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**Frame analysis on constructing social mobility in
Finland**

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ABSTRACT:

Discussion about social mobility impacts how social mobility is considered in international organizations. This research aims to investigate how social mobility is discussed in the Finnish media. This goal is reached by interpreting some frames that are constructed about social mobility. The data of the research consist of 59 media articles that discuss social mobility topics. The articles have been published in Finland's biggest news outlet Helsingin Sanomat between September 2019 and September 2021.

The theoretical framework focuses on the concept of social mobility in the context of international business and economics and it highlights different perceptions of social mobility. It considers the frame analysis and framing in analyzing media texts and how framing research can contribute to interpreting frames about social mobility.

This qualitative research was approached by applying the frame analysis. The analysis was done by applying framing elements, and by integrating them, three different frames were interpreted: the frame of differences, the frame of impact, and the frame of opportunity. These frames highlight the differences between groups, which illustrate the invisible structures that create obstacles for people. Personal stories of people who have experienced upward social mobility and the impact of social mobility on their careers are emphasized. The progress that has enhanced social mobility and the opportunities that social mobility offers for businesses and economic growth are brought to light.

The frames that are constructed about social mobility indicate that there is a lot of potential that businesses can benefit from by considering social mobility in organizations. This research states that social mobility can be framed in different ways, but all frames aim for the same goal: to show the many sides and the benefits of social mobility.

KEYWORDS: Social mobility, frame analysis, social class, international business, economic growth, Doughnut Economics

VAASAN YLIOPISTO**Johtamisen yksikkö**

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TIIVISTELMÄ:

Sosiaalisesta liikkuvuudesta käytävä keskustelu vaikuttaa siihen, kuinka sen toteutuminen huomioidaan kansainvälisessä liiketoiminnassa. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, kuinka sosiaalisesta liikkuvuudesta keskustellaan suomalaisessa mediassa. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan kehyksiä, joita sosiaalisesta liikkuvuudesta rakennetaan. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu 59 artikkelista, jotka käsittelevät sosiaalisen liikkuvuuden aiheita. Artikkelit on julkaistu Suomen suurimmassa uutismediassa, Helsingin Sanomissa, syyskuun 2019 ja syyskuun 2021 välillä.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys käsittelee sosiaalisen liikkuvuuden määritelmiä kansainvälisen liiketalouden ja talouden kontekstissa ja painottaa havaintoja sosiaalisesta liikkuvuudesta. Se tarkastelee kehysanalyysiä ja kehystämistä media-artikkelien analysoinnissa sekä kuinka aiemman kehysanalyttisen tutkimuksen perusteella voidaan tulkita kehyksiä sosiaalisesta liikkuvuudesta.

Tutkimus toteutettiin laadullisena tutkimuksena ja tutkimusmenetelmänä käytettiin kehysanalyysiä. Analyysin tukena käytettiin kehystäminen elementtejä, joita yhdistämällä aineistosta tulkittiin kolme kehystä: eroavaisuuksien, vaikutusten ja mahdollisuuksien kehykset. Kehyksissä tuodaan esiin eri ryhmien eroavaisuuksia, jotka kuvaavat näkymättömiä rakenteita, jotka luovat esteitä ihmisille. Kehyksissä korostetaan henkilökohtaisia tarinoita, joissa kuvataan sosiaalista nousua ja sen merkitystä uralle. Kehykset myös ilmentävät edistystä, jota sosiaalisessa liikkuvuudessa on tehty sekä mahdollisuuksia, joita sosiaalinen liikkuvuus tuo organisaatioille ja talouskasvulle.

Aineiston analyysi osoittaa, että kehykset, joilla sosiaalista liikkuvuutta rakennetaan, näyttävät suuren potentiaalin, mitä yrityksissä voidaan hyödyntää, jos sosiaalinen liikkuvuus huomioidaan organisaation toiminnassa. Tutkimus osoittaa, että sosiaalista liikkuvuutta voidaan kehystää eri tavoin, mutta kehyksillä on yhteinen päämäärä: tuoda esiin sosiaalisen liikkuvuuden eri puolia ja hyötyjä.

AVAINSANAT: Social mobility, frame analysis, social class, international business, economic growth, Doughnut Economics

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1 Introduction

Businesses need to constantly find new ways of creating value. Tackling inequalities is on many businesses' agendas and many companies highlight the importance of equality of opportunity in the hiring processes. Organizations are aware that finding the best talents in the applicant pool is crucial for innovation and growth. But these goals cannot be reached without social mobility.

Social mobility means the movement upwards or downwards from personal circumstances (World Economic Forum, 2020). In business, it suggests that individuals can access companies and move up the career ladder, despite their initial standing. Research shows that social mobility has many benefits for organizations and economies. The benefits of social mobility are wide — from improving individuals' chances in life which include enabling access to organizations and moving up the career ladder — to contributing to growth and innovation (World Economic Forum, 2020). If the standard hiring processes are inviting only to a certain group of people, businesses miss out on potential and talent.

Enabling social mobility and contributing to equality of opportunity is not only beneficial, but there are expectations to do so. Research shows that when the chance for social mobility is provided, the likelihood of taking action to change societal structures increases (Day & Fiske, 2016). Campos-Vazquez et al. (2021) state that to increase demand for social mobility, providing people with more information about social mobility would contribute to meeting the goal. When the media brings up social mobility topics, it impacts the perceptions about the chance for upward social mobility. Consequently, the need for organizations to respond to the development of the demand for social mobility increases.

Current research about social mobility highlights the role of the media as a contributor to influencing perceptions of social mobility. The perceptions of social mobility can be impacted when accurate information is available in daily news (Campos-Vazquez et al.,

2021). The importance of the media as a contributor to the conversation is inevitable because the media is an important player in guiding policy and opinion (Reese, 2009). Reporters have the power to make topics visible: to create awareness about occurring situations and phenomena, produce discussion, conversation, and debate, impact views, provide information, and push into action (Entman, 2007; Karvonen, 2000). Therefore, the media has an important role in guiding how the conversation about social mobility develops and it can be stated that the role of media in the development of social mobility is significant.

1.1 Research gap

Research has highlighted the importance of social mobility and has shown many benefits of social mobility. Studies have also discovered that the perceptions of social mobility can be impacted when there is coverage in the media about social mobility topics.

However, it is undiscovered what views about social mobility are currently covered in media about social mobility. Social mobility research can help organizations identify any structures that prevent social mobility from occurring and therefore miss out on the benefits of social mobility, such as attracting a diverse applicant pool and a chance to enhance equality of opportunity in the hiring process. Also, social mobility is a significant factor in society and it is therefore important to properly understand it in international business research.

This thesis uses an opportunity to address this unexplored area by investigating how social mobility is discussed in today's news. To study what is written about social mobility, a frame analysis will be conducted to explore some frames that are constructed by the media about social mobility in the news. To catch the reader's attention, journalists use framing, which includes making decisions on what information gets selected and what is left out (Entman, 1993).

Raworth (2017, p. 22) writes that framing can help economists to look at how the economy is described and understood. In this way, it is possible to bring to light different elements that build businesses and impact individuals' access and career paths in organizations. With this in mind, the purpose of the thesis is to identify frames regarding social mobility and provide insights into the social mobility discussion in the media.

1.2 Research question and objectives

This thesis aims to investigate some frames that are constructed about social mobility. The core of the research focuses on discovering what kind of frames are highlighted about social mobility topics. Therefore, this thesis explores some frames regarding social mobility in the online articles of the largest Finnish news outlet Helsingin Sanomat. To carry out the research, the research question is stated as:

“What are some frames that Helsingin Sanomat constructs about social mobility?”

With the research question, this research identifies some frames that are written regarding social mobility in the chosen news outlet.

‘Frame’ in this research refers to the frame analysis that was created by Erving Goffman (1974). Väliverronen (2017) writes that framing helps journalists to create structures around events and phenomena, which then enables writing about them to the readers. While any issue reporters aim to write about might be complex, the articles are made clear and easily understandable for the readers by using framing. To highlight the logic of the articles for a large audience, social issues are often framed in terms of disputes and disagreements, which creates a division involving opposite principles. The opposite stands create a division between the readers with people who support a cause and people who disagree with a cause (Väliverronen, 2017). These opposite stands help the readers to understand what is discussed and form their own opinion or ‘take a side’ in the conversation, which creates further discussion about a topic or phenomenon.

Frames will be identified by selecting and analyzing relevant articles. The assumption for the research is that different types of frames are constructed regarding social mobility on Helsingin Sanomat. The research will not explore how well Helsingin Sanomat constructs social mobility, but it explores some frames that can be interpreted in the news articles.

1.3 Thesis structure

This master's thesis consists of five chapters. In this first chapter, the topic, research gap, and research question were presented.

The second chapter will show the literature review for the thesis, which will create the theoretical background for the thesis. The literature review will form the scope of the study that is connected to the research problem. The literature review will present the concept of social mobility. The latest theories and research publications about social mobility in business research will be critically analyzed. Also, perceptions of social mobility will be shown by using relevant models. Then, the focus will be on the frame analysis. The background and most relevant contributors to the creation of the frame analysis will be presented. How social mobility is framed in the recent publications will be analyzed and the common framing tools and elements will be presented, which will be connected to the research question of the thesis.

The third chapter of the thesis will present the methodology that is used to solve the research problem. It will present how the research data is collected. The reasons of choosing the method and the relevance of the method will be explained.

The fourth chapter will show the research findings and the connection to the theoretical framework. The findings will be interpreted in the light of existing research publications.

Finally, the fifth chapter will provide conclusions and interpretations that are derived from the findings. The significance of the conclusions will be discussed and suggestions for future research will be provided.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Perceptions of social mobility in international business

To interpret some frames that are constructed about social mobility, it is important to understand what is meant by social mobility. This chapter will present the theoretical background of social mobility and will provide perceptions of social mobility in the context of international business and economics, which is necessary for forming an analysis of the frames that occur in the media articles about social mobility.

This chapter will first discuss the definitions of social mobility and how it can be measured in section 2.1.1 Next, section 2.1.2 will present an outlook on the history of social mobility in Finland. Then, appropriate research publications about social mobility in economics and international business and organizational research will be discussed in sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4. Lastly, section 2.1.5 will provide insights into the perceptions of social mobility and section 2.1.6 will show how social mobility occurs in different countries and cultures.

2.1.1 Social mobility and how it is measured

Social mobility refers to the movement upwards or downwards from personal circumstances (World Economic Forum, 2020). In business, it means that individuals can access companies and move up the career ladder, despite their initial standing. However, measuring social mobility can be done in different ways and the broad concept of social mobility can be viewed from several perspectives. Next, it is discussed how social mobility is most often measured and viewed in business and economics.

In the Social Mobility Report (2020), six dimensions of social mobility are identified to explain the different viewpoints on measuring social mobility. Whereas intragenerational mobility means an individual's capability to move between socioeconomic classes within their lifetime, intergenerational mobility widens the timespan, so social mobility

means an individual's capability to move upwards or downwards the socio-economic ladder across generations (World Economic Forum, 2020). Käyhkö (2015) writes that intragenerational mobility and intergenerational mobility relate to social class. Individuals from lower social classes can experience a society that differs from the society of individuals from a higher social class. The experience of social mobility is present in the need to internalize cultural norms and the ability to act in different contexts (Käyhkö, 2015). However, differences between groups and in groups vary, and not all group members face the same experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In the workplace, employees can categorize members from different social classes and act differently towards others based on their social class attributes, despite the employees' abilities, personality, experience, and training (Côté, 2011). The variety of social class effects causes difficulty in recognizing social class and makes it harder to define the experience of social mobility.

Social mobility can be seen in the point of view of absolute educational mobility, which compares an individual's ability to attain higher educational levels than their parents. Relative educational mobility compares how much an individual's educational attainment is determined by their parents' achievements. (World Economic Forum, 2020). To ensure the continuity of social mobility, education is one of the biggest contributors to social mobility. Educational attainment is also related to social class (Käyhkö, 2015), and access to education is a powerful tool to improve social mobility (Erola, 2009). Access to university has improved social mobility in Finland (Erola, 2009) and elsewhere in Europe and the United States (Breen & Müller, 2020).

Furthermore, absolute income mobility compares an individual's ability to attain higher income levels than their parents. Relative income mobility compares how much an individual's income level is determined by their parents' achievements. (World Economic Forum, 2020). Often, social mobility is measured in the viewpoint of income levels, which is more common for economic research, and in the viewpoint of professional mobility, which is more often used in sociology research (Friedman et al., 2015). To measure

upward and downward social mobility, a typology by Erikson-Goldthorpe (EG) is among the most often used in Europe (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). It assigns individuals into social classes based on professions (Friedman et al., 2015). Erola (2010) states that to divide people into groups, a profession is a clear indicator because it is a factor between education and income levels. However, Erola also criticizes the EG because many factors define social stratification, such as family background, wealth, income, education, impact on social class, and therefore social mobility (2010). Also, Friedman et al. (2015, p. 261) point out that Goldthorpe aimed to show differences by mainly focusing on the correlates and looking at those in 'high status' occupations.

I	Higher-grade professionals, administrators, and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietors
II	Lower-grade professionals, administrators, and officials, higher-grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees
IIIa	Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce)
IIIb	Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services)
IVa	Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees
IVb	Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees
IVc	Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production
V	Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers
VI	Skilled manual workers
VIIa	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture, etc.)
VIIb	Agricultural and other workers in primary production

Table 1. Eriksson-Goldthorpe class schema categories (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992)

Economic research often focuses on differences in the skill level of occupations and measuring changes in occupation, social class, and education levels (Tittenbrun, 2015; Björklund & Jäntti, 2019). Björklund and Jäntti (2019) have identified four common approaches to how economic research measures social mobility and argue that those four

approaches that study the relationship between family background and socioeconomic status are informative in economic research. In the first approach, which is most often used, economists measure intergenerational mobility, which can show a pattern in the income, earnings, and education between parents and children. Secondly, social mobility is also measured in causality which measures parents' resources, like income and education, and how it affects the children's performance. Thirdly, the role of a family is researched by using sibling correlations because family background characteristics are often shared between siblings. Finally, the equality of opportunity approach refers to inequalities in income level and the relationship between circumstances and individual effort. (Björklund & Jäntti, 2019).

Also, a theory related to social mobility is the forms of capital by Bourdieu (1986), who discusses social, economic, and cultural capital, which all emerge among those who share similar "conditions of existence", and the differential economic and cultural capitals that determine lifestyle and social status. A family has an impact on the economic, social and cultural capital, which means that individuals are born in circumstances (Bourdieu, 1986). These resources impact individuals in adulthood (Eskelinen et al., 2020). Economic capital refers to material: wealth and income. Social capital refers to contacts and connections on the social networks that can be formed by someone else than the individual, such as via the parents or friends from certain hobbies. Cultural capital relates to education (institutional cultural capital) or for example certain looks or appreciation of the certain type of art and music that has been learned. (Bourdieu, 1986). Typical for all three forms of capital is that they tend to pile up and accumulate within certain individuals and if you gain one of the capitals, you are more likely to get the others too (Duff, 2017). The forms of capital are important to social mobility because the theory relates to fair access to professions and positions and the development of social mobility in the professional environment (Duff, 2017).

In addition, several approaches provide different points of view in researching social mobility in organizations: the relation to individual effort and the impact of structures.

Bullock and Limbert (2003) write that these differing views on inequalities can be seen from individualistic and structural points of view. The individualistic approach sees that an individual can impact the outcome on how income and wealth distribute. This view suggests that poverty is the outcome of laziness and lack of skills in personal financial management. The individualistic approach suggests that to gain a high-income level and prosperity, one needs to work hard and have the correct abilities for getting high remuneration. On the contrary, structural explanation suggests that poverty is the outcome of low wages, and wealth is the result of inheritance. (Bullock & Limbert, 2003). So, differences in income levels are seen both as a result of an individual effort and as an outcome of structures that an individual cannot impact.

Also, Riihelä and Tuomela (2020) write that an unequal wealth distribution can be seen from two viewpoints: from the starting point and the outcome. The unequal outcomes consist of the unequal distribution of income, consumption, and wealth. Some of these outcomes derive from hard work, which is the reason for gaining higher payments and piling up wealth. However, aspects that one has no control over affect the outcomes too. An individual cannot choose their characteristics: gender, skin color, or family background. The outcome of inequality is the combination of both viewpoints: the aspects that one can impact, such as how hard one works, and the aspects that cannot be impacted, such as the surroundings one is born into. (Riihelä & Tuomala, 2020).

This section discussed the concept of social mobility, which means an individual's movement upwards or downwards the initial standing, such as being able to access and reach different positions in the business. In the scope of framing social mobility, the concept includes measuring social mobility from the viewpoints of intragenerational mobility, intergenerational mobility, absolute and relative educational mobility, and relative and absolute income mobility (World Economic Forum, 2020). Economists use different models such as a typology by Erikson-Goldthorpe (1992) and the forms of capital by Bourdieu (1986) to research social mobility. The differing views on why income and prosperity are distributed were also presented.

2.1.2 Brief history of social mobility in Finland

Interpreting frames about social mobility requires an understanding of the history of social mobility. This section shows how social mobility has developed in the Finnish history.

