

CRITICAL VISUAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCES ON FINNISH COMPANY WEBSITES

A Case Study of Wolt and Freska

Master's Thesis
Ella Anna Karin Wikberg
Aalto University School of Business
Management and International Business
Fall 2020

Author Ella Anna Karin Wikberg

Title of thesis Critical Visual Discourse Analysis of Diversity and Differences on Finnish Company Websites. A Case Study of Wolt and Freska

Degree Master of Economics and Business Administration

Degree programme Management and International Business

Thesis advisor Rebecca Piekkari

Year of approval 2020**Number of pages** 116**Language** English

Objectives of the study

The purpose of this thesis was to examine how diversity and differences are discursively constructed in the visual content choices on the websites of two Finnish companies, Wolt and Freska. Moreover, I analyzed how those visual discourses contribute to the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations. This thesis locates within critical theory.

Methodology

The data set included 100 images: 42 on the website of Wolt and 58 on the website of Freska. To conduct visual discourse analysis on the images, I used Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional discourse analysis framework (CDA). I utilized Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design to analyze the meanings in the images. The two theoretical frameworks together enabled me to look at not only the images themselves but also their relationships with each other and their function in the larger sphere of diversity discourses and power at the societal level.

Findings and Conclusions

The visual representations of Wolt and Freska are mainly conservative reproductions of the known gender, race and ethnicity, and age-inequalities that persist in Finnish workplaces still today. The maleness and whiteness of the visual representation were especially true for Wolt. However, both companies frame diversity as a problem of those who are "different" in terms of race and ethnicity. The findings of this thesis suggest that there is still a lot of work to do in understanding the power of visual representation on company websites of Finnish business organizations. I concluded that not enough resources had been invested in visual representation in the case companies. Even though Freska showed some attempt to create an inclusive visual representation, overall, it seems that the companies' reach for ever-increasing revenues has happened at the expense of inclusive communication and company image. However, inclusive visual representations would have an important role in acknowledging everyone's existence.

The results of this thesis illustrate how meanings of diversity and differences may be visually constructed on company websites. This thesis contributes to the literature on diversity communication, but its results can also be utilized elsewhere, including management. For instance, the results can be utilized in the development of an inclusive work environment and corporate communication in general.

Keywords Diversity, Diversity Management, International Business, Communications, Websites, External Digital Communication, Kress and van Leeuwen, Grammar of Visual Design, Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, Wolt, Freska, Finland, Visual Representation, Equality

Table of Contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Earlier research and research gap.....	2
1.2	Research questions and objectives of the thesis.....	4
1.3	Structure of the thesis	5
2	Literature Review.....	6
2.1	Conceptualizing diversity	6
2.2	Defining diversity communication.....	9
2.3	Company websites as means to communicate diversity.....	10
2.4	Drivers of diversity in Finland.....	14
2.5	Meaning given to diversity in Finnish organizations	15
2.6	Conclusion	24
3	Theoretical Framework for Studying Visual Discourses	25
3.1	Critical discourse analysis and critical <i>visual</i> discourse analysis	26
3.2	Kress and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design	30
3.3	Framework for critical visual discourse analysis	38
4	Research Design and Methods.....	41
4.1	Methodology	41
4.2	Research context.....	42
4.3	Data collection.....	47
4.4	Data analysis	50
4.5	Evaluation of the study	54
5	Empirical Findings and Analysis.....	56
5.1	Data classified	56
5.2	(1) Visual text analysis	57
6	Discussion.....	82
6.1	(2) Discourse practice and (3) Sociocultural practice	82
7	Conclusions.....	97
7.1	Practical implications	99
7.2	Limitations and future research.....	100
	References	104

List of Tables

Table (Literature review) 1: Diversity and differences on Finnish company websites	18
Table (Literature review) 2: Diversity and differences in the talk of employees.....	22
Table (Case presentations) 1: Comparing the two case companies.....	46
Table (Case presentations) 2: Different websites sections and number of images	49
Table 1: Data set, overall classification (1/3).....	56
Table 2: Data set, overall classification (2/3).....	57
Table 3: Data set, overall classification (3/3).....	57
Table 4: Gender division, represented human participants	58
Table 5: Gender division, group image.....	58
Table 6: Gender division in different activities/roles (Wolt)	60
Table 7: Gender division in different activities/roles (Freska).....	62
Table 8: Race and ethnicity division, face shown, represented human participants	65
Table 9: Race and ethnicity division, face not shown, represented human participants	65
Table 10: Race and ethnicity division, group images	66
Table 11: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face shown (Wolt).....	69
Table 12: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face not shown (Wolt)	70
Table 13: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face shown (Freska) ...	70
Table 14: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face not shown (Freska)	70
Table 15: Age division, individual represented participants	71
Table 16: Intersections of gender and race and ethnicity, represented human participants	73
Table (Results) 1: Visual discourses.....	77
Table (Results) 2: Discourse practice and sociocultural practice.....	96

List of Figures

Figure 1: Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, p.) grammar of visual design	30
Figure 2: Framework for critical discourse analysis.....	39

1 Introduction

Substantial evidence suggests that discrimination based on especially gender and cultural background persists in workplaces affecting hiring, salary, promotion, and other rewards (e.g., McKinsey&Company, 2018; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018, pp. 45-56; Fan et al., 2019; Tasa-arvo valtuutettu, 2018; Tilastokeskus, 2014). Such discrimination and in-group favoritism are not only an explicit ideological power struggle but also an issue of biases people hold that lead to unfair treatment based on individual "differences" (e.g., Lieber, 2009; Rupp et al., 2006; Rudolph et al., 2009; Hughes & Dodge, 1997; Dawson et al., 2019; Heilman, 2012). This thesis suggests that images play a central role in forming such bias towards differences.

Visually consumed content is central in the everyday lives of the people in our contemporary society. Hence, the choices of images have power. Not only can image choices influence who is represented, but they can also influence who is not. And as we live in a strongly consumption-oriented society, commercial organizations have the power to make many of those choices. They have the power to influence how their customers view their organization and the people who form it. They contribute to the ideas people keep of their own and others' social identities, as alongside written and spoken language, images provide the structural influences through which stereotyping, sexism, and racism are maintained. What it means to be a woman, man, white, black, young, or old, for instance, are all mediated in such choices that commercial organizations do on our behalf every day (Short, 2019; Schmid, 2012; Seppä, 2012, pp. 11-12; Brooks & Hébert, 2006; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Therefore, who we choose to represent in our media content choices and in which role are vital questions. They are vital because the visual representation of people provides the opportunity for one's existence to be acknowledged in this world in its rich diversity.

This thesis attempts to deconstruct the use of such power of image choices on the company websites of two Finnish case companies, Wolt and Freska. Due to the power images have and the fact that the current literature on diversity communication concentrates mainly on written text, it is interesting to look at what we can say about the chosen case companies' takes on diversity and differences just by looking at the images chosen to represent the companies. This thesis takes on a social constructionist approach as a starting point, and

therefore, considers websites as one of the social spaces where visual discourses of diversity and differences are produced and through which meanings attached to certain differences can be either reinforced or challenged. Such a study is located within critical research on visual representation. Finland serves as the empirical interest and a case point of view. It would be refreshing to see a company that transparently and effortlessly stands up for its employees' inner and outer diversity and their beautiful, complicated manifestations.

1.1 Earlier research and research gap

When reviewing the literature on diversity communication in business organizational contexts, the literature seems quite extensive. Studies of, for instance, discursive construction of diversity management (e.g., Meriläinen et al., 2009), diversity (and inclusion) branding (e.g., Jonsen et al., 2018), and diversity image building (e.g., Windscheid et al., 2018) can be found under diversity communication research. Also, studies considering how gender or race and ethnicity are constructed in a specific communicative medium, such as in advertisement (e.g., Grau & Zotos, 2016), could be considered as studies of diversity communication in business organizational contexts.

In this thesis, I am interested in diversity communication from the meaning-making perspective. Moreover, I am interested in understanding how companies contribute to the construction of ideas of diversity and differences, including race and ethnicity and gender roles. Such meaning-making has been extensively researched on different media platforms (see for reviews and good examples: Evans, 2015; Collins, 2011; Kumari & Shivani, 2012; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Simon & Hoyt, 2012; Brooks & Hébert, 2006; Abraham & Appiah, 2006; Zhang & Haller, 2013). However, my interest is in images chosen to represent the company on company websites. While such interest is naturally related to company image building and diversity branding, I resign from the idea that diversity communication companies engage with should benefit their economic endeavors or fit the strategies the companies themselves have set for their diversity. Most of the literature I am interested in locates within communication research. Yet, important insights can also be found from psychology, gender and race studies, organizational and management research, and international business and business ethics research.

When limiting my study to the streams of literature as described above, i.e., meanings given to diversity and differences on company websites, the number of studies shrinks further. It seems like it would benefit from closer attention. These analyses of depictions of diversity on company websites are typically carried out on linguistic material. In some instances, visual texts, i.e., images and/or videos, are included in the analysis but almost without exception as supportive elements of written text (e.g., Singh & Point, 2006; Pasztor, 2019; Meriläinen et al., 2009), some with no interest beyond numerical representation of a few selected diversity characteristics (e.g., Heres & Benschop, 2010; Guerrier & Wilson, 2011). Some multimodal approaches can be found that attempt to equally consider the written and the visual representation of diversity (e.g., Maier & Ravazzi, 2018). However, the depth of understanding the framing of differences into distinctive, usually racialized and/or gendered roles that differ by clothing and specific action engaged in is lacking. Methodologically, these studies are typically either content or discourse analyses. They are mostly located within qualitative research traditions, yet they usually show traces of quantitative research traditions in their data processing phase.

I found one example of a study done clearly within a business organizational context that had the main focus on visual representations, but which was other than advertisement (see Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002). However, even this study focused only on one diversity characteristic, gender, and not on websites per se, but on financial reports. Apart from this and the studies provided above, there seem to be very few studies that focus on companies' visual representation of diversity beyond advertisement. Furthermore, most of the studies have been done in the Anglo-American context (Meriläinen et al., 2009, p. 235). To best of my knowledge, no studies have explored visual representations of diversity on company websites, specifically in the Finnish business organizational context. As a Finnish person myself and as I will build at least the first steps of my career in Finland, I would be especially interested in studying this particular context.

Hence, I found an indication of a gap in the literature regarding, first of all, understanding of how meanings of diversity and differences are visually constructed on company websites by business organizations, and second of all, how they are done specifically in Finnish business organizational context. This thesis attempts to tackle both.

1.2 Research questions and objectives of the thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how diversity and differences are visually constructed on two selected Finnish companies' websites and how they contribute to the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations. The main focus is on the images that have been selected to represent the company on the company websites. This thesis takes on a social constructionist approach to differences and is located within critical theory. Therefore, this thesis considers websites as social spaces where differences can be produced and through which meanings attached to certain differences can be either reinforced or challenged by constructing different verbal and visual discourses.

To conduct a visual discourse analysis of the case companies' websites, this thesis draws from theoretical frameworks of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design. The two together enable me to look at not only the images themselves, but their relationships to each other and their function to the larger sphere of diversity discourses at the societal level, i.e., to look at the relationship between the images and their social macro-context, and its connection to power.

The topic is approached through two case companies, Finnish food delivery provider Wolt and cleaning service provider Freska. There were three selection criteria for the cases. First, the selected companies needed to have images on their websites, to depict people in those images, and to have accessible data. Accessibility of data means that the number of images on one website was enough to make a case, but not too much to make the amount of data unreasonably large considering the scope of this thesis. The limit was set to around 100 images in total because I judged that 100 images was still a manageable number for my time in use to conduct this thesis. Moreover, the criterion was more than five but less than 20 website sections. Such a criterion was formed by the initial mapping of different case company possibilities for this thesis. Second, the selected companies needed to have enough large workforce (i.e., min. 200 employees full-time, part-time, or partnership if working in company-branded clothing) and similar organizational structures. Such criteria gave me the assurance that I have interesting cases that concern many people and that I could also compare the two cases to some extent. Third, I wanted two relatively young companies as they could potentially show a fresher and more progressive take on diversity. Two cases

were chosen to provide me a rich data set. Moreover, I was interested in whether the two cases would showcase different kinds of results.

The thesis is built around two research questions found below. The first research question is at the core of this thesis. It aims to identify how diversity and differences are discursively constructed in the visual content choices on the case companies' (i.e., Wolt and Freska) websites. The identified visual discourses are then analyzed and discussed in the context by answering the second research question.

Research questions:

- RQ1. How are diversity and differences discursively constructed in the visual content choices on the websites of the two Finnish case companies?
- RQ2. Do the visual discourses reinforce or challenge the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. First, I start by defining diversity and by considering the social construction of differences. Second, I define diversity communication and review the literature on how companies may communicate their diversity to their various audiences through company websites. Some common pitfalls in diversity communication are reviewed in this section. Third, a deeper look is taken into what kinds of meanings have been given to diversity in the context of Finnish business organizations; where we are now, and towards what direction we hope to move. Such macro-level understanding of the Finnish context is crucial to gather for the sake of analyzing and understanding the results of this thesis' visual discourse analysis within Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework (see Figure 2). I explain the theoretical framework for studying visual discourses in the following section. After this, I outline the methods of data gathering and data handling. Towards the end, I present the empirical findings, followed by the discussion. Finally, the main results are concluded, practical implications considered, and limitations listed. In the end, some suggestions for further research are provided, and conclusions drawn.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptualizing diversity

2.1.1 Categorizing differences

In this thesis, the term “diversity” refers to diverse people. And what makes people diverse are different identities composed of various characteristics, here referred to as “differences” or “diversity characteristics”. These differences can conceptually be divided into two categories based on how stable and visible they are to other people. The naming of the categories varies.

Litvin (1997, p. 199) uses the terms “primary” (or “core”) and “secondary” (or “other”) diversity dimensions, whereas Point and Singh (2003, p. 751) talk about “primary” and “fluid” dimensions. Milliken and Martins (1996, pp. 403-404) in turn, talk about “observable” (or “readily detectable”) and “non-observable” (or “underlying attributes” or “less visible”) diversity and Galinsky et al. (2005, p. 742) about diversity “present” in groups and diversity “acquired” through personal experiences. Even though the naming of the categories varies across authors, the content seems to stay more or less the same. Therefore, in most parts, the categories can be used as synonyms.

The more visible and stable category of diversity (i.e., primary, observable, or diversity present in groups) is usually understood to mean characteristics such as age, sex, gender, ethnicity, race, sexuality, personality, and other qualities that a person can have that could be considered as “natural”. On the other side are then characteristics that can be developed and earned over time, the category referred to as secondary, non-observable, or acquired diversity. These are characteristics such as education, skills, values, experience, and parental status. (Litvin, 1997, p. 199; Point & Singh, 2003, p. 751; Milliken & Martins, 1996, pp. 403-404; Galinsky, 2005, p. 742.) A person naturally constructs her or his identity from different clusters of various diversity characteristics from both categories, and thus, can belong to several social groups.

Choosing the appropriate category names is not unproblematic. Moreover, whether any such categorization is even needed can be debated. However, I would argue that being difference-

blind does not equal to being difference-neutral or -equal. Not in such societal structures where bias can chain a person with “wrong” differences into one place. Therefore, I would position myself into the school of thought that encourages to acknowledge differences. In this thesis, I have thus chosen to follow Milliken and Martins’ (1996) categorization of “observable” and “non-observable” diversity characteristics. This is because the differences that are visible to other people are particularly likely to evoke biased, prejudiced, or stereotyped reactions.

A person naturally can have several identities, but the most apparent characteristic tends to be the one through which the other identities are judged. Certain gender, age, or ethnicity are examples of such. They can generally (but not always) be inferred from appearance. Through that inference, other judgments of, for instance, socioeconomic status, education, skills, or values are likely to be drawn, that may not necessarily be true, but that can have critical consequences to various organizational processes, such as hiring, promoting, and salary setting. (Milliken & Martins, 1996.) For instance, darker skin color or femininity may still be attached with expectations of lower cognitive skills than those who are white and/or male (Jaxon et al., 2019), making a person with such an identity likely to be needing more “proofs” to be taken seriously. Such ideas are due to persistent underrepresentation and long historical discrimination in the face of power.

However, it is important to note the problematic nature of the word “observable”. With the wording, it is not the intention to suggest that the nature of the diversity characteristics included in this category are always obvious, easily separable, or immutable. Instead, they are judged based on socially learned observations about cues on a person’s appearance. Therefore, it is not the intention to categorize people for the sake of categorizing but to purely recognize the differences. As I understand the negative associations regarding the “categorization” of people, I will hereon replace the word with a slightly more neutral word of “group” and “grouping”.

2.1.2 Two perspectives on differences

The section above mentioned that superficial differences are often attached with certain prejudiced assumptions of how the person is in terms of her or his underlying attributes (e.g., social class, skills, personality, or values). Therefore, in addition to recognizing what those

differences can be, it is essential to understand the different assumptions that may be attached to them. This means questions such as how differences come about and if and how belonging to a certain social group predicts behavior. Following Louvrier's (2013, pp. 3-4) division, the nature of differences can be approached through two main perspectives: essentialist and social constructionist.

Through the essentialist lenses, any entity (e.g., a person) consists of a certain set of attributes that are necessary for its identity and function. This means that an individual's "differences", i.e., "attributes", are innate characteristics. They are fixed and stable, stem from biology, and determine how a person is. This means that a person is expected to act in accordance with her or his differences. (Louvrier, 2013, pp. 3-4.) For instance, being one of the sexes, a woman, or a man (within gender binary), means being certain types of people. It could be thought, for instance, that for a woman, it is natural to be caring and loving exactly because she is a woman, whereas for a man, it is natural to be courageous and competitive because he is a man. Women and men then are naturally suitable for different occupations in life. For instance, caring for children is seen stemming primarily from the biologically assigned gender identity of a woman than from that of a man, and leading a company from that of a man than that of a woman. These are considered natural states. Actions against them are vice versa considered as unnatural, as artificially created states. Simply put, through essentialist lenses, power hierarchies are due to natural selection and thus suitability to different occupations. Therefore, certain differences are understood to predict a person's behavior.

Through social constructionist lenses, the differences are understood very differently. The social constructionist approach does not deny that there may exist real differences between people, such as gender used in the previous example or, for instance, skin color. However, how gender and skin color position an individual in the society, and what meaning is given to this "difference", is not pre-given and obvious but socially constructed. The social constructionist approach does not claim that every difference is available for everyone but that certain ideas attached to certain differences can have multiple meanings. The production of a difference and ideas attached to them, such as that of women and caring, happen in social spaces (e.g., on company websites), where people are grouped as different and/or similar. Whereas an essentialist bundles all women and all men, and all people of color and all ethnic white people into separate homogenous groups and attaches to them certain distinctive, stable qualities reasoned through biology, a social constructionist enables one to

see the variation within groups. Not all people of color are alike, and not all women nor men are alike. (Louvrier, 2013, pp. 3-4.) Thus, the social constructionist sees that even though one has, for instance, certain sex from birth, gender is what you learn to *do* rather than what you inherently *are* (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, n.d.). Therefore, a certain difference does not predict behavior even though ideas socially attached to them might suggest so, and actions of individuals would reinforce the ideas.

In this thesis, a social constructionist approach is taken as a starting point because it allows me to consider the social construction of differences and diversity. Following this approach, websites of business organizations are seen as one of the social spaces where differences are produced and through which meanings attached to certain differences can be either reinforced or challenged. Such reinforcing or challenging happens through creating traditional or new verbal and visual discourses.

2.2 Defining diversity communication

In the earlier research, diversity communication seems to be commonly set to mean the communicative actions of a company that are *actively* aimed to promote the company's diversity efforts (e.g., Singh & Point, 2004, 2006; Pasztor, 2019; Point & Singh, 2003; Guerrier & Wilson, 2011; Meriläinen et al., 2009; Maier & Ravazzi, 2018; Heres & Benschop, 2010). The activity comes from diversity communication being attached with certain premeditated aims, such as company image building, talent attraction, or merely diversity informing. Showcasing the company's diverse workforce or telling how diversity is considered in the company's operations (i.e., diversity and inclusion policies, diversity management efforts) are examples of such active communicative actions to promote diversity.

However, diversity communication is not necessarily "active" from the company's side, meaning that the company may not have thought of diversity when choosing what to communicate to its various stakeholders. Any communication, such as written text, images, and videos, can nevertheless be considered as part of the company's diversity communication. Therefore, the company does not necessarily need to intend to engage with diversity communication to engage with it. Moreover, the intention can be only partial, i.e., only in written or in visual content choices. Nevertheless, the unintended part can be

analyzed as a part of the company's diversity communication. This is because every word and image carry meaning and contribute to the construction of ideas (e.g., Short, 2019, pp. 5-7; Fairclough, 1995; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

In this thesis, I refer to both kinds of diversity communications. I refer to the one that is purposefully designed to convey the company's diversity efforts as well as to all the other communication that is not necessarily designed for "diversity communication" purposes but that nevertheless contributes to the discursive construction of diversity and differences. The earlier literature seems to either consider the "intentional" part of diversity communication (e.g., Singh & Point, 2004, 2006; Meriläinen et al., 2009) or looking at some communicative entity of one or more companies from the point of view of diversity (e.g., Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002). Both kinds of studies have been reviewed in the next sections when drafting the overall image of what existing literature has said about diversity communication in the business organizational context overall and the Finnish business organizational context more specifically.

2.3 Company websites as means to communicate diversity

The arrival of digital era has provided companies a variety of ways and platforms to communicate with their different audiences. In addition to social media, which has become one especially important medium for companies to interact with their customers, websites serve as important mediums to provide a larger variety of audiences with information about the company. This includes information about the products, services, brand, and identity, all of which are used to define the company image to the public. Even though social media can provide a similar platform, websites are traditionally serving the role of a more comprehensive entity of information-rich content containing a variety of sections. Usually, at least company history, corporate social responsibility, and career prospects, as well as financial reports, annual reports, and press releases, are provided on the company websites. While in terms of annual reports, there are legislation or other set rules in some countries (Finland included) that require listed companies to publish a plan of how the company will advance issues around diversity in the company (Finnish institute of health and welfare, 2019), in terms of company websites there are no such requirements. Thus, showcasing diversity on company websites is voluntary, which makes them especially interesting platforms to study diversity communication.

The construction of a diversity message on websites can be done through various means. These means are such as writing, images, and videos, and the engagement can be intended or unintended. Of intended engagement with diversity communication, diversity statements have gained particular popularity, especially among larger companies (Singh & Point, 2006, p. 363; Meriläinen et al., 2009, p. 231). These are usually set to promote how well the company can foster diversity and guard it against discrimination, or otherwise set to show that the company has thought about diversity issues. However, the common problem with these diversity statements is that they, in many cases, even though well-intentioned, fail to communicate the meaning of diversity comprehensively.

One of the core problems is the definition of diversity. What is meant by diversity in specific is usually not disclaimed but masked under vague sounding phrases. (see, for instance, Point & Singh, 2003; Meriläinen et al., 2009; Singh & Point, 2006.) Diversity in diversity statements is often primarily viewed as an issue of those who are “different” from the dominant group of white (cisgender, heterosexual) men – thus, women and non-white people in particular – rather than meant everyone in the company. (Heres & Benschop, 2010.) Diversity issues do not consider the dominant group among whose behavior the problems primarily lay, letting those go unexamined in diversity discourse. Singh and Point (2006), for instance, have shown that it is not uncommon that companies struggle to create such statements that demonstrate inclusivity. For instance, pointing out that “women with children” are offered special support and benefits (p. 368) suggests clear gendered stereotypes. Women are constructed as problematic employees who need childcare support, whereas men are not attached to such a burden of family responsibilities. This kind of “othering” has been found from both textual (Heres & Benschop, 2010) and visual representations (Guerrier & Wilson, 2011).

Such texts and statements on websites are sometimes, but not always, accompanied with images. In visual representation, gender-typical representations are also not uncommon. Gender hierarchy, where men are represented as superior to women, persists in those representations that companies produce in their external communication, not only on websites but also on other media. Singh and Point’s (2006) study found suggestions of domination of the white, middle-aged male stereotype leader, and whiteness as privileged over non-whiteness on various European websites’ visual representation. Only in few

instances were new roles created, of which a female Asian technician expert seemed to be especially popular. (Singh & Point, 2006.) Benschop and Meihuizen (2002) showed similar findings in their study. They showed that in their sample of 30 financial reports, stereotypical images were dominant, and the representational practices tended to reinforce the traditional gendered division of labor. They found a particular tendency to depict women as consumers and men as managers. Interestingly, in all-male images, the men were rarely depicted as consumers. In contrast, in all-female images, it was more of a rule than an exception that women were all depicted as consumers. Such findings were again suggesting certain gendered power-relations.

Heres and Benschop (2010), on the other hand, found in their sample of Dutch companies that there was a notable inconsistency between the textual and visual representation of diversity. They showed that the same companies that claimed to “value diversity” and had a lot of rhetoric of recognizing “individual differences” had highly stereotypical visual representations underlying the concepts of femininity and masculinity in several ways. Women were often depicted as secretaries and receptionists, working in female connotated functions as subordinate to male connotated ones. The middle-aged man was depicted as the “norm”, surrounded by the people with “differences”. (Heres & Benschop, 2010.)

What I found interesting was the term “aesthetic labor”, coined by Warhurst and Nickson (2007). I first came across the term in Guerrier and Wilson’s (2011, p. 186) paper. The idea of “aesthetic labor” is that some groups of people are “aesthetically” more suitable to represent the company. Guerrier and Wilson (2011, p. 191), for instance, showed that in their sample of UK company websites, young appearing, slim and healthy, smart-casual-dressed, white, or possibly mixed-race, women were in notably many cases used as the “face” of the company’s diversity efforts, while power remained with older white men, i.e., even though not pictured, chief-level employees were predominantly older white men. Guerrier and Wilson (2011) found a slight confined usage of images of women and people from ethnic backgrounds on especially diversity pages, whereas on careers pages, such use was not all so extensive. This could be seen conforming the earlier mentioned “othering” done in diversity statements.

