

REVIEW OF MEDIA FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN FINNISH NEWS MEDIA

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FOR VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was commissioned to examine how human trafficking is framed in Finnish news media. The topic has been researched internationally, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. In Finland, however, the topic is yet to be comprehensively explored. This study aims to help fill this gap. To answer the question “How is human trafficking framed in Finnish news media”, this study analyzed 91 news articles published in 2018 in four different news media publications with national coverage. The study also scrutinized illustrations used in the news articles, and conducted interviews with three journalists, who have covered human trafficking issues.

The study found that human trafficking is commonly framed as a criminal justice issue and an issue related to immigration. The analyzed news material mainly portrayed three types of human trafficking: sexual exploitation (47 per cent of articles), labour exploitation (23 per cent of articles) and forced / child marriage (9 per cent of articles). While it is positive that forced / child marriages have gained some visibility in news media alongside the two more investigated types of human trafficking, other types of human trafficking are still almost completely absent.

Only a handful of the studied articles explored the broader context of human trafficking, for example the structural factors that enable it. However, there was some discussion on, for example, immigration legislation as a factor potentially causing vulnerability to exploitation. Some articles mentioned the dependency of a domestic industry on foreign labour working under poor terms. Still, only one or two articles contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of human trafficking. There was no reference in any of the articles to the European Union or the Council of Europe as anti-trafficking actors, or as sources of binding legislation on human trafficking.

The study found that female gender is unduly emphasized in news articles on human trafficking. The gender of a victim was only mentioned if the victim was female. Male victims and mixed groups of victims were referred to as just victims or, for example, workers. Similarly, information on perpetrators' ethnic background or the fact that they were “foreigners” was commonly placed in the headlines of articles. In the headlines, victims were lured or brought to Finland. In some articles, immigration issues were emphasized over other aspects, for example, by highlighting some statistical facts over others.

While these findings are consolidated in international research, some of the findings of this study somewhat differ from earlier results. Outside of articles covering events in the criminal process, journalism wasn't so heavily dependent on official sources. Instead, journalists have found other sources such as NGOs and industry representatives. Similarly, human trafficking in the Finnish context is generally not portrayed as something that is related to organized crime. Sensationalist language was not commonly used, and was, in

fact, used slightly more in articles covering public policy issues than in those covering events in the criminal process.

It was found, that news sourced from international media organizations, is often sensationalist and rides on shock value to draw in readers. Articles in this category of news, unlike articles created domestically, are selected by journalists and editors from a stream of international news. This study found that, in order to be selected, a news story must usually involve several victims who are women, children or infants. This group of news greatly enforces aged stereotypes. This study finds that this is a lost opportunity, as news sourced from around the world could also serve to present less identified types of human trafficking, convey victims' stories and highlight the context of how and why human trafficking happens.

Finally, the study suggests that attention is paid in newsrooms to use of terms, such as those related to gender. It also suggests complementing coverage of criminal justice events with articles that offer context to the type of human trafficking in question. The results of this study could be utilized in creating training programs for both journalists and interest groups. Further research should analyze the effect of news framing to policy-making and public opinion on human trafficking.

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INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a worldwide crime that takes place transnationally and locally. Most of us will, however, never personally witness or experience human trafficking. Instead, we will form our understanding of what human trafficking is through presentations made by others. The story tellers decide what they convey to the listener, what they choose to emphasize and what they decide to leave out.

Today in the 21st Century, the story teller with the widest audience and loudest voice is mass media. Among mass media, news media may arguably hold a somewhat significant position as a perceived conveyor of reality and true events¹. However, news media, as any story teller, filters and perhaps alters reality before presenting it to the public.

Choices on what is given foreground in the story, who are used as sources of information, whose statements are considered facts, whose voices are heard, what pictures are used - all make up how a news story ends up being framed. According to Horsti, choice of words and use of metaphors, descriptions and comparisons also contribute to how the topic is portrayed.²

Framing may serve different interests. Farrel and Fahy³, analyzing media material in the United States, found that media framing of human trafficking not only reflects the current policy environment, but is actively influenced by different interest groups. This is echoed by Sanford et al: “[N]ews media’s framing is influenced not only by journalists and editors but also those providing information to news media, such as policy makers and interest groups. Both journalists and their sources make choices about what information to relay to the audience and which interpretations of the information to include.”⁴

Frame theory suggests that the way news stories are framed affects public opinion, public debate and even policy making. Ultimately, it shapes how people interpret what is happening around them⁶.

A review of international research on how news media frames human trafficking shows that human trafficking is commonly framed as a criminal justice issue, where perpetrators are portrayed as organized criminal gangs⁷. Sexual exploitation related human trafficking is given more media coverage at the expense of other types of trafficking, and victims are portrayed as vulnerable females⁸. Human trafficking is also commonly framed as an immigration issue⁹. Journalists covering human trafficking news rely heavily on official sources without questioning their reliability, while alternative voices are rarely heard¹⁰. All in all, media coverage of the phenomenon is found to be shallow and one-dimensional, with few articles exploring the context of where and why human trafficking happens. As a consequence, misleading and incorrect framing of human trafficking may lead policymakers to adopt less helpful anti-trafficking responses¹¹.

News media framing of human trafficking has not been comprehensively researched in Finland. This study aims to help fill this gap by answering the question “How is human trafficking framed

in Finnish news media". In order to answer the question, 91 news articles published in 2018 in four different news media publications were scrutinized by using qualitative and quantitative methods. The analysis was supplemented by interviewing three journalists who have covered human trafficking related news. Analysis of the news material in part confirmed earlier studies, yet also revealed aspects that differ from earlier findings.

According to Hall, framing can in part be a product of journalistic routines such as reliance on familiar official sources that are perceived reliable. Routines are a coping mechanism in fast-paced media environments, where news material must be produced at short intervals¹². It is important to shed light on these routines and bring them under scrutiny. Persistence on using a narrow set of sources, on selecting sensationalist stories from a selection of foreign media articles, and misleading or underscoring use of terminology and language, are examples of journalistic routines that can arguably produce news articles that relay a misshapen image of human trafficking.

This study discovered some potentially harmful practices that are repeated throughout much of the analyzed news material - as well as some efforts aimed at conveying a more balanced, pluralist and comprehensive image of human trafficking. Drawing on these findings, further studies could focus on how to change certain practices and improve on others through, for example, training. This study makes a few modest suggestions to remedy some problematic practices, as well as suggestions for further research.

This study begins by explaining the methodology and selection of material used in this analysis. This is followed by a review of literature on media framing of human trafficking both internationally and in Finland. Chapters 4 and 5 provide the backdrop to the analysis by looking at the state of the media and human trafficking and victim assistance in Finland. The results of the analysis are presented in two sections, the first covering domestically sourced news articles, and the latter the so-called imported articles, i.e. news material based on articles previously published by an international media organization such as the CNN, Reuters or BBC. It is argued that these two categories differ from each other both in genesis and framing. The results are then combined. The study also scrutinized the use of pictures and illustrations as part of media framing. Chapter 7 contains a brief analysis of these pictures. In Chapter 9, three journalists interviewed for this study discuss their views on how events and phenomena related to human trafficking should be covered - as well as explaining how it shouldn't be covered.

Finally, the study concludes that human trafficking is mainly framed in Finnish news media as an immigration issue and a criminal justice issue. It is commonly portrayed in terms of forced prostitution targeted at vulnerable females. The study finishes with suggestions for further action and research.

Due to limitations caused by the selection of news material, two sets of articles representing investigative journalism and victims' interviews are presented in Chapter 8. After the original articles, some additional articles are looked at that indicate some of the potential effects that

these articles had on policy environment. These articles are otherwise not part of the analysis but were included to offer a more comprehensive representation of news media coverage of human trafficking.

1. METHODOLOGY

News media evaluated for this study consists of online publications, therefore excluding news material on printed newspapers and magazines, television, radio and podcasts. News articles, broader reports, blogs and editorials were included in the selection of materials, while reviews of books, films, theatre and television programs were excluded.

Four news media publications were chosen for this study based on four criteria: they had to have national coverage; their main content had to consist of news and current events; the four publications had to represent more than one media corporation, including one outlet from state owned Yleisradio (Yle); the publications had to be politically nonaligned.

The four news media publications chosen were Helsingin Sanomat (Sanoma Media Finland), Ilta-Sanomat (Sanoma-Media Finland), Yle uutiset (Yleisradio) and MTV Uutiset (Alma Media). Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta-Sanomat were originally only published in print, with Helsingin Sanomat representing a broadsheet newspaper and Ilta-Sanomat a tabloid. Their online content is same or similar to content published in the print versions. Yle Uutiset and MTV Uutiset are only published online.

Most of the analyzed news content is free to the public, with the exception of some of the articles in Helsingin Sanomat, which were accessible to subscribers only.

The first stage of selecting articles was to use an online search engine built in to each outlet, using the search word ihmiskauppa (human trafficking). The search was limited to cover articles published in 1.1.2018 - 31.12.2018. Ihmiskauppa was still the only search word used. Only those articles, editorials and blogs were chosen, where the term ihmiskauppa was featured in the headline or within the first two sentences.

As doing this seemed to favour articles related to the criminal process, the selection criteria was widened to include articles where other human trafficking related terms, such as pakkotyö (forced labour), pakkoprostituutio (forced prostitution), lapsikauppa (child trafficking) naiskauppa (trafficking of women - please, notice, there is no term in use for the trafficking of men), elinkauppa (organ trafficking) and pakkoavioliitto (forced marriage) were present in the headline or in the first two sentences of the article. Articles, where the headline / first two sentences stated that someone was being forced or pressured to do something, were also accepted, when the forcing or pressuring clearly related to human trafficking. A total of 91 texts were chosen. The chosen material included short and long articles and editorials. Articles were coded using the coding protocol in Annex 1.

Publication	2018
Helsingin Sanomat	21
Ilta-Sanomat	17
Yle uutiset	21

MTV Uutiset	32
TOTAL	91

In this study, quantitative and qualitative media analysis methods were used as research methods. Content analysis was applied to categorize and analyze the context and content of the selected news material. Articles originating from domestic sources and those sourced from major international news organizations (news that cover foreign events and cases) were analyzed separately, as the study adopts the view that the two form very distinctively different groups. News material was also analyzed against a backdrop of criminal cases tried and investigated¹³ in 2018 in Finland. Photographs and other illustration in the material were also scrutinized.

As the time period covered did not include many significant works of investigative journalism, two series of articles mainly published in 2019 are briefly looked at as examples of journalists, NGOs, some authorities and victims of human trafficking cooperating to bring forth policy and human rights issues. These articles were not otherwise included in the analysis.

Six journalists who had covered human trafficking related topics were sent a request to be interviewed for this study. Four of them replied, and three journalists consented to be interviewed. The questions posed to the journalists are found in annex 4.

Finally, three NGOs (Victim Support Finland, MONIKA - Multicultural Women's Association and Pro-tukipiste) and the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking were interviewed on their views on interviewing their clients (victims of human trafficking).

1.1 Criticism of methodology

Like framing emphasizes certain aspects and fades out others, selection of news material through use of certain criteria will inevitably cause some material to be left out that may have contributed towards a different outcome. While conducting this analysis, the author is aware of articles about human trafficking that have been published in local news media or in the Swedish language media, that have explored human trafficking from different aspects.

Frame theory suggests that the way news media frames a certain topic will affect public perception of that topic, and possibly have impact on policy-making. While this is in part true, it should be noted that news media isn't the only source of information or misinformation on human trafficking. Television series, documentaries, films, books, magazines, social media and a person's social networks and interaction may all play a part in the formation of a person's understanding of what human trafficking is. According to a meta-analysis by Horsti, News media might arguably have a relatively stronger role at this, as it is a perceived conveyor of truth and real-life events.

Finally, while the author has tried to conduct this analysis with utmost objectivity, the author's history as a journalist (in the turn of the Millennium) and her position as Senior Adviser in the

national Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking, may impact the author's perspective.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW - FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Internationally media framing of human trafficking has researched in several countries, and especially in the United States and United Kingdom. Several articles and broader academic works on the issue are available, though most cover only English language media publications. For this paper, ten studies on media framing of human trafficking¹⁴ were looked at.

Many studies showed that sexual exploitation related human trafficking gets more attention and coverage in media than other types of human trafficking. Austin and Farrel, having scrutinized media framing in US media found, that presentations of human trafficking were often oversimplified and inaccurate, and focused dominantly on sexual exploitation related human trafficking at the expense of other types of human trafficking¹⁵. Dugan in her study of media framing in the UK similarly found that more media coverage is given to sexual exploitation related trafficking than to other types¹⁶.

Muraszkiewicz, Georgiou and Constantinou came to the same conclusion in their study covering the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland. However, they pointed out that the fact that sexual exploitation related human trafficking is also more often reported and investigated than other types of trafficking, could be the cause for over-representation of "sex trafficking" in media. On the other hand they also noted that "sex sells" and is newsworthy¹⁷.

According to Austin and Farrel, victims of human trafficking were commonly being portrayed as "innocent white female victims needing to be rescued from nefarious traffickers"¹⁸ The same was noted by Sanford, Martinez and Weitzer. In their 2016 study of US media they found that victims were most often portrayed as minors and females. They claimed that this portrayal enforces ideas of ideal victimhood, where some individuals are viewed as more legitimate victims and "more worthy of assistance than others"¹⁹.

Muraszkiewicz et al. also found that human trafficking was predominantly presented in the criminal (justice) frame, consisting of reports on arrests and court cases. They claimed that media coverage created an image of human trafficking as something linked to organized criminal networks²⁰. This was echoed in other research²¹, for example in the study by Sanford et al., where it was found that the amount of reports covering law enforcement actions had increased, as well as the use of law enforcement sources²². They stated that "dangers are exaggerated to the public and stereotypes about perpetrators and their motives are reinforced²³." This also carries a reference to the use of sensationalist language when reporting on human trafficking. According M. Sobel, especially news coverage of sexual exploitation related human trafficking has been criticized of sensationalism²⁴.

Human trafficking was often found to be framed as an immigration issue. Muraszkievicz et al. found this to be the case especially with the United Kingdom and Poland (yet interestingly not with Cyprus). In the countries studied, especially free movement within the European Union was seen as a cause to human trafficking. Only one of the articles analyzed by the study linked restrictive immigration policies to human trafficking. This, Muraszkievicz et al. claim, fails to show the reality that restrictive immigration policies may instead contribute to human trafficking²⁵.

Media coverage was often found to be narrow and relying heavily on official sources. Sanford et al. found that news coverage mirrors official (government) claims, which the newspapers hardly ever question. Alternative views are rarely given space²⁶. The same was reported by Gulati already in his 2010 study of media coverage in the United Kingdom, USA and Canada²⁷ as well as his 2011 study on “news triggers”. Gulati found that most news articles (65 per cent) are inspired by official sources, while those stemming from newsroom initiative (journalistic initiative) are in the minority. According to Gulati, alternative voices and solutions are rarely offered²⁸.

Sobel, in a 2014 study covering USA, India and Thailand found, that media focused mainly on crime and policy sides of human trafficking rather than human rights, and lacked the voices of victims. She, however, saw as an improvement that media more frequently suggested causes and remedies for human trafficking issues²⁹.

Portrayal of human trafficking in news media was seen as over-simplified, often portrayed as individual events with broader context for the phenomenon missing. This, the studies rather unanimously stated, can have an adverse effect on the comprehension the audiences, including policy-makers, form about human trafficking. Muraszkievicz et al. stated that “discourses in the media overlook the serious, albeit complex, issues of human trafficking and instead, rely on the held stereotypes to draw in the reader.”³⁰ As a consequence, as Austin and Farrel conclude, misleading and incorrect framing of human trafficking may lead policymakers to adopt less helpful anti-trafficking responses that are focused on criminal system solutions³¹.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW - FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN FINNISH MEDIA

Research on how Finnish news media frames human trafficking was available, but not in abundance. A search in three databases produced a handful of academic work that handled the topic. The existing research finds that coverage of human trafficking in media is often superficial and lacks information on factors that enable the exploitation of victims. The voices of victims are rarely heard, which some researchers find problematic. Human trafficking is framed as a criminal issue, immigration issue or a policy issue, and human trafficking rhetoric is often used as a tool in reaching political goals. Sources used by media are mainly authorities. News materials were found to contain terminology, which researchers saw as potentially harmful.

3.1 Human trafficking rhetoric as a political tool

In a 2013 article³² Himanen and Könönen found that Finnish news coverage on human trafficking in 2012 created a misleading image of the phenomenon as an immigration issue, while serving as a tool for policy makers.

The article followed news coverage on beggars of the Romanian Roma minority throughout 2012. The series of news articles began when citizens had witnessed female beggars giving money to “men in suits who drive expensive cars”³³. In the articles this was immediately picked up as signs of human trafficking, even though money exchanging hands wouldn't yet be proof of any criminal activity taking place. According to the article, the quick association to human trafficking was caused by the fact that both the beggars and the men in suits were foreign nationals. Begging by Roma minorities was framed as a criminal issue³⁴. Politicians responded by demanding that begging should be banned³⁵.

The focus, the article states, was on human trafficking as a phenomenon, not on any individual's life and experiences. The voices of authorities (police, Ombudsman for minorities), eye witnesses and NGOs were heard in several news stories, while the victims' voices were hardly present. The structural factors that influence begging were not explored, among these poverty, discrimination and racism, in any of the articles. They claimed that framing Roma begging as a criminal and human trafficking issue, would lead to the idea that removing them from Finland would mean the end of the trafficking problem³⁶.

The article found that, as in the above example, human trafficking rhetoric was commonly used as a tool for reaching political goals. In the Summer of 2012, the Minister of Justice suggested criminalizing the purchase of sex, stating that it would be an important factor in suppressing human trafficking. Her statement was covered in the media “without criticism”, which led to an understanding that human trafficking was a common problem concerning sex work. According to the article, actual evidence to support this claim is, however, very slim³⁷.

The article also analyzed news coverage of the criminal process relating to four cases of labour trafficking. The news articles were found to be mainly short descriptions of events relating to the criminal process, such as arrests, investigations and court proceedings. The central actors and commentators in the stories were authorities in the investigative process.

According to Himanen and Könönen, both specialized in immigration and labour market issues, found that human trafficking was in all cases linked to immigration: both the victims and the criminals were normally nationals of the same foreign country. Malicious foreign human traffickers and helpless foreign victims were seen as the only two sides of the story. What we don't see, the article claimed, are the factors enabling the exploitation of labour: the structural levels of immigration, where the requirement for legal presence creates dependency on the exploiter; the victim's background of possible poverty and discrimination; and the significance of

exploited labour to business. A strong link to immigration, combined with a lack of other context, leads to policy initiatives targeted at removing said immigrants from Finland³⁸.

3.2 False images and terminology as hindrances for identifying human trafficking

In her analysis of 11 cases of human trafficking that have been dealt with in courts in Finland during 2004 - 2014³⁹, Minna Viuhko found that the common images of the perpetrators as “hardened professional criminals” are not based on facts. Instead, perpetrators were in many cases found to be acquaintances, relatives, partners and friends of the victim(s), and not members of organized criminal gangs. Perpetrators in the analyzed cases were both male and female and represented a wide variety of nationalities, including Finnish nationals⁴⁰. Viuhko argued, that a one-sided image of offenders as well as victims easily “narrows the discussion down to an individual rather than structural level”⁴¹.

Similarly, Viuhko saw the use of slavery-related terminology problematic. According to Viuhko, media, policymakers and some researchers often refer to human trafficking as “modern-day-slavery”. Viuhko along with other academics found this practice problematic, as it has an impact on our understanding of human trafficking, on the identification of victims and on holding perpetrators liable for their actions. It simplifies a complex issue into misleading images of slavery, of people being bought and sold which, at least in the Finnish context, is extremely rarely a part of human trafficking. Meanwhile seeing human trafficking as slavery ignores the actual, multifaceted nature of exploitation and the structural factors enabling it⁴².