Political economy reforms during several events in Finnish history have contributed to increase social mobility. The world's events have created changes in mobility and social mobility has changed as a consequence of modernization (Erola, 2009). The main professions have evolved from the agricultural and forestry fields to industrialized, white-collar, and high-tech professions, which has changed the places of living in the rural areas toward city centers. Finland's war reparations to the Soviet Union between 1944 and 1952 pushed the structural transformation in Finland. Production was forced to increase in skill-intensive industries, which pressed people to move from agriculture to more modern business sectors. Changing professions required training, and more people with different backgrounds acquired an education, which increased the income levels of many. (Mitrunen, 2019).

Observations on the consequences of the great recession in the 1990s on social mobility vary. The Finnish economy had a deep downturn in early 1990, having a peak in 1993 and followed by an economic boom until the 2000s (Thurén, 2021). Erola (2009) states that these changes lead to changes in the employment rate – from 3 to 17 percent and back to 10 percent, and impacted income poverty and the need for social assistance, which decreased the chance of equal opportunity. However, Erola (2009) analyze the data from the Finnish Census Panel, which show that the school reform performed in the 1990s helped in the societal crisis and equal access to education contributed to maintaining or increasing social mobility. Erola (2009) states that equal access to education advances upward social mobility, which contributes to the overall growth of economics.

This section discussed that social mobility increased when industrialized and white-collar companies invited people to work in them. Educational reforms enabled more people to

gain an education, which enabled and advanced upward social mobility. These developments impact growth economics. Therefore, economic growth will be discussed in the next section.

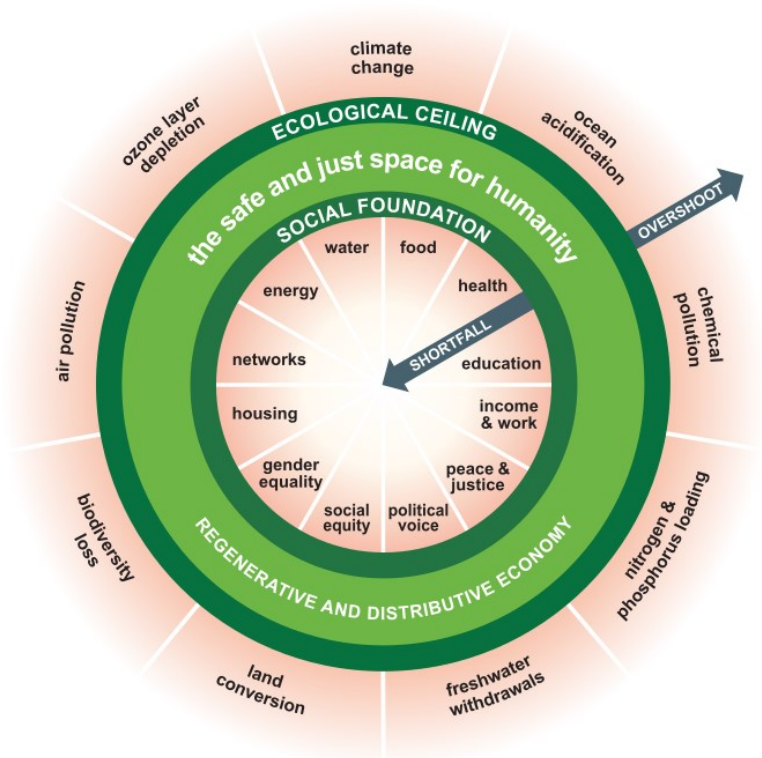
2.1.3 Social mobility in Doughnut Economics

This section discusses the relevance of social mobility for the economy and growth economics. It presents a model, Doughnut Economics, that has social equity at the center of it.

Iversen et al. (2021, p. 18) state that growth economics refers to the structural transformation of movement from low-productivity agriculture to high-productivity manufacturing and service economy, and that industrialization created new jobs, which created new job opportunities and movement to a higher economic status. This theory of growth economics is often measured by annual flow and gross-domestics product (GDP) (World Economic Forum, 2020). GDP presents the economic success by its rising national income, and it is drawn as an exponentially rising curve that moves forward and upwards, which illustrates the economic growth in the market value of goods and services produced in the economy in a year (Samuelson, 1964). While economic growth is measured by productivity, low social mobility is estimated harm economic growth. For instance, the annual estimated cost of low social mobility in the United Kingdom will be £140 billion over the period to 2050, and all increases in mobility will increase the GDP of the United Kingdom by 2-4% annually (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Instead of the dominant economic theory, neoclassical economics, which aims for maximizing profit and focus on the forces of supply and demand, new models in economics are created in order to tackle different social and ecological challenges. Doughnut economics is a model created by Kate Raworth (2017) that “combines ecological and social boundaries and describes how planetary boundaries meet the basic human needs and contributes to creating a regenerative and distributive economy”. The model was used in the United Nation’s process of negotiating the Sustainable Development Goals, the 17

globally agreed goals for charting human progress (Raworth, 2017, p. 24). The Doughnut model frames the current world's problems that include climate change, extreme inequality, financial crisis, and biodiversity loss, and shows how to value the well-being of people, despite of these problems. Combining the impact of well-being and life satisfaction can contribute to economic growth (World Economic Forum, 2020). This includes advancing social mobility.



Picture 1. The Doughnut of social and planetary boundaries (Raworth, 2017).

The Doughnut presents a compass in which the success of the economic growth and the success of organizations is possible within the limits of sustainable development (Raworth, 2017). The Doughnut shows a social foundation of human well-being and the ecological ceiling of planetary pressure. The planetary boundaries in the ecological ceiling cannot be exceeded because all humans depend on the living world. The requirements include pressure of climate change, ocean acidification, chemical pollution, nitrogen and phosphorus loading, freshwater withdrawals, land conversion, biodiversity loss, air pollution, and ozone layer depletion (Raworth, 2017, p. 45). Yet, well-being needs to

be ensured by the social foundation which creates a socially just space for humanity. The essentials include food, health, education, income and work, peace and justice, political voice, social equity, gender equality, housing, networks, energy, and water (Raworth, 2017, p. 45). Overall, Doughnut Economics is one model that is based on a social foundation that includes social equity, which provides support to researching social mobility for the benefit of a sustainable economic future (Raworth, 2017).

This section presented that upward social mobility contributes positively to economic growth and low social mobility affects economic growth negatively. The value of social mobility is seen as relevant to the economy, which is illustrated in models such as the Doughnut Economics. Next, social mobility will be connected to international business.

2.1.4 Social mobility in organizations

This section presents the latest academic research about social mobility and its contribution to organizations. Findings of how social mobility contributes to access to companies in the hiring process and how it is possible to advance a career despite social status will be discussed.

Social mobility is present in organizations in many ways. Hinings and Greenwood (2002, p. 411) state that “how we design, operate and change organizations fundamentally and collectively advantages some members and disadvantages others”. Organizational research about social mobility, therefore, explores the ability of individuals or groups to apply for, obtain and advance in roles that are above or below their initial social standing.

Accessing companies vary, such as accessibility to the accountancy profession in Big Four and mid-tier companies (Duff, 2017). Duff (2017) measured the entry to companies from the viewpoint of Bourdieu’s three forms of capital, which consist of social, economic, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The accountancy profession has influential market control and is seen as the largest recruitment sector for graduates, which makes it a relevant field to conduct a business study. According to the study, social capital comes

evident in networking, which consequently creates career success. The study indicates that children, whose parents are managers in accountancy, tend to occupy high positions. The study reveals that in accountancy, cultural capital is seen that successful employees are expected to display in speech, dress, and sense of style. Also, it was shown that these social and cultural capitals are created in elite universities, and high-income and high-status families invest noticeably into education and the creation of capital. Duff (2017) points out that the capitals create an idea of a successful trainee in the eyes of the recruiters, which disadvantages equal access to companies.

However, examining only the access into occupations does not comprehensively describe that admission into companies will ensure the continuity of social mobility. Friedman et al. (2015) compare social mobility in elite occupations using the Great British Class Survey and focus on the forms of economic, social, and cultural capital. The researchers hypothesize that despite individuals experiencing upward social mobility, there is still a glass ceiling that prevents them to reach the top positions. The results show that in professions such as law, medicine, and finance, the top positions are dominated by the children of higher managers. The results also show that IT-related jobs tend to recruit more widely. Lastly, the study shows that while controlling the most important variables, such as education, location, age, and cultural and social capital, the individuals who are upwardly mobile remain at lower income levels than their higher-origin colleagues. This indicates the importance of researching social mobility as it impacts entry to professions and disadvantages individuals within occupations. (Friedman et al., 2015).

While these studies highlight the significance of social mobility in accessing companies and gaining better positions and income levels, social mobility research does not represent all groups, including minorities. Friedman et al., (2015) point out that social mobility research often focuses on 'higher status occupations' such as the first levels in the Erikson-Goldthorpe typology or focusing on elite occupations. Snee and Goswami (2021) investigate social mobility in nursing, which is considered a 'lower profession', and

reflect the experiences of women, whose experiences may be relatively different from men. The data was gathered from the Great British Class Survey. The research includes consideration of the three levels of capital, which enable exploring advantages beyond the entry point to the career. The study suggests that individuals from 'higher' and 'lower' professional backgrounds faced different class advantages, and this affects social mobility routes. While the research highlight the importance of the impact of genders, it also points out that the data of the Great British Class Survey does not represent nurses from Black and minority ethnic backgrounds, who earn significantly less income than White nurses. (Snee & Goswami, 2021).

Also, Wilson (2009) research racial and ethnic minorities and compared the factors for downward social mobility in white-collar professions. According to the study, human capital, socioeconomic status, and labor market characteristics are known as stratification-based causal factors, and these explain downward mobility for Whites in their research. However, for African Americans, downward mobility is less captured by these factors. For Latinos, it is in between. These findings indicate that for males in white-collar occupation structure, there is racial inequality and that social mobility research excludes race as an indicator of access to high-income positions in the fields such as law, medicine, accountancy, and finance. (Wilson, 2009).

Lastly, Duff (2017) reveal that while social mobility is seen as an important factor to advance equal access to companies, many organizations are not familiar with the concept of social mobility. So, while social mobility is seen as an important factor to advance equal access to companies, social mobility and understanding of how companies ensure access and equal chance to gain high positions in a company vary.

In this section, social mobility research discussed that all individuals do not have equal access to companies and not all can reach the top positions in organizations. Also, it was pointed out that social mobility research does not represent all minority and ethnic groups, and usually, the focus is on 'higher' professions. In addition, there are differences

in understanding the concept of social mobility in companies, despite that social mobility is seen as a valuable factor.

2.1.5 Perceptions of social mobility

To interpret some frames that are constructed about social mobility, it is important to understand some perceptions about social mobility. This section discusses different perceptions in social mobility research. It will view what kind of role the media has in guiding the perceptions about social mobility.

The importance of understanding the perceptions of social mobility relates to the significance of believing in the chances for social mobility in the workplace. The perceived chance for social mobility is relevant to guiding people's actions at work and impact the positions in organizational settings (Gray and Kish-Gephart, 2013). To access positions in companies, an idea that access is attainable is required. Many researches examine the perceptions of social mobility trends and how perceived social mobility impacts or predicts people's perceptions of social mobility. Day and Fiske (2016) investigate how perceptions of the likelihood of social mobility impact the response to social mobility. This study provides a view that, in principle, people's motivation to engage in changing societal systems can vary, and the perception of the availability of opportunity for social mobility is the driver for action. This means that if the perceptions about social mobility are positive, there might be a better chance to take action. On the contrary, if people perceive that social mobility is not available, they would not take action to impact the situation. (Day & Fiske, 2016).

This positioning highlights that perceptions are divided for and against taking actions to change social systems. In practice, this means that people can attain certain positions in work, despite their initial background, or they might not see the possibility to reach a certain position as an option. Therefore, according to Day and Fiske (2016), people who perceive a chance for social mobility are more willing to act in response.

Swan et al (2017) discover ways to measure perceptions of social mobility. The study reveals that ways to measure how social mobility is perceived vary. This means that different factors, such as race, gender, and socio-economic background, contribute to perceptions about social mobility, and there are many ways to measure the perceptions of social mobility. This finding allows studying social mobility beyond perceptions.

Furthermore, different factors contribute to evaluating the perceptions of social mobility. Mendoza et al. (2018) find that the perceptions of social mobility are impacted by features such as cultures and gender. Their study highlights that perceptions are affected by the varying characteristics and status, which contribute to the perceptions of the chances of attaining social mobility. For instance, being an immigrant in a foreign country and trying to access working opportunities can include discrimination, which prevents the opportunity for social mobility. This view highlights that status and race are some factors that impact the perceptions of social mobility. According to Mendoza et al. (2018), perceptions of social mobility are impacted by perceived challenges, and the perceptions of social mobility are significant elements that guide the experiences.

Also, the perceptions of social mobility are impacted by providing information about social mobility in the media. Chambers et al (2015) discover the perceptions of social mobility, and the results reveal an underestimation of social mobility to the actual amount of social mobility movement. The study concludes that because the media highlights negative economic trends, such as economic downturn, high unemployment rates, and increasing wealth inequalities, social mobility is perceived unattainable. This outcome proposes that the media builds perceptions of social mobility and especially negatively framed articles build shadows on the perceived social mobility. (Chambers et al., (2015).

Day and Fiske (2016) determine similar conclusions. In their research, reading the news in the media about social mobility impacts the views, and perceiving positive information about the chance for social mobility can contribute to fighting inequalities. So, both

negative and positive views that the media provides build and impact perceptions of social mobility. Also, these studies propose that how social mobility is perceived, for instance in the media, it can encourage taking action to change social systems (Day & Fiske, 2016; Chambers et al, 2015).

Campos-Vazquez et al. (2021) findings align with these results in their study about building perceptions of social mobility. They conclude that to increase demand for social mobility, providing people with more information about social mobility would contribute to reaching the goal. By receiving information about inequalities, can actions be performed, which is why providing information about inequalities and social mobility is a contributing element to perceptions of social mobility. Overall, the role of the media as the contributor to impact perceptions of social mobility is highlighted. This means that social mobility is discussed in the media, such as in the daily news. Different views in the media articles provide information that impacts perceptions about social mobility, which can then contribute to taking actions that enhance social mobility.

This section showed that the different social mobility perceptions are often opposite ones: those who perceive a chance for social mobility and those who do not perceive there is a chance for social mobility. Measuring how social mobility is perceived varies because many features impact the perceptions. Also, it was presented that the role of media is significant in guiding how social mobility is perceived, and providing information about social mobility in the media can impact the perceptions of social mobility. If people perceive a chance for social mobility, they are more willing to take action, which is why social mobility topics must be covered in the daily news.

2.1.6 Social mobility in different countries and cultures

This section shows which countries score the highest and lowest in social mobility. Also, it states that cross-cultural trends impact perceptions of social mobility in different countries.

While the benefits of social mobility on business and economic growth are clear, the occurrence of social mobility in countries differs. The Social Mobility Index 2020 ranking (2020, p. 7) shows that the five Nordic countries - Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Iceland – ranked the highest with a score from 82,4 to 85,2. The lowest in the ranking of social mobility are Bangladesh, Pakistan, Cameroon, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire with a score of 34,5 to 40,2. The areas with the highest rankings are Europe and North America and the lowest in Latin America, Caribbean South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. The ranking is based on several factors, such as accessing health care, providing fair wages and working conditions, and accessing education and work. (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Social mobility impacts well-being (Friedman, 2016), and it is shown that the Global Social Mobility index correlates with World Happiness Index (World Economic Forum, 2020; Helliwell et al., 2022); the higher social mobility in a country, the higher it scores in happiness. So, the countries that score high in social mobility, score high in happiness.

Also, cross-cultural differences impact the perceptions of social mobility. Mandisodza et al. (2016) discover that individualistic countries, such as Australia and the United States, are more eager to take action when there are inequalities in the societal systems. According to the research, countries that have an economic system based on fairness and legitimacy, have cross-cultural similarities. The research of Day and Fiske (2016) aligns with that as their findings reveal that the perceptions of social mobility and the reactions to it vary depending on the culture. This means that while perceptions of social mobility can be influenced, the responses and beliefs can have cross-cultural differences.

2.2 Framing social mobility

This chapter will offer insights into frame analysis to interpret some frames about social mobility. Section 2.2.1 will discuss frame analysis as a research method and in analyzing media articles. Section 2.2.2 will present how social mobility frames are built by having a brief look into earlier framing research on social mobility topics.

2.2.1 Frame analysis

The frame analysis has been developed by Ervin Goffman (1974). Goffman's view on frame analysis answers the question of "what is happening in the society?" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10). Goffman's concept applies that everyone views the world through a mental picture frame and that frame shows how everyone makes sense of their experiences. Goffman states that frame analysis refers to "the examination in the terms of the organization of experience [...] that individuals have at any moment of their social lives". (Goffman, 1974, p. 11-13).

Frame analysis can offer a tool to understand what is communicated in the media. The focus is to explore today's stories that are reported how it is determined which stories are selected and how the selected ones are told (Goffman, 1974, p. 14). Entman (1993) emphasizes that framing is an influential way to transfer information to people's consciousness.

