their effort to cover matters, regardless how easy it is to obtain data about them. Investigative journalism is the “crown jewel” of the profession in regards to the watchdog role. The decision in a certain way verifies that journalist can disregard matters depending of the situation, which ultimately serves only limited interests. Along this interpretation, the validity, quality and ethics of journalism can as such only be assessed based on what is reported, not what is disregarded.

To highlight some theoretical observations regarding personal, character related frames that arise from the framing analysis, Thompson’s (2000) observation regarding scandals as events of political profiling, should be noted. For instance, MP’s Hirvisaari and Ruohonen-Lerner profiled themselves clearly as the critic of the media and an advocate of appropriate civilized communication respectively. This case provided them with tools to build their

⁵³ JSN November 21, 2012. <http://www.jsn.fi/paatokset/4864cd-sl-12/?year=2012>

imago and most likely serves their political goals. The element of political battle (ibid.) is present as well. Ruohonen-Lerner uses a significant amount of political capital by advocating the firing of Eronen even though she lacks the tools to make it happen. She does not succeed, but the suspension of Hirvisaari is enough to reach a kind of climax which settles the score in favor of Ruohonen-Lerner, who emerges from the conflict as a winner. The outcome of the scandal could be argued to clarify the imago of the party as a serious and civilized political entity, but also to increase the political capital of Ruohonen-Lerner and diminishing the capital of Hirvisaari.

Eronens character gets a treatment which effectively depicts her as a vengeful bad mannered girl. There are several points which emphasize this frame. Quoted lines conveyed an image of a volatile and capricious person, who was ready to make complaints and file criminal charges against the media, and demand thousands of euros as reparations for crimes against her. She was presented as a person who “does not think too much before putting ideas on paper.” She was “misunderstood on purpose” and she hugged her boss as expression of gratitude. She also felt “sad, proud” and as the “wrong girl in a wrong room” what comes to the politics. This treatment is interesting considering that the blog was brought up primarily on grounds that she could be considered as “a political person,” being an aide to a MP. Eronen’s character is perhaps exactly the type the media is eager to have in this era of imago centered politics – emotional and polemic. Media was rather selective in the process of framing her character, highlighting features which depicted her as inexperienced and even childish.

7 Conclusions of the study

I set out to investigate this particular case because it seemed to contain many elements that are representative of the ongoing changes in the media today. Literature analysis covered the theory of scandal as the framework of the drama of politics. The role of the media was approached by looking at the contemporary working conditions of journalism, and keeping the emphasis on online field. The economic and quality demands of the news production and professional ethos of journalism were also reflected upon, as well as how the impact of the internet and social media (as a place for journalistic sourcing) affects the news cycles. All these evaluations of current conditions are immersed in the observation that the journalism is going through an enormous change caused by the era where technology, working habits and resources are not what they used to be.

The aim of the study was to examine a talk scandal case and draw observations about how the political scandal follows the theoretical projections that have been given to it in the past scholarly study. I will proceed to conclude this study by reflecting the findings on the theories of scandal and talk scandal. I argue that these two types are affected by different forces and should be kept separate in further study.

This scandal appears to adhere to the general definition of the scandal as a mediated process which has its own distinctive rhythm. It contains five requirements listed by Allern and Pollack (2011, p 21): 1) wide-ranging, intense and critical reporting directed against one or more persons, organizations or institutions; 2) personal allegations concerning norm violations characterized as scandalous; 3) in a situation where many dominant editors and news media participate over a certain period of time, 4) adopting the same basic perspective, journalistic angle and dramaturgic concept, and 5) where the outcome is uncertain.

Scandal dealt with a supposed norm violation: the inconsiderate blog text by a political person. It aroused wide criticism and intense reporting as many dominant media participate in the reporting over a period of time. The media also appeared to take a uniform angle, by

questioning the humor of the author and focusing on the internal drama of *The Finns Party*. The outcome of the scandal was uncertain for many days, but typically resulted into a climax, when *The Finns Party* suspended Hirvisaari, before declining in the volume.

