

**THE STORY
OF FINLAND, AS
NARRATED BY TWO
WEEKLIES:
THE LONG NARRATIVES
OF *SUOMEN KUVALEHTI*
AND *APU***

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Abstract

Over 100 years, two magazines have reported about Finland to Finns. However, their focus and working tools have been different. One has tried to catch the gaze of the educated few, while the other has focussed on the whole family. During various social turns, one has better caught the public gaze and the other has been less successful – but during the following decade, the roles have changed. The eternal problem for both is the question of topicality.

Keywords: Magazine, Finland, History, Inclusion, Exclusion

Finland has a long tradition of weekly journals. Weeklies have advised Finns on occupational as well as religious matters. Reading circles have expanded their readership beyond subscriptions. One indication of the institutional role of weeklies is that even today, 74% of popular magazines are based on subscriptions; bookstand acquisitions mainly concern specialised magazines and crossword journals. Circulation figures of magazines have gone down during the past two to three decades, but the magazine field still represents one-fifth of the media industry¹.

Two popular magazines have kept company with the Finns through the country's independence struggle, three wars and three deep recessions. However, their methods of catching the public gaze have varied.

Suomen Kuvalehti (Finland Pictorial, est. 1916) was established by a well-known publisher willing to bring to the country the then-fashionable European picture journal format. Right from its establishment, it has been a journal for the educated well-to-do in towns as well as in the countryside.

The start of *Apu* (Help, est. 1933) is markedly different. It was established by a newcomer in the field in the middle of the deep recession of the 1930s and sold in the streets of Helsinki by the unemployed, who shouted, "Help the helpless!" It was a pulp magazine, composed of crime stories, romances, exotic narratives and games. However, it also was one of the first entertainment journals attempting to catch the attention of the mixed urban population, not only people with esteem and wealth.

Up to the 1950s, practically the only feature these magazines shared were cover policies in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s:

both frequently used pictures of American film stars, pictures of mothers and children, as well as pictures linked to nature and the four seasons in their covers.

In the 1960s, the magazines started to report similar topics, thus entering the same market. *Suomen Kuvalehti* lost its *primus inter pares* status, appearing conservative and careful, while *Apu* developed into a family journal. Today, the size of their readerships² is on the same level, with 305,000 for *Apu* (2022) and 308,000 for *Suomen Kuvalehti* (2022). Both are subscription-based.

Both magazines have been able to survive through the capricious magazine gap in Finland. In this article, I try to analyse how they have done it; in short, how they have throughout history exercised inclusion and exclusion elements in their work. According to my understanding, this is possible in a small country only through catching the code of Finnishness.

Literature frame

This study analysed 644 issues with 10-year intervals from 1916–2020.³ The method is a crude frame analysis, combining quantitative and qualitative elements and paying special attention to cover policies, inclusion/exclusion mechanisms and dominant narratives – to put it simply, how the magazines have been able to reach to their publics via relevant content choices and focus.

Covers have special status in this study. Mehita Iqani (2012) talks about the perception of the *public gaze* and, via it, power in the Foucauldian sense – when members of the public meet magazine covers at newsstands. More concretely, Carla Rodrigues Cardoso (2010, pp. 584–586) emphasises that *the*

1 Statistics Finland: Media statistics (2022) https://pxdata.stat.fi/PxWeb/pxweb/en/StatFin/StatFin_jvie/statfin_jvie_pxt_12a8.px/

2 Today, media in Finland announce exact circulation figures only to advertisers; they talk about readerships, which also include visiting web versions.

3 A total of 432 issues of *Suomen Kuvalehti* and 212 issues of *Apu* were analysed. Both magazines are available online.

cover communicates via its denotative and connotative messages (pictures and text layouts), via its link to the story inside and via elements left untold. However, in the Finnish system with subscription-based magazines, the role of covers is not as strong as in, say, the British system.

Besides the above magazine-specific sources, the analysis is based on Michael Billig's (1995) concept of *banal nationalism*. Billig's classic book turns the attention of nationalism scholars to the everyday discourses in which nationalism is reproduced. People do not forget their nationality when they are continually reminded of it. Natalie Koch and Antti Paasi (2016, p. 3) phrase it as follows:

While there are major differences in the intensity of how the "nation" is performed and mobilised, in practically all national contexts, people read national newspapers, watch national TV news and their weather forecast maps, and adapt to the peculiarities of national curricula in schools. Respectively, individuals learn about national territories and their borders, national identities, wars, and noteworthy "national heroes" from national history.

Billig (2023) recently elaborated on his concept of everyday nationalism, suggesting that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are historically entangled. He remarks that the period of globalisation coincided with the formation of nation-states, highlighting the national nature of globalisation. In my thinking, elements of banal nationalism definitely strengthen the analysis of inclusionary and exclusionary elements in media content.

Another dimension of the analysis is *media-constructed reality*. Jan Ekecrantz and Tom Olsson (1994, e.g. pp. 21-28) discuss this phenomenon in their study of the "editing history" of Swedish newspapers in the twentieth century, moving from a "non-edited society" to a "referring society" of expert

statements mediated by the media. According to them, a "discussion society" existed shortly in the 1960s, creating a space for democratic debate. However, it was soon replaced by an "edited society" with fixed media power – the media carry power to construct the frames of public society.

Vaia Doudaki, Nico Carpentier and Michal Glowacki (2022) take a different stand to media constructed reality. They note that media is "only one of the spheres in which change is addressed, reflected and given visibility, represented and co-constructed" (p. 7), but they admit that media and communication function as battlefields involving preferred understandings and interpretations of change. *Mediation of change and changing media are interwoven*.

The normative vision of *journalism's civic purpose is inclusive*. However, as Rodney Benson (2020, p. 93) states, exclusion is produced in different ways: economic and cultural. Advertisers do not want to reach everybody but only members of the public with enough income to buy products. Cultural exclusion takes place in publications freely available but only attracting the interest of those with economic and cultural resources. Media outlets also contribute to cultural exclusion when they adopt formats that are designed to attract upscale audiences, thus sending an implicit "not welcome" message to everyone else (Benson, 2020, pp. 98-101).

One pillar in my analysis is Göran Bolin's (2016) notion of *media generations and subjective media landscapes*. Based on Karl Mannheim's (1928/1952) and Henri Lefebvre's (1992/2004) thoughts, Bolin (2016) elaborated on *we-sense*, which is created by "waves of generations" in media landscapes. The *we-sense* is more easily expressed by older respondents, who have elaborated on their generational identity through remembrances: stories told to grandchildren and former classmates in class reunions and other occasions when people born around the same time congregate.