Framing means structuring the information and interpreting meaningful sides of the experience (Karvonen, 2000). To respond to a situation or phenomenon, people need enough information, which is why framing helps to make sense of a particular concept. This is done by providing the readers with cues. People constantly look for cues to decide how to act in a situation and what kind of decisions can be made based on those cues. (Karvonen, 2000). Reese (2009, p. 19) defines that frames are built in the content of a frame, and issues are organized to guide policy and opinion. This aligns with the view of Karvonen, as both see that frames help readers to understand the discussion by providing a point of view that helps to understand the concept and how to respond to it.

Entman (2007, p. 165) writes that framing becomes useful as there is only a limited amount of time to catch attention, getting people to behave in a certain way requires selecting some elements and cueing the readers with these elements. However, frame analysis is not only about clustering the text; it is a useful tool to explain why a single

text is meaningful (Creed et al., 2002, p. 40). When selecting to read a text, a reader understands the context and its importance to the phenomena or impact on an opinion.

Therefore, journalists actively make decisions on news stories that get covered in the media and those that are left out of the news. These selections determine which parts of society are explored (Goffman, 1974, p. 15). The selection of frames derives attention to certain sides, while others are knowingly left out. By framing, and leaving out information, reporters can impact what parts of the study the audience acknowledges (Entman, 1993, p. 54).

Entman (1993) writes that reporters use framing in the *selection* and *salience* of a communicating text. After selecting a piece of information, this information is made more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable for the reader. Selection is made to highlight some aspects and made salient for four reasons. Firstly, reporters define problems, which means informing the audience about a certain occurrence or phenomenon by underlining differing points of view. Secondly, reporters diagnose causes, where reasons behind certain events are highlighted. Thirdly, reporters make moral judgments, where frames create conclusions about the situation. Fourthly, frames suggest remedies by showing different solutions and potential consequences of differing outcomes (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Overall, frames guide the thinking of the audience and show the causation of the phenomenon.

According to Karvonen (2000), framing is a practical tool for media research that can be applied to outline journalistic world, content creation, and analyzing. He states that journalists routinely frame topics to quickly respond to information, and different frames can be applied to any subject. Often, people look for instructions or cues from groups of professionals from specific fields that propose definitions and consequences of different situations. In media, there is a constant debate about what kind of groups get their points of view presented and which ones get noticed and heard. (Karvonen, 2000).

Different models for frame analysis in the context of news framing are studied. An interesting classification is the horizontal-vertical matrix for frames. Scheufele and Scheufele (2009) identify dimensions of framing: the horizontal and vertical levels. The horizontal perspective describes the arenas where frames occur, which can be media and political systems in society. The vertical perspective includes cognitive, discursive, and textual levels, which can take place in newspaper articles. Public discourse or social movement approach to framing approach sees media as a carrier for frames where the indicator of public discourse occurs in the content that is communicated to the audience in the media (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2009). This means that the horizontal level of any social systems that occur in the society and the vertical perspective describes how media carries the discussion and how it is communicated to the audience in the media.

This section discussed that frame analysis was created to understand a situation and phenomenon. Journalists use framing to show a point of view to the readers. Some cues and causations create memorable articles, which influence readers' opinions and contribute to how readers will respond and act in situations.

2.2.2 Building frames about social mobility

To interpret frames about social mobility, this section will provide insights into buildings frames. This section describes how social issues are framed and what kind of reactions and responses they can create. It also presents how framing occurs in international business and economics research.

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, journalists are constantly in a situation where they need to find or create a plot between all the information from different sources, and journalists are required to make sense of situations, which they are required to communicate it clearly to the audience (Karvonen, 2000). This is why framing is used in a variety of places and situations: in policy, journalistic and public settings, and framing helps to deepen understanding of power, politics, and interests (Creed et al., 2002). Essentially, in the international business context, the frames that are most clearly communicated to the

audience about social mobility can describe a variety of situations and settings, but the frames will principally provide a deeper understanding of social mobility.

Reese (2009, p. 18) states that framing can be defined as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world”. Social issues are often presented in the perspective of for and against, agreements and disagreements, and this frame creates a discussion with opposing points of view (Välvirronen, 2017). These are called “interpretive packages” that create an understanding of the world, which helps to construct paradigms of a phenomenon (Reese, 2009, 19). While the frames of social mobility can present different points of view, together they will provide an understanding of social mobility as a whole. Analyzing frames can help to contextualize topics about social, historical, and cultural events because frame analysis encourages researchers to look closely at different features of a frame. This type of specificity can help to identify relevant findings of a time or a culture, which can result in a social or political understanding. (Reese, 2009, 20).

The media creates a forum for reporting scientific information and bridges the gap between science and society (Välvirronen, 1993). The topics that get selected are impacted by the image of science and the popularity of subjects. Välvirronen (2017) writes that journalism aims to forward research information accurately, understandably, and by making the results attractive. In the news and political reporting, scientific results are often reported from a broader, social perspective. This helps to understand that scientific information is connected with current social situations and that framing social mobility contributes to providing information about broader, scientific phenomena, such as business and economics.

Raworth (2017, p. 22) writes that especially in international business and economics research, the frame analysis helps to realize that everyone holds a frame, and this frame can be questioned and changed, which further contributes to making a change in organizations. Framing is useful in economics because it helps to view how the economy is

described and understood, and how it can be impacted. Journalists often frame economic consequences in the news to highlight the relevance of political and economic events and issues (De Vreese, 2009, p. 205). Greed et al. (2002) align with these aspects by arguing that frame analysis can be applied as a methodological choice in organizational settings, and frame analysis can be conducted to carry out business research.

News frames impact economic expectations, which De Vreese (2009, p. 190-197) has shown their research. They studied economic implications, considerations, and prospects and how these aspects are framed for the audience in the news media to provide proximity and relevance. The emphasis of their research is on exploring whether reporting negative economic consequences will expose them to different economic expectations compared to news about positive economic consequences. Negative consequences can be losses and positive consequences can be gained from economic situations or events. The results indicate that positively framed conditions resulted in more positive responses and negatively framed conditions created more negative responses. Also, Nisbet (2009) writes that connecting the academic and professional communities through media initiatives is effective in addressing social problems, as it encourages more interactive public dialogue that is accessible, which also expands the audience's reach and impact. These aspects emphasize the importance of framing all sides of the business, including social mobility.

While media and the news are not intended to move public opinion towards or away from any subject or issue but rather objectively present occurrences, a public opinion is still shaped by what is written and said (Brewer & Gross, 2009, p. 160). Indeed, the objectivity of media has also faced criticism. Nisbet (2009, 67-68) has written that new reporting about realities such as income disparities is framed in a way that triggers individual perceptions and racial bias. They write that framing is done by highlighting moral appeals, individual stories, and solutions, and research shows that this type of emphasis on groups, such as people who identify themselves as "working-class", actually activates increasing opposition. This means that even though journalists try to discuss

social mobility by emphasizing individuals' stories, it sometimes triggers opposite reactions.

This section discussed that building frames about social mobility will principally provide a deeper understanding of social mobility. Also, framing social mobility can contribute to providing information about broader, scientific phenomena, such as business and economics. It was shown that framing social mobility can contribute to making a change in organizations. How economics is framed in the news impacts how positive or negative the readers' responses are, and wider reporting can reach a larger audience, which is why covering all sides of social mobility is relevant in business. It was also pointed out that despite of aim, framing social mobility does not always result in the outcomes that were intended.

2.3 Summary of the theoretical reference

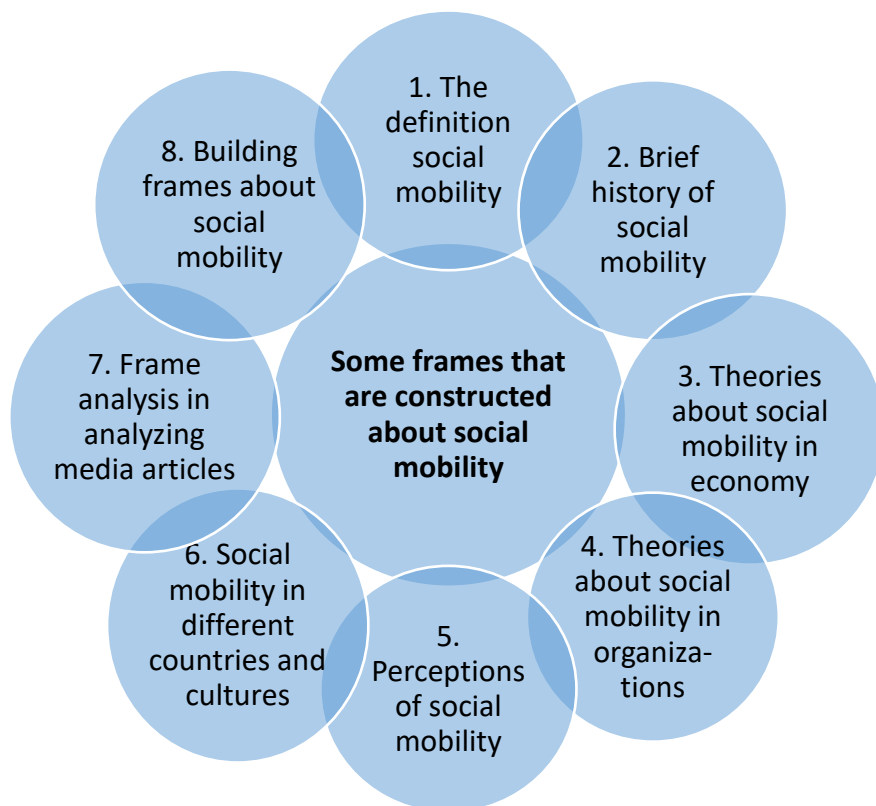


Table 2. Summary of the theoretical framework

The theoretical framework provided many sides for interpreting some frames that are constructed about social mobility. It consisted of theories about the concept of social mobility and social mobility in organizations and economy. Also, it included information about framing and building frames about social mobility.

The theoretical framework discussed that the concept of social mobility means an individual's movement upwards or downwards from the initial standing and it can include being able to access and reach different positions in business, despite an individual's background. In the scope of framing social mobility, the concept includes measuring social mobility in the viewpoints of intragenerational mobility, intergenerational mobility, absolute and relative educational mobility, and relative and absolute income mobility (World Economic Forum, 2020). Economists use different models such as a typology by Erikson-Goldthorpe (1992) and the forms of capital by Bourdieu (1986) to research social mobility and measure access and development of a business career.

Secondly, it was discussed that several changes in history have caused social mobility, and these changes have impacted the economy. Also, social mobility was illustrated by using economic models, such as the Doughnut model, which views social mobility as beneficial for the sustainable economy. Social mobility research has shown that top positions in companies are not within reach of all and access to companies between individuals vary (Friedman et al, 2015; Duff, 2017; Snee and Goswami, 2017). It was pointed out that social mobility research does not represent all groups and usually, the focus is on 'higher' professions. Also, there are differences in understanding social mobility, despite that companies value it as an important factor.

The fifth section showed that perceptions of social mobility can be impacted. If people perceive a chance for social mobility, they are more willing to take action. It was discussed that different features impact measuring social mobility. Also, it was presented that the role of media is significant in guiding how social mobility is perceived. Also, how

social mobility occurs in countries varies, and cultures impact the perceptions of social mobility in different countries.

Then, it was discussed that frame analysis was created to understand a situation and phenomenon. This is done by framing, which shows a point of view to the reader. Some cues and causations create memorable articles and impact readers' opinions and contribute to how readers will respond and act in situations. Lastly, it was presented that building frames about social mobility will principally provide a deeper understanding of social mobility. It was shown that framing social mobility can contribute to making a change in organizations. How economics is framed in the news impacts how positive or negative the readers' responses are, and wider reporting can reach a larger audience, which is why covering all sides of social mobility is relevant in business. It was also pointed out that despite the aim, framing social mobility does not always result in the outcomes that were intended.

3 Methodology

This chapter will provide information on the methodology that was selected to carry out the research to provide some frames that are constructed about social mobility. In section 3.1, the research approach will be explained. In section 3.2, the steps for collecting the data will be provided. In section 3.3, it will be explained how the data will be analyzed. Also, the validity and reliability of the methodology is will be integrated to the chapters and explained in relevant places.

3.1 Research approach

This research is based on the philosophy of the concept of research paradigms. Saunders (2007, p. 112-113) states that a paradigm is a way of examining social phenomena, which can create more understanding and provide explanations for these phenomena. This research adopts the interpretive paradigm, which philosophical position relates to the aim of making sense of the world around us. With this philosophy, the purpose of the research is not to create a fundamental change or improvement in how things are done, but to contribute to understanding and explaining what is going on in a phenomenon.

The choice for the research approach derived from my own interest in the topic of the concept of social mobility. As I regularly follow the news regarding social mobility, I also started to notice patterns in the articles. It became my interest not only to understand the phenomena and follow the development around the topic, but also to understand what is discussed from the point of view it was, and what on the other hand is not covered at all. Therefore, the approach to carrying out the research is inductive, where theory follows data. That is because the data that is relevant for this is research already available: the purpose of the inductive approach is to understand and view the context in which the data takes place (Saunders, 2007, p. 118-119). This means that the collected data will help this research explore what is going on and what the nature of the problem is.

Researches that adopt an inductive approach are often more likely to collect qualitative data (Saunders, 2007, p. 119); so, it is in this research. This research's data is qualitative in nature. Saunders (2007, p. 472) defines the qualitative research approach as based on meanings expressed through words. Often, qualitative data will be grouped into categories to be prepared for a meaningful analysis. In this research, the adopted way to structure and analyze the data will be done by conducting a frame analysis.

3.2 Data collection

To find out some frames that are constructed regarding social mobility, I chose to conduct a frame analysis. The first step in the data collection was deciding how to limit the data to carry out the research. Social mobility occurs differently across countries, which forced to limit the data to analyze one country only because of the restricted timeframe of the thesis process. I decided to select a country with a high mobility score, and Finland receives the third-highest score on the Global Mobility Index (World Economic Forum, 2020). Therefore, it was a natural decision to focus on the Finnish media only.

To carry out research, I selected articles on Finland's biggest media outlet, Helsingin Sanomat. I decided to select media articles published on the web page of Helsingin Sanomat, abbreviated HS, which is the largest subscription newspaper in Finland. Helsingin Sanomat attracts 716 000 daily readers, which together with the digital content totals 1 620 000 daily readers (MediaAuditFinland, 2021). As the largest newspaper outlet, looking for articles on Helsingin Sanomat was a natural choice as it reaches a large audience all around Finland so the articles would provide a useful overview of some frames on how social mobility is constructed in the Finnish context.

Another reason for limiting the research material on the articles on Helsingin Sanomat is because the aim is to identify frames on articles that are meant for a big audience. The aim of the thesis is not to analyze whether social mobility is correctly defined in the media, but to highlight what is discussed in the media about social mobility. While the definition of social mobility can be broad and somewhat vague, objectivity is reached to

the extent that is possible. The frames will be derived from the written words and meanings behind them.

In this thesis, social mobility is viewed as a phenomenon that is experienced in everyday realities and experiences. The broad concept of social mobility is always tied to culture and time, and the results will not be generalizable across countries. Therefore, the research will be conducted in Finland, and the theoretical framework will be applied to fit the context that describes how the Finnish media reports about social mobility in Finnish society.

With this selection, it is important to acknowledge that the data collection may not include all the articles that address social mobility or that in the selected data, not every article perfectly materializes social mobility. However, as all the material is published online and anybody can access it, I believe that this research can be repeated, and the selected data with the same criteria would result in the same data in the new research as what is now in this research.

The research data was collected from the online articles of Helsingin Sanomat by using the search archive (helsinginsanomat.fi/haku). Collecting the data started with a search by using different keywords that relate to social mobility. The choice of using several different keywords was made because the topic of social mobility is wide and can be measured in different ways. The articles were looked for by using the following keywords:

Table 3. Keywords Finnish - English

Keywords Finnish - English	
Sosiaalinen liikkuvuus	Social mobility
Työläistäusta	Working class
Yhteiskuntaluokka	Social class
Keskiluokka	Middle Class
Luokkaerot	Social class differences

Mahdollisuuksien tasa-arvo	Equal opportunity
Eriarvoisuus	Inequality
Luokkayhteiskunta	Class society
Hyväosaisuus	Privilege
Tuloerot	Income inequality

The search data reached articles from 2000 onwards and included over 150 articles. However, considering the time restrictions of the thesis process, articles from September 2020 to September 2021 were selected in the data, totaling 59 articles. Limiting the number of articles enables identifying frames regarding social mobility that are most recently constructed in Helsingin Sanomat.

The articles that cover social mobility are written from many points of view: scientific, political, economic, and cultural. The articles cover national and international news sections and discuss sports and well-being. In addition to the paper, the articles can be found in the monthly supplement *Kuukausiliite*, and economy-oriented *HS Visio*. It is seen that social mobility is a broad topic with a variety of points of view. While it is hard to discuss and define, that complexity makes it also an interesting topic of research.

By using the frame analysis, it is possible to explore how social mobility is constructed in the news by researching some frames that Helsingin Sanomat constructs regarding social mobility. To apply frame analysis in this research about frames that are constructed regarding social mobility, it is relevant to choose appropriate ways to identify the frames. A challenge in identifying frames was the overlapping frames within articles. Multiple articles could cover interviews with professionals from different academic fields who would provide varying comments or views on the topic of the article. Some articles had to be analyzed multiple times before a frame could be stated.