While “aesthetic labor” traditionally means younger white employees at the forefront, like in the example above, the idea of “aesthetic labor” could also be used strategically for so-to-

say “social-washing”. A company that may please its socially aware audience could perhaps put into the forefront a black woman to represent the company’s intended image. Regarding this, MacLin and Malpass (2001, p. 112, as cited in Pippert et al., 2013, p. 268) found patterns of use of “ambiguous non-whites” in television marketing. They noticed that using actors that are not easily classified into a specific racial or ethnic group makes it possible for multiple groups to identify with the individual. Guerrier and Wilson (2011, pp. 190-191) found in their sample of UK company websites a similar tendency to use representations of women whose ethnicity was not obvious to represent the company’s diversity efforts.

Thus, choosing who to represent on the company websites is not a straightforward task. The issue is further complicated by the fact that some diversity characteristics are more visible than others. Gender is usually apparent in an image, and age and ethnic background can generally be inferred to some extent. As Guerrier and Wilson (2011, p 186) note, if, for example, a company wants to use an employee testimonial to demonstrate that it is a good place for LGBT people to work, it can only do this by “outing” someone. They continue that such is “[...] however, a ”paradoxical move” to make a public statement about one’s private life” (p. 186). One way to go is not to use images of humans. In fact, some companies have been found to favor abstract images on their diversity pages. For instance, mosaics, colorful fabrics, and colorful ice creams have been found to be used as metaphors of diversity (Guerrier & Wilson, 2011). Another way to go is not to represent any visualization of diversity. While such choice of no visual imagery made on the company websites may reflect exactly the difficulty the content producers may likely face in selecting representations that cannot be criticized for being clichéd or non-inclusive, it is hardly an answer to the challenge of representation (Guerrier & Wilson, 2011, pp. 191-192).

This section has brought up some common overall issues found in the literature regarding diversity communication, especially on company websites, but also in other communication channels such as annual reports. The next section dives deeper into the context of Finnish business organizations and explores what the literature says about meaning given to diversity in this particular context. Finland as a context has its distinctive characteristics, and thus a more in-depth look into the research done in this particular context is taken.

2.4 Drivers of diversity in Finland

Finnish work-life has become more heterogeneous, especially in terms of nationalities and cultures, and the diversity of the workforce is expected to increase further. Diversity in organizations has become inevitable as the workforce has undergone and is undergoing important changes. In Finland, the 21st-century workforce is typified by more women and employees with diverse ethnic backgrounds and intergenerational differences. Women in Finland are today on average higher educated than their male counterparts (Tilastokeskus, 2019a). And while globalization is an obvious reason for increasingly multicultural population, undergoing demographic changes within the Finnish population, such as high retirement numbers (Eläketurvakeskus, 2020; Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2009; Finnish Government, 2019a) and insufficient birth rates to make up the deficit (Tilastokeskus, 2019b), make Finnish companies even more dependent on foreign talent in the future.

The labor shortage is hitting extra hard the service sector, and especially those companies whose existence is dependent on low-skill-low-wage workers (Finnish Government, 2019a). This means that those fields in which also Wolt and Freska operate, that compete for couriers (i.e., delivery employees) and cleaners, are in the near future, if not already, highly dependent on immigrant workers. The shortage is not only a challenge for those dependent on filling in their low-skill-low-wage positions. Highly educated sectors are facing challenges as well. For instance, already in 2018, the ICT sector in Finland was short of 10,000 professionals, and the number is expected to increase. (Business Finland, 2018.)

These together with changing attitudes towards more pro-diversity and pro-inclusive values among young professionals (i.e., millennials and Gen Z's), make it evident that the need for understanding and fostering diversity in all organizations has become vital for companies' survival also in Finland. Not only for the reason of filling in skill shortages but also for the reason of good business manners. Therefore, it stuns how poorly diversity is still understood in Finnish organizations. The next sections shed light on why I have come to such a conclusion.

2.5 Meaning given to diversity in Finnish organizations

In this section, the meaning given to diversity in Finnish business organizations is reviewed through four studies. Together, they cover the analyses of diversity discourses on company websites (Point & Singh, 2003; Meriläinen et al., 2009) and in managers' and both Finnish native and ethnic minority employees' talk (Louvrier, 2013; Ylöstalo, 2016). Such a mix is brought together because regarding the meaning of diversity and differences and their potential manifestations on websites or any corporate digital communication channels, not many research papers have been published in the Finnish business organizational context. While the discourses detected from the interviews are not particularly in the scope of this thesis, they carry interesting insights of the context in which the visual diversity communication is produced. Therefore, they provide vital insights for conducting the critical visual discourse analysis in this thesis within Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework that emphasizes the importance of the broader context in which the discourses are produced. The key insights of the four studies are presented in tables Table (Literature review) 1 and Table (Literature review) 2 at the end of their designated sections.

Thus, the data from the websites and the interviews complement each other. It is fair to interpret that the data includes both large and medium-sized companies from several industries. While no overall generalizations can be made from the studies, reviewing the four brings about interesting insights. Even though none of the studies is longitudinal in nature, the studies together indicate that not much development has happened, at least from 2003 until the year 2016. The review below starts with reviewing how the understanding of diversity and differences are constructed on Finnish company websites considered in Point & Singh's (2003) and Meriläinen et al.'s (2009) studies. The review then moves on to the Finland-specific analyses of the manager and employee-level discourses of diversity and differences considered in Louvrier's (2013) and Ylöstalo's (2016) studies.

2.5.1 Diversity and differences on Finnish company websites

Diversity discourse has extended its grip in and through multinational corporations in an increasing number of national and local contexts, especially in the Anglo-American business context (Meriläinen et al., 2009, p. 235). However, in Europe, diversity discourse does not seem to have gained any particularly strong foothold, the least so in Finland (see, for

example, Point & Singh, 2003; Meriläinen et al., 2009; Louvrier, 2013; Ylöstalo, 2016). Point and Singh (2003), who analyzed 241 top companies' online diversity statements in eight European countries (Finland, France, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK), found that only a few companies actually defined diversity. And when they did, a confusing wide-ranging set of individual differences was described. However, within European data, country differences occurred.

The lack of engagement in diversity discourse on the websites was especially true in Finland. Specifically, the lack of use of the word “diversity” (“monimuotoisuus” in Finnish) was apparent. Only one fifth (i.e., seven) of the 34 Finnish companies in the sample used the word on their websites, and of those who did, only five described what was meant by it. (Point & Singh, 2003, p. 753, 755.) Point and Singh (2003, p. 757) found that more often Finnish companies discussed equal opportunities and/or anti-discrimination. When these were taken into account, around half (i.e., 19) of the Finnish companies in the sample discussed diversity in one of the mentioned ways. Meriläinen et al. (2009), who analyzed the 20 largest Finnish companies' online diversity discourses, show similar results. Only six of the 20 companies they analyzed discussed diversity in any detail on their websites. Furthermore, the meanings given to diversity were corresponding to Point and Singh's (2003) findings, “haphazard and vague” (p. 235).

According to Point and Singh (2003, pp. 757-758), gender, culture, and nationality were most often described diversity characteristics on the studied Finnish websites. Of the 19 Finnish companies Point and Singh (2003) found to be talking about diversity, around half (42 %) mentioned gender, and a bit over one third (37 %) mentioned one or both, culture and nationality. Age, weirdly so considering that Finland's population is rapidly aging, was not mentioned more than in two cases (10.5 %). Instead, according to Meriläinen et al. (2009, p. 239), a “nascent consciousness” of age and aging was present on some organizations' websites. It could be, and hopefully is so, that during the timeframe between the studies, the discussion about age has increased. It would make sense taken the rapidly aging workforce and the pressing need to respond to it.

Gender was thus discussed by far the most on the studied websites, while culture and nationality were discussed only sometimes. Of “non-observable” diversity characteristics, only parental and family status were discussed (Point & Singh, 2003, p. 757). However, they

were discussed relatively often (in every fifth website of the 19 companies, 21%) in comparison to other countries where both seemed to be absent. This is not too surprising taken Finland's extensive gender equality status (emphasis on the word status, World Economic Forum, 2020) and nearly equal parental leave (Eduskunta, 2019). However, silences around race and ethnicity were notable if not total on the studied Finnish websites (Point & Singh, 2003; Meriläinen et al., 2009). While it could be taken so that nationality and culture mentioned in around one-third of the cases also carry the meanings of race and ethnicity, the belief would not be well-founded. After all, Finland is the most racist country in the world (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018), and the foreigners occupying the 20% of Finnish listed companies' board seats are mostly from culturally relatively similar, majority-white countries, such as Sweden, Germany, and the US (Kempas & Pietiläinen, 2016).

While neither of the studies' aim was to study any other semiotic mode than that of written text, Meriläinen et al. (2009, p. 235) nevertheless point out that on Kesko's website, the section "meet our people" in the recruitment pages portrayed only white ethnic Finns as examples of the company's current workforce. Meriläinen et al. (2009) found such a choice peculiar as the company employed many immigrants in the entry-level cashier jobs. Also, Singh and Point's (2006) study showed that the images used on European websites in relation to diversity statements, majority reinforced stereotypical power hierarchies depicting overwhelming whiteness and male-dominance. There was no further differentiation made within the European countries in the sample whether those patriarchal discourses were produced in the Finnish context as well. However, taken the scant verbal representation of differences beyond gender in its binary limits, it is likely that those visual discourses are true to Finnish companies in the sample as well. Singh and Point's (2006, p. 373) statistics at least showed that not many Finnish companies engaged with the visualization of diversity statements, and that, for instance, black people were absent altogether.

To conclude, gender was the dominant topic that seemed to overrule and replace all other diversity-related discussions on the websites. In the cases where any type of diversity was discussed, the majority of the website discourses showcased, often proudly, how equality is made the top priority. However, equality seemed to be made a top priority only in terms of Finnish people in their narrow definition. It was usually attempted to be showcased through

numeric evidence that women are also included in the organization as full participants. By mainly exclusively focusing on gender equality discourses, the website discourses silenced other troublesome societal and organizational questions such as those related to race and ethnicity.

All in all, the issue of equality in the workplace was presented to mainly concern, as Meriläinen et al. (2009, p. 239) put it, “(able-bodied heterosexual Christian) white women and men”, or at least equality appeared to be different for immigrants than for Finns. Based on the two studies (Point & Singh, 2003, and Meriläinen et al., 2009), the website discourses of diversity in Finnish companies reflected to a significant degree the language of gender equality. This indicates that the understanding of diversity is only partial. Similar ideologies were discovered in the interview discourses discussed in the next section.

Meriläinen et al. (2009)	Point & Singh (2003)
Methodology	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discourse analysis, textual references to equality and diversity on corporate websites • 20 largest Finnish companies measured by net sales in 2005 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desk-based study, textual diversity statements on corporate websites • 241 "top companies" by market value in eight countries, 34 in Finland
Key insights	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only six of the 20 companies discussed diversity in any detail on their websites. The meanings given to diversity were vague. • There were notable silences around race and ethnicity on the studied websites. • The website discourses of diversity in Finnish companies reflected to a significant degree the language of gender equality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only one fifth (i.e., seven) of the 34 Finnish companies in the sample used the word on their websites, and of those who did, only five described what was meant by it. • Gender (42%), culture and nationality (37%) were most often described diversity characteristics on the studied Finnish websites. • Gender was discussed by far the most on the studied websites.

Table (Literature review) 1: Diversity and differences on Finnish company websites

2.5.2 Diversity and differences in employees' talk

Louvrier (2013), who interviewed six diversity managers in six Finnish companies, found that most talk about diversity circled around the differences between Finns and non-Finns, that were furthermore treated as homogenous groups, not only for how they look but for how they are. Moreover, Louvrier (2013) found that the idea of a “Finn” was rather narrow as not even all Finnish nationals if they belonged to a national minority seemed to be included (pp. 73-74). A “non-Finn”, on the other hand, came to mean all the people that have any foreign background no matter if the person was first or second or even third-generation immigrant; that did not seem to make a difference if one looked different. (Louvrier, 2013, pp. 73-75, 106.)

However, there was one exception, “global talents”. Louvrier (2013, pp. 75-78) noticed that in the managers' talk, the non-Finns were sometimes divided into two groups, “immigrants” and so-called “global talents”. While global talent is an immigrant too, the immigrant status per se, that is typified mainly by negative connotations of a person's underlying attributes, such as “lacking” in terms of skills and suitability for jobs with higher responsibility, did not seem to apply as much to them. According to Louvrier (2013, p. 77), these are people from Western countries coming to Finland for a specific job and people, again coming from Western countries, but coming to Finland to work in a field where their foreign origin is an added value. For instance, Italians as cooks in an Italian restaurant or Irish as waiters in an Irish pub could serve as examples of such. While Louvrier (2013) does not give any example of the earlier mentioned “specific jobs”, it is fair to interpret that it means other than low-skill-low-wage positions and that an employee's origin has a role. With low-skill-low-wage positions, I mean jobs such as cleaners, warehouse workers, delivery employees, etc., and by origin, I mean the visibility of having roots from outside Finland. Such interpretation is fair due to the ideas presented elsewhere in Louvrier's (2013) research. For instance, Louvrier (2013, pp. 80-84) showed that racism was extensive in the studied organizations and normalized, dismissed as “nothing special”. Some customers could, for instance, ask that certain ethnicities are not sent to their homes to clean – and some of the diversity managers admitted to complying with those requests. Usually masked so that the employees did not know themselves. Some diversity managers even explained, seemingly motivated economically (even though denying it), how much diversity their organization can bear. One said: “15% is the number of immigrants that our activities can bear at this point. [...]” (p.

81). The “bearing point” was explained as not related to money, i.e., not an economic bearing point, but as a question of team dynamics and attitudes among clients/customers. It could be interpreted that this was the company’s way to shield the organization from the burden of discrimination issues in a self-serving way, even though not framed so by the company. Such was not seen as a challenge of equality.

While neither “immigrants” nor “global talents” are safe from prejudice and discrimination in working life in Finland, global talents were nevertheless found to be more valued than those judged as immigrants in Louvrier’s (2013) study. Such dichotomy has been found to be true in other research as well. For instance, Ylöstalo (2016, pp. 422-423), who interviewed 31 people working in different levels and functions in two private sector organizations, found that Finnish language requirement was commonly used to explain and legitimate why foreigners were treated differently in the Finnish job market. However, she also found that such Finnish language requirement seemed to apply to some foreigners more than others. Using Louvrier’s (2013, p. 77) terminology, Finnish language requirements were found to be set more often as barriers for “immigrants” while not for “global talents”. Ylöstalo (2016, p. 422) gives an illustrative example through one of her interviewees, a decently Finnish speaking Eastern European female cashier with a university degree in English philosophy. She had earlier applied for a higher hierarchy job within her organization where she could have her skills in better use, but the promotion was denied. Her superior had explained that her Finnish language skills should be better for such career progress. Contradictory so, in the same organization, two Western European male employees speaking no Finnish whatsoever were hired in managerial positions. Data collected from Statistics Finland and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (Population with foreign background in Helsinki, 2019) show that this is not an isolated event. It appears that higher education does not protect residents with foreign mother tongue, especially if they are from other countries than from Sweden, Estonia, or other parts of Western Europe.

Therefore, it seems that at least based on the findings in Louvrier’s (2013) and Ylöstalo’s (2016) studies, the immigrants judged as “immigrants” were seen as cheap labor force desired to be held in their place for business reasons, while immigrants judged as “global talents” were seen as employees that brought added value to the company. The dominant view was found to be by both studies that the “immigrants” were made a generous favor when they were offered a job even if it was much lower than their education would permit.

This was because, well, they would most likely get no job anywhere else because of their poor language skills (Ylöstalo, 2016, p. 422). Therefore, discrimination was mainly the fault of the ethnic minorities themselves rather than Finns, who due to their inexperience with diversity are still only learning how to deal with it (Louvrier, 2013, p. 92).

In the earlier section regarding diversity and differences on Finnish company websites, it was shown that gender was a dominant topic on the websites. Thus, it was interesting to see a certain silence around recognizing gender as part of diversity in the studies of Louvrier (2013) and Ylöstalo (2016). In Louvrier's (2013, p. 92) study, diversity was in all accounts mainly attached to immigration and ethnic minorities. Silences around gender as part of diversity were severe. It could be interpreted that when talking about diversity and its challenges to organizations, the silences around gender mean that gender is not seen as the one causing them. Similarly, Ylöstalo (2013, pp. 420-423) found that gender was not part of the studied organizations' fight with inequalities because that fight was seen to be already won. Gender-based inequalities were not seen as a problem because they do not exist. The reasons for any visible inequalities were thus actively sought from elsewhere, from places that do not disturb the idea of Finland as the cradle of equality.

Therefore, in a sense, the equality between genders is seen as a fulfillment of equality as a whole. This is parallel to the website discourses that, through a different strategy, come to the same conclusion. Gender in website discourses is seen as a sufficient measure of showcasing the fulfilment of diversity and equality in an organization. In the employees' talk, diversity and equality are achieved, so gender needs no special attention. Based on the two studies, it thus strongly seems that the more visible the external difference of a foreign employee was from that of what is considered as fitting the concept of a Finn, the less equality in organizational processes, such as in recruitment and salary setting, was concerning them. Nevertheless, this was not a problem of inequality, but simply a matter of working life competencies.

Louvrier (2013)

Ylöstalo (2016)

Methodology	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Discourse analysis, interviews• 32 interviews (6 managers, 25 ethnic minority members, 1 expert) in 5 Finnish organizations and 1 other	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Analysis of gender, race, and class inequalities in interviews.• 31 interviews (16 women, 15 men; 8 immigrants, 23 Finnish; all levels) in two Finnish private sector organizations (~250 employees)
Key insights	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Most talk about diversity circled around the differences between Finns and non-Finns, that were furthermore treated as homogenous groups, not only for how they look but for how they are.• In the managers' talk the non-Finns were sometimes divided into two groups, "immigrants", and so-called "global talents".• Racism was extensive in the studied organizations, and moreover normalized, dismissed as "nothing special".• Diversity was in all accounts mainly attached to immigration and ethnic minorities, i.e., silences around gender as part of diversity. (→ It could be interpreted that when talking about diversity and its challenges to organizations, the silences around gender mean that gender is not seen as the one causing them.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Language requirements were found to be set more often as barriers of career advancement for "immigrants" while not for "global talents".• Gender-based inequalities were not seen as a problem because they do not exist. The reasons for any visible inequalities were actively sought from elsewhere, from places that do not disturb the idea of Finland as the cradle of equality.

Table (Literature review) 2: Diversity and differences in employees' talk

2.5.3 Concluding the insights from Finnish business organizational context

In sum, the understanding of diversity seems to be in its infancy in Finnish organizations. Firstly, there seems to be plenty of room for widening the basic understanding of what diversity means. Based on the studies discussed here, the Finnish population is seen as a homogenous group that shares the common features of whiteness, Finnish origins, and fluent Finnish language skills. Differences among Finns are minimized, and they generally go

unaddressed and misunderstood. Non-Finns are divided into "immigrants" and "global talents", of whom global talents seem to get their status mainly through looking like a Finn in its white Western definition, suggesting persisting bias, prejudice, and stereotyping.

Secondly, the intersections of diversity characteristics are nowhere acknowledged. The diversity characteristics seem to be treated as separate groups rather than understanding their coexistence. The example of the language requirement discussed above shows that different intertwinings of gender, nationality, race and ethnicity, and immigration status make up different positions in the Finnish labor market. Visibly different 'non-Finns' are produced in the discourses as "others" whose positions in the labor market and job titles under what their education would entail are legitimized through poor Finnish language skills. Thus, all discrimination happening in the organizations or job markets in Finland is not actually discrimination, but due to individual merits (e.g., language skills). Equality is thus seen as already achieved. The common understanding seems to be that if only the immigrants learned Finnish, everything would set into place.

Thirdly, sufficient gender division in the workplaces seems to mean the fulfillment of both diversity and equality in workplaces. In Finnish society, where gender equality is apparently seen as inherent to the nation, gender is considered an indifferent factor in explaining any discrimination. While women in the workplaces or even in the decision-making positions are not a new phenomenon in Finland and Finland is one of the forerunners in gender equality globally, the reality from the career perspective, not even talking about social perspective, is not yet comparable to this nice thought. Women stay, regardless of their in average higher education than their male counterparts, underrepresented in positions of power and are moreover less paid for the same jobs (Finnish institute for health and welfare, 2018, 2019; Kalenius, 2014, p. 9; Tilastokeskus, 2019a; Torvinen, 2017).

It has been suggested that the poor understanding is due to Finland's inexperience with multiculturalism. For instance, Point and Singh (2003, p. 754) explained the absence and narrowness of diversity discourse through Finland's "remote location and traditional industries", suggesting that Finland does not need to deal with diversity to the same extent as, for instance, UK and Germany, whose commercial survival is depending on their ability to attract and compete for international talent. Similarly to Point and Singh's (2003, p. 754) conclusion, the ignorance with diversity in the discourses could be explained through the

fact that Finnish people just have not had time to mature to diversity the same way other longer been multicultural societies has. However, this has been misunderstood. While it is evident that Finland's workforce is becoming increasingly multicultural with an accelerating speed, multiculturalism is not a new phenomenon in Finland, even though seemingly believed so. Minorities such as Sámi, Roma, and Ingrian Finns have always been present in Finland, yet gone for some reason unnoticed in the diversity discussion. (Louvrier, 2013, p. 61-62, 94.) The discourses detected from the four studies are thus likely to reinforce the racial and gendered hierarchies in those Finnish companies.

2.6 Conclusion

Based on the literature discussed above, there is still a lot of work to do on inclusive diversity communication and representation. The business world at large seems to be still mainly convinced by the business argument of acquiring diverse talent and struggle to combine those efforts with the moral side of things. Understanding that the two sides (i.e., business and moral arguments of diversity) serve each other cannot be seen in most of the studied companies' operations. Regardless of the occasional successful efforts, most of the companies referred to in the literature review fail to communicate diversity inclusively. The website discourses, both verbal and visual, seem to be only reinforcing the inequality historically discriminated and thus underrepresented people have faced. This is done through stereotyping and othering and further problematizing their existence.

When examining the Finnish context in particular, it is evident from the reviewed studies that Finnish companies lag behind others in their diversity efforts. The reason for this seems to be in the understanding of diversity in the first place. Diversity managers lulled with the thought of achieved equality in Finnish society are blindfolding themselves from the fact that they set equality to mean only equality between women and men. Such is done through legitimizing unfair treatment of people of different races and ethnicities through individual merits (e.g., language skills). The occurrence of racism seems to be downplayed and further normalized as "nothing big".

3 Theoretical Framework for Studying Visual Discourses

The literature review above provides the terminology with which to discuss diversity and differences. Moreover, it gives examples of what earlier research has found of the discursive construction of diversity and differences in two contexts. First, in the business organizational context more generally, and second, in the Finnish business organizational context more specifically. Such insights are vital for understanding the visual discourses detected later on Wolt's and Freska's websites. Before presenting the empirical findings, I provide the theoretical framework for studying such visual discourses. This section attempts to explain what discourses and especially visual discourses are and how they can be examined.

Studying visual discourses rising from images is an interdisciplinary, hybrid-like effort, that draws from theoretical frameworks of semiotics, discourse analysis, and grammar of visual design. The field of studying images is much less developed than that of studying written texts and spoken language. Therefore, a lot of what studying images is today is based on the work done in linguistics. Despite the significance and severe increase of visually consumed content in contemporary societies, the theoretical underpinnings for studying visual discourses remain fragmented. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 12-13.) Due to this fragmented and relatively novel nature of the field, it is then no surprise that the analyses of images and visual discourses have been approached from several angles using quantitative and qualitative approaches, or a mixture of both (Seppä, 2012, pp. 11-27). There is thus no one way to conduct visual discourse analysis. Most researchers that have studied images have developed ad hoc solutions for their studies (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008b, p. 43). However, some more popular approaches occur. These seem to be content analysis, which is especially popular in media studies (Seppä, 2012, pp. 214-216), and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design. Nevertheless, it is much dependent on the researcher and her or his research objectives what is a fitting mixture of theoretical foundations (Seppä, 2012, p. 26).

For the reasons provided, I also use a hybrid, interdisciplinary approach to study visual discourses in this thesis. While the approach I have chosen locates mainly within qualitative research tradition, it also contains some characteristics typical to quantitative content analysis. The theoretical base is adopted from earlier mentioned semiotics, discourse analysis, and grammar of visual design. In addition to these, this thesis locates within critical

theory. More specifically, I apply Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the guiding framework in doing discourse analysis, within which Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design is applied to bring in the visual twist. Examples and modifications of such methodological combinations can be found from, for instance, Vahid and Esmae'li's (2012) and Wang's (2014) studies. Vahid and Esmae' li (2012) studied advertisement and Wang (2014) picture news. The context and data set differs from the websites used in this thesis. Nevertheless, some inspiration has been extracted from these two studies in terms of the methodological approach. Another useful resource in constructing this thesis's theoretical framework has been Schmid's (2012) paper on critical theory of visual representation.

This chapter is dedicated to providing the theoretical base for the methodology and the logic behind the choices of tools to study visual discourses. I start by defining how I understand the meaning of discourse and its criticality (i.e., discourse within the critical theory). I then explain how visual discourses fit within the traditional field of discourses and provide the tool to study images (i.e., the grammar of visual design). The two main frameworks utilized in this thesis, Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design, are finally sewed together to a theoretical framework illustrated in Figure 2. Through this chapter, in addition to providing the theoretical base for the methodology, I hope to have been able to show through examples how discourses, especially visual discourses, come to life and how the ideas can be applied to study visual discourses in images on company websites.

3.1 Critical discourse analysis and critical *visual* discourse analysis

Discourses can be defined as ways of representing a part of the world, or a specific issue, from a particular perspective (Fairclough, 1995, p. 77). For instance, an individual subject to a serious assault can be framed as a "victim" or, for instance, as a "survivor". Choosing between the two gives the individual and people reading or listening to the story a very different sense of the person's identity. Or for example, alcoholism can be framed as a "disease", as it is widely understood today, or as a "failure of self". Choosing between the two, again, guides the way people encounter individuals with alcoholism and what kind of treatment, if any, such individuals receive. Another way discourses can be used, is to reason some activity/phenomenon based on to which social group the person succeeding belongs

and what is her or his observable identity. Race and ethnicity, gender, and age are common dividers as briefly tapped upon in Section 2.1.2 *Two perspectives on differences*. For instance, while a girl's success could be reasoned through "hard work", a boy's success could be reasoned through the boy being "gifted". The same thing is happening, the child is succeeding at school, yet the discourse attached to it puts the whole succeeding in a different light, molding the child's identity in the long run.

