

Multicultural Programming on Finnish Public Service Broadcaster

Analysing YLE's Current Approach towards New Ethnic Minorities

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the current approach of the Finnish Public Service Broadcaster YLE towards multicultural programming. It is based on a case study of a multicultural program Ali and Husu, which ran on YLE's talk radio channel from the beginning of 2013 until the February of 2015. Ali and Husu was a discussion program which focused on different issues from the perspective of immigrants, and was hosted by two men with immigrant backgrounds: Ali Jahangiri and Abdirahim "Husu" Hussein. The study's scientific relevance is based on the fact that multicultural programming on European PSBs have gone through many changes during this genres existence. Changing socio-political and economic climates, mainly the alleged 'fail of multiculturalism' in combination with the increasing competition against commercial broadcasters and the continuing economic crisis, have made the existence of this genre increasingly controversial and problematized within the EU. Since the late 90's when YLE began their multiculturalism policy and first multiculturalism program, the company's policies have also turned increasingly vaguer in this regard. Therefore the main idea of this study was to analyse through Ali and Husu, how is it possible for YLE to make multicultural programming in post-multicultural times? The study was conducted with content analysis on chosen episodes and by doing interviews with the makers of the program. The results showed that Ali and Husu was a multicultural program which relied predominantly on humour in order to discuss controversial topics, and which main objective was to dismantle prejudices that the main population may have towards the new ethnic minorities of Finland. However, it also came apparent that the program was more of an idiosyncratic project of the makers, rather than YLE systematically attempting to implement its obligation to "support tolerance and multiculturalism and provide programming for minority and special groups". The program arguably represents one side of a twofold approach that YLE currently has towards multicultural programming, the other side demonstrating a reluctance for creating a systematic strategy to represent the ethnic minorities of Finland.

KEYWORDS: PSB, Multiculturalism, Diversity, Ethnic Minorities, Finland

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1. Introduction

Ali: Husu, did you guys win anything from Winter Olympics?

Husu: Yes, I mean we won bronze in ice hockey...

Ali: What? C'mon man I'm not talking about that. Don't start again slobbering that rubbish "I'm Finnish bla bla bla", c'mon, what did Somalia win?

Husu: What did Somalia win...well they won a good spirit from the fact that Finland won that bronze, haha.

Ali: Do Somalians know what Olympics are?

Husu: Well, if I know I bet the others do as well.

Ali: No, I mean like in your village do they have any clue?

Husu: No, they don't have television there unfortunately. Facebook doesn't work there either, Twitter maybe occasionally but not Facebook. No, they don't know...

This conversation is taken from a Finnish public service broadcaster YLE's talk radio program called *Ali ja Husu*¹ (*Ali and Husu*) which began in 2013. Ali (born 1981) is an Iran born stand-up comedian and presenter who moved to Finland with his family in 1991. He has master's degree in economics and has previously, besides doing stand-up, worked as a project manager for a consulting firm and as a host in a reality-TV program on a commercial channel. Husu (born 1978) is a Somali born interpreter, taxi driver and politician for the Centre Party of Finland. He arrived to Finland in 1994. The episode from which the above segment is taken is called "The great racist discussion 2.0", which might help to make some more sense of the conversation that teems with cultural prejudices wrapped in sarcastic humour. *Ali and Husu* was at the time of this research YLE's only program, including both radio and television, which focused specifically on discussing issues related to multiculturalism. Furthermore, the program was also YLE's only program hosted exclusively by immigrants. Therefore, this project aims at studying the objectives and strategies of *Ali and Husu* as YLE's multicultural program in order to explain how the program represents the Finnish PSB's approach towards multicultural programming in current post-multicultural and economically challenging times. The study was conducted by using mixed qualitative methods: qualitative content analysis for a sample of episodes from the program and in-depth interviews with the makers of the program in order to receive behind the scenes information to support the analysis.

¹ Because of the similarity between the Finnish name "*Ali ja Husu*" and the English translation *Ali and Husu*, and because the program name is used frequently in this thesis, the references to the program will be done with the English translation. This does not apply to other programs mentioned such as "*Basaari*", which will be referred to in their actual Finnish name.

1.1. Research Question

The research question that guides this study² is: how is it possible for YLE to make multicultural programming in post-multicultural times? I also address three sub-questions which are:

- How do the objectives and strategies of *Ali and Husu* program transpire from the content of the chosen episodes in combination with the interviews?
- How much is YLE responsible for these objectives and strategies?
- How does *Ali and Husu* reflect YLE's current policies towards new ethnic minorities and multicultural programming?

The terms objective and strategy are defined here as follows. Objective in this study refers loosely to the "defined process message" (Zetti, 2009, p. 28), meaning what the program maker's intend the audience to "learn, do, and feel" (Zetti, 2009, p. 28) when watching the program. Strategy in this study is used as Mintzberg and Waters (1985) have defined it: "a pattern in a stream of decisions" (p. 257). It is used to define the patterns, or the themes, which can be derived from the data regarding the decisions that the program makers have made in relation to their objectives. The definition of Mintzberg and Waters is especially useful because it makes a difference between strategy and planning, meaning that there can be "a pattern" even though all the different decisions in the pattern had not been made purposely or consciously per se to achieve a certain objective.

1.2. Traditional and New Ethnic Minorities

Before going further into the subject, few factors must be stated about ethnic minorities in Finland in general. First of all, it needs to be made clear that Finland is a land of few immigrants. In 2012, the percentage of foreign citizens out of the whole population was 3,6%, the percentage of people whose first language was foreign was 4,9%, and the percentage of people who were born in another country was 5,2% (Väestöliitto (the Family Federation of Finland), 2012). However, these numbers have been steadily rising since the 1990's and also in some areas such as the capital Helsinki, these numbers are already doubled or even tripled (Horsti 2014, p. 170). Secondly, there are certain ethnic minority groups which have existed in Finland since the beginning of its independence and are therefore considered to be traditional minorities. These are the Finnish Swedes, the Sami people and the Finnish Romany people. The Finnish Swedes are sometimes not even considered as a minority group because of their long and influential history in Finland and because Finland is

² It has to be mentioned that this study, until few days before the submission, was based on the understanding that the allowed size of the thesis is 50-90 pages "(assuming an average of 450 words per page) and "not including title page, contents page, reference list, notes, and appendices" (Writing Guide Media, Communication and Culture, 2014, p. 67).

officially considered to be a bilingual country (Finnish and Swedish). The Finnish Swedes therefore have a right to receive service from state authorities in their own language. The rights for preservation of the languages and cultures of the Sami people and the Finnish Romany people are also mentioned to varying degree in the Finnish law (Oikeusministeriö (Ministry of Justice), 2015).

As Saukkonen and Pyykkönen (2008) have stated in their study about general cultural policies and diversity in Finland: “our analysis suggests that there remains a clear line of demarcation between ‘traditional minorities’ and ‘new minorities’, even though in the ‘diversity policy discourse’ these are often dealt with as one issue” (p. 60). This important distinction needs to be kept in mind when discussing the policies of YLE, since they also often set different standards for these two categories of minority groups. Although, this differentiation is not officially acknowledged by YLE, it becomes quite apparent from the law that guides YLE’s operations, Act on Yleisradio Oy (YLE Ltd.). In it is stated:

The public service programming shall in particular:

- 4) treat in its broadcasting Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking citizens on equal grounds and produce services in the Sami, Romany, and sign languages as well as, where applicable, in the languages of other language groups in the country;
- 5) support tolerance and multiculturalism and provide programming for minority and special groups; (Ministry of Transport and Communications of Finland, 2005)

As can be seen, the traditional minorities and their rights for programming in their own languages are stated in article four, whereas the new ethnic minorities will receive service in their languages “where applicable”. Also, article five seems to be addressed especially for the new ethnic minorities since the article four already discusses the programming, or “services”, for the traditional minorities. Therefore multicultural programming on YLE can be seen to refer especially to programming about and for the so-called new ethnic minorities.

1.3. YLE’s Shifting Policies towards New Ethnic Minorities and Multicultural Programming

YLE has had several different policies towards providing multicultural programming in recent decades. Overall the direction in this matter has been that the policies have become vaguer and the programming has moved towards ‘mainstreaming diversity’ while many so called ‘niche’ programs that focused specifically on issues of immigrants and multiculturalism have been cancelled (Horsti, 2014). ‘Mainstreaming diversity’ roughly refers to two types of programs: In the case of YLE as Horsti has discussed it, mainstreaming refers to programs which do not place multiculturalism or

ethnic minorities as the central theme but rather display ‘diversity’ when applicable in a form of characters or persons from ethnic minority groups and cultural differences as elements in larger narratives; or, as discussed more in-depth later, to programs that focus on ethnic minorities or multiculturalism issues but do this in ways that appeal to highly diverse audience, in other words to a ‘mainstream’ audience, instead of mainly immigrants or people who are specifically interested about issues related to immigrants or multiculturalism. However, these definitions are rather fluid and the differences between the first and latter types of programs can be very subtle. Both type of mainstreaming is also often discussed under the term cross-cultural programming.

The longest running multicultural program on YLE was a television program called *Basaari* (Bazaar), which ran from 1996 until 2008, “with the aim of producing programming by and about ethnic minorities for both minority and majority audiences” (Horsti and Hulten, 2011, p. 217). The program also included a segment called *Mundo* which was based on a project that gave opportunities for immigrants to participate in producing the program. *Basaari* discussed, visited and interviewed countless different ethnic minority groups, people, events and so on. The program also received many journalistic awards from different agencies for issues such as promoting equality, the greatest one probably being *Suuri Journalistipalkinto* (the Great Journalist Award) given by the Swedish Bonnier Publishing Company in 2002 (YLE 2007a).

There are most likely several reasons why YLE has changed its policies and approach towards multicultural programming and cancelled long initiatives such as *Basaari*, but the two most important ones are arguably economical and socio-political. Firstly, as discussed by academics (Collins et al., 2001 and Leurdijk, 2006), the competition between public service broadcasters and commercial channels has turned increasingly stiff. In this turmoil YLE arguably has to focus more of its resources into providing programming for the main population (white Finns) in order to legitimize its existence as a publicly funded organization. This has arguably been increasingly the case after 2013, when YLE’s funding tax was changed from applying to only people with television sets to applying for all tax payers (from television tax to ‘media’ tax). Secondly, the socio-political climate in Finland has changed in recent years. New critical voices towards immigration and multiculturalism have emerged, and also gained increasing political power and influence that can directly, and indirectly, affect YLE’s policies. This kind of environment is, as argued by academics (For example Titley, 2014 and Horsti, 2014), not the most welcoming for multicultural programming.

1.4. The Case Study: *Ali and Husu*

Considering the shift in YLE's policies, *Ali and Husu* is an interesting exception since it seems to go against the overall trend. The presentation of the program on YLE's website (<http://areena.yle.fi/1-1793778>) goes as follows: "Ali Jahangiri is a stand-up comedian with Iranian roots. Abdirahim Husu Hussein, born in Somalia, is an entrepreneur and an interpreter who has worked for example as an observer in the Somaliland's presidential elections. The outspoken duo examines Finnish society and phenomena from the perspective of immigrants".

The programs clearest antecedent is arguably *Basaari*, because YLE's other previous multicultural programs have either only focused on certain new ethnic minority group (*Muslimielämä* (*Muslim Living*), fall 2010), or on fictional instead of factual matters (Sketch program *Ähläm Sähläm* (word play from "Ahlan wa Sahlan" which means welcome in Arabic. "Ählämi" is a negative term in Finnish used to describe a Middle Eastern person and "sählätä" means to mess around), summer 2006), and in either case these programs have not lasted longer than one season. However, *Ali and Husu* also differs in many ways from *Basaari*, and not only because the two programs have been broadcasted on different platforms (radio/television). For example, *Basaari* often approached the issues surrounding ethnic minorities and multiculturalism by telling a story of one individual or family that would get the audience emotionally involved with the stories. As one maker of the program has stated: "We want to give the audience emotions and show them the personalities" (in Leurdijk, 2006, p. 34). *Ali and Husu*'s approach is arguably much more reasoning based and deals with more current topics, usually through discussion with several guests. The program is also characterized by its humour, after all Ali is a stand-up comedian. This humorous aspect is most prevalent in discussions between the two hosts, but often the guests are also clearly chosen for their humour potential. In one interview that Husu gave before the program started airing he discussed how he is the serious one and Ali is the jokester and how they intended to deal with touchy subjects through humour and confrontation between him and Ali (Upola 2013). In this regard the program arguably also differs from *Basaari* which rarely relied on humour when telling the stories.

Because *Ali and Husu* was at the time of this research the only continuous weekly program on YLE focused on the issues of the new ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, it is the best entry point into studying the current approach of YLE towards multicultural programming. The analysis is also informed by existing research about YLE's former multicultural programming, especially Horsti's (2011 with Hulten, and 2014) studies regarding the cancelled *Basaari* program, in order to underscore the distinctiveness of YLE's current approach.

1.5. Social and Scientific Relevance of the Study

As mentioned above, YLE is committed by law to “support tolerance and multiculturalism and provide programming for minority and special groups” (Ministry of Transport and Communications of Finland, 2005). However, as their internal policies and approaches concerning multicultural programming have become vaguer over the years, there is a social need to analyse what are the contemporary approaches and ideological realms that YLE promotes regarding new ethnic minorities and multiculturalism. From a scientific standpoint, this study should provide useful insights into the current approach of YLE concerning the new ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, and can therefore be used, for example, as a point of reference for researchers who are studying other European PSBs and their approaches towards the new ethnic minorities and multiculturalism in contemporary post-multicultural times.

2. Literature Review and Theory: European PSBs, Multicultural programming, Policy Shifts and Finnish Context

In this chapter the key academic literature and theories concerning PSBs and multicultural programming are discussed. It begins with discussion on what exactly is multicultural programming and how this genre has changed since its beginning. The discussion then continues to exploring why exactly this genre has changed and how these changes are tied to the broader economic and socio-political changes in Europe that influence the PSB policies. After this, two specific country examples, Sweden and Netherlands which have rather long histories in providing multicultural programming, are discussed from the standpoint of how their policies have changed in last few decades regarding their multicultural programming. Since humour is very dominant element in *Ali and Husu*, it will be discussed more in-depth from two perspectives: ethnic humour and humour in rhetorical sense. Lastly, there is a comprehensive discussion on how the new ethnic minorities are presented in the Finnish media, and how and why YLE's policies have changed regarding multicultural programming.

2.1. What Is Multicultural Programming?

Multicultural programming³ is a quite vague term that every PSB uses slightly differently, but in general it refers to programming that is directed towards ethnic minorities or about ethnic minorities, or about issues related to multiculturalism more generally (Leurdijk, 2006). The reason why most of the European PSBs have or at least have had some sort of multicultural programming, is because it is usually part of PSB policies to provide informational or educational material about the society, to provide programming for different kinds of communities and groups in a society, and to provide programming that is not offered by the commercial channels but considered important for a society. Therefore, in societies where there is a substantial number of ethnic minority groups, but they are not being represented in 'standard programming' on commercial or public media, it is usually the PSB's responsibility to take this into consideration in its policies in order to fulfil its public commitments. As Leurdijk (2006) has stated: "In general the programmes are based on the assumption that cultural diversity and multicultural society are not (yet) sufficiently or adequately represented in the programme schedules and require separate attention, special staff and dedicated

³ Although this study mainly focuses on a program in post-multicultural times, the term "multicultural program" is still used here to refer to this kind of programming in a general sense, because there cannot be clear line made when the post-multicultural times have begun, and also because these programs can still be seen to promote the idea of learning about and accepting different cultures. The policies, terminologies and approaches have changed in many countries, but the idea between these programs is still similar. In the Finnish context, as mentioned within the YLE Law it still states the idea of supporting multiculturalism even though YLE's policies have changed in regards to how to do this.

time slots” (p. 27).

One of the main arguments concerning PSBs and multicultural policies whether there should be special multicultural programs or not. Multicultural programs were traditionally ‘niche’ programs, because they were created on the basis of providing programming which aimed at representing and discussing very specific issues which other programs and broadcasters did not, and the focus of these programs was therefore not in gathering large audiences. The programs usually dealt with issues of one specific ethnic minority in society, or the ethnic minorities in general. The objective was to provide programming that would both educate the main populations about the ethnic minorities and their cultures, and to provide programming that ethnic minorities would find useful for adapting to live in the new society and culture. In the 60s and 70s these programs were also often directly targeted (Leurdijk, 2006) to certain ethnic minority group. In these cases the programs attempted to only broadcast topics that were specifically important for the ethnic minority in question and in their own language. On YLE there has arguably never been a clear targeted multicultural program for the new ethnic minorities, except for news in English and Russian. First, this is most likely due to the fact that larger immigration is such a new phenomenon in Finland, and the amount of immigrants has therefore been quite low. Secondly, this trend had also already passed in Europe when YLE began broadcasting multicultural programs. On YLE the focus has always been as much on educating the ethnic Finns about the new ethnic minorities as it has been on providing programming for the new ethnic minorities.

In relation to European PSBs in general, Leurdijk (2006) has stated: “Those in favour of multicultural programmes claim that cultural diversity on television requires special professional and organizational provisions, such as dedicated time slots and budgets, special departments, coordinators and training programmes” (p. 27). The critics of these programs, in turn, have claimed that as the new ethnic minority groups become larger in societies they will eventually become part of the media and the ‘niche’ multicultural programs actually cause more damage than having the ethnic minorities as part of ‘mainstream’ programs, according to Leurdijk (2006). “Special programmes even could be counterproductive as other departments and programme-makers might use them as an excuse for neglecting issues concerning ethnic minorities and multicultural society in mainstream programming” (Leurdijk, 2006, p. 28). In the last years, while there still are programs that can be labelled as multicultural programs, many of the European PSBs seem to have decided to partly follow the critics’ approach by not focusing on catering exclusively for the ethnic minorities or people specifically interested on immigrant or multicultural issues, but instead trying to have more universal, or ‘mainstream’, appeal for their multicultural programs (Titley, 2014).

Leurdijk (2006) has discussed the different ways the PSBs try to appeal to more

diverse audience with their multicultural programs. In choosing people who appear on the programs as guests “the choice of personalities to be portrayed is determined no longer by their potential attractiveness for a single community” (p. 33), but rather guests need to appeal to different ethnic minority communities as well as to the majority population. One example of this kind of guest could be a football player who belongs to an ethnic minority but because of his success in sports also appeals to the majority audience. Leurdijk (2006) has also discussed how television is watched mainly for relaxation and entertainment and how this needs to be taken into consideration in order to reach a large audience for a program. The program makers she interviewed compared the new more entertaining multicultural programs to “earlier models for multicultural television programmes” which they found to be “‘paternalistic’ and ‘too educational’” (Leurdijk, 2006, p. 34). Besides television, this can be arguably generalized for other media platforms as well, such as radio. One way to make multiculturalism programs entertaining is to use humour as a way of dealing with topics that otherwise might be difficult to discuss (Leurdijk, 2006, p. 33). Another way of making multiculturalism topics compelling for larger audience is to approach them from an angle that is common for all humans despite their ethnicity: “experiences such as birth, love, death, having children, coming of age, loneliness” (Leurdijk, 2006, p. 34).