While Viuhko did not analyze media framing of human trafficking per se, her research offers valuable insight into why and how language and imagery on human trafficking, victims and perpetrators may persistently be framed a certain way.

3.3 “Media simplifies matters”

In a 2011 publication HEUNI (The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations) researches briefly analyzed media coverage of human trafficking and labour exploitation in Finnish media in 2004 - 2010. They discovered a large number of case descriptions and examples of exploitation that migrant workers have faced in Finland. Interviews that journalists had conducted with the victims of trafficking / exploitation provided information that was not found in other sources, such as court judgements. This kind of first-hand knowledge was considered especially valuable. The researchers, however, found that media often simplifies matters and emphasizes certain features of the cases at the expense of others⁴³.

3.4 Active authorities vs. weak and helpless victims

A 2018 master's dissertation by Salla Syvänen looked at media framing of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Yle online news published in 2016 - 2017⁴⁴. In her analysis of 17 Yle online news articles Syvänen found that sex trafficking (a term which Syvänen found problematic) was mainly

framed as a criminal issue and as a policy issue. The most prominent frame was the policy frame (which in Syvänen's work is called "hallinnan kehys", i.e. control frame and which is similar to what is here titled policy frame), where authorities and politicians attempt to control the phenomenon through their actions, for example through legislative action.

Victims were portrayed as innocent, ignorant, weak, passive females at the mercy of large, faceless human trafficking organizations. As such, they represented the "ideal victim". Syvänen reviewed existing research on the concept of ideal victim and concluded that repeated portrayal of victims of human trafficking in terms of the ideal victim, creates a hierarchy between victims (of whom some are more ideal than others) as well as causing the victim to experience feelings of shame over their own agency in the process of exploitation⁴⁵. Emphasizing female victims over male victims may, for example, lead to male victims not being identified. Emphasizing weak and vulnerable victims over stronger, more active victims may lead to the more active victim not identify themselves as a victim or feel that they are not entitled to help.

Authorities and anti-trafficking NGOs were portrayed as dynamic actors, who helped the victims, solved crimes and wrote reports. In most articles, authorities were used as the main source. In relation to authorities, victims are portrayed as helpless and weak, as persons to be helped by authorities. Victims' own voices are not heard. Instead, authorities "spoke in victims' voices"⁴⁶.

References to perpetrators were brief and superficial, terms such as (human) smugglers, criminal groups were used or they were referred to as parts of an organized network or international business. Business and economical rhetoric was often used to describe perpetrators⁴⁷.

Syvänen found that in the analyzed material, prostitution and sexual exploitation related human trafficking were constantly confused with each other. In these articles all persons engaging in prostitution were considered as victims of exploitation⁴⁸. On the other hand, Syvänen concluded that the use of terminology related to prostitution and sex work is problematic in the context of human trafficking, as they create an illusion of the victim acting voluntarily⁴⁹.

4. STATE OF THE MEDIA IN FINLAND

This section contains an overview of the media, especially news media, in Finland. As this study concentrates on written / print media, television and radio broadcasts or online content other than representing news media is not covered here.

4.1 General

The Finnish news media field is lightly regulated and mainly subject to self-regulation. The state rarely intervenes in the operations of media corporations, and when it does, it is because the law has been broken⁵⁰. There is no official censorship of the media, though there are restrictions on mass media advertising⁵¹.

Instead, media pays attention to the Council for Mass Media (CMM). CMM is a self-regulating committee that interprets “good professional practice and defend the freedom of speech and publication”. It doesn’t practice legal jurisdiction but may issue a notice or even start an investigation if it establishes that media has acted in breach of good professional practice⁵².

According to the Media Pluralism Monitor Finland scores a low risk rating with regards to the basic legal protections of media⁵³. The 2016 report by the Monitor stated that Finnish media operate under the most favorable conditions in the world, as legal restrictions are scarce, and freedom of speech is protected. Yet it considered laws that criminalize defamation and blasphemy problematic⁵⁴. The Ministry of Transport and Communications is responsible for policies related to mass media (television, radio, newspapers).

While most media is commercially funded, the state’s public broadcasting company Yle or Yleisradio is financed through public funds. Yle tax has been collected since 2013. Before Yle tax, the state collected a television license fee, which was then replaced by Yle tax.

4.2 Newspapers

Finland has a strong regional press, one strong public broadcaster (Yle), two daily tabloids with national coverage (Ilta-Sanomat and Iltalehti) and one significant daily newspaper with national coverage⁵⁵. While there is more than one newspaper with nationwide reach, the others are more or less local (such as Turun Sanomat, Hufvudstadsbladet) and have a much lower circulation⁵⁶. In 2015, there were 180 subscribed-to newspapers, of which a majority was local papers⁵⁷. Helsingin Sanomat is published every day, and the two tabloids on six days a week.

All of the biggest newspapers have digital online versions, and the same content is generally published in the print and online versions. Online publications may even offer more content with 24-7 updates, surveys and options for commenting. Yle only publishes written news online. Most newspapers, around 95 per cent, in Finland are politically non-affiliated⁵⁸. Finnish newspapers are, however, highly concentrated under a few companies’ ownership. In 2016 the Media Pluralism Monitor gave Finnish news media a high risk score (96 per cent) due to high ownership concentration of media publications. The monitor stated that only a few companies dominate each media sector: the four largest media corporations hold 59 per cent of the audience and 64 per cent of the revenue in the field⁵⁹. There are no legal limits to media market concentration⁶⁰.

The report also saw as cause for concern in the fact that local newspapers are more and more financially dependent on advertisers and might therefore be more susceptible to commercial pressures⁶¹.

According to research by Nieminen and Pantti, the high level of education in Finland is in part connected to the fact that Finland has a long tradition of quality journalism. They claim that most

daily newspapers have traditionally invested in more sober journalism, and compared to many other EU countries, Finland doesn't have a strong tradition of scandal-oriented yellow press⁶².

4.3 Changes in journalistic culture - digitalization and commercialization

After the economic depression of 2008-09 media corporations decreased the number of employees, merged editing offices and externalized journalistic positions. According to Nieminen and Pantti, this has led to changes in journalistic culture, mainly shortsightedness and a stronger market orientation⁶³.

Digitalization and growing saturation of mobile (smart) phones in the population has, in Finland as in many other countries, led audiences to search for free content online. Many begun searching for alternative sources of information, and even producing their own online publications. International news sources and social media entered the competition. Traditional newspapers naturally established online news services to keep up and have added video material and podcasts to reach audiences.

Maintaining quality journalism is, however costly, and offering it free of charge on the internet is not economically viable. This is why, Nieminen and Pantti claim, newspaper journalism has begun to separate from internet journalism. Internet journalism favors short texts and showy, sensationalist click-headlines. Advertisers are counting the number of clicks on their online content, and the journalist's job is to create news headlines that draw visitors on to the website. This, Nieminen and Pantti claim, creates pressure on news journalists to perform in a very different way than they traditionally have⁶⁴. This undoubtedly places pressure on all online journalism.

In his research on digitalization of Finnish media, A.-P. Pietilä claims that, unlike commercial news publishers, Yle was strengthened by digitalization as it was not dependent on advertising money⁶⁵. Public broadcasting companies have been claimed to distort the media market, because they're competing for the same audiences with the same methods as commercial media, but with public funding. Hence there have been calls to limit the activities of the Yle in Finland⁶⁶.

4.4 Finns as news media consumers

Despite the troubles faced by commercial and state-funded news media, Finns are still a nation of news readers. According to National Media Research (KMT) 91 per cent of Finns regularly read newspapers or magazines. The research showed a 31 per cent increase in 2017 in the use of newspapers' online versions as compared to 2016. Printed newspapers are still, however, the most popular news source⁶⁷.

A 2014 study covering 10 countries⁶⁸ found that Finland had an exceptionally high demand for online news. According to the study, Finns utilize online news sources more than news readers in the other countries covered by the research, with 82 per cent of Finnish respondents following news from online sources. Out of the 82 per cent, 91 per cent said they turn to online news at least once daily, while 72 per cent go online for news several times per day⁶⁹. The same study in 2018 showed that the use of online news media as a source of news had declined slightly from 2015 (90 per cent) to 2018 (85 per cent). Meanwhile, social media as a news source had increased from 40 per cent in 2015 to 42 per cent in 2018⁷⁰.

The 2014 study found, that the reasons for high amounts of readers reached by digital newspapers are due to “the high volume of free content combined with soft paywalls, bundled subscriptions, and the strong Finnish reading tradition”⁷¹.

Indeed, according to National Media Research survey in 2017, 66 per cent of the respondents had a combination subscription that included both the printed newspaper and its digital version⁷². The survey showed that the younger population are more likely to search for information online, while those over 50 years old are more likely to resort to traditional media⁷³.

4.5 On the news publications selected for this study

Helsingin Sanomat, a flagship publication of Sanoma Media Finland, is quoted as the “one important daily national” newspaper⁷⁴ in Finland. It is the only newspaper to have a solid national coverage. Its online content is published at www.hs.fi and through its own news application. Ilta-Sanomat is a tabloid from the same media corporation (Sanoma Media Finland). Out of the two popular evening tabloids, of which both reach over half of the adult population⁷⁵, Ilta-Sanomat claims the position of being Finland’s biggest news media with a total reach (including print version, online news and other applications) at almost 2,5 Million, which is 37 per cent higher than that of its main competitor, Alma-Media’s Iltalehti⁷⁶. Ilta-Sanomat online content is published at www.is.fi and through its own news application. The two Sanoma Media publications (Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta-Sanomat) were selected as objects of analysis for this study.

Yle uutiset was selected because it has held the position of Finland’s most trusted media source for years⁷⁷, and due to its unique position as state-owned media. Written news (as against news broadcasts) are published at www.yle.fi/uutiset and through Yle news application. MTV Uutiset was selected to represent a news source from Alma Media corporation. It’s published at www.mtvuutiset.fi and often combines short news films with written news content. Only written content was analyzed for this study. Yle uutiset and MTV Uutiset written news are only available online. Both have national coverage.

According to National Media Research (KMT), at the end of 2017 Helsingin Sanomat claimed a total weekly reach of 1 757 000 readers, and Ilta-Sanomat 2 243 000 readers. Total reach refers to the total amount of readers who read one newspaper issue or used one or more of the publications digital versions⁷⁸. As Yle uutiset and MTV Uutiset are not published as print versions,

their circulation or readership are not measured by KTM. Numbers measured through different methods are not directly comparable.

According to TNS Metrix Finland measuring visitor amounts on Finnish websites, only five Finnish websites reached more than a Million weekly visits on week 52 of 2017:

Ilta-Sanomat	2 011 000
Ilta-lehti	1 693 000
Yle	1 678 000
Helsingin Sanomat	1 360 000
MTV	1 130 000

This number included the use of news and video applications⁷⁹. Yle and MTV also contain TV-streaming services, so the numbers are not directly translatable to the amounts of news readers per site. More accurate numbers from Yle and MTV were not available⁸⁰.

5. HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND VICTIM ASSISTANCE IN FINLAND

Finland has been considered a destination and transit country for human traffickers. However, human trafficking can also take place within Finland, and both the perpetrator and victim may be Finnish nationals⁸¹.

In Finland, trafficking in human beings is a crime under chapter 25, section 3 and section 3a (aggravated human trafficking) of the Criminal Code. It is worth noticing that in the Finnish legislation, the use of violence, threats or deceit as means of human trafficking are punishable as aggravated human trafficking, where the offence is aggravated also when considered as whole. Enslaving and keeping a person in servitude are similarly punishable as aggravated human trafficking. Forced marriage is criminalized as human trafficking, aggravated human trafficking or as coercion (chapter 25, section 8).

Assistance to victims of human trafficking in Finland is the responsibility of the state and is regulated by law⁸². Victims and potential victims of human trafficking are entitled to receive assistance, which can include, for example, safe housing, social assistance, health care, assisted voluntary return and legal aid. For individuals who have a registered home municipality in Finland, their home municipality is responsible for the assistance measures. For others, services are provided by the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking. The Assistance System functions under the Ministry of the Interior, and it merged into the Finnish Immigration Service in 2017.

If the victim is a non-Finnish national and reside in Finland illegally, the Assistance System can grant the victim a reflection period, which legalizes their stay in Finland for a maximum of six months. A victim may also apply for a residence permit for victims of human trafficking (Aliens

Act section 52 a). These permits are issued by the Finnish Immigration Service (and not the Assistance System).

Some NGOs such as Victim Support Finland, the Finnish Refugee Advice Centre, Pro-tukipiste and the MONIKA - Multicultural Women's Association also offer assistance to victims of human trafficking.

The Finnish Non-Discrimination Ombudsman acts as the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, monitoring anti-trafficking action and compliance with international obligations and the effectiveness of national legislation. Since 2017, Finland does not have a national coordinator.

6. THE RESULTS - FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN FINNISH NEWS MEDIA

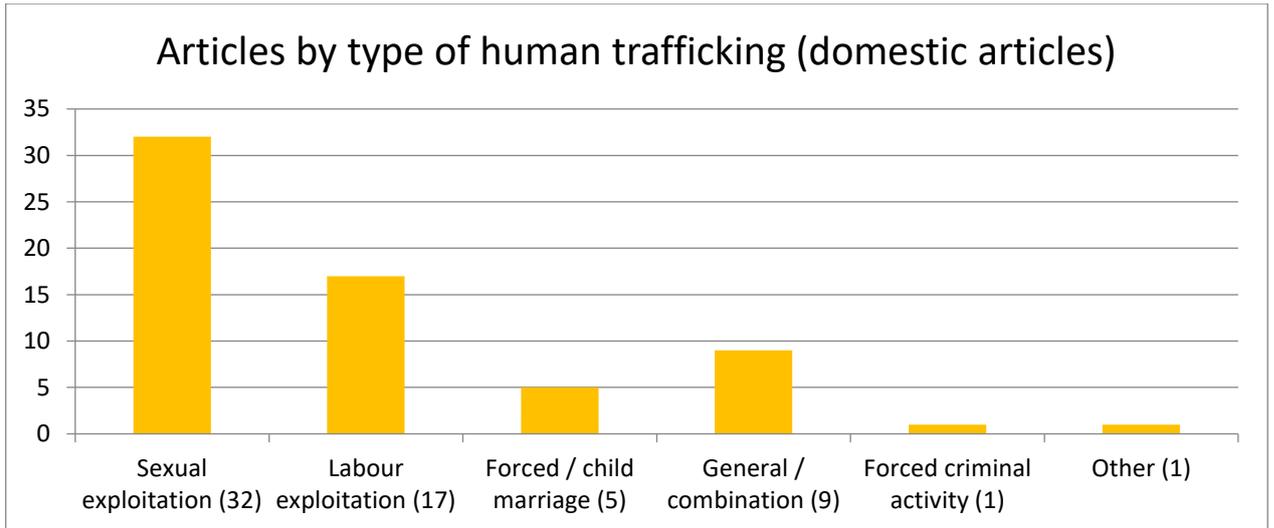
In the case of human trafficking, news that cover domestic and foreign events form two different categories. This is mainly due to their genesis: while most news on human trafficking taking place outside Finland are sourced from major international news organizations, domestic news is inspired by domestic press releases, events and reports, or are a product of interviews and investigative journalism. Out of the 91 news pieces analyzed, 65 covered domestic news and 26 covered foreign news, which shall here be called imported news.

News related to domestic events are scrutinized first. Imported news on human trafficking are analyzed later in this article.

6.1 NEWS ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING SOURCED FROM FINLAND (65 articles)

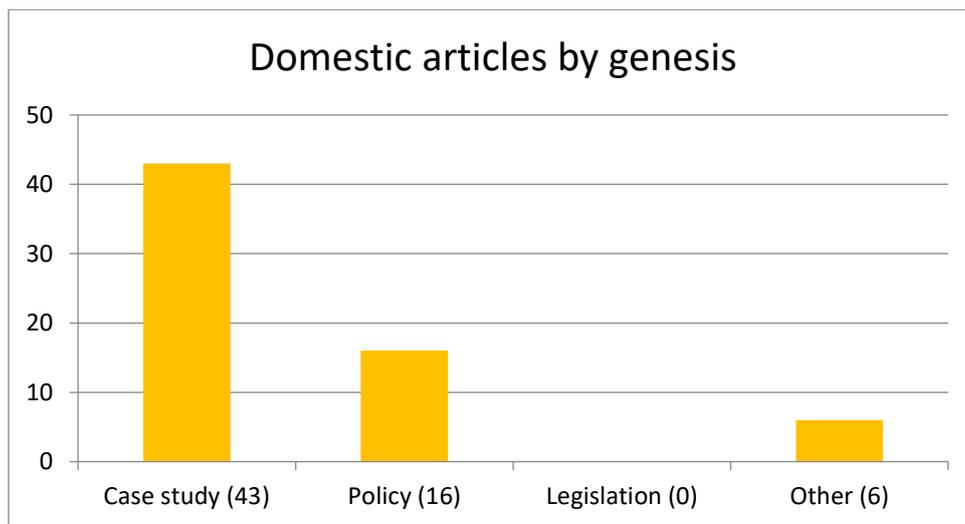
6.1.1 Types of trafficking

Nearly half (49 per cent / 32 articles) of the studied articles related to sexual exploitation related human trafficking. In all cases, this consisted of forcing or pressuring a person into prostitution. Roughly a third (26 per cent / 17 articles) related to labour exploitation related human trafficking. Forced marriage was the topic of five articles. Nine articles either featured mentions of many types of human trafficking or talked of human trafficking in general. Forced criminal activity was mentioned in the headline and briefly described in one article, and one article reported the case of a woman who had kidnapped a child of a victim of human trafficking.



1. News articles by type of human trafficking (domestic articles).

6.1.2 Genesis of news articles



2. Domestic articles by genesis.

Case study

43 out of 65 articles (66 per cent) were inspired by a case study, meaning that the trigger for an article was a single event such an arrest, criminal investigation, court judgement or proceedings, or an event in the asylum/residence permit process.

34 of these articles were purely based on press releases by authorities in the criminal process. Two articles were based on a Supreme Administrative Court (SAC) decision in an immigration issue (“A woman forced into prostitution can be returned from Finland to Spain - an exceptional ruling from the SAC”). No other sources were utilized in the making of these 38 articles.

Only five articles (11 per cent) expanded on the original case study. Four of them related to a case, where a Finnish man was convicted for 26 counts of human trafficking. One article was a commentary by a journalist criticizing a recent judgement by a district court.

Public policy genesis

16 articles were inspired by an action relating to public policy. 75 per cent (12 out of 16) of the articles in this category were inspired by a press release or other action by governmental actors / public authorities, and 25 per cent (four out of 16) by a non-governmental actor.

50 per cent of these articles originated from statistical reports by the Assistance System and the NGO Victim Support Finland. Both publish biannual reports and related press releases on the amount of victims of trafficking admitted into their services, as well as on any identified trends on human trafficking.

Three articles were inspired by a press release by the NGO Finnish League for Human Rights (FLHR) collecting signatures for a petition to criminalize forced marriage in Finland.

Other - journalistic initiative

Six articles originated from something other than a case study or a public policy related event.

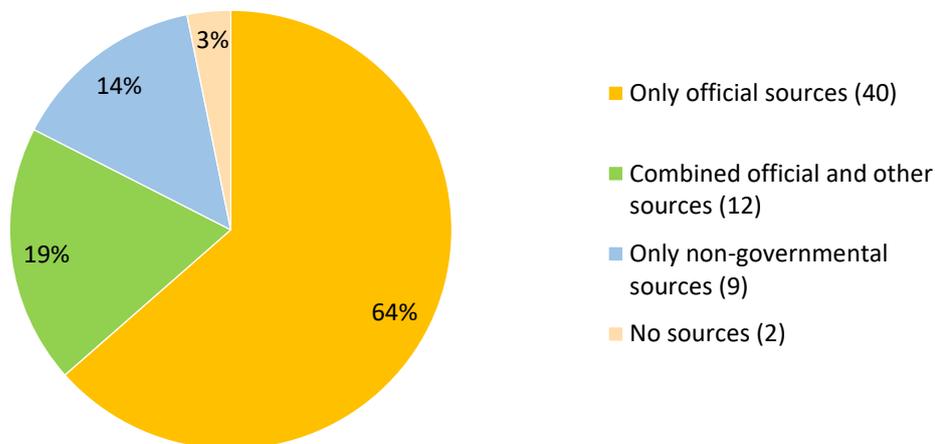
Three of them originated from the journalists' own initiative. In one of them the journalist travels to Nigeria to interview victims of human trafficking who were not granted asylum or residence in Finland. The two others were editorials promoting the criminalization of forced marriage.