After started noticing, this simple idea manifests itself in all sorts of different contexts – in business organizations as well. For instance, commercial versus moral discourses of diversity are examples of such. The adopted discourse defines how we can think and talk about something (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008c, p. 4) and can then lead to action. Taking the commercial and moral discourses of diversity into the center as appropriate for this topic of this thesis, the two indeed have very different aims and means to motivate diversity endeavors in business organizations. Considerably simplified, whereas the commercial diversity discourse opens the company doors to minorities only enough to benefit from them economically, seeing them as no more than necessary resources, moral diversity discourse opens the doors for the sake of equal opportunity. Therefore, moral discourse is probably more attentive in creating an inclusive work environment and root out bias.

Therefore, discourses can be used for specific purposes. For instance, on the one hand, commercial diversity discourse promotes diversity and, on the other hand, justifies and maintains prevailing white male dominance (Singh & Point, 2006, pp. 365, 366). In politics and other areas such as in management, discourses today and throughout history have been used to strengthen certain ideologies while silencing others. For instance, the discourse of the inherent nature of (gender) equality in Finnish society that was found to be a widely accepted belief among the studied Finnish organizations tended to silence any thought that believed that gender-based injustices could still be true. When such a discourse is repeated habitually across time as it seems to be in Finland, it can make blind. In this case, blind for gender-based discrimination as it "simply cannot happen in such a society as Finland". Rather than seeing an incident's possible roots being in gender injustices, the reason is instead actively attempted to be found somewhere else, smothering any thought that challenges the prevalent idea of achieved equality. (Ylöstalo, 2016, pp. 421.) The use of certain discourses can be deliberate, but also an unintended repetition of what is learned growing up and adopted from the mainstream media. Ideas, i.e., discourses, attached firmly

to certain differing identities, are especially harmful – especially if it is the only mainstream discourse attached to this identity. Such ideas can unconsciously manifest themselves in everyday activities, everyday talk, and more widely in company recruitment processes (Fan et al., 2019; Fiske, 1998, p. 357), which are hard to root out.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings to daylight exactly such issues as described above. CDA, like any other type of discourse analysis, is based on the belief of discourse as both socially constitutive and socially conditioned. How CDA differs from “plain” discourse analysis is that it highlights issues of power asymmetries, manipulation, and exploitation, exercised by elites, institutions, or other groups. Those that result in social inequalities, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial, and gender inequalities in domains such as education, media, politics, and the justice system. Therefore, CDA focuses on how social and political domination or power are reproduced in written texts and spoken language of individuals and institutions. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 75; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008c, pp. 20-30.) The ideas of men over women, white over black, young over old, rich over poor, capital area over the countryside, etc. let alone different intersections of the mentioned, could be examples of such. Such dominant discourses together form the social order where some get their voices heard, and others do not. The motivation in CDA comes partly from the fact that even though language is vital for exercising power, the relationship between language and power can be unclear for readers and listeners (or viewers) not trained to see the relationship (Fairclough, 1995, p. 75). It is thus CDA’s job to bring those relationships under the spotlight. On the bright side, while ideologies and power hierarchies are produced and maintained through language, CDA believes that language can also renew and change them (Fairclough, 1995, p. 76).

But how images fit all this? Understanding the discourses of images is not too different from the understanding of discourses of written text and spoken language. The basic idea is the same. Only instead of producing meanings and discourses through words, meanings and discourses are produced through images on the company websites. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 17.) For instance, the absence of recognition of race and ethnicity in verbally expressed diversity discourses that was found to be commonplace in Finnish organizations’ websites (Point & Singh, 2003; Meriläinen et al., 2009), can be expressed through visual discourses as well with the absence of such visual representation. For instance, even though studying images was not the aim in Meriläinen et al. ’s (2009, p. 235) study, they

nevertheless made a note of how Kesko was not only silent in terms of diversity discourse on their written discourse, but also reinforced such message by portraying only white ethnic Finns in their recruitment pages. This even though the company employs many immigrants in the entry-level jobs. However, they were washed away from people who represent Kesko for the public eye. Therefore, visual discourses can reinforce and reproduce the same discourses as those embedded in written texts and spoken language.

However, the discourses created in written, spoken, and visual texts, i.e., in images, do not necessarily line up with each other; they can be contradictory. For instance, in an advertisement, it may be so that the text is by meaning non-sexist, while the image encodes overtly sexist stereotypes. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996 p. 18.) Or a company makes a valuing equality statement, yet depicts the equality in visuals only in terms of white ethnic Finn women and men as they are represented equally in number and roles. Such possible contradictory signals are also reviewed in this thesis. Therefore, images should not be seen only for their aesthetic and expressive feature but also for their structured social, political, and communicative dimensions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 16). Analyzing visual communication should be an important part of critical disciplines (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 12) as also the above-provided example of visual silencing show. One should be able to “read between the lines”, as Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, p. 13) summarizes.

At this point, it is clear that visual discourse analysts are interested in analyzing potential discourses arising from such visual texts as images and that visual discourse analysis becomes critical when it attempts to highlight how power is maintained through visual texts. But how to detect the meaning in images? Similarly to discourse analysis of written text and spoken language, the analysis of images is on meaning. The distinctive factor between the two is that a different kind of “grammar” is applied when analyzing written text and spoken language versus images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 2, 17; Albers, 2007, pp. 83-84). Therefore, to get to *visual* discourses, a tool specific to decoding the features of images is needed. In this thesis, as already noted, Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) grammar of visual design provides the required. The tool is technical and provides the means to conduct discourse analysis.

3.2 Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 13-14) provide a useful tool for studying images and even promote it as a contribution to critical discourse analysis where the interest is on visual texts. The tool, grammar of visual design, has been developed upon Michael Halliday's work in linguistics. Thus parallel with Halliday, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 13-14) believe that images, like any semiotic mode, fulfill three metafunctions that together affect how an image produces and circulates meaning. These are representational, interactive, and compositional functions. An illustrative figure of the framework can be found below in Figure 1.

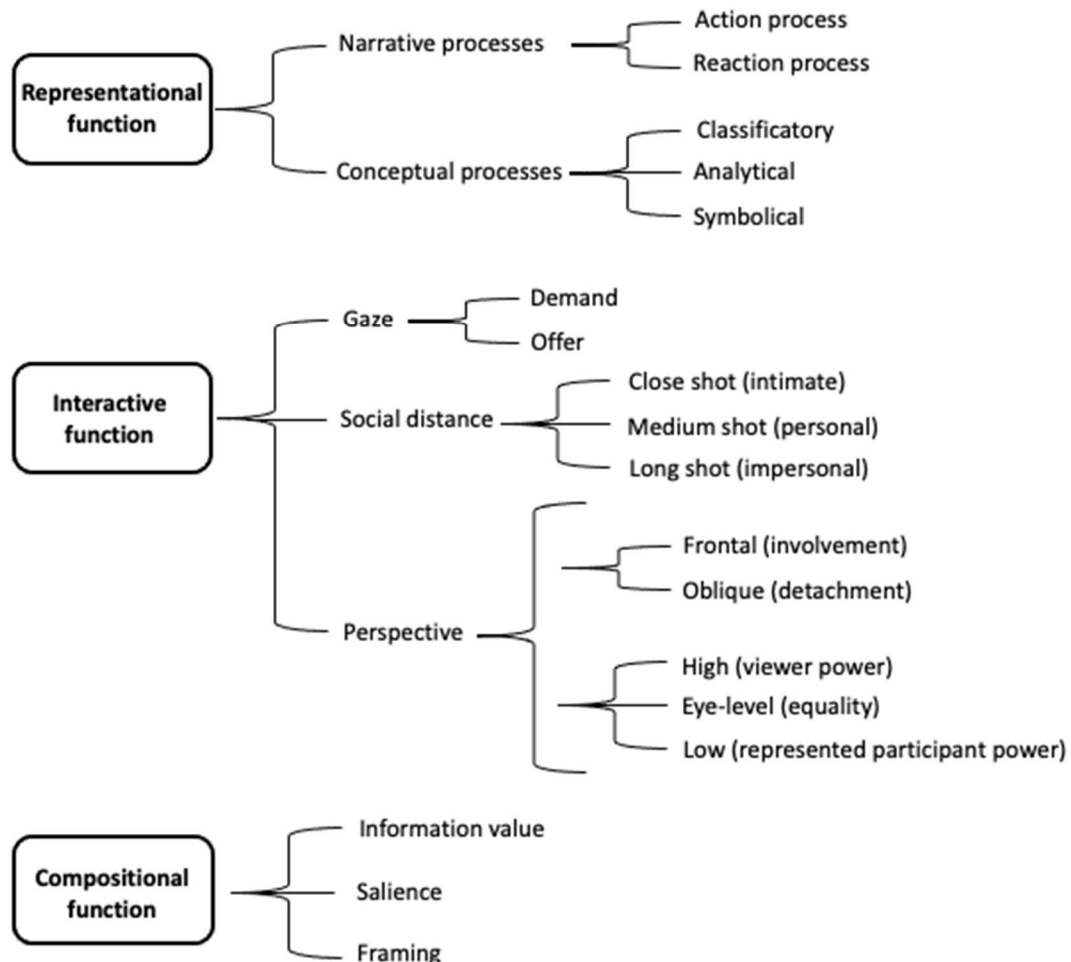


Figure 1: Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, pp. 56, 74, 88, 107, 108, 154, 223) grammar of visual design

The functions advance from within image analysis (i.e., representational function) to analysis between the image and the viewer of it (i.e., interactive function), to the analysis of how everything comes together as a meaningful whole (i.e., compositional function). However, not all details within each of the three functions are relevant for this thesis' purpose. Therefore, as Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) framework is described in more detail in the following sections, only selected parts of each function have been described.

3.2.1 Representational function

The representational function starts with the very basics. It concentrates on the within image analysis. It describes what and/or who is/are depicted in an image, what are the ones depicted doing (if anything), and what are their relationships with each other. The *what* and *who* that are depicted in an image are called "represented participants", in contrast to "interactive participants" with which Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 46-48) mean producer(s) and viewer(s) of an image (see the interactive function). The represented participants include people, places, and things, including abstract things. Therefore, as this thesis focuses on depictions of people, a distinction has been made to represented *human participants* when talking specifically of people/human individuals depicted in the analyzed images.

The represented participants, once identified, can be analyzed based on what kind of doing, or lack of doing thereof, they are engaged in or how they are. Images can thus be analyzed through their "narrative" and "conceptual" representations, respectively. Even though the concepts are not explicitly referred to when presenting the empirical findings of this thesis, the concepts are crucial to go through here to understand how the images have been read and what kind of (group) dynamics can be detected in them.

In narrative representations, there is an "action" present in the image that is realized through the presence of a "vector" that points from one participant depicted in the image (i.e., the "actor") towards another participant depicted in the image (i.e., the "goal"). The actor is usually some living representative, like a human participant or a dog, but can also be a car or other object. The goal can similarly be all the mentioned. Such action or vector is never present in conceptual patterns. If a narrative representation contains only one represented participant, this represented participant is always the actor. The vector still emanates from the actor but is not aimed at anyone or anything. The first one is called "transactional" and

the latter “non-transactional” action process. Moreover, the process can be bidirectional, meaning that all participants are both actors and goals of the vector(s) present in the image that realizes some sort of doing. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 56-67.)

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 56-66) furthermore classify two different types of narrative representations to be found in images; “action” processes and “reaction” processes. Like action processes, reactional processes can be either transactional, non-transactional, or bidirectional. The difference between action and reaction processes is detected in the nature of the vector present. In the reaction process, a participant *reacts* to someone or something. In this case, the vector is formed by an eyeline, a glance, or a gaze – by looking. Everything that cannot be judged as “reacting” in this sense is then falling into the category of action processes. In the reaction process, the actor is called “reactor” (i.e., the one who looks at something or someone), and the goal is called “phenomenon” (i.e., the something or someone that reactor is looking at).

The represented participants can also be analyzed by their conceptual patterns. In analyzing conceptual patterns, the represented participants are analyzed in terms of their essence. The focus is on what and how they are, rather than what they are doing. Conceptual representations can be analyzed through “classificational”, “analytical”, and/or “symbolic” structures. The classificational structure is present when a set of participants in an image are seemingly brought together to be judged only as participants of the same group by the viewer. For instance, people with different ethnicities could be brought together in an image on a company website to represent the diversity of the workforce or, for instance, of the customers.

Especially in such images as described above, that are created to convey diversity, the represented participants have visibly different outer characteristics, such as gender, skin color, and such, to make up their diverse essence. Such essence is then what analytical structures help to detect, the parts that make the whole. Every represented human participant represented in an image is made up of a number of parts. These “parts” can be the mentioned gender and skin color, but also, for instance, age, the color of the eyes, and clothing. Such choices can signify different kinds of identities, even interests of a particular individual. Lastly, in addition to the previous, the represented participants can be attached with symbolic meaning (i.e., symbolic structures). Such is usually an artificially constructed identity

through a purposeful placing of items. Such an example is, for instance, placing a bouquet next to a woman's legs, like in Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, p. 109) example, to express femininity and beauty. Or placing glasses and books on an office table a man is sitting in front of to express wisdom and elitism.

The representational function is important because it can detect patterns of roles and ideas attached to particular identities. It brings to light things such as who gets to be represented and who does not, whose voice is worthy of mentioning and whose not, in what kind of action a particular representation is engaged in, and how different identities are framed in relationship to each other, who leads the show and who is merely depicted as the audience of this show. Representing one thing comes to represent exactly what it represents because it does not represent something else. This is a line of thought closely attached to linguistics and semioticians Ferdinand de Saussure and Jacques Derrida. Following this thought, for instance, an ethnic white woman representation in an image represents not only an ethnic white woman but also the absence of, for instance, men and black women. Hence, who is *not* represented, whose identity is silenced in visual representation, carries also meaning.

All these choices add up to the different identities of different people. The unfortunate fact is that there can usually be detected a habitually exercised pattern in how a particular group of people is represented. Through repetition, the idea is then falsely normalized as this group's basic essence that tends to define how they are and how they should be interacted with (see, for instance, Collins, 2011; Grau & Zotos, 2016; IMDb, 2020). The identity becomes mediated, cultured, and social – as created by someone else than the person her- or himself. This does not mean that the person could not naturally develop such identity, but to notice how different frames of reference different identity groups can be given, and have been given, by visual representation. Such examples could be women's sexualization, men depicted in positions in power, and dark-skinned individuals depicted in a charity poster in otherwise mainstream white media.

3.2.2 Interactive function

Interactive function brings the producer(s) and the viewer(s) of the images into the analysis. Interactive function describes the relationship between the viewer (i.e., the interactive participant) and the people and things depicted (i.e., represented participants) in a particular

image. Questions such as are we as viewers supposed to feel a close connection with the people depicted in the image, or are we merely drawn to observe her/him from a distance in an objective way? are central. The producers and viewers are real people who produce and consume images. The relationship between the two can be direct and immediate, in which case the producer and the viewer are in direct face-to-face interaction.

However, in most cases, like in this thesis' context of website images, there is no immediate or direct relationship. The image is produced and consumed separately in different contexts. In these cases, the producer can only create a mental image of the viewers. Depending on the intended audience, the producer can arrange the represented participants to speak to an audience targeted through interactive choices. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 119-120.) However, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 119) remind that even though the choices can be made deliberately, the production and publishing process might not usually be so intentional, which leads to the meaning being produced unintentionally. As explained in the previous section, learned tendencies to depict certain identities in certain roles may affect the choices. Whether conscious or unconscious, the meaning is nevertheless produced, and so special attention should be paid to the choices.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 154) define three ways in which the relation between the image and the viewer can be formed. These are "gaze", "social distance", and "perspective". With gaze, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 122) mean the direction of the represented participant's eyeline. But instead of looking at the eyeline in terms of the narrative processes within an image like in representational function, the focus is on how the eyeline is formed in relation to the viewer. Whether the participant looks directly to the camera (i.e., at the viewer) or elsewhere makes a difference. The previous is called "demand" and the latter "offer". The term "demand" comes from the idea that when the represented participant looks straight at the viewer of the image, the represented participant "demands" that the viewer enters into some relation with her or him. The demand can then be accompanied with different facial expressions or gestures to give it a certain meaning. In terms of facial expressions, the represented participant can, for instance, smile to the viewer, which invites the viewer to a social affinity with the represented participant. The represented participant can also seductively pout to the viewer, which then asks the viewer to desire the represented participant or coldly stare at the viewer, which asks the viewer to humble her- or himself to the represented participant. In terms of gestures, the represented participant may point or

wave at the viewer, contributing to creating a relationship with the viewer. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 122-123.)

However, the represented participant might not directly address the viewer, in which case the eyeline is directed elsewhere. This is called an "offer" as explained above. In offer images, the viewer is not the object but the subject of the look. The represented participant is not producing contact with the viewer and thus, becomes the object of the viewer's "dispassionate scrutiny", as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 124) put it. The represented participants are thus "offered" "[...] to the viewers as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 124).

The second way the relationship between the image and the viewer can be formed is social distance. The social distance is defined by the distance from which the represented participants are depicted. These are close, medium, and long shots. In a close shot, the represented participant is cropped from the shoulders or the neck. In a medium shot, either the represented participant's full figure is shown, or she or he is cropped from the knees or waist. Then, in a long shot, the represented participant's full figure occupies about half or less of the image frame's height. The shot's length defines how closely the viewer is invited to engage with the represented participant in an image. The idea is taken from the real-life setting. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 130-135.) Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 131) thus talk about "touching distance" and compares that to the level of social relationship. The close shot allows the viewer to enter to an imaginary possibility to touch the represented participant, whereas the long shot does not. Thus, the people are portrayed as friends, or as if they were strangers or otherwise people we would not enter to closer connection than barely touching. Close shot thus imitates an intimate or personal relationship between the represented participant and the viewer, medium shot social relationship, and long shot impersonal.

The third and last way the relationship between the image and the viewer can be formed is perspective, or "attitude", which is the camera angle from which the represented participants are depicted. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 142, 146) differentiate between horizontal and vertical camera angles. The horizontal angle can be frontal or oblique, and the vertical angle high, low, or eye-level. In terms of horizontal angle, the viewer is "involved" with the

represented participants depicted from a frontal angle and "detached" from the ones depicted from an oblique one. Whereas frontal angle puts the represented participants and the viewers figuratively as part of the same world, inviting the two to relate to each other, the oblique angle depicts the represented participants as objects of information, making no personal contact with the viewer. Such differentiation is especially visible in images where a certain group is depicted from a frontal angle and another group not. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 140-148.)

To give an example of the previous, there could be an image on some company website's corporate social responsibility page that is supposedly illustrating the company's efforts on CSR. The image depicts three white men, seemingly some sort of managers of the company, standing in the back of the image set. The men depicted from a frontal angle, waving to the viewer. The company's "charity targets" are depicted in front of the men. For the sake of contrast, let's imagine that they are black children around a table doing craftwork. The children are depicted from an oblique angle. Some of them are looking at the viewer smiling, but most are concentrated on doing the craftwork. Even though innocent from first sight, the image contains sharp power hierarchies when analyzed closer. Not only does the image speak to the target audience of other white men in power, but also, the image positions the black children as passive receivers, as objects of the white man's "charity", suggesting the narrative of a white savior. Even though well-meaning, the image ends up talking the message of the charity-makers for their self-serving purposes, disregarding the actual children and their story.

As said, the camera angle can also be divided in the vertical direction. The vertical angle can be high, low, or eye-level. High angle makes the represented participant look small and insignificant, even submissive to the viewer. With such a high angle, the represented participant is represented from the point of view of power. The image exercises "viewer power". In contrast to the previous, the low angle depicts "represented participant power" which means that the viewer is instead in the subordinate role looking up. The low angle can create such impressions as superiority and admiration. Between the two is the eye-level camera angle, which depicts "equality". In eye-level images, there is no power involved between the represented participant and the viewer. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 119-154.) For instance, the CEO of any given company could be depicted as an unreachable

power figure from a low angle, or, for instance, as an approachable friendly face from an eye-level angle.

Like representational function, the interactive function can also detect the use of power in images, especially when it happens in certain patterns. In the interactive function, power is exercised by representing the represented participants to the viewer in a certain way, such as making or not making contact with the viewer or looking up or down to the viewer. Moreover, this often includes that a specific audience is targeted while others are excluded, like in the imaginary example given earlier.

3.2.3 Compositional function

The last function in Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, pp. 181-229) framework is the compositional function. Compositional function describes how the above described representational and interactive elements come together in a given image. Here, questions such as: How are the represented participants placed in an image? To whom is the viewers' attention drawn first? And who or what is taken for granted, and who or what is depicted as new information? are relevant. Thus, the focus is on the placement of the elements. The elements can be brought together in an image in three interrelated systems; "information value", "saliency", and "framing".

Information value refers to the placement of elements between horizontal and vertical axes; left or right, top or bottom, centre or margin. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 183) claim that representation on the left would be considered as "given" or "known" information and representation on the right as "new" information. Thus, placement on the right is something to be paid attention to more as it is new. Similarly, the representation on the top is considered as "ideal" or "emotive appeal" and on the bottom as "real" or "practical" space of information. The reason why Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 198-199) have made such a conclusion lies in Western culture and the reading direction specific to it – and it makes sense. In Western culture, one works on the left to right, up to down structure, and for this reason, there is "likeness to attach different value to different positions" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 199). The story is started from basics on the left and developed towards novel information on the right. Or, the idea is given first on the top and below the idea has

been explained more practically. This is a rather natural interpretation given the habitual reading direction.

Another way in which the elements are brought together is their degree of salience. Regardless of where the elements are placed (i.e., left, right, top, down, centre, margin), some elements can be made more salient than others, through size or lighting, for instance. Making certain elements more salient than others can be used to create a hierarchy among the represented participants. Some are made more important to see, more worthy of attention than others. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 212.)

Lastly, elements in an image can be framed to different degrees. By framing, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 214-217) mean the degree to which a represented participant is depicted as a separate unit. Thus, the represented participant can be weakly or strongly framed. When a represented participant is strongly framed, i.e., represented as a separate unit of information, it can signify individuality and differentiation. Weak framing or total absence of framing, in the other hand, suggests group identity. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 214-217.)

In this thesis, conspicuous seemingly purposeful placement, salience, or separation of represented participants within images are taken note of mainly in group images. Other than that, the features of compositional function are applied in the level of website layout. For instance, information value and salience are applied in terms of what is explicit by the first sight of a particular section of the company website and what is left under scrolling. This kind of placing also has to do with making one more salient than the other; who is made the face of the company and who is not, what or who is the “ideal” of the company and what and who is depicted merely as practical, necessary information of the company, have been examined.

3.3 Framework for critical visual discourse analysis

Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) grammar of visual design, described above, serves as the mean to deconstruct visual discourses. To study the visual discourses from the critical theory point of view, Fairclough’s three-dimensional CDA framework provides the needed resources. The framework consists of three stages of analysis; analysis of (visual) text,

discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 78-99). In linking the micro-level analysis of the (visual) text to the macro-structure of society, Fairclough's framework offers a useful tool for analyzing ideologies, power, and dominance encoded in (visual) texts. Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design are combined into the 'framework for critical visual discourse analysis' in Figure 2 below.

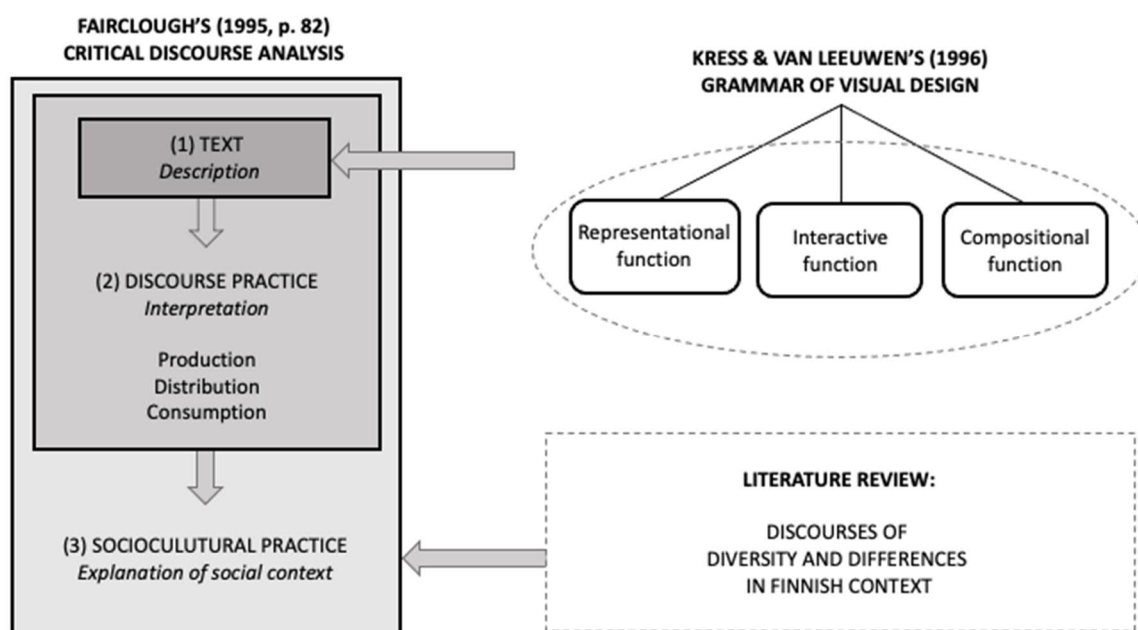


Figure 2: Framework for critical discourse analysis

As Figure 2 shows, the grey boxes on the left side mark the three stages in Fairclough's (1996, p. 82) CDA framework: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. As noted above, these stages guide the discourse analysis from micro to macro-level analysis. The stages are illustrated within each other because of their interrelated nature. The relationship is explained more in detail below in relation to discourse practice. The tools used to conduct the first and third stages of the CDA framework are shown on the right side. Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) three metafunctions described in the previous sections: representational, interactive, and compositional functions are illustrated on the top right of the figure, and the discourses from the literature review are illustrated on the down right of the figure. The previous mentioned are essential in carrying out the visual text analysis of images in the

CDA framework, and the latter mentioned discourses refer to the ones identified in Chapter 2. *Literature review*. The three stages and their ties with the tools displayed on the right are explained more in detail below.