Bolin (2016) talked about generations as media users, while my work focuses on media content's ability to attract media users. However, there is a link. All journalistic products aim at inclusiveness, but their ability to do so depends on the ability to create a feeling of we-sense among receiver cohorts.

Problem-setting and method

With these admittedly scattered theoretical considerations, I try to catch elements of inclusion/exclusion and social change as they have been expressed in the two magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Apu* over time. How have the two weeklies reminded readers of "being a Finn"? Throughout the decades, *Suomen Kuvalehti* has focused on well-to-do, predominantly male readers, while *Apu* has had a far wider lens: people in the streets, their family members and friends, grandmothers and children.

The past 100-year period has brought several radical and dramatic changes in Finnish society (e.g. Ylikangas, 1986). How have the two magazines been able to reflect on them? Assumingly, both magazines in principle aim at including as large a group as possible as their readers, especially because both – being subscription-based – prefer long-standing reader contacts.

My research question is as follows:

What kind of Finnish reality have the two magazines constructed in their aim to create a we-sense among their readers?

Based on sample material every tenth year, I try to detect changes in the journalistic history of the two magazines. The analysis is determined to remain crude because as many as

644 issues of the magazines have been studied.⁴ The following aspects of each issue in the sample have been analysed:

- topics, actors and indicators of power;
- focus;
- journalistic style, angle and concept of time;
- cover policy⁵ and photojournalistic approach;
- receiver addressing;
- dominant/hidden phenomena and weak signals (if found).

Thus, a crude quantitative content analysis is used for the coverage of the three first points, while the rest are analysed with qualitative methods. Ekecrantz and Olsson (1994) defined changing journalistic practices based on descriptions of events and time (pp. 140-148). The objective is to form a brief description of the journalistic frame for the year concerned based on the analysis of 16-34 issues per each sample year⁶.

Categories for *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Apu* text analysis (filled for each text in issues included in the sample) as well as picture analysis are listed in Appendix A. In the following section, I describe the decade of 1910 in more detail. In the analysis, all decades are treated in the same manner.

1910s: Disaster; culprits outsourced

In addition to World War I, Finland has its own turmoil. In December 1917, the country declares independence from Russia. However, a civil war between the "white" bourgeois forces and the "red" working class breaks out only a few months later. Besides the Russian revolution, a key factor in the conflict is the scarcity of foodstuff (Haapala, 1995; Ylikangas, 1986, pp. 161–172).

4 The data analysis has been carried out by me, Ira Holmqvist, Alma Lüttge and Inka Tommila.

5 All covers of the sample year are included, not only the analysed issues.

6 In the analysis, it became clear that for a more specific reporting of changes, it would have been better to select fewer issues per year and to reduce the intervals to five years.

Suomen Kuvalehti is the only topicality-oriented magazine that reports on these events. This fact is reflected in its fast-rising circulation figures.

The independence declaration in December 1917 receives extremely modest attention – one picture and caption – by the magazine.

Only 38 issues came out because of the civil war in January-May 1918, and in five spring issues, practically nothing else but reports about the war are published. The magazine's first editor – a young white idealist – is shot during the war. Besides the "white general" Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, he is the only war victim who is personalised. Most texts refer to "troops" or "groups".

At the end of 1918, state organs discuss establishing a monarchy in the country. The magazine presents a cavalcade of German princes as candidates for the throne. After a few months, the plan is buried, and the country becomes a republic. The magazine keenly follows activities for strengthening administration. Party politics are avoided.

Throughout the civil war period, reporting remains reserved. Harsh language is used for the reds but not systematically. At the end of the year, the tone of reporting calms down, although portraits of fallen white soldiers receive attention. The focus in foreign reporting is on Germany and, to a certain extent, on Karelia, the Finnish-speaking region in Russian territory.

On covers, patriotic themes are frequent: two-thirds of 1918 covers present men in uniforms, General Mannerheim, artillery, national dresses and flags. However, German nobility and American film stars also have their share. A barbarous cover shows a young white woman – her body wrapped with rounds of ammunition clips. Thus, on the white side, women

activists are praised, while the morals of red women are repeatedly questioned.

The reporting – with some exceptions – tends to be rigid but reserved, lacking emotional flavour. Every issue includes jokes, crosswords and competitions for the readers.

Summary: The material provides support to Benson (2020). The magazine excludes readers who sympathise with the reds but does not advocate conflict, either. With repeated references to Karelia, the borders are extended to the region. Banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) is here extended to cover also the Russian Karelia.

However, the most interesting element is the fact that both extreme hate and extreme respect are "outsourced". The culprit for demagoguery and warfare is not the Finnish working class but the Russian forces existing in the country, while the biggest heroes – besides General Mannerheim – are German troops arriving in the country in April 1918. The country recovers surprisingly quickly from tragic civil war experiences. Now, independence receives appreciation among the white-collar groups in society, and state-building is emphasised. It is easier to do so when the core reasons for the conflict are placed outside. *Suomen Kuvalehti* reflects popular attitudes among state-builder activists in society. Party-based differences are not given attention.

Interestingly, attitudes towards red women are considerably harder than towards red men. In this way, the magazine reflects dominant contradictory perceptions about a woman's role in society, especially among the bourgeoisie. Women received suffrage in 1906 in Finland, the first country in Europe to do so, and women did function in various public organs. However, conservative attitudes about women's place in society are strong in many groups (Julkunen, 2010).

1920s: Optimism, Karelia, trust on technology	
<p>Society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural country • Establishment of public institutions, seeking International acceptance • Soothing political contradictions • Hundred of prisoner camps • Minister of Interior shot in the street • Prohibition laws accepted • Interest in modernity, technology (cars, airplanes, ships) 	<p>Magazine(s):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Suomen Kuvalehti</i>: Building nation • No discussion on politics, attention to history and state-building, high culture • Topicality via pictures (not many) • Reporting style solemn • Karelia: poor, backwards, but common roots, no mention about Karelia's political instability • New technology: cars, airplanes, household equipment • Stories of 1918 heroes • <i>Covers</i>: Agricultural, religious symbols, men in uniforms, American film stars

Fig.1 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1920s.

Summary: The magazines' tone in the year 1922 is dramatically different from 1917-18. It is optimistic and forward-looking. Topicality is brought in via the increased use of pictures. The reporting style is solemn and stale. Domestic high culture, classic music and theatre are covered frequently. Stories of fallen heroes appear in the magazine, but the focus is on state-building, Karelia and new technology. Under the state-building theme, the parliament and activities of ministers and ministries are reported. Political parties are rarely mentioned, so there is no discussion about political conflicts.