3.3 Data analysis

This section presents the choices, steps, and theoretical background that impacted the data analysis. After limiting the time frame of the data, I conducted the first round of organizing the data. That was because despite including the presented keywords, the content of all the articles was not meaningful for the research. These articles did not provide frames about constructing social mobility but rather focused on something else than social mobility. Regarding these articles, the choice was made to leave some of them out of the research, so that the data would align with the purpose of the research. Therefore, some articles were still left out before running the analysis.

As discussed in section 3.2, the data was collected by using different keywords of the concept of social mobility and listed in an Excel file. After that, different keywords and preliminary frames were identified. This helped to ensure that the content of the article was understood correctly. When writing the preliminary frame, a summary of the contents of the articles was listed. After that, a frame analysis was conducted.

Applying frame analysis requires doing well-informed choices about the best point of entry to answer the research question (Reese, 2009, p. 17). To interpret some frames about social mobility, the articles were split into smaller pieces. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) write that a public discourse includes instantly recognizable pieces that help the reader understand the topic and context immediately. While the ongoing discourse can change and develop over time, a culture is created around a topic that helps to provide meanings for relevant events. Different symbolic devices together create interpretative packages' (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Karvonen (2000, 81-92) discusses interpretive packages, which means that a journalist already holds a routine structure of an article that they fulfill with the content. This routine includes applying keywords, phrases, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and stereotypical visual elements. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) presented that to identify frames, linguistic structures should be systematically searched in a text. That includes metaphors,

catchphrases, visual images, moral appeals, and other characters, which together create an interpretative package.

Also, Reese (2009) writes that to do frame analysis, it is essential to identify devices in framing that can include metaphors, visual icons, catchphrases, and keywords, which are used to communicate frames. Nisbet (2009) shares similar views by claiming that framing is dependent on the perception that can be presented by using terminology and visuals. This idea is based on the view that perception depends on reference, which means that framing an uncertain situation to an audience, the way that the message is framed, and how the issue is described can impact the response, and the terminology and visuals are tools to influence the outcome.

Creed et al. (2002) add that these abovementioned five framing elements – metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images – highlight the frame and help journalists to communicate them easily to the audience because the elements create easily memorized associations and vivid memories to the readers. In addition, to show a clear perspective of a frame, roots, consequences, and appeals to principle support the preferred view of the frame or justify a perspective as they serve as devices of argumentation. These three types of framing show causation by combining many, sometimes complex, elements. All these elements together direct attention to how these are integrated within frames, which helps to identify logic. The logics then creates frames.

To put the theory into action and conduct the data analysis, the abovementioned elements were systematically searched in the data, put together and finally proper frames were identified. In the following table, the meaning of the framing elements for this study is further explained.

Framing elements	Meaning
Metaphors	Describing a person, a group or an object with descriptive characteristics.

Exemplars	Representatives of the groups that are discussed.
Catchphrases	Descriptive sentences that are repeatedly used.
Depictions	Verbal or visual images that are described.
Visual images	Pictures or drawings that illustrate the content.
Roots	The impact or causation that the situation or phenomena can create.
Consequences	The outcome of the situation or phenomena.
Appeals to principle	The essence or value of the situation or phenomena.

These elements can be used to find underlying logic to come up with relevant ways to identify frames in the collected data and to systematically look for the frames in the articles. These elements are not separate, but they are integrated, and all these elements hold the frame together (Creed et al., 2002). To conclude, by combining these eight elements of framing, it is possible to derive a frame that explains what holds all these elements together.

4 Frames of social mobility

This chapter will present the frames that were identified regarding social mobility in section 4.1. The chapters 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 will show the frames with the identified quotes and in the light of existing research. Finally, section 4.5 will summarize the main findings that will provide answers to the research question.

4.1 Identifying the frames

The articles describe social mobility from numerous points of view. These features include articles about upward and downward social mobility, but also about economics, politics, finance, health and well-being, and other subjects. This describes that social mobility is integrated into many themes of news reporting, and the discussion about social mobility varies in different contexts. Because the articles were broad, they also created a fruitful basis for identifying some frames about social mobility.

To identify the three frames, the framing elements that were presented in section 3.3 were applied. These elements gather aspects of each frame about social mobility. The quotes from the articles work as examples of the content of each frame so that the frames are described as practically as possible. The articles are listed by codes, for instance, the first article is HS.1, HS.2, et cetera. The complete list of articles can be found in the appendices, followed by full translations of the quotes.

It is important to note that the frames did not surface instantly from the materials, but they materialized after reading all the articles carefully and analyzing the contents with all the framing elements. As Karvonen (2000) states, journalists actively find or create a plot between all the information from different sources and communicate it clearly to the audience. Therefore, after recognizing the framing elements, it was acknowledged what the journalists try to tell the reader and what kind of view is offered. Based on this, I interpreted three different frames.

The frames were the frame of differences, the frame of impact, and the frame of opportunity. The frame of differences was identified when it was noticed that many articles describe all types of differences between groups. The frame of impact provided the points of view of individuals and highlighted how the experience of social mobility has impacted or changed an individual's life path. The frame of opportunity emphasized the benefits of social mobility for businesses and the economy, and steps that are taken that enable social mobility, despite its complexity.

Next, these frames will be introduced one by one. I will compare the findings in light of existing research and interpretations of the previous academic publications. Finally, I will provide a summary of the findings.

4.2 Frame of differences (n=27)

The first identified frame that is constructed regarding social mobility is the frame of differences, which brings to light discrepancies between groups of people. The findings in the frame of differences describe types of obstacles and barriers that prevent the occurrence of social mobility. The frame of differences includes articles that show in many ways that there is concern about the present stage of social mobility. This frame brings up a discussion on why social mobility does not occur adequately and what some of the problems and inequalities in society are. It is presented what kind of connection there is between different factors and how economic status and education levels are compared between different groups.

The frame of differences was identified in 27 articles, which makes it the largest frame based on the number of articles. This means that most articles about social mobility are constructed as the frame of differences on Helsingin Sanomat. So, in this research, almost half of the articles are constructed as providing information and pointing out differences that prevent the development of social mobility.

In the articles, some metaphors frame the differences between groups. The articles often present some opposing metaphors to people from different socio-economic groups. In an article (HS.4) that explores what kind of clothing people wear in different districts of Helsinki, metaphors such as “*elegancy, sophistication, and quality*” are used to describe the type of clothing and style of people in some areas, and these are metaphors for high socioeconomic status. In other areas, the clothing and style are described as “*practical, comfortable, and basic*”, which indicates that people who reside in those areas have a lower socioeconomic status. Väliverronen (2017) stated that journalists often present social issues from opposing perspectives, such as for and against, as in this way it is possible to start conversations from opposite points of view. This view aligns with the finding of presenting and comparing what people from different socioeconomic backgrounds do and making the differences between groups visible.

The frame of differences describes differences between people by using different exemplars. There are comparisons of what clothes and kind of food people from different socioeconomic backgrounds consume. There is a clear difference in restaurants people like to go. For instance, people from a higher socioeconomic background like to eat in places that are owned by private entrepreneurs and people from a lower class go to chain restaurants (HS.4). There is also a difference and a conflict in what kind of food different people eat in general (HS.18).

- (1) The atmosphere at the terrace and the huge cinnamon buns remind first and foremost Stockholm. “It is obvious that while there are cafés, restaurants, and clothing shops in the area, many of them are not chains. Instead, even for little girls, expensive linen dresses are sold in shops, which you could not imagine seeing anywhere else in Helsinki”. (HS, 24.5.2021)
- (2) There are many clothing chains in the shopping center, and according to Sykkö, most people’s clothes we see have been bought from Zara, H&M, and the like. “There is a big difference to South Helsinki. The clothes in the markets and chain stores are accessible to those who do not have a lot of money.” (HS, 24.5.2021)
- (3) Someone wrote that the lunch looks like “what the rich eat”. (HS, 20.10.2021)

- (4) Social class is in many ways connected to what we eat – and how we think we should eat. (HS, 20.10.2021)

The exemplars of the frame on differences include people who are often divided into the well-earning people and less-earning people or people with higher and lower socio-economic status, and the articles include comparisons of what is typical for the people in both groups. This aligns with the view of Käyhkö (2015), who states that society can be different for individuals from different classes.

Visuals are used in the form of pictures to support the content of the articles. In the frame of differences, some images highlight the varying features between groups. There is a picture of a drawing that shows happy, fancy-dressed people holding money in their hands and sad people in regular clothes holding nothing in their hands (HS.2). The images that are used in the articles illustrate people from a higher socio-economic background as neat and formally dressed, such as wearing a suit. Duff (2017) found in their research that style and clothing can illustrate the cultural capital of a person, and for instance, in accountancy firms employees tend to wear neat suits. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) write that context is immediately understood by recognizing familiar pieces, and these symbolic devices help a reader to understand a situation. Therefore, looking at a picture of a person in a suit gives cues about the situation that is going on, and in this context, the visuals support the existing idea of style and clothing.

The roots describe what kind of effects a phenomenon or a situation has (Creed et al., 2002). In the frame of differences, the impact of power, who possess it, and the consequences on people from different socioeconomic background is highlighted. Entman (1993) has said that framing can show the causation of phenomena, and this causation can help understand the problem and the effect it causes. This type of causation in the articles can be found in the context of the Finnish municipal election, where it is reported that the candidates and people who won the council seats hold higher education and income levels than voters, and the people who hold the council seats come from areas

with a higher socioeconomic status, and the decisions will benefit people who already have a high socioeconomic status (HS.7). Overall, an increasing difference between people from different socioeconomic backgrounds and how actively they participated in voting was highlighted (HS.27). This view in the frame of differences discussed political voice, which is also one component in the Doughnut model that contributes to sustainable economic growth (Raworth, 2017).

- (5) “People from better areas, in which the voter turnout is already high, are more aware of the mechanisms and vote their guys to the council. Then, the decisions will bring more benefits to the same people that already hold them.” (HS, 24.5.2021)
- (6) According to dissertation research, among young adults whose parents did not acquire a higher than the basic education level, the voter turnout was only 28 percent. However, for those young adults who had at least one parent with a master’s degree, the voter turnout was 69 percent. - - “This indicates that not everyone starts from the same position but rather participates in politics from different starting points.” (HS, 29.9.2019)

Also, the roots of the differences are framed in the viewpoint of families and education. One article reports a connection between parents' income level and what types of values it thought to children, which impacts their career path. However, it was pointed out that despite its importance, the connection to social mobility remains unresearched (HS.5). The articles present that students from lower social classes go to schools in different areas than students from higher social classes, which causes segregation and increases the differences in levels of schools. Consequently, families put their children in specific schools and the experiences of students can vary enormously (HS.10; HS.14). Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that children’s experiences can differ from the reality of the children from the same, lower-class neighborhood, which aligns with how this societal issue is framed: different factors, such as segregation, contribute to creating differences between people, which prevent social mobility. Many children receive different opportunities based on their family background (HS.22).

- (7) In their study, Acemođluk found a strong connection between parenting attitude and socioeconomic status. The assessment of the effect of attitude on the possibility of social mobility remains at the theoretical level. (HS, 24.8.2021)
- (8) According to Bernelius' observations, schools can be the most important experience of society for children. When the differences in levels are high, children and young people can have, according to Bernelius, "deeply differing perceptions of what society is like". (HS, 28.4.2021)
- (9) I feel that hobbies strongly cause inequality – it is a wall between young people. If you play floorball at the national level or go horseback riding three times a week, your status in your group of friends is completely different from those without any hobbies". (...). I feel irritated that underprivilege and misfortune recur for people, who already have struggles, receive often more struggles. It is the saddest to follow families, whose underprivileged position has been inherited for several generations. The reasons are deep, and there are no quick or easy solutions. (HS, 15.4.2020)

The last roots that contribute to the frame of differences include articles that present actors that relate to income levels, and the articles discuss how the income gap and relationship status are connected (HS.8) and how a partner is often chosen from the same income levels in countries such as the United States and China (HS.11). It is considered how income levels impact the everyday life of partners, as one may feel bad for earning more than their partner (HS12). Also, acquiring education and work experience is seen as more important than the social and economic benefits of marriage as young people rather experience upward mobility by themselves instead of through a marriage (HS.24). Erola (2009) writes that social mobility is experienced when there is a change in an individual's economic status, and these articles find that a partner is increasingly more often chosen from the same income level and social class. Reese (2009) says that framing a view about a time or a culture can result in a social or political understanding. Although the articles point out that marriage comes last after all the other milestones, which can include for instance education and work, all these factors can contribute to social mobility.

- (10) Living in a relationship has a stronger connection to income disparities than expected. (HS, 31.5.2021)
- (11) Choosing a partner from the same income class is three times more common for these high-earning men than in 1970, said Milanović. According to statistics, the corresponding ratio for high-earning women is five times higher. According to Milanović, this type of selective partnership is not limited only to the United States. In China, for example, choosing the same income class and background in a marriage is even more common than in the United States. (HS, 26.4.2021)
- (12) “Sometimes I have a bad conscience about my salary because I think that Salla would deserve a much higher salary.” (HS, 14.4.2021)
- (13) “The meaning of marriage has changed. Nowadays it is seen as the last achievement after having accomplished all the other milestones” (HS, 18.3.2020)

The consequences of uneven wealth distribution and income levels in the frame of differences are described in several ways. The articles present that wealth impacts what people who come from a higher social class or have a high-income level think about the worthiness of other people (HS.25) and that unequal treatment can cause conflicts and produce a feeling of not having the same opportunities as ‘the elite’ (HS.26). Consequences can justify a perspective as they serve as devices of argumentation by combining many elements (Creed et al., 2002). Social equity and income and work are contributors to creating a regenerative and distributive economy (Raworth, 2017). The frame of differences, therefore, includes different views on the consequences that uneven wealth distribution creates between groups.

- (14) “I believe that wealth impacts how the privileged view dignity. It produces behavior and the idea that it is right that we are in an unequal position. That it is kind of reality acquired in birth, that lower classes serve me.” As long as classes are invisible, wealth is easily explained as earned by hard work. (HS, 12.2.2020)
- (15) People like me, he added. “We will not receive new opportunities”. (HS, 1.11.2019)

The differences are also highlighted by presenting consequences that bring to light how unequal distribution in investment knowledge and understanding creates inequalities when people from higher class have better knowledge and skills to gain passive income from their investments (HS.9). There is a suspicion that changes in the progressive taxation system in Finland caused an increase in the payment gap in investment, and unequal income gaps contribute to differences in well-being and health. (HS.21; HS.15; HS.20). This finding in the frame of differences aligns with De Vreese (2009) as they presented that journalists highlight relevant economic events and issues by framing economic consequences in the news.

(16) According to Saario, prosperous Finns differ from the less privileged in that “the wealthy have economic understanding, and they can count and think long-term”. (HS, 10.5.2021)

(17) According to Tuomala, large differences in income and wealth disturb economic conditions, and for this reason, they must be researched in the future. “The biggest concerns are the lowest educated and socially excluded people because the well-being of that group is the lowest.” (HS, 18.8.2020)

The consequences also describe how the world situations impact people differently. For instance, COVID-19 enabled people from the middle class to question their choices in daily work life, such as whether they want to go to the office five times a week or rather work remotely (HS.6). Also, it was discussed how COVID-19 restrictions favored the middle-class people with families and left out lonely people in the most vulnerable situation (HS.13). The unequal impact of COVID-19 was especially evident in New York (HS.23). Health and social equity are the principles of social foundation in the Doughnut (Raworth, 2017). Reese (2009, p. 19) defines that frames help to understand the discussion by providing a point of view that helps to understand the concept and how to respond to it, and the articles bring to light frames in which different groups face the pandemic. This fits the frame of differences that explains what kind of social consequences world situations, such as a pandemic, can create.

- (18) COVID-19 created the privilege of a space where to question the obvious sides of life, says Suikkonen. "People asked themselves why to go to the office five times a week" (HS, 19.7.2021)
- (19) "Restrictions do not seem to affect everyone equally" -- According to Junttila, the numerous exceptions to the restrictions emphasize the undertone that favors the middle-class people with families. (HS, 27.3.2021)
- (20) But when the coronavirus infections in New York are placed on the map, it seems the pandemic does not treat everyone equally. "A high number of infections and deaths are concentrated in poor and minority neighborhoods," - These include the South Bronx, Harlem, Elmhurst - and Corona. Most of the residents in the neighborhoods are Black or Latino. In contrast, there are fewer corona cases people in the wealthy, and whiter, areas of Manhattan. (HS, 20.4.2020)

The appeals to principal help to provide a basis for a frame and bring to light the underlying idea of what integrates these elements (Creed et al., 2002). The frame of differences describes that despite a desire for progressing social mobility; it is increasingly difficult to gain social mobility (HS.16). Upward social mobility is, in principle, difficult, and even more difficult without education (HS.17). One of the main concerning factors is the globally increasing pay gap (HS.11). Research shows that social mobility can be measured in many ways, such as in the level of occupation (Eriksson and Goldthorpe, 1992) and changes in occupation, social class, and education levels (Tittenbrun, 2015; Björklund & Jäntti, 2019). Also, many other factors contribute to social mobility, and that makes it hard to improve social mobility (Käyhkö, 2015; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For instance, the concept of social mobility is not always recognized in the work environment (Duff, 2017) and social mobility is accomplished differently in different countries (World Economic Forum, 2020). The frame of differences highlights many topics in the articles.