(1) TEXT. The first stage, text analysis, called visual text analysis in this thesis, is the stage of *description* of visual elements in the images as the data set. To do visual text analysis, Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework has absorbed the view of systemic-functional grammar by Halliday, upon which also Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) framework of the grammar of visual design has been developed. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) thus provide a version of Halliday's framework that follows the same logic of analysis but is adjusted to analyze especially visual texts. Therefore, the first stage follows Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design described earlier. The first stage aims to decode and describe *what there is* in the data, in the images, and what kind of discourses they can create. The first stage thus answers the first and the core research question of this thesis: How are diversity and differences discursively constructed in the visual content choices on the websites of the two Finnish case companies? The second and third stages, in turn, answer the second research question. This is explained below.

(2) DISCOURSE PRACTICE. The second stage, discourse practice, is the stage of *interpretation* of the relationship between discourse processes (i.e., production, distribution, and consumption) and the text (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 68-70; 81-85). Questions such as: Who are the producers, and what are their objectives?, and Who is the audience, and how do they make sense of the images?, can be used. The idea is to give the first interpretation of why the text is built as it is and interpret what kinds of goals the discourses may have based on who is involved in the discourse practices and in which role. This second stage is located in between text and sociocultural practice in Figure 2 above. In fact, the second stage serves in a way as the mediator between the text and sociocultural stages of analysis. Fairclough (1996, pp. 81-82) explains that sociocultural practices change the way discourses are produced, distributed, and consumed, which then manifests itself in the way in which the text is constructed. On the other hand, the way in which the text is constructed affects the way in which sociocultural practices are shaped. This stage of analysis contributes to the understanding of *why* the visual content choices are made as they are.

(3) SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE. The third and final stage, sociocultural practice, is thus the stage of *explanation* of the social context that influences the processes of production and consumption. The idea is to bring the visual discourses into a broader social context, where institutional and sociocultural factors relevant to the present visual remarks are to be explored. These can be economical, political, and cultural aspects. (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 71-73, 85-86.) Here, understanding the current discourses around diversity at large and specifically in the Finnish context comes in handy. They guide to understand how the actors are presented and why in that way. This stage of analysis is particularly important because the social and cultural context in which the text is produced shapes the discourse practices and choices of content, and vice versa, the discourse practices and choices of content shape the larger contextual frame in the long run. (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 71-73, 85-86.) The second research question is answered by analyzing this stage together with the previous one: Do the visual discourses reinforce or challenge the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations?

4 Research Design and Methods

In this chapter, this thesis' research design and methods are presented. The theoretical framework has already been considered above. Building on top of that, it is this chapter's objective to walk the reader through the research context, data collection, and data analysis followed in this thesis. However, first, the research traditions followed are described and justified.

4.1 Methodology

As noted earlier, the purpose of this thesis is to examine how diversity is visually constructed on two Finnish case companies' websites. The two case companies are Wolt and Freska, and their background information is provided in the next section. A mixed approach of qualitative and quantitative research traditions has been applied to fulfill this thesis' purpose. While the study locates largely within qualitative research tradition, that provides an opportunity to deal with the social and cultural construction of the issue at hand (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008a, pp. 4-7), characteristics typical to quantitative content analysis are applied in the phase of data analysis.

Within the qualitative tradition, I have chosen critical visual discourse analysis as the method of inquiry (see Figure 2). This method of inquiry draws theoretically from semiotics, Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis (CDA), and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design. Doing critical discourse analysis of visual texts is a fit to this thesis' purpose as it provides me tools to analyze meanings embedded in images from a particular point of view (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008b); in this case, on company websites from the point of view of diversity. The approach of critical theory to visual discourse analysis (i.e., utilizing Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework) then enables me to uncover how the images function as part of the larger sphere of discourses of diversity, how they relate to socio-cultural processes and changes, and thus, how possible inequalities are produced and maintained through those images. To examine these aspects, this thesis is built upon one core (RQ1) and one supportive (RQ2) research question that have been presented in the introduction.

4.2 Research context

There are several layers of relevant research contexts. The companies as organizations and their industry and country contexts are relevant for analyzing the discourse and sociocultural practices. The companies' organizational features have been considered below. From the country context, Finland has been taken under special scrutiny. Yet the international nature of the two companies' operations is also its own broader context within which Finland locates. Such larger contexts have been considered earlier in the literature review of this thesis. In this section, the two case companies Wolt and Freska, are introduced and argued for their selection criteria, i.e., what makes them interesting as the research setting of this thesis.

The companies are Finnish food delivery provider Wolt and cleaning service provider Freska. The case companies are both start-ups operating in both domestic and international markets. Wolt operates in 22 countries across Europe and Asia, while Freska's operations are at least in the present moment limited to Nordic countries Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The companies were founded close to each other time-wise, Wolt in 2014 and Freska in 2015. Both companies profile themselves as technology companies and can be described as platform economies (Talouselämä, 2018; Freska, 2020; Wolt, 2020). Moreover, both are

start-ups with accelerating growth in the center of the companies' objectives. Wolt's founder is Mikko (Miki) Kuusi and Freska's Sebastian Heinrich. Both are under 35 years old and have their high school diplomas from high schools in Helsinki. Kuusi has studied at Aalto University but has not completed his studies. Heinrich, on the other hand, is in his master's thesis phase at Hanken School of Economics.

During the last couple of years, both companies have been subject to fast growth. Wolt's revenue exceeded 30 million euros in 2018 (Talouselämä, 2019), and Freska's 10 million (Yrittäjät, 2019). Both are expected to continue on their growth path. The size of the workforce was challenging to determine without data directly from the companies. This is due to all couriers and the majority of cleaners being contracted with what could be called partnership deals. It appears from several sources that Wolt employed a bit over 400 employees in 2019 (Finder, 2019a) and Freska 130 (Finder, 2019b). The numbers are from Finland and could be interpreted not including their couriers and cleaners. The number of employees jumps up to several hundred or even thousands in Wolt's case when couriers and cleaners are included. I do not have specific information on the numbers of couriers and cleaners. Nevertheless, this information is enough to complete the second selection criterion (i.e., min. 200 employees full-time, part-time, or partnership if working in company-branded clothing).

Therefore, it is good to note that Wolt and Freska represent a rather different group of companies in terms of size and type of company than those referred to in the literature review. The majority of those companies were large Finnish companies. Focusing on companies like Wolt and Freska in the literature review has not been possible due to the limits set by current literature. As uncovered earlier, especially those kinds of Finnish companies seemed to have struggled in their inclusive representation of diversity, seemingly holding on extensive bias towards different gender, race, ethnicity, and age groups. It was found to be a pattern among these companies that both textual and visual representations depicted a dominance of whiteness and maleness; also, in cases where the company had employed many immigrant workers, and in cases where pressures to show otherwise were largely felt from the public. The two companies selected for this thesis are similar to some of these cases reviewed in the literature review, with the significant amount of immigrants employed as Wolt couriers and Freska cleaners in Finland (Eduskunta, 2017; Wolt Blog,

2019; Helsingin Sanomat, 2018). Such could indicate a bigger probability of a visibly diverse website presence.

Therefore, in addition to employing many immigrant workers, Wolt and Freska are interesting because they represent young-led new generation companies. Based on studies conducted by Deloitte at least (2018a; 2018b), the majority of such young-led generation representatives embody pro-diversity and pro-inclusion values. It was studied by Deloitte (2018a, 2018b) that the new generation of professionals both globally and in the Nordic context hold companies' commitment to social values important when they are choosing to work for an organization. The same studies showed that diversity and inclusion are, in fact, the key factors in retaining these young professionals. As much as 69% of millennials and Gen Z's who find their organization to be diverse would stay in the organization beyond five years in comparison to 27% of the employees that find their organization to be *not* diverse (Deloitte, 2018b). Nordics show similar numbers: 68% and 22% respectively (Deloitte, 2008a).

Thus, the two cases are interesting for their contrast to earlier research as they could potentially show a fresher and more proactive take on diversity. Freska (2020) states on their website's career page that "[...] As a young company, we are all about diversity, dynamism and creating teams that work and grow together as tight-woven units." Wolt phrases the same idea through Nordic identity as the following on their responsibility page: "As a company with Nordic roots, Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied worker [...]" Youthfulness and being Nordic seem to mean that the employees are taken care of. Whether such claims are manifested in the visual representations is this thesis' job to uncover. However, neither of the companies seem to have any particularly extensive diversity and inclusion policy in place. Wolt does not seem to have anything mentioned beyond offering their couriers "safety nets", which is not explained any further what is meant by it. Freska, on the other hand, engages with diversity and inclusion more. Beyond explicitly recognizing all of their employees, but especially cleaners', diversity (i.e., different nationalities, cultures, and backgrounds), Freska gives a few examples of how they help their immigrant employees to be part of Freska and the Finnish society as a whole. Freska provides, for instance, language courses and holds events where their employees can get to know each other. While Wolt may be doing the same, it is nevertheless not explicitly said so. Neither of the companies take any stand on protecting

their employees from discrimination happening within the organization, nor from discrimination their couriers and cleaners especially may face with customers.

Moreover, both companies, but especially Wolt, have been subject to a lot of criticism in how they have treated their front-line (immigrant) workers. This could have also been an important nudge to the possible new way of showcasing diversity. The topics have been of poor working conditions and wages and unfair employee contracts (Helsingin Sanomat, 2015). Wolt especially has been accused of exploiting their couriers (justice4couriers, 2019). The cleaning sector in Finland suffered one of its great crises very recently in July 2020 – also about poor working conditions and wages (Helsingin Sanomat, 2020a). The article includes direct references to Freska. However, the data collection for this thesis has been done before the publication of this article. Nevertheless, the article indicates that there have been problems with Freska already years and that “Freska started to fix the issues last year”. I could not find any other news articles that would have dragged Freska into similar company image problems than Wolt. Therefore, while Wolt has had time to incorporate this level of direct critical media attention to their operations, Freska might have now “upgraded” their attention to diversity and inclusive operations according to these “new” pressures from the public. Table (Case presentations) 1 at the end of this section summarizes all the information provided in this section.

Taken the points made above, I thus could expect that close attention would have been given at Wolt and Freska to the selection of appropriate images to represent the companies’ diverse employees on their company websites. I would expect that also due to the critic the companies have encountered in the media, the companies would have paid close attention to the visual representations of social- and power relations around gender, race and ethnicity, and other dimensions they (possibly and hopefully) wish to promote. However, what concerns me is the lack of clear diversity and inclusion policies and how the companies shield their employees against discrimination. Such silence could also be seen as silence in the visual representation of diversity on the website of Wolt especially. However, it should be kept in mind that these are only assumptions from the contexts of Wolt and Freska. Therefore, even if the images would show inclusivity in terms of the companies’ (observably) diverse workforces, it may not be an indication that diversity would be treated in such a way in practice. It could also be an indication of image polishing. Nevertheless, these are interesting contextual bases for the visual representation of diversity.

	Wolt	Freska
Founding year	2014	2015
Founder	Mikko Kuusi (under 35)	Sebastian Heinrichs (under 35)
Country base	Finland	Finland
Type of the company and ownership structure	Start-up / Venture Capital	Start-up / Venture Capital
Field	Food delivery Profiles as a technology company. Could be described as a platform economy.	Cleaning services Profiles as a technology company. Could be described as a platform economy.
International operations	22 countries across Europe and Asia including Finland	3 Nordic countries Finland, Norway, and Sweden
Revenue (2018)	30M€	10M€
Number of employees	427 (Finland) + couriers	130 (Finland) + cleaners
Other interesting facts in the light of this thesis	<p>Both identify as Nordic companies.</p> <p>Both are young-led companies which could be an indication of pro-diversity and pro-inclusion values.</p> <p>Both companies employ a significant amount of immigrants in their low-skill-low-wage positions in Finland, i.e., as Wolt couriers and Freska cleaners.</p> <p>Both have faced critics in the media for how they treat their low-skill-low-wage employees, i.e., Wolt couriers and Freska cleaners.</p> <p>Neither has at least any particularly extensive diversity and inclusion policy in place.</p>	

Table (Case presentations) 1: Comparing the two case companies

4.3 Data collection

For the purpose of this thesis, I collected secondary data. The data set included 100 images; 42 on Wolt's website and 58 on Freska's. Wolt's website contained 12 website sections and Freska's 16. The data set with different website sections of the case companies are presented in Table (Case presentations) 2 at the end of this section.

Apart from one detail, both companies had corresponding websites in English and Finnish both textually and visually. Moreover, some website sections could only be found in one of the languages. The language options for different website sections are also shown in Table (Case presentation) 2. On Wolt's website, there were three more images on the website section directed to restaurants on the Finnish version of the page ("For restaurants"/"Ravintoloille"). These images have been included in the number above and considered in the analysis. Moreover, on Freska's website, one same page appeared twice identically to each other as directed from the main navigation bar, "Become our cleaner" and "Careers". The images represented on these pages were counted only once. The images were collected from all sections of the websites. Links to social media were left out from the scope of this thesis as they directed away from the company websites to other platforms. Moreover, on Wolt's website's page "Media", the visitor is directed to a Google Drive folder "Public folder for press pics". The images in this folder are not included in the number above nor in the closer data analysis. Lastly, blogs, or "Stories" page as Freska called it, were incorporated in both cases as parts of the actual websites. However, those images were not included in the actual data set due to the scope of this thesis.

All images, whether depicting abstract things, food, or other objects or human participants, were included in the data set and image numbers presented. This was for statistical reasons to know to what extent Wolt and Freska use images depicting human participants. However, only images depicting human participants were included in the closer data analysis outlined in the next section. An image was judged to contain a human participant even if only a hand or feet or back of the head was depicted (i.e., face not shown). It was found that using the same "model" or even the same image multiple times on various sections was a common practice used by both companies. In these cases, each image was counted and included in the study separately because each individual image, whether unique or a repeat, contributes to the overall representation of diversity. One collage image on Wolt's website and two on

Freska's were left outside the scope of this thesis. Such a decision was made because the images included in the collages were relatively small and because the collage images could not be considered as their own entities due to the data analysis methods used in this thesis.

In total, the data set contained 206 represented human participants in Wolt's 42 images and 112 in Freska's 58 images (see Table 1). Therefore, in total, 318 represented human participants were analyzed for their representational, interactive, and compositional functions following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) framework. In the images where the face of the represented human participant was not shown, diversity characteristics were possible to determine only partly; sometimes only gender, sometimes only the skin color. Due to this reason, there are slight differences in the total numbers of human participants when analyzing gender, race and ethnicity, age, and their intersectional ties.

Abstract images and images depicting some kind of objects like phones, food, cleaning devices, or such, were only noted for more than their statistical meaning if there was a clear connection between the image and an attempt to signify diversity, or if there was something that could be judged as an attempt to signify gender. Usage of images depicting no human participants but used directly on diversity pages or next to a piece of text discussing issues such as culture, diversity, or anti-discrimination, were judged as cases of the previous one. Flowers, skirt hanging in the closet, and possible example names used in the illustrations of company apps were judged as cases of the latter.

Video contents that were played straight when entering a particular website page were not scrutinized for analysis because of the scope of this thesis and because such would require additional data analysis tools to those presented in this thesis. If a video had a selected still image as a cover image, this cover image was counted as an image and analyzed for its content if representing a human participant. Wolt's website included three videos without a set cover image and Freska's one. Two of the three videos on Wolt's website and the only one on Freska's were positioned in the first views of two separate pages. Their contents were commented on for the first impression of who was depicted and who was not. Images that changed as a slide show were each slide counted and analyzed as separates. Mere company logos, icons, and emojis were not counted as images.

The images were freely available online and were collected at one time at the beginning of July 2020 (i.e., 8.7.2020). The data collected was retrieved as PDF files and stored in company-specific folders.

Wolt			Freska		
Website section	Number of images (images with at least 1 human participant)	Language	Website section	Number of images (images with at least 1 human participant)	Language
Homepage / Orderpage	6 (6)	FIN + ENG	Homepage / Orderpage	7 (7)	FIN + ENG
For couriers	5 (4)	ENG	FAQ	0	FIN + ENG
For restaurants	7 (7)	FIN + ENG	Tax deduction	1 (0)	FIN + ENG
For companies	6 (4)	FIN + ENG	Become our cleaner	6 (3)	ENG
Jobs	7 (7)	ENG	Freska app	5 (1)	FIN + ENG
Support	1 (1)	FIN + ENG	Home cleaning	4 (3)	FIN + ENG
Contact	1 (1)	FIN + ENG	Window cleaning	2 (2)	FIN + ENG
Media	3 (2)	ENG	Moving cleaning	4 (2)	FIN + ENG
Responsibility	5 (4)	ENG	Office cleaning	4 (2)	FIN + ENG
Apply now (couriers)	1 (1)	FIN + ENG	Buy a giftcard	1	FIN + ENG
Apply now (restaurants)	0	FIN	Environment	6 (5)	FIN + ENG
Request a demo	0	FIN + ENG	Mission	8 (5)	FIN + ENG
			Freska Cleaners	5 (5)	FIN + ENG
			Freska Friends	5 (3)	FIN + ENG
			Freska Stories	0	FIN + ENG
			Careers	Same page as "Become our cleaner"	
TOTAL (number of images)	42			58	

Table (Case presentations) 2: Different websites sections and number of images

4.4 Data analysis

Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional CDA model and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design were used to analyze the data. The analysis structure followed Fairclough's (1995) CDA model, which's stages have been described in Section 3.3. *Framework for critical visual discourse analysis* (see also Figure 1). The data analysis described here follows those three stages, starting with the text analysis and moving on to the analysis of discourse practice and sociocultural practice. It should be noted that the stages in Fairclough's CDA framework are all highly interrelated. Whereas the text analysis can be quite easily taken as its own entity of analysis, the latter two, discursive practice and sociocultural practice, are harder to separate. Therefore, the two latter ones are considered here as one stage in the data analysis. In the following couple of paragraphs, the exact steps taken to conduct the data analysis in the three stages are described.

(1) TEXT. Following the CDA framework, I started with the micro-level analysis of the images collected from the case companies' websites. In this stage, Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) three metafunctions – representational, interactive, and compositional functions – were applied. The decoding of images through the three metafunctions was done separately to Wolt and Freska and to different website sections. Each image was considered as its own unit of analysis. The basic analysis structure included reviewing every image that depicted a human participant(s) and identifying each subject's inferred diversity characteristics and role in the image.

The micro-level visual text analysis began with analyzing the representational function. First, the represented participants were coded based on their gender: woman, man, n.d.; race and ethnicity: white/Finn, black, Asian, non-white other or other white ethnicities; and age: child (0-12), teen (13-19) young adult (20-35), middle (36-59), old (60-), n.d. The presentation of the findings in the empirical findings section has been structured around those three diversity characteristics, after which their intersectional ties have been examined. The represented participants that were judged to be representatives of the white/Finn group were seemingly “Finnish-looking” white people or otherwise represented so-to-say “mainstream white” or “privileged white” that also white Finns represent. People considered to be part of the non-white other or other white ethnicities group were, for instance, people appearing Latino or Hispanic, people from Baltic countries or Russia, and people from

Middle-East countries. Also, people that I could not confidently locate to any of the main groups of white/Finn, black, or Asian were included in this group of non-white other or other white ethnicities. Such a quantitative overview allowed me to create an overall picture of how the data looks like, what it contains, and with which ratios. Such an approach in this stage of data analysis made the data more accessible for interpretation.

The gender group n.d., i.e., not determined, was used when gender was impossible to judge from an image. In images where only, for instance, hands or feet were shown, n.d. became useful. However, cultural signifiers were applied in these images. For instance, nail polish was judged as a (Western) cultural signifier of femininity, and the represented participant was accordingly judged as a woman. While such practice is problematic, for the sake of this thesis, I made the judgments based on how I think that most of the people would judge such hand, feet, figure, or back of the head. When I could not confidently make such a judgment of “most people,” n.d. was used. In terms of race and ethnicity in the images where the face was not shown, the grouping was done based on skin color and groups “white”, “black”, and “n.d.” were used. Moreover, in every image, characteristics such as disability and cultural cues of religion and a specific culture were kept an eye on. Also, employee testimonials for gender identities other than those within gender-binary and for different sexualities were kept an eye on. Each represented participant was analyzed for their intersections of different diversity characteristics.

After the represented participants were classified by their diversity characteristics, they were analyzed by their different roles in the representations. Such roles were examined through signifiers in their apparel, i.e., whether they were dressed professionally, casually, or into company-branded clothing signifying belonging to the Wolt/Freska team or Wolt's/Freska's front-line workers (i.e., couriers and cleaners). Usually, it was rather easy to judge if the person was depicted as a higher hierarchy team member or as a front-line worker. Sometimes, a hierarchical position was moreover literally mentioned in the image-text, and for that reason, titles and names were taken note of when present. Suits and ties and plain white collar-shirts were judged as professional clothing. Clothing was also used to determine whether a specific represented human participant was depicted as a customer or an employee. Employees of both companies were usually depicted in rather casual clothing, and thus, customer status was most often apparent from the activity the represented human participants were engaged in.

Hence, the represented human participants were also analyzed for their activity/role; who was engaged in an action process and who in a reactional process, and if the action or reaction processes were transactional, non-transactional, or bidirectional. The activities/roles were divided into “Wolt professional setting (*Wolt employee*)”, “Wolt leisure/team-building setting (*Wolt employee or courier*)”, “Wolt front-line professional setting (*Courier*)”, “Professional restaurant setting (*Restaurant worker*)”, and “Customer setting (*Customer*)”. Freska’s versions were “Freska professional setting (*Freska employee*)”, “Freska leisure/team-building setting (*Freska employee or cleaner*)”, “Freska front-line professional setting (*Cleaner*)”, and “Customer setting (*Customer*)”. Aspects of who was depicted as an actor, goal, interactor, reactor, or phenomenon to be looked at were scrutinized in different activities/roles. While this was done, also group compositions were taken note of. Such includes, for instance, if the represented participants were depicted alone in their activity or in groups, and whether these groups were mixed-gender, mixed-race and ethnic, or homogenous in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and age.

Lastly, the images were analyzed for their interactive and compositional functions to detect who was depicted as more worthy of attention and what kind of attention was desired from the viewer. Here, interactive function’s gaze: demand or offer plus facial expression; social distance: close-up (intimate), medium (social), or long shot (impersonal); and perspective: frontal (involvement), or oblique (detachment), or high (viewer power), eye-level (equality), or low (participant power), were examined. From compositional function, salience, information value, and framing were also examined. The latter mentioned elements were also analyzed in the layout level, i.e., who was represented in the upper section of the website pages, and who was left under scrolling. Also, special attention was put into where the different represented participants, activities/roles, etc. were located on the websites, i.e., whether they were located on the home page, career page, corporate responsibility page, or some other.

Based on these findings, the discursive construction of diversity present in the visual representations was analyzed, and common visual discourses were presented.

(2) DISCOURSE PRACTICE & (3) SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE. After the visual text analysis of images was done, and the discourses arising from the visual representations detected, meso-level (i.e., discourse practice) and macro-level analyses (i.e., sociocultural practice) were conducted. As explained in Section 3.3. *Framework for critical visual discourse analysis*, through the analysis of meso- and macro-level, it is the attempt to explain and discuss how and why such visual choices have been made. It is the attempt to connect the identified discourses to their societal and historical contexts, in this case, to power, values, and ideologies in the Finnish society as well as in the business organizational context in general that both case companies in this thesis represent. This section of the analysis is the discussion section of this thesis, answering the question of why.

Here, the understandings of diversity in the Finnish context (see Section 2.5. *Meaning given to diversity in Finnish organizations*) were utilized, and their findings mirrored against those of this thesis. Especially traces of discourses around diversity that were found to be typical for Finnish business organizations (i.e., gender equality discourse, homogenizing of Finns, and othering of people with any foreign background) were looked for. Such enabled me to connect the micro-level analysis of the images to their macro-structure of society. Also, commercial discourses of diversity found to be especially typical for business organizations were considered.

Here, also language options on the different website sections of the companies were taken note of. Especially on Wolt's website, some pages could only be found in English while others only in Finnish regardless of the chosen language setting (see Table (Case presentations) 2). This was found helpful in analyzing who the case companies assume as representatives of their different stakeholder groups. The language with which a company attempts to communicate with its different stakeholder groups indicates who the company considers being the audience, at least in terms of nationality. These kinds of notes were included in the analysis as language has been found to be especially important in legitimating discrimination in Finnish job markets, as discovered in the literature review (Louvrier, 2013; Ylöstalo, 2016). Moreover, textual references to diversity and image-texts were utilized as a supportive resource of understanding what the companies attempted to depict and whether it was successful.

Lastly, through these findings, it was analyzed if and how the images on Wolt's and Freska's websites reinforced or challenged the current power relations between different groups of people. It was analyzed if any light could be found in contrast to the rather disappointing findings in the earlier research both internationally and in the Finnish context in terms of both textual and visual representation of diversity and differences.

4.5 Evaluation of the study

Four evaluation criteria can be used to evaluate this thesis. These are dependability, transferability, credibility, and conformability (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008d, pp. 13-14). First, dependability means that the thesis should be logical, traceable, and documented. Such is done by carefully considering and explaining each step of the study in detail. The steps include explaining the definitions of the key concepts, explaining and justifying the methodology of the present study as well as presenting the empirical findings in detail based on which the results are discussed. Second, transferability means that the thesis needs to be mirrored against earlier research to show the degree of similarity between mine and previous research in the same field. I have made the connections to earlier research explicit in the discussion part of this thesis and showed how the results of this thesis can be applied to other contexts in the practical implications section.

The third is credibility, which evaluates whether the study reaches its intended aim and presents plausible results. Such can be evaluated through the thickness of data description, logics behind the data interpretation as well as through my familiarization with the earlier literature. The previous two are explained in detail in the methodology section and the latter one in the literature review. Lastly, conformability means that the study can be easily understood by others and even replicated by other researchers with similar results. There are two challenges to the conformability of this thesis. The first challenge is that the websites may have already been updated by the time of the publication of this thesis, and due to copyright issues, I cannot attach the exact images used as the data to this thesis. Second, as this is a visual discourse analysis, a part of the data interpretation is subject to researcher bias. This means that many readings of the images considered in this thesis' data set are possible. Moreover, as I position within social constructionism in doing visual discourse analysis, I believe that the "reality" is subjective rather than objective (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012, pp. 23-24). Therefore, to evaluate such research, it is crucial to practice reflexivity.