Three others had diverse origins. One brief article told about an upcoming peaceful demonstration by a religious NGO against human trafficking and included the cause, the place and the time of the demonstration. One article was an interview of an author of novels at a book fair. The author discussed her upcoming book on human trafficking. One article stemmed from the release of a documentary film. The star of the film, a former victim of human trafficking, was interviewed.

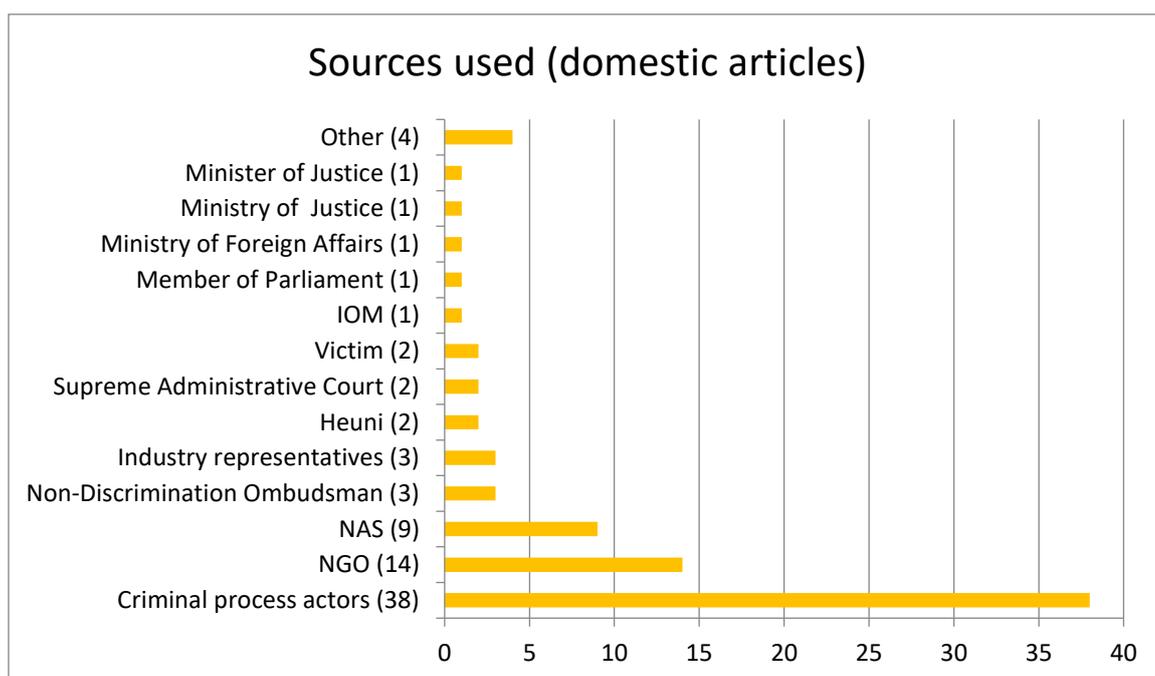
6.1.6 Sourcing the news stories

According to Sanford et al. "Traditional journalism relies heavily on official sources, particularly when a story is triggered by an event where government or law-enforcement officials are already the key voices, whereas media-initiated reporting is not so event-oriented.⁸³" Reliance on official sources in general is confirmed by the results here, which show that an official source was used in all but 12 articles (out of 65). 40 articles (62 per cent) relied solely on official sources. A combination of governmental and non-governmental sources was used in 14 articles.

Articles by sources (domestic articles)



3. Domestic articles by source



4. Sources used in domestic articles.

The journalists interviewed for this study find official sources reliable and useful but limited in the amount of information they can divulge. New, reliable and knowledgeable sources are hard to find. One journalist felt that when only official sources and experts are used to build a news story, the story is left too abstract and will therefore lack impact. The quotes in *cursive* are from the interviewed journalists.

"The biggest problem in writing about human trafficking is getting information that's reliable. Cooperation with official sources has been good in this respect. But finding new, knowledgeable contacts is difficult." (Journalist 2)

"It requires special journalistic consideration to evaluate the reliability of different sources. One has to ask, how to check and ensure the reliability of information from a certain source, and what is considered sufficiently reliable: absolute reliability or considerable reliability." (Journalist 3)

"It is also good to ask yourself as a journalist, what your own pre-conceptions are. Do I assume that this person is more likely than another person to lie, because he belongs to a certain group of people?" (Journalist 3)

"Often these stories on human trafficking are left at a level, where different experts have been interviewed and they have stated that human trafficking is a diverse phenomenon and that it takes place in Finland. These stories are easy to ignore or forget, as they move at an abstract level. It requires something concrete to take a story to a level where it has meaning, where it makes an impact and where it's truly understood." (Journalist 1)

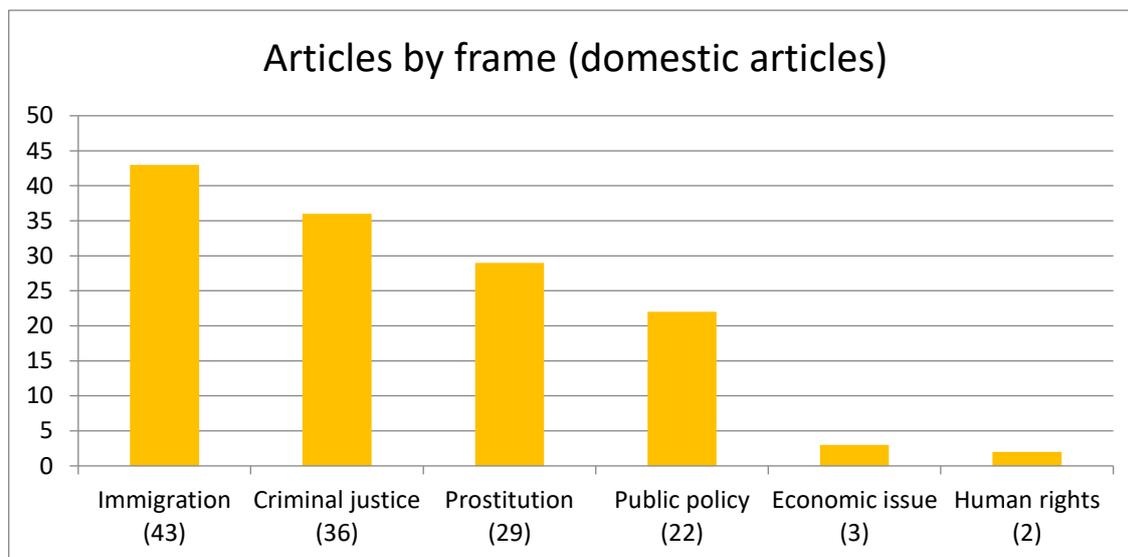
"When writing about human rights issues, it is important to include the voices of the people whose rights are being discussed." (Journalist 3)

Victims of human trafficking were interviewed in only two of the analyzed articles. The journalists agreed that it is difficult to find victims of trafficking to interview. Own journalistic initiative was considered important.

"It's better, if the story comes from a victim than from authorities. Of course, information from authorities may initiate a story. For example, the Assistance System may tell me that a lot of forced marriages have been identified, but that they cannot give more information about it. If I then feel that this is serious and I must write about it. I might phone up Monika-Naiset [Multicultural Women's Association], Tyttöjen talo [Girl's House] or Victim Support Finland and start digging from there." (Journalist 1)

"In the recent years, my stories have increasingly been initiated by my own investigations, from contacts and from my own observations." (Journalist 2)

6.1.7 Immigration frame



5. Framing of domestic articles.

Articles often framed human trafficking in more than one way, i.e. more than one frame was present. Human trafficking was most often framed as an immigration issue, often in combination with other frames. Immigration was linked to 66 per cent (43 articles) of the analyzed domestic material. In the articles covering foreign events (analyzed below in Chapter 7), six (out of 27) additional articles were strongly linked to immigration and presented human trafficking as an immigration issue.

Immigration was especially present as an issue in articles in the criminal justice frame category. This was in part expected, as seven out of nine cases tried or investigated in 2018 involved a non-Finnish perpetrator, victim or both (see table 6). The result also correlates to statistics on victim assistance, where only one out of 163 new clients accepted in assistance in 2018 was a Finnish national⁸⁴. In this category, especially perpetrators' ethnic background or the fact that they were foreign citizens was emphasized (see below, p. 27 Language - other observations).

Immigration was also strongly present in articles falling under the policy frame, and immigrants were often mentioned by sources as a group vulnerable to exploitation. Immigration issues were seen as problematic to, or causing, vulnerability. Non-Finnish background of victims was emphasized in some articles covering biannual statistical reports by organizations assisting victims. Immigration (to or from Finland) was also the focus of both articles in the human rights category.

This author did not detect any direct anti-immigration sentiment in any of the studied articles, including those covering foreign events. Anti-immigration quotes by sources (if there were such) were not used in the articles.

6.1.8 Criminal justice frame

Most of the analyzed articles (55 per cent / 36 articles) covered events related to the criminal process: investigations, arrests, prosecutions, trials and court judgements. 34 of these articles were based solely on press releases by actors in the criminal justice process, and these actors were the only sources used. Two articles included brief quotes from the lawyer to the convicted party (2 articles) and one a quote from the accused (1 article). These articles only referred to organizations related to the criminal justice process, such as courts, prosecutors and the police. These 36 articles framed human trafficking as a criminal justice issue.

According to earlier research⁸⁵ framing human trafficking as a criminal justice issue relays to the audience a very two-dimensional image of the phenomenon. Trafficking is seen as a dynamic between evil perpetrators, helpless victims and authorities, who respond to human trafficking through crime control.

All the articles were relatively short and did not explore the phenomenon of human trafficking further. Human trafficking was portrayed as single events, where criminal justice actors put a stop to criminal activity. Background or context to these single cases of human trafficking are not given- Victims' suffering is briefly described, but through the voices of authorities and usually as quoted from court judgements. This is in line with earlier research on media framing of human trafficking⁸⁶.

Language used was rarely sensationalist

Several researchers, for example Sanford et al⁸⁷ have found that human trafficking is often portrayed in media as an organized crime issue, where ruthless international criminal organizations trade in innocent victims. According to them, news media may use sensational language in covering these topics.

In the Finnish context this was not the case. This may have to do with the fact that among the cases presented in news media in 2018, the perpetrators were usually individuals or groups of individuals rather than international criminal gangs.

Language used in the articles was predominantly neutral and descriptive. Sensationalist or somewhat sensationalist language was found in the headlines of six articles (9 per cent) only, and even these articles were not strongly sensationalist.

Usually just stating the "hard facts" of the case might appear sensationalist, for example "*Man convicted of aggravated human trafficking - forced woman into prostitution in several big cities by threatening her with violence*". In this case the woman was, in fact, forced and not pressured into prostitution, so the terminology used is factually correct. For the purposes of this study, sensationalist language is understood as language, where shock value or undue emphasis on shocking facts is used to make the content seem worse or more shocking.

In one of the six headlines the wording clearly gave the wrong impression of what had actually happened. The headline *“Women were persuaded to come to Finland for work but ended up being forced into prostitution - 37-year-old man arrested on suspicion of human trafficking”* firstly claims that the women came to Finland thinking they were going to be employed in something other than sex work, which they didn't. The women knew they were coming to Finland to practice prostitution. What they didn't know were the conditions in which they ended up working. Secondly, the women were not *forced* but *pressured* to work in prostitution under the conditions set for them⁸⁸.

These kinds of mistakes and exaggerations are arguably harmful, as they can affect how the public and the victims themselves understand human trafficking. Firstly, it is important to understand that a person can enter prostitution voluntarily and still end up being exploited. Secondly, there is a significant difference between being forced (coerced) to do something and being pressured into doing it. Pressuring entails more subtle ways of impacting the victim's ability to make decisions for themselves and has to do with the (im)balance of power between the victim and the perpetrator. Pressuring does not involve physical acts of violence or threatening with violence⁸⁹.

Other sensationalist or slightly sensationalist headlines include *“Aggravated human trafficking and sexual abuses - ‘Yoga man’ who operated in Finland is amongst the most wanted criminals in Europe”* (the translation comes out as less sensationalist than the original Finnish headline), *“Romanian man forced a woman into prostitution - made her take slimming pills and threatened to kill her family”*, *“Thai pickers enticed to come to Finland in hopes for easy money got a rude awakening - the entrepreneur was slapped with a 330 000 euro fine”*.

In two articles the headlines seemed to exclaim disappointment at the outcome of a court case: *“Pimp batted an under-aged girl and took her money - court considered it domestic violence”*, *“More than a hundred people bought sex from a victim of aggravated human trafficking in Finland and Belgium - the man who forced the woman into prostitution got the most lenient possible punishment”*.

Language - other observations

While gender of perpetrators was mentioned in most articles, gender of victims was only mentioned when the victim or victims were female. Where the victims were males or a group of victims consisted of both/several genders, they were referred to by other terms such as workers or victims, and their gender was not mentioned.

29 out of 36 articles (81 per cent) revealed the ethnicity of the perpetrator and the victim or referred to them as foreign nationals. This is not surprising considering that in most criminal cases in 2018, either the perpetrator, the victims or both were foreign nationals.

The victims' ethnic background was mentioned in the headlines of three articles (Thai berry pickers), while five articles' headlines revealed that the victims had been brought or lured to

Finland from their native country. In the headlines of 10 articles the perpetrator was referred to as “foreign man”, “Romanian man” or “Nigerian woman”.

In the case, where Varsinais-Suomi District court sentenced a man of rape and human trafficking (21.3.2018), it was not mentioned whether the perpetrator, victim or the sex buyers were Finnish or foreign nationals. The information was not given out by the court⁹⁰. Only one short article covered the case.

It is also worth noting, that in several cases the perpetrator was referred to by a term relating to a profession, for example “restauranteur”, “owner of a restaurant”, “berry entrepreneur”, “pimp” or “Yoga man”. One article claimed that a “popular Kuopio restaurant” was convicted of human trafficking. In the Thai berry pickers case the Finnish perpetrator was constantly referred to as “the berry entrepreneur” (marjayrittäjä) or as an entrepreneur. While he became somewhat familiar to the audience, the 26 Thai berry pickers remained a faceless group (of foreign citizens) without identity. The audience did not learn about their age range, gender or background.

6. Table of publicized events in the criminal process in 2018.

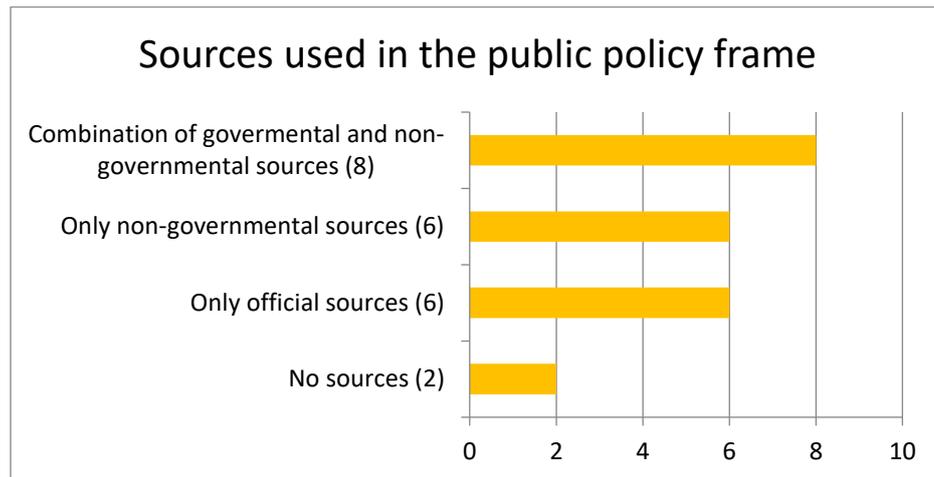
Date of court judgement	Type of trafficking	Description	Number of articles
16.1.2018	Sexual exploitation	Helsinki Court of appeal sentences a Nigerian woman to two years and five months imprisonment for human trafficking. The Court reduced an earlier sentence by a District court, which had sentenced the woman to three years and 10 months imprisonment for aggravated human trafficking. (Foreign perpetrators - foreign victim)	3
19.1.2018	Labour exploitation	Keski-Suomi District court sentences a Finnish man for 26 counts of human trafficking. 26 Thai persons were made to pick wild berries and mushroom. The sentence was probational. (Finnish perpetrator - foreign victims)	11
22.1.2018	Other	A woman who had been sentenced for hiding a child of a victim of trafficking is refused leave to appeal to the Supreme Court. (Finnish perpetrators - Finnish victims)	1
21.3.2018	Sexual exploitation	Varsinais-Suomi District court sentences a man from the town of Salo of rape and human trafficking to one year and 10 months' probational sentence. (Ethnicity not known)	1

6.7.2018 21.12.2018	Sexual exploitation	Oulu District court sentences a Romanian man for aggravated human trafficking. The man forced a Romanian woman into prostitution. Rovaniemi Court of appeal increases sentence by Oulu District court for aggravated human trafficking. (Foreign perpetrator - foreign victim)	15
16.7.2018	Sexual exploitation	Itä-Suomi Court of appeal upheld an earlier sentence by the District court to sentence a Hungarian man for pimping (pandering) and battery. Prosecution had pressed for a human trafficking sentence. The man had pimped his partner and taken the proceeds. (Foreign perpetrator - victim's nationality not known.)	1
14.12.2018	Labour exploitation	Pohjois-Savo District court sentences a man of Nepalese origin to damages and probational sentence for three counts of human trafficking. The victims worked in the sentenced man's restaurant. (Foreign perpetrators - foreign victims)	3
		Other mentioned cases	
May 2018	Sexual exploitation	National Bureau of Investigations (NBI) asks public for information on missing Romanian man suspected of aggravated human trafficking. The so-called Yoga school case. (Foreign perpetrator - Finnish victims, though not mentioned in article)	1
Nov. - Dec. 2018	Sexual exploitation	Helsinki police arrests Romanian man suspected of human trafficking. Man is suspected of pressuring several young women into prostitution in Finland. (Foreign perpetrator - foreign victims)	3

6.1.9 Public policy frame

According to earlier research, public policy frame may often overlap with criminal justice frame. Authorities' activities and aspects, as well as the use of authorities as the main source, are highlighted in the public policy frame. News articles in this category are often based on events in the public policy environment, such as legislative initiatives, suggestions or demands for legislative change, political debate or a report⁹¹.

22 articles out of the 65 analyzed (34 per cent) were presented in the public policy frame. 16 of these articles had a direct public policy genesis (see section 6.1.4 Public policy genesis) and were inspired by statistical reports released by actors assisting victims of human trafficking, a report by the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman in cooperation with HEUNI on how effective victim assistance is, a press release by IHME-project (coordinated by the Assistance System), a legislative initiative by three members of Parliament, and a petition by the Finnish League for Human Rights to criminalize forced marriage. Four articles were inspired by a case study and two were products of journalistic initiative.



7. Domestic articles: sources used for articles in the public policy frame

Gulati⁹² and Sandford et al⁹³, among others, have found that in the public policy category there is a heavy reliance on official sources. This is not entirely the case with Finnish news media. Out of the 22 articles, official sources and non-governmental sources were used in equal amounts. Both were used as the only source in six articles respectively. A combination of official sources and non-governmental sources were quoted in eight articles. Two articles were journalistic commentaries, where sources were not utilized.