- (21) According to Saari, a second- or third-generation social welfare office' customers, an immigrant, over-indebted or otherwise vulnerable, have a much more difficult starting point now than in the 20th century. "It is harder to reach middle-class positions. (HS, 3.2.2021)

(22) According to research, the most privileged social classes grow as others shrink. Finland is getting more “white-collar”. At the same time, the importance of education is stronger than before. But at the same time, the heritability of education also seems to be strengthening. It is increasingly difficult to rise from low positions, especially without education. (HS, 19.12.2020)

(23) According to him [Milanović], piling of wealth and good salaries for the same people has become a global phenomenon. (HS, 26.4.2021)

Framing elements	Frame of difficulties
Metaphors	Elegance, sophistication, and quality versus practical, comfortable, and basic
Exemplars	People who have a lower and higher socioeconomic status act, consume, and live differently.
Catchphrases	“Not everybody has the same starting point”.
Depictions	Impact of the lack of social mobility for sustainable economic growth.
Visual images	Happy people holding money and sad people without money. Images of people that are dressed differently.
Roots	The low voting turnout of people with a low socioeconomic status will benefit people who already have a high economic status. Segregation can create contrasting experiences for children from different backgrounds. Partners are chosen from the same social class.
Consequences	People feel and are seen as unworthy when there is unequal wealth distribution. Lack of investment knowledge prevents people from the lower class to gain passive income from investments and impacts well-being and health. COVID-19 stopped people from going to the office to work. COVID-19 impacts people differently.

Appeals to principle	There are differences between groups of people illustrating the invisible structures that create obstacles for people.
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Table 4. Framing elements in the frame of differences.

4.3 Frame of impact (n=19)

The second frame was constructed as a frame of impact, which means that the impact and importance of social mobility for individuals and their paths are highlighted. The articles emphasize how the experience of social mobility has impacted or changed an individual's life path by providing opportunities. Despite different circumstances, the individuals have experienced upward social mobility, and the results are visible at work later on.

The articles bring to light personal stories of well-known people, such as a politician, soccer player, rapper, author, and investors. Also, young people from unprivileged backgrounds are interviewed and their journeys of social mobility are discussed in exclusive interviews. The common pattern in the frame of impact is that a description of upward social mobility is provided. Also, the personal experiences of well-known and regular people have been supported by interviews and statements of experts, specialists, and academic researchers, who have specialized in social mobility. The researchers bring up their views and knowledge on the latest developments in social mobility, which support the interviewees' stories and paths, and explain the reasons behind their success and how they have overcome adversity.

In the frame of impact, the exemplars are people who discuss why they have experienced upward social mobility, what factors have affected their experience, and what kind of challenges they have faced. The articles discuss interviewees who have experienced social mobility and talk about the reasons behind mobility (HS.40; HS.29; HS.45; HS.39). Scheufele and Scheufele (2009) discussed an approach to framing that sees media as a carrier for frames where the public discourse occurs in the content. Journalists are constantly in a situation where they need to find or create a plot between all the information

that helps the audience make sense of situations and this information should be communicated clearly to the audience (Karvonen, 2000). Nisbet (2009) writes that emphasizing individuals' stories is a common way of framing.

(24) Kullas, too, was just a daughter of a regular working-class family living in a suburb, who became the first female editor-in-chief of *Talouselämä* magazine and the director of *Eva* (Finnish Business and Policy Forum). "It [social mobility] has been possible before, it is possible now, and we need to make sure it is going to be possible in the future." (HS, 5.12.2020)

(25) Some things have been inherited for generations. They are significant, even though people tend to think that success is the result of their efforts and hard work. Viitala illustrates this by giving an example from her own life: When Viitala was a child, her teacher parents read a lot to her, took her often to the library, and brought books at home. As a child, Viitala had no opportunity to influence that. She can only be grateful that since childhood she was taught to read and write and she received help with homework (HS, 27.7.2021)

In the frame of impact, visuals such as pictures and portraits are used. These are often portraits of the interviewees in an easily recognized environment. For instance, a politician is portrayed in the metro and a rapper is portrayed in a children's sandbox at a children's play area in front of a suburban building complex. These also expose the appeals to principle: the interviewees are portrayed by highlighting the contrast of where they come from and where they are now - being a regular person from a less privileged background but having experienced upward social mobility is possible. These pictures support the story and offer a mental image to the reader of how these people used to grow up in this type of environment but may not belong there or these surroundings anymore or have made a clear choice of coming back to their familiar childhood areas. Entman (1993) explains that framing news articles is done by making information is made more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable for the reader, and can be used by using easily memorized and recognized visuals.

To reveal how the interviewees have come to experience upward social mobility, the articles start by discussing the background and childhood of the interviewees, which

often follow a story about growing up in a lower, working-class families. The roots in the frame of impact in the articles describe a common aspect to the interviewees, which is that the family dynamics are not what is often seen as traditional. They grew up in a household where there was violence or unemployment, or they were raised by a single parent (HS.33; HS.36). Also, they might have chosen a partner from the same social class later on (HS.46). Framing the roots by emphasizing the circumstances that one is born into helps the reader to understand the situation (Creed et al., 2002). According to Bourdieu (1986), a family has an impact on the economic, social, and cultural capital, and those are impacted by the circumstances one is born into. Also, one can gain social capital from networks such as friends and other relationships. These circumstances are then framed by presenting the stories from the interviewees' point of view. Catchphrases such as "the whole society was based on fear" reveal circumstances that affected the interviewee and provide the reader understanding of what was going on in that situation and time.

(26) It is odd when you think of [Elon] Musk's youth. He was born and raised in a society that was anything but creative and innovative. On the contrary, everything was controlled, everyone was given their own place and the whole society was based on fear. (HS, 5.6.2021)

(27) "We claim that although choosing a partner in Finland is increasingly a choice that is based on love, it is still influenced by hidden expectations of the partner's social class, education level, and prosperity", says Järvinen. - - "There is some kind of easiness when families have a relatively similar status. Then neither has the position of an underdog or the feeling of superiority." (HS, 25.9.2019)

The roots in the frame of impact present everyday experiences where social mobility has become evident. Segregation has a strong impact on many areas of life, such as in workplaces, which is experienced concerning (HS.32). Also, upward social mobility has made others jealous and wonder whether some feel superior about their mobility (HS.41). Goffman (1974) writes that journalists make selections by directing attention to certain aspects of reality and then leaving other information out of the news. This can be seen as highlighting specific experiences and feelings that derive attention to the topic.

(28) In addition to districts, segregation occurs in other areas of life, such as in schools, workplaces, services, hobbies, and transport. - - "If one does not feel belonging to society, it can affect what kind of educational and career opportunities one perceives for themselves. It is about equality of opportunity. (HS, 27.7.2021)

(29) The working class asked whether she wanted to seem sophisticated and show that she is better than she is (HS, 1.10.2020)

Attention to impact is also driven by using metaphors, such as in the title "Woman can leave the East" (HS.45). Saying "can leave the East" does not only mean leaving the physical place, which is in this case the Eastern part of Helsinki, but it also means that while one leaves a place, there is always something to it. Creed et al. (2002) say that metaphors provide information about a context to the reader. So, while a metaphor does not necessarily mean anything significant when it is taken out of context, an article can provide insights into the topic, which changes the meaning of a sentence and makes it a metaphor. Like in the next example, where the article reveals that the interviewee grew up in Eastern Helsinki in a working-class family. In this case, coming from a working-class background is the significant factor, not necessarily the area.

(30) Ohisalo was born and has spent almost her entire youth in Eastern Helsinki. Ohisalo's background is something completely new in the Greens in Finland. All other former leaders of the Greens have come from middle-class academic families. (HS, 7.12.2019)

The consequences in the frame of impact present the evident existence of social class in their experiences. A common pattern in the articles is that while experiencing social mobility, for instance gaining a higher-level education than the family members, they have often faced a lack of feeling of belonging in a higher class and having the feeling of balancing between two worlds (HS.28, HS.42). In addition, as the consequences in the frame of impact, social mobility has affected the work they do but work also brings them closer to their "own" social class, and the experiences at work and about the working conditions are usually shared experiences in the same social class (HS.35). Erola (2010b) writes

that education indicates an advancing career, and Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) state that when a person moves up to a higher position, there is upward mobility. Nisbet (2009) discussed that identifying themselves in groups, such as working-class, can therefore explain the impact of belonging in the group, and can be used as a way of framing as it triggers individual perceptions.

(31) Launonen describes that entering the university world was like being in a kind of space in between. Working at a warehouse in the beginning of my studies became a backdoor to my background, says Launonen. That gave him enough to talk about with his male relatives as they did not care about academic matters. "It was important to stay in touch with my working-class background and I felt kind of pride of working in a warehouse." (9.9.2021)

(32) "Almost everyone in my family was missing a finger or at least a part of a finger, but so was all other factory workers", says Alakoski. What concerned her family, was an experience for an entire social class. (HS, 25.4.2021)

Also, consequences are portrayed in the interviewee's interest in the topic of social mobility. The interviewees have achieved a high level of education and a high position or have otherwise familiarized themselves with social mobility. Now, the experience of social mobility is visible in their work. For instance, an article portrays an author who published a book about social class differences, a rapper whose lyrics describe upward social mobility and a theater director who writes plays about working-class people (HS.29; HS.31; HS.42; HS.37). Scheufele & Scheufele (2009) present a classification of framing, a horizontal-vertical matrix, which frames social systems that occur in society (horizontal level) and ways of how media carries the conversation (vertical level). According to the matrix, personal stories can be a way to frame the social system, including social mobility. Nisbet (2009) criticizes that using individual stories can create a reverse reaction: instead of identifying themselves with the story, readers' reactions can be the opposite.

(33) In the book, the purpose of the wall is to keep problems, crime, and violence under control. Or at least out of the sight of the middle and upper class. (HS, 25.8.2021)

(34) Kube's music illustrates a suburban background, but without the cliché of a gangster. The song "Tän takii" portrays upward social mobility. (HS, 20.7.2021)

(35) What interests the author to describe the social classes, especially the lower middle class? "Maybe it is because I feel like that is where are come from. I have lived in the suburbs of Lahti, and the world is familiar to me. If we talk about class mobility, which is possible through studies or otherwise in a society like Finland, I am an example of that." (HS, 27.8.2020)

The importance of a network is seen as valuable to gaining mobility. Often, despite challenges, a role model that has pushed the person to pursue their dreams was mentioned: a grandparent, wife, or relative (HS.38; HS.34). Bourdieu (1986) writes that one of the capitals that contribute to social mobility is social capital, which can be networks, and these resources impact individuals in adulthood (Eskelinen et al., 2020). Networks are also a part of the social foundation in the Doughnut that contributes to the well-being of people and therefore to sustainable economic growth (Raworth, 2017). This aligns with the view that combining the impact of well-being and life satisfaction can contribute to economic growth (World Economic Forum, 2020).

(36) "It was important to have someone to support at home during good and bad times" (HS, 21.6.2021)

(37) According to Ristikari, one of the reasons for a low level of education for my age group was that during the recession, families did not necessarily have resources to encourage children to study, as the financial concerns took all the parents' energy. (HS, 20.4.2021)

Framing elements	Frame of impact
Metaphors	"Woman can leave East", which refers to that a place is more than a place; it describes background and class
Exemplars	People who have experienced upward social mobility.
Catchphrases	"The whole society was based on fear"

Depictions	The meaningfulness of experiences of individuals who have experienced social mobility.
Visual images	Portraits of the interviewees in an easily recognized everyday environment that are important to them.
Roots	Circumstances that one is born into can affect many factors. Everyday experiences where social mobility has become evident are meaningful. Upward social mobility can cause jealousy. Segregation can negatively impact workplaces.
Consequences	Social mobility creates an experience of being between two realities. Working conditions often affect the entire social class. The experience of social mobility is visible at work. Networks contribute to social mobility.
Appeals to principle	Experiencing upward social mobility impact people.

Table 5. Framing elements in the frame of impact.

4.4 Frame of opportunity (n=13)

The third frame that constructs social mobility is the frame of opportunity. In this frame, social mobility is framed positively. The frame of opportunity presents frames that contribute to the development of social mobility and what could be done to increase social mobility. It highlights the benefits of social mobility for businesses and the economy and steps that are taken that enable social mobility, despite its complexity. The frame of opportunity is not as large as the other two previous frames, but it is the third identified frame on how social mobility is constructed on Helsingin Sanomat.

The consequence in the frame of opportunity points out the contribution to economic growth (HS.56). Economic growth requires political and structural change and increasing social mobility is key to it (HS. 59). These views align with the theory of growth

economics, where economic success is often presented by measuring the GDP, and the current need to measure the need of inhabitants in society (World Economic Forum, 2020). These articles also refer to studies and research results. As Nisbet (2009) writes, an effective way of framing by journalists is to not only emphasize one's opinion but connect it with academic and professional communities, which can then provide ways to address social problems, such as present research results.

(38) On the contrary, international studies show that economic equality and insignificant income disparities benefit economic growth. According to an IMF study, economic growth will decrease if the prosperity of the wealthiest fifth grows. Similarly, economic growth will accelerate if the income levels of the lowest 20 percent earning people increase. (HS, 27.11.2020)

(39) "The key is to increase social mobility, which is enhanced by education, a social safety net, active labor market policies, and well-functioning capital markets. We need to remove all the barriers that the rich usually want to maintain to prevent others from getting rich." (HS, 7.1.2020)

The frame of opportunity provides ways of finding solutions for social mobility. Social mobility is framed as invisible in society and talking about it would contribute to enhancing it (HS.51; HS.58). The root in the frame of opportunity is based on the fact that privileges may be gained without effort and privilege is, therefore, inherited. The frame opportunity presents a tool, Wheel of Privilege, created by Sylvia Duckworth, which helps to visualize factors that contribute to the privilege of a person. The goal is to help to open conversations about equality. This tool can be used in companies to make realities evident in the working environment. (HS.58). According to Entman (1993), journalists suggest remedies by showing different solutions and potential consequences of differing outcomes.

(40) In Finland, we often want to think that we already have equality. We think that we do not have a class society, racism or colonialism, Turunen thinks. In her opinion, denying only deepens the gap between existing classes. If the existence of inequality was accepted, resolving it could be started. (HS, 14.3.2022)

- (41) It is good to notice that privileges are increased or narrowed by many factors that cannot be influenced, such as skin color, gender, sexuality, or appearance. The Wheel of Privilege can naturally help to continue to look at what factors in life are the consequence of own effort. "If you are doing well, chances are that you may have happened to be lucky and avoided negative things throughout your life cycle. It is important to understand that not everyone is doing equally well. Perspective is easily forgotten." (HS, 29.4.2021)

Using the visual image of the Wheel of Privilege to frame the opportunity is an example of a way to illustrate a desirable goal. Karvonen (2000) stated that people always search for cues in different situations and make decisions based on the cues. The frame of opportunity tries to encourage to take action towards social mobility, and these visuals can be seen as encouraging as they provide information on how to act in a situation like in the working environment.

The opportunity is framed as actions that enhance mobility. Pension insurance and taxation systems decrease the pay gap, which is the opposite point of view of the frame of differences. The trend is said to be similar in Europe but it also pointed out that all countries are different and therefore hard to compare (HS.50, HS.48). Comparing different countries or "the big picture" is a way to highlight roots, to highlight phenomena (Creed et al., 2002).

- (42) Jaakko Kiander, Research Director of the Finnish Center for Pensions, says that in the "big picture" the Finnish pension system balances income disparities. (27.4.2021)

- (43) The same developments can be seen in Europe - - In the debate on inequality, it is always good to remember that there are differences between countries, he adds. "Finland and the United States are different." (HS, 27.4.2021)

The frame of opportunity provides views on developments that are made towards possibilities. Friedman et al (2015) discuss breaking the glass ceilings. In their study, a glass ceiling was found to prevent some to reach the top positions, especially in the fields of law, medicine, and finance. The article presents developments on that: President Macron closed an elite university in France to contribute to the opportunity of equality

(HS.49) However, the opportunity of equality includes complexity: social mobility happens through education, which is often inherited, and there are still several highly rated professions. (HS.50)

(44) By closing the school, Macron has said that his goal is a society based on equal opportunities, according to Reuters. (HS, 9.4.2021)

(45) Jallinoja has studied the life cycle and the backgrounds and family trees of several families during the time span of hundreds of years. "You can see how upward social mobility through education has begun and progressed, and how status is inherited and maintained for a long time." (HS, 7.4.2021)

(46) Often, one child was allowed to go to school. - - "For a long time, the most respected professions were doctor, lawyer, and architect, and in a way, they are still status professions." (HS, 7.4.2021)

Additionally, in the frame of opportunity, other ways to enhance mobility were mentioned. The capital of Finland, Helsinki, has doubled the size of foreign-speaking people, so people who do not speak Finnish, Swedish, or Sami as their mother tongue. These are Russian, Somalian, Estonian, Arabian, and English-speaking people. It is pointed out that there is lots of talent, as these people navigate between cultures and there is an opportunity to use their potential (HS.55). In several studies, fair access to professions and enhancement of mobility were seen as opportunities (Duff, 2017; Snee & Goswami, 2021; Wilson, 2009).