This means that I need to clarify my assumptions and background from which I read the meanings in the images. My assumptions and background set the limits for my interpretation possibilities.

Especially when interpreting the human participants' diversity characteristics, I am limited by my ability to judge such characteristics accurately. The grouping of diversity characteristics included observable differences that are dependent on making judgments based on physical cues in an individual's appearance. The researcher bias is present. The classification of diversity characteristics was thus made mindful of the fact that not only are my assumptions subjective, regarding age, for instance, but my judgments are also culturally bounded. Moreover, especially regarding racial and ethnic variety, my judgments may be influenced by my own racial and ethnic identity, as well as by the fact that I lack skills in judging them in the first place. I am a Finnish woman in my mid-twenties. I have lived most of my life in Helsinki, Finland. I am a white/Finn, fair-skinned, and I have relatively light hair color. I do not have any roots in any other nationality than Finnish in my closest bloodline. I have lived in Canada and Portugal for a year in total, from which I have several friends from all around Europe. I do not belong to any church. Such experience-based knowledge is likely to mold my perceptions of other people. I have attempted to stay mindful of the limits my background sets and thus leaned heavily on other researchers' established ways of studying diversity characteristics in images. My education is from Aalto University School of Business, where I have studied Economics in my Bachelor, and Management and International Business in my Master's. Such education, i.e., no cultural studies, is a clear limitation for my judgment of diversity characteristics.

Moreover, I understand that it is an insensitive thing to do to melt race and ethnicity into the same group and consider gender only within gender-binary. Therefore, the grouping is drastically simplified and more than less inaccurate. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the classification used is enough to make a valuable point of who gets represented and who not in the case companies' visual representations. Naturally, such grouping as used in this thesis does not mean that all Finns would be identifying as privileged or that a person from Baltic countries could not be considered as white or that a dark-skinned individual could not be a Finn. The grouping is based on those characteristics that are particularly likely to evoke biased, prejudiced, or stereotyped reactions.

5 Empirical Findings and Analysis

5.1 Data classified

As noted earlier, the data set included 42 images on Wolt’s website and 58 on Freska’s. These images then contained 206 individual human participants represented on Wolt’s website and 112 on Freska’s. The overall look of the data set is illustrated in Table 1 below.

	<i>Number of images</i>	<i>Number of represented human participants (face shown + face not shown)</i>
Wolt	42	206
Freska	58	112

Table 1: Data set, overall classification (1/3)

The clear majority of Wolt’s images and over half of Freska’s, depicted human participants. Table 2 below shows that 37 out of 42 images (88%) on Wolt’s website and 38 out of 58 (66%) on Freska’s were depicting human participants. Of these images, 14 on Wolt’s data set and 12 on Freska’s were such that did not show any of the represented human participants’ faces (i.e., only back of the head/heads, a hand/hands or a foot/feet were depicted of the human participant(s)). This means that in both cases only around half of the images, 21 images (50%) on Wolt’s data set and 25 (43%) on Freska’s, were depicting at least one of the represented human participants’ faces. Overall, such images that were not containing any visual nor textual reference to human participants, were found 3 (7%) on Wolt’s website and 20 (34%) on Freska’s. The numbers are illustrated in Table 3 below.

It is then quite obvious looking at these numbers that Wolt’s website are slightly bit fuller in terms of individual human participants represented, both in image level as well as in represented human participant level. However, there is one 128 represented participant group image on Wolt’s website, and one 58 represented participant group image on Freska’s that affect the numbers. Yet even when excluding these two images, the fact that Wolt uses more images that represent human participants does not change.

	<i>Number of images representing at least one human participant.</i>	<i>Number of images representing only textual reference to human participants (i.e., name).</i>	<i>Number of images representing no human participants nor textual references to human participants.</i>	TOTAL (All)
Wolt	37	2	3	42
	88 %	5 %	7 %	100 %
Freska	38	0	20	58
	66 %	0 %	34 %	100 %

Table 2: Data set, overall classification (2/3)

	<i>Number of images representing human participants with at least one face shown.</i>	<i>Number of images representing only such human participants whose face is not shown.</i>	<i>Number of collage images.</i>	TOTAL (All)
				TOTAL (Human participants)
Wolt	21	14	2	
	50 %	33 %	5 %	42
	57 %	38 %	5 %	37
Freska	25	12	1	
	43 %	21 %	2 %	58
	66 %	32 %	3 %	38

Table 3: Data set, overall classification (3/3)

5.2 (1) Visual text analysis

5.2.1 Diversity characteristics

5.2.1.1 Gender

Of the represented human participants, 200 on Wolt’s websites and 103 on Freska’s were such that gender was possible to be judged. When looking at representational shares of women and men, I found that whereas Freska depicted only slightly more women on their website, therefore showcasing quite successful numeric equality, Wolt’s representation was very much men dominated. On Freska’s website, 56% (i.e., 58 out of 103) of the represented human participants were women and 44% (i.e., 45 out of 103) men. On Wolt’s website, the

same shares were 31% (i.e., 62 out of 200) and 69% (138 out of 200), respectively. The representational shares in group images depicting 10 or more human participants were parallel with these numbers. Again, Freska depicted only slightly more women in their group images. However, in Wolt’s case, women’s representation did not reach even 30% in 3 out of 4 instances. Only in one group image were women and men represented equally. The findings have been illustrated in Tables 4 and 5 below.

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	TOTAL (represented human participants whose gender was apparent)	<i>Gender n.d.</i>
Wolt	138 69 %	62 31 %	200 100 %	6
Freska	45 44 %	58 56 %	103 100 %	9

Table 4: Gender division, represented human participants

	<i>Group image 1</i>	<i>Group image 2</i>	<i>Group image 3</i>	<i>Group image 4</i>
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Professional restaurant setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>
Wolt	4 (29 %) women 10 (71 %) men	36 (28 %) women 92 (72 %) men	4 (25 %) women 12 (75 %) men	5 (50 %) women 5 (50 %) men
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Freska leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Freska leisure / team-building setting</i>		
Freska	33 (58 %) women 24 (42 %) men	8 (57 %) women 6 (43 %) men		

Table 5: Gender division, group image

While this already gives some idea of the gender division, sole numeric shares are not nearly enough to tell the whole story. In what kinds of group compositions and in which kinds of roles and activities women and men are represented carry meaning. In Wolt’s case, the picture painted of overpowering representation of men is only reinforced when looking at other representational, interactive, and compositional functions. However, in Freska’s case,

the same observations appear to compensate the situation for the benefit of men in terms of hierarchy and power. Especially gender divisions in different activities/roles, and group dynamics between women and men in images depicting both, were interesting.

In Tables 6 and 7, gender divisions in different activities/roles have been illustrated on the individual human participant level. The second and fourth columns take into account all individuals depicted. The first percentages in the columns tell the gender divisions in each activity/role listed in the first column. The second percentages are the activity/role divisions in each gender mentioned in the first row. However, especially when examining the latter mentioned, it can be seen that the vast majority of the human participant representation of both companies is in the leisure/team-building settings; 69-80% of both companies within both genders. However, this is because 3 out of 4 group images with 10 or more represented human participants on Wolt's website and 2 out of 2 on Freska's website are exactly leisure/team-building setting images. Those images behold a considerable percentage of all individuals represented on both websites, and thus, naturally, it tilts the shares quite a bit. In the largest group image on Wolt's website is depicted 68% of all individuals appearing on the website and in the largest of Freska's 58%. Moreover, in these images, the represented human participants are all rather small compared to most of the other images chosen to represent the companies. While it is also a relevant finding, a large number of individuals in just a fraction of the images mask under interesting information of the other images. Therefore, when looking at the activity/role division of women and men within genders, the third and fifth columns provide the needed. In those columns from those numbers, all group images with ten or more represented human participants have been excluded. This means the images listed in Table 5 presented earlier.

Looking at Wolt's data, we see that in all but one activity/role category, men's representation overpowers so that women's representation barely reaches 30%. The activities/roles in which men overpower versus the only activity/role women do, paint a picture of traditional gender hierarchies – and it is not subtle. Men are represented with 70-80% share in activities/roles “Professional setting (*Wolt employee*)”, “Leisure/team-building setting (*Wolt employee or courier*)”, “Front-line professional setting (*Courier*)”, and “Professional restaurant setting (*Restaurant worker*)”. Instead, women are represented with a 78% share in “Customer setting (*Customer*)”.

Looking then at the activity/role divisions within genders, over half of all women representation is as customers and slightly less than one fourth in the lowest hierarchy position as couriers. However, none of these female courier representations is depicted on the actual “For couriers” page, but on homepage/order-page, “Support” page, and under clicking the “Apply now” link on the “For couriers” page. There is also only one kind of depiction of female couriers. The same image is circulated in three instances, while of men, there are seven different unique depictions all presented only once. This makes the female courier representation only a poor attempt to showcase both genders in the role in question. Even though almost one-third of men’s representation falls into the lowest hierarchy level occupation as couriers, men’s variation in representation in different activities/roles is a lot wider than women’s. Another third of men are depicted as restaurant workers and around one-fifth as the highest-level occupation employees as Wolt employees in professional settings. In other than courier and customer roles, women’s representational share is not even as high as men’s in their least represented role as customers.

Wolt	Women	*	Men	*	TOTAL
Professional setting (<i>Wolt employee</i>)	1 (20%) (2%)	1 (8%)	4 (80%) (3%)	4 (21%)	5
Leisure/team-building setting (<i>Wolt employee or courier</i>)	46 (30%) (74%)	1 (8%)	109 (70%) (79%)	0 (0%)	155
Front-line professional setting (<i>Courier</i>)	3 (30%) (5%)	3 (23%)	7 (70%) (5%)	7 (37%)	10
Professional restaurant setting (<i>Restaurant worker</i>)	5 (24%) (8%)	1 (8%)	16 (76%) (12%)	6 (32%)	21
Customer setting (<i>Customer</i>)	7 (78%) (11%)	7 (54%)	2 (22%) (1%)	2 (11%)	9
TOTAL	62	13	138	19	200

* Group images with 10 or more represented human participants excluded.

Table 6: Gender division in different activities/roles (Wolt)

Even though the situation is more equal in Freska’s case when looking at the gender division in each activity/role, the shares showcase both what could be considered as traditional and as untraditional gender roles. The gender division is relatively equal in activities/roles “Leisure/team-building setting (*Freska employee*)” and “Customer setting (*Customer*)”. The

other two, “Professional setting (*Freska employee*)” and “Front-line professional setting (*Cleaner*),” are then shifted to gender-typical shares. Men are represented with almost 70% share in the highest hierarchy level positions, while women occupy 80% of the lowest hierarchy level occupation as cleaners. Moreover, the two men are depicted on the “Careers” page, one individually, one with a woman. However, this woman is a small blurred half of a face depiction in the left-down corner while the man is in the center big and sharp. Thus, the service side (i.e., cleaning) is framed as a woman’s job while men make the career. Moreover, it is confusing that to this “Careers” page also prospective cleaners are directed to as the title “Become our cleaner” directs to the same page. However, no cleaner is depicted on the page nor any link to apply the cleaner job provided.

The one specific gender non-typical representation rises when looking at activity/role division within gender. While women are almost half and half represented as cleaners and customers, in their gender-typical roles, interestingly, 71% of the depicted men are represented in customer settings as well. However, while men are depicted as customers (71%) and lowest level hierarchy occupation as cleaners (14%), also relatively large share (14%) in comparison to women (6%), is depicted in the highest level occupation as Freska employees. Moreover, even though women represent 80% of all cleaners depicted on the website, the only one represented as explaining the cleaner experience at Freska to the viewer is nevertheless chosen to be a man. Moreover, he is the only cleaner depicted both from a frontal angle and looking directly at the viewer, seemingly talking. All women depictions of cleaners are depicted from an oblique angle in working conditions cleaning or organizing.

What is especially interesting in the men as customers representations is that only one out of 10 representations depict men alone. In 4 image, a man is depicted alone with a child (the same image appearing 4 times) and in 5 accompanied by a woman and a child (two different images, one appearing 2 times, the other 3 times). Of women’s 8 representations as customers, 3 depict women individually, 5 accompanied by a man and a child (same as the one of a man above). While it is already gender non-typical to frame women alone in an image and men not, depicting men in family settings could also be considered as a non-typical gender representation. However, when analyzing the images closely, the way in which the depictions are done, are serving gender-typical ideas.

The image depicting a man with a child represents the man as not a nurturing parent but in an active, playful role lifting the child like an airplane laughing. The man could also be age-wise considered the child's older brother. In the other two family depictions where a woman, a man, and a child are depicted, the settings are much calmer. The other shows the assumed parents lying on a bed while their assumed child is jumping on it. Of the two parents, the woman is slightly more centered. The other depiction shows a dinner table setting where the woman is sharpened into the center as the main character of the depicted family moment while only slightly blurred backs of the heads are shown of the man and the child. While the latter image could also be read as depicting the woman as so-to-say head of the family instead of the man, being the main actor in a dinner table setting does make the setting very gender-typical. Especially when compared to the setting in which the assumed father or older brother is depicted in playing with a child.

Freska	Women	*	Men	*	TOTAL
Professional setting (<i>Freska employee</i>)	1 (33%) (2%)	1 (6%)	2 (67%) (4%)	2 (14%)	3
Leisure/team-building setting (<i>Freska employee or cleaner</i>)	41 (57%) (71%)	0 (0%)	31 (43%) (69%)	0 (0%)	72
Front-line professional setting (<i>Cleaner</i>)	8 (80%) (14%)	8 (47%)	2 (20%) (4%)	2 (14%)	10
Customer setting (<i>Customer</i>)	8 (44%) (14%)	8 (47%)	10 (56%) (22%)	10 (71%)	18
TOTAL	58	17	45	14	103

* Group images with 10 or more represented participants excluded.

Table 7: Gender division in different activities/roles (Freska)

The group dynamics between women and men do not tell any different. The concept of group dynamics considers all such images that depict at least one woman and one man. Wolt's website included 7 such images and Freska's 8. At large, it seems that in both case companies' gender-mixed images, men tend to occupy a larger image area and be depicted as the main actors in professional work setting images, while women similarly in customer and family setting images.

Looking at Wolt's "Leisure/team-building setting (*Wolt employee*)" images (the same images as listed in Table 5), two out of three depict a man making somehow himself as the center of the image by posture. At the same time, women stay in the background, one even glancing at the man. In the paddling image on the "Jobs" page, the man's posture is moreover highly unsuitable for the activity depicted in the image. The viewer is first drawn to notice these centered individuals. In the only one image where women have been centered, the women are more so calmly engaging in the activity depicted in the image than making a scene of themselves. In the image depicting restaurant workers, men are centered. And judging by the clothing, it seems like men occupy all cook occupations while all women depicted in the image are waiters alongside few other men. In the customer setting images, women and men are centered 50-50 of the images. However, the one centering a man is less so a traditional customer setting and more like a charity setting depicting an older man and an older woman as charity destinations of Wolt.

On Freska's website, of the 8 images depicting both women and men, 1 was a professional setting, 2 were leisure/team-building settings, and 5 are customer settings depicting a family. In all family images, women are the main actors, while in professional settings, men are. In both cases, the "other" gender is moreover blurred and depicted only partly. From the 2 leisure/team-buildings setting images, I could not find any clear distinctive roles for women and men. In one of those images, women are depicted more in the front, yet that seems to be more of a height matter of getting all faces into the image than an issue of gender roles.

Lastly, there were three more notes from the Freska images. Those notes would fall under symbolic structures. In Freska's images, it is not uncommon to see plants or flowers placed into the images. While they sure could also be read as signifiers of a clean and well-taken care home, which could also be debated in terms of where such association comes from, their placement gender-wise is eye-catching. Only women cleaners have been accompanied with a bouquet of flowers, while the only male cleaner is depicted behind a glass cleaning a window. While such observations may sound irrelevant, switching the roles another way around entirely would mean gender non-typical representation. The woman's femininity has been reinforced with the placement of flowers, whereas the man's gender has not been signified any further.

The other two notes were the picture on the wall in one of the family image variations and a girl's skirt hanging on a hanger in one image depicting assumingly a little girl's room. In the first, the woman is framed as a beautiful thing to look at. In the second, the skirt is yet another reminder of the female gender. Again, such observations may seem singular, irrelevant. Yet, when all put together with above-considered gender divisions in different activities/roles and family depictions, such symbolic structures as the flowers start to paint a picture. No traditionally men-associated items or colors have been used. The clean home is framed as an interest of a woman, and taking care of home is showed as a feminine thing to do. This does not mean that there should be incorporated such men associated items or that men are not interested in flowers or a clean home, but to notice how the sense of femininity has been built with little choices.

5.2.1.2 Race and ethnicity

Unlike gender, race and ethnicity was judged only from images depicting the represented participant's face. If the face was not shown, only skin color was noted. The representational shares of different race and ethnicity groups have been collected in Tables 8 and 9 below, differentiating between face shown and face not shown depictions. The results from the two complement each other. When looking at race and ethnicity as its own group, therefore not minding yet of its intersections with gender presented above or age presented in the next section, the whiteness, especially white/Finnishness of the represented participants is overwhelming. Especially in the case of Wolt, but also in the case of Freska when considering specific activities/roles.

Of all individuals whose face was shown on Wolt's website, 92% (i.e., 174 individuals) could be judged as white/Finns. This means that less than 10% were representations of non-white/Finns. Freska's case seems more equal from first sight. Around half of the represented participants, 46% (i.e., 45 individuals), were identified as white/Finns. A relatively large share was identified as Asians, 30% (i.e., 29 individuals), while 15% (i.e., 15 individuals) were identified as non-white other and other white ethnicities, and 8% (i.e., 8 individuals) as black. Of the represented participants whose face was not shown but whose skin color was available, 100% were white. Nevertheless, taking the face shown images into account, and in comparison to Wolt, it seems as Freska is at least showcasing an interest in depictions of observably diverse individuals.

	<i>White/Finn</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Non-white other and other white ethnicities</i>	TOTAL (face shown)
Wolt	174	2	6	7	189
	92 %	1 %	3 %	4 %	100 %
Freska*	45	8	29	15	97
	46 %	8 %	30 %	15 %	100 %

*Freska: Numbers of adult participants in the images. The same and only child appearing in three different group compositions has been excluded.

Table 8: Race and ethnicity division, face shown, represented human participants

	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	TOTAL (face not shown)
Wolt	15	0	2	17
	88 %	0 %	12 %	100 %
Freska	11	0	4	15
	73 %	0 %	27 %	100 %

Table 9: Race and ethnicity division, face not shown, represented human participants

I have acknowledged that especially in Wolt’s case, the group images contain large shares of represented white/Finns, as shown in Table 10 below. A single group image on Wolt’s website depicts 123 white/Finns and contains approximately 71% of all white/Finn representation. On Freska’s website, a single group image contains almost half of Freska’s white/Finn representation. However, even though the group images would be excluded, the relative shares would not change so much that the situation would be read differently.

If the group images were to be excluded, in Wolt’s case, the white/Finn representation would decline 20% to 73% in total, yet the share could still be considered high. Asian representation would rise to 14% with 3 individuals compared to 3% with 6 individuals, yet it also means that 50% of the already scant Asian representation is lost. Moreover, the 3 left Asian representations are the same image circulated on the website in three different instances erasing all representational variation. Also, the left 2 individuals of non-white other and other white ethnicities, i.e., after excluding the group images, appear in a single image cutting down the representational variation to one.

In Freska’s case, on the other hand, the white/Finn representation would rise from 46% to 68%, i.e., 20% when the group images are excluded. Thus, the elimination of group images means a loss of 85% of the original number of represented participants that are non-white/Finns. Hence, in Freska’s case, the elimination of group images does not change the overpower of white representation, but similarly to Wolt reveals the unvaried representation of the non-white/Finns. Simultaneously, it illustrates that most of the non-white/Finn representation is depicted in large group images on Freska’s website.

	<i>Group image 1</i>	<i>Group image 2</i>	<i>Group image 3</i>	<i>Group image 3</i>
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Professional restaurant setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Wolt leisure / team-building setting</i>
Wolt	11 (79 %) White/Finns - - 3 (21%) Non-white... -	123 (96%) White/Finns 1 (1%) Blacks 2 (2%) Asians 2 (2%) Non-white... -	10 (100%) White/Finns - - - -	14 (88%) White/Finns - - 1 (6%) Asians 1 (6%) n.d.
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Freska leisure / team-building setting</i>	<i>Freska leisure / team-building setting</i>		
Freska	19 (33%) White/Finns 6 (10%) Blacks 25 (43%) Asians 8 (14%) Non-white... -	9 (64%) White/Finns 2 (14%) Blacks 3 (21%) Asians - -		

Table 10: Race and ethnicity division, group images

When looking at the numeric representational shares of different race and ethnicity groups in the group images, Freska is shown in a somewhat favorable light. However, this idea starts to dry up when looking at group dynamics and different activities/roles in which the represented participants are depicted. Hence, when looking at the group images beyond the numeric representational shares, there are interesting findings to be detected in two group images; one on Wolt’s website and one of Freska’s. In Table 10 above, these are Wolt’s Group image 2 and Freska’s Group image 1. These two group images are comparable to each other as they serve the same purpose. They showcase who are the ones forming the company workforce.

The image-texts accompanied by both images suggest that the employees should look diverse, at least on the nationality spectrum. Neither mentions the exact word “diversity”. Yet, Freska talks of Freska people that “come from all around the world”, indicating that “The Freska Community”, as the title states, consists of people of different nationalities. Wolt instead announces a “Humble brag alert” with relatively large font above the image, and below describes that the people in the group image are “Stunning people from 45+ cultures”. Under this, it has been further explained how those in the group image are the company’s heart, regardless of their CEO that “is on the Forbes 30-under-30 list” and the company’s high profile investors. The “heart” are the “800 smart and kind people – of 45+ nationalities”.

It is then not a surprise that these two group images contain the largest numbers of individuals judged as non-white/Finn participants in a single image. This sounds about right if the idea is to showcase people with different geographical backgrounds, as the image-texts suggest. While Freska succeeds relatively well in fulfilling the claim made in their image-text when looking at the numeric representational shares in Table 10, Wolt’s group image’s image-text is simply confusing when looking at the image content. As noted earlier, 96% of the represented participants could be judged as white/Finns in this particular group image of Wolt. However, even though Freska does well in numeric representational shares, their group image in question cannot be considered successful in forming inclusive group dynamics. While Wolt is not claiming to do so, Freska actually says in the image-text that they do their “utmost best to facilitate an inclusive community of Freskans where everyone can feel at home”.

Therefore, the location of different race and ethnicity participants is an interesting finding in both group images. In Wolt’s group image, the non-white/Finn participants are most represented close to each other in the down right corner, and in Freska’s group image, they are represented tightly in the center. Thus, the non-white/Finn participants are similarly represented as a coherent group rather than blended into the bigger one among the majority members in both images. Moreover, in Freska’s image, the non-white/Finns are not only represented in the middle, but they are also represented clearly as surrounded by white/Finns. The white/Finns in the foreground also occupy much larger and widespread space than the non-white/Finns in the middle, of which the majority are Asians. When looking now back

at the image-text where Freska writes of facilitating an inclusive community, it could be interpreted that these white/Finns, by their positioning in location and size-wise, are actually depicted as those “facilitators” of inclusiveness. Whether such a “facilitator” role creates inclusivity is out of this thesis’ scope to consider. Whether there is natural gravitation of the non-white/Finn participants to be together that would explain the location or not, looking at the website depictions together, these arrangements nevertheless benefit the idea of seeing the non-white/Finns as “others”.

In addition to this, there are clear patterns in which activities/roles representatives of different race and ethnicity groups have been represented. As shown in Tables 11 and 12 below, the activities/roles “Professional setting (*Wolt employee*)” and “Customer setting (*Customer*)” are exclusively white in both face shown and face not shown images in Wolt’s case. The representation is “diverse” only in the activities/roles that consider Wolt front-line employees, i.e., the low-skill-low-skill positions. In terms of activities/roles, Freska shows the same results, as shown in Tables 13 and 14.

There are still two noteworthy findings, one of each companies’ front-line professional settings, that are relevant to understand their race and ethnicity representations. Of Wolt’s courier depictions, 3 were women, as noted when gender was considered. Regarding this, it was also pointed out that none of these three depictions were represented on the actual “For couriers” page, in addition to which there was only one variation of female couriers when all 7 male courier images were unique. Similarly, there is only one variation of the non-white/Finn courier depictions. However, the image is represented only one time compared to female courier images. The courier in this image is a young adult, black man. Also this image was not presented on the actual “For couriers” page that we can now conclude is filled with white/Finn men or men whose skin color was not available. Instead, the only black courier was represented on the “Responsibility” page under the title of “Responsibility at Wolt. Examples of our impact on the world around us.” The image-text next to the black courier is then not talking of how couriers can impact anything but frames such couriers as one of Wolt’s responsibility destinations, those that Wolt has an impact on. Among other topics, the image-text describes how Wolt takes care of its employees and is not asking much from them as “[...] courier partners can work when and where they want without tight educational or language-skill requirements. [...]”.

While the representation of a black courier on the “Responsibility” page is in itself not a problem, it becomes a problem when it is the only representation of black and any non-white/Finn couriers. Moreover, the image accompanied by a piece of text suggesting the courier probably has low or unsuitable education and does not speak Finnish reinforces the idea that the black courier is a problem. If one looks at the image-texts of the white/Finn couriers, none of them speak of such ideas as low/unsuitable education or insufficient language skills. Instead, they speak of being your own boss, getting control over the earnings, flexibility and fairness of pay, how couriers are part of making more money for restaurant partners, and how they do the “heavy lifting” for others. Beyond this, the only courier not in Wolt-branded clothing is exactly this black courier.

The one finding of Freska’s depictions of front-line workers, i.e., cleaners, is the already mentioned selected still image of an Asian man telling of his experience as a cleaner, while all other cleaner depictions are non-white other and other white ethnicities women and one man, depicted in work situations having no contact to the viewer. Again, it is not itself a problem that such s representation has been selected, but the fact that it is one of the two men cleaner depictions. It only seems as the women were not as worthy of being represented in the front-line telling of their experiences as cleaners even though they represent the vast majority of them in the other depictions.