According to Leurdijk (2006) the change from the traditional ‘niche’ programming to mainstreaming was tied to the intense competition in the television field against the private competitors. In order to stay relevant and get more views the PSBs had to try to make programs with more mainstream appeal that would still fulfil their public service “obligation to provide special minority or multicultural programming” (Leurdijk 2006, p. 28). But, as discussed next, there was also another factor affecting the shift in policies within many European PSBs towards the (new) ethnic minorities and multicultural programming, that was arguably not so much due to the increasing competition, but more about a changing socio-political climate within Europe. This shift is in general described in terms of moving from multiculturalism policies into ‘diversity’ policies.

2.2. Terms: Multiculturalism/ (Cultural) Diversity

There is a need to discuss on how these two apparently similar terms, multiculturalism and (cultural) diversity, differ in the way they are comprised in the academic literature and in public policies. In academia both terms are rather polysemic which means that they are used differently in different associations. However, multiculturalism can be seen to have certain dominating meanings attached to it in both public policies and in academia. Multiculturalism is often used to describe a policy in society that emphasizes the coexistence of different cultures. This entails the idea that there is no need for assimilation of immigrants into the domestic culture, but rather the society will

benefit from supporting the differences. For example, Modood (2007) has stated that politically multiculturalism can be understood as: “the recognition of group differences within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity” (p. 2). Furthermore, Parekh (2000) has stated that in multiculturalism, the demands of ethnic minorities are not limited for tolerance but rather “they ask for the acceptance, respect and even public affirmation of their differences” (p. 1). Multiculturalism can therefore be seen as a normative term that connotes the idea of different ethnic cultures living together on equal terms.

Cultural diversity, or just diversity, is perhaps a term that is yet more polysemic. For example Eliason (1993) uses cultural diversity when referring to lesbian, gay or bisexual people. (Cultural) diversity in academia can be seen as more descriptive term that simply means that there are differences in customs, ideologies, norms and so on, not just between ethnic cultures, but also within certain ethnic culture. Unlike the term multiculturalism, (cultural) diversity does not necessarily connote in public policies that these differences, whether between ethnic cultures or within ethnic culture, are allowed to exist concurrently and that these differences are accepted as parts of the dominant culture on equal terms. (Cultural) diversity term is therefore arguably often used in policies in order to avoid making specific commitments. As Mattelart and d’Haenens (2014) have stated: “Cultural diversity policies are infused with a rhetoric that makes it difficult to critically explore their nature: After all, how could one be against diversity? Yet (...) the polysemic nature of the term ‘diversity’ obfuscates the objectives of the policies that are pursued in its name” (pp. 231-232). In some cases this might be the whole goal of using the term since it gives the impression in policies that the ethnic minorities and their cultures are being respected. However, as Mattelart and d’Haenens (2014) have stated: “Despite the imaginaries of cultural differences conveyed by the notion of diversity, such policies do not necessarily aim to enhance multiculturalism” (p. 232). On the contrary, (cultural) diversity policies may be aimed at more towards assimilation than embracing cultural differences, as Mattelart and d’Haenens (2014) have also stated: “many recent European ‘diversity’ initiatives work against multiculturalism policies” (p. 232).

In the case of YLE, the shift from the so-called multiculturalism policy to the so-called cultural diversity policy was already mentioned, but in larger frame YLE was actually largely following a trend already set out some years earlier by many other European PSBs such as the BBC (the UK), NPO (the Netherlands) and SVT/SR (Sweden). Titley (2014) has discussed this shift and argued that in European public discourse the term has been given increasingly negative meanings after the 9/11 and other events such as the London subway attacks of 2005. As Titley (2014) has stated: “Multiculturalism has come, in this conjuncture, to stand for and symbolize the problematic

excess of difference that must be disciplined by the turn to ‘integration’” (p. 249). This alleged ‘failure of multiculturalism’, which was even directly voiced by some European political leaders such as Angela Merkel (BBC, 2010) and David Cameron (BBC, 2011), has led to some academics referring to current times as post-multicultural (Vertoveck, 2010 and Awad and Engelbert, 2014). This term has somewhat different meanings to different academics, as has also been the case with multiculturalism. Gozdecka et al. (2014) have argued following about post-multiculturalism:

postmulticulturalism implies a departure from multiculturalism in many important ways and entails significant paradoxes [...] Our analysis reveals important changes in the areas of law and policy, in both institutional and discursive terms, signalling a shift from multiculturalism towards the reaffirmation of monoculturalism (p. 52)

European PSBs naturally had to adapt to this change in attitudes and therefore the “turn to ‘integration’”, or to post-multiculturalism, was largely adapted by changing the policies from multiculturalism to vaguer diversity policies. As Titley (2014) has stated: “the shift to diversity can be understood as what Håkon Larsen (2010) terms a ‘legitimation strategy’, which emerges in public service broadcasters’ reflexive attempts to negotiate their mandate in shifting socio-economic circumstances” (p. 252).

In the Netherlands, as discussed by Awad and Engelbert (2014), there was a shift from multiculturalism policy to ‘mainstreaming diversity’ that happened in the late 1990’s. In actuality it meant a shift from “group-targeted programmes” to programming that “aimed instead at the provision of Dutch-language programmes that could bring together minority and mainstream audiences” (p. 262). In 2008, there was another shift in NPO’s policy towards ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, which sounded first as being policy that was moving “beyond mainstreaming” into something that would address diversity, meaning the majority and all the different ethnic minorities, without placing all of them together (Awad and Engelbert, 2014, p. 262). However, as Awad and Engelbert (2014) have concluded, in reality it seem to have led to “uneven treatment of cultural diversity [...] some differences are supported, others are not. The result is an understanding of cultural diversity as compatible, non-threatening and adjustable” (p. 270).

A supported difference in this matter is considered to be something “that fosters social cohesion” whereas the unsupported differences are ones “that undermine social cohesion” (p. 270). The supported differences are therefore norms, customs or traditions that are socio-politically seen

as non-threatening for the Dutch cultural hegemony⁴ that the society is traditionally build up on. Different ethnic cuisines, music or sports are examples of these sort of harmless differences that are usually seen as able to co-exist with the Dutch culture. Then again the unsupported differences are the ones that by existence are seen to go against the Dutch cultural hegemony because they can be considered as morally problematic or as threat to the traditional Dutch norms, customs or traditions. For example Muslim culture's burqas, polygyny or Sharia law could be considered as these sort of differences in the Netherlands, because they are considered to be morally problematic from the Dutch Christianity standpoint.

2.3. Ethnic Humour and Multicultural Programs

Multicultural programs, like *Ali and Husu*, sometimes use humour in order to discuss ethnic cultural differences, and the prejudices and racism that are often connected to these differences in societies. Humour is used in these programs because, as Jennekens (2010) who is the head of diversity at the Dutch PSB, NTR, has put it: "Humour on television can unify us around diversity" (p. 18). This kind of humour can be labelled as ethnic humour because it is bounded to using ethnicity as the basis. Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) have divided ethnic humour into two groups: in-group humour which is "ethnic group's humour about itself and the world" (p. 127) and out-group humour which is "about a group rather than of a group and is designed by and for people not of that culture" (p. 127).

Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) have continued explaining how "In-group humour has a more folksy tone; group members poke fun at themselves and create a richer, more intimate humour about themselves than outsiders are able to cartoon" (p. 127). In this sense, the humour used in the contemporary multicultural programs cannot be dominantly in-group. Since the programs are not usually anymore aimed at only certain ethnic minority group that could understand the in-group humour of their culture, but rather these programs aim at mainstreaming, it is important for them that the humour is relatable for as many people as possible despite their ethnic backgrounds.

Out-group humour on the other hand, Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) define as being rather aggressive and derogatory of its intensions towards the ethnic group of which it is about, a sort of racist humour about a certain ethnic group by people not of that group. However, this arguably depends entirely on the intentions of the person using the humour as well as how the audience interprets the humour. In the case of PSB multicultural programs it is reasonable to

⁴ The Dutch Cultural hegemony refers here to the dominant ideology within the Netherlands and the powers to be that have implemented and currently hold this dominant ideology in place, mainly: the monarchy, the cabinet, the States General, the judicial system, the church (Catholic and Protestant) and the 'mainstream' media.

assume that the intentions for using out-group humour are usually quite the opposite, because these programs usually aim to unify people and dismantle prejudices. Content wise, Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) state how “Out-group humour tends to parody group characteristics that diverge from dominant norms: cultural differences in dress, physiognomy, social traditions, business practices, or religious customs” (p. 127).

The ethnic humour used in contemporary multicultural programs can often be also something that does not really fit into either of these categories. For example, a person belonging to certain ethnic group or to majority population might be making jokes about his/her own culture but the humour is often clearly aimed at both ethnic minority audiences and the majority audience. Therefore, in order to better adjust these categories to fit describing contemporary multicultural programs, in this thesis also a third category will be used, specifically to refer to humour that is about a certain group, but which is also designed and used by people of that group, for people not of that group. For example, an Iranian person joking about Iranian culture in a way that is designed for Finnish majority audience as well as for other ethnic minority groups. This kind of humour is in this study categorized as ‘insider out-group humour’.

Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) also discuss the audience interpretation of ethnic humour and state that this “has been shown to rely heavily – but not entirely – on knowledge or presumed knowledge of the source” (p. 127). What they mean by this is that there are certain rules that often apply to ethnic humour regarding who is using it. For example, people usually tolerate ethnic humour of a certain ethnic minority group better if it is done by a member belonging to that group or to another ethnic minority group rather than to the majority population. This is because the majority population is often seen to possess more power in a society and therefore humour that they use about ethnic minorities can be easily seen as racist or as a way of applying social control over the minorities by pointing out cultural attributes that deviate from the norms. On the other hand, when minority groups use humour about majority population, or about another minority group, this is more often seen as an acceptable way of offsetting the power imbalance that exists or as a way to break up the stereotypes and prejudices that the majority audience may have towards the ethnic minorities.

More generally about humour, academics have usually referred to three different theories in order to explain humour. These three theories are: the relief theory, the incongruity theory, and the superiority theory. The relief theory is based on the idea that using humour can relief tension around a topic that is being discussed and therefore reduce stress in people. Meyer (2000) has stated about tension release theory: “The physiological manifestations or ‘symptoms’ of humour are most important to this view, which holds that humour stems from the relief experienced

when tensions are engendered and removed from an individual. Humour then results from a release of nervous energy” (p.312). The incongruity theory seeks to explain humour as something that arises from unexpected yet nonthreatening events. Unlike the tension release theory, incongruity theory does not place humour in the field of psychology but rather emphasizes cognitive functions. Meyer (2000) has stated: “Individuals must have rationally come to understand normal patterns of reality before they can notice differences. The mental capacity to note, understand, and categorize incongruous changes is necessary for the perceiver to experience humour, as it is viewed from the incongruity perspective” (p. 313). Lastly, the superiority theory is based on the idea that humour arises from the audience’s feeling of superiority towards the subjects that are used as the ‘targets’ of humour. Since humour from this point of view involves the audience feeling superiority over the subject of the humour, “Often superiority is not a pleasant type of humour for those subjected to it” (Meyer, 2000, p. 314). All these theories have been used to explain “all instances of humour” (Meyer, 2000, p. 310), and therefore all humour can be analysed from these perspectives, which can make the use of these theories somewhat confusing.

For this reason Meyer (2000) has tried to explain humour from rhetorical perspective through the division of humour into four functions, which he has then further divided into two units according to how the humour unites or divides communicators: “Two tend to unite communicators: the identification and the clarification functions. The other 2 tend to divide 1 set of communicators from others: the enforcement and differentiation functions” (p.310). The identification function of humour is used when the communicator wishes to make, or ends up making, him/herself more relatable with the audience and the clarification function is used when the communicator wishes to make, or ends up making, his/hers point across through humour. When humour is based on these two functions, no other communicator is divided out, meaning that they are not criticized by being based as the subject of humour, but rather the focus is on uniting communicators. Then again, the enforcement function is used when communicator wishes to criticize something or someone without seeming too serious, and the differentiation function is used when communicator uses humour to separate him/herself or a group he/she represents from others through criticism. With these two functions the humour is used in order for the communicator to divide him/her or a represented group, from an issue, another communicator, or another group.

2.4. The History of YLE’s Policies Regarding Multicultural Programming

Media’s first interest in Finland towards immigrants focused largely on refugee perspective, which deviates from the general European trend which was largely based on labour perspective (Horsti, 2013). While until the 1990s Finland had mostly been a land of emigration, since then, the

immigration began to increase due to the growing amount of refugees (Saukkonen and Pyykkönen, 2008, p. 53). In the mid-'90s, The increase in immigration due to refugees was also noticed in YLE, where certain people at managerial level began to discuss the need to take these new immigrants into consideration when creating YLE's policies and programming. As stated by YLE's former manager of cultural programs, Elina Paloheimo:

When the number of immigrants began to rise, an idea was raised. Should we somehow understand this and should the public receive more knowledge? [...] I think I had seen funny and good programmes in the festivals and thought that we should be able to do something like that (in Horsti, 2014, p. 173).

This led to a creation of *Basaari* which ran from 1996 until 2008. As Horsti (2014) has argued, the period from the 1990's until 2005, can be called as the period of multiculturalism policy on YLE. During this period YLE largely followed the initial policies of other European PSBs concerning multicultural programming. "The initial paradigm of what was broadly termed 'multicultural programming' focused on 'niche programming' for specific groups, while also seeking to 'explain' minorities to the national audience. (Horsti et al., 2014, p. 9)" The *Basaari* program then, could be seen as YLE's solution for doing both of these tasks at the same time by using journalists and reporters from the new ethnic minority groups in order to make the program seem more familiar for these groups while also addressing issues that could help the majority population to understand these groups better. Other reason why YLE emphasized immigrant participation on the program's production was a cooperation with the European Commission's Social Fund. The earlier mentioned Mundo project was "a media education and work training project" for "immigrants and ethnic minorities that live in Finland" where YLE received funding from the European Social Fund's 'Equal' program (YLE 2007b).

In 2005, YLE shifted its minority group policy to something that can be called 'cultural diversity' policy. This new approach was stated in YLE's 2005 Policy on Services for Minorities and Special Groups (YLE, 2005):

Minorities and special groups and people belonging to these groups must be seen and heard on different channels and program areas also during times that fit the schedules of the general public [...] [YLE shall] increase the visibility and audibility of minorities and special groups as topics and persons, especially in television programming [...] The perspective of minorities and special groups will be

strengthened in experiential, fictitious and entertainment programs, and also in children and youth programs.

According to Horsti (2014), this new policy “guided the company towards the mainstreaming of cultural diversity across all programming during 2006–2010” (p. 169). This meant placing people of new ethnic minorities into all types of programming when possible and also creating programs that discuss issues of cultural diversity, and yet appeal to large audience. This is stated in the policy as follows: “In programming that is offered for minorities and special groups, and in programming about these groups aimed at majority audience, humour, entertainment and popular culture can be used effectively to build common experiences and to dismantle prejudices and stereotypes” (YLE, 2005). What is noteworthy here regarding Ali and Husu, is the emphasis that YLE gave to humour in these kind of programs already in 2005. Examples of this kind of programs during 2006-2010 were the short lived sketch show *Ähläm Sähläm* (2006) and the six part series *Muslimielämä* (2010) which was based on BBC’s format Make Me a Muslim. The program dealt with majority audience’s experiences of Islam and Muslims through techniques of reality-TV (Horsti, 2014). Already before the implementation of the new policy, YLE’s chief general manager at the time, Mikael Jugner, had told in an interview that YLE intends to rather ‘mainstream diversity’ than create targeted programs for new ethnic minorities since these would take away time and space from the traditional minorities’ (and English) programming:

Yle already produces programmes in Swedish, Sami, Russian and English. Besides, we don’t intend to give up these languages [...] When a programme is broadcast by a tool reaching millions of people, there are a minimum number of viewers below which a big machinery isn’t worth deploying [...] I’m sure immigrants feel it’s more important for multiculturalism to be widely apparent in various programmes than for Yle to allocate a small 15-minute slot for every language minority (Suihkonen, 2005).

What is interesting, though, is the fact that YLE seems to include Russian language (and English language) programming together with the traditional minorities’ programming. This programming mainly consists of news, Russian minority therefore being the only immigrant group receiving news in their own language, besides the ‘world language’ English. As Horsti has argued (2014), the main argument for this development seems to be the fact that besides Russians being the largest immigrant group in Finland, their arguably close ties to Russia and the arguably anti-west biases in Russian state controlled news need to be also countered by giving the Russian minority the Finnish, or more generally Western, version of news. This demonstrates rather clearly how YLE’s

multicultural programming policies are politically motivated.

In 2008 then, *Basaari* was cancelled as the last remnant of the multiculturalism policy period, perhaps because it did not fit with the new ‘cultural diversity’ policy. In 2010, the era of the ‘cultural diversity’ policy in turn came to an end, as discussed by Horsti (2014), and YLE now stands without a clear policy towards ethnic minorities or multicultural programming. Her analysis on the YLE’s policy after the ‘cultural diversity’ period showed that “YLE now articulates its minority policy only at a very general level. Since 2005, discourse that considers multiculturalism as a mission has lost its attractiveness in Finnish PSM policy.” (p. 179).

2.5. YLE In Economic and Socio-Political Turmoil

Behind these shifts in policies towards multicultural programming are arguably two main reasons, economical and socio-political, as discussed in the introduction. In this section these reasons are discussed more in-depth in order to better give an overview of the Finnish context in which the YLE operates in. In this regard this section will begin with the economic reasons and then continue to the socio-political reasons.

The competition between YLE and the commercial television and radio channels has turned increasingly harsher since the 1990’s. Whereas for example in 1996 when *Basaari* began there was only few commercial competitors on television, nowadays YLE has to compete against ten free nationwide channels plus a plethora of pay-tv channels, both domestic and international. This competition is difficult for YLE as for any other PSB since, as stated by Tambini (2004): “In general, people watch less programming of traditional public service genres when they have more choice” (in Bardoel and d’Haenens, 2008, p.344). For now YLE has been able to keep up with the private competitors rather well. As European Broadcast Union (2015) has stated: “Yle is deeply rooted in Finnish society. One hundred per cent of the population use at least one of Yle services a year, while the daily reach of Yle was over 70% of the population in 2014” (p. 10).

Besides the increased competition on television and radio, YLE also has to compete against the fact that people are spending more time on their laptops, tablets and smart phones instead of watching television or listening to radio. The latter issue YLE addressed finally in 2013, when the long-planned YLE-tax replaced the television tax that was used before to finance YLE’s operations. This meant that YLE now receives income from all the tax payers and not just the ones who own a television set. In order to justify this YLE has placed a lot of resources on its online platform YLE Areena where almost all its content of both radio and television are uploaded and where live broadcasts can also be followed.

What creates the most pressure towards YLE economically is the current state of the

Finnish economy. As The Telegraph (Khan, 2015) has reported: “Finland has been the worst performing economy in the eurozone outside of the southern European states, having endured three years of recession”. This has arguably already affected YLE when in 2014 the company terminated 74 permanent employees and also reduced the use of time-limited employees due to the fact that the government decided to freeze index increase for the YLE-tax (YLE, 2014). In order to cope with the situation YLE is increasingly turning into using external productions, according to the Director of Creative Content, Ville Vilén (Lehmusvesi, 2014).