(47) "They are people with potential. They navigate smoothly between cultures, and their capacity can be taken into use by the city". (HS, 30.7.2020)

Overall, the frame of opportunity highlights that many different aspects contribute to success. Not only does a family background impact the effects on a future, but education and other demographic factors and self-awareness can contribute to success and happiness (HS.52). Well-being then also contributes to economic growth (HS.59). Research also highlights similar findings: As discussed earlier, the importance of social mobility is evident as it, for instance, impacts an individual's well-being (Friedman, 2016), causes

missing out on new business opportunities and investments (OECD, 2018), and negatively impacts society's growth, cohesion, and innovation (World Economic Forum, 2020).

(48) Self-awareness is not just the path to a happier life. It also brings success. (HS, 8.3.2021)

(49) When there is investment in well-being, people are healthier and able to work, and the results are seen in the economy. (HS, 23.9.2019)

Framing elements	Frame of opportunity
Metaphors	-
Exemplars	Social mobility contributes to economic growth.
Catchphrases	-
Depictions	Opportunities in economic growth and well-functioning markets.
Visual images	Tool that illustrates privilege, used in work environment.
Roots	Pension system can balance income disparities. Interest for equality occurs globally.
Consequences	If there is social mobility, there is economic growth. Access to education will enhance social mobility. If the glass ceiling is removed, there are more opportunities for social mobility. There is a lot of potential and talent that social mobility would enable.
Appeals to principle	Social mobility is possible and creates opportunities.

Table 6. Framing elements in the frame of opportunity.

5 Conclusions

This research aimed to investigate some frames that are constructed regarding social mobility. The topic was researched by applying the frame analysis to articles that were identified about the concept of social mobility in Helsingin Sanomat. The analysis included 59 articles, which were examined by applying different framing elements. The elements were not seen as separate entities, but they were integrated and connected, and they hold a frame together (Creed et al., 2002). These elements were systematically applied to analyze the data, but also other framing elements appeared in the articles, which were analyzed in the light of existing research about framing. Combining these elements distinguished three frames that were constructed regarding social mobility, and therefore it was possible to provide answers to the main research question.

The frames that were constructed regarding social mobility were the frame of differences, the frame of impact, and the frame of opportunity. The frame analysis revealed that as the concept of social mobility is wide, also many types of views around the concept of social mobility were included in the articles, and therefore, also each frame consists of many types of topics.

Next, the discussion of the main findings will be presented. Then, theoretical contributions, practical contributions, limitations, and suggestions for ways forward will be discussed.

5.1 Summary of the main findings

The frame of differences was identified in 26 articles, which made it the largest, most significant frame. The overarching meaning of the frame was to highlight differences between groups. This way of framing created opposing views of people, which illustrated the invisible structures for different groups of people. The varying differences were illustrated by using many elements of framing. The framing elements presented concretely the differences. For instance, metaphors in the articles pointed out that people from

different socio-economic backgrounds were discussed differently. This differentiation made concrete the exemplars of the articles: people from lower and higher socioeconomic groups.

The frame of differences was illustrated by using visuals, such as drawings and images. The images guide the readers about the topic by offering cues about the social status of the people from different groups. Different causations were utilized to show the readers the roots of differences, such as the impact of power, who possess it, and the consequences on people from different socioeconomic backgrounds. These roots were interpreted to highlight that many factors impact the differences, and it is significant because those factors contribute to building sustainable economic growth.

The frame of differences pointed out that in situations, people face opposing obstacles. Therefore, the frame of differences emphasized stories that despite a desire for progressing social mobility; it is increasingly difficult to gain social mobility. Multiple factors contributed to building the frame of differences, and the contributors were wide and manifold, such as the globally increasing pay gap. Overall, the appeals to principle were framed as that many differences still exist in the societal structures.

The second frame that constructs social mobility, the frame of impact, was identified in 19 articles. It was interpreted that the impact of social mobility on an individual was highlighted in the data, and the readers were made familiar with social mobility by providing information with the help of using people's stories. The exemplars of the frame were people who had experienced upward social mobility.

To emphasize the impact of social mobility on the readers, multiple framing elements were applied in the articles. The impact of each personal story was completed with metaphors and visuals. This framing by using visuals made the articles easily recognized and memorized to the readers. The roots in the articles provided similar views: because they had experienced social mobility, it was evident in their experiences. While the roots

emphasized that there were many issues on the journey, the impact was present in their career or at the workplace. The consequences were shown in the interviewees' stories in the workplace in many ways. After experiencing social mobility and gaining a high position or education level, the experience of social mobility is visible in their work and professions. It brought the feeling of being in between two worlds, the two social classes, they have noticed that some work experiences are shared within an entire social class, and factors such as networks have contributed to social mobility. The appeals to principle in the frame of impact relieve the readers of the impact of upward social mobility.

The third frame that constructed social mobility is the frame of opportunity and it was identified in 13 articles. While this article was not as significant in numbers as the other two frames, it was the third interpreted frame. This frame brings to light that social mobility presents an opportunity for the development of businesses and economy. Overall, social mobility is framed in a positive light, and opportunities to enhance it are presented to the readers by using different framing elements.

In the frame of opportunity, remedies and solutions were presented to the readers. While it was made clear that privileges are inherited, tools to view and learn about privilege, status, and other contributors to social mobility were presented. This was also illustrated to the readers by providing a picture of the same tool and making the topic of social mobility in this way approachable. Also, the opportunity of social was highlighted by providing insights into the "big picture" and what factors had enhanced it in Finland and globally.

The frame of opportunity discussed developments that are already made to enhance social mobility, such as closing an elite university in France. This helps readers to gain information on how social mobility can be enhanced by providing equal access to companies and top positions. Also, readers were made aware by pointing multicultural people hold a lot of potentials and this talent is an opportunity for businesses. The well-

being of people was highlighted. Combining all the results, social mobility was seen as an opportunity and possible in many ways.

5.2 Main findings in the international perspective

The articles included numerous examples of the concept of social mobility in different countries, such as in Finland, the United States, and China, and presented global trends, such as globally increasing pay gaps. It was mentioned that there are similar trends in Europe, and some phenomena can be similar in different countries, such as the United States. These findings align with the Social Mobility Report (World Economic Forum, 2020): the score between countries varies. This makes it evident that social mobility is visible differently across the world and that diverse developments occur in different countries.

An overarching element in the frames was that they included topics about social equity, gender equality, networks, education, income, and work and political voice, which all are part of the social foundation of the Doughnut model (Raworth, 2017). However, it was also emphasized that cultures are different. Earlier research by Day and Fiske (2016), Mandisodza et al. (2016) and Mendoza et al. (2018) align with that as their findings reveal that the perceptions of social mobility and the reactions to it vary depending on the culture. This means that while frames of social mobility provide information about social mobility, the responses and beliefs can differ in different cultures. Day and Fiske (2016) discuss that cultures with individualistic features can have similarities. Therefore, the data that was gathered in the Finnish context could have similarities in other individualistic countries.

5.3 Theoretical contributions of the study

This research adds a new perspective to the discussion about social mobility. Previous research investigated perceptions of social mobility (Day & Fiske, 2016; Mandisodza et al., 2016; Mendoza et al., 2018). Therefore, this research provides a new point of view

by showing some frames that are constructed about social mobility in the news. The study revealed that journalists frame the differences of people by writing articles on how people from different socioeconomic backgrounds often exist in separate realities and many invisible societal structures create different obstacles for people. The study also showed that journalists frame the impact of social mobility by writing about the experiences of upward social mobility and how they have been able to turn their experiences into results at work. Characteristics that impact accessing jobs and climbing up the career ladders were visible in the frame of impact. Lastly, the study showed the frame of opportunity that highlighted the possibilities that social mobility provides.

Finding out these results is significant because the frame analysis is based on a theory that highlights the importance of media in guiding policy and opinion. The more comprehensively social mobility is understood, the better chance it has to get coverage in the media, and therefore making its way into discussion and progress. With this frame analysis, it can be concluded that social mobility can be framed in different ways, but all frames aim for the same goal: to show the many sides of social mobility. The findings align with Day and Fiske (2016) who state that promoting social mobility can impact the perception of social mobility and encourage making progress. Therefore, this study increased an understanding of how social mobility is currently framed in the media.

5.4 Practical implications

At the beginning of the study, it was stated that organizations are constantly in a situation where they look for new ways of creating value. This value can be generated by tackling inequalities and finding the best professionals to innovate and help organizations grow. This study revealed frames that are constructed in the media, which pointed out that people from different socio-economic groups experience different invisible structures before them, but that these experiences do not imply differences in the possibility to succeed in the organizations. Essentially, these results indicate that there is a lot of potential and skills that organizations can benefit from. For instance, people who have cross-cultural experiences can navigate between cultures, which is a valuable quality in

international business. Therefore, this research highlights the importance of identifying steps that prevent access to organizations for all and findings ways to invite them to apply to the organizations.

Also, the study revealed that people who have experienced social mobility have innovated results from their experiences. This study demonstrates the positive impact of providing opportunities for people outside the usual candidates because many of them have proved that the experiences of social mobility can contribute to results in different professions. Creating a culture of innovation includes encouraging new ways of doing things. This idea can contain giving different people the chance to use their talent and skills that they have used to create good outcomes. Mendoza et al. (2018) state that perceptions for social mobility are impacted by perceived challenges. Also, the chance to take action is followed by the perceived chance for social mobility (Day & Fiske, 2016). Therefore, an applicant that perceives a chance in an organization where they can bring their skills and experiences, and companies that support them, can contribute to innovation and growth.

The study revealed the many opportunities that social mobility brings, for people's well-being and businesses overall. This study also emphasized the importance of providing information about social mobility. The frame of opportunity presents views that helps to guide companies about social mobility. Campos-Vazquez et al. (2021) state that providing people with more information about social mobility is a step that affects the perceptions of social mobility. Providing information about opportunities in organizational settings can impact the possibilities that social mobility provides. Overall, frames that are constructed about social mobility imply that there are many actions to take to ensure that social mobility occurs in the workplace. These findings can guide the human resources of organizations to pay attention to their practices.

5.5 Limitations

Like all research, also this study has its limits. As this research data was derived from one news outlet and only in one country, the results could differ if the research data was collected from multiple outlets or the media in other countries. Even though the results of this research cannot be generalized in all countries, some aspects of social mobility are recognizable across countries and impact businesses and global economic growth.

Also, because of the limited timeframe to conduct this research, the number of articles had to be limited to a certain number. If the number of articles was higher, the research results could differ as the data could reveal different frames that are constructed about social mobility. In addition, my interpretation of the frames that are constructed regarding social mobility does not mean that someone else would interpret the same frames. Even though some elements might be the same, different interpretations can appear if the research was repeated.

Lastly, the articles were collected between 2019 and 2021. Therefore, if the time frame of the articles was wider or a different time frame was selected, the frames that were constructed about social mobility could have differences from the ones that were interpreted in this study.

5.6 Suggestions for the future study

There are multiple ways to research the social mobility frames in the future. As a suggestion for ways forward, this research could be repeated in the future by comparing articles from different periods to see the progress of some frames that are constructed about social mobility. Also, it would be interesting to analyze frames from news articles from news outlets in different countries and see if there are different ways of framing social mobility and compare them to the frames that are constructed in the Finnish articles. Lastly, future research could analyze frames that are constructed in other media channels, such as television news, podcasts, or social media, or future research could

examine international companies' news releases and analyze what kind of frames the news releases construct about social mobility topics.

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https://www3.weforum.org/docs/Global_Social_Mobility_Report.pdf

Appendices

Appendix 1. List of the articles

No	Code	Date	Article name	Writer	URL
1	HS.1	27/09 /2021	Yhteiskunnassa voittajat ylpeilevät ja häviäjät häpeävät aivan kuin menestyminen olisi vain itsestä kiinni, sanoo kuulu filosofi – Näin käyttäytyy todellinen menestyjä	Mikko Puttonen	https://www.hs.fi/tiede/art-2000008168135.html
2	HS.2	16/09 /2021	Helsingin Töölössä asuu yli tuhat tohtoria – Katso HS:n hakukoneesta oman asuinalueesi koulutustaso	Marja Salomaa, Anna Takala	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000008263427.html
3	HS.3	09/09 /2021	Megarikkaiden on vaikea olla rikastumatta	Emil Elo	https://www.hs.fi/visio/art-2000008251915.html
4	HS.4	27/08 /2021	Beigeä kashmiria, hehkuvaa muna-koisoa	Noona Bäckgren	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000008155629.html
5	HS.5	24/08 /2021	430 000 ihmisen tutkimus: rikkaat ja koulutetut opettavat lapsilleen eri asioita kuin pienituloiset – Suomalaisutkija kertoo, millä on aidosti väliä	Mikko Puttonen	https://www.hs.fi/tiede/art-2000008197341.html

6	HS.6	19/07 /2021	Megatrendien jäljillä	Joakim Westrén- Doll	https://www.hs.fi/visio/art-2000008118784.html
7	HS.7	24/06 /2021	Vihreiden kunnanvaltuutetuista jo liki kolme neljäsosaa naisia, perussuomalaisilla noin viidesosa: Eriytyminen on "itseään ruokkiva kierre", kuvaa tutkija	Nina Törnudd	https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000008081136.html
8	HS.8	31/05 /2021	Tutkimus: Sinkkuuden yleistyminen näkyy tuloeroissa	Pauliina Grönholm	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000008015531.html
9	HS.9	10/05 /2021	Konkarisijoittaja Seppo Saario: Huono sijoittaminen on suurin eriarvoisuuden lähde Suomessa	Juha- Pekka Raeste	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000007967425.html
10	HS.10	28/04 /2021	Naapurustojen jakautuminen hyvä- ja huono-osaisiin vetää syvää railoa koulujen oppimistuloksiin Helsingin seudulla: "Määrittelee oppilaiden koko kouluhistoriaa"	Katja Kuokkanen	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000007945015.html
11	HS.11	26/04 /2021	Huippututkija löysi ilmiön, joka lisää eriarvoisuutta koko maailmassa – uusi maailmaa hallitseva joukko kantaa nimeä homoploutia	Juha- Pekka Raeste	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000007935163.html
12	HS.12	14/04 /2021	Kahden kerroksen suhteita	Elise Mäki	https://www.hs.fi/hyvinyvointi/art-

					200000791541 3.html
13	HS.13	27/03 /2021	Esitetyissä liikkumisrajoituksissa korostuu "keskiluokkaa suosiva pohjavire", sanoo yksinäisyystutkija	Katja Kuokkanen	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000007885293.html
14	HS.14	17/02 /2021	"Heikkenevän kehityksen kierre" voi ajaa opettajia pois tietyistä kouluista, varoittaa tutkija	Pauliina Grönholm	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000007808564.html
15	HS.15	15/02 /2021	Tutkimus: Hyvätuloisten perheiden lapsilla on pienempi riski kuolla syöpään kuin pienituloisten perheiden lapsilla	Minna Pölkki	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000007803534.html
16	HS.16	03/02 /2021	Viisi väitettä eriarvoisuudesta	Laura Hallamaa	https://www.hs.fi/elama/art-2000007778431.html
17	HS.17	19/12 /2020	Meritokraattisessa Suomessa kassatyöstä voi tulla pääministeri, mutta matalista asemista on tutkimusten mukaan yhä vaikeampi nousta	Jaakko Lyytinen	https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000007692439.html
18	HS.18	25/10 /2020	Lihaleikkeleistä puhkesi luokkasota	Marko Junkkari	https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000006697256.html

19	HS.19	26/09 /2020	Hyvinvointivaltio ei sovi yhteen pääoman ja työvoiman vapaan liikkuvuuden kanssa, sanoo taloustieteilijä Branko Milanović: ”Ihmiset eivät yleensä halua puhua tästä”	Elli-Alina Hiilamo	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006649025.html
20	HS.20	16/09 /2020	Statusstressi kiristää hermoja ja pilaa terveyttä – oman yhteiskunta-aseman tiedostaminen vaikuttaa suoraan onnellisuuteen	Mikko Puttonen	https://www.hs.fi/tiede/art-2000006237961.html
21	HS.21	18/08 /2020	Selvitys: Tulo- ja varallisuuserot ovat kasvaneet Suomessa jo 1990-luvun puolivälistä – eriarvoisuus on läsnä myös terveydessä	Ilmo Ilkka	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006605212.html
22	HS.22	15/04 /2020	Ei samalta viivalta	Anni Ala- talo, Katri Jaa- lasmaa	https://www.hs.fi/perhe/art-2000006474531.html
23	HS.23	10/04 /2020	Epäreilu epidemia	Anna-So- fia Ber- ner	https://www.hs.fi/ulko-maat/art-2000006470768.html
24	HS.24	18/03 /2020	Avioliitosta tuli ylellisyystuote	Janet Adamy, Paul Overberg	https://www.hs.fi/ulko-maat/art-2000006442815.html
25	HS.25	12/02 /2020	Mitä enemmän rahaa ihmisellä on, sitä vähemmän hän siitä puhuu, huomasi Milja Sarkola – ”Uskon, että	Susanna Laari	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-

			varallisuus vaikuttaa hyväosaisten käsitykseen ihmisarvosta”		200000640479 2.html
26	HS.26	01/11 /2019	Näyttelijä Hugh Grantia syytetään elitismistä, koska hän kieltäytyi kättelemästä työläistaustaista ministeriä: Näin Grant puolustautuu	Jussi Leh- musvesi	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000006292982.html
27	HS.27	29/09 /2019	Kuka äänestää ja kuka ei? Yhteiskuntaluokkien kärjistyvä ero yllätti tutkijan	Elli-Alina Hiilamo	https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000006255268.html
28	HS.28	09/09 /2021	Luokasta toiseen	Hilla Körkkö	https://www.hs.fi/hyvintointi/art-2000008104839.html
29	HS.29	25/08 /2021	Ruotsi on jo nyt luokkayhteiskunta, ja kirjailija Jens Lapidus maalaa tulevaisuudenkuvan, jossa eri alueet voidaan erottaa jopa muureilla: ”Ihmiset eivät edes tapaisi toisiaan”	Jussi Sip- pola	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000008081294.html
30	HS.30	27/07 /2021	Köyhille enemmän ääntä	Satu Pa- juriutta	https://www.hs.fi/hyvintointi/art-2000008076130.html
31	HS.31	20/07 /2021	Lähiöfaija	Eveliina Mäntylä	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000008117811.html