In Karelia, there is a succession of unsuccessful political uprisings, but *Suomen Kuvalehti* emphasises its Finnish roots. Karelia is poor and backwards, but folk culture is described in a romantic light.

A strong feature is the fascination with modernisation and its symbols: railways, cars, aeroplanes and agricultural equipment. The magazine publishes several special issues linked to these areas, and the United States is described as a country promoting such wonders.

The increased volume of poems, short stories, causeries, sport reports, jokes and competitions undoubtedly aim at expanding the scope of readers to new groups. Most texts – and large articles – are signed with pseudonyms⁷.

The cover policy respects seasons and the cycle of yearly activities in agriculture and religion, especially around Christmas, Easter and religious holidays. The concept of time is distinctly fixed with the calendar. American film stars have a large share of cover themes.

⁷ Pseudonym journalism had a long tradition in Finnish media, starting from the eighteenth century. Both professional writers and members of the public have reported and debated about public matters under pseudonyms (Kuismin, 2018).

1930s: Decade of deep divisions

Society:

- First part of decade: deep recession, second part better economically
- Multiple right-wing unrests (worst in 1932); groups support military activity in Karelia
- Politics, science and high culture focus on Germany, popular culture on US
- Decade end: Soviet Union starts war against Finland (Winter War 90 days), Finland loses large parts of its territory
- Division of whites and reds disappear, nation unified in the war

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: Political agenda-setting
- Limited coverage of political unrests
- Karelia's connection to right-wing activism often goes unmentioned
- Depression as social problem
- International focus: Germany, exotic places, Finns travelling abroad
- Covers: American film stars, Finnish high culture performers
- *Apu* (starts, 1933): Pulp magazine: romances & adventures, religion and children
- Urban focus, whole family
- Column on topicalities
- Covers: American film stars, illustrations

Fig.2 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1930s.

Summary: The two magazines speak to two different audiences, one to the middle class and the other to blue-collar worker homes in towns. *Suomen Kuvalehti* deliberately undermines the right-wing turmoil of the 1930s and political activities in general, emphasising state-building and formal leaders. The question of Karelia is central for the right-wing movement, which wants to extend the Finnish borders to include Karelia, a Russian region with Finnish cultural heritage. The continuous promotion of Karelia in the magazine hints at a need to gain political control over Karelia, although the issue is not explicitly expressed; thus, references to banal nationalism are made (Billig, 1995).

Although *Apu's* topical coverage is minimal, it mentions local unrest as frequently as *Suomen Kuvalehti* does. For *Suomen Kuvalehti*, high culture phenomena – theatre, classic music and sciences – are important, as well as modernity, cars and

gadgets. The basic tone is parallel with the programme service offered by the public radio, starting in the 1930s. On the other hand, the entertainment bias of *Apu* reflects the cinema and popular music leaning towards American-origin products popular in towns. *Suomen Kuvalehti* covers this sphere only in its cover policy with American film stars. *Apu's* romance and adventure material indicates the publisher's anticipation of the public's interest in exotism – and *Apu's* rapidly growing popularity shows that the anticipation has been right. With *Apu's* poorly translated stories, magazine readers become acquainted with the narrative mode.

High culture and political interests lean towards Germany, while entertainment and advertising search for exotic places or the United States. The popularity of American culture applies particularly to younger generations (Aapola & Kaarninen, 2003).

Marked changes in *Suomen Kuvalehti*'s reporting are a turn towards people instead of buildings, individuals with exceptional qualities, and Finns in distant places. The magazine uses plentiful pictures in covers and in stories to make narratives topical, but the reporting style remains solemn. In *Apu*, journalistic changes in covers and stories are multiple and sudden, and there is no journalistic policy in reporting.

In addition to American film stars frequenting covers of both magazines, they have light filler material in common: crossword puzzles, competitions for readers and jokes. Fillers tend to cover 20-25% of the volume. *Apu* has more intense contact with its readers than *Suomen Kuvalehti*.

In 1932, *Suomen Kuvalehti* introduces feature themes that are still frequent in Finnish magazine journalism. Exotic places receive coverage, and if Finns visit such places, the volume of the story extends. Excursions of a Finnish adventurer pilot in Asia and North America are applauded in 11 issues, and he is selected to be on the cover twice. Another feature repeating in the coverage is beauty contests arranged all over the country.⁸ Personality orientation also emerges in stories of economy men of note; a decade prior, the emphasis in economy articles was on buildings and equipment. However, personality portraits remain formal and solemn, even when reporting the wedding of a great sportsman, Paavo Nurmi.

Apu's visual policy is capricious. Many narratives are visualised with illustrations. Some pictures cover surprising themes, such as the Ku-Klux-Klan and British ministers.

Apu focuses on both women and men. Its coverage only rarely links to rural living, although covers present sowing in the spring and harvesting in the fall. Furthermore, references to religion appear in covers around Christmas and Easter. Two-thirds of the covers present American film stars, mainly women. The themes for the rest are pictures of children, smiling women and drawn illustrations of urban sceneries. Each cover carries the text "Buy *Apu*. Help jobless people". Jobless people sell the magazine in the streets of Helsinki and in some other towns. The jobless receive 50 percent of the price.

8 In 1929, the magazine was among the organisers of the Miss Finland competition, which also included skull measurements. In the 1920s and 1930s, claims about Finns belonging to the mongoloid race were made in public – and denied. In 1934, the first Finnish Miss Europe was selected, and she received wide publicity also in *Suomen Kuvalehti*.

1940s: War and recovery, war reparations and resettlement of 320 000 Karelians

Society:

- Decade labelled with war and recovery, but also new type of sharing power
- Society still strongly agriculture oriented
- Finno-Soviet "Friendship Treaty" 1948
- Industry develops, partly due to heavy war reparations to Soviet Union
- Huge public task: resettlement of 320 000 Karelian evacuees from the areas in eastern Finland lost in the war
- Entertainment popular but heavily taxed (music, journals, books, dances)

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: Cultural management
- Propagates tolerance and hard work to soldiers and home front
- War descriptions rare
- Role of women stressed in reporting
- Covers: Men in uniforms, idyllic rural scenarios, women and children, humour
- *Apu* and *Pulp* magazine: adventures, romances, almost nothing about the war
- *Apu* does not come out 1945-46 due to newsprint rationing
- Covers: American film stars

Fig.3 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1940s.