It needs to be emphasized that this is a talk scandal (e.g. Ekström and Johanson 2008). It does not include an element of secrecy, nor did it require investigation or fresh revelations of something hidden (see figure 1, Thompson 2000, Ekström and Johanson 2008). The primary fuel for the scandal was obtained from actions of the parties involved and through their commentary, and there were no surprising revelations beside the “accidental” leak of the internal e-mail. Therefore the findings support the idea that regular scandals which deal with something that is “revealed” or “exposed” (e.g. Apostolidis and Williams 2004, pp. 3-4), should be clearly distinguished from the talk scandals, which are more a result of interpretation done by the mediators such as the media. Media power manifests strongly in this ability to make the interpretation and frame, and it is where the possible bias and personal inclinations of the journalists can affect the outcomes (Thompson 2000 p. 78).

Thompson (2000, pp. 234-245) presented four theoretical approaches for assessing the social impact of scandals: *functionalistic-, no consequence-, trivialization- and subversion theory*. It is difficult to pinpoint one particular theory which could be estimated to fit into this case, since all of them have certain qualities which could be pointed out.

Functionalistic element could be argued to exist in the idea that this scandal reinforced the idea of *proper rhetoric of political agent*. The first news-articles seemed to carry this notion, as the primary transgression was considered to be an uncivilized joke.

No consequence -theory does not find backup here, since the case eventually has far reaching consequences, most recently the firing of James Hirvisaari from *The Finns Party*.⁵⁴ The scandals as such appear to have a cumulative effect on the status of politicians. One issue might not cause a downfall, but several minor ones can do so. Similarly, the

⁵⁴ Orjala. A. YLE 4.10.2013 *Perussuomalaisten James Hirvisaari erotettiin puolueesta*.

cumulative effect can be observed in the scandal leading to the resignation of Finnish Development Minister Heidi Hautala in fall 2013, as she was a subject of two separate scandals within a short period of time. Therefore, I do not find grounds to support the *no consequence* -theory.

Trivialization -theory does seem plausible, since the scandals are often magnified, but assessing what is trivial is almost an impossible task. The volume of the coverage does not always correlate to the significance of the matter however. Perspective of the trivialization, in this case, was present especially in the comments of other politicians. They considered the matter to be irrelevant, even damaging to the real political action, such as the interpellation which was coming to parliament at the time of the scandal.

Subversion -theory reduced the political struggle to a game where the public is a spectator whose role is to gawk and laugh at the politicians who get caught red handed. The perspective is discouraging, but here the elements of drama intertwine themselves to the earning logic of the press, especially the tabloid papers producing a favorable argument for this theory. As Jensen and Fladmoe (2012) posit, broadly covered condemnation in the press, elaborated by commentaries from the public and the politicians often bloat the case. This creates pressure to find a closure or climax for the incident. Closely connected to the idea that scandals are often magnified by the volume of the reporting, is the emergence of supposed *moral panic* among the public opinion, theorized by McLuhan (1964). It is however difficult to prove if there was a “moral panic” among the public. A comparison of audience reactions and the volume of news coverage in different types of scandals would make an interesting study in the future, when assessing if *moral panics* are in fact any kind of ingredient in some of the “scandals.”

When it comes to the political journalism, issues are most often loaded with ideology and conflict, as the struggle is best depicted by the contrasts. These contrasts are often the only way to “reveal” the ideas and differences that are supposed to exist between political

adversaries. Taking this ideal as the starting point, all the social theories proposed by Thompson (2000 pp. 234-245) are to an extent plausible. However I am inclined to think that in this case, the functionalistic theory surpasses other theories. This is because the issue at hand deals with traditional, conservative rhetoric versus humor. The scandal enforced what is a proper rhetoric in political sphere.

However, the motivations of the media should be questioned in light of the findings. Certainly the case falls into the latter in Croteau and Hoynes's (2005 p.15-17) division of media motives (the *public sphere model* and the *market model*). It is agreeable that the media monitors those who are in power, but was Helena Eronen as an aide to a parliamentarian, in fact a political person? She after all was not member of *The Finns Party*. Did media intentionally pick a polemic text in order to create a purposeful misinterpretation? Eronen is not a political person, although she is somewhat visible blogger in *Uusi Suomi* portal. *The Finns* had just received a large election victory and an increase in the number of seats in parliament. The party that is seeking to formulate its profile and keep the ranks straight among the newly elected members, can appear divided and an easy target for attacks. Party leadership appeared to blame the media for persecution shortly after the scandal. The *cascading network activation model*, where the media and elites work together for political dominance (Entman 2012), is too complex concept to be argued to have evidence in its favor. At least the research setup at hand cannot find any.