Case studies not explored

In the policy frame one could arguably expect to see discussion relating to case studies. News coverage of factors contributing to certain kinds of cases may be fruitful to broadening public understanding of human trafficking. However, only four articles in this category were inspired by a case study, and only two of them expanded on the initial information received through press releases on these cases.

Two of these articles were based on a press release by the Supreme Administrative Court, stating that a Nigerian woman who was forced into prostitution in Spain may be returned to Spain. The articles did not expand on the topic.

In an article titled "*In Finland a rape is not a rape if the victim is beaten into submission by a pimp*" a journalist writes about their dissatisfaction with a recent judgement by a district court. Men, who had paid another man to rape a subdued woman, were not prosecuted or convicted of

rape, but of purchasing sex from a victim of human trafficking, thus receiving more lenient sentences. The journalist states, that the law on this is flawed and should be altered. Despite presenting a potentially valid point, the article did not help to expand on the concept of human trafficking.

One article explored the Thai berry pickers' case. In this case, a Finnish man was convicted for 26 counts of human trafficking by the Keski-Suomi District court. The court concluded that the man had subjected 26 Thai berry pickers into forced labour in Central Finland.

The article titled "*Are frozen berries picked in conditions of forced labour? Structures relating to the berry industry must be discussed, says expert on human trafficking*" featured interviews of berry company representatives, who stated that they have all the necessary checks in place to ensure that foreign sourced berry pickers' rights are respected. The article then quoted the National Rapporteur on Human Trafficking stating that the government has created a system, which makes exploitation of wild berry pickers possible. The Rapporteur stated, that the berry pickers should be hired as employees, not utilized as entrepreneurs. The article included a link to the Rapporteur's 2014 report on the working conditions of wild berry pickers. This article by Yle news was the only article relating to a case study, where the structural factors that may enable human trafficking were explored.

News media agenda trumps sources' interests

The sources naturally do not and should not make the final decisions about the outcome of a news story. This would be journalistically problematic. News stories where the sources are allowed to dominate the news agenda, with little input from the journalist, would represent rather poor journalism. The following is an example of how the topics pushed forward by the sources may not end up being at the foreground of news coverage.

The author of this paper was one of the experts interviewed for the articles in this example, and responsible for drafting the Assistance System's reports and press releases. While this position offers insight into the situation, it may also cause this section of the study to be more subjective.

Eight articles (36 per cent) were inspired by biannual statistical reports by the national Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking and the NGO Victim Support Finland. Of these eight articles, four related to the first report of 2018 (covering the entire year 2017) and four to the second, semiannual, report (covering the first six months of 2018). In all articles immigration issues were brought to the fore, even though these were not the foremost issues referred to in the reports or press releases⁹⁴. Articles related to the semiannual reviews published in July 2018 emphasize the situation of the so-called paperless (i.e. people in Finland without legal residence).

Headlines such as "*Victim Support Finland: This is the rotten way the paperless are exploited in Finland - long work days, no holidays, no salary*" and "*The exploitation of the paperless seems to be systematic - more victims of human trafficking identified*" linked both organizations' reports to the ongoing debate on the rights of asylum seekers who had been left without legal residence in Finland after receiving a negative decision to their claim for asylum⁹⁵. A legislative initiative for

municipalities to offer services for those illegally present in Finland⁹⁶ had been processed in the Parliament during the summer of 2018.

The Assistance System's semiannual report was trying to bring attention to an increase of cases of sexual exploitation related trafficking identified in Finland, while Victim Support Finland talked about labour exploitation of foreign workers. Neither organization had noticed any major increase in contacts from the so-called paperless persons.

In these articles the Assistance System was often referred to as the Finnish Immigration Service's (FIS) Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking, and quotes from the reports were sometimes allocated to the FIS instead of and without mention of the Assistance System. The Assistance System has been a part of the FIS since 2017 but maintains a rather independent status⁹⁷.

Some articles concerning reports by the Assistance System and Victim Support Finland were, perhaps, framed more as immigration issues than the sources originally intended⁹⁸. At the same time, it should be mentioned, that some articles covering the reports did so mainly through repeating what was stated on the press releases by the organizations.

NGOs, experts and news media in cooperation

An example of cooperation between NGOs, academic experts and news media was an article titled "*There may be hundreds of victims of human trafficking in Finland - 'Talking about modern slavery is misleading'*". The article was based on a radio interview by Yle Radio 1 of an expert from Victim Support Finland and HEUNI. In the relatively lengthy article, the two experts are quoted saying it is difficult to estimate how many victims of trafficking there may be in the world or in Finland, critiquing statistics that are based on loose estimates.

They move on to criticize the use of the term "modern slavery" as this gives a misleading image of the phenomenon: the term creates associations to slavery and shackles, which in turn might lead to people not identifying victims of trafficking who have been controlled by more subtle means than shackles and violence. It might even lead to such victims not identifying themselves as victims of trafficking and thus entitled to help. The third part of the article links the increase in identified cases of human trafficking to migration flows.

Wanted: legislative change

A petition by the Finnish League for Human Rights (FLHR) to criminalize forced marriage was the topic of four articles. Articles titled "*The Finnish League for Human Rights is collecting signatures for a petition to criminalize forced marriage - The League: Even in Finland people are forced to marry*" and "*Expert demands that forced marriages are criminalized: 'The current legislation is not enough'*" widely quoted a letter to editors by and FLHR expert on forced marriages.

The articles include strong statements by sources, such as: “It is high time to correct Finnish legislation!” (FLHR expert) and “Forced marriage smashes women’s rights and is a crime that cannot be tolerated in Finland” (Minister of Justice, a quoted from a statement made in 2017).

The articles, also referring to a 2017 Ministry of Justice report on forced marriages in Finland, discuss why it isn’t enough to have forced marriages criminalized as human trafficking. These articles are the only ones among the 64 articles that reference the United Nations stating that forced marriage is a human rights offence according to the United Nations.

When the petition was handed to the Minister of Justice in May 2018, Helsingin Sanomat published an editorial titled “*Forced marriage ought to be criminalized*”. On a similar vein, another editorial by Helsingin Sanomat in October 2018 titled “*Marriage ought to be allowed for adults only*” send out a clear message of support to Ministry of Justice, which was preparing to change legislation to this effect. These articles are an example of news media picking sides in a political debate.

One article was inspired by a comprehensive report by HEUNI and the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, published in March of 2018. The report scrutinized how victims of human trafficking receive assistance in Finland and found that there are problems in the processes of assistance to victims. An article titled “*Victims of human trafficking don’t always get help - some authorities unduly deny victims’ right to specialized healthcare*” was the only article covering the topic among the analyzed media material. The very short article quoted the press release on the report.

An article titled “*A sex toy found in luggage might lead to preventing a foreign national’s entry to Finland: ‘Even victims of human trafficking may be turned away at the border instead of being offered protection’*” briefly describes a legislative initiative by three “female MPs” to make changes to the Aliens Act. The members of parliament were concerned with the fact that a third country citizen may be turned away at the border for being in possession of material that might be associated with sex work. According to the initiative, this may cause a woman, who has been faced with violence, not to report the crime to the police, and even victims of human trafficking to be turned away instead of offered protection.” This article, too, was the only one covering the topic among the analyzed articles.

Authorities seen doing things to help

Syvänen found that it is typical for articles in the public policy frame to report on authorities’ activities to combat human trafficking⁹⁹. This theme has been present in some of the articles. In addition to authorities such as the Assistance System and the National Rapporteur / Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, the NGO Victim Support Finland was often shown assisting victims and fighting for victims’ rights.

Two articles reported on authorities’ efforts to educate pre-investigative authorities to identify and investigate human trafficking.

The articles originated from a press release by IHME-project coordinated by the Assistance System. One article titled "*Knowhow on human trafficking unevenly allocated amongst authorities - training given widely to combat human trafficking*" consisted of a brief summary of the press release. Another, lengthier article inspired by the same press release featured an interview of the project manager to the IHME-project. The article describes the project manager telling about how and why human trafficking is often not identified, even by the victims themselves, and how trainings are given to police and border guard to try to fix this problem.

The project manager is quoted speaking about types of human trafficking less identified in Finland, for example forced criminal activity of persons with substance addictions, which was mentioned in the heading. The interview ends with a few words on the link between a consumer buying extraordinarily cheap goods to exploitation of labour.

How much was the phenomenon expanded upon?

Only a handful of articles in the public policy category offered information on the context of human trafficking or the diverse factors enabling it. The article on the Thai berry pickers' case shed light on the structural factors that enable the exploitation of foreign berry pickers in Finland. The interview of IHME project manager referred to links between extraordinarily cheap goods to exploitation of labour. Some articles linked vulnerability to exploitation with illegal stay (paperless) in Finland.

Many articles, however, had educational value as they offered information on different types of human trafficking, on the effects of using misleading terminology, and on prevalent trends in human trafficking.

Victims' experiences or voices have not included in the policy category and issues relating to them were discussed without their input.

Language - observations

Six out of 22 articles included sensationalist elements in the headline. These headlines are: "*A sex toy found in luggage might lead to preventing a foreign national's entry to Finland: 'Even victims of human trafficking may be turned away at the border instead of being offered protection'*"; "*Victims of human trafficking don't always get help - some authorities unduly deny victims' right to specialized healthcare*"; "*Victim Support Finland: This is the rotten way the paperless are exploited in Finland - long work days, no holidays, no salary*"; "*The exploitation of the paperless seems to be systematic - more victims of human trafficking identified*"; "*In Finland a rape is not a rape if the victim is beaten into submission by a pimp*" and "*Victims of human trafficking still not being sufficiently identified in Finland - 'A drug user can be a victim of human trafficking, if they are forced to commit crimes'*"

In their analysis of news media coverage of human trafficking in the United Kingdom, Muraszkiwicz et al. found that news coverage did not convey personal opinions of journalists, but instead relied on the sources to convey a message¹⁰⁰. The same was true in the case of the articles studied for this paper. Whether the quote is placed in the headline as in the afore

mentioned articles, or inside the text as in the articles concerning FLHR petition to criminalize forced marriage, bold statements and even exaggerating comments by sources are gems for journalists.

Sensationalist language may, in fact, be utilized in the public policy category more than it is in the criminal justice category. Interest groups may use sensationalist language and exaggerations to get more attention to their message. While sensationalism may give a misleading image of the phenomenon, Muraszkievicz et al. claim that sensationalist language might even have a positive effect on raising awareness on human trafficking¹⁰¹.

12 of the articles (54 per cent) linked human trafficking to immigration. The articles covering forced marriage cases are not included in this figure, as immigration was not directly mentioned in the articles. A person's status as a non-Finnish national was portrayed as a vulnerability factor for victims of trafficking.

Victims of human trafficking were portrayed as powerless and vulnerable. They were dependent on assistance by authorities and NGOs, and at the mercy of exploiters as well as authorities' decisions.

6.1.10 Economic issue frame

Three articles concerning the Thai berry pickers' case explored the negative impacts of the court judgement in the case on the berry industry. In these articles, human trafficking (or its consequences) was seen primarily as an economical issue.

After the Keski-Suomi District court judgement concluded that the man had subjected 26 Thai berry pickers into forced labour in Central Finland, Thai authorities reduced the number of permits given to Thai nationals to travel to Finland for wild berry picking. This, according to the news stories, was feared to cause a shortage of workforce in the berry picking industry.

The articles that followed dealt mainly with the economic concerns of berry picking wondering, if fewer pickers suffice to fulfil the needs of the berry industry. The articles included a prognosis on how well bilberries would grow the coming summer and how good or bad the expected crop would be, with quotes from the Natural Resource Center.

Representatives of berry picking companies were interviewed as saying they understand why Thai authorities have reacted this way. Companies stated that they have all the necessary checks in place to ensure that the pickers' rights are respected and hoped that one bad seed would not ruin things for the rest of the companies.

While the articles did not include discussion of the victims themselves, they highlighted the berry industry's dependency on foreign workforce working under a certain set of rights.

6.1.11 Human rights frame

Framing human trafficking as a human rights issue is arguably one of the more effective ways of presenting a more comprehensive image of human trafficking. In the human rights frame, victims of trafficking are given center stage, and their background and motivations may be explored. The socio-economic factors behind human trafficking may be explored in this category, and attention might be given to, for example, conflicts, poverty and economic inequality as factors behind human trafficking¹⁰².

According to Syvänen, victim assistance is another strong motive in the human rights frame, and victims' stories may also be told through assisting organizations¹⁰³.

Only two articles in the analyzed news material represented this category. NGOs and other actors assisting victims were a part of both articles. However, the focus of the articles is on the victims' interviews or quotes.

One of the articles was inspired by a 2018 documentary film about a young Finnish woman, who was abducted by her Tunisian employer in Tunisia in 2006 and, among other things, forced into conditions resembling sexual slavery. In its day, his case was not recognized as human trafficking. Possibly due to problems in investigative cooperation between Finland and Tunisia, only the woman's own word remains as evidence of human trafficking. The article, however, rather boldly states that the woman indeed was a victim of human trafficking. The victim is stated saying that she would not be alive without her rescuers. This view was not shared by all news media¹⁰⁴. The article recaps a summary of the woman's story recorded in the documentary.

The other article is the product of journalistic initiative: an Yle news journalist travelled to Nigeria to meet two Nigerian victims of human trafficking, who had been denied asylum or residence permit in Finland. The article is titled "*Grace, deported by Finland, would live on the streets in the African human trafficking hub if it wasn't for her Western Finnish helpers - 'I'm scared to death of my former traffickers'*".

In the article, the women tell their stories including the reasons why and how they ended up in Europe and were forced into prostitution. The article explores the background of poverty, and economic and gender inequality behind the women's experiences and behind trafficking in general.

The article then moves to show the conditions in which the women currently live in Nigeria, after having been turned away from Finland. The extraordinarily long article also includes interviews of activists from the NGO Elpida ry, that has financially supported the two women after their return, of employees of the Finnish Immigration Service and of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman. It is likely that links to the victims were established through the NGO Elpida ry, which makes this case a good example of an NGO and media working in cooperation to convey a message.

The article is likely to have responded to an ongoing debate on Nigerian female victims of human trafficking in Finland, some of whom have been denied residence in Finland and sent back to another European country of Nigeria. This study will briefly examine a series of other articles related to this topic in Chapter 9 (9.1 Itohan Okundaye). These articles were not included in the analyzed materials due to the date of publication or because the media outlet where the stories were published were not part of this analysis.

6.1.12 Prostitution frame

This category portrays human trafficking mainly as an issue of prostitution. According to international research, human trafficking is often strongly framed as a prostitution issue.

30 articles out of 65 (46 per cent) focused on sexual exploitation related human trafficking. In all but one case this consisted of forcing or pressuring a woman or a girl into prostitution.

One article falling only in this category is an interview with Cuban-American author Cecilia Samart. In the article titled "*Author of entertainment literature Cecilia Samart changed direction and now writes about human trafficking: 'Nobody sells their body voluntarily'*" Samart is quoted talking about human trafficking yet only referring to sexual exploitation related trafficking, more specifically exploitation in prostitution. She speaks of prostitution and human trafficking interchangeably and refers to victims as women and girls only.

23 articles were based on a criminal investigation, arrest or court proceedings. Individual criminal cases relating to sexual exploitation didn't generally receive more media coverage than those relating to labour exploitation. However, the balancing factor here may have been the fact, that one of the labour exploitation cases (Thai berry pickers) involved a Finnish entrepreneur and affected a section of industry at a national level. This may arguably have increased the amount of coverage on this case over those labour exploitation cases, where both the perpetrator and victims were of non-Finnish origin.

The criminal case where a Romanian man was convicted for aggravated human trafficking for forcing a Romanian woman into prostitution in Finland and abroad, received the most media attention of all the cases in 2018 (according to the analyzed material). The fact that the case was tried twice in 2018, first in a district court and later in a court of appeal, seemed to double the number of articles written on this case.

Both cases in the human rights category concerned women, who had been victims of sexual exploitation related human trafficking. Four articles in the public policy category covered human trafficking issues related to exploitation in prostitution. In the policy category, this was less than the number of articles focused on forced marriages (five articles). As a comparison, no articles in the public policy category focused solely on labour exploitation, but it was emphasized in six articles and mentioned in the headline in four.

In Finland, too, there may be a tendency to cover cases and events related to sexual exploitation related human trafficking over other trafficking types.

6.2 NEWS ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING OUTSIDE FINLAND (26 ARTICLES)

Out of all the articles studied for this paper, 26 articles (29 per cent) covered events or phenomena in another country. These 26 articles form their own category entirely, as their genesis is normally different from articles covering domestic issues.

In the 26 articles analyzed here, the main source used was an international news organization, most often Reuters, CNN or BBC. The Finnish news article tended to be a translation and perhaps a summary of the original article made abroad, and it was rare that more content was added to the article in Finland. This is this category of news is here referred to as imported news: the core or the topic of the piece of news is imported from a foreign source.

In three cases the Finnish journalist had done additional research on top of the information that already existed in the international news organizations' reports, for example by referencing another article on a related topic or, as in the case of an article about sex trafficking in Thailand, by conducting broader research using several sources.

Out of the imported news, MTV Uutiset published 11 articles, Helsingin Sanomat 7 articles, Ilta-Sanomat 6 articles and Yle uutiset 2 articles.

Due to the small number of articles in this category, imported news are given less attention in this study than are articles created by domestic news media.

6.2.1 Sex trafficking and baby trade

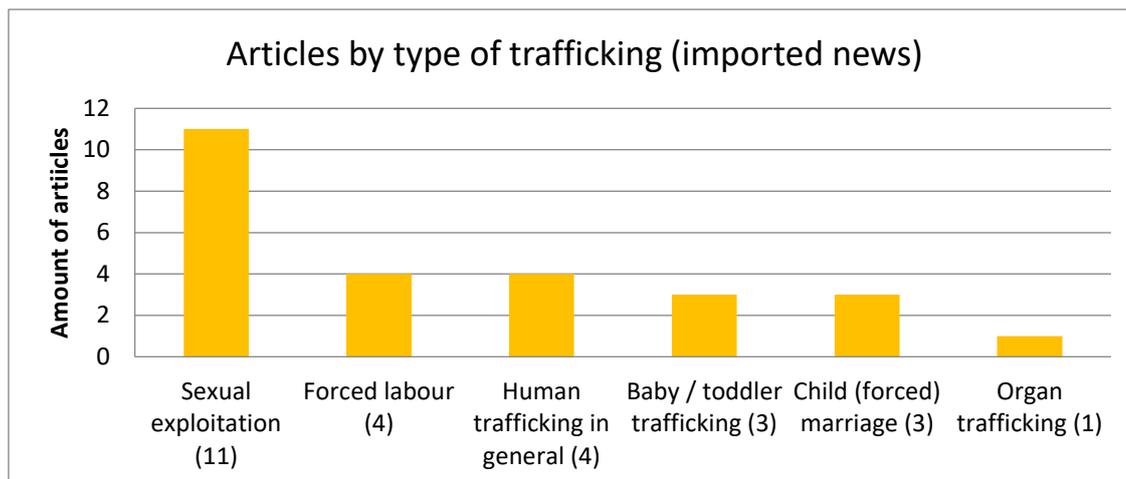
Human trafficking related to sexual exploitation was the most common topic in the studied articles. This comes as no surprise: a lot of earlier research on framing of human trafficking in several countries has already established this to be the case.

Articles on trafficking for sexual exploitation were inspired by case studies (five articles), campaigns started by NGOs (three articles), statement by a Nobel Peace Prize winner (two cases), and investigative work done by the journalist (one case).

In ten out of the eleven articles covering sexual exploitation, there was more than one victim per article. In fact, most articles featured several, even dozens, of victims.

In five articles female minors were the primary victims or mentioned as being targeted alongside adult females. Exploitation targeting babies and children was the second most common topic and was featured in six articles: child marriage (three articles) and trafficking targeting babies or

toddlers (three articles).