Summary: The Continuation War (Finnish WWII), ending in September 1944, is said to mean the end of the First Republic, dominated by the bourgeois realm (Ylikangas, 1986, pp. 199-206). The 1940s is a decade of war and recovery from war but also of a new type of sharing power. A huge task is the resettlement of 320,000 Karelian evacuees. "Pure" entertainment is forbidden after the war and later heavily taxed but extremely popular.

In the 1940s, newsprint rationing is heavy. *Apu* does not come out for two years. In 1948, *Apu* and a few other journals are moved from the entertainment category, thanks to support of the Social Democratic Party (Malmberg, 1991, pp. 110-115).

The two magazines have different agendas, but both seem to anticipate certain trends in the nation. People are tired and want pleasure, escape and fun. Both magazines offer elements of this, especially in the pages of games, jokes and crossword puzzles. The political arena of *Suomen Kuvalehti* is in accordance with those in power. There is very little debate about the dominant political line of the country but, interestingly, plans to reform the school system create pros and cons. The focus turns strongly to agriculture and farming,

especially farming women. The magazine is, as in the 1930s, concerned about the Finnish language⁹. A columnist getting considerable attention with his texts writes under the pseudonym Pekka Peitsi and gives his views about domestic and international matters. The man behind the pseudonym is Urho Kekkonen, a young right-wing politician at the time and later the Finnish president¹⁰.

The language used about the enemy in *Suomen Kuvalehti* is rude, but the home front is often romanticised. In particular, the role of Finnish women is emphasised. However, stories about individuals – men or women, on the front or at home – are rare. People are described as representatives of groups. Such "classic" values refer to Bolin's (2016) argumentation.

Apu is anarchistic in its short utterances of political substance. Its call for leisure and fun is far stronger – and this is the main reason for the lack of newsprint. *Apu* is not "serious" enough in the eyes of those in power. However, based on research on war and postwar mental atmosphere, *Apu*'s simple and often banal content seems to match the dominant tones in society (e.g. Pilke, 2009; Pilke, 2016; Pylkkänen, 1987).

9 In the 1920s and 1930s, there were conflicts between the Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority commanding, for example, the language used in university teaching.

10 Pekka Peitsi/Urho Kekkonen radically changes his view about the war in 1944, suggesting hope for peace negotiations.

1950s: Opening out, Olympics and welfare state emergence

Society:

- Agricultural country, industries grow fast
- Urho Kekkonen president 1956
- Resettlement of Karelians and war veterans
- Social unrests: general strike in 1956
- Emigration from rural areas to towns and Sweden
- Outside world opens: key event Helsinki Olympics 1952
- Finnish Miss Universe Armi Kuusela
- Finnish design & architecture collect reputation
- Coca-Cola, rock & roll, Donald Duck, Reader's Digest
- Entertainment popular, heavily taxed

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: Branding nation
- More pictures, "own" stories from different parts of the country, prime minister columnist under pseudonym
- Public planning (education, health, youth), no discussion or debate
- Olympics a 1952 full-year theme (pre, post)
- No attention to Karelians and war veterans
- Covers: Olympics, national names, public figures, events
- *Apu*: Mainly pulp magazine, some domestic scandals: reported .
- 5-7 short stories per issue, leisure pages for grown-ups and children
- Covers: Young women, Olympics, harvesting, skiing, Lapland

Fig.4 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1950s.

Summary: Social changes in the country are deep and create unrest. The two magazines reflect mainly superficial changes, above all, to opening out with the Olympics (*Suomen Kuvalehti*) or domestic "tabloid events" (*Apu*). The resettlement of Karelians and war veterans is widely covered by the daily press, but the two magazines hardly mention them. Journalistically, *Suomen Kuvalehti* makes delicate steps forward via stories about 'new' elements (foreigners, Coca Cola, young volunteers helping in the Olympics), while *Apu* is still journalistically inconsistent, focusing mainly on foreign-origin exotic adventures, but also mentioning details about the Olympics as well as girls in national costumes. It collects attention with risky tricks by its journalists. *Suomen Kuvalehti* ensures its authority with columns by Prime Minister (later President) Kekkonen; in addition, other dignitaries appear as columnists and interviewees.

Suomen Kuvalehti still has problems with its slow printing, which results in missing topical coverage of the Olympics. *Apu* catches events more quickly but is not very interested in the Olympics. For a small, isolated country in the margins of Europe, just recovering from WWII, the Olympics meant a real mental re-orientation. Through the Olympics, Finland opened up for trends in Europe

Entertainment-oriented journals, such as *Apu*, must pay extra taxes throughout the decade because leisure culture is not officially favoured. However, a variety of family magazines emerge and their circulations remain between 70,000 and 80,000 copies. *Apu's* circulation starts growing towards the end of the decade (Malmberg, 1991, pp. 145-149).

1960s: Period of transition, old values shaking

Society:

- Radical social changes: urbanisation, industrialisation, consumerism, movement to towns and Sweden (60 000-70 000)
- Value contradictions, especially between generations, debate about women priests starts
- Windows open to Europe
- Mass tourism, trips to Canary Islands
- Changes in mediascape: television as mass medium, music radio, scandal journals

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: *Cultural management*
- Conservative, wide scope from politics to beauty competitions, irony used frequently, cinema as culture
- *Covers*: Artistic profiles of celebrities
- *Apu*: *Cultural management*: Reformed family journal, combination of entertainment and high culture
- Topicalities, trips to exotic places, adventure with own airplane to New Guinea with experts, question/answer columns, entertainment for old and young
- Version of *Apu* for Finns in Sweden (2 years)
- *Covers*: Young women, illustrations

Fig.5 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1960s.

Summary: The 1960s is the grand decade of the magazine press in Finland. New titles emerge and old ones disappear. Tabloids gain popularity, scandal magazine *Hymy* reaches a circulation of 500,000 and free-of-charge city papers emerge. Topicality is the key word in journalistic work. Links to television – themes and popular figures – are multiple.

In the fast-moving value carousel, both magazines represent continuity and flexibility. *Suomen Kuvalehti* tries hard, but drops out, and somehow its traditional leaning – high culture and serious social planning – does not touch the generation cord, although new elements like modern layout and interviews of popular cultural groups are included. The basic tone of the magazine remains as slightly elitist and conservative. The audience does not seem to accept its attempts to reform. When *Apu* changes the editorial course from entertainment to more “serious” and topical elements, it reached its audience. *Apu* has confirmed its ties with the audience in multiple ways.

Suomen Kuvalehti is assessed conservative, especially among younger generations; its nickname is “Kuivalehti” (dry journal). The magazine’s policy changes slowly, especially concerning domestic cultural radicals (Vares, 2016, pp. 252-264). It shows off its close relationship with power holders, especially with the president who – for the third time now – starts (1966) to write articles under the pseudonym Liimatainen.

Apu is the leading popular magazine in the 1960s. Competition is harsh, but the magazine plays high stakes. It turns 30 years in 1962, and the publisher sends a copy to every Finnish home. Further, the editor wants to uplift the editorial profile by establishing a discussion group of artists, writers and scientists.¹¹ An example of the company’s wild policy is its special issue for Finns in Sweden, published for two years. However, *Suomen Kuvalehti* also pays attention to the large – 250,000 – Finnish population in Sweden, but it talks about these Finns, not to them. The magazine describes several times the living and work conditions of the Finns in Sweden, while *Apu* tells Swedish-Finns about Finland, the old homeland.

11 “Lohisoppakerho” (Salmon soup society). Parts of its discussions are published in the magazine. In the 1950s, a group of young cultural dissidents received attention with their two books (Pidot tornissa, A party at Torni hotel I-II) about the state of Finnish cultural life. Lohisoppakerho was an attempt to use the same method a decade later, but the ripe time was gone.

1970s: International cooperation, political contradictions

Society:

- Urho Kekkonen's presidency continues, political parties split and new ones emerge
- Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe in Helsinki 1975
- Finland joins EEC free trade treaty
- Oil crises affects economy
- New basic school system
- Radical leftist movements, greens, alternative culture
- Rock festivals, youth culture
- Scandal papers

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: *Building society*: Social planning
- Coverage of contradictions
- Culture, film, TV, gossip columns
- *Covers*: Well-known individuals (men), tabloid-style composition
- *Apu*: *Branding society*: Rapid change toward tabloidism when circulation drops
- Topicality (accidents, oddities), exotic places and events
- TV celebrities, sportsmen, gossip columns
- *Covers*: Mishmash covers (events, personalities), tabloid style layout

Fig.6 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1970s.

Summary: The magazinescape changes rapidly in Finland. Journals merge, some are dropped and some adapt to the challenges of topicality, tabloidism and television culture. In short, the publicity culture changes (Saarenmaa, 2010). For *Apu*, this development fits better, but it has many competitors with similar agendas. *Apu* drops its attempt at a high-brow profile from the 1960s. It grabs topicality and small scandals, accidents and personality drama.

During this decade, *Suomen Kuvalehti* gets its broad scope back. It often offers cynical comments on the same issues *Apu* has reported about two to three weeks after *Apu*. It no longer avoids contradictions and provides duels of experts on social planning, habitation, agricultural policies, alcohol policies and development activity. The magazine strongly opposes ultra-leftism.

The 1970s is the golden age of gossip in Finnish magazine journalism. *Apu* has an excellent gossip journalist, Mara Hari. *Suomen Kuvalehti* goes along with its own, often cynical gossip columns.

In sum, the two magazines now operate in the same field but in different positions. *Apu* appears to overdo its focus on immediate presence, while *Suomen Kuvalehti* tries to give a deeper view of what is happening in society. Reporting styles differ but not as much as earlier. *Suomen Kuvalehti* has given up its slightly exalted reporting, while *Apu's* reporting approaches the style used by tabloids and scandal papers.

1980s: Wealth, international contacts, multiplicity of media

Society:

- National economy grows
- Urho Kekkonen (Center) leaves presidency, Mauno Koivisto (Social Democrat) steps in
- Finland joins western international organisations
- Green movement develops into party
- Lutheran church accepts women priests (heated debate)
- More TV channels, foreign media ownership, heavy competition
- Home video popular

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: Branding society. Conservative editorials, choice of interviewees
- Multitude of foreign material (analytical and light)
- New president frequently covered, wife SK former columnist
- 35-40% of content question/answer columns, frequent 'offers' to readers (trips, visits, posters)
- Covers: 23% Mauno Koivisto & family, events, Falklands and Soviet leaders
- *Apu*: Branding society: Standardised format, TV celebrities, ordinary people's interviews
- Gossip columns
- Covers: President & family, TV celebrities, sportsmen

Fig.7 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1980s.

Summary: The contents of the two magazines differ again during the 1980s, but one element joins them: the presidency. Urho Kekkonen retires after 26 years, and Social Democrat Mauno Koivisto starts. The magazine publicity around this change is oversized and personalised, extending to Koivisto's wife and daughter. Particularly, at the start of the presidency, they receive celebrity treatment. Urho Kekkonen (called UKK) held the presidency for 26 years and developed an interesting profile of authority mixed with 'ordinary people's man'. Especially during the election campaign, the popularity of family Koivisto resembles more the popularity of beauty queens, musicians and sportsmen.

In the 1980s, Miss Finland contests are popular in the magazinescape. *Apu* follows selected beauty queens for years, placing them on its covers.

The mediascape is strongly mainstreamed. This process particularly affects *Apu*. Its format leads to question/answer

services in health, psychology, pets, culture, paper dolls, etc. (Numminen, 2003). *Apu* starts to arrange trips abroad with its journalists as guides. Its dependency on TV celebrities is strong, but interviews with "ordinary" people are also frequent on the pages. Still, circulation figures are on the downside.

Suomen Kuvalehti recovers gradually from its outsider role of the 1970s; the strong political controversies in the country lead it to take a stand and it does so, strongly opposing the ultra-left groups in particular. It keeps an eye on the school reform that enters in stages, starting from northern Finland. The magazine is concerned about the Finnish economy and devotes much attention to trade with the Soviet Union.

The focus of both magazines is similar concerning foreign countries: the Soviet Union – trade and leaders – and the Falkland war, which, in Finland, gets interestingly referenced to the Finnish Winter war. Journalistically, both magazines repeat their standardised formats, *Apu* to a further extent.

1990s: Turning to the West

Society:

- Martti Ahtisaari starts as president
- Post-industrial service society
- Deepest depression in the country's history
- Finno-Soviet Friendship Treaty collapses
- Finland joins EU (1995) after referendum
- New technology (Nokia, internet)
- Mediahouses start operating in all Nordic countries
- International media ownership and International material in media increase considerably

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: *Building society*: Topicality (columns on actual issues), top/down
- International emphasis on Soviet Union/Russia
- Special issues on sports, nature, events
- *Covers*: Colour, event orientation, middle-aged men in focus
- *Apu*: *Building society*: Light tabloid material, also political events, not much international
- Decrease of service columns, jokes and games plentiful, packed format
- *Covers*: Tabloid style, several pictures in one cover (domestic, foreign Individuals), colourful (red & yellow)

Fig.8 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 1990s.

Summary: The media market expands to and from the Nordic countries, but the studied magazines focus on the domestic market; more than three-fourths of larger stories in both deal with Finland – a change from the 1980s. Domestic economy and particularly depression are reflected in their content. In *Suomen Kuvalehti*, experts discuss and debate the economy. In *Apu*, some experts are interviewed, but stories about depression as “ordinary” people’s experience are plentiful. President Ahtisaari’s regional trips are covered by *Apu*.

Another repeated theme is the Soviet Union/Russia. As seen previously, rapid changes in the big neighbour country create concern in Finnish media. *Suomen Kuvalehti* reports regularly about the Soviet/Russian leadership changes and the question of Crimea, while *Apu* focuses more on topicalities in the neighbouring country.

A detail for both is the multitude of columns, small topical features and picture spreads. An overall tendency in both magazines is topicality. Both try to catch up with daily media. *Suomen Kuvalehti* publishes special issues on nature and sports, while *Apu* offers its readers posters.

Apu regularly selects a group of “its” celebrities from television, music, sports and beauty contests. *Apu* also fills its covers with these celebrities, domestic and foreign, while *Suomen Kuvalehti* prefers middle-aged male experts on its covers.

At the end of the decade, both magazines focus on the campaign for Finnish membership in the European Union and the campaign proceeding the referendum in October 1994; the result is tight. Again, the emphasis is different: *Suomen Kuvalehti* trusts experts, and *Apu* asks the public.

2000s: EU-Finland, environment worries, from emigration to immigration

Society:

- First woman president Tarja Halonen
- Finland joins euro currency group
- Deep finance crisis 2008
- Environment become politics and part of everyday life
- Mass shootings, 2 in schools, 1 in shoppingcentre
- Internet and mobile phone in every household
- Number of immigrants grows considerably

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: *Branding society*: Topicality (scandals, accidents, political changes)
- Reporting style respectful but top/down
- Concern about shootings create, no attention to immigration
- *Covers*: Tabloid-style, 2-4 pictures, banderols
- *Apu*: *Branding society*: Strong tabloid flavour, scandals, sport heroes, TV celebrities, foreign royals
- Alarm about shootings, immigration not reported
- Service pages fewer, format packaged
- *Covers*: Colour, domestic celebrities, Swedish royals

Fig.9 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 2000s.

Summary: President Halonen receives attention. However, her publicity is smaller than that of previous presidents. She gets more publicity in *Apu* than in *Suomen Kuvalehti*. The environment gains attention, and *Suomen Kuvalehti* presents contradictory views about environmental issues. The mass shootings get attention and create a wide discussion about societal problems in both. *Apu* focuses more on individuals. Interestingly, growing immigration figures receive marginal attention, and the financial crisis receives far less coverage than previously. Some experts indicate that the public is getting tired of repeating economic problems. *Apu* follows several sports regularly; special attention is paid to car rallies and ski jumping. *Apu* is still a magazine about personalities more than themes and processes.

Apu reduces its service columns, but its contact with readers is still tight. Several former top politicians write columns in *Apu*. Unlike decades ago, *Suomen Kuvalehti* gives attention to reader views and, on some occasions, starts discussions with contributors to letters-to-the-editor. A page with a media critique initiated by readers is published regularly.

Topicality is still a problem for both magazines. They develop various means – picture spreads and short-minute news – to cover as topical themes as the printing schedule allows.

2010s: Recovery from economic crisis, new parties, immigration

Society:

- Sauli Niinistö starts as president
- Aftermath of 2008 financial crisis: trade, unemployment
- Right-wing populist Finns party popular
- Population greying, less babies
- Immigration now 2015-2016
- Tight limitations of cigarette smoking
- Social bubbles become visible, partly via media
- 2019 Covid-19

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti: Building society*: Social planning via expert interviews rarely on economy, populist party
- Immigration flow 2016 dangers overstated
- *Covers*: Domestic emphasis, less women on covers, layout tricky
- *Apu: Building society*: Strong Finnish orientation
- Supports voluntarism in helping the weak ones
- TV celebrities, sportsmen, space
- Service columns, competitions, jokes
- *Covers*: Finnish pop stars, singers, sportmen; more peaceful layout than in 2000s

Fig.10 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 2010s.

Summary: Both magazines follow topical themes, but there are differences in their approaches. *Suomen Kuvalehti* concentrates on trends, tendencies and decision-makers, and *Apu* pays attention to events, celebrities and ordinary people. *Suomen Kuvalehti* is aware of “social bubbles” (Kantola et al., 2022) in society and utilises their existence. It regularly criticises examples of bureaucracy and ineffectiveness. Both magazines now “discover” immigration and its problems. In his first years as president, Sauli Niinistö does not receive more attention than his predecessor.

Suomen Kuvalehti publishes stories with contradictions; the interviewees are carefully selected so that the journalistic style remains neutral and the interviewed persons present their views. Both magazines are careful about the fast-rising populist party, and its coverage remains limited. *Apu* publishes six to eight personality interviews on every issue. The interviewees represent a wide scale, with various age, gender and occupational groups as well as geographical locations. The focus is on the domestic market. *Apu* arranges small charity campaigns.

COVID-19 fills the pages of both magazines, but, at this stage, they do not play a significant role in communication transmission about the pandemic. The main channels are topicality-oriented media.

2020s: 'The happiest nation in the world', new woman leaders, war in Ukraine, NATO

Society:

- Covid19 pandemic
- Sanna Marin's government of five young women
- Employment rate highest since 1990s
- Effects of war in Ukraine: immigrants
- Relations with neighbouring Russia extremely poor
- Application to NATO membership in 2022, member 2023
- According to the World Happiness Report, Finns are the happiest nation in the world

Magazine(s):

- *Suomen Kuvalehti*: Building society: Covid19 and Finnish society, economy, columns, environment policies, filmmakers, history (1920s)
- Donald Trump, North Korea, Jair Bolsonaro, Ukraine
- Covers: domestic topics, graphic layout, abstract topics (environment, space, crime, experts)
- *Apu*: Building society: Covid19 - what does it mean to Finns
- Special issues on nature, research articles (Finnish aid, unemployment)
- Donations to citizen organisations
- Covers: 2/3 individuals (celebrities, ordinary people), mainly Finnish women

Fig.11 Dominant characteristics in society and magazines in the 2020s.

Summary: The decade includes big, dramatic topics, and both magazines report on them. In general, both try to cover all topical themes somehow, at least with minute notes or single pictures; topicality is still a problem for both. In the case of COVID-19, the approaches are distinctly different. *Suomen Kuvalehti* reports on statistics, expert statements, support and criticism about government decisions concerning the pandemic and implementation of COVID-19. *Apu* prefers interviews with ordinary people, regional health officials and others close to the implementation phase. Its approach is more down-to-earth.

An interesting detail of *Apu* coverage is the magazine's praxis of publishing wide, research-based theme issues on nature, development assistance or unemployment. *Apu's* foreign coverage is limited: short stories about foreign royalty, film and TV stars, and musicians. *Suomen Kuvalehti's* profile is different. On the one hand, it focuses on Russia, and on the other hand, it focuses on foreign "naughty boys", such as Donald Trump, Jai Bolsonaro and North Korean leadership.

In covers, both prioritise domestic male dignitaries (*Suomen Kuvalehti*) and female celebrities (*Apu*). *Suomen Kuvalehti* also favours graphic covers on abstract, general themes, such as environment, space or crime.

Discussion

Both magazines have – sometimes in a jerky manner – institutionalised themselves (Ekecrantz-Olsson 1994, pp. 251-254) during their journalistic history. They collect, mould and delete material for their views of society and world in a consistent manner to increase credibility in the eyes of their assumed primary audience. For *Apu*, the search took longer, up to the 1950s. From the beginning, it had tried to reach the whole family and especially people in urban settings. For *Suomen Kuvalehti*, the primary target audience was middle-class men and, in the 1920s and 1930s, men with right-wing sympathies. The two magazines complement each other. This particularly applies to their policies in the 1940s: *Suomen Kuvalehti* directs support to the home front, stressing

the importance of women's and children's roles in wars, while *Apu* offers leisure activity and fun.

The presentation mode of both journals has remained surprisingly similar throughout the decades. *Suomen Kuvalehti* started with a solemn top-down style, developing gradually to a reserved authority voice with situation reports, interviews and personal columns. Only once in the early 1940s did the magazine talk straight to members on the home front, stressing tolerance, hard work and comfort. *Apu's* contact with readers has been more intensive, first with narratives, then via selections of popular topics and pictures, plus short, personalised texts. In the 1970s and 1980s, journalism included tabloid tendencies, but they were recently reduced. *Apu* is not as consistent as *Suomen Kuvalehti* in its reporting style.

Both Billig's (1995, 2023) key ideas evoke responses in the content of the studied magazines. Repeatedly, they stress elements of "Finnishness" in their reporting – *Suomen Kuvalehti* particularly via ideological statements about Finnish culture and language and *Apu* via attention to "national" sports and entertainment. *Suomen Kuvalehti* in the 1920s and 1930s wanted to expand Finnishness to Karelia and, in the 1940s, to brotherhood with Germany. For both magazines, the country with strength and oddities, the United States, is included in the domestic sphere, and in the case of *Apu*, Sweden and particularly Swedish royalty and popular culture are presented.

During the harsh times in 1918 and in the 1940s, the two magazines tried hard – and with very different means – to support the nation in war, but such more intimate and instantaneous entertainment methods as touring music groups and radio programmes turned more effective (von Bagh & Hakasalo, 1986; Pilke, 2017). *Suomen Kuvalehti* utilises romanticism and history. *Apu's* undeniably vulgar content comes closer to the general public, but it does not get acceptance from decision-makers who deny print rations.

Several times during their editorial history, both magazines have calculated wrongly, lost readership and have been forced to modify their policies. The role of the subscription base in such phases is interesting. Obviously, it might give a false sense of security, suggesting the avoidance of radical social turns. In the 1960s, *Suomen Kuvalehti* lost touch with a large number of its readers due to cautious editorial policies during rapid social change. A decade later, *Apu* had to retreat from its attempt to strengthen ties to Finns living in Sweden by offering them a tailored version of *Apu*. The project failed, and Finns in Sweden were more motivated to get integrated into Swedish society.

Apu's editorial policy appears jerky and unplanned in several phases; it has invested in adventurous turns, supported oversized solutions and had to retreat several times. On the other hand, stress on continuity and cautiousness has driven *Suomen Kuvalehti* to face difficulties in detecting weak signals, an emerging phenomenon in society. Doudaki et al. (2022) suggest that the mediation of change and changing media are interwoven, but in the Finnish case, both magazines tend to be blind to emerging social phenomena.

It is tragic that *Suomen Kuvalehti*, initially introduced as a pictorial magazine, has had difficulty using pictures. With some exceptions, pictures have functioned as illustrations or fillers, while *Apu* mainly uses pictures as documentation: "Here we have been, this is the person we talk about". Undoubtedly, the role of pictures has become central for both since the 1960s, but pictures still play a side role in *Suomen Kuvalehti*. They have been used for documentation, illustration and source for layout tricks, while in *Apu*, pictures are part of the narrative itself.

Apu's reporting is more standardised, and pictures are always part of it. In many aspects, the 1960s appears to be a crucial decade for new, topicality-bound approaches to emerge for both, but the change started in the 1950s. Previously, the concept of time did not bother either of them. They operated

in the past tense. However, since then, topicality has been a continuous problem. *Suomen Kuvalehti* tries to solve the problem by promoting trends and continuity, while *Apu*'s approach is divided. Partly, it accepts tabloid-style crash news with personality pictures and, partly, wide special reports with a diffuse-time concept. Both have nostalgia in their arsenals.

Suomen Kuvalehti's history is smooth and consistent. Since 1917¹², it has appeared as an authority voice, avoiding extremes but leaning towards conservativeness. It puts stress on continuity and discrete influence, mainly via the selection of sources. Until the turn of the century, it had avoided political party preferences. The magazine has had trust in state-building and public institutions. People have had a role as representatives of an event, group or authority. Only in arts and culture have individuals been presented as personalities. This practice was very strong in the 1920s and 1930s, but it still exists to a certain extent. Both in 1918 and during WWII, high-ranking officers received relatively much attention, but they were still representatives of groups. In the same way, American film stars on covers in the 1920s and 1930s played an illustration role; they were not personalised as such.

For decades, *Suomen Kuvalehti* has used the inclusion and exclusion methods Benson (2020) elaborated on when describing "upscale audiences". It is a particular type of Finnish reader the magazine is interested in: an educated, reasonably alert person who can afford high-culture products – but who is not passionately active as a citizen. Earlier, the magazine focused more on men, but today, such a bias is difficult to detect. Elements for a Bolin-based middle-age "media generation" are clear. The magazine tried to reach younger people in the 1960s with complex layout tricks, but this was not successful. The magazine has kept a distance from its readers or, more distinctly, has been selective with reader response. Letters-to-the editor have not received much attention from the side of the newsroom, but sometimes, corrections have

been made with new texts around the criticised article, if the complaint has been important enough.

In its early decades, the magazine also tested banal nationalism in the sense that Billig (1995) discussed it. *Suomen Kuvalehti* operated systematically to include Karelia in the sphere of Finnishness. It is interesting that when Finland lost the part of Karelia that belonged to Finland in the Continuation War, the magazine did not show much interest in the 320,000 Karelians whom the government had to resettle. The earlier interest was clearly political, although culture and joint roots were kept in focus. After Karelia, *Suomen Kuvalehti*'s focus has been on the Western world, with an anxious side concern about the Soviet Union/Russia. In this way, the magazine follows the political line of the country.

Apu's history is more complex and dramatic. First, it was a pulp magazine in a society that did not have many of that sort. It continued with its line, even when official society punished it by denying paper rations. It offered light material to a nation thirsty for entertainment after the war. Then, it turned into an all-inclusive family journal, giving support to Bolin's media generations. Popularity grew, and the magazine combined its adventure stories and sports with family leisure material, exotism and paper dolls. Newsroom ambitions grew, and *Apu* made a quick turn to invest in highbrow discussions. When circulation figures dropped, that attempt came to an end, and heavy competition with similar journals forced it to become more mainstream, publishing a little bit of everything. It continued with that line, investing in recent years on special issues with broad themes such as nature, environment, sustainability and nostalgia.

For *Apu*, people are and have been at the core of its reporting. *Apu* told stories about American film stars in the 1930s, about the magazine's own crazy reporters in the 1960s and television and sports heroes since the 1960s. These people

12 The introduction issue was published in December 1916, but regular publishing started in 1917.

were frequently standardised as heroes (beauty queens and sportsmen) or victims (persons who have met difficulties but defeated their problems), but politicians were included in the cadres of topics. *Apu* covered big social themes via individuals, and the victim theme was repeated frequently.

Apu's speciality since the 1950s has been its close contact with the audience: question-and-answer columns, competitions, jokes, posters and reader trips. Its experts were no authorities; they chatted with the readers and spiced their advice with humour. Recently, such reader contacts have been reduced considerably. People tend to search for answers from the web now.

Apu keenly follows other media – television and tabloids, above all. *Suomen Kuvalehti* does the same, but it is more selective. Accordingly, its editorial turns are not as dramatic. Only rarely do the journals accept social media as a source; they might report on issues that initiate in social media, but conventional media functions as mediators and quality check posts. Researchers have stated (e.g. Seuri & Ikkäheimo 2023, pp. 12-19) that social media today functions as a new capricious gatekeeper, bypassing conventional gates, but this does not apply to these magazines. Both also have a rigid relation to websites. They do have websites, but there are marginal discussions. In this way, they appear more conservative than most Finnish magazines, although they all have difficulty developing functional websites.

An interesting change took place in the reporting about presidents. *Suomen Kuvalehti* has been a “presidents’ journal”. However, the early presidents represented the institution, not the individual. The magazine cherished its close relationship with Urho Kekkonen, and the practice continued with Mauno Koivisto – the magazine tried to create a relationship with this president as well, disregarding his Social Democratic background. After them, Presidents Ahtisaari, Halonen and Niinistö were “delivered up” over *Apu* and its rivals as topical

public figures. Presidents became public figures – no longer symbols of power and prestige.

Unlike what Iqani (2012), Cardoso (2010) and Cantrell Rosas-Moreno et al. (2013) say, it is hard to claim that these magazines would have had a systematic cover policy, attempting to catch the public gaze. Covers do link to major articles inside, but pictures rarely play an independent role. They mainly assist in emphasising topicality, the eternal problem for magazines with slow printing procedures. Only in themes linked to nationalism have both magazines had a cover policy with conventional national symbols. The use of American film stars in covers from the 1930s hardly can be called a policy – the magazines published free-of-charge pictures that were easily available.

Neither magazine has been alerted about weak signals. Both have focused on dominant figures and issues in society, missing emerging phenomena. An interesting question is whether this kind of social blindness is at least partly caused by the subscription base that is dominant in Finland. It gives security and continuity but perhaps prevents far-sightedness. The main thing is to convince readers that everything is under control.

Conclusions

There are multiple phases in which one magazine manages the course better than the other. It is impossible to say which is a better course indicator. In slow changes, *Suomen Kuvalehti* copes with time better. It draws policy lines. In dramatic changes, *Apu* is better off. It has its networks, it catches topical phenomena, names and notions – superficial perhaps but familiar to many and thus gives an impression of continuity and alertness.

Both have had a distinct share of the public gaze for decades. The mediascape is packed today, and it is unclear what kind

of space both magazines have in it in the future. However, these two long-distance runners have shown a cocktail of consistency and flexibility in the past, so there will probably be a place for them in the future as well.

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Appendix A

Dimensions for *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Apu* text analysis (filled for each issue included in the sample)

CONTENT CATEGORY	TOPICAL	FEATURE	OPENLY OPINIONATED	LINK TO HISTORY	ELEMENT OF NATIONALISM	LINK TO CALENDAR, NATURE
Domestic topic						
Domestic filler						
Personality story						
Discussion,debate						
Foreign topic						
History						
Picture story						
Fiction						
Entertainment						

Frame for cover analysis, *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Apu* (filled for full year issues in the sample, in the interpretation, qualitative aspects are added)

YEAR	TYPE *	FORM **	ORIGIN ***	FORMAT ****	THEME *****	PERSON(S) *****	LINK TO *****

*Personality, event, process, art work, building, animal, object, graphic construction

**One person, group activity, scenery, object

*** Domestic, Nordic, Karelia, Russia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, USA, rest of the world

****Close-up, portrait, composition, natural activity, object

*****Politics, religion, defence, art & literature, sports, science, adventure

*****Finnish woman, foreign woman, Finnish man, foreign man, Finnish child, foreign child

*****Nationalism/patriotism, history, religion, war, agriculture gender, social class, minority