In the light of this case, I argue that the case is an example of how the media is losing control of the monitoring and gate keeping processes. The results pointed out that the dominant, most numerous frames are produced by changing practices of media news production, which have the tendency to quote one another, use news agencies material without own input, and generally go, uncritically, with the flow in the fashion of *mediajournalism* (Herkman 2009). I see that under the conditions of media journalism, the possibility that one reporter who makes an ethical pitfall can translate to a pitfall of the whole profession. This case provides relatively strong evidence for this view, when

examining the role of *STT* in distributing the material. The angle of *Turun Sanomat* is implicitly one sided and polemic in its interpretation of armband blog entry. *STT* shows criticism by spreading the papers article. All of this happens in very short time span, which imply that the internal monitoring process has failed in this case. *JSN* decreed that the media had right to make the interpretation and *Turun Sanomat* did not admit any mistakes. However, the case makes one think: does the Finnish media spectrum have enough pluralism? This case analyzed eight different media, but suffices to say that there were basically three “agents” (see table 5) that put effort to the coverage – *YLE*, *Uusi Suomi* and *STT* associated media lead by *Turun Sanomat*.

The case is a textbook example of a scandal where one media “has the story” and others follow in a flock (Jensen and Fladmoe 2011 p.60). The composition of the case follows the market model with clear evidence of cannibalized content (Patterson 1998; Redden and Witshge 2009) and copy paste journalism which unquestioningly accepts the news agency provided material (Juntunen 2011, pp. 42-43).

If the internal monitoring in fact failed, the reason can be the lack of resources. Speed dominates the news business, and it has trampled the ethical and professional values slowly but firmly. Before the internet, the journalists had time to consider and make estimation on newsworthiness of issues, check facts and consult superiors. In the digital era, the clock is ticking and there are tons of headlines to be invented. Regardless the case support notion about the tendency of media to make quick profits by creating fast news whose aim is to attract online traffic (Bessonova 2013, p.48). The most striking example of this is the peak in the coverage of *Iltaalehti* on the April 16 after Hirvisaari is suspended.

From the main finding regarding the study on frames in the armband scandal, I postulate that the Finnish media ended up framing the scandal as the *struggle between the political agents within the Finns Party* – not as much about what is appropriate to say, and what was the nature of the joke at hand. The main conflict of the scandal seemed to be whether the

MP James Hirvisaari heeds to the advice of the party and fires his aide Helena Eronen. This situation can be best observed as a test for the integrity of the party. The outcome of this setup also resulted to the most significant personal damage, the suspension of Hirvisaari.

Results imply that the coverage did not seem to care as much about the rhetorical qualities of the blog entry. The comments of three prominent political figures, Matti Vanhanen, Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner and Jyrki Katainen were sufficient to take the seriousness aspect as the denominating quality, which as scholars (e.g. Thompson 2000; Jensen and Fladmoe 2011 p.63) argues is a prerequisite for a scandal. The references to the blog entry became sparse and as the days proceeded, the blog entry was gradually pushed to the background. Later phases reduced the role of Eronen as the one who *had proposed armbands*. The interpretation inclined to frame the entry as *a serious proposal* despite the objections of the author. The political drama was between Hirvisaari and Ruohonen-Lerner who occupied opposing views about the matter. It supports the notions of the existing conventions of the agenda-setting: those in political power have more access (e.g. Entman 2000; Bennet 1990), as they get more chances to express their points, and they get the attention in person. Those in the background are excluded from direct, in person, sourcing processes such as interviews.