8. Imported news: articles by type of human trafficking.

6.2.2 The missing males

Victims of human trafficking in the articles studied were mostly women (ten articles), female children (six articles) or babies / toddlers (three articles). Only one article covered the case of an adult male victim, and one article referred to transgender persons in addition to female victims. In two articles a brief mention was made of male children as victims of trafficking.

One of these articles concerned girls being forced to sell sex to human smugglers in order to gain entry to the EU. At the end of the article it was then mentioned, that this phenomenon also concerns some boys. Unlike in the case of girls, no statistical information was offered about the estimated number of boys being victims of sexual abuse in similar situations.

The other article discussed the problem of Vietnamese children being forced to work on illegal cannabis farms in the United Kingdom. The gender of these children was never mentioned in the article. The article, however, contained a brief case study of a boy, a former cannabis farm worker, who was not granted asylum in the UK.

In six articles (three of which covered a statistical report on “modern slavery” from the United Kingdom) human trafficking was mentioned or discussed, but with no reference to victims.

Apart from one article, the gender of the victim was only mentioned in the headline or lead of the article, if the victim was female.

Based on the studied articles on foreign THB news, human trafficking is presented as a problem concerning women, children and infants. This is the case whether the article was inspired by a case study, policy or legislation. Victims of sexual exploitation were almost exclusively (heterosexual) women and girls. These findings are consolidated by literature on the topic of media framing of human trafficking in general, as well as on trafficking for sexual exploitation, for

example in a study by P. J. Dennis, titled: *“Women are Victims, Men Make Choices: The Invisibility of Men and Boys in the Global Sex Trade”*¹⁰⁵.

6.2.3 Forced labour related trafficking not popular

Human trafficking related to forced labour was not a popular topic on its own. In the four articles where it was mentioned, the main focus was on something else, or the case was otherwise extraordinary. One article covered the case of Vietnamese children forced to work on cannabis farms.

Two articles, titled *“Leaders of Jesus Cult arrested in Brazil - ‘Father Cicero’ used profits from slave labour to buy luxury houses and cars”* and *“Burn marks to intimate areas and forced labour - FBI fetched man claimed to be the leader of an infamous sex cult from Mexico”* did not expand on what was meant by slave labour, who were the slaves, or where and how this exploitation was conducted. The articles focused on the sex cult and on the cult’s celebrity members.

A BBC article about a man who had spent 40 years “in slavery in squalid and shocking conditions” mainly focused on describing the victim’s living conditions. The article gave little mention of the type or work the victim was forced to do and contained no information on how the man ended up in slavery for such a long time. Apart from this article, adult victims of forced labour related trafficking were completely absent.

In the case of forced criminal activity, an article described a criminal gang trying to force two boys to join the gang and to commit crimes. This, however, was not recognized as a type of human trafficking (forced criminal activity).

6.2.4 Criminal justice frame the most common

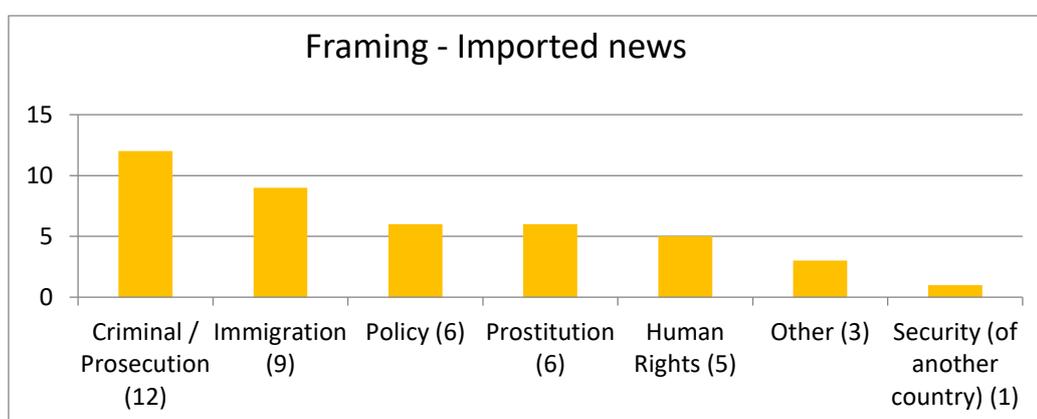
More than half of the articles (14) were inspired by a case study. Out of these, all but two (12 articles) were framed as a criminal justice issue and represented the category to the letter. As in the case of Finnish articles, human trafficking was portrayed as a criminal justice problem that can only be tackled with criminal justice responses. Articles described cases, but not their context.

Sensationalist language was commonly (in 75 percent of the articles) used in the headline and lead of these articles. For example: *“Soulless’ smuggling ring that kidnapped babies caught in Peru - former police chief amongst suspects”*, *“Couple suspected of appalling crimes - killed young women and sold body parts”*, *“Nearly 50 women rescued from sex slavery in Columbia - taken into night club basements through tunnels”*. Headlines were often created in Finland.¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere in the article’s language used was mostly neutral.

6.2.5 Human rights frame with shock factor

Similar sensationalist language was present in the headlines of articles falling under the human rights frame (five articles). In these articles, sensationalist language used was often sourced from statements and comments given by NGOs. Outside the quotes the journalist's own language remained relatively neutral. For example, "*Rohingya girls are sold as child brides for older men - 'Sex tourism flourishes here'*".

Articles in the human rights frame were most often inspired by a report or a statement by an NGO trying to bring light to a pressing issue (e.g. to the plight of Rohingya girls at refugee camps or children being exploited by human smugglers in the EU) or promoting a course of action (e.g. criminalizing the purchase of sex in Thailand). One of the articles was a result of investigative journalism by a CNN journalist, who had filmed and interviewed Nigerian women in forced prostitution in France.



9. Imported news: Framing of news articles. Please, note that some articles were framed in more than one way.

6.2.6 Immigration and prostitution frames

As stated before, an article may be framed in more than one way. Immigration (nine articles) and prostitution (6 articles) were also strongly present, often in combination with another frame. In both categories emphasis was on the vulnerability of immigrants / sex workers to exploitation rather than on social or structural problems that cause vulnerability.

The article titled "*'Majority of police officers involved in sex business in Thailand' - Anti-trafficking NGO would criminalize purchase of sex*" stands out as the only article, where a policy initiative in another country generated an article with interviews and additional research conducted by the Finnish journalist. For example, a Finnish woman working with Thai sex workers in Thailand was interviewed.

The article explored the working conditions of sex workers in Thailand, the reasons behind ending up in the sex industry, and the difficulty of leaving the profession. An NGO was quoted saying, that though some women are in it voluntarily, everyone who purchases sex in Thailand ends up supporting human trafficking in one way or another. Problems faced by a Finnish NGO

working in Thailand were also discussed. The NGO had had to stop field work in Thailand after one of their employees, dubbed the Rubberman, had himself come out in Finnish media as an active sex buyer.

Perhaps ironically, the article included a link to a video, where Finnish men talk about their experiences of sex tourism in Thailand. The article had been shared on Facebook more than any other studied article from the same publication.

In the article concerning Nigerian women exploited in prostitution at a Paris park, the CNN journalist had interviewed some of the women on a video that was attached to the article. This was the only article where victims were interviewed at all.

6.2.7 Public policy frame

Six articles in the public policy frame included three articles covering (the same) report by United Kingdom anti-trafficking authorities on modern slavery. The headlines were sensationalist in the Finnish context, as in Finland slavery is categorized as a form of aggravated human trafficking unlike in the UK, where the human trafficking legislation is dubbed Anti-Slavery Act. In the Finnish context, headlines with terms referring slavery or enslaving may seem more impacting.

The fourth article in this category covered events relating to legislative change, namely Australia classifying “orphan trade” as human trafficking.

Two articles covering a case of a Sudanese girl who was sold on Facebook were here categorized as being framed as a policy issue. The articles may have also been categorized in the criminal justice frame, as they contain the basic elements of that category. Criminal justice actors were, however, not mentioned or quoted in the articles, and no one had been prosecuted for the crime. In the articles, Save the Children Sudan expresses shock at what has happened and points out that it is a human rights offence.

The articles were titled with ample sensationalism: “*A child bride auctioned on Facebook - ‘Barbaric use of technology’*”, “*A child bride auctioned on Facebook - ‘Just like in the slave markets of the past’*”.

6.2.8 Shock and stereotypes

From the stream of world events, the most shocking cases seem to catch the most attention and end up being featured in Finnish news media. A quick review of international news online sources the Guardian, CNN, BBC and Reuters¹⁰⁷ reveals that, while many articles feature victims of sex trafficking or child trafficking, other topics have also been available in 2018, though less so.

According to the analyzed news material, human trafficking is mainly framed as a criminal justice issue, where women and children are sexually exploited. Perpetrators, if they are mentioned, often appear as more or less international criminal groups or organizations.

The material shows that, in order to be picked by a Finnish journalist from the stream of international news, the news piece must feature more than one victim, who are preferably women, children or infants. Cases concerning men, other genders or individual women or children do not reach the news threshold.

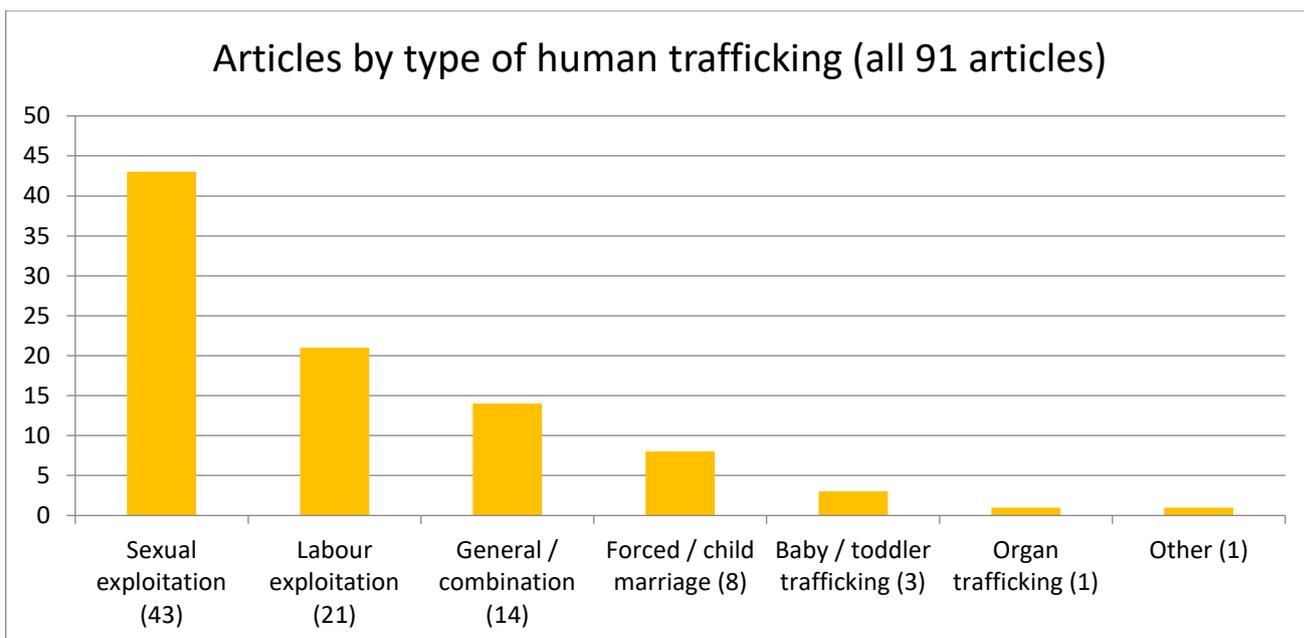
Sensational language is often used in the news stories, often sourced similarly than in the case of domestic articles: by relying on the sources to convey a message. Many headlines, out of which most are likely to have been constructed in Finland, are written with sensationalist language.

In sum, the selected articles seem to enforce stereotypes of human trafficking.

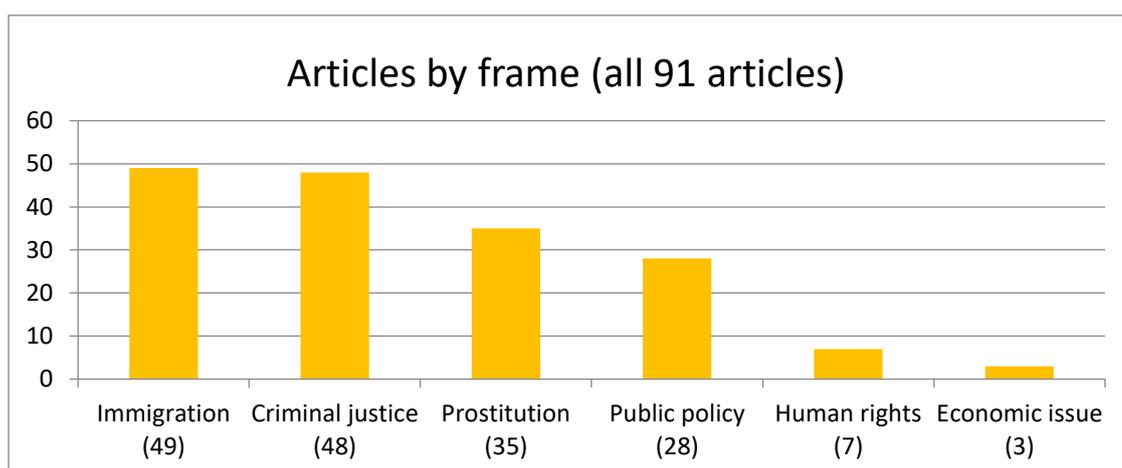
Links to similar events or phenomena in Finland were not drawn in any of the 27 studied articles, even though there may have been some prime opportunities to do so. In two broader articles, however, the topic was either otherwise linked to Finland (Sex trafficking in Thailand's popular tourist areas where Finns also frequent) or was relevant to an ongoing debate in Finland (Nigerian women in forced prostitution in Paris).

6.3 FRAMING - COMBINED

In terms of simple numbers, human trafficking was framed as a criminal justice issue that has to do with immigration and sexual exploitation, especially forced prostitution. 43 out of 91 articles (47 per cent) depicted sexual exploitation related human trafficking. Labour exploitation related human trafficking or forced labour was more prominently covered in domestic news (17 articles) than in imported news (4 articles). Overall, sexual exploitation related articles were twice as common as those covering labour exploitation. Links to immigration were emphasized especially in domestic news (43 articles).

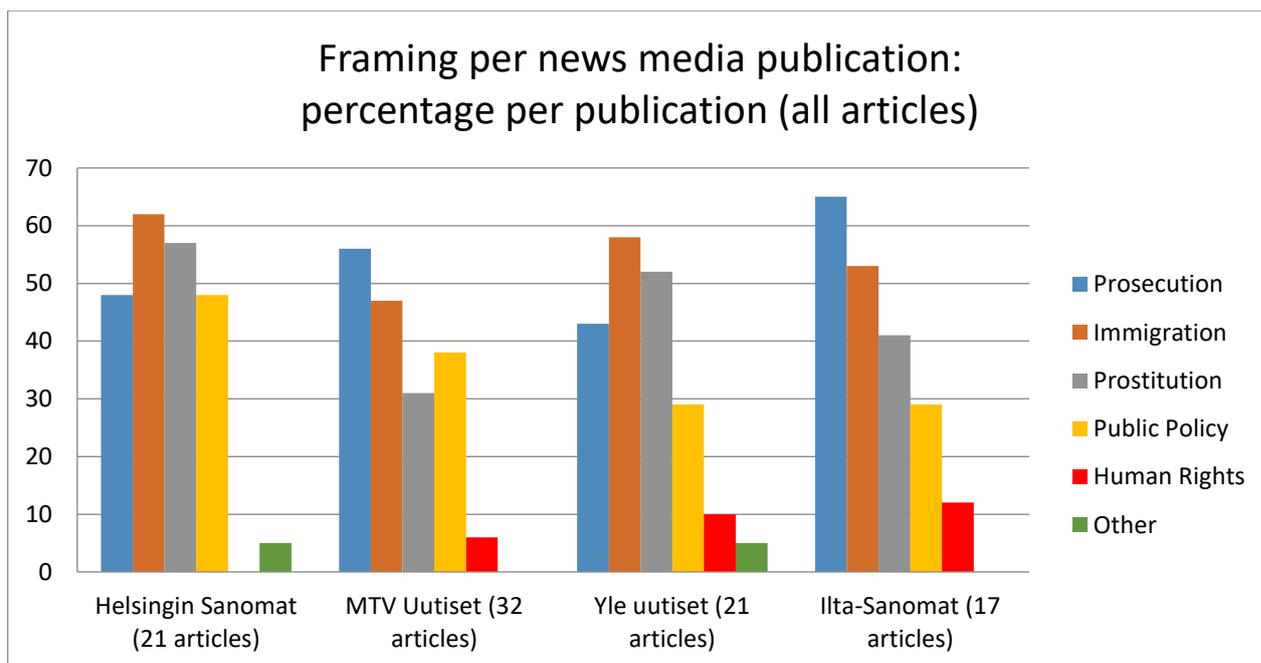


10. All articles by type of human trafficking.



11. All articles divided by frame. Please, note that some articles were framed in more than one way, making the total number greater than 91.

There was no reference of any of the articles to the European Union (EU) as an anti-trafficking actor, in fact only one article referred to the EU at all. This was an article on the sexual exploitation of immigrant children at the outer borders of the EU. Academics, analysts or other evaluators were interviewed in only two articles.



12. How different publications framed human trafficking, shown by percentage of total amount of analyzed articles per publication.

The above figure shows the how the four publications framed articles. The publications were rather similar in their handling of human trafficking cases. The longest articles in the human rights category were published in Yle uutiset (2 articles). Both articles were domestic news articles, i.e. made in Finland from the start. The other five articles in the human rights category were imported news, with extra journalistic work done on one article published in Ilta-Sanomat.

There were some differences in how publications wrote about the ethnic background of victims and perpetrators in articles in the criminal justice category. Helsingin Sanomat seemed to avoid mentioning ethnicity or using the word “foreign” in the headlines. Yle similarly left out the actual ethnicity of victims/perpetrators from headlines, instead using the term “foreign”. Both Ilta-Sanomat and MTV Uutiset declared ethnic backgrounds in the headlines.

7. PICTURES USED IN NEWS ARTICLES

Most illustrations were pictures of buildings: either courts, police stations or, for example, restaurants where exploitation had taken place. These pictures were common especially in the criminal justice category. In this category, pictures of law books (“Suomen Laki”) were often used as illustration. Some articles were also illustrated with pictures of police uniform or vehicle. Court proceedings that were open to the press featured pictures of the accused, often from behind. These images enforce the perception of strong authorities and the force of law. At the same time, these kinds of pictures are relatively easy to source.

Articles covering labour exploitation related trafficking issues, were sometimes illustrated with pictures of tools or other work-related paraphernalia, for example pots and pans (kitchen work)

or a sink with soap and dishes. In the Thai berry pickers' case, articles commonly used a series of crime scene pictures released by the police. The pictures showed the conditions in which the workers lived on the berry company's premises, and a picture of the workers' passports in a plastic bag, where the convicted man had kept them.



13. Picture: Yle 13.6.2018. Woman in stiletto heels and fishnet stockings.

On the contrary, sexual exploitation related trafficking was occasionally illustrated with pictures of high heels on a street at night (even though none of the cases covered related to street prostitution). One publication reused the same image of a woman's head against a backdrop of a large eye for several articles covering human trafficking.



14. Picture: MTV Uutiset 6.7.2018. Woman's feet on the street in stiletto boots.



15. Picture: MTV Uutiset 14.9.2018. A woman against a backdrop of a large eye.

Articles in the public policy category often contained pictures of the persons interviewed. Victims' pictures were used in the human rights category, but in the case of the Nigerian women, in a way that did not reveal the women's identities. The Nigeria themed article also included some infographics and pictures of the women's homes and of Nigerian landscape.