32	HS.32	20/07 /2021	Helsingissäkin asuu nuoria, jotka eivät koskaan uskaltaudu keskustaan – Taustalla voi olla ulkopuolisuuden tunne	Maria Erma	https://www.hs.fi/kau-punki/art-2000008111192.html
33	HS.33	05/06 /2021	Rotusorron lapsi	Sami Silanpää	https://www.hs.fi/kuukausi-liite/art-2000008020470.html
34	HS.34	21/05 /2021	Luodin tarina	Ari Virtanen	https://www.hs.fi/urheilu/art-2000008015239.html
35	HS.35	25/04 /2021	Kirjailija Susanna Alakosken isoäiti työskenteli tekstiilitehtaassa 50 vuotta, mutta ei koskaan puhunut työstä tai sen jättämistä jäljistä	Eleonoora Riihinen	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000007939109.html
36	HS.36	20/04 /2021	Aina vähän eri maata	N/A	https://www.hs.fi/perhe/art-2000007928842.html
37	HS.37	11/04 /2021	Yhdysvaltalainen Ocean Vuong oli pakolaisperheestään ensimmäinen, joka oppi lukemaan – Nyt hän on palkittu kirjailija, joka pohtii, miten ihminen rakentaa elämänsä raunioista	Kati Kellola	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000007911947.html
38	HS.38	22/03 /2021	Reijo Ruokanen on päätoimittaja, josta piti tulla metsänhoitaja	Juha Riihimäki	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-

					200000787088 3.html
39	HS.39	03/02 /2021	Antti Paunonen päätyi korkeakouluun, vaikka vielä 10 vuotta sitten opiskelu ei juuri kiinnostanut – Korkeakoulutettujen perheiden lapset jatkavat opintojaan muita pidemmälle	Anni Härkönen	https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000007779218.html
40	HS.40	05/12 /2020	EVAn johtaja Emilia Kullas uskoo, että ihmiskunnan ongelmat voitetaan markkinatalouden avulla	Juha Riihimäki	https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000007661107.html
41	HS.41	01/10 /2020	Miina Sillanpää: Tasa-arvon tienraivaaja	Aura Korppi-Tommola	https://www.hs.fi/tiede/art-2000007362604.html
42	HS.42	27/08 /2020	”Luokkayhteiskunta on Suomessakin olemassa, vaikka jotkut eivät sitä tunnista”, sanoo kirjailija-dramaturgi Marko Järvikallas	Tuomas Yrttiaho	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000006614052.html
43	HS.43	07/08 /2020	Kaikki mitä saa, voi kadota	Pirjo Houni	https://www.hs.fi/elama/art-2000006593866.html
44	HS.44	06/03 /2020	Saunassa syntynyt sukupolvi	Jukka Vuorio	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/tuusula/art-

					200000642915 8.html
45	HS.45	07/12 /2019	Nainen voi lähteä idästä	Saska Saari- koski	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/kuukausi-
liite/art-
200000633132
0.html">https://www.hs .fi/kuukausi- liite/art- 200000633132 0.html
46	HS.46	25/09 /2019	Rakkauden luokkaloikkari	Marja Vuorinen	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/elama/art-
200000624955
6.html">https://www.hs .fi/elama/art- 200000624955 6.html
47	HS.47	29/04 /2021	(Epä)reilu pala kakkua	Sanna Huolman	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/hyvin-
vointi/art-
200000794615
1.html">https://www.hs .fi/hyvin- vointi/art- 200000794615 1.html
48	HS.48	27/04 /2021	Suomen eläkejärjestelmä tasoittaa tuloeroja, mutta asiantuntijan mukaan käynnissä on pariutumiskehitys, joka voi palauttaa meidät 1800-luvun maailmaan	Juha- Pekka Raeste	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-
200000794283
0.html">https://www.hs .fi/talous/art- 200000794283 0.html
49	HS.49	09/04 /2021	Macron sulkee epätasa-arvon symboliksi nousseen eliittikoulu ENA:n, josta on valmistunut myös Tytti Yli-Viikari	Jenni Jenska- nen	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/ulko-
maat/art-
200000790878
2.html">https://www.hs .fi/ulko- maat/art- 200000790878 2.html
50	HS.50	07/04 /2021	Kun status ratkaisee	Kira Gro- now	<a href="https://www.hs.fi/hyvin-
vointi/art-">https://www.hs .fi/hyvin- vointi/art-

					200000790353 2.html
51	HS.51	14/03 /2021	Rakkausromaani on poliittinen teko	Arla Ka- nerva	https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000007856173.html
52	HS.52	08/03 /2021	Menestyksen varmat tärpit	Veera Luoma- Aho	https://www.hs.fi/visio/art-2000007843706.html
53	HS.53	30/11 /2020	Tuloerot eivät ole Suomessa ongelma	Jeremias Nurmela	https://www.hs.fi/mieli-pide/art-2000007652045.html
54	HS.54	27/11 /2020	Suomalaisten eriarvoistuminen heikentää maamme talouskasvua	Minna Halme, Lassi Lin- nanen	https://www.hs.fi/mieli-pide/art-2000007644185.html
55	HS.55	03/07 /2020	Satatuhatta helsinkiläistä	Katja Kuokka- nen	https://www.hs.fi/kau-punki/art-2000006559507.html
56	HS.56	03/03 /2020	Kysymys työväenluokasta on nykyka-pitalismin tulevaisuuden ydinkysy-mys	Anu Kan- tola	https://www.hs.fi/mieli-pide/art-2000006425729.html

57	HS.57	07/01 /2020	"Amerikkalaista unelmaa ei enää ole", sanoo entinen kommunisti ja talouskasvun huippututkija Philippe Aghion – siksi kapitalismia pitää rajoittaa	Petri Sajari	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006364287.html
58	HS.58	16/10 /2019	Helsinkiäisen opiskelijan poikkeuksellinen tutkielma kerää hehkutusta: "Voimme tehdä eriytymiselle jotain melko yksinkertaisilla tavoilla"	Maija Aalto	https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000006275047.html
59	HS.59	23/09 /2019	Kapitalismi vaatii ravistelua, sanoo feministinen taloustieteilijä – ja siinä taistelussa liittolaisiksi tarvitaan myös miehiä	Elli-Alina Hiilamo	https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006247573.html

Appendix 2. Quotes

- (1) The atmosphere at the terrace and the huge cinnamon buns remind first and foremost Stockholm. "It is obvious that while there are cafés, restaurants, and clothing shops in the area, many of them are not chains. Instead, even for little girls, expensive linen dresses are sold in shops, which you could not imagine seeing anywhere else in Helsinki". (HS, 24.5.2021)

Terassin tunnelma suurine korvapuusteineen tuo mieleen ennen kaikkea Tukholman. "Silmiinpistävää on, että vaikka täällä on paljon kahviloita, ravintoloita ja vaateliikkeitä, monet niistä eivät kuulu ketjuihin. Sen sijaan pienille tytöillekin myydään persoonallisissa kivijalkamyymälöissä kalliita pellavamekkoja, joita ei voisi kuvitellakaan näkevänsä juuri missään muualla Helsingissä." (HS, 24.5.2021)

- (2) There are many clothing chains in the shopping center, and according to Sykkö, most people's clothes we see have been bought from Zara, H&M, and the like. "There is a big difference to South Helsinki. The clothes in the markets and chain stores are accessible to those who do not have a lot of money." (HS, 24.5.2021)

Kauppakeskuksessa on useiden vaateketjujen liikkeitä, ja Sykön mukaan myös useimpien näkemiemme ihmisten vaatteet on ostettu näistä zaroista ja henkkamaukoista. ”Tässä on suuri ero Etelä-Helsinkiin. Markettien ja ketjujen vaatteet ovat saavutettavia myös niille, joilla ei ole kovin paljon rahaa.” (HS, 24.5.2021)

(3) Someone wrote that the lunch looks like “what the rich eat”. (HS, 20.10.2021)

Joku kirjoitti lounaan näyttävän ”siltä, mitä rikkaat syövät”. (HS, 20.10.2021)

(4) Social class is in many ways connected to what we eat – and how we think we should eat. (HS, 20.10.2021)

Luokka-asema on monin tavoin yhteydessä siihen, miten syömme – ja miten ajattelemme, että meidän tulisi syödä. (HS, 20.10.2021)

(5) “People from better areas, in which the voter turnout is already high, are more aware of the mechanisms and vote their guys to the council. Then, the decisions will bring more benefits to the same people that already hold them.” (HS, 24.5.2021)

”Hyvinvoivat alueet, joissa äänestysprosentti on korkea, ovat tietoisia mekanismeista ja äänestävät omia tyyppisiä valtuustoihin. Päätökset tuovat lisää etuja niille”, joilla niitä jo lähtökohtaisesti on.” (HS, 24.5.2021)

(6) According to dissertation research, among young adults whose parents did not acquire a higher than the basic education level, the voter turnout was only 28 percent. However, for those young adults who had at least one parent with a master’s degree, the voter turnout was 69 percent. - - ”This indicates that not everyone starts from the same position but rather participates in politics from different starting points.” (HS, 29.9.2019)

Väitöstutkimuksen mukaan niillä nuorilla aikuisilla, joiden vanhemmat eivät olleet suorittaneet perusasteen jälkeisiä tutkintoja, äänestysaktiivisuus oli vain 28 prosenttia. Sen sijaan niistä nuorista aikuisista, joiden vanhemmista ainakin toisella oli ylempi

korkeakoulututkinto, 69 prosenttia äänesti. (...) ”Kyllä se kertoo siitä, etteivät kaikki lähde samalta viivalta vaan saavat aika erilaiset lähtökohdat poliittiseen osallistumiseen.”

- (7) In their study, Acemoğluk found a strong connection between parenting attitude and socioeconomic status. The assessment of the effect of attitude on the possibility of social mobility remains at the theoretical level. (HS, 24.8.2021)

Acemoğlakin havaitsi tutkimuksessaan vain vahvan yhteyden vanhempien kasvatusasenteiden ja sosioekonomisen aseman välillä. Arvio asenteiden vaikutuksesta sosiaalisen nousun mahdollisuuteen jäi vielä teorian tasolle. (HS, 23.8.2021)

- (8) According to Bernelius’ observations, schools can be the most important experience of society for children. When the differences in levels are high, children and young people can have, according to Bernelius, “deeply differing perceptions of what society is like”. (HS, 28.4.2021)

Niissä koulut voivat olla lapsille Berneliuksen havaintojen mukaan tärkein kokemus yhteiskunnasta. Kun tasoerot ovat suuria, lapsille ja nuorille voi syntyä Berneliuksen sanoin ”syvästi eriytyneitä käsityksiä siitä, millainen yhteiskunta on”. (HS, 28.4.2021)

- (9) I feel that hobbies strongly cause inequality – it is a wall between young people. If you play floorball at the national level or go horseback riding three times a week, your status in your group of friends is completely different from those without any hobbies”. (...). I feel irritated that underprivilege and misfortune recur for people, who already have struggles, receive often more struggles. It is the saddest to follow families, whose underprivileged position has been inherited for several generations. The reasons are deep, and there are no quick or easy solutions. (HS, 15.4.2020)

”Koen, että harrastukset ovat vahvasti eriarvoistava asia – vedenjakaja nuorten välillä. Jos pelaa salibandya SM-tasolla tai ratsastaa kolme kertaa viikossa, status on porukassa aivan eri kuin nuorella, jolla ei ole yhtään harrastusta. - - Harmittaa, että vähäosaisuus ja epäonni tuntuu kertautuvan: ihmisille, joilla on vaikeuksia, syntyy usein lisää vaikeuksia. Surullisinta on seurata perheitä, joissa vähäosaisuus on periytynyt jo useamman

sukupolven ajan. Syyt ovat syviä, eikä niihin ei ole nopeita tai helppoja ratkaisuja. (HS, 14.4.2020)

(10) Living in a relationship has a stronger connection to income disparities than expected. (HS, 31.5.2021)

Parisuhteessa elämisellä on luultua suurempi yhteys tuloeroihin. (HS, 31.5.2021)

(11) Choosing a partner from the same income class is three times more common for these high-earning men than in 1970, said Milanović. According to statistics, the corresponding ratio for high-earning women is five times higher. According to Milanović, this type of selective partnership is not limited only to the United States. In China, for example, choosing the same income class and background in a marriage is even more common than in the United States. (HS, 26.4.2021)

Hänen [Milanović] mukaansa varallisuuden ja hyvien palkkojen keskittymisestä samoille ihmisille on tullut globaali ilmiö. Samasta tuloluokasta puolison valitseminen on näille hyvätuloisille miehille jo kolme kertaa yleisempää kuin 1970, Milanović kertoi. Tilastojen mukaan hyvätuloisilla naisilla vastaava suhdeluku on kasvanut viisinkertaiseksi. Milanovićin mukaan tämän kaltainen valikoiva pariutuminen ei koske ainoastaan Yhdysvaltoja. Esimerkiksi Kiinassa saman tuloluokan ja taustan valitseminen avioliitossa on vielä tyypillisempää kuin Yhdysvalloissa. (HS, 26.4.2021)

(12) “Sometimes I have a bad conscience about my salary because I think that Salla would deserve a much higher salary.” (HS, 14.4.2021)

”Minulla on välillä huono omatunto palkastani, koska minusta Salla ansaitsisi paljon enemmän palkkaa.” (HS, 14.4.2021)

(13) “The meaning of marriage has changed. Nowadays it is seen as the last achievement after having accomplished all the other milestones” (HS, 18.3.2020)

”Avioliiton merkitys on muuttunut. Nykyisin se nähdään viimeisenä saavutuksena sen jälkeen, kun kaikki muut virstanpylväät on jo saavutettu” (HS, 18.3.2020)

- (14) “I believe that wealth impacts how the privileged view dignity. It produces behavior and the idea that it is right that we are in an unequal position. That it is kind of reality acquired in birth, that lower classes serve me.” As long as classes are invisible, wealth is easily explained as earned by hard work. (HS, 12.2.2020)

”Uskon, että varallisuus vaikuttaa hyväosaisten käsitykseen ihmisarvosta. Se tuottaa käytöstä ja ajatusta siitä, että on oikein, että olemme eriarvoisessa asemassa. Että se on ikään kuin syntymässä annettu tosiasia, että alemmat luokat palvelevat minua.” Niin kauan kuin luokat ovat näkymättömiä, varallisuus on helppo selittää kovalla työllä ansaituksi. (HS, 12.2.2020)

- (15) People like me, he added. “We will not receive new opportunities”. (HS, 1.11.2019)

”Sen sijaan minun kaltaiseni ihmiset”, hän lisäsi. ”Meille ei tule uusia mahdollisuuksia.” (HS, 1.11.2019)

- (16) According to Saario, prosperous Finns differ from the less privileged in that “the wealthy have economic understanding, and they can count and think long-term”. (HS, 10.5.2021)

Saarion mielestä vauraat suomalaiset eroavat huonompiosaisista siinä, että ”vaurilla on talousymmärrystä, he osaavat laskea ja ovat pitkäjänteisiä”. (HS, 10.5.2021)

- (17) According to Tuomala, large differences in income and wealth disturb economic conditions, and for this reason, they must be researched in the future. “The biggest concerns are the lowest educated and socially excluded people because the well-being of that group is the lowest.” (HS, 18.8.2020)

Suuret tulo- ja varallisuuserot haittaavat Tuomalan mukaan talouden edellytyksiä, ja tästä syystä niitä täytyy tutkia myös tulevaisuudessa. ”Suurimpia huolenaiheita ovat

matalimmin koulutetut ja syrjäytyneet ihmiset, sillä he ovat sellainen ryhmä, joka voi huonoiten. (HS, 18.8.2020)

(18) COVID-19 created the privilege of a space where to question the obvious sides of life, says Suikkanen. "People asked themselves why to go to the office five times a week" (HS, 19.7.2021)