The growing competition against both other traditional media channels and new media channels, and especially the current severe economic situation of Finland, make it arguably hard for YLE to focus on the needs of the ethnic minorities or to specific multicultural programs, because it is not the minorities but the main population that pay for majority of YLE’s funding and therefore YLE needs to continually make sure that they stay happy first and foremost with programs that have real ‘mainstream’ appeal. As Collins et al. (2001) have stated their perspective: “There is little point to public funding of merit goods if they are consumed by few. Public service broadcasting cannot succeed unless it is popular. It cannot therefore be consigned to a ghetto at the margin of the market, filling the gaps disdained by profit-maximizing broadcasters” (p. 5). Besides there being “little point”, this kind of PSB that would only cater for specific minority groups would be extremely hard sell politically in current economic climate where politicians are constantly looking for ways to make savings in the public budget without irritating many voters.

Since the beginning of 2000’s, a populist party the Finns (formerly True Finns), who keeps the anti-immigration discussion and multiculturalism criticism as a steady part of their image, has been steadily gaining popularity in Finland. As Horsti (2014) notes: “The policy changed from multiculturalism to cultural diversity at a time when nationalist populism began to take root in Finland and a general Europe-wide ‘crisis of multiculturalism’ discourse began to shape policies elsewhere in the region” (p. 170). According to Horsti (2013), especially anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism groups have taken advantage of the Internet as a platform to broadcast and distribute their views. Good example of this is a Hommaforum website which was launched in 2008 by the Finns party member Jussi Halla-Aho and other like-minded people, in order to give a forum to discuss “immigration critical” views, as they’ve labelled their ideology. The real breakthrough of the Finns happened in 2011 when they received relatively the biggest election victory in Finnish history by receiving 19.1% support in the parliamentary elections, which was astonishing 15 percentage points more than in the previous elections in 2007. Although this victory did not take them to the government (because the party disagreed with the rest of the government parties about giving Greece financial support during the economic crisis), it definitely made them a force to be

reckoned with within the Finnish political field. Coincidental or not, it seems that again YLE decided to change their minority policy around the same time as the survey results of the increase in the popularity of the Finns began gaining media attention in 2010 (YLE, 2010).

This political factor is in many ways connected to the earlier point about competition and the need for YLE to cater to the majority of the population, but from this angle the issue becomes even more complicated since besides the fact that the majority needs to be constantly kept satisfied and entertained it now also seems that large chunk of the majority could even resent the mere idea that YLE would specifically cater for the new ethnic minorities. The Finns party has already made moves towards YLE and their policy towards multiculturalism, when in 2012 their party member Vesa-Matti Saarakkala asked the government a formal question during a parliament session:

How does the government under the new premises of YLE's funding being managed through taxation, explain YLE's programming tasks, and is the government willing, if necessary, to present changes in the Broadcasting law 7 §⁵, which mentions for example supporting multiculturalism? (Saarakkala, 2012)

The housing and communication minister Krista Kiuru gave a formal response to Saarakkala where she stressed the fact that YLE is in this regard following the common norms set out by the European Union: "Public service tasks laid down by law are based on parliamentary preparation. These tasks implement common principles of public service broadcasting, which have been registered e.g. into annex of Treaty on European Union, the so called Amsterdam Protocol" (Kiuru, 2012). This time the formal question did not lead to further actions, but nevertheless the popularity of the Finns party places YLE in an increasingly difficult situation concerning their multicultural programming.

⁵ Section 7 in Act on Yleisradio Oy: http://yle.fi/yleisradio/sites/yleisradio/files/attachments/yle_act_en19931380.pdf

3. Methods

In this chapter the chosen methods for conducting this study are discussed. First comes a discussion about what constitutes the units of analysis, the sample, and how these were determined and gathered. Secondly comes a discussion about the chosen methodological approach, where the use of this approach is justified and explained. Lastly comes a discussion about how the theory from the literature chapter was operationalized for the actual analysis.

3.1. Units of Analysis

The chosen studied time period was from January 2013 until the end of 2014. This was the time period that the *Ali and Husu* had been running on YLE Puhe (YLE Talk) radio channel when this study began. The sample of 6 (60min) episodes (3 from 2013 and 3 from 2014) were gathered from this time period by using a purposive sampling. Four criteria were used when choosing the sample episodes. First factor was looking at episodes that had created most attention (before end of February 2015) and this was measured with the amount of clicks that the episodes had accumulated on YLE Areena website where YLE uploads almost all of its television and radio content (<http://areena.yle.fi/radio/1793778>). Episodes that had created most attention were fitting for this study since they can be seen to represent the topics related to multiculturalism that are particularly popular or controversial in the Finnish society. Second factor was that the episodes from the beginning of the first season, early 2013, and from the end of the second season, late 2014, were preferred in order to capture the evolution of the program. The third factor was that the episodes with topics that directly dressed issues related to the new ethnic minorities were preferred in order to keep the focus of the sample on the multiculturalism related issues. The fourth and final factor was including episodes that have different kind of guests, ethnicity wise. This means that the chosen episodes needed to have guests from different new ethnic minority groups and also from the main population.

The selection was then conducted by first sorting all the episodes, with separated lists for 2013 and 2014 seasons, into descending order beginning from the episode with most clicks. After this the episodes with most clicks from the beginning of the season 2013 and from the end of season 2014 were taken into closer review. Out of these the episodes that according to the description at the YLE Areena website most focused on discussing the issues of immigrants in Finland were preferred over other kind of episodes. Lastly, out of the episodes with most clicks from the beginning of 2013 and from the end of 2014, and which focused on the issues of immigrants in Finland, the final sample was gathered so that it included ethnically as diverse range of guests as possible. This concluded the ethnic backgrounds of the guests to range as follows: two

with Finnish ('natives'), two with Russian, one with Estonian-Swedish, One with Iraq-Kurd, one with Syrian, one with Finnish-Turkish, one with Finnish-American, and two with Somalian backgrounds.

The sample for the in-depth interviews with the makers of the program was gathered with purposive sampling since the interest was in specific people within the program team. These people were both Ali and Husu, and the main producer of the program, Kari Tervo. The interviews were conducted in Helsinki in locations that the interviewees had chosen. Duration of one interview was from 30 minutes to one hour. The interviews were recorded with two separate recorders in order to avoid technical errors. The transcripts of the interviews were created within 48 hours of the interviews in order to involve also as much contextual information as possible.

3.2. Methodology

The analysis of the chosen episodes was conducted by using qualitative approach. Because the ideological dimensions in media texts (in this study the strategies and objectives of *Ali and Husu*) are often implicit, this study could not have been done using quantitative approach. As Nylund (2007) has stated: "Kellner (1995) defined ideology as a system of beliefs or ideas; all media texts are products of ideology. Sometimes the ideological position presented may be explicitly spelled out [...] More often, the ideology is implicit and one has to read critically into the text to find ideology at work" (p. 68). Furthermore, since this study is focusing on these kind of implicit ideologies in media texts, this study was conducted by using qualitative content analysis. As Matthews and Ross (2010) have stated: "You can think of content analysis as a way of discovering patterns in data that aid our understanding of the underlying phenomena" (p.395).

The first step here, was to transform the data (audio media texts) into written textual form, which was done by creating transcripts out of each episode in the sample. These transcripts were done by not only writing down the manifest content, meaning everything that people say, but also by interpreting the latent content. As stated by Elo and Kyngäs (2007): "The aim with latent content is also to notice silence, sighs, laughter, posture etc." (p. 109). Interpreting and writing down these elements in the transcript gave more detailed textual data to work with. Another issue which also needed to be considered in the transcripts was the interpretive context. The analysis was conducted on radio talk program where the conversation ranges from humorous to very serious, and this factor needed to be taken into consideration in order to avoid mistakes such as taking sarcastic comments as serious. For this reason, special attention was paid when creating the transcripts so that they contained notes of not just what someone said, but also how they said it.

The conceptual methodological framework of this study could be labelled as 'semi-

deductive' analysis or what Hsieh and Shannon (2005) have called "directed content analysis". Elo and Kyngäs (2007) have stated about purely deductive content analysis that it "is often used in cases where the researcher wishes to retest existing data in a new context" (p. 111). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) have stated about directed content analysis that: "The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory" (p. 1281). The difference between purely deductive and directed content analysis can then be seen to be that the directed content analysis enables to primarily focus on the existing theory while also leaving room for new theory to be inductively formed from the data, whereas the purely deductive approach is mainly interested in testing whether existing theory holds up in a new context. As Hsieh and Shannon (2005) have stated, in directed content analysis the theory "can provide predictions about the variables of interest" (p. 1281), yet it does not limit the variables of interest in the same extent as purely deductive analysis. The qualitative semi-deductive analysis was conducted using thematic analysis. The implementation of the thematic analysis is discussed in the following operationalization section.

The interviews were conducted after preliminary analysis of the episodes had been finished. The aim of the interviews was to gather information about: What are the motives of the interviewees for the making of the program?; How do the interviewees interpret YLE's motives for the program and to what extent have they been discussing the direction of the program with people from YLE's managerial level?; How episodes were planned?; How do the interviewees see the functions of humour in the program?; And, how do the interviewees see traditional multicultural programs and the newer trend of 'mainstreaming'? This information was analysed by following the same steps as with the episodes. The coded interview data was combined with the coded episode, and in the results chapter appropriate segments from the interviews are referenced in relation to the mentioned segment from the episodes and the theme in question.

3.3. Operationalization Categories

From the theory discussed in the literature chapter, the following categories constituted the basis for the operationalization through the qualitative content analysis. The three main categories are framed in the form of questions according to topics of interest that were derived from the theory. These topics are then divided further into variables of interest according to variables derived from the theory that can be seen to measure and provide answers for the questions (table on the next page):

Table 1. Operationalization Categories

	Topic of Interest	Variables of Interest	
1	Does the content relate more towards traditional multicultural program or new type of ‘mainstreaming’?	Traditional characteristics	New characteristics
		Guests appealing to ethnic minority/minorities Focus on educational factors Focus is on culture specific issues	Guests appealing to ‘mainstream’ audience. Focus on entertainment factors Focus is on universal human issues
2	How is ethnic humour applied in the program and what are the functions of humour in general in the program?	Ethnic humour categories	Rhetorical categories of humour
		In-group humour: humour has cultural references and characteristics that are specific to certain ethnic group and can be therefore best understood by this group. Out-group humour: user identifies with being outside of the ethnic group that she/he uses as the target of humour. Insider out-group humour: user identifies with being part of the group that she/he uses as the target of humour.	Identification: humour is used in order to get the audience to identify with the communicator Clarification: humour is used in order to get a point across Enforcement: Humour is used in order to criticize issues without being labelled as criticizer Differentiation: Humour is used in order to criticize people/group and to get the audience to identify with the communicator through differentiation of the people/group who are being criticized
3	Can the discussion topics in the program that are related to cultural differences be considered to “foster” or to “undermine” social cohesion	Fostering social cohesion	Undermining social cohesion
		‘harmless’ differences: food cultures, arts, sports etc.	‘harmful’ differences: religious fundamentalism, women’s rights, animal rights etc.

The article from Leurdijk (2006) mentioned differences in traditional multicultural programming and new kind of multicultural programming. The traditional multicultural programming was often targeted specifically for ethnic minorities or for specific ethnic minority group. When they were aimed at both minority and majority audiences, they were sometimes considered by newer program makers to be “too educational”. On the other hand, many of the newer programs that aim to ‘mainstreaming’ multiculturalism, use different ways to appeal to more universal audience, as discussed in the literature chapter. Since YLE’s policies towards multicultural programming have become vaguer, it is not clear where *Ali and Husu* can be placed on this scale. Therefore, this was measured by using variables derived from Leurdijk (2006) in which the first option represents focus on mainstreaming and the second to targeted programming. These variables are: Guests invited are universally appealing versus mainly appealing to certain ethnic minority or ethnic minorities more generally; focus is on entertainment factors versus

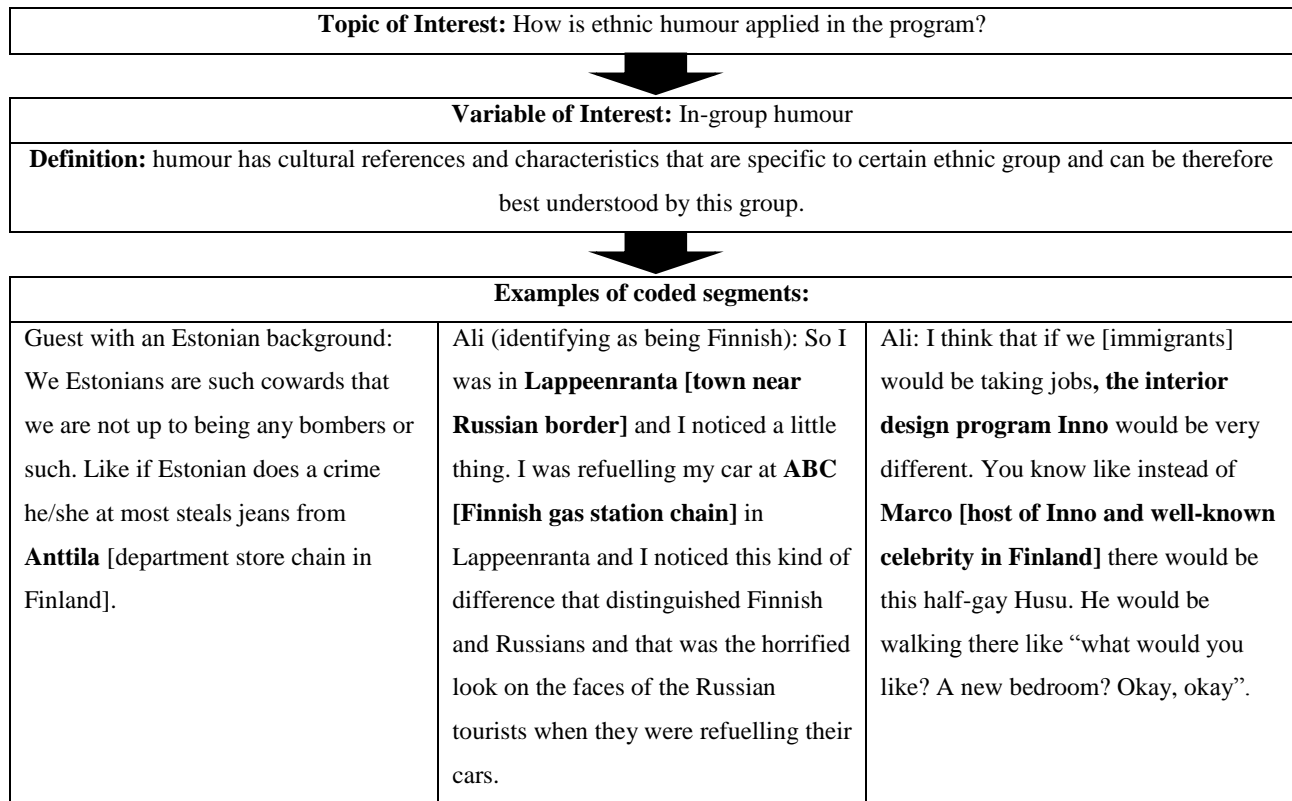
informational/educational factors; and focus is on universal human issues versus specific culture related issues.

Since humour is used very often in *Ali and Husu*, this element was analysed separately. The theory derived from Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) was used as the basis for Analysing how the different categories of ethnic humour are used in the program and why. In this regard, the variables are: in-group humour, out-group humour, and also ‘insider out-group humour’. The theory derived from Meyer (2000) was used in order to analyse to what communicational and rhetorical purposes the humour is used for in the program. In this regard, the variables are: identification, clarification, enforcement, and differentiation.

When Analysing whether the topics discussed in *Ali and Husu* can be considered ‘safe’ or more complex/controversial, Awad and Engelbert’s (2014) discussion about the allowed and not allowed differences on the Dutch PSB were used as the basis. Therefore, the interest in the analysis was on whether the topics discussed in *Ali and Husu* can be considered to mainly “foster social cohesion” or to “undermine social cohesion”. In this regard the context in Finland can be seen to be highly similar to that of the Netherlands. Topics that can be seen to foster social cohesion in this regard are topics that do not challenge the profound elements of the Finnish dominant ideology but at most add something to the culture which can be seen as beneficial or harmless from the perspective of the Finnish cultural hegemony. These kind of topics are for example food cultures, arts, sports and so on. Topics that can be seen to undermine social cohesion then are topics that do challenge the profound elements of the Finnish dominant ideology. For example, discussing the importance of women wearing burqas or niqabs from a standpoint of a fundamentalist Muslim; discussing dog eating from a standpoint of a Chinese or Vietnamese; or discussing arranged marriages from a standpoint of an Indian are examples of these sort of topics. However, in order for these topics to undermine social cohesion it is not necessary that these kind of topics are only discussed from the standpoint of people who believe in these norms, customs or traditions, but there needs to be an effort to engage in discussion that goes beyond only criticizing them, otherwise this kind of discussion can be seen to merely support cultural assimilation and to aim towards fostering social cohesion.

The thematic analysis was then conducted by using the variables of interest as the theoretical basis for coding the content of the episodes and the interviews. The coding was conducted one category at a time. For example in the case of the second category and the three ethnic humour categories, this meant that for example when there was a segment in an episode that could be labelled as in-group humour, this segment was coded under the concept “in-group humour” and so forth. As all the six episodes and three interviews had been coded like this

regarding the ethnic humour, the codes were then divided into themes which were derived from the coded segments. Below graph exemplifies this process regarding the in-group category of ethnic humour:



Graph 1. Example of Coding Within Topic of Interest

From the Graph 1 it can be seen that, for example, the cultural references used in much of the humour in *Ali and Husu* make it in-group humour because the humour cannot be fully understood without being familiar with these references. Therefore one theme that can be derived from this regarding the in-group humour is: *used cultural references causing humour to be ethnic in-group humour*. However, as can also be seen here quite clearly, these example segments could also be placed under either out-group humour when a person using humour is identifying as being outside of the group that he/she is making fun of, or under insider out-group humour when the person using humour is identifying as being part of the group that he/she is making fun of. Therefore, immediately it becomes apparent that the variables derived from the theory are in no means absolute. For this reason all the three ethnic humour categories needed to be semi-deductively coded and compared first before any definite themes could be formed.