16. Picture: MTV Uutiset 26.3.2018. A stereotypical image of hands tied with rope.

The most stereotypical pictures, which one might find by google-searching human trafficking pictures, were generally not featured in the analyzed articles. This category would include pictures of shackled, tied or beaten up victims, victims with barcode tattoos, or of victims behind bars. Only one article by MTV Uutiset was illustrated with a picture of tied-up hands (above).

The use of stereotypical pictures may arguably be harmful to how the audience understands human trafficking. Human trafficking, at least in the Finnish context, very rarely includes physically restricting the victims with ropes or shackles or tattooing the victim with a bar code¹⁰⁸. Similarly, the use of pictures of street prostitution, or indeed of a person in high heels on a street at night, may lead to stereotypical ideas of human trafficking as a phenomenon concerning females in sex work. It is notable, that no pictures of male (or other gender) victims were used in any of the articles.

8. HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS BY FINNISH MEDIA IN 2019

The analyzed media material from 2018 did not include any major media campaigns on human trafficking. This is why it is worth giving attention to two cases, where news media action coupled with cooperation with victims of human trafficking, NGOs and authorities, in order to bring attention to certain issues and, arguably, to put pressure on authorities for change.

Most of the articles referred to in this section were published in 2019, which was not covered by this analysis. The articles published in 2018 did not qualify for the analysis, as the articles were found in news outlets other than the ones under scrutiny, many articles were found in, for example, local news media, or were written in Swedish.

8.1 Itohan Okundaye

Itohan Okundaye, a young woman of Nigerian origin, became a known face in Finland in 2018 through several media publications. Okundaye had arrived in Finland in 2014 and was immediately identified as a victim of human trafficking. She had been forced into prostitution in Italy, the exploitation having begun when she was still a minor. She sought asylum and applied for a residence permit as a victim of trafficking, a process which by 2019 has gone on for five years. So far she has received negative decisions and, with her young son born in Finland, faces being sent away from Finland to Italy.

Okundaye joined an NGO through a Finnish NGO activist, whom she met while housed at a reception center for asylum seekers. Gradually, she began holding public speeches, speaking out for Nigerian victims of human trafficking, and becoming a face for the NGO. The media became interested in her case after as she kept receiving negative decisions to her asylum and residence permit applications. An NGO provided photographs of Okundaye to use in articles.

Okundaye has given several in-depth interviews to several news outlets. The articles recount her story and through it explore many of the factors (social, economic, religious, cultural, legislative etc.) that caused her to end up being exploited. Several of these articles then move to critique the Finnish Immigration Service's practices and related legislation. Some articles include quotes by the National Rapporteur for Human Trafficking, who echoes the criticism and demands changes in the Aliens Act. Some articles include interviews of representatives of the NGO.

The articles used somewhat sensationalist or appealing language, especially in the headlines and subheads, for example: *"Sold as a child - A Nigerian woman's battle against human trafficking"*; *"Itohan fell victim of human trafficking as a child - now she's being sent away with her child"*; *"My innocence was stolen from me"*; *"One day the police will come and deport Itohan Okundaye, 28, forced into prostitution, from Finland - 'Do not go to Europe', she advises the women of the native country"*. Persons interviewed for the article were described as being "shocked" and "sad".

Several articles and blogs included a web link to a petition to stop Okundaye and her son's refusal of entry decision. The petition was handed to the Minister at the end of February 2019. On 27.2.2019 news blog declared that the "*Minister of the Interior Mykkänen promises to contact the directors of the Immigration Service on the matter of Itohan Okundaye's forced return*".

In an Yle uutiset article on 27.3.2019, the Minister of the Interior suggested "a new human trafficking law", linking his suggestion to Okundaye's case. In the article, the director of the Immigration Service was quoted saying that the organization is scrutinizing the legality of its decisions. The article mentioned that Okundaye had received an invitation from the Immigration Service to be heard in her case.

The different forces and dynamics at play in Okundaye's case would definitely be fruitful soil for future research. Media attention on her case has benefited Okundaye, though her stay in Finland is still uncertain. It remains to be seen if media attention can have a further effect on individual cases compared with those cases that are not supported by campaigns.

The effects to public policy might be greater. The in-depth articles have opened up some of the root causes for human trafficking, and focused attention on the legislation and practice behind decision-making in asylum and residence permit processes. At the same time, it is clear that the Immigration Service was not able to publicly respond to accusations and explain the grounds on which the decisions were made, as the Immigration Service (as any public authority) is legally bound not to reveal details in individual cases.

8.2 Nepalese restaurant workers

On 30 March 2019, Helsingin Sanomat published a long article on the exploitation of Nepalese workers in Nepalese restaurants. 19 Nepalese workers were interviewed for the article within a period of five months, all of them anonymously. Workers described how they had worked very long hours, seven days a week, with meager salaries and threats from their employers. They told about a cartel of Nepalese restauranteurs who would discipline anyone who spoke to the police. Nepalese restauranteurs were also interviewed. They naturally denied all accusations.

Quotes from earlier court judgements on human trafficking in the restaurant industry seemed to confirm the modus operandi of the restaurants. Employers exploit the workers' dependency on residence permits and threaten them with losing their residence if they behave in an unwanted way. They also exploit the workers' dreams for family reunification permits for their family members in Nepal. Workers are kept separated from Finnish society and not allowed to take part on Finnish language courses.

The article covered the reasons why workers come to Finland very briefly: to get a better life. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world. Many workers wish to send money home to support their families. Workers are recruited with promises of a better future in Finland - and often get swindled. Some endure the exploitation in hopes to bring their family members to Finland.

The article featured interviews from the National Bureau of Intelligence, the police, the Labour inspectorate (AVI) and the NGO Victim Support Finland. Both AVI and Victim Support Finland had tried to bring exploitation in Nepalese restaurants into the police's attention, but with no results. Because victims are often afraid to report their experiences to the police, police surveillance is required to get evidence of exploitation. The interviewees conclude that neither the police nor AVI have sufficient resources to supervise the situation in the restaurants. They supported the notion of establishing a police unit specialized in human trafficking.

Later on the same day Helsingin Sanomat published an article where the Minister of the Interior commented on the findings of the reportage. The Minister was quoted saying that he would suggest criminalizing under-paying employees and consider establishing a specialized police unit. The Minister stated that police resources must be increased, as well as those of the prosecution and AVI. "We must use stronger means to tackle work exploitation related human trafficking", the Minister said. The article also quoted a statement published by the Social Democratic Party, where the party proposes changes to legislation.

On 31 March Helsingin Sanomat published a third article explaining how a consumer may notice signs of exploitation in a restaurant - and how exploitation may often not be noticeable to a normal restaurant-goer.

On 1 April Helsingin Sanomat continued on the topic with an interview of the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and a representative of the Police Board. Both promoted the idea of establishing a specialized police unit. Police Board representative pointed out that the Finnish police has the lowest per capita resources within the European Union. The National Rapporteur highlighted the problems related to work related residence permits and criticized the Finnish Immigration Service's practice in deciding on residence permits for victims of human trafficking. She also criticized the strong link between victim assistance and the criminal process, where the victim may be left without assistance if the criminal process is not successful. "I'm afraid that if we don't tackle this problem [of human trafficking] it will grow and get worse" the Rapporteur stated.

On 3 April some owners of Nepalese restaurants were protesting against the bad press they had received by closing the restaurants for a day. They invited the public to come over and talk to their employees. In an article published in Helsingin uutiset, the restaurateurs accused Helsingin Sanomat for ruining their reputation.

On 24 April Victim Support Finland was interviewed in a Helsingin Sanomat article saying that tens of Nepalese restaurant workers have contacted the NGO, and nearly ten workers had sought assistance from them. According to the NGO, some workers had reported improvement in their working conditions.

Parliamentary elections were held in Finland on 14 April 2019. It remains to be seen whether the new government picks up on the issues raised in these articles.

9. INTERVIEWING JOURNALISTS

Three journalists from two media publications (Helsingin Sanomat and Yle) were interviewed for this study. Some of the journalists' thoughts have already been presented in section 6.1.6 Sourcing the news stories. In the last part of this section is a summary of an interview with organizations that assist victims of human trafficking. The quotes in cursive are from the interviewed journalists.

9.1 "Coverage of human trafficking must be comprehensive"

All journalists agree that human trafficking is something that needs to be covered in news media. However, two of them pointed out that fast-paced news journalism where arrests and court judgements are covered as "dotted events", can be problematic. Covering the phenomenon requires careful investigative journalism that brings out the fuller context in which events occur. Stereotypes must be avoided.

Some saw commercial logic of media environments as the greatest challenge to production of ethical content.

"It is a continuing challenge to produce information that is as objective as possible, on topics that are difficult and stir emotions - while avoiding the pitfalls of adding to prejudices or presenting stereotypical or one-dimensional images of certain (groups of) people. This is especially challenging in a media environment, where only a small proportion of information is (the product of) journalism. Journalism has to compete with media content objectivity and moderation are not valued. Objectivity and moderation do not sell." (Journalist 2)

The journalists frequently referenced journalistic ethic and guidelines. They stated that conveying truthful information is considered of key importance. This, according to the journalists, is best done by trying to shed light on the topic from different angles. It is important to include several different sources and to view the phenomenon from different angles. Information gathering should be done properly from the beginning as, according to one journalist, the audience forms its opinion based on the first articles of headlines they see. Finding solid information may, however, be challenging.

"The official statements that I received were all vague and cautious. They mainly pointed out that it is difficult to notice or identify the phenomenon [forced begging] and that the fact that there have been no investigations into it does not necessarily mean that it doesn't occur in Finland. [...] Finding information and forming an overall picture of the phenomenon was very difficult. No simple facts or numbers were available. [...] You have to be careful not to write about a phenomenon based on expired facts or someone's 'gut feeling'" (Journalist 2)

9.2 What not to do

All journalists found that over-simplifying the phenomenon was something that should always be avoided. One should not enforce stereotypes of human trafficking as slaves in shackles, as a dichotomy of victims and exploiters.

“You cannot just fade away the nuances. You have to show the different dynamics in the case: the economical, emotional, psychological or family ties and dependencies between the victim and perpetrator, the overall context in which exploitation had occurred.” (Journalist 1)

Another failure would be to try to force the victims into a certain mold: all victims are not necessarily traumatized and without agency. One journalist spoke of the importance of self-reflection to find out what the journalist’s own prejudices are.

“Do I, as a journalist, have pre-conceptions of these people? Am I, for example, expecting this person is more likely to lie than someone else, because they belong to this or that group of people?” (Journalist 2)

And ultimately, as one journalist stated: *“The worst possible thing to do would be to blame the victim. That is not a part of responsible journalism.”* (Journalist 3)

9.3 “A good story requires that victims are heard”

All three journalists thought that an effective and thorough news story on human trafficking should include the victims’ perspectives.

“An ideal story is one where the victims’ voices are heard, if it’s possible. It’s important that we don’t make assumptions on behalf of the victims.” (Journalist 2)

“You can discuss the legislation on begging, or the status of mobile populations from many angles, but no outsider can tell how it actually feels to beg on the street.” (Journalist 3)

“There are always more shades of gray in the world and things are not black and white. Through the victims you learn how diverse the phenomenon is. We as humans tend to build ready narratives in our heads about how human trafficking is: that there is a slave master and a slave in shackles. But it really isn’t that simple - there are dimensions that must be brought to light in order to give a truthful image of the phenomenon. For example, victims might have feelings of gratitude towards their exploiters, because the exploiter has, after all, brought the victims to Finland. Or the victim doesn’t want to come out, because the exploiter is their uncle.” (Journalist 1)

One of the journalists described how they make sure that the victim understands what the interview means, it’s risks and possible consequences as well as the rights of the interviewee, and where the finished article may be seen. He didn’t, however, wish to *“be patronizing and claim to know what’s best for the victims”* (Journalist 1). In some cases, the journalist double-checks

security matters with the police or with assisting organizations. Sometimes an interview might be a disappointing experience for a victim, as the victim may have high expectations for the process.

“Sometimes a victim feels that he wants to tell all about it and he wants me to write everything. He demands that I name this and that person, because they are a bad person or they exploited the victim. He wants to see that the people who tormented him are made to pay for their actions. It’s natural that someone who has recently arrived in Finland does not know how Finnish media works. They might say that they take full responsibility and face all consequences. Of course, it doesn’t work like that.” (Journalist 1)

Only one of the interviewed journalists revealed how and where he gets into contact with victims. Sometimes victims or people around them may contact a journalist who is known for writing about human trafficking. Sometimes NGOs and lawyers may be the link to victims. All interviewees agreed, however, that is difficult to find victims to interview.

“Some investigative news projects can begin from talking to a victim or a person, who is close to the victim - people, who have a contact with the victim and are present in their everyday life, people who know what’s happening there [at the possible scene of exploitation]. In one case, this person I know personally told me, that there are people working at [X], who are only making around three euros per hour. This person was a member of the same community than these workers and knew many of them.” (Journalist 1)

“NGO actors might tell me about these problems. They may say, for example, that we have these people here and they would like to speak to a journalist.” (Journalist 1)

9.4 Victim assistance organizations as gate-keepers

For example, Syvänen has seen authorities and NGOs, that assist victims of human trafficking, as gate-keepers, who decide when or if a victim may be interviewed¹⁰⁹. This gate-keeping might be seen as over-protecting the victim, or as undermining the victim’s own agency or initiative. On the other hand, one might ask if it would even be morally acceptable for assisting organizations to function as pools, where victims could be easily found and sourced for interviews.

According to an interview with the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking and prominent NGOs that assist victims of human trafficking, both see as their primary task the assistance of victims (clients), and do not consider it the client’s burden to sophisticate the nation on human trafficking. No information on the clients is given to persons, who have no right to access said information, the publicity of which is regulated by law. None of the interviewed organization relay interview requests to their clients. At the same time, both actors support the client’s right to tell their story if they so choose. The actors will always try to discuss the possible consequences of speaking to the media with the client and ensure that the client does not put themselves or their family members at risk¹¹⁰.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analyzed material, human trafficking was framed in Finnish news media as a criminal justice problem related to immigration. Human trafficking was portrayed as something that targets women especially, often through forced prostitution.

This echoes the findings of earlier research (see sections 2. and 3.). According to said research, misleading images formed by news media may lead to misinformed policy changes, affect what types of human trafficking are identified and investigated, and what kinds of victims are identified.

At the same time the prevalence of, for example, immigration correlates to both the tried and investigated criminal cases in 2018, as well as the statistics on victims referred to assistance.

Of course, all of the analyzed articles did not follow the above mentioned pattern. Among the articles there were those that provided context and presented different viewpoints. Imported and domestic news formed two different categories, where imported news appeared to be more sensationalist and stereotype-enforcing.

As a conclusion, some of the main problem points are presented, followed by suggestions for editorial action and further research.

10.1 Imported news - a lost opportunity

Imported news, i.e. news based on articles published by international media corporations, truly represented a category of its own. It seems that, in order to be selected from a stream of international news, an article on human trafficking must feature something extraordinary and shocking. Most articles featured cases with several, sometimes dozens of (female) victims, or exploitation of children or infants. Perpetrators were often international criminal organizations. The most common topics related to sexual exploitation of women and/or children. Sensationalist language was used in the headlines to draw in the readers.

The selection of imported news to Finnish news media follows commercial logic. Instead of selecting a story about male victims or labour exploitation, the journalist picks the stories that have shock value, the stories that sell. These stories seem to be the ones that enforce existing stereotypes of human trafficking.

An opportunity is lost here. At best, imported news could include articles that represent different, less publicized types of human trafficking and make these known in Finland. They could include stories of victims other than helpless females, and shed light on the context of human trafficking. This would help to create a more comprehensive image of human trafficking. This kind of selection would, however, not follow commercial logic and may therefore be less popular amongst news publishers.

The fact that Yle uutiset is publicly funded, may set it apart from the other three commercial publications. Yle uutiset published only two imported articles, while MTV Uutiset published 11.

10.2 Some suggestions

Finnish news media may convey a somewhat limited image of human trafficking to the public. Only a few articles offered any context to human trafficking, or discussed the structural dimension, such as national legislation or global economic inequality, as possible factors for human trafficking. The victim's perspective was included in two to three articles (out of 91). The greater legislative context of European Union and Council of Europe legislation was completely missing, as was any mention of the anti-trafficking activities of these institutions. The United Nations was mentioned in articles concerning forced marriage.

At the same time, news media has also educated the public by conducting a degree of investigative journalism as well as creating news articles, where several sources are used and different viewpoints heard. Forced / child marriage was discussed in editorials and news media took sides in a political debate (whether that is positive or not). The public is informed of statistics related to victim assistance. Downsides of using the term "slavery" in the Finnish context were discussed.

Outside of articles covering events in the criminal process, journalism wasn't so heavily dependent on official sources. Instead, journalists have found other sources such as NGOs and industry representatives. Likewise, human trafficking in the Finnish context is not portrayed as something that is always related to organized crime, and language used in domestically sourced articles was rarely sensationalist. It was found, that in this group of articles, sensationalist language was slightly more common in articles in the public policy frame than in, for example, the criminal justice frame.

As demonstrated by the above examples and the interviews conducted with three journalists for this study, there clearly are some journalists who are better informed about human trafficking than others. Journalistic routines could be altered by utilizing these informed journalists.

It might be fruitful for newsrooms to focus human trafficking related news work in the hands of informed journalists instead of, for example, crime reporters. Crime reporters covering a human trafficking court case or investigation could similarly cooperate with a journalist who is more acquainted with human trafficking issues. Even though information given by authorities about ongoing investigations or trials is restricted, the informed journalist could produce contextual information to supplement crime reporting. Even some well sourced imported news articles might serve this purpose.

When covering human trafficking related events, attention should be paid to use of terminology. It's important to remember the distinction between force (coerce) and pressure as means utilized in human trafficking, and not use the two terms interchangeably. Mentioning the gender of victims only where the victims are female can create a misleading image of victims of human trafficking as a whole. If gender is mentioned, male and other genders should be included.

The analyzed news material did not include much investigative journalism or reporting from a human rights angle. This kind of journalism is, however, still done, although not in abundance. The two series of articles (the cases of Itohan Okundaye and Nepalese restaurant workers) included the use of several sources, most significantly the victims. They highlighted factors outside the traditional dichotomy of perpetrators and victims. According to news coverage that followed the initial investigative articles, it seems that some of the problems presented in the articles have been noted at high levels. Government ministers have given statements based on the articles. It remains to be seen, if the articles carry any real impact on policy-making.

It would be useful to research the actual effects of news media coverage of human trafficking to policy-making in Finland. Have criminal justice answers followed from framing human trafficking as a criminal justice issue? How much has framing affected policy making? It is likely, that more types of human trafficking would be identified if more information was disseminated in news media about them.

An especially interesting question is, whether framing human trafficking as an immigration issue caused Finns to identify human trafficking mainly within immigrant groups at the expense of so-called domestically operated "Finn-on-Finn" human trafficking? Which way has this affected policy-making, and has the outcome been mostly negative or positive? For example, has there been more scrutiny of immigration legislation as something that may create vulnerability to exploitation, or has framing helped to create more restrictions to immigration? What could be done differently?

Similarly, it would be interesting to map out what public opinion and comprehension of human trafficking is, and where the public receives information of the phenomenon. Is news media identified as a primary source?