Wolt	<i>White/ Finn</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Non-white other and other white ethnicities</i>	TOTAL (face shown)
Professional setting (<i>Wolt employee</i>)					
Leisure/team-building setting (<i>Wolt employee, NOT courier</i>)	148 (96%) (85%)	1 (1%) (50%)	3 (2%) (50%)	2 (1%) (29%)	154
Front-line professional setting (<i>Courier</i>)	6 (86%) (3%)	1 (14%) (50%)			7
Professional restaurant setting (<i>Restaurant worker</i>)	12 (60%) (7%)		3 (15%) (50%)	5 (25%) (71%)	20
Customer setting (<i>Customer</i>)	8 (100%) (5%)				8
TOTAL	174	2	6	7	189

Table 11: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face shown (Wolt)

Wolt	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	TOTAL (face not shown)
Professional setting (Wolt employee)	5 (100%)			5
Leisure/team-building setting (Wolt employee, NOT courier)			1	1
Front-line professional setting (Courier)	1		2	3
Professional restaurant setting (Restaurant worker)	1			1
Customer setting (Customer)	7 (100%)			7
TOTAL	14		3	17

Table 12: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face not shown (Wolt)

Freska	<i>White/ Finn</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Non-white other and other white ethnicities</i>	TOTAL (face shown)
Professional setting (Freska employee)	2 (100%) (4%)				2
Leisure/team-building setting (Freska employee, NOT cleaner)	28 (39%) (62%)	8 (11%) (100%)	28 (39%) (97%)	8 (11%) (53%)	72
Front-line professional setting (Cleaner)	1 (11%) (2%)		1 (11%) (3%)	7 (78%) (47%)	9
Customer setting (Customer)	14 (100%) (31%)				14
TOTAL	45	8	29	15	97

Table 13: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face shown (Freska)

Freska	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	TOTAL (face not shown)
Professional setting (Freska employee)	1 (100%)			1
Leisure/team-building setting (Freska employee or cleaner)				
Front-line professional setting (Cleaner)	4		4	8
Customer setting (Customer)	6 (100%)			6
TOTAL	11		4	15

Table 14: Race and ethnicity division in different activities/roles, face not shown (Freska)

In terms of gaze and perspective, some variation could be found between different roles. In both cases, if someone was depicted looking at the viewer straight to the eyes (i.e., demand gaze) from eye-level and/or from a frontal angle, it was the customer or Wolt/Freska employee in the group images. Couriers and cleaners were, both with one exception, depicted from oblique and/or high angles gazing away from the viewer (i.e., offer gaze). What I saw in terms of cleaners on Freska’s website, in all but one, there is also always an object (i.e., table, blanket, window, or counter) making a line between the viewer and the cleaners. While the cleaners (80% women) are called “superheroes” by Freska, they are nevertheless depicted as people with whom the viewer is not supposed to engage. The same is for couriers on Wolt’s website. Therefore, there is a slight pattern to distance the viewer from the non-white/Finns and to engage with the white/Finns.

5.2.1.3 Age

The age variation is quite frankly absent. In both cases, almost 100% of the represented human participants could be quite without doubt judged as young adults; 98% of Wolt’s representations and 96% of Freska’s. These shares are counted from individuals whose faces were shown. The shares are collected in Table 15 below. In addition to this, from the face not shown images, all depictions could be judged as “not old” or “n.d.”.

	<i>Child (0-12)</i>	<i>Teen (13-19)</i>	<i>Young adult (20-39)</i>	<i>Middle (40-59)</i>	<i>Old (60+)</i>	TOTAL (face shown)
Wolt	0	0	186	0	3	189
		0 %	98 %	0 %	2 %	100 %
Freska	9	0	93	4	0	97
		0 %	96 %	4 %	0 %	100 %

Table 15: Age division, individual represented participants

In Wolt’s case, the remaining 2%, i.e., 3 individuals, appeared in two separate images. They were judged as old in Table 15 above yet could also be judged as representatives of the late end of the middle group. Nevertheless, one of these was a man belonging to non-white other and other white ethnicities group represented on the “For restaurants” page. He was depicted with his young adult, non-white other and other white ethnicity male colleague. Both men

were depicted arms crossed, looking at the viewer, frontally depicted from eye-level. The image-text reveals that the two are restaurant workers telling their experience of partnering with Wolt. The other two represented participants considered old were depicted together; a woman and a man, two white/Finns. The man was depicted sitting in the front, occupying a much larger image area than the slightly blurred woman sitting in the back. The two were represented on the “Responsibility” page as charity destinations. The image-text states clearly that the represented participants in the image are homeless: “[...] Wolt has been for example the platform through which people can buy **Christmas meals for the homeless (pictured)** [...]”. Once again, it is not itself a problem that such representation has been made. It becomes a problem when it is the only representation we see of this group of people.

In Freska’s case, on the other hand, the remaining 4%, i.e., 4 individuals, appeared in three separate images; two white/Finn women individually in customer testimonial images on the front page, and one white/Finn woman and one non-white other and other white ethnicities man as part of the group image of Freska community on the “Freska cleaners” page. All of them were smiling to the viewer in their own settings, also frontally depicted from eye-level. Moreover, there were 9 depictions of a child on Freska’s website. The child was always the same but depicted in a few different compositions accompanied by young adults, assumingly her/his parent(s). The child appeared in one image individually. The child made no eye-contact with the viewer in any of the images.

5.2.1.4 Intersectionality

As presented in the section above, age variation is so scant that it has been excluded from the examination of the intersectionality of the observed diversity characteristics. Therefore, this section is only examining the intersections of gender and race and ethnicity. The shares of representations are combined in Table 16 below.

Wolt has already showcased that its representation is slightly male-dominated, as seen in Table 4 earlier. The situation does not get better looking at the gender divisions within different race and ethnicity groups. In every race and ethnicity group, more men than women have been represented; of Blacks, 100% were men. Moreover, all Asian women representations appeared in group images accompanied by white/Finns and men. In contrast, 3 of the Asian men representations were represented individually, even though only one

variation of the same image occurred. Moreover, the only non-white other and other white ethnicities woman was depicted as part of a group image, similar to the Asian women’s case. Instead, while the majority of the non-white other and other white ethnicities men were also depicted in the group images, 2 out of the 6 were depicted together in the restaurant setting image. The gender division of activities/roles in different race and ethnicity groups are parallel with the overall findings regarding gender earlier.

In Freska’s case, the representational shares are more equal as the shares were almost 50-50 in two of the race and ethnicity groups; white/Finns and non-white other and other white ethnicities. In the two groups left (i.e., black and Asian), women are represented with the larger representational share in one, and men in the other. Moreover, no one gender-race/ethnicity intersection shines over the others even though white/Finn women and men, and Asian women take relatively the lion shares of the representation.

	<i>White/Finn</i>		<i>Black</i>		<i>Asian</i>		<i>Non-white other and other white ethnicities</i>		TOTAL (face shown)
	<i>Woman</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Woman</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Woman</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Woman</i>	<i>Man</i>	
Wolt	57	117	0	2	2	4	1	6	189
	30 % /	62 % /	0 % /	1 % /	1 % /	2 % /	1 % /	3 % /	100 %
	33 %	67 %	0 %	100 %	33 %	67 %	14 %	86 %	
Freska	24	21	2	6	22	7	7	8	97
	25 % /	22 % /	2 % /	6 % /	23 % /	7 % /	7 % /	8 % /	100 %
	53 %	47 %	25 %	75 %	76 %	24 %	47 %	53 %	

Table 16: Intersections of gender and race and ethnicity, represented human participants

5.2.1.5 Other types of diversity

Beyond gender, race and ethnicity, and age, also religion, culture, ability/disability, weight, and sexuality were examined. However, these were left out from the closer in-depth analysis of activities, roles, etc., as there is quite much nothing to be analyzed.

The representations of any groups of people, women, men, white/Finn, black, Asian, non-white other and other white ethnicities, did not showcase any signifiers of any religion – at least not so that I could notice. Clothing and hair that could be maybe the most visible

signifiers of culture, or even religion, were with a couple of exceptions, gender-typical within Western measures. From couriers and cleaners, the company branded clothing leaves little for culture to be seen.

Disability was also not considered anywhere. All depictions of human participants were all able-bodied representations. I do acknowledge that not all disabilities visibly showcase themselves. Yet, also no textual references were made to recognize such a group of people. Moreover, weight variation was absent. Both companies depict solely relatively slim-bodied people as far as the whole body is depicted, or enough to judge such a characteristic. Whether such is deliberate or all the company employees just happen to be skinny, it is good to notice that individuals with more body-weight are a regularly discriminated group of individuals as other research has found (Rudolph et al., 2009).

As what comes to visual representations of sexuality, such signs can be looked for from the assumed depictions of families. While Wolt remains silent on family depictions in their visual (and textual) representations, Freska depicts only one kind of family on their website. The same family is represented in two different images, one depicted three times and the other two times. The image depicts a heterosexual couple with one child. Even though under such a quick judgment of a monogamous, entirely heterosexual relationship, a broader spectrum of sexuality and relationship ideas can naturally exist, that is nevertheless what can be quite confidently read from the image without any background story. Moreover, the assumed couple in the image is at least white if not also the same-race and -ethnicity couple of white/Finns.

Other resources are assumed couples in the images. Here, I feel it is necessary to reflect shortly on my own assumptions in detecting such patterns. On Freska's website, if excluding the family images, I could not find an image that I could have interpreted as an image depicting a couple, assuming a couple means exactly two people sharing a relationship. On Wolt's website, on the other hand, I found two. One depicted two young adult women with their food order bag logoed with "Wolt" on the "Jobs" page. The other one on the "Responsibility" page depicted a young adult man and woman sitting at a table eating assumingly Wolt-ordered food. Both are depicted in customer settings. I ended up interpreting the first one as an image of two friends and the second one as an image of a couple. This was made due to the eye-line, the shared admiring, or amused gaze between the

depicted woman and man. Could the two women also be a couple and the woman and man friends? Yes, yet due to the eye-lines, I would perhaps say that most people would read otherwise. These depictions were all same-race and -ethnicity representations of white/Finns. Based on these family and couple depictions, it is relatively fair to interpret that both companies showcase heteronormativity and whiteness, lacking at least apparent variation.

5.2.1.6 Layout

The compositional function was also separately considered on the website layout level. Overall, it seems that both case companies depict, with one exception on Freska's website, only white/Finns in the first views of the pages and leaves other representation only under scrolling.

On Wolt's website, there were 12 separate website pages. Of those pages, 6 depicted at least one human participant (2 face shown, 5 face not shown), 2 were videos, and 4 depicted some objects or no image. The images included 2 white/Finn women depicted as couriers (the same image appeared twice), 2 white-skinned men's arms engaged in work, one white-skinned woman accompanied by a white-skinned n.d. individual, and one pair of white n.d. hands in a customer setting. All of the represented participants could be considered young/adults or not old in the images where the represented participant's face was not shown. Thus, the representation was 100% white, 100% young. The gender division was relatively equal, yet if looking at the face representation, it was 100% female. However, even though represented in the first view, the other one of the women was represented only under the "Apply now" link on the "For couriers" page.

Due to almost one fifth (i.e., 17%) of the first views being videos on Wolt's website, their contents were reviewed. It seems like the videos are only reinforcing the findings above. Whiteness and white/Finnishness seemed to be total. However, the gender division seemed equal from the first look. At least the video on the "For Couriers" page depicted one male and one female courier. Nevertheless, the male courier seemed to have more "air-time". However, in one instance, two women were depicted as the main actors in a transactional action process while a man was depicted in the background setting a dinner table. The videos depicted only seemingly heterosexual couples as far as I could notice.

What is interesting is the image selected to be the first view of the “Responsibility” page. Even though the image is not too surprising or distinctive in its idea, the depiction could be judged as a little odd choice compared to the content of the page otherwise. The image chosen depicts dark green leaves shaded under a dark filter over which reads “Responsibility at Wolt” and with smaller text “Examples of our impact on the world around us”. The green leaves lead to the belief that the responsibility at Wolt means exactly environmental responsibility rather than social responsibility. However, only 3 out of the 14 bullet points of different “impacts” Wolt claims to have would fall under environmental responsibility. The other 11 considers people.

On Freska’s website, in turn, there were 16 separate website pages. Of those pages, 7 depicted at least one human participant (6 face shown, 3 face not shown + 3 children), 1 was a video, and 8 depicted an object or no image. On Freska’s website, the situation is quite similar to Wolt in terms of representations of gender, race and ethnicity, and age. The first views are dominated by whiteness and white/Finnishness. The only exception is an Asian man, cleaner, on the page “Freska Cleaners”, set as the still cover of what looks like a video of Freska cleaners telling of their experiences as cleaners. The gender division is in general relatively even; 5 women, 4 men, and 3 children.

For the same reasons as in Wolt’s case, the video contents were reviewed in Freska’s case. Similarly, the video content is also white, from the first impression completely young adult white/Finn. The exception is a collage of images filmed hanging on the wall of what seems to be the Freska office. A sharp-eyed can quickly spot also other race and ethnicities depicted in those images. The gender division seems relatively equal by the first impression. Nevertheless, the presentation situation filmed in the video shows a young white/Finn man standing talking to a crowd of both (young adult, white/Finn) women and men, suggesting those gender-typical hierarchies again.

5.2.2 Visual discourses

RQ1. How are diversity and differences discursively constructed in the visual content choices on the websites of the two Finnish case companies?

Based on the visual text analysis findings above, the two case companies raise partly different and partly the same kinds of discourses of diversity and differences. The dominant visual discourses of the website visuals are presented in Table (Results) 1 below. In general, the base discourse of who and what part of the company workforce the diversity discourse considers is similar.

Dominant visual discourses (Wolt and Freska)	
1.	Finns as a homogenous group
2.	Non-white/Finns as the others
3.	Couriers as NOT part of Wolt community
4.	Cleaners as part of Freska community
5.	Women as subordinate to men
6.	Young serves the old

Table (Results) 1: Visual discourses

Both companies could be said to be framing themselves visually first and foremost as young, Finnish companies whose Finnishness means precisely that of looking like a Finn, like a white/Finn. Whereas Freska seems to frame diversity visually to consider the front-line, the cleaner part of the Freska community, Wolt remains visually silent of observable diversity and differences within the closest Wolt community (i.e., Wolt employees and couriers). Wolt's scant diversity in the representation is centered on the restaurant scene. While there is nothing wrong in appearing Finnish, what being Finnish means has been framed visually as being a very specific looking group of people to which diversity comes from outside rather than rises from within.

In the next sections, the dominant discourses arising from the visual representations of diversity and differences have been presented. Those are the ones that have led to such an overall interpretation of the companies described above. Naturally, micro-discourses contradicting the dominant discourses may have risen. The micro-discourses have been

made explicit when present. Also, a particular discourse may be more accurate to one of the companies. In such cases, the distinction has been made clear in the description of the discourse. If a discourse was found to be opposite for the two companies, such has been made clear already in the discourse title by referring to one of the companies. Moreover, some of the discourses are naturally furthermore overlapping.

5.2.2.1 Finns as a homogenous group

Both companies frame Finns visually as a homogenous group in terms of race and ethnicity. What Finnishness looks like is a (young) fair-skinned (rather skinny) woman or a man with straight hair. Moreover, the clothing and hairstyles are rather conservative and gender-typical in Western measures. While in Wolt's case, the 92% white/Finn and 100% white representations speak for themselves (see Tables 8 and 9), in Freska's case, such claim of homogeneousness of Finns needs reaffirming. To confidently make such an interpretation of the homogenous Finns in the case of Freska, it was helpful to analyze the visually constructed othering discourse of non-white/Finns. The visual discourse below opens this matter.

5.2.2.2 Non-white/Finns as the others

There are several ways in which non-white/Finns were made the "other". Such visual traces were found on the websites of both case companies.

If looking at the group images on the website of Wolt (see Table 10), even though non-white/Finns appeared in the group images, they were more of a rare exception than a rule. In Group image 2, where the non-white/Finn representation was the heaviest yet scant, almost all non-white/Finns were positioned together in the down-right corner rather than amongst the Wolt group of white/Finns. Such can be interpreted as a drawn line between who appears to be white/Finn and who non-white/Finn. Freska does similarly in their heaviest non-white/Finn representation group image (see Table 10, Group image 1). In this group image, Freska frames the non-white/Finns as people that are kept within the company by the white/Finns rather than frames their place within the Freska community as inherent. Visually, the non-white/Finns have been surrounded by white/Finns. While such a group arrangement can be read as an attempt to showcase the company's inclusive workplace

culture, the non-white/Finns are made the other through the arrangement of people. Their existence is problematized. Their existence in the company needs active holding in, which is not too empowering message to send out.

In Wolt's case, there is not much to analyze beyond group images in terms of non-white/Finn representation as it considers only 15 individuals out of 189 depicted (8%). Moreover, 8 of those were restaurant workers leaving only 7 non-white/Finns to appear in roles of Wolt employees and couriers. 6 of those were part of group images. Therefore, only one was depicted as an individual at work. This only non-white/Finn representation was the young adult, black man depicted as a courier on the "Responsibility" page. Being the only non-white/Finn representation of the Wolt couriers represented on such a website section with no representation on the actual "For couriers" page cannot be read any other way than that Finnishness means, well, at least not black. The black courier is framed as a person whose existence is problematic from the Finnish society's point of view and towards whom Wolt exercises good-will in offering a job.

The last way Freska and Wolt other non-white/Finns, is the overall picture painted by race and ethnicity divisions in different roles. Tables 11, 12, 13, and 14 show that 96 to 100 % of the office employees and customers are white/Finn or white. These office employees and customers could be seen as the "two ends" of the business transaction of food delivery and cleaning services. The "service" positions in between the two ends. While in Wolt's case, even the service seems to be provided by white/Finns, in Freska's case, it is clear from the visual representations that non-white/Finns do the actual job of cleaning. Such overall race and ethnicity division makes it seem like the white and Finnish serve other white and Finnish, in between which are the people with any foreign background working as cheap labor. This could be read as another signifier of the base discourse framing non-white/Finns as the "other" and a clear depiction of uneven power relations. Moreover, the couriers and cleaners were both depicted from oblique and/or high angles gazing away from the viewer, with one exception. Such choices present the couriers and cleaners to the viewer as functions of operative actions rather than as people to engage with.

Through these findings of othering, diversity in terms of race and ethnicity cannot be said to be framed as the DNA of the companies. Race and ethnicity diversity is something that is not part of the companies' basic essence. The othering discourse and the homogeneity

of Finns discourse together could lead to an interpretation that diversity is seen as coming from outside rather than rising from within the companies.

5.2.2.3 Couriers as NOT part of the Wolt community / Cleaners as part of the Freska community

As stated by the companies themselves, a significant part, if not almost all of Wolt's couriers and Freska's cleaners are immigrants (Eduskunta, 2017; Wolt Blog, 2019; Helsingin Sanomat, 2018). Thus, it is interesting to analyze the visual discourses around them a bit further.

As the sub-heading suggests, while cleaners seem to be actively included and drawn Freska community, couriers seem to be left as distant. The couriers are presented as "tools" Wolt showcases on their website with the white/Finn examples of the function in the foreground. In Freska's case, the attempt of inclusivity can be read regardless of the othering discourse. Therefore, the group images presented under the previous visual discourse could be read as examples of couriers as not part of the Wolt community and cleaners as part of the Freska community. The idea becomes even stronger when scrutinizing the group images closer.

The group images of Wolt do not actually contain any couriers like Freska's group images contain cleaners. At least I would interpret so after glancing at the image-text. While in Freska's case, the image-text refers to cleaners, in Wolt's case, the image-text talks of the "[...] 800 smart and kind people [...]" that could be interpreted as a reference to the Wolt employees that are other than couriers. Such an interpretation is fair because in other parts of the website, the couriers are referred to as "[...] 20,000+ courier partners [...]". If none of the group images depict any couriers, it seems that Wolt couriers are not invited to the leisure activities the company organizes. Those events seem to be team-building events of the Wolt office employees in specific. None of the images indicate that such events would be organized for the courier partners leaving (visually) couriers outside the idea of the Wolt community. Instead, in Freska's group images, cleaners have been brought together to have a good time. The image-text even says that the company organizes plenty of events for their cleaner community as part of Freska.

Another way in which Freska shows their cleaners as part of the Freska community is by bringing them as the face of the message Freska delivers to the viewers. With this, I refer to the Asian male cleaner taken out from the cleaner context to another more “equal”, casual setting to talk to the viewer of the cleaner experience. The connection to the viewer is personal. The prospective customers are wanted to be engaged with this particular cleaner. Such visual representation cannot be found from the representations of Wolt couriers. This is a rather interesting choice because the couriers are the ones the customers interact with in person.

5.2.2.4 Women as subordinate to men

In both cases, women are visually constructed as subordinates to men. In Wolt’s case, men’s share of all represented human participants is almost 70% (see Table 4). In Freska’s case, the representational share tilts slightly for women’s benefit yet could be considered relatively equal; 56% and 44% shares for women and men, respectively (see Table 4). Women can be read framed as subordinate to men because of the uneven gender-division in different activity/roles and the unbalanced gender-dynamics in the images depicting both.

In Wolt’s case, not only are women depicted as the scant minority in the group images (see Table 5), their postures are in general more composed than their male colleagues. Moreover, men are quite without exception the representatives in the center of the viewer’s attention in images depicting both genders. The activity/role divisions add to this. As Table 6 illustrates, the vast majority (78%) of women are depicted as customers while men occupy the 70-80% shares in every other activity/role category; in categories related to delivering the business.

Despite a slightly wider overall variation in representation in different activities/roles than in Wolt’s representations, women in Freska’s visual representations are represented with 80% share in cleaner roles, whereas men in higher hierarchy positions with 67% share. The “Careers” page depicts with one exception solely men. And even this one exception could barely be considered as a representation being a blurred half-head representation in an image depicting a young white/Finn male talking. In terms of group dynamics, the findings are similar to Wolt. Men tend to be depicted in the center, as the more active participant when both genders are depicted in the same image.

However, there is one micro-discourse embedded on Freska's website; the customer depiction of a man playing with a child. While this representation could be considered a gender non-typical depiction overall (i.e., man as a customer in a family setting), the overall representation of men reaches the professional end as well, as noticed when looking at the "Careers" page. This gives men leeway in constructing one's identity. Moreover, despite the depiction, in general, the activity of taking care of the home is painted with feminine remarks on Freska's visual representations (see Section 5.2.1.1 *Gender*).

Overall, it seems that men are the norm, the founder base of the companies, to which women have applied to, and in Freska's case, mostly employed as cleaners.

5.2.2.5 *Young serves the old*

When scrutinizing how different age groups have been visually constructed, it is hard to read in any other way than that the young serves the old (and middle). As has been shown in detail earlier in Section 5.2.1.3. *Age*, in addition to the drastic absence of age variation, the activities/roles in which the old and middle representatives have been depicted are those that Wolt and Freska serve, i.e., customers and charity-targets. The old and middle are depicted as passive receivers rather than depicting them as active participants in organizational settings. The representations of old and middle are set apart from the identities of the companies. Start-ups and technology fields are constructed as the fields of young people to which older than 39 do not belong as "doers".

6 Discussion

6.1 (2) Discourse practice and (3) Sociocultural practice

RQ2. Do the visual discourses reinforce or challenge the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations?

Analyzing the findings described above in the light of the reviewed literature, in general, both companies seem to more reinforce than challenge the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations. It appears that overall, the findings closely

reflect the known deficiencies in diversity communication on company websites. Such could signal that not much development has happened in the realm of diversity communication in Finnish business organizations – at least if these two cases’ visual representations on their company websites and the reviewed literature (i.e., Meriläinen et al., 2009; Point & Singh, 2003; Louvrier, 2013; Ylöstalo, 2016) are to be held as references. The found dominant visual discourses are rather disappointing as I had hoped that such new generation young-led companies would be at the forefront creating different sounding stories. Even though I was hopeful that youth would mean a higher commitment to social values and eagerness to showcase it to the public, many of the findings are not surprising. This section’s purpose is to analyze why. The key insights from the discussion can be found in Table (Results) 2: Discourse practice and Sociocultural practice later at the end of this section.

Before heading to the analysis, it should be kept in mind that the following interpretations are only interpretations. Moreover, they are made with sole reference point to the (still) images on the case companies’ websites. The interpretations cannot be held as generalizations of the whole company or its culture or any other communicative medium than company websites. More limitations are presented later in Section 7.2 *Limitations and future research*.

6.1.1 The case of Wolt

Looking at the visual representation of people on Wolt’s website, I could not describe the company as international nor diverse. To be fair, Wolt does not fully claim to be so either. While Wolt does claim that Wolt employees are “[...] of 45+ nationalities”, such claims are not made of Wolt couriers. Nevertheless, the visual representations of diversity and differences and the visual discourses rising from them are hard to digest, knowing especially the significant share of Wolt couriers being immigrants. Moreover, with a variation of 45+ nationalities and cultures among Wolt employees, it could be expected that at least not 96% of the people depicted in “Leisure/team-building setting (*Wolt employee, NOT courier*)” would appear white/Finn (face shown, see Table 11) and not 100% of the people depicted in “Professional setting (*Wolt employee*)” would appear white (face not shown, see Table 12).

In terms of gender, age, and other diversity characteristics, Wolt’s image looks very young and male. Moreover, the scant representation of women is gender-typically in lower

hierarchy positions and non-professional settings, and depicted relationships between women and men typical for the idea of men over women. Adding to this, black couriers are depicted as social responsibility targets of Wolt as a company. The only effort to show that the company is diverse is found from the textual reference to nationalities provided above. However, even this could more so be an attempt to remind the visitor of the international operations of Wolt rather than of Wolt's efforts with diversity. The only scene where the representation in terms of race and ethnicity could be considered diverse is the restaurant scene (40% are non-white/Finns), but even there, the gender representation is strongly uneven (24% women, 75% men).