4. Results

Table 2. Sample Episodes

Code for the episode	Name of the episode	Date	Clicks	Guests	Description
<i>Marriage</i>	Ali and Husu's marriage counselling	2.10.2014	1293	Keijo Mikkänen (Finnish male living in arranged marriage) and Saido Mohamed (Female refugee born in Somalia. Worked in several NGOs)	Discussion about arranged marriages
<i>Irritating Immigrants</i>	What is irritating immigrants about Finns?	18.9.2014	1594	Henri Chezek (Finnish-American male comedian) and Bahar Tokat (Finnish-Turkish female comedian)	Discussion about things that irritate immigrants about Finns
<i>Irritating Finns</i>	What is irritating Finns about immigrants?	11.9.2014	1686	Henri Chezek and Bahar Tokat	Discussion about things that irritate Finns about immigrants
<i>Humour</i>	What things Muslims find funny?	7.2.2013	2954	Anas Hajjar (Male born in Syria. Imam of Finnish Muslim Community) and Pertti Jarla (Finnish male comic author)	Discussion about what humour is allowed in Islam
<i>Prejudices</i>	Immigrants have prejudices too	31.1.2013	2487	Mebe Peshmerge (Male comedian with Iraq-Kurdish background), Levan Tvaltvadze (Male news reporter with Russian background) and Antto Terras (Male comedian with Swedish-Estonian background)	Discussion about prejudices that immigrants have towards each other
<i>Opinions</i>	Are immigrants allowed to state their opinions?	10.1.2013	2794	Polina Kopylova (Female journalist with Russian background) and Maryam Abdulkarim (Female journalist and NGO-active with Somali background)	Discussion about an article written by Umayya Abu-Hanna regarding racism in Finland

4.1. Background and General Information about the Program Derived from the Interviews

4.1.1. How the Program Got Started and How the Roles of the Hosts Were Chosen

While listening the program it often seems that Ali is the one leading the program. Partly this is due to the fact that he speaks practically fluent Finnish, unlike Husu who speaks more broken Finnish, and is therefore perhaps naturally more adequate to guide the episode narratives. He also often does a short monologue at the beginning related to the theme of that episode and sometimes also ends the episodes by concluding the main discussion topics into one narrative. However, what became apparent from the interviews with Ali, Husu and the producer Kari Tervo, is that Husu was in the beginning, and during the 2013 and 2014 seasons, the mastermind behind the program's format and implementation, and also largely responsible for inviting the guests. As a matter of fact, Husu was also the person who originally came up with the program idea. As he explained in the interview:

The idea came when I was studying in university of applied sciences in 2011 and there was a media class. I had previously been writing blog posts and they always raised many questions from the readers, but I never had enough time or energy to answer all of them, so I thought what if there would be a radio program where people could approach me with questions and I could answer them directly in that program?

Husu then told his media teacher this idea and after some more planning the teacher helped him to get the program broadcasted live on small local radio ran by volunteers. But already before this, stand-up comedian Ali, whom Husu already knew well, was asked by Husu to join the program, because as Husu stated:

I thought I was too humourless [...] so I figured that the program would benefit from me having a partner, that partner would be a person who also has an immigrant background, who would see things differently than me and would bring his/hers own views, but who would also be a bit funnier than me [...] I expected that there would be negative questions or comments, and if I began confronting all of those seriously that would just lead to us versus them set-up, but if we would begin to dismantle even those hard aspersions through humour, if those would be dismantled but at the same time made fun of, through that the person [with prejudices towards immigrants] might began to think that “okay I was thinking like this, but the guys have chopped it up like this, I can agree with this”.

This same idea of using humour in order to dismantle prejudices against immigrants was also highlighted by Kari Tervo, who Husu approached with the idea after doing few episodes with Ali on the local radio. Tervo is a media professional with an extensive career in both hosting and producing television and radio programs. A former production company Tarinatalo which Tervo partly owned has produced many of the previous multicultural programs on YLE such as *Ähläm Sähläm* and *Muslimielämää*, and Tervo personally told in the interview that he had been in an active role in the production of these programs. In 2012, a British production company ITV Studios bought Tarinatalo when it expanded into Finland and Tervo now acts as the executive producer and the chairman of ITV Studios Finland. Tervo explained how he only began believing in the program idea after meeting with both Husu and Ali, and how he saw especially the sort of confrontation set-up between the two hosts as a way to deal with prejudices and difficult topics through humour:

Husu visited me and he was pretty tense [...] I was left with a feeling that well, okay [sounding not impressed], but then he called me again and said that he would be coming again but this time with Ali. Then when sitting at my office with the two, the sort of seriousness of Husu and the other sort of approach of stand-up comedian Ali, who is also a smart person, it was easy to see that this would work as a program [...] at the beginning when everyone was already together we were thinking like who are the most hated minority in Finland? Well, Somalians, okay, and then Ali as an Iranian berates Husu about his manhood, fatherhood, religion, all these sort of things, he slams Husu and Husu tries to respond back, and when a [native] Finnish person listens to this kind of program, [they would be like] “oh, they are like this, this is how we are as well when we are having few beers in sauna”.

4.1.2. The Program’s Objectives as Seen by the Makers

Tervo who was in charge of selling *Ali and Husu* to YLE, and who has also been in charge of producing other programs for YLE which could be placed under the term multiculturalism programs, the *Ähläm Sähläm* and *Muslimielämää*, summarized the mission of these programs as: “it is to show immigrants as humans, meaning familiar, to remove fears, prejudices, to see that they are laughing at similar things (...) I don’t call it integrating, I call it familiarizing. Integrating is something completely different”. What is especially interesting here is that Tervo sees especially humour as a way to dismantle prejudices and fears towards immigrants. Husu, as the original creator of the program, voiced similar opinions and also highlighted the importance of creating a dialogue between immigrants and native Finns: “We are creating conversation culture. If we have

achieved nothing else with this program, we have at least achieved creating this sort of conversation culture where people are allowed to say out loud what they are thinking. That's everything to me with this program." What Husu refers to with allowing people to say their opinions out loud is based on a notion also voiced by Horsti (2013), that the conversations involving immigrants or multiculturalism have polarized in Finland during recent years, which has made discussing these issues freely or objectively quite difficult. As Husu stated later during the interview:

For quite some time there has been a climate of confrontation, where consensus has not been found [...] where the climate is rather kept at standstill where you either are against immigrants or you are pampering immigrants, there is nothing in between, and specifically in this middle ground are the immigrants, who are suffering from this.

What Husu refers to with this is that if someone brings up ideas within the public sphere that are critical towards immigrants or immigration, he/she is claimed as racist, and when someone is speaking to support immigrants or immigration, he/she is claimed as someone who pampers immigrants, a "kukkahattutäiti" (flower hat lady⁶) as the program makers humoristically portray them. This leads to a situation where constructive discussion about the topic becomes difficult because people are afraid of being put into these 'boxes' (especially the box of racist). The program then attempts to dismantle these 'boxes' by not taking sides but rather being critical and attacking all groups equally. As Tervo explained in the interview: "I was thinking that okay, here we laugh at immigrants, or they laugh at themselves (and) here the attack is towards both the flower hat ladies, meaning these kind of well-meaning Finns, and towards, if said badly, racists".

4.1.3. The Re-Branding of YLE's Talk Radio Channel and the 13:00-14:00 Time Slot

At the same time when Tervo began selling the program to YLE, the PSB had just begun renewing and re-branding its talk radio channel YLE Puhe. One of the changes that the channel attempted was to make its early afternoon programs seem more interesting and compelling. All of the three interviewees explained how there was a deliberate attempt by YLE to create a branded weekday timeslot from 13:00 to 14:00, which would provide something more easily marketable and 'media sexy' than the other time slots. This was decided to be talk programs that would be hosted by known or otherwise interesting persons outside YLE: media personalities, authors, journalists, and so on. The branding of the 13:00 - 14:00 time slot was most likely done, because early afternoon is a prominent time slot for radio nowadays, which can possibly be put to account with right tactics.

⁶ A term used in Finland to describe an imaginary person who has highly moral and protective attitudes, and is quick to blame people. Used sometimes as a term to belittle people who support intake of refugees and other immigration related matters.

This is because people are rarely anymore just sitting down in the evening in order to listen to radio, due to television and Internet amongst other new media, but in many jobs and job places there is a possibility to listen to radio while still keeping other senses focused on the task at hand. However, in order to get people to tune in to certain channel at a specific time during the afternoon hours that time slot needs to be branded so that people know for a fact that there will be something interesting for them. As Ali stated about the time slot:

They [YLE] wanted everything to be new and then they came up with this 13 o'clock format, meaning that every day at 13:00 the brand [of that time slot] would be based on specific person brands, and we were actually one of the first ones to get to make program for that time slot [...]. As a matter of fact, that 13:00 time slot is in some ways very good, because if you think like 13 o'clock radio, who even listens to radio at that time, but then suddenly when you brand it like "this is the YLE Puhe 13 o'clock time slot, it makes it stronger".

The issue is not so much "who even listens to radio at that time", but perhaps more about who tunes into specific channel on purpose at that time instead of just flicking through channels until finding something interesting. In this sense the specific branding of that time slot, with interesting people that listeners might be already familiar with from other broadcaster or medium, could indeed help to get people to purposely tune in at that time of the day. Ali and Husu both as somewhat known immigrants (Especially Ali who had previously hosted popular reality-TV program on a commercial television channel) provided this kind of special person brands for the time slot by merely looking and also sounding different than the usual radio or television persons, not to mention their tendency to discuss controversial topics with rather fearless and unapologetic style. And, it seems that it worked out since the program was one of the most popular ones on Yle Puhe with the Thursday 13:00 – 14:00 broadcasts having around 30 to 50 thousand live listeners (KRT Online/ Finnpanel Oy, 2015). Taken the above facts into consideration, it can be concluded here that the program seems to have gotten started much more through idiosyncratic planning of the makers and through coincidence of YLE renewing its talk radio channel at that time, rather than YLE purposely looking for a new immigrant and multiculturalism based program on its repertoire. Idiosyncrasy in this study is specifically used to refer to a unique individualistic approach to planning and decision making, in contrast to consistent institutionalized planning and decision making.

When it comes to the 13:00 to 14:00 time slot more specifically, all the interviewees said they did not feel that the afternoon time slot has affected the program's format or content in any major way. Ali contemplated that perhaps if the program would have been a typical 'morning

show', the program would have been more relaxed and easy going, while Tervo stated that only way the time slot has affected the program was that: "they (YLE) originally gave us a guideline that at that time, 13:00 to 14:00, it is not good to curse during broadcast". Ali also voiced how the fact that the program only comes once a week, instead of being a daily program such as the 'morning shows', allowed them to do more variations between episodes:

For example during summers I make the Ali Show [a 'morning show'] by myself and that is more like, it has like a certain format, because that program is done sixty episodes in a row and every morning the guests are booked [...] I just fill those guest spots, tell their information like this is his/hers profession, here is their history, here are the questions for them, you're welcome. So that's like that but with this program when we make one hour episode per week we can create some variance, like we don't have to be exactly the same every time, so it's not like the so called bulk stuff.

While the time slot has not affected the program's format or content, being on a talk radio channel instead of being on a channel with mix of music and talk, can be seen to have some direct impact on the program's content. All the three interviewees discussed how the topics covered in the program were planned as being topical but on a larger frame, looking at contemporary issues but not issues or news of that day or week, because as Tervo phrased it:

If some pattern is present at the program it is probably that it's about kind of topical issues, but not of that day or week. It is about issues which are moving with the times, and then there has to be some kind of immigrant aspect to them [...] at one point we aimed at doing like very topical issues, but it came very difficult because, a, it was not what the subscriber [YLE] had ordered, and on the other hand getting guests for that kind of program is much harder because they are already going to every radio and television channel, so we gave that up [...] YLE Puhe covers very topical issues every day, every hour, they have channel that is just talk, so they suck in all that stuff and then we started having overlapping guests and other stuff so our focus was a bit lost for some time until we went back to the original idea and then it began working again.

4.1.4. YLE's Role in Controlling the Objectives and the Content of the Program

From all the three interviews it came apparent that YLE seems to hardly apply any control over the programs objectives or content, besides the already mentioned factor of not approving cursing. As Ali voiced it:

Yle does not come forward like “hey, that can’t be said”, or “this cannot be done”, because I guess they also have certain responsibilities [...] I’m sure that their hearts from time to time miss couple beats when we are there [live on air] so I’m sure few bosses have been like “I can’t believe they just said that” [...] but same as most of our listeners have understood, also the people at YLE, or the leadership of YLE, have realized that these guys are really doing this thing with a tongue-in-cheek.

What Ali probably refers to with YLE having “certain responsibilities” is the part in Act on Yleisradio Oy that refers to YLE’s obligation to allow free and wide-ranging opinions and discussion to be presented on its broadcasts:

The public service programming shall in particular:

- 1) support democracy and everyone’s opportunity to participate by providing a wide variety of information, opinions and debates as well as opportunities to interact;
- (Ministry of Transport and Communications of Finland, 2005)

Only things that YLE seems to be doing is sometimes giving feedback or remarks if the broadcast or other matters related to the program have somehow gone ‘bad’, meaning mainly too explicit sexual references or other ‘inappropriate’ content, or content that is highly controversial. One example of this kind of highly controversial content was in 2013, when the program makers uploaded a picture online of Ali and Husu doing a Nazi salute (although with wrong hand) in relation to news about a Finns party member’s friend doing the salute inside a parliament building. At that time YLE’s radio manager Marja Keskitalo commented the event to a tabloid newspaper: “the meaning of it was to make parody of the day’s news headline [...] However, this time the means of humour did not work and the picture should not have been published. It by no means represents the values of the program or YLE” (Oksanen, 2013). Also the producer from YLE’s side sometimes takes part in brainstorming ideas for the episodes as well as providing help for inviting guests if the program makers themselves do not have required contacts. As Tervo stated in the interview:

They have not intervened in anything else than sometimes when we have done a bad broadcast, which we have known ourselves, they have given us feedback about it [...] So we have been able to do it very freely, they don’t intervene with topics, our topic choices are ours. Of course we have YLE producer who brainstorms viewpoints to the mix, and also sometimes acquires guests. But I mean with the topic choices and the

content, I mean it's a live broadcast, so nobody can kind of stop it unless they shut down everything.

4.1.5. Planning of an Episode

The planning of an episode appears to be a rather loose process that follows certain similar patterns but does not require highly thought out scripts. This approach is largely made possible by the two hosts' ability to create conversations out of anything. As Tervo stated: "the scripts are pretty undetailed because they (Ali and Husu) can just sit in the studio for an hour and talk about any topic, it's unbelievable". Husu discussed the planning process of an episode in a more detailed matter, yet he also concluded this by stating how sometimes when they do not rely on script "the episode is more like a bar or café discussion, people relate to it easily. Not being like, we are going to cut this conversation short no matter how interesting it is and move on to the next thing". Again, these matters voiced out by the makers steer towards a conclusion that the episodes are rather idiosyncratically produced without highly thought out scripts and discussion points. This certainly does not mean that everything goes and that the episodes do not have certain thought out agendas, but it does give an impression that the structure of a given episode is both planned and improvised during the live broadcast. As Ali who is quick to improvise a joke about anything put it:

Everything is basically based on the fact that neither of us [Ali or Husu] have any journalist background, we are not trying to do like a journalistic program, we are not trying to do this with the structure of the program being perfect, but rather we have brought our coffee table discussion into the broadcast itself.

4.2. First Category of Operationalization: Traditional Multicultural Program or Mainstreaming

This section discusses to which extent the content of the analysed episodes can be seen to relate to the traditional multicultural programs, and to which extent to the newer trend of 'mainstreaming', as discussed by Leuridijk (2006).

4.2.1. The Guests

Analysing *Ali and Husu* from this perspective is somewhat complex task. In many ways the guest choices seem to connote equally towards traditional multicultural program as they do towards mainstreaming. In this regard, four different themes could be derived from the analysed episodes and from the interviews: guests were predominantly with immigrant background and had little notoriety in the Finnish public realm; guests were invited because of their expertise; guests were

invited because of their entertainment value; or, guests were invited because of their personal experiences on the topic.

If one would simply look at all the guests on the program during 2013-2014, *Ali and Husu* could be labelled much more as traditional multicultural program than mainstreaming. They were dominantly people with immigrant backgrounds, with some native Finns and few people from the national minorities. Furthermore the guests seemed to have been largely chosen because of their close relation to the topic of that week or because of their acquaintance with Ali or Husu in personal life, instead of being chosen because of their notoriety in the Finnish public realm. Majority of them were not known in the public realm or working in the entertainment industry, but in different public and private organizations and NGO's, many of these which were related to multiculturalism. The fact that the majority of the guests had immigrant background has played central role in the program from the maker's point of view. Tervo explained the choosing process of guests:

One big idea was that we are all ethnic Finns in this firm [ITV], and our acquaintanceship, experiences and environment are not very immigrant centred, but when there are many absolutely great personas amongst the people with immigrant backgrounds who never get a chance to talk in radio, television or elsewhere, our premise was that we're going to get [to the program] helluva lot of Ali and Husu's associates [with immigrant backgrounds].

Placing immigrants who are not known in the Finnish public realm on the program regardless of their low mainstream appeal, with a specific intent of giving exposure to different ethnic minority voices could definitely be taken as a sign of more traditional multicultural program and in many ways it resembles *Basaari's* concept of giving the new ethnic minorities a chance to participate in the production of the program.

However, unlike in many programs that aim to educate and inform, such as the traditional multicultural programs, the guests were often not chosen because of their expertise about the topic at hand, but rather because of their repartee. For example in the two analysed episodes, *Irritating Immigrants* and *Irritating Finns*, the two guests who appeared in both episodes were up-coming stand-up comedians and actors, Bahar Tokat with Finnish-Turkish background and Henric Chezek with Finnish-American background. The guests for this episode were quite obviously chosen because of their ability to be funny and edgy, instead of bringing more serious tone in the discussion about the difficulties of living in multicultural societies with many different and sometimes clashing cultural norms. These sort of guest choices that are aimed to be entertaining through comedic factors were also present in other analysed episodes such as *Prejudices*, and these

choices on the other hand relate more towards the mainstreaming factor of keeping the discussion light and entertaining, although this does not necessarily mean that they are not able to similarly educate and inform.

Then for example in the episode *Marriage* in which the discussion concerned arranged marriages, and where there was a guest who was clearly chosen because of her professional expertise related to the topic, Saido Mohamed from the Federation for Human Rights, the other guest, Keijo Mikkänen, was chosen because he was living in arranged marriage and therefore had real life experience about the topic rather than academic or professional expertise. The choice of Keijo Mikkänen in this regard relates to what Husu stated about the makers' vision regarding the guests:

The guests are chosen by looking is there anyone who has written, talked or taken a stand on this topic, then we look for them like okay here we have a guy, but he is a regular Finnish guy who would come to talk about, how could I say, like cold things, that wouldn't be very...so let's look for a person who kind of lives in that world, like not any scholar but a person who that topic touches directly, who has like opinions, who might get angry during the broadcast or laugh or something, bring emotions. Let's not make the same stuff as Finnish radio and TV-programs do that we look for some cold scholar type to come there and tell about stuff.

Here again it could be argued that the guest choices refer more towards entertainment values than educating or informing since the emphasis is on emotions instead of intellect. For example the makers of *Basaari* at the time of YLE 'cultural diversity' policy, also voiced how their strategy to reach a large audience was to give "the audience emotions and show them the personalities" (Leurdijk, 2006, p. 32). The idea behind showing emotions on multicultural programs was voiced by a producer who was involved with a Swedish SVT's former multicultural program *Mosaik* (Mosaic): "The story should strike the viewer in an emotional way, show conflict and drama. The drama should reflect a bigger problem" (In Leurdijk, 2006, p. 32).