		Helsingin Sanomat articles from 2018		
	Publication Title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	Helsingin Sanomat	Yli sata osti seksiä törkeän ihmiskaupan uhrilta Suomessa ja Belgiassa – Naisen prostituoiduksi pakottaneen miehen rangaistus koveni hovioikeudessa	21.12.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005943207.html
2	Helsingin Sanomat	Ihmiskaupan uhreja paljastuu entistä enemmän – ”Paperittomien työperäinen hyväksikäyttö tuntuu olevan systemaattista”	30.7.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005774706.html
3	Helsingin Sanomat	Naisia houkuteltiin Suomeen töihin, mutta pakotettiin perillä prostituutioon – 37-vuotias mies on vangittu pääepäilyinä ihmiskaupasta	27.11.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000005913466.html
4	Helsingin Sanomat	Yli sata osti seksiä törkeän ihmiskaupan uhrilta Suomessa ja Belgiassa – naisen prostituoiduksi pakottanut mies sai lievimmän mahdollisen rangaistuksen	6.7.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005745931.html
5	Helsingin Sanomat	Australia kriminalisoi ensimmäisenä maana lasten ”orpokaupan” yhtenä orjuuden muotona	30.11.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005916634.html
6	Helsingin Sanomat	Ihmisoikeusjärjestö: Vietnamilaiset lapsiorjat työskentelevät Lontoon laittomilla kannabis-viljelmillä	20.8.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005797802.html
7	Helsingin Sanomat	Mies piti 18-vuotiasta asunnossaan ja kuljetti tuttaviensa luokse hyväksikäytettäväksi 73 eurolla – Oikeus tuomitsi ehdolliseen raskauksesta ja ihmiskaupasta	21.3.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005612596.html
8	Helsingin Sanomat	Siirtolaislapset pakotetaan maksamaan seksillä rajanylityksestä Italian ja Ranskan rajalla, kertoo Pelastakaa lapset -järjestö	29.7.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005773676.html
9	Helsingin Sanomat	Miehen epäillään pakottaneen naisen myymään seksiä useassa kaupungissa Suomessa	13.3.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005602038.html
10	Helsingin Sanomat	Syyte törkeästä ihmiskaupasta: Miehen epäillään pakottaneen naisen myymään seksiä eri puolilla Suomea	13.6.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005717933.html
11	Helsingin Sanomat	Suomalaismies tuomittiin ihmiskaupasta – värväsi 26 thaimaalaista marjanpoimijaa, lennätti Suomeen ja majoitti busseihin	19.1.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005530932.html
12	Helsingin Sanomat	Suomessa raiskaus ei ole raiskaus, jos uhrin harkkaa suostuvaiseksi sutenööri	27.3.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005619228.html
13	Helsingin Sanomat	Avoliitto on syytä rajata vain täysi-ikäisille	28.10.2018	https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000005879652.html
14	Helsingin Sanomat	Rohingya-tyttöjä kaupataan lapsimorsiamiksi vanhemmille miehille pakolaisleireillä Bangladeshissa – ”Seksiturismi kukoistaa täällä”	20.6.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005726907.html
15	Helsingin Sanomat	Nigerialaisnaisen ihmiskaupattuomio lyheni hovioikeudessa – Painosti 17-vuotiaan seksi-kauppaan Vantaalla, Tampereella ja Oulussa	16.1.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005526269.html
16	Helsingin Sanomat	Lapsimorsian huutokaupattiin Facebookissa – ”Barbaarista teknologian käyttöä”	20.11.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005906103.html
17	Helsingin Sanomat	Vauvoja kaupannut ”sieluton” salakuljetusrinki napattiin Perussa – epäiltyjen joukossa entinen poliisipäällikkö	7.11.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005891837.html
18	Helsingin Sanomat	Thaipöimijöiden määrä romahti ihmiskaupattuomion takia – Tänä vuonna mustikkasato on surkea	6.8.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005781550.html

19	Helsingin Sanomat	Prostituutioon pakotettu nigerialainen nainen voidaan palauttaa Suomesta Espanjaan – KHO:lta poikkeuksellinen linjanmuutos	11.6.2018	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005715072.html
20	Helsingin Sanomat	Ruotsin televisio: Naisia pakotettiin prostituutioon voodoo-rituaaleilla, kahdelle syytteet Ruotsissa	18.4.2018	https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005646677.html
21	Helsingin Sanomat	Pakkoavioliitoista on syytä tehdä rikos	1.5.2018	https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000005662710.html

APPENDIX 1. THE ANALYZED ARTICLES

		Ilta-Sanomat articles from 2018		
	Publication title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	Ilta-Sanomat	Ulkomaalainen mies syytteessä törkeästä ihmiskaupasta - pakotti naisen prostituoiduksi	13.6.2018	https://www.is.fi/oulun-seutu/art-2000005718452.html
2	Ilta-Sanomat	Romanialaista miestä syytetään törkeästä ihmiskaupasta ja törkeästä parituksesta Oulussa – käräjät alkoivat	26.6.2018	https://www.is.fi/oulun-seutu/art-2000005733232.html
3	Ilta-Sanomat	Ihmiskauppiaat sieppasivat 13-vuotiaan argentiinalaistytön 1980-luvulla – poliisille tullut vinkki johti pelastumiseen 32 vuotta myöhemmin	26.12.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005947124.html
4	Ilta-Sanomat	Mies pakotti naisen prostituutioon Suomessa ja ulkomailla – kahden vuoden vankeus-tuomio törkeästä ihmiskaupasta	6.7.2018	https://www.is.fi/oulun-seutu/art-2000005746130.html
5	Ilta-Sanomat	Romanialaismies vangittiin epäiltynä törkeästä ihmiskaupasta – epäily: pahoinpiteli naista ja pakotti prostituoiduksi	13.3.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005602480.html
6	Ilta-Sanomat	Poliisi: Naisia huijattiin Suomeen prostituoiduksi – rikolliset käyttivät hyväksi kielitaidottomuutta ja turvattomuutta	27.11.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005913553.html
7	Ilta-Sanomat	Marjayrittäjä tuomittiin ihmiskaupasta – Oikeus: Käytti hyväkseen thaimaalaispoimijoiden turvatonta tilaa	19.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005530977.html
8	Ilta-Sanomat	"Valtaosa poliiseista mukana Thaimaan seksibisneksessä" – Ihmiskaupan vastainen järjestö kriminalisoisi seksin ostamisen	20.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005532603.html
9	Ilta-Sanomat	Keski-Suomen käräjäoikeus antaa tuomion marjanpoimintajutussa – yrittäjälle vaaditaan yli kolmea vuotta vankeutta ihmiskaupasta	19.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005530434.html
10	Ilta-Sanomat	Tieto rauhanpalkinnosta sai lsisin seksiorjuudesta vapautuneen Nadia Muradin purskahtamaan kyyneliin	5.10.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005853935.html
11	Ilta-Sanomat	Rikosuhripäivystys: Näin härskisti paperittomia käytetään hyväksi Suomessa – pitkät työpäivät, ei vapaata, ei palkkaa	30.7.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005774258.html
12	Ilta-Sanomat	Helpolla rahalla Suomeen houkuteltuja marjanpoimijoita odotti perillä karu yllätys – yrittäjälle lätkäistiin 330 000 euron lasku	20.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005532438.html
13	Ilta-Sanomat	Polttomerkkejä intiimialueille ja pakkotyötä – FBI haki pahamaineisen seksikultin johtajaksi väitetyn miehen Meksikosta	27.3.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005620655.html
14	Ilta-Sanomat	Ihmisoikeusliitto kerää nimiä vetoamukseen pakkoavioliiton kriminalisoimiseksi	15.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005525053.html
15	Ilta-Sanomat	BBC: Brittiviranomaisten tietoon ennätysmäärä orjuutuksia viime vuonna – mahdollisia uhreja yli 5 000	26.3.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005618205.html
16	Ilta-Sanomat	Asiantuntija vaatii avioliittoon pakottamisen kriminalisointia HS:ssa: "Suomen nykyinen lainsäädäntö ei riitä"	15.1.2018	https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005524775.html

17	Ilta-Sanomat	Jeesus-kultin johtajia pidätetty Brasiliassa – "Isä Cicero" osti orjatyön voitoilla luksusautoja ja taloja	7.2.2018	https://www.is.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000005556944.html
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		MTV Uutiset articles from 2018		
	Publication title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	MTV Uutiset	Järkyttävä ilmiö tallentui videolle: Pariisin suurin puisto muuttuu öisin paikaksi, jossa naiset myyvät seksiä orjina	05.10.2018 (Updated 26.12.2018)	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jarkyttava-ilmio-tallentui-videolle-pariisin-suurin-puisto-muuttuu-öisin-paikaksi-jossa-naiset-myyvat-seksia-orjina/7101248
2	MTV Uutiset	IL: Suositu kuopiolaisravintola syyllistyi ihmiskaupaan – työntekijöille yli 200 000 euron korvaukset	15.12.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/il-suositu-kuopiolaisravintola-syyllistyi-ihmiskaupaan-tyontekijoille-yli-200-000-euron-korvaukset/7206164
3	MTV Uutiset	Tatuoidut Mara Salvatruchan jäsenet ovat monelle todellinen painajainen ja uhka elämälle – "He tuntevat meidät ja saalistavat meitä"	29.11.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/tatuoidut-mara-salvatruchan-jasenet-ovat-monelle-todellinen-painajainen-ja-uhka-elamalle-he-tuntevat-meidat-ja-saalistavat-meita/7183264
4	MTV Uutiset	Naisia houkuteltiin Suomeen prostituoiduiksi lupauksilla suuransioista – naisten rahat tililleen saanut mies pidätettiin epäiltynä ihmiskaupasta	27.11.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/naisia-houkuteltiin-suomeen-prostituoiduiksi-lupauksilla-suuransioista-naisten-rahat-tililleen-saanut-mies-pidatettiin-epailtyna-ihmiskaupasta/7181534
5	MTV Uutiset	Facebookia käytettiin lapsimorsiamen huutokauppaan – "muistuttaa entisaikojen orjamarkkinoita"	21.11.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/facebookia-kaytettiin-lapsimorsiamen-huutokauppaan-muistuttaa-entisaikojen-orjamarkkinoita/7172618
6	MTV Uutiset	Poliisi tutkii ihmiskauppaa pääkaupunki-seudulla – poliisin mukaan rikoskokonaisuus on poikkeuksellinen: Toiminta ei näy kaduilla	24.10.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/poliisi-tutkii-ihmiskauppaa-paakaupunkiseudulla-toiminta-poliisin-mukaan-poikkeuksellista-toiminta-ei-nay-kaduilla/7127978
7	MTV Uutiset	Pariskuntaa epäillään vastenmielisistä rikoksista: Surmasivat nuoria naisia ja myivät ruumiinosia	09.10.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/pariskuntaa-epaillaan-vastenmielisista-rikoksista-surmasivat-nuoria-naisia-ja-myivat-ruumiinosia/7108758
8	MTV Uutiset	Isin seksiorjasta ihmisoikeustaistelijaksi ponnistanut Nobel-voittaja: "Meidän täytyy työskennellä jatkuvasti paremman tulevaisuuden eteen"	05.10.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/isin-seksiorjasta-ihmisoikeustaistelijaksi-ponnistanut-nobel-voittaja-meidan-taytyy-tyoskennella-jatkuvasti-paremman-tulevaisuuden-eteen/7103282
9	MTV Uutiset	Karut kuvat marjanpoimijoiden bussileiristä – marjayrittäjä tuomittiin ihmiskaupasta ehdolliseen vankeuteen	19.01.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/karut-kuvat-marjanpoimijoiden-bussileirista-marjayrittaja-tuomittiin-ihmiskaupasta-ehdolliseen-vankeuteen/6737668
10	MTV Uutiset	Järkyttävä löytö: Mies eli orjana 40 vuoden ajan vajassa – kylmässä "kodissa" likaisia petivaatteita ja tuoli	04.10.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jarkyttava-loyto-mies-eli-orjana-40-vuoden-ajan-vajassa-kylmassa-kodissa-likaisia-petivaatteita-ja-tuoli/7100698
11	MTV Uutiset	Jos matkatavaroista löytyy seksilelu, ulko-maalaisen Suomeen tulo voidaan estää: "Jopa ihmiskaupan uhri saatetaan suojelun sijaan käännättää maasta"	01.10.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jos-matkatavaroista-loytyy-seksilelu-ulkomaalaisen-suomeen-tulo-voidaan-estaa-jopa-ihmiskaupan-uhri-saatetaan-suojelun-sijaan-kaannyttää-maasta/7096002

12	MTV Uutiset	Tietotaito ihmiskaupasta jakaantunut viranomaisilla epätasaisesti – laajalla koulutuksella pyritään kaitsemaan ihmiskauppaa	14.09.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/tietotaito-ihmiskaupasta-jakaantunut-viranomaisilla-epatasaisesti-laajalla-koulutuksella-pyritaan-kaitsemaan-ihmiskauppaa/7071480
13	MTV Uutiset	Lähes 50 naista pelastettiin seksiorjuudesta Kolumbiassa – naisia kuljetettiin yökerhojen kellareihin tunnelien kautta	21.08.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/lahes-50-naista-pelastettiin-seksiorjuudesta-kolumbiassa-naisia-kuljetettiin-yokerhojen-kellareihin-tunnelien-kautta/7037746
14	MTV Uutiset	Yksi Euroopan etsityimmistä rikollispomoista otettiin kiinni – pyöritti Suomeen asti ulottuvaa ihmiskaupan verkkoa	16.08.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/yksi-euroopan-etsityimmista-rikollispomoista-otettiin-kiinni-pyoritti-suomeen-asti-ulottuvaa-ihmiskaupan-verkkoa/7031830
15	MTV Uutiset	30 miestä ja yksi nainen syytettynä vuosia jatkuneesta seksuaalisesta hyväksikäytöstä Englannissa – nuorimmat uhrin vain 12-vuotiaita	15.08.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/30-miesta-ja-yksi-nainen-syytettyna-vuosia-jatkuneesta-seksuaalisesta-hyvakskaytosta-englannissa-nuorimmat-uhrit-vain-12-vuotiaita/7030824
16	MTV Uutiset	Ennätysmäärä ihmiskaupan uhreja hakeutunut apuun – "On sellaisia käsityksiä, että ihmisillä ei olisi kaikilla samanlaiset oikeudet työelämässä"	30.07.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/ennatysmaara-ihmiskaupan-uhreja-hakeutunut-apuun-on-sellaisia-kasityksia-etta-ihmisilla-ei-olisi-kaikilla-samanlaiset-oikeudet-tyoelamassa/7012770
17	MTV Uutiset	Ihmiskaupan uhrien määrä rikosuhri-päivystyksessä on kasvanut huomattavasti	30.07.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/ihmiskaupan-uhrien-maara-rikosuhripaivystyksessa-on-kasvanut-huomattavasti/7011938
18	MTV Uutiset	Vauvoja halvimmillaan 500 eurolla – Äiti Teresan perustaman sääntökunnan ensikoti myi vauvoja lapsettomille	7.7.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/vauvoja-halvimmillaan-500-eurolla-aiti-teresan-perustaman-saantokunnan-ensikoti-myi-vauvoja-lapsettomille/6976214
19	MTV Uutiset	Romanialaismies pakotti naisen prostituutioon – laitto syömään laihdutuspillereitä ja uhkaili perheen tappamisella	06.07.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/romanialaismies-pakotti-naisen-prostituutioon-laittoi-syomaan-laihduuspillereita-ja-uhkaili-perheen-tappamisella/6977490
20	MTV Uutiset	Miehelle syyte törkeästä ihmiskaupasta Oulussa – epäillään pakottaneen naisen prostituoiduksi Suomessa ja ulkomailla	13.06.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/miehelle-syyte-torkeasta-ihmiskaupasta-oulussa-epaillaan-pakottaneen-naisen-prostituoiduksi-suomessa-ja-ulkomailla/6948014
21	MTV Uutiset	KHO: Nigerianlainen voidaan palauttaa Suomesta Espanjaan prostituutioon pakottavasta ex-miehestä huolimatta	11.06.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/kho-nigerialainainen-voidaan-palauttaa-suomesta-espanjaan-prostituutioon-pakottavasta-ex-miehesta-huolimatta/6944842
22	MTV Uutiset	Törkeää ihmiskauppaa ja seksuaalisia hyväksikäyttöjä – Suomessakin toiminut "joogamies" Euroopan etsityimpien rikollisten listalla	14.05.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/torkeaa-ihmiskauppaa-ja-seksuaalisia-hyvakskayttoja-suomessakin-toiminut-joogamies-euroopan-etsityimpien-rikollisten-listalla/6900622
23	MTV Uutiset	BBC: Jopa yli 5000 uhria viime vuonna – brittivilanomaisten tietoon ennätysmäärä orjuutuksia	26.03.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/bbc-jopa-yli-5000-uhria-viime-vuonna-brittivilanomaisten-tietoon-ennatysmaara-orjuutuksia/6833822
24	MTV Uutiset	Suomessa ihmiskaupan uhrin eivät aina saa apua – osa viranomaisista epäilee erikoissairaanhoidon perusteita	16.03.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/suomessa-ihmiskaupan-uhrit-eivat-aina-saa-apua-osa-viranomaisista-epaa-erikoissairaanhoidon-perusteita/6820088
25	MTV Uutiset	Poliisi vangitsi romanialaismiehen epäiltynä törkeästä ihmiskaupasta – epäillään pakottaneen naisen	13.03.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/poliisi-vangitsi-romanialaismiehen-epailtyna-torkeasta-ihmiskaupasta-epaillaan-pakottaneen-naisen

		toimimaan prostituoituna Suomessa ja ulkomailla		toimimaan-prostituoituna-suomessa-ja-ulkomailla/6806362
26	MTV Uutiset	Ihmiskaupan uhrien auttamisjärjestelmässä yli 300 ihmistä	05.03.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/ihmiskaupan-uhrien-auttamisjarjestelmassa-yli-300-ihmista/6794992
27	MTV Uutiset	Ihmiskaupasta tuomitun marjayrittäjän tapaus hovioikeuteen	27.02.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/ihmiskaupasta-tuomitun-marjayrittajan-tapaus-hovioikeuteen/6787614
28	MTV Uutiset	Karjalainen: Ennätysmäärä ihmiskaupan uhreja hakenut apua	23.02.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/karjalainen-ennatysmaara-ihmiskaupan-uhreja-hakenut-apua/6782106
29	MTV Uutiset	Nainen piilotteli ihmiskaupan uhrin 4-vuotiasta lasta – valituslupa evähtiin, tuomio jää lainvoimaiseksi	22.01.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/nainen-piilotteli-ihmiskaupan-uhrin-4-vuotiasta-last-valituslupa-evattiin-tuomio-jaa-lainvoimaiseksi/6740196
30	MTV Uutiset	Marjayrittäjälle vaaditaan yli kolmea vuotta vankeutta ihmiskaupasta – Syyttaja: Thaimaalaispoimijoilla jopa 15 tunnin työpäiviä	19.01.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/marjayrittajalle-vaaditaan-yli-kolmea-vuotta-vankeutta-ihmiskaupasta-syyttaja-thaimaalaispoimijoilla-jopa-15-tunnin-tyopaivia/6736960
31	MTV Uutiset	Hovioikeus alensi nigerialaisnaisen ihmiskaupatuomiota	16.01.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/hovioikeus-alensi-nigerialaisnaisen-ihmiskaupatuomiota/6732542
32	MTV Uutiset	Ihmisoikeusliitto kerää nimiä pakkoavioliiton vastaiseen vetoomukseen – Liitto: Avioon pakotetaan Suomessakin	15.01.2018	https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/ihmisoikeusliitto-keraa-nimia-pakkoavioliiton-vastaiseen-vetoomukseen-liitto-avioon-pakotetaan-suomessakin/6731052