When starting to explain why such is, the first interpretation would be that Wolt is simply not built on the idea of diversity in the first place. As a start-up and venture capital -backed business, the interest at Wolt could be entirely in continuous growth and technology platform construction rather than, for instance, in human resources. Investment of resources in "softer" values such as diversity and inclusion seems not to interest Wolt. The visual representation perhaps has not even crossed the office tables of Wolt employees beyond forming a "great" brand narrative. It seems that Wolt has not been interested in investing in social issues that taken the company's workforce structure and dependence on immigrant workers in the low-skill-low-wage positions would be expected to do so. Nevertheless, the company keeps on attracting over 100M€ of external investments (Talouselämä, 2019).

However, such an overall interpretation of Wolt's visual content choices lets the company off the hook too easily. Therefore, beyond this overall interpretation, there are also other possible interpretations for the visual content choices mirrored against the literature review, especially mirrored against the studies from the Finnish context, i.e., Meriläinen et al., 2009, Point & Singh, 2003, Louvrier, 2013, and Ylöstalo, 2016 (see Tables (Literature review) 1 and 2 for the key insights). The white/Finnishness, maleness, and youngness can all also be interpreted as results of ignorance and deliberate choices.

The next sections provide reasoning for the visual discourses under three sub-headings: *White/Finnishness of the Wolt employees and couriers*, *Diversity as a problem of those who are "different"*, and *Dominance of men and young in the representations of gender and age*. These could be considered as the biggest notions from Wolt's visual representations formed by one or several visual discourses.

6.1.1.1 White/Finnishness of the Wolt employees and couriers

The dominant visual discourses included “Finns as a homogenous group”, “Non-white/Finns as others”, and “Couriers as NOT part of the Wolt community”. Together the visual discourses underline the white/Finnishness of the visual representations on Wolt’s website. There are two interpretations for such content choices. First, it is because the company aims to shield the company against “unnecessary” incidents of racism, especially what comes to Wolt courier images. Second, it is because there is unrecognized race and ethnicity -bias in recruiting, assuming that the Wolt office employee division is as white/Finn as in the images in reality as well.

Starting with the courier images, Wolt depicts only one courier that could be judged non-white/Finn, a young black male courier (see Tables 11 and 12). Moreover, this particular representation was depicted on the “Responsibility” page and not on the “For couriers” page. Therefore, 100% of the courier representation on the “For couriers” page could be judged as white/Finn. In the case it has been a deliberate choice to hide non-white/Finns away from the visual representation of Wolt couriers (and all others), there can be found at least a couple of reference points for such choices being exactly deliberate from the findings of the earlier research in Finnish business organizational contexts.

I am referring to the findings from Louvrier’s (2013) study, where she interviewed six diversity managers in six Finnish companies (see Table (Literature Review) 2). She found that it was not uncommon that discrimination, especially such that had a racist base-tone in it, was mostly dismissed as “nothing special”. Some of her interviewed diversity managers even admitted to complying with some of their customers’ requests that certain ethnicities are not sent to their homes. One of the interviewees continued that her/his company can bear only a particular share of immigrants in their operations, suggesting that immigrants in their business may become an economic burden after a certain point due to racism. (Louvrier, 2013.) While naturally no generalization can be made from such findings, the findings are nevertheless parallel with the fact that Finland is a persistently racist country (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018).

Supposing that such choices as hiding immigrant workers from Wolt’s visual representation are indeed deliberate, would it be possible that Wolt hides them away because they want to

showcase themselves to the Finnish market as white as possible to shield the company from “unnecessary” incidents of racism. After all, there is a direct link to the other parts of the website from the order-page, and thus, it is at least one central contact point for consumers with the company and its services. It could be interpreted that Wolt considers white/Finn representation as more “aesthetic”, referring to the term “aesthetic labor” coined by Warhurst and Nickson (2007, as cited in Guerrier & Wilson, 2011, p. 186). Hiding immigrants, or more accurately people with visibly foreign background, away from the company image means that Wolt has deliberately made their workforce image look “good” for the Finnish market and its special characteristic (of still being persistently racist). Choosing a non-white/Finn courier could perhaps drive away some potential customers.

Nevertheless, more subtly, Wolt acknowledges their couriers’ variety in terms of nationalities as the “For couriers” page can only be found in English. Thus, it is interesting to compare the language choices for different Wolt stakeholder groups: customers, couriers, restaurants, companies, and prospective employees (see Table (Case presentations) 2). The language options are interesting as they are quite clear signs of who Wolt assumes/profiles as representatives of their stakeholder groups. Wolt seems to recognize their customers’ diversity at least on the language level, providing the order-page/homepage in Finnish and English. Due to the absence of Finnish language option on the “For couriers” page, it could be interpreted that Wolt profiles most of its courier prospectives as international from a Finnish perspective, as non-Finns. This observation is rather interesting profiling mirrored to the total whiteness and especially white “Finnishness” of the visuals on the same page. It could be interpreted that Wolt recognizes their couriers’ diversity yet shows no attempt to represent them to their customers visiting the page, perhaps precisely for the image reasons explained above. How Wolt depicts their couriers makes the couriers look like an outsourced service Wolt buys yet dresses in their company-branded clothing.

Wolt could have also wanted to make the contrast less visible between Wolt office employees and Wolt couriers by depicting minimal visible differences between the two not to seem racist. Such an interpretation is made with the assumption that most Wolt office employees are white/Finns in real life as well. Such could be a fair interpretation looking at the Group images 2, 3, and 4 (see Table 10) that seem to be images from Wolt’s team-building/leisure events rather than staged images like the ones of Wolt couriers. Being fully explicit about the contrast would perhaps put Wolt in an unfavorable light. After all, Wolt

seems to struggle to justify the use of immigrants for low-skill-low-wage jobs that Finnish natives beyond students will not accept to do. In particular, because Wolt is not financially able to provide permanent jobs to the workers with its platform economy business model (Helsingin Sanomat, 2020a, 2020b).

Interestingly and highly parallel with Louvrier's (2013) findings, was the race and ethnicity division in the restaurant scene in Wolt's visual content choices. 40% of the restaurant workers could be judged as non-white/Finns (see Table 11). While it is not even half of the restaurant workers, is it nevertheless a much bigger representation than in any other activity/role category. Louvrier (2013) found that while Finnish people were found to object immigrants in higher hierarchy positions, in some other positions, the foreign background was seen as an asset, as an added value. Immigrants occupying those positions were considered "global talents". Such occupations were listed to be, for instance, restaurant jobs (serving the diversity of Finnish tastes). Hence, unlike in terms of courier partners, Wolt has not tried to whiten the restaurant scene as much. Such a choice may be deliberate as the restaurant scene's diversity in terms of race and ethnicity could be less likely to trigger racism.

6.1.1.2 Diversity as a problem of those who are "different"

The same three visual discourses (i.e., "Finns as a homogenous group", "Non-white/Finns as others", and "Couriers as NOT part of the Wolt community") also underline the idea that diversity is a problem of or caused by those who are different from the white (young) male idea. I attempted to reason such an issue from the big audience's expectations point of view. It could be that Wolt delivers what it thinks is expected. It is expected to be inclusive. It is expected to be diverse. It is expected to sound like the company cares for those that are so-to-say underdogs. However, by doing so, the company has ended up framing diversity as a problem of those who are "different".

Under the "Non-white/Finns as others" visual discourse, one reason for such visual discourse rising in Wolt's case was that the only non-white/Finn courier, a young adult black man, was depicted on the "Responsibility" page. This, while all other Wolt couriers that could be judged as white/Finns, were depicted on the actual "For couriers" page. In the empirical findings, it was moreover noticed that the black courier is depicted next to a piece of text

suggesting that most of the couriers have low or unfitting education and no Finnish language skills, but towards whom Wolt practices good-will in offering a job. In the image-text, Wolt says that the company has no strict language requirements for its courier partners. Continuing interpreting who Wolt targets with its different website sections through language selection, looking at the language of the “For couriers” page, this is a rather interesting statement since English is required taken that the page is found only in English. It seems as no language requirements means exactly no Finnish language skills requirements even though it is not said. The language skills of Wolt couriers are problematized.

The same language requirement is for other Wolt employees as well. Yet, the language skills seem not to be problematized as the company is international (i.e., 45+ nationalities). The absence of the Finnish language version of the “Jobs” page could be explained with the listed jobs that locate all over the world. Nevertheless, such choice signals a requirement of English language skill in whichever position one wishes to apply at Wolt. Here, it is interesting to note that as I do not know the nationalities of the people depicted in the Wolt employee images, but judge for how they look, I cannot be sure that all of them are Finnish. However, if there was a variety of nationalities in the group images especially, they all still look very much white in the end. And if so, it actually closely reflects those findings of the differentiation between “global talents” and “immigrants” discussed in Louvrier’s (2013) study, where whiteness (and maleness) seemed to be the key to be considered for as a “global talent”.

Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that both “For couriers” and “Jobs” pages are found in English, yet the language skills are problematized only in terms of Wolt couriers as explained above. Thus, language skills seem to be used as a legitimation tactic for the employment of immigrants in low-skill-low-wage jobs that otherwise could be seem racist. Such findings closely reflect the findings in Louvrier’s (2013) and Ylöstalo’s (2016) studies. Ylöstalo (2016) showed that language skills were a common barrier set for a specific group of immigrants, mainly for those that would be judged as “immigrants” using Louvrier’s (2013) words.

Moreover, the interesting thing is to look at which pages have been selected to translate into Finnish. These are “For restaurants” and ”For companies” pages. Moreover, the registration page for restaurants is only in Finnish, containing five lines to fill out and a three-line

introduction to understand requiring basic Finnish language skills. Companies are also provided with both language options. Overall, the language options give an idea of a Finnish but international company working on a local market. However, the visuals do not signify this. They signify that white/Finns serve other white/Finns with another group of white/Finns in the middle doing the actual service. Together as an “international”, English-speaking company, they then create jobs for non-Finnish speaking immigrants. The same “social responsibility” is considering old people depicted on the “Responsibility” page. Old is also set apart from Wolt’s identity and visually constructed as the other from the dominant (white) young (male).

Through these findings, it appears that Wolt frames diversity to mean those who are “different”. Moreover, diversity is problematized and framed as an issue that Wolt has solved by exercising good-will. Such a framing of diversity was common in business organizations around Europe and Finland (Meriläinen et al., 2009; Singh & Point, 2006; Heres & Benschop, 2010). Therefore, the idea of “caring” for diversity and differences is there (i.e., social responsibility). Yet, it has not been projected in any sophisticated inclusive manner but by following a very traditional “white good-will” narrative. Therefore, the visual representations unfortunately only reinforce those discriminative ideas that in the first place create them, such as that of othering.

6.1.1.3 Dominance of men and young in the representations of gender and age

The visual discourses “Women as subordinate to men” and “Young serves the old” are the last ones without interpretations beyond the overall interpretation presented initially. I attempted to explain it by moving from gender equality ideas to ideas of equality between individuals.

Gender-wise, Wolt could be described as a text-book example of how learned gendered representations are reproduced. The literature review showed various examples of how the same gendered representations that we are used to seeing in traditional media (Collins, 2011; Grau & Zotos, 2016) manifest themselves in corporate communications. Heres and Benschop (2010), Singh and Point (2006), and Benschop and Meihuizen (2002) showed a tendency to create gender hierarchical representations. Women were most often depicted as consumers in leisure settings and men as managers in professional settings. Moreover, men

were found to be depicted as superiors to women in images depicting both. Such gendered ideas favoring looking up men and looking down women were seen in Wolt's visual representations as well. Women indeed were tended to be depicted as consumers and men as higher hierarchy level employees (see Table 6). Besides, women were represented as a minority everywhere on the website with one exception; that of being consumers.

I would interpret that the strongly uneven gender representation in visual content choices is, in fact, reflective of Wolt's workforce. I came to such an interpretation because the group images of Wolt employees do not seem to be staged. I could be wrong, but in that case, I would suggest updating the images to be accurate as it now seems that women have been depicted in the images to fill in gender quota – and even failing in that. Also, the age variation most probably is true to the company in reality as well. The youthfulness and maleness may come for the start-up scene, technology field, and logistics (i.e., food delivery), that together could be taken as very young and male-driven. If this is, in fact, true, I would perhaps take a moment of reflection. However, whether gender and age-bias are present in the recruiting is out of this thesis' scope to consider.

Nevertheless, there is one interpretation for the youngness and maleness of the depicted workforce, taken it is at least somewhat reflective of the workforce in reality. This interpretation is that Wolt has moved from the ideas of gender-equality to the ideas of equality between individuals. The interpretation also applies to the whiteness of the company workforce.

Therefore, in the case the dominance of (whiteness), youthfulness, and maleness in the visual representations are reflective of the company workforce, I attempted to explain it through the adoption of Finnish (and Nordic) identity, that Wolt literally claims to embody: "As a company with Nordic roots, Wolt aims to be world #1 in offering fair platform work where flexibility meets safety nets and satisfied workers." I take that this "Nordic-ness" means an idea of caring for social matters, for equality and inclusivity. As explained in the literature review, whereas Finland and the Nordics, in general, enjoy a well-achieved equality status in international comparisons (World Economic Forum, 2020), it is exactly that of gender equality and has nothing to do with equality as a whole. Meriläinen et al. (2009) and Point and Singh (2003) found that such gender equality status was also proudly adopted in many Finnish organizations. The authors found that while the status is exactly that of gender

equality status, such an idea was assumed to mean all equality in the examined Finnish organizations. Hence, a sufficient numeric share of representation of both genders in the organizations was taken to mean the achievement of equality.

I could interpret that Wolt has taken this equality idea even further, judging by the visual representation. Equality is no longer an issue of equality between (Finnish-looking) women and men, where women's empowerment is a central aim, but equality between individuals. This can be the only interpretation of Wolt's visual representation if it is to be taken as Wolt's idea of a representation of equality or equal representation. Such an idea as equality between individuals could produce such a discourse that visible differences do not matter. This means that neither gender nor race and ethnicity nor age or any other assumingly visible characteristic matter in such a concept, but individual merits. Everyone are so-to-say "equally unique". But as Ylöstalo (2016, pp. 420) notes: "Being "unique" as a white, heterosexual, middle-class man is quite different from being unique as a black, lesbian, working-class woman."

With the idea of everyone being "equally unique", the representation is due to natural selection. Therefore, in Wolt's case, (slim-bodied) white (Finn) men just happened to be more suitable for the higher hierarchy positions and occupy the vast majority of positions overall of this relatively large organization. Though, the thing is that adopting such an "all are individuals" discourse only legitimizes the current power relations and lets their creation and maintenance go unexamined (Ylöstalo, 2016, p. 420). Such would be fair to say as research has found that discrimination based on especially gender and cultural background persists in workplaces affecting hiring, salary, promotion, and other rewards (McKinsey&Company, 2018; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018, pp. 45-56; Fan et al., 2019), also in Finland (e.g., Tasa-arvo valtuutettu, 2018; Tilastokeskus, 2014). Therefore, we are not yet there where Wolt wishes us to be taken that my interpretation for the almost total whiteness, youthfulness, and maleness is accurate.

Hence, in Wolt's case, adopting such an identity as they claim to embody has served more as a blindfold than encouragement and nudge to make a clear effort to visualize an inclusive company image. In Wolt's case, I would want to interpret that such negligence in considering how their company image looks like to the public is because they are looking at the world through rose-colored Nordic equality glasses where everything has been achieved, and

people can be trusted to see everyone as individuals. That would mean it is time to take the glasses off and do some research.

6.1.2 The case of Freska

Freska succeeds better in its diversity communication's feel of authenticity than Wolt even though I cannot say that the effort on their website's visual content choices, in particular, has been an absolutely top-notch rendition of their young, socially aware identity they claim to have: "As a young company, we are all about diversity, dynamism and creating teams that work and grow together as tight-woven units". In some instances, Freska ends up reinforcing the current discourses of diversity and differences common for Finnish business organizations, as was noticed regarding the visual discourses. Nevertheless, the case of Freska is harder to criticize. Overall, I would interpret that Freska is more so than Wolt built on the ideas of diversity and inclusivity. A clear attempt to do so is there, at least in Freska's visual content choices. The company seems to be more truthful about who they employ.

The challenges with Freska's visual representations are partly the same and partly different from the challenges of Wolt. Freska also struggles to depict non-white/Finns as a truly inclusive part of the Freska community, indicating the same idea that diversity is a problem of those who are "different". Similarly to Wolt, Freska tends to depict non-white/Finns as a social responsibility matter. This, in contrast to all-white/Finn Freska office employee and customer representations (see Tables 13 and 14), makes such a message rather unempowering, as was explained in the visual discourse of "Non-white/Finns as others". Similarly to Wolt, such contrast could also indicate a race and ethnicity-bias in recruiting. Nevertheless, clearly more non-white/Finns have been included in the visual representation (see Table 13). Moreover, the idea of moving from gender quality to equality between individuals could be applied to Freska's case. Like Wolt, Freska depicts gender-hierarchical representations of women and men and favors young as the face of the company. In terms of the youthfulness of the visual representations, such probably is true to the company's workforce for similar reasons as Wolt. Freska is also a start-up, which is young-driven as a field.

However, the white/Finnishness does not fully apply to Freska's visual representations. It applies to the race and ethnicity division between different activities/settings that create race

and ethnicity-loaded hierarchies between the depicted people. Nevertheless, the representation of race and ethnicity could be described as varied in the cleaner settings. Therefore, the whitening of the company image or shielding the company against “unnecessary” incidents of racism may not be so true in the case of Freska, judging by the company’s visual representations on the company websites. I say “not be so true” because Freska nevertheless favors women of non-white other and other white ethnicities in the cleaner depictions in images depicting Freska cleaners at work.

Due to these similarities and differences between the cases, using the same units of analysis (i.e., the white/Finnishness of the visual representations, diversity as a problem of those who are “different”, and the maleness and youthfulness of the company image) would both be repetition and lose the important nuances of the case of Freska. Therefore, I concentrate, first, on gender representations and second, on race and ethnicity representations.

6.1.2.1 Visual representations of gender

In the case of Freska, the challenges lay, first of all, in gender representation that, similarly to Wolt, is quite a so-to-say text-book example of how learned gendered ideas are repeated in contemporary organizations. The slightly larger overall numeric representation of women does not change this (see Tables 4, 5, and 7). Perhaps also Freska is already a step ahead with its conception of equality and practices the idea at an individual level. However, being gender- (or race and ethnicity) blind does not mean being gender- (or race and ethnicity) neutral. At least looking at the data from the literature review, we are not there yet. As noted regarding the case of Wolt, considering everyone as “equally unique” silences structural and institutional issues around differences, including gender and race and ethnicity (Ylöstalo, 2016).

The only unconventional gender representation in both case companies’ gender representations was found in Freska’s visual representations. Here, I refer to Freska’s depiction of a man playing with a child represented in a customer setting. However, if compared to the same setting where a woman is in the center of a family setting image, even this image shifts back to being highly gender-typical: while dad is the fun parent, mom takes care of the basic needs. Nevertheless, it gives a slight idea of awoke company mirrored to the earlier literature’s findings of persisting gender-hierarchical representations. It seems

that even though cleaning is framed as a feminine thing to do in general, also men are attempted to be included as visitors of the website.

The second unconventional gender representation was a man in a cleaner setting, and another man depicted talking to the viewers about his experience as a cleaner as Freska. I earlier criticized the male choice for the face of the cleaner experience as a proof of an unappreciation of women cleaners. However, it could also be that a man was chosen over a woman because it is more difficult to get male cleaners employed due to gender bias amongst customers. By putting the male cleaner to the front-line, customers could get used to seeing a man in a cleaner job and, thus, be keener on accepting a booking of a male cleaner. However, parallel to this line of thought, it could then also be expected that Freska would depict more black cleaners, as now there are none depicted in the front-line professional setting. This could be taken as a small indication of shielding the company against “unnecessary” incidents of racism. Non-white other and other white ethnicities women cleaners may be more likely to trigger positive reactions amongst Finnish customers than black men, for instance.

6.1.2.2 Visual representations of race and ethnicity

The challenges lay second of all, in the othering of non-white/Finns. Like Wolt, Freska frames diversity as a “good-will” of all white/Finns aimed towards those who look “different”. In addition to the way in which non-white/Finns are “facilitated” by white/Finns in Group image 1 (see Table 10), some text on Freska’s website encourages to get on board with Freska as a customer to “[...] create real jobs and opportunities to hundreds of talented and hard-working professional cleaners. [...]”. Why such representation has been made could be exactly as was interpreted in Wolt’s case. It could be so that Freska as well acts as the company thinks is expected. It is expected to be inclusive. It is expected to be diverse. It is expected to sound like the company cares for those that are so-to-say underdogs. However, unfortunately, the visual representation of such reinforces those discriminative ideas that in the first place create them, such as that of othering. The “care” misses its mark. Even a racist could book a cleaning from a black cleaner if she or he felt superior to the cleaner. As the text-example above implies, without Finnish “saviors”, Freska’s cleaners would not have “real”, i.e., legal jobs.

The position as “underdogs” is similar to Wolt legitimized with language requirements. Freska also implies that their cleaners have insufficient language skills as the company “[...] arrange language schools [...]” for their Freska community. Nevertheless, English is required to apply for a job on Freska’s websites. Thus, the language skill the cleaners need help for seems to be exactly Finnish language skills. Again, it appears that the language skills legitimation tactic is used to justify immigrants’ place in the low-skill-low-wage level, which is parallel with Ylöstalo’s (2016) findings. As an international company that Freska is in Nordic level, insufficient Finnish language skills should not be a problem if the person masters enough English and has a relevant education. Naturally, this is just an interpretation of the situation and should not be taken as anything more. However, it should nevertheless be reflected upon whether there is such language bias between different race and ethnicities.

Regarding language choices, Freska provides all pages in both Finnish and English languages with one exception. The exception is similar to Wolt. As indicated above, the page that can be found only in English is “Become our cleaner” or “Careers” as the same page appears under both names. Confusingly so, the page does not include anything for cleaners, especially no link to apply for a job. Nevertheless, it could be interpreted similarly to Wolt, that Freska profiles their Freska employees and cleaners as non-Finns. Or at least, Freska assumes that not enough Finnish speaking will apply for the job to make it a relevant matter to provide the page in Finnish. Such interpretation is fair because all the other pages, i.e., those directed to customers and other stakeholders, have been translated into Finnish. Even the global topic such as CSR, i.e., page “Environment”, has been translated into Finnish.

Like Wolt, Freska seems to be first and foremost wanting to be seen as a Finnish (or Nordic) company with an international workforce, working on a local market. While the visual representation succeeds in depicting diversity in numeric way, diversity is not evenly spread out in different organizational levels. The arrangement in the visual representations of people looks like white/Finns run the company and communicate with the customers, but immigrants do the actual service. The employed immigrants serve as the ”tools” in between.

Wolt	Freska
OVERALL INTERPRETATION	
Wolt is not built on the ideas of diversity and inclusion from the beginning with.	Freska is built on the ideas of diversity and inclusion but fails to deliver the message truly inclusively.
OTHER INTERPRETATIONS	
<p>White/Finnishness of the Wolt employees and couriers</p> <p>Visual discourses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Finns as a homogenous group 2. Non-white/Finns as others 3. Couriers as NOT part of the Wolt community 	<p>Visual representations of race and ethnicity</p> <p>Visual discourses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Finns as a homogenous group 2. Non-white/Finns as others 4. Cleaners as part of the Freska community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason 1: The company aims to shield the company against “unnecessary” incidents of racism, especially in terms of couriers. This taken that racism persists in the Finnish society. 	<p>→ <i>Reason 1 applies to some extent. No black cleaners depicted in front-line professional settings. Freska nevertheless represents more race and ethnicity variety among Freska cleaners.</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason 2: There is unrecognized race and ethnicity-bias in recruiting, assuming that Wolt office employees are as white/Finns as in the images in the reality as well. 	<p>→ <i>Reason 2 applies. The contrast between race and ethnicity representation between Freska employees and cleaners is notable.</i></p>
<p>Diversity as a problem of those who are “different”</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason: The company attempts to satisfy the expectations of the big audience by making diversity a social responsibility matter. 	<p>→ <i>Reason applies. Freska also frames non-white/Finns are a social responsibility matter.</i></p>
<p>Dominance of men and young in the representations of gender and age</p> <p>Visual discourses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Women as subordinate to men 6. Young serves the old 	<p>Visual representations of gender</p> <p>Visual discourses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Women as subordinate to men 6. Young serves the old
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason: The company has moved from the ideas of gender equality to ideas of equality between individuals, which silences the structural and institutional issues around differences including gender and age. Maleness and youthfulness are due to “natural selection”. 	<p>→ <i>Reason applies to some extent. In addition to depicting overall gender-hierarchical visual representations, Freska breaks gender-typical roles in some instances (i.e., customer and front-line professional settings).</i></p>

Table (Results) 2: Discourse practice and sociocultural practice

7 Conclusions

In this thesis, I have analyzed the visual representations of diversity and differences on the company websites of two Finnish case companies, Wolt and Freska. The data set included 100 (still) images: 42 on Wolt's websites and 58 on Freska's. Using a visual discourse approach, I have shown how the visual representations come to live as visual discourses and how they may reinforce or challenge the known discourses of diversity and differences in Finnish business organizations. The results suggest that there is still a lot of work to do in creating inclusive corporate images and understanding the power of visual representation regarding visual presence on Finnish business organizations' company websites. This thesis illustrates how meanings of diversity and differences may be visually constructed on company websites. This thesis contributes to the literature on diversity communication, but its results can also be utilized elsewhere, including management. For instance, this thesis' results can help management to understand the visual way in which discrimination can happen. Moreover, effective diversity communication is an essential tool in binding employees together and creating an inclusive work environment where everyone feels respected as part of the organization.

This thesis both concurs and disagrees with Point and Singh's (2003) and Meriläinen et al.'s (2009) findings from the visual representation point of view in that Finnish companies do not commonly engage with widespread diversity discourse on their company websites. While the case of Wolt concurs with the findings with clear absences in any other than young white/Finn male representation, Freska challenges the current knowledge at least to some extent with their relatively wide variety of race and ethnicity representations.

However, despite the numeric representation of different race and ethnicities, similarly to Wolt, Freska nevertheless ends up othering the non-white/Finns in their visual representations. Immigrants are framed as an active problem in the job-markets to whom Wolt and Freska have offered at least some opportunities to integrate into the Finnish society. While such could be true to some extent, the visual representations that frame non-white/Finns as social responsibility targets is not too empowering message to be sent out from the companies. Such social responsibility discourse seems to be used by both companies to justify the use of immigrants in their low-skill-low-wage jobs with poorer benefits that Finnish people themselves would disagree with beyond being part-time workers

as students. In both cases, the legitimation tactic seemed to be first and foremost insufficient Finnish language skills in international English-speaking companies, which is parallel with Ylöstalo's (2016) findings.

In terms of gender, I could not detect the same gender equality discourse in the visual representations that Point and Singh (2003) and Meriläinen et al. (2009) had found in their studied Finnish organizations' textual references to diversity. As implied above, both companies instead framed diversity to mean those who are observably "different" in terms of race and ethnicity. Such finding is parallel with Louvrier's (2013) results, which showed that when discussing diversity with Finnish diversity managers, the managers usually pointed out race and ethnicity differences and only rarely gender differences. Gender representations were very traditional in the visual representations on the websites of Wolt and Freska, underlining persistent gender-hierarchies. Even though Freska repeats such ideas as well. I detected some attempts to break such gender-typical representations. However, this has been done only in terms of men representations giving men more variety in occupations as the company's stakeholders.

Overall, it seems that Wolt is not built on the ideas of diversity and inclusion from the beginning with whereas Freska is but fails to deliver the message truly inclusively. Such is an interpretation based on the visual content choices, and like noted earlier, it should not be taken as my interpretation of the corporate culture as a whole. Wolt's visual content choices showcase so little attempt to be diverse or inclusive, that diversity and inclusion cannot be read as values of the company. Both companies can be criticized for reinforcing current power relations between observably different people.

I acknowledge that it is hard to create such visual content of diversity and differences that could not be criticized for being clichéd or non-inclusive (Guerrier & Wilson, 2011). Moreover, naturally, visual representation on any communicative medium should not be created in a tic-in-the-box kind of manner. Such loses the authenticity of the visual company image and could be taken as a misleading "trick" to be seeming more inclusive than the company is. And if the task was not challenging enough, on the other hand, the Finnish society needs new discourses of differences to change the racist and gender-biased perceptions and beliefs persisting in the Finnish workplaces (e.g., Tasa-arvo valtuutettu, 2018; Tilastokeskus, 2014).

It could be precisely due to these challenges that Wolt has not decided to drive diversity and inclusion front as the company so-to-say “cannot win” with its business model that is dependent on immigrant workers in low-skill-low-wage jobs. And even though Freska is in a similar situation and tried, it failed. However, due to companies’ central positions as creators of media content people consume in our consumption-oriented society, it should be noted that their effort matters despite the challenges. The choices of images have power. Visual representation of people is especially vital because it allows one’s existence to be acknowledged in our society. Every race and ethnicity, gender, age, and sexuality deserve their manifold identity to be represented in its rich variety.

I conclude that not enough resources have been invested in the visual representation in the case companies. Especially in the case of Wolt, it seems that communications issues have gotten stumbled upon by the company’s business model and the reach for ever-increasing revenues. It would be refreshing to see a company that transparently and effortlessly stands up for its employees’ inner and outer diversity and their beautiful, complicated manifestations, without a constant talk of economic benefits.

7.1 Practical implications

This thesis has shown that visual content choices can impact how company stakeholders perceive the company’s take on diversity and differences. It may even serve as an indication of the company’s values and affect the overall judgment that a certain company appears fair and progressive or just ignorant. The way in which the discourses have come to life from the images is something that companies should take a moment to reflect on. Through understanding even just some bits of the framework Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) have introduced as tools in deconstructing meaning in visual texts may open new ways to see the impact of what kinds of everyday-felt implications certain representations may carry.

I would recommend for Wolt and Freska in specific to bring the employees doing the service for the customers to the front. To let them interact with the prospective customers visiting the websites rather than depicting them as distant, as the “servers” of the company. This would not only quite quickly turn the whole company image upside-down, but it would also educate consumers and put the two in more equal positions. It seems now that white/Finns

serve other white/Finns with non-white/Finns as cheap labor in between. In Wolt's case, the non-white/Finn couriers do not even get represented. Such interpretation is drastically simplified, with many corners straightened. It also naturally may not be anywhere near reflective of the company's identity or the work conditions it may imply. Nevertheless, it looks unfavorable for the companies, and for a person with no more contact surface with the company, this is quickly the first impression. Such may reinforce traditional power hierarchies and seem ignorant in the face of such an essential topic as representation. Representing couriers and cleaners as the communicators with the viewer would require new angles and perspectives to be utilized, and arrangements in group images to be rethought. In both cases, I would moreover, outside the visual content choice suggestions, perhaps check the recruiting process in the case if the visual representations are reflective of the current workforce. I would check it for bias, for language requirements.

While making such "different" choices from the "traditional" could serve as business benefits, the motivation should come from getting on board with new fresh discourses of differences. It is yet not enough to think of everyone as individuals as the system clearly uplifts one and pushes down another. There is plenty of literature out there of how visual representations of different groups of people, including gender, race and ethnicity, and age, affect people's perceptions and beliefs of those people. Such literature was out of this thesis' scope as the main focus was on visual meaning-making and earlier research on how companies have done it before and what is specific for the context of Finland. Nevertheless, those would be in my interest for second research. It will be hard to create such visual representations that could not be criticized, yet as I see it, companies are responsible for keeping on trying.

7.2 Limitations and future research

There are four main limitations of this thesis. First, the number of case companies considered. While it would have been interesting to include more companies into the data set, the number of case companies was limited to two due to the limited scope of this thesis. Thus, it is critical to understand that no generalizations can be made of the broader context of Finnish companies nor of young generation led companies or to the Finnish society in general. While as mirrored to earlier research, the cases tell of the bigger problem of lack of representation of certain social groups, the cases should be treated as two cases.

The second and third limitations consider the data set. The data is only a snapshot of one instance of time, meaning that the images nor text references have not been monitored over time. Naturally, the websites are sometimes even frequently updated. Therefore, this thesis focuses on a static slice of an otherwise dynamic medium at a certain point in time. During my research, some minor changes were made on the websites, and I could see one image that had changed on Wolt's website. This is a central limitation for the usefulness of this thesis' conclusions as some information may be already dated at the time of this thesis' release. However, in this also lays benefits for adjusting the communication with great ease for more inclusive and thoughtful representation of diversity.

Secondly, regarding data collection, a limitation is that only still images have been noted in terms of full in-depth analysis. For instance, Wolt utilizes two videos on its website's first views and Freska one. Their contents were commented on for the first impression of who was represented and who not due to their central location on the websites. More in-depth analysis of such video contents would have required more sophisticated tools and a broader thesis scope. Also, blogs, social media scenes, written text, and all of those interplay were left unanalyzed. Only a scratch to the surface was conducted of such multimodal nature of the websites and other communicative mediums.

The fourth and last limitation is regarding the text analysis. In doing text analysis on visuals, many readings of the same images are possible (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). I read and analyzes the images from a certain point of view, with certain values and background. Moreover, I have lacked well-established cultural and racial/ethnic understanding, due to which I may have missed something in the data. Thus, I have done my best to explicate and reflect on my insecurities in interpreting images when I found the reading debatable, as not self-evident. However, what I regard as "self-evident" can differ from someone else's. This is why I have done my best to make my assumptions explicit throughout the thesis. One could also argue that gender-wise, I do not just see the new discourses created or that I am more likely to miss them. I have been learned to see women in representation unfavorable for their position in society. Yet after such in-depth scrutiny that I have done, I can confidently say that I did not see improvement in the way women are visually represented.

For future research, it would be foremost interesting to measure whether the representations of different differences reflect the actual division in the workforces of Wolt and Freska. To have such measures, company-collected data of the workforce diversity would be needed. Analyzing such results would have been an interesting moral project. For instance, in terms of race and ethnicity, the feel of authenticity of diversity communication of companies with different race and ethnicity ratios would have needed to be weighted.

Other future research possibilities can be searched from the limitations listed above. The apparent possibilities lay in widening the research context or modifying it to bring about new insights. It could be interesting to include more companies similar to Wolt and Freska to gain better comparability to the results between actors operating in the same industry. Depending on the possibilities, i.e., company selection and data available, the comparing could be done within country or across countries. For instance, Wolt could be compared to US-based Foodora and Freska to another Finland-based cleaning company Moppi.com.

Moreover, looking at the already mentioned true multimodality of the websites could also provide valuable insights on both single case level and across multiple cases. As I was doing visual discourse analysis, it was interesting to see how the companies talk about their couriers and cleaners that are majority immigrants. It was interesting to see what kind of tactics the companies used to detach themselves from the responsibility of certain social issues regarding those employees. While Freska seemed to “babysit” their cleaners, Wolt seemed to detach themselves from any responsibility regarding their couriers. Those would be interesting to analyze further and mirror them to this thesis’ results.

Regarding different communicative mediums, comparing diversity communication on websites versus on social media channels could be interesting. At least from the first impression, Freska’s Instagram channel showed more visible diversity than their website. Therefore, it could be interesting to study whether such a first impression is correct and indicate a wider trend. More “traditional” corporate communicative mediums, such as annual reports, could be included in such study. It could be analyzed whether there seem to be different “rules” for “acceptable” showcasing of diversity.

If I would carry out another study on the diversity topic, I would be interested in interviewing the people responsible for company communication in different communicative mediums.

Through the interviews, I would investigate how deliberate the visual choices in the company communications are, and what are the driving forces for choosing a specific image on a specific page, what is the thought process behind it – if there is any. I would desire to understand why such inequalities in representation persist, that among other research, this thesis' results have shown to some extent. Through the interviews, the focus would be on the interviewees' understanding of the implications of their diversity communication in the long run. Do the practitioners understand and consciously digest what they are doing with their (lack of) diversity communication beyond company image building purposes? Is there a readiness to take any "hits" for the larger good, as taken Finland's racist base-tone, it could be expected that companies with immigrant workers struggle with protecting them?

This last part has been added way at the end of this thesis. I did not want to change the earlier section as I would still be interested in doing such research as described above. But as I read my thesis through, I realized how this thesis, even though pointing out the inequalities, is also adding up to the mainstream narratives. Thus, what I would maybe instead do, if I would carry out another study on the diversity topic, I would consider successful cases in order to showcase the alternative narratives of historically discriminated identities; what those narratives in their successfulness can be and what they can do. Maybe such a study could show an example of how to do it. It would be important, because how it seems now, the Finnish companies studied in this thesis and in the earlier research are lost in how their choices affect the bigger picture – also in such a simple issue as providing fair representation. After all, the representation is easily done, and it provides the opportunity for one's existence to be acknowledged in this world.

References

Abraham, L. and Appiah, O. (2006). Framing News Stories: The Role of Visual Imagery in Priming Racial Stereotypes. *The Howards Journal of Communications*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 183-203.

Benschop, Y. and Meihuizen, H. E. (2002). Keeping up gendered appearances: representations of gender in financial annual reports. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, Vol. 27, pp. 611-636.

Brooks, D. E. and Hébert, L. P. (2006). Gender, race, and media representation. *Gender and Communication in Mediated Contexts*. pp. 287-317.

Business Finland. (2018). Huippuvuosi kansainvälisten investointien määrässä Suomeen. Available at: <https://www.businessfinland.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2018/huippuvuosi-kansainvalisten-investointien-maarassa-suomeen/> [Accessed 02.04.2020].

Collins, R. L. (2011). Content Analysis of Gender Roles in Media: Where Are We Now and Where Should We Go? *Sex Roles*, Vol. 64, pp. 290-298.

Dawson, G. A., Karl, K. A., and Peluchette, J. V. (2019). Hair Matters: Toward Understanding Natural Black Hair Bias in the Workplace. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 389-401.

Deloitte. (2018a). The 2018 Deloitte Millennial Survey. The Nordics. Available at: <https://www2.deloitte.com/fi/fi/pages/human-capital/articles/milleniaalitutkimus-2018.html>.

Deloitte. (2018b). 2018 Deloitte Millennial Survey. Millennials disappointed in business, unprepared for Industry 4.0. Available at: <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/About-Deloitte/gx-2018-millennial-survey-report.pdf>.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. & Jackson, P. R. (2012). The Philosophy of Management Research. Management Research. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE, pp. 16-35.

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (n.d.) Chapter 1: An Introduction to Gender. *Language and Gender*, Second Edition, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-37.

Eduskunta. (2019). Perhevapaaudistus. Available at: https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/naineduskuntatoimii/kirjasto/aineistot/kotimainen_oikeus/LA/TI/Sivut/perhevapaaudistus.aspx, [Accessed 26.03.2020].

Eduskunta. (2017). Lausunto eduskunnan työelämä- ja tasa-arvovaliokunnalle. Available at: <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/JulkaisuMetatieto/Documents/EDK-2018-AK-227004.pdf>, [Accessed 28.09.2020].

Eläketurvakeskus. (2020). Suomen työeläkkeensaajat. Available at: <https://www.etk.fi/tutkimus-tilastot-ennusteet/tilastot/elakkeensaajat/tyoelakkeensaajat/>, [Accessed 05.05.2020].

Eriksson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008a). Chapter 1: Introduction (PDF). *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: Sage, pp. 1-18.

Eriksson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008b). Chapter 7: Qualitative research materials (PDF). *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: Sage, pp. 1-49.

Eriksson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008c). Chapter 15: Discourse analysis (PDF). *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: Sage, pp. 1-46.

Eriksson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008d). Chapter 19: Qualitative Research Evaluation (PDF). *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: Sage, pp. 1-21.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2018). Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Being Black in the EU. Available at: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-being-black-in-the-eu_en.pdf [Accessed 07.04.2020].

Evans, A. (2015). Diversity in gender and visual representation: a commentary. *Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 473-479.

Fairclough, N. (1995). Miten media puhuu (suom. Blom, V. and Hazard, K., 1997). Tampere: Tekstintuotanto Vastapaino.

Fan, Y. Shepherd, L. J., Slavich, E., Waters, D., Stone, M., Abel, R., and Johnston, E. L. (2019). Gender and cultural bias in student evaluations: Why representation matters. *PLoS ONE*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 1-16.

Finder. (2019a). Wolt Enterprises Oy. Available at: <https://www.finder.fi/IT-konsultointi+IT-palvelut/Wolt+Enterprises+Oy/Helsinki/yhteystiedot/3036929>, [Accessed 25.10.2020].

Finder. (2019b). Freska Finland Oy. Available at: <https://www.finder.fi/Siivouspalvelu/Freska+Finland+Oy/Helsinki/yhteystiedot/3079711>, [Accessed 25.10.2020].

Finnish Government. (2019a). Occupational barometer: Labour shortage in many occupations. Available at: https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/article/-/asset_publisher/1410877/ammattibarometri-tyovoimapula-vaivaa-yha-useampaa-ammattia, [Accessed 05.05.2020].

Finnish institute for health and welfare. (2019). Sukupuolten tasa-arvo yritysjohdossa. Available at: <https://thl.fi/fi/web/sukupuolten-tasa-arvo/tasa-arvon-tila/valta-ja-paatoksenteke/sukupuolten-tasa-arvo-yritysjohdossa>, [Accessed 26.03.2020].

Finnish institute for health and welfare. (2018). Work. Available at: <https://thl.fi/en/web/gender-equality/gender-equality-in-finland/work>, [Accessed 28.03.2020].

Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, Prejudice and discrimination. In Gilbert, D. T., Fiske, S. T., and Lindzey, G. (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology*, 4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 357–411. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Freska. (2020). Careers. Available at: <https://www.freska.fi/careers>, [Accessed 08.07.2020].

Galinsky, A. D., Todd, A. R., Homan, A. C., Phillips, K. W., Apfelbaum, E. P., Sasaki, S. J., Richeson, J. A., Olayon, J. B., and Maddux, W. W. (2015). Maximizing the Gains and Minimizing the Pains of Diversity: A Policy Perspective. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, Vol. 10, No. 6, pp. 742-748.

Grau, S. L. and Zotos, Y. C. (2016). Gender stereotypes in advertising: a review of current research. *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 35, No. 5, pp. 761-770.

Guerrier, Y. and Wilson, C. (2011). Representing diversity on UK company web sites. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 183-195.

Heilman, M. E. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 32, pp. 113-135.

Helsingin Sanomat. (2020a). A dirty business. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000006562417.html>, [Accessed 06.07.2020].

Helsingin Sanomat. (2020b). Viranomaiselta linjaus: Woltin ja Foodoran ruokalähetit ovat työsuhteessa, eivät itsenäisiä yrittäjiä. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000006670821.html>, [Accessed 27.10.2020].

Helsingin Sanomat. (2018). Helsinkiläinen Sebastian Heinrichs, 32, perusti siivousyrityksen vain kaksi vuotta sitten – ja nyt hän haluaa palkata tuhat uutta työntekijää. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000005607228.html>, [Accessed 28.09.2020].

Helsingin Sanomat. (2015). Ruokalähetin karu arki: viikossa käteen 150 euroa – isä maksaa bensat. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000002865648.html>, [Accessed 06.07.2020].

Heres, L. and Benschop, Y. (2010). Taming diversity: an exploratory study on the travel of management fashion. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 5, pp. 436-457.

Hughes, D. and Dodge, M. A. (1997). African American Women in the Workplace: Relationships Between Job Candidates, Racial Bias at Work, and Perceived Job Quality. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 5, pp. 581-598.

IMDb. (2020). Disclosure. Available at: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt8637504/>, [Accessed 30.06.2020].

Jaxon, J., Lei, R. F., Shachnai, R., Chestnut, E. K., & Cimpian, A. (2019). The Acquisition of Gender Stereotypes about Intellectual Ability: Intersections with Race. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 75, No. 4, pp. 1192-1215.

Jonsen, K., Point, S., Kelan, E. K., and Griebler, A. (2018). Diversity and inclusion branding: a five-country comparison of corporate websites. *The international Journal of Human Resource Management*, pp. 1-34.

justice4couriers. (2019). How couriers are controlled during their shifts. Available at: <https://www.justice4couriers.fi/2019/02/>, [Accessed 10.08.2020].

Kalenius, A. (2014). Suomalaisten koulutusrakenteen kehitys 1970-2030. *Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön julkaisu*, 2014: 1. Available at: <http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/75236/okm01.pdf>, [Accessed 29.03.2020].

Kempas, K. and Pietiläinen, T. (2016). Pörssiyhtiöiden hallituksissa on entistä enemmän ulkomaalaisia. *Helsingin Sanomat*. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000002912854.html>, [Accessed 27.03.2020].

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (1996). Reading images. The Grammar of Visual Design. London and New York: Routledge.

Kumari, S. and Shivani, S. (2012). A Study on Gender Portrayals in Advertising through the Years: A Review Report. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 54-63.

- Lieber, L. D. (2009). Questions – and Answers. The Hidden Dangers of Implicit Bias in the Workplace. *Wiley InterScience*.
- Litvin, D. R. (1997). The Discourse of Diversity: From Biology to Management. *SAGE Social Science Collections*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 187-209.
- Louvrier, J. (2013). Diversity, Difference and Diversity Management. A Contextual and Interview Study of Managers and Ethnic Minority Employees in Finland and France. *Hanken School of Economics, Department of Management and Organization*. Edita Prima Ltd, Helsinki 2013.
- MacLin, O. and Malpass, R. (2001). Racial categorization of races: The ambiguous race effect. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, Vol. 7, pp. 98-118.
- Maier, C. D. and Ravazzani, S. (2018). Framing Diversity in Corporate Digital Contexts: A Multimodal Approach to Discursive Recontextualizations of Social Practices. *International Journal of Business Communications*, pp. 1-27.
- McKinsey&Company. (2018). Women in the workplace 2018.
- Meriläinen, S., Tienari, J., Katila, S., and Benschop, Y. (2009). Diversity Management Versus Gender Equality: The Finnish Case. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Science*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 230-243.
- Milliken, F. J. and Martins, L. L. (1996). Searching for Common Threads: Understanding the Multiple Effects of Diversity in Organizational Groups. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 402-433.
- Ministry of Employment and the Economy. (2009). Työvoiman poistuma vuosina 2007-2025, Alue- ja toimialatarkastelu. *Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriön julkaisuja, Alueiden kehittäminen*, 62/2009. Available at: <https://docplayer.fi/101461-Tyovoiman-poistuma-vuosina-2007-2025-alue-ja-toimialatarkastelu.html>, [Accessed 05.05.2020].
- Pasztor, S. K. (2019). Exploring the Framing of Diversity Rhetoric in “Top-Rated in Diversity” Organizations. *International Journal of Business Communication*, Vol. 56, No. 4, pp. 455-475.
- Pippert, T. D., Essenburg, L. J. and Matchett, E. J. (2013). We’ve got minorities, yes we do: visual representations of racial and ethnic diversity in college recruitment materials. *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 258-282.
- Point, S. and Singh, V. (2003). Defining and Dimensionalising Diversity: Evidence from Corporate Websites across Europe. *European Management Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 6, pp. 750-761.

Population with foreign background in Helsinki. (2019). Employment and unemployment. Available at: <https://ulkomaalaistaustaisethelsingissa.fi/en/content/employment-and-unemployment>, [Accessed 21.04.2020].

Rudolph, C. W., Wells, C. L., Weller, M. D., and Baltes, B. B. (2009). A meta-analysis of empirical studies of weight-based bias in the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, Vol. 74, pp. 1-10.

Rupp, D. E., Vodanovich, S. J., and Credé, M. (2006). Age Bias in the Workplace: The Impact of Ageism and Causal Attributions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 36, No. 6, pp. 1337-1364.

Schmid, A. (2012). Bridging the Gap: Image, Discourse, and Beyond – Towards a Critical Theory of Visual Representation. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 76-89.

Seppä, A. (2012). Kuvien tulkinta: menetelmäopas kuvataiteen ja visuaalisen kulttuurin tulkitsijalle. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Short, K. G. (2019). Critical Content Analysis in Visual Images. In Johnson, H., Mathis, J., and Short, K. G. (Eds.), *Critical Content Analysis of Visual Images in Books for Young People. Reading Images*. New York: Taylor & Francis Books.

Simon, S. & Hoyt, C. L. (2012). Exploring the effect of media images on women's leadership self-perceptions and aspirations. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 232-245.

Singh, V. and Point, S. (2006). (Re)Presentations of Gender and Ethnicity in Diversity Statements on European Company Websites. *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 363-379.

Singh, V. and Point, S. (2004). Strategic Responses by European companies to the Diversity Challenge: an Online Comparison. *Long Range Planning*, Vol. 37, pp. 295-318.

Talouselämä. (2019). Miki Kuusen ravintolapalvelu Wolt keräsi 110 miljoonan euron rahoituspotin Zuckerbergin rahastolta - Kolminkertaisti liikevaihdon jo 30 miljoonaan euroon. Available at: <https://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/miki-kuusen-ravintolapalvelu-wolt-kerasi-110-miljoonan-euron-rahoituspotin-zuckerbergin-rahastolta-kolminkertaisti-liikevaihdon-jo-30-miljoonaan-euroon/b407b255-d917-4296-9ee7-7c0187215746>, [Accessed 20.07.2020].

Talouselämä. (2018). Siivousyhtiökin tarvitsee teknologiajohtajan – ”Bisnesmalli on samankaltainen kuin Woltilla”. Available at:

<https://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/siivousyhtiokin-tarvitsee-teknologiajohtajan-bisnesmalli-on-samankaltainen-kuin-woltilla/cbfd83d6-063d-3f0a-9f0e-18cb8e436ce4>, [Accessed 10.08.2020].

Tilastokeskus. (2019a). Naiset suorittivat lähes 60 prosenttia kaikista yliopistotutkinnoista vuonna 2018. Available at: http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/yop/2018/yop_2018_2019-05-09_tie_001_fi.html, [Accessed 26.03.2020].

Tilastokeskus. (2019b). Syntyvyyden lasku heijastuu alueiden tulevaan väestökehitykseen. Available at: http://www.stat.fi/til/vaenn/2019/vaenn_2019_2019-09-30_tie_001_fi.html, [Accessed 05.05.2020].

Tilastokeskus. (2014). 1. Työpaikoilla ilmenevä syrjintä. Available at: https://www.stat.fi/til/tyoolot/2013/02/tyoolot_2013_02_2014-05-15_kat_001_fi.html, [Accessed 02.10.2020].

Torvinen, P. (2017). Suomi on kaukana tasa-arvosta, sanoo tutkija – ”Rakenteellisia esteitä on vaikea nähdä, jos niitä ei itse kohtaa”. *Helsingin Sanomat*. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000005142615.html>, [Accessed 29.03.2020].

Vahid, H. and Esmae’li, S. (2012). The Power behind Images: Advertisement Discourse in Focus. *International Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 36-51.

Wang, J. (2014). Criticising images: critical discourse analysis of visual semiosis in picture news. *Critical Arts*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 264-268.

Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2007). A new labour aristocracy? Aesthetic labour and routine interactive service. *Work, Employment & Society*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 785-798.

Windscheid, L., Bowes-Sperry, L., Jonsen, K., and Morner, M. (2018). Managing Organizational Gender Diversity Images: A Content Analysis of German Corporate Websites. *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 152 pp. 997-1013.

Wolt. (2020). Jobs. Available at: <https://wolt.com/en/jobs>, [Accessed 08.07.2020].

Wolt Blog. (2019). 27 kysymystä ja vastausta Woltista ja läheteistä. Mitä lähetti ansaitsee? Moniko heistä on maahanmuuttajia? Säästääkö Wolt sillä, että lähetit eivät ole työsuhteessa? Available at: <https://blog.wolt.com/fin/2019/11/01/27-kysymysta-ja-vastausta-woltista-ja-laheteista/>, [Accessed 28.09.2020].

World Economic Forum. (2020). Global Gender Gap Report. Available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf, [Accessed 30.09.2020].

Ylöstalo, H. (2016). Traces of equality policy and diversity management in Finnish work organizations. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 7/8, pp. 415-428.

Yrittäjät. (2019). Kotisiivousta tarjoava Freska tähtää pörssiin enkelisijoittajien siivellä. Available at: <https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/610904-kotisiivousta-tarjoava-freska-tahtaa-porssiin-enkelisijoittajien-siivella#e247b427>, [Accessed 20.07.2020].

Zhang, L. and Haller, B. (2013). Consuming images: How Mass Media Impact the Identity of People with Disabilities. *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp- 319-334.