What can then be concluded of these themes is that the guest choices relate towards a mix of mainstreaming and a more traditional multicultural program approach, where the more traditional elements are made to work for the overall mainstream appeal image. Largely the signs of the more traditional approach can be related to the makers' objectives to bring up interesting immigrant personalities who are not getting exposure in other mediums, and on the other hand the mainstreaming approach to their objective to do educating yet entertaining multicultural program, that is different from the more traditional approaches in this field. Largely the humour element of

the program and the entertaining repartee of both the guests, but perhaps more importantly of the hosts, enables the little-known immigrant guests to appear, while the program still remaining its entertaining mainstream appeal. Therefore the dichotomy between the traditional multicultural program guests and the guests aimed at ‘mainstreaming’ does not really work to explain the guests in *Ali and Husu*.

4.2.2. Focus on Educational/Informational versus Entertaining Factors

Educational/informational or entertaining factors are complex notions to analyse due to the fact they are in no means mutually exclusive. Education can be done through entertaining factors and vice versa. Yet, there are often clear differences in the tone of speaking or discussion, especially in talk programs, when people are speaking with a clear intention to make a point that they feel is informative or educational. *Ali and Husu* is a program that, as the makers expressed, aims largely at dismantling prejudices and making immigrants seem more familiar and approachable to the ethnic Finns. When the hosts or the guests use humour in the program, it is clearly aimed at similarly to entertain and dismantle prejudices, but that is arguably not educating. The educating parts are therefore the parts of discussion that are done in a more serious tone with a clear intention to educate the audience.

The analysis on the chosen episodes revealed that *Ali and Husu* are usually balancing between using educational/informational and entertaining factors. There were roughly speaking two different types of episodes concerning the different type of balances between these two factors. One type were episodes where the discussion was mainly done in serious fashion with guests that were invited mainly due to their expertise in the topic at hand. In these types of episodes the entertaining factors, mainly humour, were used shortly in between the more serious discussion that dominated the episodes. The humour was most often created by Ali alone, or sometimes by Ali and Husu together, and the intention seemed to be to break the tension surrounding the discussion and also to simply make it more entertaining. These kind of episodes were: *Marriage*, *Opinions*, and *Humour*. Excellent example of this was the episode *Marriage*, where the more serious discussion around arranged marriages was from time to time interrupted shortly by Ali or Husu mentioning a playful competition where they were looking for a man for the guest Saido Mohamed:

Husu: Mm, first of all it has to be remembered that this [arranged marriages] is not some Muslim phenomenon, there are many different reasons. Isn't it the king of Swaziland that chooses one from thousands of girls walking in the street every year to be his wife? He has now 40 of them, so he has his own harem and this is not a matter of faith. But we have received few comments that I would like to read fast. One has

come from Harald, he is a devoted listener of ours, saying that “Ali and Husu, could you describe the Saidu who is in the studio”, by the way it’s Saido if you are listening, “since after all you are mating her”. We are not trying to mate her, we are trying to find her husband so don’t get these mixed up.

Ali: Tinder is mating.

Husu: He was telling here that “I will have her if she is from a rich family”, so this is a pretty demanding guy.

Ali: very...

Husu: And then that the teeth should be her own [real].

In the other type of episodes, the entertaining factors, again meaning mainly humour, were in the main role and the more serious discussion was in the secondary role. These episodes were: *Prejudices*, *Irritating Immigrants*, and *Irritating Finns*. The idea here seemed to be that the more serious parts were done in order to remind the listeners that the humour in the episode is used in order to tackle real issues such as stereotypes, prejudices and racism, and not simply in order to entertain or to be edgy. Also, these parts were probably in place to simply inform listeners, who might be confused about the often highly racist comments, about the context of the discussion. Here, from the episode *Prejudices*, Husu cuts of humorous discussion in order to turn it into more serious:

Levan: But you are not working and you receive a lot of social benefits, and that’s how you live here. Just by using kids. More kids, more money.

Ali: Who do you mean? Me or Husu?

Levan: Somalians.

Antto: They use khat drug in the morning. They even put alarm to wake them up when they start using khat. Six in the morning you begin hearing munching from there.

[Everybody laughing]

Levan: For example.

Antto: Ten in the morning to KELA [social insurance institution].

[Everybody laughing]

Antto: Then at twelve they go robbing, at night it’s time to break into R-kiosk [kiosk chain].

Ali: No!

[Everybody laughing]

[...]

Ali: Husu we are getting fired.

Husu: Yeah, but I mean it's fantastic that you are able to say these things out loud. These things absolutely have to be discussed [...] These stereotypical prejudices that you hear from media, I think it's pretty stupid that we live in East Helsinki [often considered as the poor part of Helsinki] together hand by hand, Russians and Somalians together, we see, we are together in the stores, but we still don't have consensus with each other. We know that we are immigrants in Finland but we are not with each other, that's why these prejudices are forming, but they're not true.

From the interviewees with the makers it became rather clear why the program relies so extensively on humour as entertaining factor, while still also clearly aiming to educate and inform the ethnic Finns about the new ethnic minorities and dismantle their prejudices towards these groups. The reason for this is that the program makers themselves consider multicultural programs that are aiming to educate and inform without humour as somewhat boring or depressing, and that the risk involved with trying to make that sort of program is that it comes off as too forced. Tervo, for example, described *Basaari* as this type of program:

They (YLE) were doing this one program where they gathered, Finnish people were leading, and then they gathered immigrants to do the program, and those were kind of depressing, dark, boring programs that no one wanted to watch.

Ali also remembered how someone in the media field warned him of doing this sort of multicultural program which has too serious and forced agenda:

When we started there was a guy who had a lot of influence in the media [...] and he told me all the time that do not get involved with this immigrant thing. It's going to ruin you [career], do not get involved. I was like what is this "immigrant thing". I'm just me and if that's not good enough for people then it's not, but if it is then good [...] perhaps if you try to make that kind of immigrant program then it might turn out that way but those programs don't need to be forced.

The aspect of humour in the program will be discussed more in depth in its own section later, but if simply looking at humour as a way to be entertaining, it becomes apparent that the idea of being at least as much entertaining as educating, has been an agenda for the program makers since the beginning. This undoubtedly reflects an intention to draw in more mainstream

audience, which brings in one of the central dilemmas of those multicultural programs that are trying to educate the majority population about the ethnic minorities as well as seriously discussing the issues of ethnic minorities. That dilemma being, no matter how well the program does the educating, is it working out if hardly anyone is watching it? Therefore entertaining factors can be also regarded as somewhat part of the educating initiative. As Tervo explained, the makers of *Ali and Husu* believe that the educating is better done through entertainment than through the traditional way of being serious and factual:

We are trying to do everything differently than in these kind of serious magazine programs, where the attempt is to make people understand things through factualness and persuading. We are trying to achieve that through humour, flinging, insolence, and sometimes even through insulting, so it is a totally different viewpoint.

It can be therefore stated that in this regard *Ali and Husu* represents largely the new trend in multicultural programs where the aim is to still educate and be informative, but the this comes as equal or even as secondary to drawing in large audience through entertaining factors.

4.2.3. Focusing On Universal Human Issues versus Focusing On Specific Culture Related Issues

First it has to be specified here that multiculturalism programs are always more or less focusing on specific culture related issues, after all the idea of the programs is often to discuss and make sense of the differences of ethnic cultures that exist in any country. However, there can be differences in how these topics are treated and from which perspective are they discussed on. As Leuridijk (2006) mentioned, universal issues are for example “birth, love, death, having children, coming of age, loneliness, (not) feeling at home”, and anything else that is relatable to people regardless of the culture they are from or part of. From this perspective, discussing for example ice hockey world cup is a rather specific culture related topic whereas football world cup would be much more universal, since football is one of the major sports almost universally in any country whereas ice hockey is a major sport only in few countries. Of course, a person from a country where football is a major sport can still find relatability with ice hockey, they are both team sports, the game is based on moving an object from a player to player, and the idea is to score on the opponents goal which is guarded by a goalkeeper. But, this would first require that the person is interested about sports and that the person is then interested specifically from football. Therefore issues such as birth, love, death and coming of age are the most universal human issues, because they absolutely touch every human despite their ethnicity and background.

This analysis first focused on looking at the main topics of all the episodes from 2013 and 2014 according to how the episodes were named and introduced in YLE's Internet platform for its radio and television content, YLE Areena. This revealed that many of the episodes actually have topics that seem quite universal, for example: wannabe celebrities, propaganda, bullying in school, drug politics, men's world, getting in shape for the summer, the Great relationship discussion, and so on. Then again majority of the episodes were directly focusing on immigrant or multiculturalism related issues, such as: different cultural Christmas traditions, immigrants and the army, image problem of immigrants, immigrants and cottage life (in Finland many people have summer cottages by the lake or by the sea), why immigrant women are not exercising enough, Successful Somalians, and so on. What is noteworthy here, is that many of these episodes that either focused on the more universal themes or specifically immigrant related themes, still heavily relied on discussing these topics from the specific standpoint of Finnish society and culture. For example army as a topic would be in totally different context in many other countries where there is no mandatory military service for men. Therefore, by Analysing only the topics of the episodes it can be stated that the focus is most often in specific culture related issues, yet this culture is the Finnish culture which all of the audience more or less shares. In this regard, culture specific issues turn into universal issues when it comes to the audience of the program.

In the content of the analysed episodes the specific culture related issues were discussed in abundance, yet the idea behind this often seemed to be that when comparing differences between different cultural customs it also reveals some of the universal issues behind these differences, much like in the case of cultural and lifestyle differences. This universality was then often concluded by either Ali or Husu at the end of the episode. For example in the episode *Prejudices*, Ali concludes the humoristic discussion about the negative habits and customs of different ethnic minorities by discussing the importance of creating fear and prejudice free society:

So called racism is everywhere, it is in every culture and continent, we do not mean that it's not a bad thing, but we want to fix its source. Let's create a safe society where its members do not have to fear for their own position but rather instead of fearing they can focus on building even better society.

And here Husu does the same in the episode *Irritating Immigrants*:

With this episode we especially wanted to discuss the prejudices that we have and hopefully again we have moved a bit forwards. The idea was not to be ungrateful or to

berate anyone, but to just say how we really feel and how we really think about each other.

What can be concluded here is that the program has two different themes when it comes to focusing on universal or culture specific issues. Firstly, Finnish culture often acts as the underlying reference point for the discussion, yet for the audience, whether they are immigrants or from the main population, this is a somewhat common ground. Secondly, the program often uses culture specific issues comparatively in order to search for the universal similarities behind the differences. Therefore, overall the program's focus is not on universal issues per se, as they were defined by Leuridijk (2006), yet within the program's reach the focus is on issues that the entire possible audience can more or less share.

4.3. Second Category of Operationalization: The Use of Humour in *Ali and Husu*

This section first discusses the three different ethnic humour categories (in-group and out-group humour as defined by Carilli and Kamalipour (1986) and insider out-group humour as defined in the literature chapter) in relation to how these are being used in the analysed episodes. Secondly comes the discussion about the four categories of humour from rhetorical perspective as defined by Meyer (2000) in relation to how and to which extent these are being used in the analysed episodes.

4.3.1. In-group Humour as the Underlying Point of Reference

As discussed in an earlier section, humour plays a central role in *Ali and Husu* and in all the analysed episodes, although to varying degrees. Much of the humour in *Ali and Husu* can be placed into the categories ethnic insider out-group humour and ethnic out-group humour. This is because the humour is dominantly drawn from different ethnic or race based stereotypes, where the user of humour identifies with either being in a certain group and then makes humour about this group that is aimed at both people inside but more importantly outside this group (insider out-group humour), or the user identifies of not being in the group that he/she makes fun of (out-group humour). However, since the references used were often specific to Finnish customs, locations and so on, this factor actually made much of the humour in *Ali and Husu* also similarly in-group humour. For example in the beginning of *Marriage*, the two hosts discuss the different regional dialects in Finland:

Ali: [...] this is a true story, although it might sound like a joke, but we know this guy who moved from Kuopio [a town in Eastern Finland], a Turkish guy, couldn't really talk much Finnish. He had been working in a pizza place, moved to here [Helsinki],

and after three days he still didn't understand that "valkosipuli" [garlic] is the same thing as "valakosipuli" [garlic in eastern Finnish dialect].

It is clear that the humour in this story can only be understood by a person who is familiar with differences in the Finnish language. This exemplifies rather well why the people in the program cannot use ethnic in-group humour outside the Finnish cultural sphere. Since the program is not targeted for certain ethnic minority group, the Finnish culture in a general sense can be the only ethnic culture that the entire audience base can share. Yet, sometimes there was humour used which could be considered as in-group humour of those people leaving in the capital Helsinki. For example here Ali and Husu joke about the living area of a caller:

Ali: Bye [call ends] and she was from Krunikka [short of neighbourhood Kruunuhaka in Helsinki] on top of all, the rich are listening us.

[Everyone laughing]

Husu: They are spying us.

In order to understand the humour here, one must be familiar with the image of Kruunuhaka as a wealthy neighbourhood and also to be familiar with its nickname "Krunikka", which even many from the so called main population outside the capital area might not know. These examples point out how the sizes of the so called in-groups may vary largely even inside one specific ethnic group. Whereas different regional dialects can be considered part of Finnish culture, "Krunikka" can be considered as being part of more specific culture of Helsinki.

Furthermore, another so called in-group which can be seen to be present in the program when it comes to the humour are males, after all, the both hosts in the show are men. What is meant by this male dimension in the program's humour can be demonstrated with this example from the episode *irritating Immigrants*:

Henri: I just realized that I said that blueberry shot is the best thing ever, on a live broadcast, and now I probably have only half of the Facebook friends I had five seconds ago.

Ali: Yeah, because they all thought until now that you are a man.

Henri: Right.

Ali: And not some blueberry shot drinker.

While women may also laugh for the above extract, the humour in it is arguably largely based on the set-up of two men playfully, and perhaps even sarcastically, needling each other. This same

male dimension of humour is also present when Ali and Husu offer to find a man for the female guest Saido in the episode *Marriage*, or when later in the episode Ali asks Saido about her willingness to have sex after just meeting someone:

Ali: Let's say that you are now there outside YLE or what if in the Instagram there would be that one photo, and you would be like "damn he's the one", and then he would also be like "okay this is it" and then tomorrow you would already be at the registry office. Then what about that night, would you be ready?

Husu: What a weird...

Ali: Would you be willing to wake up next to him?

Saido: Well no thanks Ali.

[Laughing]

By only reading the above segment some could perhaps label it even chauvinistic. Yet, this is arguably not the case here, since Saido appears to be a good friend of Ali, and on the other hand, Ali as a stand-up comedian tends to instinctively go for a joke and push the limits of what is considered agreeable. Yet, still it is hard to also deny the male influence present in the humour that makes them laugh after Saido answers negatively to the imagined scenario. Indeed, the studies that have been conducted on male and female differences regarding humour have quite clearly pointed out that there are differences in how men and women both use and receive humour (For example: Greengross and Miller, 2011 and Hay, 2000). It is clear that humour is a highly complex phenomenon that depends on countless factors, including gender. Therefore, the conclusions of studies related to humour can be hard to generalize. However, the analysis on the chosen episodes of *Ali and Husu* clearly support the notion that male sense of humour often acts as the basis for the humour in the program due to the fact that it is hosted by two men and the humour is a dominating element in the program.

The above analysis exemplifies how humour is practically always some sort of in-group humour, even when it might similarly be for example out-group humour of a certain ethnic group, due to the fact that people use references and approaches that are familiar to them, whether those come from their ethnicity, living area, gender, or something else. This is arguably even more the case in a live talk program such as *Ali and Husu*, because the humour is usually improvised in the moment. As a whole these three in-groups of being Finnish, being from Helsinki, and being men, act as the underlying points of reference to understanding much of the humour in *Ali and Husu*.

4.3.2. Insider Out-group Humour and the Identity (Crisis) of the New Ethnic Minorities

Insider out-group humour can be defined according to which group the speaker identifies belonging to in the humour. Within insider out-group humour, the user of humour identifies with being inside the group that he/she is making fun of, while aiming the humour for people both in and out of that group. Within this category, there were four main groups to which the people identified with, depending on the discussion and the humour to be used at that moment. These four groups were: immigrants in general, Muslims (especially in the case of the two hosts), in some instances their native nationalities such as Somalian and Iranian, and lastly fictional stereotype based groups. When identifying with being an immigrant, the stereotypes used in the humour were those that are more generally applied to immigrants:

Husu: Good day Ali once again, I was about to say Sunday but it's Thursday.

Ali: How can you still live in Sunday?

Husu: Because I have this feeling like it would be Sunday. I'm feeling so relaxed today.

Ali: How long have you been unemployed?

[Both laughing]

Ali: Because only an unemployed immigrant can be like, "is today Sunday or Thursday?"

Here the humour is based on the negative stereotype that immigrants are lazy and unemployed, which Ali then uses to make a joke of a group that he is known to identify with, immigrants, but which is aimed also to the out-group, the main population, who have constructed this negative stereotype. What needs to be highlighted here is that when Ali and Husu refer to immigrants, they usually specifically refer to those immigrants coming outside the 'Western world' who clearly differ from the Finns with their outlook such as skin colour, dressing, behavioural norms and so on. Therefore, when they refer to immigrants, they implicitly only refer to a certain group of immigrants, mostly with refugee backgrounds. As Horsti (2013) has discussed, humanitarian immigration has often been presented in the Finnish media as a complex and more negative matter than work-related immigration. The refugees are labelled as immigrants ("maahanmuuttaja" in Finnish) whereas work-related immigrants as migrants ("siirtolainen" in Finnish).

When Ali or Husu identify with being specifically immigrants with Muslim backgrounds, the stereotypes they used were more specific to Muslims being for example terrorists:

Ali: [...] when I go to do a (stand-up) show [...] I go to the stage and then I just say that “hey my name is Ali Jahangiri, I’m originally from Iran, I’ve grown up in a Muslim family in Kontula [neighbourhood in Helsinki] and I have relatively bad alcohol problem. And do you guys know how hard it is to be drunk and a terrorist at the same time?”

Identifying with their native nationalities was much less frequent and usually involved that the topic of discussion was specifically on the cultures of these ethnic minorities. Here Husu identifies with being specifically Somalian, when a guests brings up specific stereotype about the Somalians in Helsinki:

Antto: [...] I personally do not know any Somalians because I never go to Kaisaniemi park [a park which has been in media associated to Somalians hanging out there and causing trouble].

Husu: That was a hit below the belt, straight under the belt, but it is true, I’m also never at the Kaisaniemi park, I’ve been out looking for Estonians [guest’s ethnic background] like why are you shopping in the stores, like you can come here [to Kaisaniemi park] to beat up Finnish people, come here to beat them with us.

Here the negative stereotype that Husu uses is that Somalians are prone to violent behaviour.

However, often the humour could also not be quite placed inside these three categories: immigrants, Muslims or native nationalities, because the identification was more of a mix of stereotypes. For example here Ali identifies with being from a culture of “rättipää” (‘rag heads’) when they were discussing the movie *Black hawk down*: “You got to remember that in Somalia as well as in these other rag head countries of ours, it is part of us that we shoot upwards when we are happy”. ‘Rag head’ is a negative term in Finland used of people who come from the Middle East. The term is entirely imaginary since it can be loosely used for describing many different ethnic minorities based on their outlook, yet the outlook itself does not even need to include any scarf, shawl, or for example hijab, all it needs is any sign that might connote the image of a ‘rag head’ to a racist person. Identifying with this group demonstrates how Ali and Husu are not just identifying with the groups that they in a natural sense belong to when using insider out-group humour, such as Somalian, Iranian, immigrant, or Muslim, but how they are also using completely imaginary groups of identification that are created by the main population.

By identifying with all these different groups, Ali and Husu are similarly doing a commentary through humour on the issue that many immigrants arguably face: an identity crisis of

not truly belonging to any group and at the same time being constantly placed into a certain group depending on the situation. As Ram (2004) has stated about the Asian Indians in the US: “communication about identity continuously changes as Asian Indian immigrants attempt to cope simultaneously with the separations and upheavals of displacement and the prejudices and racialized stereotypes aimed at them” (p. 122). Discussing this issue, whether directly or indirectly, through humour seems to be a reemerging theme in the program since the first episode, *Opinions*, where Husu directly brings up this issue:

Husu: I always get confused because there are those of us who sometimes get put into the immigrant box, and then at other times to another box. Do we actually have to be in some [boxes]?

Ali: Yeah.

Husu: For example with Ali we think strongly that Ali is an immigrant and I am a new Finn.

Ali: For real, you ain't no new Finn.

Husu: Yes I am a new Finn in this sense [...]

And then in the episode *Prejudices*, Ali discusses this same issue from another perspective when the discussion turns into an event in 2009, where a Kosovan man killed five people and later himself in Helsinki:

I remember when I was reading that story that the first thought in my head was like don't be an immigrant, don't be an immigrant. Then the first thing came out like he was from an immigrant background. Don't be an Iranian, don't be an Iranian. Then it came out that he was a Kosovan and I was like yes!

In this regard the insider out-group humour acts above all as a criticism towards the stereotyping that creates invisible boxes, whether they are more conventional such as Somalian or Muslim or totally imaginary such as ‘rag heads’, around the new ethnic minorities, and especially around those new ethnic minorities that differ with their outlook from the main population. As Husu voices this dimension in the episode *Irritating Finns*: “When I came today here to the studio I was not thinking at all that these are our guests. These guys look like your ordinary Finns”.

4.3.3. Out-group Humour and the Significance of the Audience and the Source

Out-group humour then deviates from the in-group and insider out-group humour because the person using the humour specifically does not consider him/herself to be in the group that he/she makes humour about. The out-group humour used in the program can be divided into two main

categories: Ali, Husu, or other ethnic minority member making fun of other ethnic minorities, or making fun of the main population. As can be expected, the episode *Irritating Immigrants* was very prominent in the latter category, but other than that, the first category was much more prevalent in the other episodes.

What needs to be emphasized regarding the first category, is that Ali and Husu, as well as the guests, usually emphasize the fact that they are from an immigrant background and therefore when they make humour about the main population, it is at least implicitly suggested that they consider themselves to be outside of that group, which then acts as the basis of this humour, thus making it out-group humour. It is not surprising that this kind of humour is not often used in the program. As Ali said in the interview, the humour element in the program is strongly connected to the idea of showing how immigrants can laugh at themselves and also at the negative stereotypes that there are about them:

The point with the show from the beginning was nothing else than to have fun during the broadcasts and suddenly people have just found it like “okay even though they have fun there they really ‘talk turkey’ as well and they have some point. So self-irony is probably the biggest thing I mean we fuck with each other all the time. Husu tells me “you don’t pay taxes” and I tell him “well you oppress women”. Hehe, like bring it on.

In this regard, placing too much emphasis on making fun of the main population could damage the purpose that both the insider out-group humour and the out-group humour of ethnic minorities can be seen to serve: seeking to dismantle the prejudices towards the new ethnic minorities in Finland. This is because, while Ali and Husu often point out that prejudices exist also between different ethnic minority groups, they also still acknowledge that their main audience is the main population, and as Carilli and Kamalipour (1998) have stated: “Generally, members of a group are unlikely to appreciate disparaging humour about their own demographic or identity group” (p. 127).

Also, what was largely missing in the category of out-group humour was people from the main population making humour about the ethnic minorities. This perhaps could be only a matter of the sample not including enough episodes where people from the main population would have been guests. Yet, it is revealing that in neither of the two sampled episodes where a person from the main population was as guest, *Marriage* and *Humour*, did these people make jokes about ethnic minorities. On the contrary, in the episode *Humour* with comic author Pertti Jarla (from the main population), the focus of the discussion was more on being careful and thoughtful when creating humour of Islam:

Husu: [...] for me Islam is not a tabu, we can discuss about it, but it has to include some sort of factual, respectful point that actually advances something. It can't be like derogative or not advancing anything.

Ali: But that is exactly, and I don't know what you Pertti think about this, but I think that this is exactly what makes this topic a tabu. What do you think? [...]

Pertti: [...] I think that Islam is not a tabu [...] the tone is the essential thing.

The tone is indeed the essential factor when using ethnic humour, yet there are also arguably different restrictions for different groups on what kind of tone is found acceptable. As mentioned in the literature chapter, the source of humour affects the audience's reaction: "for example, if a woman offers an antifemale joke, it is generally more acceptable to both male and female listeners than if a man offers the joke" (Carilli and Kamalipour, 1998, p. 127). This fact is even mentioned by Husu in the episode *Prejudices*:

I really have to doff the hat for Antto because these things that he just said, they don't bother us, because we are like inside that box, like we are the immigrants, we don't get angry to each other. If those same things would have been said by a normal Finn belonging to the main population, that person would have gotten punched.

Therefore it is not surprising that the program does not involve many people from the main population making humour about the ethnic minorities, because the audience does not usually allow the same tone to be used by them as is allowed by the ethnic minorities, and therefore participating in this kind of discussion would perhaps cause too much stress, and possibly backlash, for the guests from the main population. This also demonstrates why both hosts in the program are from the new ethnic minorities, because it enables the humour in the program to be based on ethnicities, stereotypes and prejudices more than if both, or one of them, would be from the main population.

4.3.4. *Ali and Husu* and Meyer's Four Functions of Humour in Communication

Analysing the chosen episodes from the viewpoint of Meyer's (2000) four functions of humour in communication, furthers the analysis on how the program attempts to persuade the audience, and especially the ethnic Finn audience, to outgrow their prejudices and to learn more about the new ethnic minorities.

4.3.4.1. Identification Function

As mentioned in the previous chapters, a specific group rarely enjoys humour about their own group and they are more likely to get on with humour about a certain group if the humour is being used by

a member of this same group. Therefore, the first step that is attempted with the humour that is about ethnic minorities and by ethnic minorities, is to arguably persuade the audience through the function of identification, as defined by Meyer (2000):

The appreciation of a sense of humour is an important part of growing and deepening relationships with people, as mutual uncertainty is reduced (Graham, 1995). These goals are sought when communicators try to release tension through humour and make their audiences feel superior in the sense that they are brought up to a more equal relationship with the speaker. This often involves speakers using self-deprecating humour to ally themselves with their audiences (Chapel, 1978). (p. 318)

Part of this identification is also the fact that much of the humour can be considered an in-group humour that can only truly be understood by Finnish people, which when used by people who identify as being immigrants, makes these people seem more identifiable to the main population. Once this first step of allying themselves with the ethnic Finn audience can be seen to be achieved, Ali and Husu are able to move on to using the other three functions of humour that were defined by Meyer (2000): clarification, enforcement, and differentiation.

4.3.4.2. Clarification Function

Meyer (2000) has explained how clarification function of humour:

serves to clarify social norms or perceptions, yet may also reduce tension and promote good feelings among communicators. No specific party is corrected or differentiated in such humour, as it seeks to unify receivers of such messages in mutual enjoyment of a mild violation of normal messages or norms. (p. 320)

This kind of humour is everywhere in *Ali and Husu*, and the function of it in the program is arguably to make it seem lighter for everyone involved, the audience, the hosts, and also for the guests. After all the program attempts to not just dismantle prejudices through humour but also to discuss and educate the audience about other cultures, countries and serious issues related to these such as racism, persecution, human rights, wars, famine and poverty. This serious discussion is then balanced out with the use of humour as the tool for both clarification and for relief of tension. For example, the hosts use a term “mamu” when talking about themselves and other immigrants (MAahanMUuttaja), and the term “kasu” when referring to the main population. The term “mamu” is an older term which could be described as not being very negative, yet not being quite neutral either, thus using it in the program acts as a tension relief for the main population audience. What

makes the term problematic is the fact that it is mainly used to define immigrants who by their appearance deviate from the main population. The term “kasu”, on the other hand, is a term only used in *Ali and Husu*. It comes from the word “KAntaSUomalainen”, which comes from an older term “kantasuomi” that means the proto-language of the modern Finnish language. The term “kantasuomalainen” is often used in Finland nowadays as an opposite for immigrant. The term is somewhat deceiving because it connotes that there is a clear group of ‘proto-Finns’ who can be separated from the “new Finns”, yet the specific attributes of this group are vague at best. The use of the term “kasu” in the program therefore creates an unexpected break of norms and a clarification for the vagueness of the term “mamu”.

Ali mentioned in the interview that it is especially important for the program that the guests are not afraid of using humour even when discussing serious topics: “we always tell all the guests before the broadcast that our only mission is that we talk about serious topics but with humour, so don’t be afraid, tell jokes if any comes to mind”. This is also often enforced by the two hosts during the broadcasts through the use of humour based on the clarification function. For example here, Ali makes humour about the vague sounding designation that Husu gives for a guest:

Husu: And then, our second guest is our friend, my and Ali’s good friend Saido Mohamed. Saido is this sort of an actor of immigrant background. Welcome Saido [Ali laughing in the background].

Ali: An actor of immigrant background. You know that sounds so made up, for real. “She is an actor of immigrant background”. “What does she do?” “Well, she is active”.

Whereas in a more serious talk program this would be perhaps considered a fine designation for an expert guest on immigration issues, here Ali breaks up the tension regarding the guest and the topic at hand before it even begins to build up by making a “mild violation” on the norm, and thus inviting the audience as well as the guest to take part in the discussion in a more light-hearted manner. This then allows the guests themselves to also do the same, as Saido does later in the episode when Husu questions her about her experiences on arranged marriages:

Husu: When a Somalian young woman or man...okay a young man can be for example married when he goes there [to Somalia] and he is proposed with a second and a third wife, well that can be true. But then what about you, if you’re a girl, and not yet married, they also propose there that we have now this well-educated man, or this business man, have you experienced this?

Saido: Well it might be that since I'm over thirty the game is up for me
[Ali and Husu start laughing].

The clarification function on the program's humour therefore acts as the basis for keeping the program light and entertaining while similarly enabling more serious discussion to take place.

4.3.4.3. Enforcement Function

The enforcement function is perhaps the key, because it does not necessarily divide any one specific group of people out by attacking them but rather the focus is on criticizing issues through humour. As Meyer (2000) has stated about the enforcement function: "Humor allows a communicator to enforce norms delicately by levelling criticism while maintaining some degree of identification with an audience" (p. 320). For example here, Ali and Husu use humour in order to criticize a media sensation that began when one politician accused that immigrant families are receiving money for baby strollers as discretionary social support while the main population are not:

Ali: [...] You are dressed in a suit, where are you coming from?

Husu: I met some very important people from abroad. It was like a breakfast meeting with some prestigious guests. They didn't want me to say who they are because you might get angry about it.

Ali: Were there baby strollers?

[Husu laughing]

Husu: Yes as a matter of fact there were baby strollers, yes.

Ali: Was there a distribution of baby strollers for all of you?

Husu: I got like pimped out one, like really pimped out.

Ali: You got like all the...

Husu: Some bling bling, there's like a television for both kids and then also for me at the back, so when I'm pushing the kid on the stroller I got my own screen.

As can be seen, Ali and Husu do not criticize here the politician who started the media sensation, but instead they place the entire media sensation surrounding this topic under ridicule by placing it in sarcastic over the top humorous context. Therefore, the enforcement function is used here in order to criticize the sensation in general instead of criticizing any specific group or people.

4.3.4.4. Differentiation Function

Ali and Husu sometimes also use differentiation function, especially towards the populist Finns party and other groups that are critical or purely racist regarding immigration issues. Here the two discuss the difference between the Swedish party, Sverigedemokraterna, and the Finns party:

Husu: I hear this constantly that “we are not similar”, tell me how the Finns⁷ won in Finland in 2011 elections and how these Swedish Democrats have now won the elections. How are they differing, both have dissed and ridiculed people who have moved to their countries from elsewhere, and with that they have received a lot of votes for themselves. Tell me?

Ali: The Finns are immigration critical, The Swedish Democrats are anti-immigration.

Husu: Okay, haha.

Ali: It’s two different things.

Husu: That’s correct, that’s correct.

Ali: Besides, it has to be remembered that it’s not so much me who they are picking nits with, it’s specifically that black skin color that irritates them more. With this kind of brown color they are just, I mean in the end I look relatively Western, and then I also have this baldhead. They are not quite sure if I just arrived from holiday from the South, or if I am Southerner myself.

[...]

Husu: It’s all the same if you are a bit more yellow or lighter than me, it’s all the same. You have come from somewhere else, you are...

Ali: More yellow, more yellow!? Where did you get that yellow?!

Husu: I don’t know it’s reflecting, that YLE logo behind you is...

Ali: You’re racist, for real, you’re racist, but don’t mix these two things.

What is particularly significant here is the latter part of the discussion. Meyer (2000) has stated how the differentiation “is the harshest function of humour in rhetoric, as often no quarter is given to the opposing group” (p. 322). However, here this is arguably not the case since even though there is rather sarcastic approach on the Finns party’s “immigration critical” policy and towards their sometimes illogical discussion surrounding who is considered an immigrant and who is not, this is balanced out by the fact that Ali and Husu are also acting in a racist way towards each other,

⁷ Actual term used here was “Persut” which is a nickname for the Finns given by Finnish media. One former member of the party claimed this term to be derogatory (MTV3, 2011), perhaps because similar word “perse” in Finnish is an informal term for buttocks.

although they do this playfully in the name of humour. Therefore, even though the imagined audience for this humour are the people who do not share the views of the Finns party and can therefore sense the sarcasm, there is also the realization through humour that immigrants can also be racist towards each other, and are therefore not necessarily any superior to the Finns party. This incongruity resulting from the humour can then act as a tension relief for the ethnic Finn audience in general sense, as there comes the comprehension that they are not alone with their prejudices.

A completely different matter is the way the two hosts and the guests use the differentiation function towards each other's ethnicities (much of the out-group humour), and also towards their own ethnicity (much of the insider out-group humour). See for example this dialogue:

Antto (Estonian background): [...] I am the only white person in this studio [...]

Ali: But Levan [guest with Russian background] is also white.

Antto: No, he is Russian.

In this dialogue Husu uses differentiation function within insider out-group humour:

Husu: And then for Saido. We are talking today about arranged marriages, and me and Ali are the imams, or sheikhs, or masters in this studio. Like Iran and Somalia which are both famous for old men arranging husbands for women, today we have come to the conclusion that we are going to find you a husband during this episode and you [the audience] can call us in the studio and offer us camels and whatever you might have.

The differentiation function here acts completely differently compared to the earlier example of the Finns party. When the hosts or the guests use differentiation function, it concerns either other new ethnic minority group, or their own new ethnic minority group, and as Husu mentioned: "for them (The Finns party), we are all the same". The new ethnic minorities in *Ali and Husu* in this regard act as one group and as Meyer (2000) has stated about differentiation function when it comes to members of a group applying it to their own group:

Such humour seems to unite the group's members against the issue or behavior by which they are being mocked, serving as a form of identification through mutually acknowledged differentiation humour. Group members clearly disagree on a rational level with the violations that spark the humour and would be expected to object if an "outsider" told the same deprecatory jokes about their group. (p. 323)

Since the new ethnic minorities regardless of their specific ethnicities are often discussed as one group, and also blamed as one group, they can also identify to each other as one group.

Lastly, the differentiation function is often used by Ali in a way that signifies the two hosts' different roles in the program. Although they both usually identify as immigrants, Ali often implicitly differentiates Husu to be 'more immigrant' than him, in the sense that he is not as assimilated as him and has more qualities that irritate the main population. Often he does this by using the fact that Husu speaks broken Finnish. For example in many episodes Ali directly brings out this fact:

Ali: I have in every single episode had to promise to you [audience] that Husu will be put to...

Husu: That I will go to Finnish language...

Ali: To Finnish language exam

Ali also often uses Husu, through humour, as an example of what is irritating about immigrants from the main population's perspective, or just in order to differentiate himself from Husu:

Husu: Hey Ali before we go into this, one remark here for everybody's attention. The government advocates Fennovoima's nuclear licensing⁸, TVO's license was not decided. So this as a report for our listeners, so do not go elsewhere yet we are here for few more minutes.

Ali: What does this have to do with our broadcast you immigrant?

Husu: This news came now and it had to be...

Ali: This is exactly what I mean, this is exactly the one thing that irritates about immigrants. Focus man you didn't have to bring your ADHD from Somalia with you.

Ali arguably uses here "rhetorical identification through differentiation" (Meyer, 2000, p. 322) in order to make those people from the main population who have prejudices towards immigrants to identify with him better. He is able to voice out thoughts of both immigrants and the people from the main population who have negative prejudices against immigrants. What he, perhaps not deliberately, achieves with this is that he is able to position himself as some sort of 'middleman' between the new ethnic minorities and the main population, who is able to negotiate differences, prejudices and so forth, between these groups. What is important to note here is that Ali uses the

⁸ The hosts had in the beginning of the episode discussed about the fact that the decision of allowing new nuclear reactors to be built in Finland would be voted on at the parliament during the broadcast.

differentiation function against both Husu, in a form of stereotyped immigrant, and against racist people, therefore keeping the balance and his position as the ‘middleman’. This is arguably crucial since without differentiating himself also from the racist people, the bashing of Husu that he uses for differentiating himself from the immigrants could send out a message that goes against the interests of the program.

4.3.5. The Overall Objective of Using Humour in *Ali and Husu*

As the analysis of the humour element in *Ali and Husu* from these different viewpoints demonstrates, the humour has many different functions in the program besides that of entertainment. The humour in the program acts as a way of bringing up, and balancing with, complex and serious issues such as racism, stereotyping, and prejudices, yet it also acts as a way of identifying with the audience, as well as criticizing issues as well as people in the Finnish society. While the humour in the program might often even seem racist and derogative, it is not so without a valid reason. As Timmerman et al. (2012) have stated:

humour about race and racism can function not only to generate laughter through satiric rejection of long-held racist stereotypes [...] but also to encourage new perspectives, generated by the recognition of incongruity [...] the frame of rejection not only generates laughter but also new perspective. What at first may appear to be the acceptance of racism is not; it is rejection. (p. 171)

What becomes perhaps one of the ultimate objective of the humour in the program is that, at the same time as everyone is apparently being racist towards each other, and the stereotypes and prejudices of different ethnic minorities as well as the main population are constantly brought up; this is done through humour and sarcasm. This combination may encourage the audience to see past the stereotypes and prejudices in everyday life, and focus more on the individuality of people despite their cultural background. As argued by Rossing (2014): “critical race humour as a form of public pedagogy might provide people with the skills and habits of thought necessary to think critically about and transform racial knowledge and reality” (p. 16).