		Yle uutiset articles from 2018		
	Publication title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	Yle uutiset	Hovioikeus kovensi ulkomaalaisen miehen tuomiota törkeästä ihmiskaupasta – pakotti naisen väkivallalla uhaten prostituutioon useassa suuressa kaupungissa	21.12.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10568370
2	Yle uutiset	Etnisen ravintolan pitäjä sai ehdollista vankeutta ihmiskaupasta Kuopiossa: uhrin olivat lähes aina töissä, mutta palkat olivat olemattomia	14.12.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10554510
3	Yle uutiset	Ihmiskaupan uhreja tunnustetaan Suomessa yhä heikosti – "Huumeidenkäyttäjää voi olla ihmiskaupan uhri, jos hänet pakotetaan tekemään rikoksia"	16.11.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10509678
4	Yle uutiset	Syyttaja vaatii etnisen ravintolan pitäjälle tuomiota ihmiskaupasta Kuopiossa: värväsi työntekijöitä kotimaasta, muttei maksanut kunnon palkkaa	7.11.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10496404
5	Yle uutiset	Suomen kääntynyt Grace asui kadulla Afrikan ihmiskaupan keskuksessa ilman pohjalaisia hyväntekijöitään – "Pelkään kuollakseni entisiä parittajiani"	29.10.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10478634
6	Yle uutiset	Viihdekirjailija Cecilia Samartin vaihtoi suuntaa ja kirjoitti ihmiskaupasta: "Kukaan ei myy ruumistaan vapaaehtoisesti"	28.10.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10479827
7	Yle uutiset	Joensuussa kävely ihmiskauppaa vastaan	19.10.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10465310
8	Yle uutiset	Suomalaisnainen kaapattiin työmatkalla Tunisiassa, pieni tyttö auttoi pakenemaan – nyt nainen kertoo Ylelle, kuinka traumat ja isot velat seurasivat häntä vapauteen	18.10.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10463334
9	Yle uutiset	Suomessa voi olla satoja ihmiskaupan uhreja – "Jos puhumme nykyajan orjuudesta, se vääristää käsitystä mistä puhumme"	14.8.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10351278
10	Yle uutiset	Ihmiskaupatapauksia tuli tietoon aiempaa enemmän - paljon jää pimentoon	8.8.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10342278

11	Yle uutiset	Parittaja vei rahat ja löi alaikäistä tyttöä – oikeus piti parisuhdeväkivaltana	16.7.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10306604
12	Yle uutiset	Miehelle tuomio törkeästä ihmiskaupasta – pakotti naisen väkivallalla uhaten prostituutioon useassa suuressa kaupungissa	6.7.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10292047
13	Yle uutiset	Ulkomaalainen mies syytteessä törkeästä ihmiskaupasta – pakotti nuoren naisen prostituutioon useissa kaupungeissa	13.6.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10252333
14	Yle uutiset	Ihmiskaupatuomio pelästytti viranomaiset – myös Kainuuseen on tulossa vähemmän thaimaalaisia marjanpoimijoita	30.5.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10230687
15	Yle uutiset	Suomeen saapuu yhä vähemmän thaimaalaisia marjanpoimijoita – keskustele	30.5.2018 (updated 19.7.2018)	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10229054
16	Yle uutiset	1 500 poliisia iski ihmiskauppaa vastaan Saksassa – kymmeniä bordelleja tutkittiin, yli sata ihmistä pidätettiin	18.4.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10165178
17	Yle uutiset	Britanniassa avattiin auttava puhelin orjille, ensimmäisenä vuonna se tavoitti jopa 5 000 mahdollista uhria	16.4.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10161052
18	Yle uutiset	Mies vangittiin Oulussa epäiltynä törkeästä ihmiskaupasta	13.3.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10114317
19	Yle uutiset	Karjalainen: Suomessa ennätysmäärä ihmis-kaupan uhreja haki apua viime vuonna	23.2.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10088651
20	Yle uutiset	Poimitaanko pakastemarjat pakkotyössä? Marja-alan rakenteista pitää keskustella, sanoo ihmiskaupan asiantuntija	20.1.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10031436
21	Yle uutiset	Hovioikeus alensi törkeästä ihmiskaupasta tuomitun nigerialaisnaisen tuomiota	16.1.2018	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10024523

APPENDIX 2. THE PROTOCOL

1. Publication Title
2. Date of Publication
3. Details on report
 - a. If in paper
 - i. page in news paper
 - ii. Under what section
 - b. If online
 - i. What section
 - ii. Number of hits or comments.
4. Length of report
 - a. Under 500 characters
 - b. 501 – 1,500
 - c. 1501 – 3000
 - d. 3,001+
5. Headline
6. Sources used / quoted
7. Topics covered
8. Genesis of Report
 - a. A case study
 - b. Legislation
 - c. Policy
 - d. Other
9. Language Used
 - a. Positive
 - b. Negative
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Descriptive / Commentary
 - e. Sensationalist
10. Organisation Mentioned
 - a. Government;
 - b. European Union;
 - c. Council of Europe;
 - d. UN;
 - e. Other international organisations;
 - f. Experts (academic, analysis, evaluators);
 - g. Criminal Justice;
 - h. Civil Society Organisation;
 - i. General Public / Member of Public;
 - j. Other.
11. What Frame is human trafficking placed in

- a. Human rights
- b. Security
- c. Prostitution
- d. Immigration
- e. Prosecution
- f. Other

12. Pictures used

Summary

APPENDIX 3. QUESTIONS POSED IN INTERVIEWS

1. QUESTIONS POSED TO JOURNALISTS

1. Why do you write about human trafficking?
2. Why should or shouldn't one write about human trafficking?
3. Where does inspiration to a human trafficking related story normally come from (for example from an official report / press release, report / press release by an NGO, own observations, other media, encounter with a victim of human trafficking)?
4. What does a good article on human trafficking include?
5. Have you ever experienced pressure to write about human trafficking in a certain way, for example from authorities, NGOs, private sector, victims or perpetrators?
6. What are the biggest obstacles when writing about human trafficking?
7. What should you definitely not do when writing about human trafficking?

2. QUESTIONS POSED TO VICTIM ASSISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS

1. If a representative of the media wants to interview a victim of human trafficking who is in your services / your client, do you relay the request to the client? (Usually these requests do not concern a named individual but, for example, a victim of sexual / labour etc. exploitation related human trafficking.)
2. Do you see any problems with a victim of human trafficking being interviewed in news media?
3. What are the possible positive sides to a victim's voice being heard in news media?

APPENDIX 4. ARTICLES USED IN CHAPTER 8 CASE STUDIES

	Articles used in the Itohan Okundaye case			
	Publication title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	Maailman Kuvalehti	Lapsena myyty – nigerialaisnaisen taistelu ihmiskauppaa vastaan	30.1.2018	https://www.maailmankuvalehti.fi/2018/pitkat/lapsena-myyty-nigerialaisnaisen-taistelu-ihmiskauppaa-vastaan
2	Keskisuomalainen	Jonain päivänä poliisi tulee ja häätää prostituutioon pakotetun Itohan Okundayen, 28, Suomesta – "Älkää lähtekö Eurooppaan", hän neuvoo kotimaansa naisia	30.1.2018	https://bit.ly/2H0fT6C
3	Kouvolan sanomat	Suomessa asuva nigerialaisnainen on ihmiskaupan uhri — Teinitytön matka Italiaan paremman elämän toivossa olikin vuosien painajainen prostituutina	30.1.2018	https://kouvolansanomat.fi/uutiset/lahella/b5328969-4738-4fad-94db-5dc526d7cc84
4	Anna (magazine)	Ihmiskaupan uhriksi 16-vuotiaana joutunut: "On ihme, että olen ylipäätään hengissä"	5.5.2018	https://anna.fi/ihmiset/ihmiskaupan-uhriksi-16-vuotiaana-joutunut-on-ihme-etta-olen-ylipaataan-hengissa
5	Yle uutiset	Pakkoprostituution uhri Itohan Okundaye joutuu lapsensa kanssa takaisin Italiaan – ihmiskaupan valvoja kyseenalaistaa Suomen viranomaisten palautuspäätökset	15.2.2019	https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10644696
6	Helsingin Sanomat	Pois kadulta	17.2.2019	https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000006003001.html
7	Kansan uutiset	Rohkea Itohan Okundaye – Ihmiskaupan ääni – Människohandelns röst	21.2.2019	https://blogit.kansan uutiset.fi/whole-lotta-love/rohkea-itohan-okundaye-ihmiskaupan-aani-manniskohandelns-rost
8	Turun sanomat	Adressi ihmiskaupan uhrin pakkopalauttamisen estämiseksi kerännyt yli 4 300 nimeä – vetoamus tarkoitus luovuttaa sisäministerille	25.2.2019	https://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/4494128/Adressi-ihmiskaupan-uhriin-pakkopalauttamisen-estamiseksi-kerannyt-yli-4-300-nime-a-vetoamus-tarkoitus-luovuttaa-sisaministerille

	Articles used in the Nepalese restaurant workers case			
	Publication title	Headline	Date published	Source
1	Helsingin Sanomat	Pitkä vuoro	30.3.2019	https://dynamic.hs.fi/2019/nepal/?_ga=2.199356456.783127790.1554634956-838806528.1554634956
2	Helsingin Sanomat	Sisäministeri Mykkänen kommentoi HS:n selvitystä nepalilaisravintoloiden työoloista: Hyväksikäyttö työmarkkinoilla uhkaa kasvaa Suomessa	30.3.2019	https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000006053693.html
3	Helsingin Sanomat	Nepalilaisravintoloissa paljastuneet väärinkäytökset herättivät kysymyksen: Voiko asiakas huomata työntekijöiden hyväksikäytön?	31.3.2019	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006054686.html
4	Helsingin Sanomat	HS kertoi laajasta hyväksikäytöstä nepalilaisissa ravintoloissa – Poliisin mukaan riiston torjunta on vaikeaa, koska resurssit ovat niukemmat kuin missään muualla EU:ssa	1.4.2019	https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000006055537.html

5	Helsingin uutiset	Ravintola syyttää Hesaria maineensa pilaamisesta: "On väärin leimata kaikkia nepalilaisia ravintoloita"	3.4.2019	https://www.helsingin uutiset.fi/artikkeli/759830-ravintola-syyttaa-hesaria-maineensa-pilaamisesta-on-vaarin-leimata-kaikkia
6	Helsingin Sanomat	Rikosuhripäivystys: Kymmenet nepalilaiset kokit ovat hakeneet apua HS:n artikkelin jälkeen – Jotkut ovat kertoneet parantuneista työoloista	24.4.2019	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006082541.html

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- ¹ Indeed *perceived*, although increasingly less so. See, for example: *Indicators of News Media Trust - A Gallup / Knight Foundation Survey* (2018). Knight Foundation 2018. https://kf-site-production.s3.amazonaws.com/media_elements/files/000/000/216/original/KnightFoundation_Panel4_Trust_Indicators_FI_NAL.pdf (accessed 13.5.2019); Reunanen, Esa (2019) Uutismedia verkossa 2018 - Reuters Institute Digital News Report Suomen maaraportti. Tampere: Viestintäalan tutkimussäätiö 2019. p. 11. https://www.medialiitto.fi/files/4495/Reuter_Digital_News_Report_Suomi_2018.pdf (Accessed 13.5.2019).
- ² Horsti, Karina (2005) *Vierauden rajat. Monikulttuurisuus ja turvapaikanhakijat journalismissa*. Tampere: Tampereen Yliopistopaino Oy, pp. 53-57 <https://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/67525/951-44-6423-0.pdf?sequence=1> (Accessed 12.5.)
- ³ Farrel and Fahy (2009) *The problem of human trafficking in the U.S.: Public frames and policy responses*. Journal of Criminal Justice 2009:37. p. 619
- ⁴ Sanford, R., Martinez, D. E., Weitzer, R. (2016) *Framing human trafficking: A content analysis of recent U.S. newspaper articles*. Journal of Human Trafficking 2016:2. p. 141
- ⁵
- ⁶ Farrel and Fahy (2009) p. 618
- ⁷ For example, Muraszkievicz, J., Georgiou, M., and Constantinou, A (2014) *Deliverable D1.2: Review of the media framing of human trafficking*. TRACE. p. 38 <http://lastradainternational.org/doc-center/3090/review-of-the-media-framing-of-human-trafficking> (Accessed 1.4.2019); Sanford, R., Martinez, D. E., Weitzer, R. (2016) *Framing human trafficking: A content analysis of recent U.S. newspaper articles*. Journal of Human Trafficking 2016(2), p. 153 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303703914_Framing_Human_Trafficking_A_Content_Analysis_of_Recent_US_Newspaper_Articles (Accessed 25.3.2019);
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- ¹² Hall, Stuart et al. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State, and Law and Order*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. p. 57
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- ²³ Ibid. 142
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- ⁶¹ Ibid.
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- ⁶³ Nieminen, Hannu & Pantti, Mervi (2012) *Media Markkinoilla - Johdatus joukkoviestintään ja sen tutkimukseen*. Tampere: Vastapaino. 3. painos. p. 170
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- ⁶⁵ Pietilä, A.P. (2018) *Uutismedian uudet polut - Mediaraportti: Selviääkö Suomen media? Media-alan tutkimussäätiö*. p. 11 [tps://www.mediaalantutkimussaatio.fi/wp-content/uploads/VTS_Uutismedian_uudet_polut_APP.pdf](https://www.mediaalantutkimussaatio.fi/wp-content/uploads/VTS_Uutismedian_uudet_polut_APP.pdf) (Accessed 4.5.2019)
- ⁶⁶ Nieminen, Hannu & Pantti, Mervi (2012) p. 171

- ⁶⁷ Kansallinen mediatutkimus: KMT 2018 lukijamäärät ja kokonaistavoittavuudet
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- ⁷⁰ Reunanen, Esa (2018) pp. 76 - 77
- ⁷¹ Nic Newman & David A. L. Levy (2014) p. 30.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid. 58 per cent of under 20-year-olds mainly utilized digital media, while 88 per cent of those over 50 years old said they mainly use traditional (print and tv) media.
- ⁷⁴ Reunanen, Esa (2018) p. 72
- ⁷⁵ Reunanen, Esa (2018) p. 76
- ⁷⁶ KMT 2018 lukijamäärät ja kokonaistavoittavuudet (2019); Iltä-Sanomat 1.3.2019. *KMT osoittaa: Iltä-Sanomat on Suomen suurin uutismedia*. Kotimaa. <https://www.is.fi/kotimaa/art-2000006018773.html> (Accessed 25.3.2019)
- ⁷⁷ Yle uutiset 27.1.2018. *Tutkimus: Yle on Suomen luotetuin uutismedia – sosiaaliseen mediaan ei luoteta*. Yle.
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- ⁷⁸ KMT 2018 lukijamäärät ja kokonaistavoittavuudet (2019).
- ⁷⁹ Weekly statistics of Finnish Websites (2018) TNX Finland. <http://tnsmatrix.tns-gallup.fi/public/> (Accessed 4.5.2019)
- ⁸⁰ The author contacted both media corporations but received not reply. Individual journalists promised to try and find out the figures, but also drew a blank. An internet search did not produce results, either.
- ⁸¹ *Human trafficking in Finland*, ihmiskauppa.fi;
http://www.ihmiskauppa.fi/en/human_trafficking/human_trafficking_in_finland (Accessed 11.5.2019)
- ⁸² Provisions on the assistance to the victims of human trafficking are given in chapter 4 of the Act on the reception of persons seeking international protection and on identifying and assisting victims of human trafficking (746/2011)
- ⁸³ Sanford, R., Martinez, D. E., Weitzer, R. (2016). p. 146
- ⁸⁴ Statistic by request from the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking.
- ⁸⁵ See Chapters 2 and 3
- ⁸⁶ See, for example *ibid.* p. 145
- ⁸⁷ Sanford, R., Martinez, D. E., Weitzer, R. (2016) p. 145
- ⁸⁸ See for example Helsingin Sanomat (1.3.2019) *Mies paritti kuutta naista ja pelasi satojatuhansia euroja kasinolla, oikeus määräsi vankeutta ihmiskaupasta ja parituksesta*. Kaupunki. <https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000006020086.html> (Accessed 5.5.2019)
- ⁸⁹ Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laiksi rikoslain muuttamisesta ja eräksi siihen liittyviksi laeiksi (HE 103/2014). p. 50
- ⁹⁰ Oikeudenkäynnin julkisuudesta yleisissä tuomioistuimissa annetun lain 25 §:n tarkoittama julkinen seloste käräjäoikeuden ratkaisusta muun muassa ihmiskaupaa koskevassa asiassa (21.3.2018) Varsinais-Suomen Käräjäoikeus. https://oikeus.fi/karajaoikeudet/varsinais-suomenkarajaoikeus/material/attachments/oikeus_karajaoikeudet_varsinais-suomenkarajaoikeus/vsko/kdQjeKaH1/21.3.2018_Julkinen_seloste_R17-988.pdf (Accessed 4.5.2019)
- ⁹¹ Syvänen, Salla (2018) p. 15
- ⁹² Gulati, Jeff (2010b) p. 22
- ⁹³ Sanford, R., Martinez, D. E., Weitzer, R. (2016) p. 146
- ⁹⁴ Lehdistötiedote - Ihmiskaupan uhrien auttamisjärjestelmän tilannekatsaus 2018 (17.1.2018), Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking (currently not available online); *Press release: Several victims of sex trafficking identified in Finland* (30.7.2018) Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking; Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking: Overview 1.1.2017 - 31.12.2017; Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking: Semiannual Review 1.1.2018 - 30.6.2018. All available at http://www.ihmiskauppa.fi/materiaalipankki/tilastot_ja_tilannekatsaukset (Accessed 25.3.2019); *Tiedotteet: Ihmiskaupan uhrien määrä lisääntynyt merkittävästi Rikosuhripäivystyksen palveluissa* (30.7.2018) Victim Support Finland.
<https://www.riku.fi/fi/tiedotteet/ihmiskaupan+uhrien+maara+lisaantynyt+merkittavasti+rikosuhripaivystyksen+palveluissa> (Accessed 25.3.2019)
- ⁹⁵ This group of people are often referred to as the paperless (paperittomat), even though the population of illegal residents in Finland is much more diverse and includes persons other than those who have once sought asylum.
- ⁹⁶ Huovinen, S. et al (LA 25/2018 vp) "Lakialoite laiksi kunnan velvollisuudesta järjestää eräitä terveydenhuollon palveluja eräille ulkomaalaisille ja laiksi rajat ylittävistä terveydenhuollosta annetun lain 20 §:n muuttamisesta", available at https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/Lakialoite/Documents/LA_25+2018.pdf (Accessed on 1.4.2019)
- ⁹⁷ The National Assistance System, including the author of this paper, has on numeral occasions requested journalists to refer to it as just the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking, as the Assistance System has several customers who are native Finns.
- ⁹⁸ In a conversation between the author of this paper and the expert interviewed for Victim Support Finland following the publication of these articles, the Victim Support Finland expert expressed disappointment at how she felt that words had been put in her mouth and how even a little mention about the paperless can be blown out of proportion.
- ⁹⁹ Syvänen, Salla (2018). p. 16
- ¹⁰⁰ Muraszkiwicz et al. (2014). p. 18

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.1

¹⁰² Syvänen, Salla (2018) p. 16

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 16

¹⁰⁴ See, for example: Helsingin Sanomat (18.10.2018) *Elokuva suomalaisnaisen kaappauksesta Tunisiassa jättää katsojalle liikaa kysymyksiä – Haastattelukohtauksetkin näyttävät kuulusteluilta*. Kulttuuri. available at <https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000005868478.html> (4.4.2019)

¹⁰⁵ Dennis, J. P (2008), *Women are Victims, Men Make Choices: The Invisibility of Men and Boys in the Global Sex Trade*. Gender Issues 25, pp. 11–25

¹⁰⁶ As shown by a quick review of the source articles on www.bbc.com, www.reuters.com and www.cnn.com. It was noted that headlines were not direct translations of the originals.

¹⁰⁷ www.bbc.com; www.cnn.com; www.reuters.com; www.theguardian.com searched with terms “human trafficking” and “modern slavery” and limited to articles published in 2018.

¹⁰⁸ *Ihmiskauppa – ilmiöstä, tunnistamisesta ja uhrien kohtaamisesta* (2018) Study module for the police, Ihmiskaupan uhrien auttamisjärjestelmä / IHME-hanke (Available only through the Assistance System / Moodle)

¹⁰⁹ Syvänen, Salla (2018). p. 18

¹¹⁰ Interview with the Assistance System for Victims of Human Trafficking and with NGOs Victim Support Finland, Pro Tukipiste and Monika-Naiset Liitto on 24. and 25.4.2019.