Although Eronen gained some access to media, she was mostly represented through the polemic comments in her blog which excluded her from the elite sphere applied to political characters. The media appears to favor polemic and extreme views, in the spirit of tabloidization (e.g. Esser 1999), which implies that the access to main stream media is obtained best by expressing ideas that can have talk scandal characteristics: the random utterances. The situation seems to have evolved in a direction where for example, *The Finns Party* have to seek visibility in media through these kinds of polemic statements. Persons who utter the statements receive a clear *attribute salience* in the context of agenda-setting theory (e.g. McCombs 2004), as they become the critics of, for example, immigration. In the broad picture of agenda-setting, and the transmission of *object* and

attribute salience (e.g. McCombs and Estarda 1997, p.240), the position of *The Finns Party* fulfills both: they gain *object salience* as critics of immigration and *attribute salience* for their members. Immigration as a topic has risen in the media agenda, but *The Finns Party* have got nearly racist imagoes along the way. They are in a way advancing their political goals, bringing the attention to the subject of immigration, but pay a price that places them in a negative light. However, as it has been noted, some of the events are condemned by the party leaders. For example, the party chair Timo Soini, has frequently repeated that the whole party cannot be judged by a “few rotten apples”⁵⁵. The conflict of desired party image and actual one has characterized the relationship of *The Finns Party* and the media ever since 2011 election victory, making it one of deep grounded distrust.

To elaborate on the attributes given to the persons in the scandal, James Hirvisaari and the others who shared his views appeared as vocal critics of the media. Ruohonen-Lerner was depicted as the guardian of the moral and as the representative of the rest of *The Finns Party*, when the party chair Timo Soini effectively distanced himself from the matter. The internal conflict projected through these *media critical* and *rhetorical decency attributes*. The agents are balancing on the line that exists between political decency and conservatism and an ability to attract political support in form of populism. In this case the conservative wing emerged victorious, since Ruohonen-Lerner’s position eventually was backed up by the rest of the party. The climax in form of the suspension of Hirvisaari, arguably increasing the prestige of Ruohonen-Lerner while reducing the prestige of Hirvisaari in terms of political capital (Thompson 2000).

The process of forming a political image for a relatively fresh party, the armband scandal could be argued to have functioned in a multiple of ways. On the one hand, it could be said to have polished the imago of the party as whole, as it resulted into a broad condemnation that came within the party. Most of the negative payload was placed on the media and Eronen. Ruohonen-Lerner appeared consistent and sharp and had almost statesman like

⁵⁵ Helsingin Sanomat 22.2.2012. Soini HBL:lle: Rasistit eivät pääse kunnallisvaaleihin.

role, where the parliament is a place of proper speech and integrity. Another approach could postulate that *The Finns Party* is trying to suppress its internal voices and ideologies that are racists and discriminating. Regardless the party sharpened its political message by passing a punishment, although the punishment was based on the fact that Hirvisaari did not listen to the wishes of the rest. He was not suspended because of what Eronen wrote. Here we see that many types of attributes are being projected to the members who were involved into the scandal, but formal reasons for carrying out a punishment were in fact not related to the reasons of the scandal, but to the lack of trust between the members of *The Finns Party*. The outcomes of a scandal do not always follow the logic of common sense and fairness. The circumstances often deal with matters that are formally completely legal, but morally unclear. From the perspective of the outcome: how the matters unfold is sometimes more relevant than what are the facts.

Recent economic downturn has witnessed a decline in media jobs forcing the papers, especially online publications to run with a skeleton crew.⁵⁶ This places pressure on the quality control of the content, perhaps making it looser than it used to be. For example the editors in chief might not have time to check the material that is being published. Individual reporters thus have more responsibility over the content and subsequently over the general “quality” issues of the publications. If so, it could mean that the role of individual reporters over the imago of paper is heightened in the digital era. This would naturally mean that also the power of individual reporter is increasing, making Thompsons (2000) argument, that the motivations and personal inclinations of reporters have now more changes to be mixed within the journalistic content, a more viable alternative in an attempt to explain the increase and prominence of scandals.

Literature often presents a view that media are somewhat politically aligned even if pretending to provide balanced views (Edwards and Chomsky 1989; McChesney 2013).

⁵⁶ Journalisti.fi Aro 1/2012 Pahalta näyttää <http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/journalisti/lehti/2012/1-2012/artikkelit/pahalta-nayttaa/>

Technological progress and economic competition accelerates the consolidation of media, which in the light of the argument would put the power in hands of few operatives. Taken further into the organizational level, the falling numbers of reporters concentrate the power even more.