4.4. Third Category of Operationalization: The Nature of the Discussion - Undermining or Fostering Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is a rather vague term which usually refers to the ‘feeling’ of unity within any society, and there are many different ways how to measure social cohesion depending on the specific topic at hand. As a normative value, it implies that there is a need for elements that improve and foster social cohesion and also need to avoid elements which might danger and undermine

social cohesion. Due to this juxtaposition, social cohesion is, as Jakubowicz (2007) has stated: “a contentious concept because it can produce a very simplified model of society, denying important dimensions of social conflict” (p. 158). What is meant by this is that whenever there are policies in place which aim to foster social cohesion, it often means that the elements that might undermine social cohesion are ‘swept under the rag’ in the public sphere, in the hopes that these elements will then stop existing all together. Unfortunately, this often means that these elements will then only grow, until the impact of them cannot be kept out of sight anymore.

When it comes to ethnic minorities, in Europe and elsewhere, these groups have been within the last decade framed by the media as causes of social disturbance which has led to lack of social cohesion. As Horsti (2011) has stated: “Signs of “lack of social cohesion” are interpreted from key events that have been heavily aired in the media: disturbances in French suburbs, the Danish cartoon crisis, and terrorist attacks in Europe” (p. 166). Similarly, the more traditional discourse has also supported this view, as Taran (2009) has stated: “Immigrants are commonly portrayed in communications media, public discourse and private debate as competing for scarce employment and housing, unfairly or illegally drawing public welfare resources and associated with criminality” (p. 98).

In relation to multicultural programming, this meant the shift from multicultural policies to vaguer cultural diversity policies. More specifically, as mentioned in the case of the Netherlands, this has meant that within the multicultural programs, the discussion around different ethnic cultures has been limited, so that “suitable difference is preferred, and too radical difference is excluded” (Horsti, 2011, p. 166).

4.4.1. *Ali and Husu Undermining Social Cohesion*

Analysing the chosen episodes from *Ali and Husu*, it becomes clear that the program is not exactly afraid to ‘poke the beehive’ in this regard. Controversial issues are often chosen as the main topics of episodes, as the headings of the episodes in YLE Areena website demonstrate: *Russofobia*, *Youth gangs* (after especially immigrant youth were accused in public sphere for attacking people randomly), *Let’s start a terrorist organization*, *Immigrants are taking jobs!*, *Finnish racist – victim or a crook*, and *How to pick a Finnish woman*, where they invited a known womanizer with an Iranian background to discuss this topic. As Husu brought up this episode in the interview: “Nobody would expect that a man with an immigrant background would specifically tell how to pick up Finnish women, I mean that’s like one of those [issues that immigrants are accused of], you are taking our women”. As author Matti Mäkelä described the program in his 2013 column for *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki Times), the program does not seem to fit in to the mould of traditional multicultural program:

First of all: They are supposed to be immigrants, meaning a very serious problem. But they are laughing, making jokes with each other and with guests totally wantonly. Secondly they are supposed to be innocent victims. But somehow they don't seem like victims at all. Without shame they call each other racists, criminals, and pretty much all types of losers, depending on the topic of the episode. (Mäkelä, 2013)

Also, the discussion in the program is often based on a set-up in which both Ali and Husu, and the invited guests have contrasting views on the topic at hand. For example, in the episode *Opinions* Husu explains:

As guests here today we have Mariam Abdul Karim, Mariam was born in Mogadishu, grew up in Tampere and acts currently as an expert on multiculturalism. And we also have Polina Kopylova, who is a freelance journalist and NGO active with Russian background. So, we chose these two specifically because we noticed that they disagree about this article of Umaja [immigrant woman who moved to Netherlands with her daughter to escape racism in Finland and then wrote an article about it].

In the cases where the guests are agreeing with each other, Ali often acts a sort of 'devil's advocate' who brings up the points of view that rest of the people in the studio do not agree with or do not dare to bring up. For example, in this episode *Humour*, Ali grills the Imam guest about humour and Islam:

Ali: [...] but is it blasphemy if I just don't believe another person when he/she (same word in Finnish) tells me that this is an order of God? Is that blasphemy?

Imam: The fact that you don't believe, that is your right to believe or not believe. That is not it, but that you ridicule this matter. Specifically make mockery out of God, place God under ridicule. So do you think that God does not hear this? Does not know this?

Ali: But why has God then given...let's assume that there is this...let's assume that God exists. I know that soon our shout box is going to explode that it doesn't exist but everyone is allowed to their opinion. Let's assume for the sake of this conversation that God does exist and he's omniscient almighty and he/she is behind all this. Why has he then given us the ability to laugh?

Imam: Why wouldn't he have?

Ali: But if we can't. Why would he have given us the ability to laugh and then said that you are allowed to laugh but not for me.

Ali usually takes this role because of his abilities as a stand-up comic to consider issues from different angles, and on the other hand because he is the one out of the two hosts who speaks better Finnish. As he stated in the interview:

Perhaps partly it's because I don't feel that Husu's Finnish skills are sufficient enough that he can just like that let go of his own thoughts and understand the other side, but then on the other hand I as a comic end up doing it so much...

This element of confrontation, whether it is genuine or fabricated and whether it is between the conservative Husu and liberal Ali or between the guests, creates a set-up on live broadcast which often enables more complex discussion to take place, compared to for example *Basaari* where the narrative and agenda were always predetermined and which usually only presented the topic from one angle. This then also enables more discussion which is undermining social cohesion to take place.

4.4.2. *Ali and Husu Fostering Social Cohesion*

Yet, there are also certain limitations to which extent the program goes when addressing issues that might undermine social cohesion. In this regard, two themes can be derived from the chosen episodes: emphasis on humour limiting more serious discussion on controversial topics; and, pre-thought agenda of dismantling prejudices limiting discussion. In the episodes *Irritating Immigrants* and *Irritating Finns*, the topics themselves are most definitely undermining social cohesion, since they are directly setting up a confrontation between the main population and the new ethnic minorities. However, the discussion itself in the episodes is rather light and humoristic, as already mentioned in an earlier section, and the cases of irritation are not highly controversial either.

The two episodes were based on issues of irritation that Ali and Husu had apparently gathered from their friends and acquaintances, which were then discussed with the guests and decided whether these claims were valid or not. In the first episode where they discussed issues that irritate the Finnish people about immigrants, the discussed cases of irritation were: tasting fruits in stores, talking loud on phone in public places, playing 'the racist card', loitering in malls, using spices that affect odour, and the status of women and domestic violence. And, in the latter episode, the issues that irritated immigrants about Finnish people were: being workaholics, standing in red lights when there are no cars around, overconsumption of alcohol and acting differently while under

the influence, sunburns, smelling of detergent, believing in the Finnish national football team, and not keeping in touch with family. Telling about how controversial these issues are is that when it came time in the first episode to discuss the one issue that can be considered much more undermining for social cohesion than the rest, the status of women and the domestic violence, the guests did not seem prepared for this kind of discussion:

Ali: Now this, this is difficult. The status of women and domestic violence. Umm...

Henri: Can we talk about women's postures?

Husu: No let's not go to that now, yes, domestic violence. Meaning that this irritates Finnish people. First of all is this fact or fiction?

Ali: The status of women, is this fact or fiction? Is the status of women for example in Yankee culture threatened how badly?

Henri: I don't think it is, well, well no. Sometimes in some hinterland village some women get beat up but that's like, you can't do nothing about it.

Husu: Now we are talking specifically about immigrant women.

Henri: Well, I don't have answers for these big questions.

The reason why the male guest does not seem comfortable talking about this issue is most likely because, as already mentioned, he was not invited there as an expert to discuss these kind of serious and touchy topics, but rather to have humorous discussion where the chosen issues are being made fun of. The fact that the discussion was meant to be humorous first and foremost is therefore arguably the reason why the issues of irritation were chosen to be rather light and minor, because trying to make humour out of very serious or controversial topics would be both difficult and risky for the program makers.

However, this is not to say that the issues of irritation that were chosen, were completely 'safe' either, or that they were chosen with a motive to foster social cohesion by demonstrating how minor the irritating qualities are between the new ethnic minorities and the main population. For example, the issue of immigrants using 'the race card' too often, meaning that they accuse people of being racists every time they need to get 'off the hook' for doing something wrong, is arguably a rather controversial issue to discuss in a multicultural program, keeping in mind that these programs are usually exclusively focusing on actual racism against immigrants. Yet, overall these two episodes point out that the dominant role of humour in the program often requires certain limitations on how controversial and undermining for social cohesion the topics of discussion can be. Therefore, even though Ali here, while discussing the use of the 'race card', reads from the shout box:

It says here that “of course censorship is going to step in here because we’re in Finland, but can you talk about the biggest problems: integration, raping especially underage, continuing abuse of social benefits, and tax avoidance”. Like, if somebody wants to talk about these things openly, pretty easily there comes like shut up you racist.

They themselves did not cover these topics during the episode, most likely because that would have made the episode too serious for their intentions.

Also, in the episode *Marriage*, the invited guest to talk about arranged marriages is a Finnish man, Keijo Mikkänen who is in an arranged marriage with a Japanese woman, although the arranged marriages within the main population are most likely rather unusual compared to those new ethnic minority groups who are from a culture where arranged marriages are more common. There can be of course multiple reasons why person from the main population was invited rather than a person from these ethnic minority groups. Perhaps they could not find any; perhaps ethnic minority members did not want to participate in a fear of a backlash; or, perhaps the program makers already knew Keijo and he was therefore a natural choice. However, the choice of a person from the main population in this matter can be seen to serve certain purposes, which most likely were also understood by the program makers. First of all, by bringing a person from the main population, a Christian man, to discuss this issue, creates a shift on the usual discourse regarding arranged marriages which usually revolves around ethnic minorities, status of women, forced marriage, and religions, specifically Islam. By doing this the program is removing the issue from its usual context, which may then possibly enable more objective discussion about it, but also enable the main population audience to relate more. Secondly, the fact that he is a native Finnish speaker ensures that he is capable of speaking about this issue in a clear matter, which then enables that he is able to argue his case regarding his arranged marriage to the best of his ability. At this point comes in the agenda that Ali and Husu quite clearly had for this episode, which was to distinguish arranged marriage from forced marriage. As Ali states here:

the reason why we receive it [arranged marriage] in Finland to be so disagreeable issue is because it has been attached with this term forced marriage, and these two have become, and I don’t mean that those have become mixed up, but we are not able to distinguish the fact that after all part of arranged marriages are those were both have agreed to it, and then other ones are forced, and in my opinion the forced marriage is completely different thing than arranged marriage, and the line goes exactly there where the forcing comes into picture. So until no one is forced it is

arranged marriage but when there is forcing then we are talking about human rights problems.

This is an understandable agenda, because large number of marriages especially within Muslim communities are usually some sort of arranged marriages, and therefore making this distinction to be the main agenda of the episode may help to dismantle some prejudices that the main population may have against certain ethnic minorities and especially towards Muslims. The fact then that Keijo is able to clearly voice out in Finnish the differences between his arranged marriage and forced marriage is a vital element in the episode. Yet what comes somewhat problematic is the fact that when the example person used for discussing arranged marriage comes from the main population, the discussion becomes partly distorted because it does not match with the realities. After all, the issue of arranged marriage is clearly chosen because it is especially part of the lives of the new ethnic minorities and not the main population.

Furthermore, the other guest Saido Mohamed, seemed to have been invited with the intention of giving the other side of the story, the side of a woman, an immigrant woman, and an expert on immigrant issues and women's rights in different cultures. However, this intention of discussing the issue of arranged marriage from different opposite point of views does not come fulfilled, because Ali and Husu are invested into making the clear distinction between arranged marriage and forced marriage. Here Saido first began discussing her side of the argument until Ali steps in:

Ali: I would like to know one thing here Saido, when we talk about arranged marriage, very easily two terms get mixed up, one is arranged marriage and the other one is forced marriage.

Saido: Yes.

Ali: Forced marriage is always specifically that what you were discussing, that the other side hasn't got any basic human rights, has no decision-making power, but arranged marriage is, after all, that both sides have committed and I think it's important to focus on this now because forced marriage, that is our next episode (in reality it was not so this is perhaps more just a figure of speech).

Saido: But I have to say that result of arranged marriage can be forced marriage so I wouldn't exclude that either.

Ali: But then it is not arranged marriage, then it is forced marriage.

Saido: [on top of Ali] But it does not all...

Ali: Yeah, so arranged marriage is all the way arranged marriage. Arranged marriage

that includes forcing, that is forced marriage.

Saido: [on top of Ali] Ali, Ali, it's not like this.

Husu: Hey, Hey, now comes...

While it is understandable for Ali and Husu to stress this distinction in order to make arranged marriage more relatable for the main population, this can be also seen to act as a deliberate attempt to create discussion that fosters social cohesion, yet this comes with the expense of disregarding the rather serious issue of forced marriage, which in reality can often be rather indistinguishable from the arranged marriage unless the oppressed side of the marriage dares to speak out.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this conclusion the answers for the research questions are provided. Since the main research question is the one that gives the overall guideline for this study, and since the sub-questions can be seen to act as priming for the main question, the sub-questions will be answered first before providing answer to the main question. The answers for the questions have been divided to their individual sections in order to make the answers clearer. In all the sections there is also larger discussion related to the answer, which may include criticism and/or suggestions regarding *Ali and Husu* and/or YLE and its policies. Regarding the conclusion it has to be stated that since this study is based mainly on one program, any generalizations made here regarding YLE are limited, yet considering the scarcity of multicultural programs on YLE these conclusions can still be regarded quite significant.

5.1. Answer to the First Sub-Question: How Do the Objectives and Strategies of *Ali And Husu* as a Multicultural Program Transpire from the Content of the Chosen Episodes in Combination with the Interviews?

In short the *Ali and Husu* programs main objectives can be concluded as follows. It is a multicultural program which appears to attempt to dismantle the possible prejudices that people from the main population of Finland may have towards the new ethnic minorities, or to “familiarize”, as Tervo voiced it, the new ethnic minorities and their cultural differences for the main population. *Ali and Husu* also attempts to be ‘different’ and more entertaining talk program than the previous talk programs, for discussing cultural differences and issues related to multiculturalism, and to promote more open and less polarized discussion related to the new ethnic minorities and multiculturalism than what the program makers saw the discussion currently be on Finnish public sphere. In this section all the different objectives and the strategies to achieve these objectives are discussed as they can be derived from the results of the analysis.

The guests on the program during 2013-2014 were predominantly little-known new ethnic minority members, largely because many of them were friends or acquaintances of *Ali* or *Husu*. These people were usually invited to participate either because of their expertise; because of their entertaining repartee; or because of their lived life experiences on certain topic. Therefore one of the program’s objectives also appears to be to promote and advance the exposure of different personalities from the new ethnic minorities in the Finnish media realm. In this sense the program works in a similar fashion as *Basaari* which gave production possibilities to people from the new ethnic minorities. However, in the case of *Basaari* the large involvement of these minorities was

arguably due to YLE intentionally implementing their multiculturalism policy, whereas in the case of *Ali and Husu* this is arguably mainly due to the agenda of the program makers themselves.

The program largely represents the newer mainstreaming trend of multicultural program, in a sense that it does not only aim to educate but also to entertain and draw in as large audience as possible. This can be considered a logical choice for a program which aims to dismantle prejudices of the main population first and foremost and only secondarily to provide programming for the new ethnic minorities. However, there were often differences in the episodes to how much emphasis was given to more traditional way of educating through serious discussion and to 'educating' through humour. Sometimes the episode relied more on serious discussion which was then either spontaneously or through planning in advance interrupted with a more light-hearted section. In other episodes the discussion was based on humour which was then from time to time interrupted with a more serious discussion. The emphasis between serious discussion and humour largely depended on what kind of topic was chosen for the episode and which guests were invited. Also, from the interviews with the makers, it became clear that the episodes were planned and executed rather idiosyncratically, which at least partly explains why certain episodes relied predominantly on humour while other episodes on more serious discussion. In another words, the program does not rely strictly on any predetermined congruent structure regarding the episodes. As Husu jokingly put the nature of the programs planning on YLE's morning show (2013) after the program had ran for one season:

I do not remember a single broadcast where everything has gone right from start to finish. Sometimes we've had scripts totally mixed-up. Ali has sometimes written like really small, like 25 percent out of A4 size [scripts], like Husu here is for you. I'm like what is this Ali.

The program does not rely on universal issues to draw in larger audiences per se, yet the program does often focus on specific issues within the Finnish society, which in the context of the program can be considered similarly attractive for gathering large audiences. Within the analysed episodes, the specific culture related issues were often used comparatively in order to point out the underlying universal similarities of people.

The ethnic humour in the program can be described in terms of largely relying on certain in-group humour above all, this in-group being the Finnish people. Other non-ethnic in-groups which can be seen to have been present in the humour often, were specific Helsinki based humour and more masculine based male humour. These three in-groups acted as the underlying reference points for understanding much of the humour in the analysed episodes.

The insider out-group ethnic humour was based on four main categories depending on to which in-group the people identified with when using humour. These groups were: Immigrants in general, Muslims (especially with Ali and Husu), more specific national groups such as Iranian or Somalian, or invented groups such as “rättipäät” (rag heads) or “ählämit”. Identifying with all these different groups, some real some fictitious, for creating humour can be seen to have acted as an extension for the more serious discussion, that was often had in the episodes regarding the stereotyped boxes that immigrants often get placed in. This was most likely not a thought out strategy but rather the humour came spontaneously due to the realities of the hosts and the guests.

The out-group humour mostly involved different ethnic minorities making fun of other ethnic minorities and far less about ethnic minorities making fun about the main population or members of the main population making fun about the ethnic minorities. The reasons for this are rather clear considering the context of the program. When big part of the program’s objective is to dismantle prejudices of the main population towards the new ethnic minorities, it is understandable then to not place the main population too often under ridicule. As with the members of the main population using out-group humour of the new ethnic minorities, it is understandable that this is an area that many people from the main population may consider to be too sensitive and risky to participate in.

Looking from rhetorical communication perspective, the humour on the episodes can be divided into the four categories derived from Meyer (2000). In this regard, most often used humour was either for identification purposes or for clarification. These two functions of humour are based on uniting communicators rather than dividing. A program which is about uniting people in a society, this a rather logical choice. Yet, in a society where anti-immigration attitudes have begun rising substantially in recent years, it is also understandable that the humour in the program is sometimes used for criticizing and differentiation purposes through the use of enforcement and differentiation functions. In this matter, the criticism through the enforcement function was usually directed towards certain racist notions and elements in the society, and the differentiation function towards groups that can be considered at least partly racist, such as the Finns party.

The episodes did often deal with topics that can be considered undermining for social cohesion, and this notion was also enforced by the fact that the discussion was often based on confrontation between either the guests, the hosts, or a mix of these. In this regard it was especially Ali’s role to bring the differing opinion in cases where the confrontation was not naturally achieved. Allowing and even favouring discussion that undermines social cohesion can be seen to demonstrate that the PSB is not censoring the content in a fear of a public/media backlash. It also entails that the focus is then often on the cultural issues that most cause disagreement and

disturbance in the society. What is arguably the objective of discussing these kind of issues is that the first step of solving an issue is allowing open discussion regarding it to take place in the public sphere. However, in *Ali and Husu* the dominant role of humour and keeping the discussion entertaining did sometimes place some limits on how undermining the topics and the discussion on the episodes were. Another case was when the discussion was fostering social cohesion and avoiding undermining elements because the makers had pre-thought objective that they wanted to present (*Marriage*). This sort of approach, while understandable, is also somewhat problematic because it unduly supports one perspective over another. It can advance the objective of dismantling prejudices, yet it goes against the program makers own objective of allowing also the attributes that can be considered negative in foreign cultures, such as the complexity between arranged and forced marriages, to be discussed openly.

To conclude the discussion regarding the different strategies mentioned above, it can be stated that much of these different strategical variables that were derived from the theory to be used in this analysis, especially from Leurdijk (2006), seem to not be able to comprehensively capture the strategies used in *Ali and Husu*. As mentioned, in most cases the program shares characteristics with both the traditional multicultural programs as well as with the newer strategies mentioned by the program makers that Leurdijk (2006) interviewed around ten years ago. Also, the two ethnic humour categories, in-group and out-group, discussed by Carilli and Kamalipour (1988) were not able to explain much of the humour in *Ali and Husu*, because the humour often balanced between these two, with sarcastic or other nuances that were perhaps not as existent in the media back then. After all, the likes of Richard Pryor who use ethnicity and race as steady parts of their acts only began to rise in the 80's, whereas now television, films, not to mention the social media, are full of this kind of ethnically or racially loaded content even in Finland where immigration is relatively new phenomenon. It is quite natural that the strategies used in any television, radio or other medium programs evolve over times. As the new program makers create their strategies, they quite naturally take notes of the earlier similar programs and end up changing those strategies that they see as unfitting for their time. As mentioned, the makers of *Ali and Husu* often stated during the interviews how they wanted to create a discussion program that fundamentally differed from the approaches which they saw as traditional and not fitting for current times. Therefore, there is definitely a demand for a new study on the basis of especially Leurdijk's (2006) work, to study the contemporary strategies used by the European multicultural program makers.

5.2. Answer to the Second Sub-Question: How Much Is YLE Responsible for These Objectives and Strategies?

From the interviews it became rather clear that YLE has not been responsible for most of the objectives and strategies for *Ali and Husu*. The program has been a concept of Husu first and foremost, and secondly affected by the vision of the producer Kari Tervo and by Ali who can be seen as largely responsible for implementing the humour aspect of the program. The only clear impacts that YLE seem to have had on the program are: the request not to use verbal obscenities; the request not to discuss topics that are ‘too current’; and lastly the fact that YLE bought the program to be part of the time slot which is based on ‘interesting’ person brands.

The request not to use verbal obscenities is an understandable one considering the afternoon broadcasting time. Also, the fact that YLE is a PSB certainly places an implicit pressure on it to avoid content that some people might find offensive. However, as came clear from the interviews, the makers of the program are not highly concerned about this aspect, besides avoiding curse words, since the ethnic humour in the program is almost bound to offend some people regardless of the fact that it is sarcastic by nature.

The request not to discuss topics that are ‘too current’ is also understandable from YLE’s part since a talk radio channel is often already filled with magazine type programs where current news and issues are discussed in abundance. As Tervo voiced in the interviews, at one point they did try this type of episodes. Looking at the titles of the episodes on YLE Areena website, it seems that one of these type of episodes, named *News headlines of the week a la Ali and Husu*, was broadcasted at the beginning of the first season (February 2013). At this point the program makers were most likely still very much trying to find the right angle and format for the program, and most likely they did receive feedback from YLE to steer away from these type of episodes.

This steering away from a magazine type program which would be focusing on highly topical news headlines can also be seen to be connected to the last factor of the program being bought by YLE to be part of a certain branded time slot that is all about personas and ‘different’ from the other time slots on the channel which are hosted by YLE’s own staff. In this regard it would be arguably difficult for Ali and Husu to highlight their program’s difference from the rest if the format would be similar than many of the other programs on the channel.

5.3. Answer to the Third Sub-Question: How Does *Ali and Husu* Reflect YLE's Current Policies towards New Ethnic Minorities and Multicultural Programming?

YLE's current policy towards multicultural programming and mainstreaming diversity is somewhat twofold. On one hand it seems inadequate and suppressed by the current political and social, as well as economical, climate. As Horsti's (2014) interviews with the former employees of YLE, who were dealing with multicultural programming, have explained, the people at the managerial level seem uninterested or afraid of broadcasting content related to multiculturalism. As Horsti (2014) has stated:

In the policy papers and in the interviews, there is no discussion about quotas or monitoring of cultural diversity. Recruitment and visibility of minorities is a sensitive issue for YLE as it does not wish to displease any major section of Finnish society. (p. 178)

To support this conclusion, recently European Broadcasting Union's (2015) peer-to-peer review of YLE concluded specifically that YLE lacks in representing immigrants and diversity in both content and in work force:

Yle programmes/content should better reflect Finnish society in all its developments and diversity. Minorities such as the immigrant populations are not really represented. Yle should work on "diversity" and adopt a segmented vision of its audiences to better understand their needs and expectations (p. 26) [...] diversity is not only related to content, but also to the way the company is organized. Yle does a good job in terms of gender equality and opportunities. Its next challenge is to diversify its staff according to age, origin, and culture to reflect changes in Finnish society over the last decade yet without losing in internal cohesion (p. 38) [...] Yle did not manage to achieve the goals of its 2012-2014 Equality Plan that was aimed at turning the company into a more diverse workplace. The company remains very homogenous in terms of age, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It still is a challenge for Yle to reflect the structure of Finnish society. (p. 42)

Then again on the other hand, there are certain individual examples that represent rather daring decisions from YLE's part regarding diversity and multiculturalism in recent years. First of all, *Ali and Husu* differed from the previous multicultural programs of YLE in one specific

matter. While the other programs such as *Basaari*, *Ähläm Sähläm* and *Muslimielämä* focused on presenting the cultures of the new ethnic minorities and discussing the adaptation process to the Finnish society, whether through reality or humour, they rarely directly addressed and discussed the views of the people who are critical or racist towards immigrants and immigration. In this sense *Ali and Husu*, can be seen to reflect the current climate where these sort of attitudes are constantly being brought up by groups such as the Finns Party. Although YLE did not come up with the concept of *Ali and Husu* but merely bought it, it still demonstrates courage from YLE's part to challenge the discourse of the Finns Party and other groups alike. As was established in the results chapter, YLE did not seem to apply any control over the program's topics or content.

Another example of a daring decision regarding the representation of the new ethnic minorities was a 2012 short film that YLE produced, called *The Marshall of Finland*, about perhaps the most cherished historical person in Finland, Marshal Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim. Mannerheim served as the supreme commander of the Finnish army during the Second World War and also acted two years as the President of Finland at the end of the war, securing the truce between Finland and Russia. What makes this short film related to diversity and what also makes it so daring, is the fact that in the film Mannerheim is played by a Kenian actor Telley Savalas Otieno. The short film is a Finnish-Kenyan-Estonian production that presents the life of Mannerheim from the viewpoint of an African storytelling tradition. The film created a huge negative sensation in Finland even before it was released and after the release most of the critics slandered the film. From this perspective it would be hard to argue that the people at the managerial level of YLE are afraid to touch issues related to diversity or multiculturalism.

This duality in YLE's content is rather confusing, yet it does support one conclusion that Horsti (2014) has made. This conclusion is that the handling of diversity and multicultural topics in YLE lack clear vision and strategy. Therefore, while the Director of News & Current Affairs in YLE, Atte Jääskeläinen, stated to EBU (2015) that: "There are two ways to establish diversity, the old way which was chaos through the use of huge resources, and the current way which is planning and targeting diversity objectives", it still seems that the planning has not been conducted adequately. What is also somewhat worrying is the way this lack of planning can cause more damage than benefit to the cause through individual projects. While groups such as the Finns Party and the supporters of Homma Forum will most likely stay criticizing every move that YLE makes when it comes to broadcasting diversity or multicultural programs regardless of the initiative or project, YLE makes the climate even worse for itself by creating individual highly controversial projects such as the *Marshall of Finland*, which might be artistically significant, yet do very little for increasing the visibility of the new ethnic minorities. On the contrary, YLE should realize that these

kind of projects do not exist in vacuum, and can cause the ‘immigration critical’ pressure towards YLE to increase even more.

What could arguably be helpful for the cause and also in economic sense, is a long term vision and actions for representing adequately the new ethnic minorities of Finland, or as it is stated in the law: “support tolerance and multiculturalism and provide programming for minority and special groups”. Yet, what makes this kind of long term plan risky for YLE is the publicity it would receive, which most likely could be negative in the current social, political and economic climate.

5.4. Answer to the Main Research Question: How Is it Possible for YLE to Make Multicultural Programming in Post-Multicultural Times?

The multicultural programs on YLE have, besides *Basaari*, been short-lived projects that ended after one season. This has most likely been the case because the programs have not been able to carry out the objective that YLE’s policy towards these programs has been at the time: to create multicultural programs with ‘mainstream’ appeal. As Tervo explained in the interview about the short-lived program *Ähläm Sähläm* that his company produced: “it didn’t succeed. It was a summer program. It didn’t go well at all and it had bad ratings. At the beginning they were good but then it lost its appeal. It wasn’t a good enough program”. Currently after the end of the ‘cultural diversity’ policy, in a time when YLE does not anymore have any clear policy regarding the representation of the new ethnic minorities, it seems that *Ali and Husu* has been able to finally complete the ‘mainstreaming’ objective to appeal to a fairly large audience. As Tervo stated in the interview: “we are continuously amongst the most listened programs on YLE Puhe”. In fact, the ratings of the program even grew substantially on the second season (KRT Online/ Finnpanel Oy, 2015).

On the basis of this study on *Ali and Husu*, it seems that there are five main factors that make it possible for YLE to make multicultural programming on post-multicultural times: entertaining ‘mainstream’ appeal; using humour as a way to make multiculturalism related issues more approachable; strong person based brands; framing these programs as part of larger set of programs; and, using external productions.

The ‘mainstream’ appeal is important because it helps YLE to justify its multicultural programs on times when the existence of these kind of programs are increasingly being questioned in the public sphere. In other words, if the program is popular, it becomes harder to argue why the program should not be allowed to exist. In order to have ‘mainstream’ appeal the program usually has to be entertaining and the humour in *Ali and Husu* plays a highly important role in this regard. Besides the humour making the program entertaining, it also arguably enables the program to

approach difficult topics related to multiculturalism in a matter that makes these topics less controversial and also makes the hosts as well as the new ethnic minority guests more identifiable for the majority audience. Telling of that is for example this quote from a man who called on the program during the episode *Prejudices*: “Hey, first of all I want to say thanks to you guys. I must say that if all the immigrants in Finland were first of all as funny as you guys there, nobody would have any issues”. This rather well exemplifies how dominant role humour has in the success of *Ali and Husu*.

The strong person based brands of these programs help, besides furthering the ‘mainstream’ appeal, because they arguably divert the attention away from the ideological objectives of a multicultural program. In other words, the program can be presented through ‘interesting’ persons, rather than highlighting the topics that are being discussed. Also, *Ali and Husu* was placed on a time-slot that was framed by YLE in certain way and which included other programs on different days. In this regard, *Ali and Husu* was not marketed as a separate multicultural program, but rather as a program that was part of a larger package of programs which were all about ‘interesting’ personas in general. Perhaps it is just a coincidence that the program happened to be placed on this time slot, yet there is no denying that this setup helps YLE to justify a multicultural program such as *Ali and Husu* on post-multicultural times. In fact, this justification for broadcasting a multicultural program was used by YLE again recently when it decided to begin the radio program about Koran. On one YLE’s website article which was released just before the program began on March 2015 it states:

Koran-series is part of Yle Radio 1’s classics reading – a half an hour long program series, where the likes of Maiju Lassila, Juhani Aho and L. Onerva [Finnish authors] have been heard previously. Besides the belles-lettres⁹, holy texts were wanted and Koran was chosen because of its topicality, after all the Islamic world is featured daily on the news and the Finnish Muslim community is also growing. (YLE, 2015)

This demonstrates how there can be seen a pattern of YLE using this strategy to justify its multicultural programs on post-multicultural times, because arguably controversial idea is often easier to be ‘sold’ when it is framed as part of a larger non-controversial narrative.

⁹ The actual term used here is ”kaunokirjallisuus”, which does not have the exact English equivalent. It refers to literature which is meant as art or entertainment. Its opposite is referred to in Finnish as “tietokirjallisuus” (‘information literature’) which is considered to be factual literature from different fields. Belles-lettres is therefore used here in relation to its more original meaning.

Lastly, the fact that YLE uses external productions can arguably provide more possibilities for different kind of multicultural program formats to be created which then enables better chances for those programs to come to existence which have the right qualities for continuity, such as *Ali and Husu*. Also, Norbäck (2011) has discussed in the context of Sweden, how the PSBs are often claimed to be such large institutions that it makes them get set in their ways and avoid risk taking, and therefore “In order for public service TV to release its true potential, it would have to be enacted by external producers that are not burdened by the lack of imagination and fearfulness that is said to rule the old enactor SVT” (p. 267). This claim of PSBs avoiding risk taking can be especially connected to contemporary multicultural programs, considering the contemporary post-multicultural times. However, in this regard it has to be kept in mind that YLE has only began to move into the direction of relying on external producers if compared to for example PSB trendsetter the BBC, and therefore certain precautions need to be mentioned regarding the future of YLE in this matter. Born (2005) has pointed out how on BBC the shift to using increasingly external producers caused certain companies to grow and gain such influence that they were able to dictate their own objectives over the ones of the BBC, while the smallest independent producers were forced to give in on every demand that the BBC made, and in both cases the end result was predominantly programs that could be labelled as the total opposite of what is discussed above by Norbäck (2011):

Both the large, successful independents with business plans and profits to deliver, and the small independents dicing with economic insecurity, had overwhelming incentives to offer the broadcasters sure-fire popular winners. Both poles, the powerful and the dependent, were motivated to head for the centre-ground of programming. In conjunction with the new, schedule-led commissioning process, the system of outsourcing favoured safe commissions, formulaic output and populism. (Born, 2005, p. 148)

While this kind of criticism towards using external productions should be taken into consideration when discussing the case of YLE, it also has to be remembered that Finland and the UK are two highly different countries when it comes to both PSBs and the economic landscape. The BBC is not merely a national broadcaster like YLE, but a massive international broadcaster who not only broadcasts and sells programs to different countries, but also sells formats. Due to this amongst other reasons, such as the population which is over ten times larger in the UK than in Finland, the whole economic landscape related to television and radio production in the UK cannot be compared to that of Finland. Therefore it can be stated with certain precautions that the use of external

producers, as *Ali and Husu* demonstrates, has at least so far furthered YLE to broadcast multicultural programs on post-multicultural times.

5.5. Epilogue: Husu Leaving the Program

While writing this conclusion, *Ali and Husu* is not being broadcasted anymore (last episode aired 12.02.2015), due to the fact that Husu campaigned to become a member of parliament in the 2015 April elections and had to therefore give up his position in the program. While he did not get elected, his role in the program has been at least for now been cancelled. However, since the beginning of March 2015, Ali has been continuing at the job with a new host partner, Polina Kopylova (Russian background) who also appeared as a guest in the analysed episode *Opinions*, and the program is now called *Ali ja Polina* (Ali and Polina). The change of one host has not seemed to affect substantially on the topics or the discussion, and the same rather controversial and unapologetic stance on multiculturalism issues still exists. As Tervo explained the choice of Polina to the role and about the future direction of the program:

Polina was chosen because we were thinking that now would be a good time to try a woman when Husu left to do election work, and another thing was that (we were thinking) who are the second most hated minority (after Somalians), well maybe it's the Russians [...] now we are a bit nervous about the fact that Polina is pretty critical towards the current actions of Russia and the ruling people there. So (we wonder) what kind of feedback we'll start receiving, because Polina sometimes gives pretty sharp points to that direction and we have one topic that is directly aimed at looking for trouble.

One way that the program seems to have changed is that the episode topics have been agreed on in advance long before they are being broadcasted. Husu discussed this change in the interview, while mentioning his idea for a program where the losers of the Parliamentary elections would be interviewed instead of the elected people:

I contacted Ali yesterday and said that you should make an episode about that and then he said that "sorry Husu we have already planned all the episodes and guests". [I was like] "You guys are boring if you won't do this, I'm glad that I'm not part of it anymore when you do it like this". I would have never agreed on doing a program where everything is planned in advance.

Another way the program has changed is the fact that the program has new part-time host, 19-year old Nimo Samatar. She is a former contestant from the Big Brother Finland reality-TV program and also has large following on the social media sites Instagram and Youtube. Ali explained her role on the program during the interview: “We also wanted more of the social media dimension so we took this Nimo, who is a ‘Youtuber’ and Instagram influencer (...) this way we tried to make the program as different as possible (from *Ali and Husu*)”. While this creates a completely new dimension on the program, it can still be seen as rather natural continuum and evolution of the social media aspect which was already present in *Ali and Husu*.

The factor that the program after the change of the host further highlights is how the makers continue on their idiosyncratic path for creating a multicultural program. The decisions regarding the program and its content are made by the program makers, while YLE possesses mainly the final power of approval or disapproval. This approach for creating a multicultural program gives the program makers a large amount of freedom for creating the content, yet YLE’s approval for *Ali and Polina*’s continuity has most likely more preconditions, and largely depends on how well the program is able to keep up the good ratings of *Ali and Husu*.

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7. Appendix

7.1. Interview Questions

1. How did the program get started?
 - a. Who came up with the original idea?
2. What objectives were there for making the program?
 - a. Why radio and not television program?
 - b. Why specifically YLE Puhe? Were other channels considered? Was playing (ethnic) music during the program ever discussed?
3. Why Ali and Husu?
 - a. Why two men?
 - b. Were other people considered?
 - c. How do you see your role in the program?
 - d. How do you see the dynamic between each other (for Ali and Husu only)? How do you see the other host's role?
4. How do you see the role of humour in the program?
 - a. Do you consider there to be risks involved in using humour? How are you taking these into consideration?
5. How are the guests invited into the program?
 - a. What are the criteria for the guests?
 - b. Who invites the guests?
6. Who comes up with the episode topics?
 - a. What kind of process is the planning of an episode
 - b. How much do you think beforehand the discussion points and schedules?
7. How was the time slot of the program decided?
 - a. Why midday?
 - b. Were other possibilities considered?
 - c. Does the time slot affect the content of the program in your opinion? How?
8. How much do you feel that YLE controls the making and the content of the program?
 - a. Does YLE often give feedback?
 - b. Has YLE ever wanted to censor the program in any way?
 - c. Were previous multicultural programs on YLE brought up by someone when planning the program? How?
9. Do you focus on certain immigrant groups more than others? Why?

10. What kind of Feedback do you receive from the audience?
 - a. Are there differences in the amounts and the content of the feedback between immigrants and Finns?
11. What is the role of social media on the program?
12. Do you think that PSB should have a specific multicultural program?
13. How do you see the most important objectives of a PSB's multicultural program regarding the society in general?
14. Can it be compared in your opinion whether specific multicultural programs, or ethnic minorities as part of other programs, achieve better the YLE's obligation to "support multiculturalism"?
15. How do you see the current 'climate' in Finland regarding the new ethnic minorities?