Korona oli hyväosaisille välitila, jossa ehti kyseenalaistaa elämän itsestäänselviä puolia, Suikkanen sanoo. "Ihmiset kysyivät itseltään, että miksi menen viitenä päivänä viikossa toimistolle. (HS, 19.7.2021)

(19) "Restrictions do not seem to affect everyone equally" -- According to Junttila, the numerous exceptions to the restrictions emphasize the undertone that favors the middle-class people with families. (HS, 27.3.2021)

"Rajoitukset eivät tunnu vaikuttavan yhtäläisesti kaikkiin. Lukuisissa rajoituksiin esitetyissä poikkeuksissa korostuu Junttilan mukaan keskiluokkaista, perheellistä ihmistä suosiva pohjavire. (HS, 27.3.2021)

(20) But when the coronavirus infections in New York are placed on the map, it seems the pandemic does not treat everyone equally. "A high number of infections and deaths are concentrated in poor and minority neighborhoods," - - These include the South Bronx, Harlem, Elmhurst - and Corona. Most of the residents in the neighborhoods are Black or Latino. In contrast, there are fewer corona cases people in the wealthy, and whiter, areas of Manhattan. (HS, 20.4.2020)

Mutta kun New Yorkin koronavirustartunnat laitetaan kartalle, näyttää siltä, ettei epidemia sittenkään kohtele kaikkia samoin. "Suuri määrä tartuntoja ja kuolemia on keskittynyt köyhiin ja vähemmistöjen asuttamiin kaupunginosiin. - - Tällaisia ovat esimerkiksi Etelä-Bronx, Harlem, Elmhurst – ja Corona. Kaupunginosien asukkaista suuri osa on mustia tai latinoita. Sen sijaan Manhattanin varakkailla, ja valkoisemmilla, alueilla sairastuneita on vähemmän. (HS, 20.4.2020)

- (21) According to Saari, a second- or third-generation social welfare office' customers, an immigrant, over-indebted or otherwise vulnerable, have a much more difficult starting point now than in the 20th century. "It is harder to reach middle-class positions. (HS, 3.2.2021)

Toisen tai kolmannen polven sosiaalitoimen asiakkaalla, maahanmuuttajalla, ylivelkaantuneella tai muussa haavoittuvassa asemassa olevalla on Saaren mukaan paljon hankalammat lähtökohdat kuin 1900-luvulla. "Keskiluokkaisten asemien saavuttaminen on vaikeampaa." (HS, 3.2.2021)

- (22) According to research, the most privileged social classes grow as others shrink. Finland is getting more "white-collar". At the same time, the importance of education is stronger than before. But at the same time, the heritability of education also seems to be strengthening. It is increasingly difficult to rise from low positions, especially without education. (HS, 19.12.2020)

Tutkimusten perusteella hyväosaisimmat yhteiskuntaluokat kasvavat muiden pienentyessä. Suomi "valkokaulustuu". Samalla koulutuksen merkitys vahvistuu entisestään. Mutta samalla näyttää vahvistuvan myös koulutuksen periytyvyys. Matalista asemista on entistä vaikeampi nousta, etenkin ilman koulutusta. (HS, 19.12.2020)

- (23) According to him [Milanović], piling of wealth and good salaries for the same people has become a global phenomenon. (HS, 26.4.2021)

Hänen [Milanovićin] mukaansa varallisuuden ja hyvien palkkojen keskittymisestä samoille ihmisille on tullut globaali ilmiö. (HS, 26.4.2021)

- (24) Kullas, too, was just a daughter of a regular working-class family living in a suburb, who became the first female editor-in-chief of Talouselämä magazine and the director of Eva (Finnish Business and Policy Forum). "It [social mobility] has been possible before, it is possible now, and we need to make sure it is going to be possible in the future." (HS, 5.12.2020)

Kullaskin on tavallisen lähiössä asuneen duunariperheen tyttö, josta tuli ensimmäinen nainen Talouselämän päätoimittajan paikalle ja Evan johtajaksi. "Se on ollut mahdollista

ennen, se on mahdollista nyt, ja meidän on pidettävä huoli, että se on mahdollista myös jatkossa.” (HS, 5.12.2020)

(25) Some things have been inherited for generations. They are significant, even though people tend to think that success is the result of their efforts and hard work. Viitala illustrates this by giving an example from her own life: When Viitala was a child, her teacher parents read a lot to her, took her often to the library, and brought books at home. As a child, Viitala had no opportunity to influence that. She can only be grateful that since childhood she was taught to read and write and she received help with homework (HS, 27.7.2021)

”On asioita, jotka tulevat sukupolvien takaa. Niillä on suuri merkitys, vaikka ihmisillä on taipumus ajatella, että menestys on omaa ansiota ja seurausta puurtamisesta.” Viitala havainnollistaa asiaa kertomalla esimerkin omasta elämästään: Kun Viitala oli lapsi, opettajavanhemmat lukivat hänelle paljon, veivät usein kirjastoon ja hankkivat kirjoja kotiin. Näihin asioihin Viitalalla ei ollut lapsena mitään mahdollisuutta vaikuttaa. Hän saa vain olla kiitollinen siitä, että hänet on totutettu pienestä pitäen lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan ja että häntä on autettu läksyissä. (HS, 27.7.2021)

(26) It is odd when you think of [Elon] Musk’s youth. He was born and raised in a society that was anything but creative and innovative. On the contrary, everything was controlled, everyone was given their own place and the whole society was based on fear. (HS, 5.6.2021)

Se on kummallista, kun ajattelee Muskin nuoruutta. Hän syntyi ja kasvoi yhteiskunnassa, joka oli kaikkea muuta kuin luova ja uudistuva. Päinvastoin kaikki oli kontrolloitua, jokaiselle oli määrätty oma paikkansa ja koko yhteiskuntajärjestys perustui pelkoon. (HS, 5.6.2021)

(27) “We claim that although choosing a partner in Finland is increasingly a choice that is based on love, it is still influenced by hidden expectations of the partner’s social class, education level, and prosperity”, says Järvinen. - - “There is some kind of easiness when families have a relatively similar status. Then neither has the position of an underdog or the feeling of superiority.” (HS, 25.9.2019)

”Väitämme, että vaikka parinvalinta on Suomessa yhä enemmän kahden kauppa, joka perustuu rakastumiseen, sen taustalla vaikuttavat silti piilotetut odotukset puolison luokka-, koulutus- ja varakkuustasosta”, sanoo Järvinen. - - ”Joku helppous siinä on, että perheillä on suhteellisen samanlainen status. Silloin kummallekaan ei tule altavastajan asemaa eikä ylemmyyden tunnetta.” (HS, 25.9.2019)

(28) In addition to districts, segregation occurs in other areas of life, such as in schools, workplaces, services, hobbies, and transport. - - “If one does not feel belonging to society, it can affect what kind of educational and career opportunities one perceives for themselves. It is about equality of opportunity”. (HS, 27.7.2021)

Eriytymistä tapahtuu asuinalueiden lisäksi kuitenkin myös muilla elämänalueilla, kuten kouluissa, työpaikoilla, palveluissa, harrastuksissa ja liikenteessä. - - ”Jos ei koe, että on osallinen tai kuuluu laajempaan yhteiskuntaan, niin se voi vaikuttaa siihen, millaisia koulutus- ja uramahdollisuuksia näkee itselleen. Kyse on mahdollisuuksien tasa-arvosta”. (HS, 27.7.2021)

(29) The working class asked whether she wanted to seem sophisticated and show that she is better than she is (HS, 1.10.2020)

Työväki kyseli, halusiko hän hienostella ja olla parempi kuin olikaan. (HS, 1.10.2020)

(30) Ohisalo was born and has spent almost her entire youth in Eastern Helsinki. Ohisalo's background is something completely new in the Greens in Finland. All other former leaders of the Greens have come from middle-class academic families. (HS, 7.12.2019)

Ohisalo on siis syntynyt ja viettänyt melkein koko nuoruutensa Itä-Helsingissä. Vihreissä Ohisalon tausta on jotain ihan uutta. Puolueen aiemmat johtajat ovat tulleet keskiluokkaisista akateemisista perheistä. (HS, 7.12.2019)

(31) Launonen describes that entering the university world was like being in a kind of space in between. Working at a warehouse in the beginning of my studies became a backdoor to my background, says Launonen. That gave him enough to talk about with his male relatives as they did not care about academic matters. "It was important to stay in touch with my working-class background and I felt kind of pride of working in a warehouse." (HS, 9.9.2021)

Launonen kuvailee yliopistomaailmaan astumisen aiheuttamaa oloa jonkinlaiseksi välitilaksi. Opintojen ohessa tehdystä varastotyöstä tuli takaportti omaan taustaan, Launonen kertoo. Siitä riitti puhuttavaa esimerkiksi suvun miesten kesken. He kun eivät akateemisista asioista välittäneet. "Tärkeää oli se, että halusin säilyttää yhteyden työväenluokkaiseen taustani, koin tietynlaista ylpeyttä siitä, että olin varastossa töissä." (HS, 9.9.2021)

(32) "Almost everyone in my family was missing a finger or at least a part of a finger, but so was all other factory workers", says Alakoski. What concerned her family, was an experience for an entire social class. (HS, 25.4.2021)

"Melkein kaikilla perheessäni puuttui sormi tai ainakin palanen sormea, mutta niin puuttui muiltakin tehdastyöläisiltä", Alakoski sanoo. Se mikä koski hänen perhettään, olikin kokonaisen yhteiskuntaluokan kokemus. (HS, 25.4.2021)

(33) In the book, the purpose of the wall is to keep problems, crime, and violence under control. Or at least out of the sight of the middle and upper class. (HS, 25.8.2021)

Kirjassa muurin tarkoituksena on pitää ongelmat, rikollisuus ja väkivalta aisoissa. Tai ainakin poissa keski- ja yläluokan silmistä. (HS, 25.8.2021)

(34) Kube's music illustrates a suburban background, but without the cliché of a gangster. The song "Tän takii" portrays upward social mobility. (HS, 20.7.2021)

Kuben musiikissa lähiötausta näkyy, mutta ilman kliseisintä gangstailua. Tän takii -biisissä kuuluu luokkanousu. (HS, 20.7.2021)

(35) What interests the author to describe the social classes, especially the lower middle class? "Maybe it is because I feel like that is where I come from. I have lived in the suburbs of Lahti, and the world is familiar to me. If we talk about class mobility, which is possible through studies or otherwise in a society like Finland, I am an example of that." (HS, 27.8.2020)

Mikä yhteiskuntaluokissa ja erityisesti alemman keskiluokan kuvaamisessa kiinnostaa kirjailijaa? "Ehkä se tulee siitä, että koen itse olevani sieltä lähtöisin. Olen asunut Lahden lähiössä, se maailma on mulle tuttu. Jos puhutaan luokkaretkestä, joka on opintojen tai muun kautta mahdollista Suomen kaltaisessa yhteiskunnassa, olen itse siitä esimerkki." (HS, 27.8.2020)

(36) "It was important to have someone to support at home during good and bad times" (HS, 21.6.2021)

"Se oli iso juttu, että joku oli kotona tukemassa niin hyvinä kuin huonoinakin aikoina.

(37) According to Ristikari, one of the reasons for a low level of education for my age group was that during the recession, families did not necessarily have resources to encourage children to study, as the financial concerns took all the parents' energy. (HS, 20.4.2021)

Ristikarin mukaan yksi syy ikäluokkani matalalle koulutustasolle on se, että lamavuosina perheissä ei välttämättä ollut resursseja tsemptata lasta opiskelemaan, sillä taloushuolet veivät vanhempien kaiken energian. (HS, 20.4.2021)

(38) On the contrary, international studies show that economic equality and insignificant income disparities benefit economic growth. According to an IMF study, economic growth will decrease if the prosperity of the wealthiest fifth grows. Similarly, economic growth will accelerate if the income levels of the lowest 20 percent earning people increase. (HS, 27.11.2020)

(39) "The key is to increase social mobility, which is enhanced by education, a social safety net, active labor market policies, and well-functioning capital markets. We need to remove all the barriers that the rich usually want to maintain to prevent others from getting rich." (HS, 7.1.2020)

"Keskeistä on lisätä sosiaalista liikkuvuutta, jota parantaa koulutus, sosiaalinen turva-verkko, aktiivinen työmarkkinapolitiikka ja toimivat pääomamarkkinat. Meidän on poistettava kaikki ne esteet, joita rikkaat yleensä haluavat ylläpitää estääkseen muita rikastumasta." (HS, 7.1.2020)

(40) In Finland, we often want to think that we already have equality. We think that we do not have a class society, racism or colonialism, Turunen thinks. In her opinion, denying only deepens the gap between existing classes. If the existence of inequality was accepted, resolving it could be started. (HS, 14.3.2022)

Suomessa halutaan usein ajatella, että meillä on jo tasa-arvo. Ajatellaan, ettei meillä ole luokkayhteiskuntaa, rasismia eikä kolonialistista perinnettä, Turunen pohtii. Hänen mielestään kieltäminen vain syventää todellisuudessa olemassa olevien luokkien välistä rai-
loa. Jos eriarvoisuuden olemassaolo hyväksyttäisiin, voitaisiin sitä lähteä purkamaan. (HS, 14.3.2022)

(41) It is good to notice that privileges are increased or narrowed by many factors that cannot be influenced, such as skin color, gender, sexuality, or appearance. The Wheel of Privilege can naturally help to continue to look at what factors in life are the consequence of own effort. "If you are doing well, chances are that you may have happened to be lucky and avoided negative things throughout your life cycle. It is important to understand that not everyone is doing equally well. Perspective is easily forgotten." (HS, 29.4.2021)

On hyvä huomata, että etuoikeuksia lisää tai kaventaa moni sellainen asia, johon ei voi itse vaikuttaa, kuten esimerkiksi ihonväri, sukupuoli, seksuaalisuus tai ulkomuoto. Etuoikeuskehästä on luonteva jatkaa tarkastelemaan, mitkä hyväosaisuutta tukevat asiat elämässä oikeastaan ovat oman yritteliäisyyden ansiota. "Jos itsellä menee hyvin, voi olla, että on sattunut olemaan onnekas ja välttänyt negatiiviset asiat elämänkaaren aikana.

On tärkeää ymmärtää, että kaikilla ei mene yhtä hyvin. Perspektiivi helposti unohtuu.”
(HS, 29.4.2021)

(42) Jaakko Kiander, Research Director of the Finnish Center for Pensions, says that in the “big picture” the Finnish pension system balances income disparities.
(HS, 27.4.2021)

Eläketurvakeskuksen tutkimusjohtaja Jaakko Kiander sanoo, että ”isossa kuvassa” Suomen eläkejärjestelmä tasoittaa tuloeroja.

(43) The same developments can be seen in Europe - - In the debate on inequality, it is always good to remember that there are differences between countries, he adds. "Finland and the United States are different." (HS, 27.4.2021)

Eriarvoisuuskeskustelussa on lisäksi on aina hyvä muistaa, että maiden välillä on eroja, hän lisää. ”Suomi ja Yhdysvallat ovat eri asia.” (HS, 27.4.2021)

(44) By closing the school, Macron has said that his goal is a society based on equal opportunities, according to Reuters. (HS, 9.4.2021)

Koulun sulkemisella Macron on sanonut tavoittelevansa yhteiskuntaa, joka perustuisi tasapuolisiin mahdollisuuksiin, kertoo uutistoimisto Reuters. (HS, 9.4.2021)

(45) Jallinoja has studied the life cycle and the backgrounds and family trees of several families during the time span of hundreds of years. "You can see how upward social mobility through education has begun and progressed, and how status is inherited and maintained for a long time." (HS, 7.4.2021)

Jallinoja on tutkinut laajoja kaaria, useiden perheiden taustoja ja sukutauluja satojen vuosien ajalta. ”Niistä näkee, miten koulutuksen avulla tapahtunut sosiaalinen nousu on alkanut ja edennyt, ja miten status periytyy ja hyvä asema säilyy pitkään.” (HS, 7.4.2021)

(46) Often, one child was allowed to go to school. - - "For a long time, the most respected professions were doctor, lawyer, and architect, and in a way, they are still status professions." (HS, 7.4.2021)

"Aika usein siis yksi lapsi sai lähteä opintielle. "Pitkään arvostetuimmat ammatit olivat lääkäri, lakimies ja arkkitehti, ja ovathan ne tietyllä tavalla statusaloja edelleen." (HS, 7.4.2021)

(47) "They are people with potential. They navigate smoothly between cultures, and their capacity can be taken into use by the city". (HS, 30.7.2020)

"He ovat ihmisiä, joissa on potentiaalia. He navigoivat sujuvasti kulttuurien välillä, ja heidän kapasiteettinsa voi tulla kaupungin käyttöön", Saukkonen sanoo. (HS, 30.7.2020)

(48) Self-awareness is not just the path to a happier life. It also brings success. (HS, 8.3.2021)

Itsetutkiskelu ei ole vain tie onnellisempaan elämään. Se tuo myös menestystä mukanaan. (HS, 8.3.2021)

(49) When there is investment in well-being, people are healthier and able to work, and the results are seen in the economy. (HS, 23.9.2019)

Kun ihmisten hyvinvointiin panostetaan, he ovat terveempiä ja pystyvät tekemään työtä, jolloin myös julkinen talous kiittää. (HS, 23.9.2019)