7.1 Assessing the research process

This research was conducted on a single scandal which has relatively timely character. It dealt with a political matter that has been visible in public debate for some time already: the nature of *The Finns Party*, their political agenda and role in politics. The analysis of this scandal does in part clarify the process of framing and the building of the mediated drama of politics. This is important in the attempt to understand scandals better. Unfortunately, this study does not provide any ground breaking theorizations about scandals. The main findings imply that the political agency is broadening in current era. Other findings support the theoretical views which are already relatively established, such as the elite hegemony in the access to the media or details of talk scandal as an event that is somewhat different to a regular scandal. Broad generalizations about scandals cannot be made in the light of the findings, but as a single event, the logic of scandals can be examined and central key events indeed are there: the third party and public condemnation, and climax attained by some kind of retribution.

Methodology combined quantitative and qualitative elements. The choice to include the quantitative element pointed out the use of news agency material and sudden surges in the volume of articles in the case of some mediums like *Ilta-lehti*. This clearly points out the volatile nature of news production of our time and backs up the relevancy of combining these two methods in a case study like this. The evidence of economic hegemony in the reporting culture of scandals is clear. Theoretical framework used in this study comprised the scandals and media power. The usefulness of the covered theories is evident in the case of the scandals, but the framing analysis fell little short from the goal. This is mainly due to

the difficulty of deriving frames that could be arguably defended by theoretical conceptions and because generalizations are difficult to draw in the light of single scandal. Even comparison of different mediums does not alleviate the difficulty much, although some nuances could be considered for further investigation. For example, the variances in the frames of *STT* associated media and *YLE*. In this case, the sample is however too small. It would require broader comparative analysis of scandals from a long period of time. Analysis of written text naturally creates the question of validity, because the findings are subjective to the researcher. Also, this study does not employ separate coder, which is a weakness.

7.2 Suggestions for future research and concluding remarks

When considering future research, an examination of various climaxes and outcomes in different types of scandals could provide insight on what matters have the most consequence in a scandal. The examination of resolutions could produce theories about how the political and media power interplay and affect one another, and if there is a particular pecking order or not. For example, how the political position, political capital and even gender influence the possibility of a scandal. Also, scandal research should research the relationship of the reporting culture and the tendency of various matters to become a scandal. For example, how the sourcing trends affect the scandals and are talk scandals becoming more numerous in comparison to economic and power scandals? This case has exemplified how the news frames are determined by the first interpretation. This tells about the dangers the *media journalism* poses to the professional imago of journalism, and to the credibility of media as the facilitator of true and balanced public sphere.

This case is an example of how the media logic is constructed in the digital age. Commercial interests dominate the news production process endangering the traditional values of truth, accuracy and impartiality. In order to retain credibility, the media, has to reform the earning logic of online news production. If some kind of resolution is not found,

the collapse of quality media and the rise of sensationalism are going to continue. The biggest threat that comes from the increase of scandals is that the audiences grow tired of them and start ignoring serious issues. The information overflow can cause counter reactions, create skepticism and overall unhappiness. The responsibility of the media is to make sure that the scandals deal with real matters, and fight attempts to manipulate and make narrow interpretations. The Finnish media should reconsider its mild treatment of one another. A quality media should be able to throw aside the professional courtesy, when an obvious need arises.

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Online news articles

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APPENDIX

CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SCHEDULE FORM

Press coverage of the ARMBAND SCANDAL

DATA ITEM NR. _____

1) Media

1. Yle, 2. Helsingin Sanomat, 3. Iltasanomat, 4. Iltalehti, 5. Aamulehti, 6. Turun Sanomat
7. Uusi Suomi, 8. MTV 3

Date:

Headline:

Sub headline:

Number of sources:

2) Armband blog texts role in the article:

1. Text is the main theme (descriptive, analytical)
2. Text is a sub theme (some detail of the text is covered)
3. Text is referred only (author or issue mentioned)

3) Who speaks in the story?

1. Expert
2. Politician
3. Citizen
4. Author

4) Origin of the quote:

1. Press release
2. Interview (for newspaper)
3. tv / radio broadcast
4. Online entry (eg. Facebook, blog)
5. Unknown

5) Journalistic themes in the news article. (Open coding)

Primary topic

Secondary topic

Tertiary topic

6) Framing components in the direct quote _____:

Nature of the quote: thematic/episodic

Topic:

Emphasis: Aggressive, defensive, impartial

Central value/notion/fact attributable to the quote:

Keywords: