This Little Piggy Went to Market

An Antenarrative Analysis of Yle Television News Covering Animal Activism in 2009

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Master's Thesis
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Media and Communication Studies

May, 2015

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HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
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Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty	Laitos – Institution – Department
Faculty of Social Sciences	Department of Social Research

Tekijä – Författare – Author

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Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title

This Little Piggy Went to Market: An Antenarrative Analysis of Yle Television News Covering Animal Activism in 2009

Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject

Media and Communication Studies

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Sidoantal – Number of pages
Master's Thesis	5/2015	94 + appendix

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Animal activists have been criticized in the media ever since the animal rights movement was born in Finland in the 1990s. Justice for Animals filmed undercover footage of tens of Finnish pig farms in 2007-2011 and released the footage on A-studio, and on their website. The disturbing images caused a heated debate on factory-style farming and animal rights in Finland. The conduct of the animal activists was met with both praise and criticism. On one hand, they were seen as criminals, on the other hand, they were given the role of heroes, whose actions revealed shortcomings in the food production industry.

The prevalence of narrative elements in television news has been debated, because they are not seen to have a clear plot or main characters. Traditional narrative methods often synthesize retrospective main narratives that hide counter-arguments and hierarchies. The deconstruction antenarrative method, instead, focused on the analysis of power struggles by examining substories. The research process aimed to examine the kinds of roles that Justice for Animals was given in the substories of Yle television news. The other research question asked what kinds of dramaturgical inequalities were found in the news stories. The data consisted of news stories from Yle Fem and Yle TV1 in December, 2009.

The deconstruction method consisted of eight steps that broke the text down into dualisms and hierarchies, among others. The last step considered the grand narrative formed by the separate news stories. The analysis revealed that Justice for Animals was given contradicting roles even within the same news story. Some of the visual and verbal substories portrayed them as heroes, while others questioned their legitimacy. The drama analysis revealed three forms of dramaturgical inequality that were connected to capitalism, sexism and the drama between people living in cities and the countryside.

The roles given to animal activists in television news were more positive than they were in the 1990s. Animal activists were not equated with criminals to the same extent, but instead they were even portrayed as heroes at times. This may be linked to the heterogenization of Finnish culture and changes in the media field. The most surprising result of the analysis was that there were such significant differences in the roles that Justice for Animals was given in the visual and verbal substories of Yle Fem and Yle TV1.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
antenarrative, deconstruction, television news, Justice for Animals, pig farming, dramaturgical inequality

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UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty	Laitos – Institution – Department
Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta	Sosiaalitieteiden laitos

Tekijä – Författare – Author

Ahti Ilona Kristiina

Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title

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Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject

Viestinnän oppiaine

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Sidoantal – Number of pages
Pro gradu -tutkielma	5/2015	94 + liitteet

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Eläinaktivisteja on kritisoitu mediassa siitä asti, kun eläinoikeusliike syntyi Suomessa 1990-luvulla. Oikeutta eläimille-järjestö kuvasi salaa sikaloita ympäri Suomea vuosina 2007-2011 ja julkaisi videomateriaalin A-studiossa, sekä omilla kotisivuillaan. Kuvat aiheuttivat vilkasta keskustelua sikaloiden tiloista Suomessa ja eläinaktivistien toiminta herätti kommentteja puolesta ja vastaan. Osittain heidät nähtiin rikollisina ja julkisrauhan rikkojina, toisaalta he saivat myös sankarin roolin, joka toiminnallaan paljasti epäkohtia ruoantuotannossa.

Televisiouutisten narratiivisesta rakenteesta kiistellään, koska usein niissä ei ole eheää pääjuonta, eikä yhtä tunnistettavaa päähenkilöä. Perinteiset narratiivit luovat usein keinotekoisen kehyskertomuksen jälkikäteen, joka peittää alleen vasta-argumentit ja hierarkiat. Dekonstruoivan antenarratiivisen metodin avulla sen sijaan analysoidaan narratiivien valtarakenteita ja vasta- ja alatarinoita. Tutkimuksessa tutkittiin sitä, minkälaisia rooleja Oikeutta Eläimille annettiin Ylen televisiouutisten alatarinoissa. Toisessa tutkimuskysymyksessä kysyttiin, minkälaisia dramaturgisia eriarvoisuuksia uutisista oli havaittavissa. Aineisto koostui televisiouutisista, jotka näytettiin Yle TV1- ja Yle Fem -kanavilla joulukuussa 2009.

Analyysi toteutettiin dekonstruoivan antenarratiivisen menetelmän avulla, joka koostuu kahdeksasta osasta, jonka avulla eriteltiin muun muassa dualismeja ja hierarkioita, sekä tarkasteltiin yksittäisten televisiouutisten lisäksi laajempaa narratiivia, jonka erilliset uutiset muodostivat yhdessä. Analyysissa paljastui, että Oikeutta Eläimille järjestölle annettiin erilaisia positiivia ja negatiivisia rooleja jopa saman uutisen sisällä. Visuaalisissa alatarinoissa järjestölle saatettiin antaa sankarin rooli, mutta samassa uutisessa verbaalinen alatarina saattoi kyseenalaistaa heidän toimintaansa. Draama-analyysissa uutisista löytyi kolme eriarvoisuutta, jotka liittyivät kapitalismiin, seksismiin ja draamaan maalla asuvien ja kaupunkilaisten välille.

Aiemmasta tutkimuksesta poiketen, eläinaktivistien saamat roolit televisiouutisissa olivat positiivisempia kuin aikaisemmin. Heidän toimintaansa ei rinnastettu rikollisiin samassa määrin kuin ennen. Tähän saattoi vaikuttaa suomalaisen kulttuurin muuttuminen heterogeenisemmaksi, sekä mediakentän muutokset. Yllättävin tulos liittyi Yle Fem -kanavan ja Yle TV1 -kanavan uutisoinnin eroihin, sillä niiden verbaaliset ja visuaaliset alatarinat poikkesivat paljon toisistaan, joka vaikutti Oikeutta Eläimille -järjestön saamiin rooleihin.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
antenarratiivi, dekonstruaatio, televisiouutiset, Oikeutta Eläimille, sikojen salakuvaus, draama-analyysi

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1. **Introduction**

To a human living in the world, narrative is everywhere. This does not only refer to obvious examples such as fairytales and films, art exhibitions and myths, but to the way humans experience most things around them. According to Barthes (1975) stories are a natural way for humans to perceive the world, and one can even go as far as saying that human beings have never existed without narrative. People from various backgrounds and belief systems share the ability to perceive their history and the events that surround them through narrative.

According to Prince (1982) people from different cultures often identify the same sets of symbols as narratives and nonnarratives. Because of its seemingly global appeal, it is no wonder that narrative research and the theory of narrative, narratology, are used in many fields. Narrative analysis has been popular particularly in the fields of literature and film, but narrative methods are also useful in the field of journalism. (Bird & Dardenne, 2009.)

For this thesis, I have chosen to analyze television news stories covering the undercover filming of Finnish pig factory farming in 2009. Segments of the undercover footage taken by the animal rights organization Justice for Animals were shown on the television news of all four major television channels. The footage, which showed images of filthy and wounded pigs, caused a heated discussion on animal welfare and the justification of trespassing for the sake of gaining information on pig farming. My interest in the case of undercover filming by Justice for Animals leads back to the first release of footage in 2007. I observed that there was a change in the way the media was treating the animal activists compared to previous cases of animal activism in the media. The animal rights activists from Justice for Animals trespassed on the properties of tens of Finnish farmers in 2007, 2009 and 2011, but instead of being cast as the bad-guys in the narrative, it seemed that now their role was more complicated. To find out if this was more than a hunch, I analyzed television news stories from the Finnish Broadcasting Company, Yle with David M. Boje's (2001) deconstruction antenarrative method. I could have chosen other qualitative methods to study the roles given to

animal activists, but the deconstructive method was also able to expose hidden substories and hierarchies that I was interested in revealing.

1.1 Background

There are several reasons why I chose to use narrative theory and analysis in this thesis. First of all, along with my studies in communication, I also study screenwriting. Maybe it goes without saying that I have a passion for stories of all sorts, be they sad or happy, factual or fantasy based. However, this is not the only reason I am drawn to narrative methodologies. In my opinion, narrative approaches are often very suitable to analyzing different kinds of media texts, although it seems that in media studies they are often overshadowed by other qualitative methods, such as discourse analysis. This is surprising to me, because a narrative view can bring out connections, where at first glance there was just chaos. In narrative, new information can be seen through the frame of familiarity, because we are born with the understanding of stories (Barthes, 1975).

However, narrative methods are often perceived to be limited, as they focus on the main story and thus may leave out other voices and points-of-views (Boje, 2001). Not all texts have a coherent structure and clear storyline. Television news can be seen to have quite a fragmentary structure (Montgomery, 2005). Boje's (2001) deconstruction antenarrative method seeks to look at substories and hidden hierarchies beneath the main story, which in my opinion makes it suitable for the analysis of television news.

My interest for the topic of this thesis stemmed from both an interest in narratology, and observations related to the way animal activists were portrayed in the media in 2007-2011. In fact, I was so intrigued with the way the media was treating the representatives of Justice for Animals that I started writing a feature film screenplay based on what I was seeing: the animal rights activists needed the media to have a voice, but how much could they control which roles they were given? To get more information for my script, I contacted the animal rights activists, who were in charge of the undercover filming of the pig farms in 2007-2011 and interviewed them. I also had the chance to interview some pig farmers and hear their side of the story. It was obvious that the farmers were

not happy with the roles they were handed in the media. The pig farmers I interviewed for my screenplay felt that they were not being fairly represented and that the Finnish media was biased in favor of the animal activists. This got me thinking about the whole incident from a more analytical point of view. What were the roles given to the actors in the pig farm filming incident and what else could a narrative analysis of the news reveal?

This thesis gives me the chance to do some in depth analysis of the actual television news stories. I chose to focus on television news, because of my familiarity with audiovisual communication forms. Television news uses spoken language, video and sound to form a whole story, with several substories. What is being said and what is being shown might not always be telling the same story. I was curious how much a narrative analysis could reveal about the hierarchy between animal activists, politicians and other actors concerning the pig farm filming incident. I chose to analyze the television news stories with an antenarrative, deconstruction method. According to David M. Boje (2001) narrative analysis synthesizes a grand narrative, whereas antenarrative revels the voices and stories that the grand narrative leaves out.

According to Juppi (2004, p. 72) the field of journalism is a central arena for social discourse and power struggles between different political groups and ideas. Stories help to make sense of the world, but those in power benefit from a certain type of story. When one narrative is told, another one is eliminated. (Bird & Dardenne, 2009.) According to drama analysis that stems from critical theory, drama is seen as a way for the political and economic elite to control the public opinion(s) by producing images of equality and democracy (Kantola & Vesa, 2013). These images work in favor of majorities and reinforce hegemonies. According to Deegan (1989) the two major forms of inequality that dictate the dramaturgy of social narratives are sexism and capitalism. I was curious to find out if a narrative analysis of the television news would back up these claims, or whether I would find other forms of dramaturgical inequality in a Finnish media context.

The reason I have chosen television news stories from the Finnish public service broadcasting company (Yle) is due to both reasons of interest and availability. Yle was

the only channel that responded to my queries, when I asked for access to television news stories covering the pig farming incident form 2007 to 2011. This was unfortunate, but luckily, Yle was the channel that interested me most to begin with. Yle has a reputation for honesty and objectivity especially concerning its television news (Jääsaari, 2004, p. 8). I was initially interested in analyzing television news stories from 2007, when the first undercover footage of Finnish pig farms shot by Justice for Animals was released. However, access to that material proved to be too expensive to access. Yle has changed its policies and no longer provides free access to its news archives, and the use of their facilities proved too costly. Instead, Yle recommended using Kavi, the National Audiovisual Institute, which is free of charge. I discovered, however, that Kavi only had recordings of Finnish television and radio programs dating back to the beginning of 2009. This automatically narrowed my potential scope of television news stories. I will discuss the process of narrowing down the data in more detail in chapter five.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

An obvious and every day example of the link between narrative and journalism is revealed through the word *story*. In news journalism, a story is a factual account based on a relevant event or phenomenon, and in this sense it clearly differs from the fictional sense of story (Dunn, 2003). According to Bird and Dardenne (2009, p. 207) scholars have long looked at news as a form of storytelling. Dunn (2003) sees visual journalism as stemming from two different traditions: print media and film narrative. The storytelling function of news is also strongly debated (Pietilä, 1995). Some fear that it can lead to journalists simplifying the news in ways that support and reconstruct existing ideologies (Bird & Dardenne, 2009).

However, an antenarrative analysis is able to surpass the problems associated with some narrative methods. Many of them focus on the grand narrative, and pay no attention to what the plot leaves out (Boje, 2001). I have chosen to study the elements of television news broadcasting from the theoretical framework of narratology and use David Boje's

(2001) antenarrative deconstruction method. Deconstruction analysis questions one-sided readings and hierarchies of a story.

According to Juppi (2004) animal activism can be seen as an example of the heterogenization of culture, which shakes up traditional values and beliefs. In this thesis, it is my intention to shine light on the narrative elements found in television news stories covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009 by Justice for Animals, with a particular emphasis on the roles that the animal activists are given. In order to study this, my main research question is:

What are the roles of the animal activists from Justice for Animals given in the subnarratives of Yle television news stories covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009?

In addition to this main question I am also interested in the dramaturgy of social narratives in television news stories. Therefore, my sub-question is:

What are the main forms of dramaturgical inequality in the television news stories?

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. In the following chapter, I will present the rise of the animal rights movement in Finland which started in the mid-1990s and follow up with a description of Justice for Animals and their pig farm filming campaigns in 2007, 2009 and 2011. Because I will analyze television news stories from Yle, the Finnish public service broadcasting company, I will discuss the position of Yle and its news broadcasting in the media landscape. In chapter three, I will present central concepts and theoretical backgrounds for the deconstruction antenarrative method. Narratology and the prevalence of narrative in journalism and television news is a debated topic. I will also discuss the role of the narrator, plot and protagonists in television news. To conclude the chapter, I will present the concept of dramaturgy, and introduce drama analysis that I will be use to reveal hidden inequalities in television news.

In chapter four, I will present David M. Boje's (2001) antenarrative deconstruction method that surpasses the criticism directed at the lack of narrative coherency in television news. Antenarrative seeks to find hierarchies and substories that the synthesizing main narrative may cover up. It is a suitable method for the analysis of television news, because news stories have a fragmentary narrative structure (Montgomery, 2005). I will describe the data analysis process in chapter five, and explain the use of the eight steps of deconstruction that were used to study the roles given to Justice for Animals.

In chapter six I will go over the results and answer both of the research questions. I will conclude the thesis by discussing the results in a broader, social context in chapter seven. In chapter eight, I will evaluate the research process and contemplate further research possibilities.

2. The Rise of the Animal Activism Movement and the Role of Yle

In this chapter, I will present the short history of the animal rights movement in Finland, and the way the movement was received in the media in the 1990s and early 2000s. I will also discuss the position of Justice for Animals in 2007-2011 and introduce their campaigns aiming to reveal issues in the pig farming industry. Justice for Animals shot undercover footage from tens of pig farms, and released the material on A-studio. The footage caused a debate in the media. I will also present the five categories of political action (Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2004, p. 137-138). To conclude, I will discuss the role of Yle, the Finnish public service broadcasting company, and its television news broadcasting.

2.1 The Rise of the Animal Rights Movement in Finland in the 1990s

According to Pirita Juppi's doctoral thesis (2004), Finland's animal rights movement in the late 1990s was a mystery to the media and the public. The movement was a new phenomenon that roused both curiosity and fear in outsiders. Juppi's (2004) data consists of 1204 news and other journalistic pieces from nine Finnish national and regional newspapers between 1995 and 2000. She claims that the role of the media was essential in constructing various contesting discourses. Through the framework of critical discourse analysis she discovered three predominant discourses: demonizing, trivializing and criminalizing discourses. She also presented four less common discourses: patronizing, legitimizing, exoticizing and politicizing discourses. In other words the animal rights movement was mostly labeled as a threat to society. (Juppi, 2004.)

Just as all other social movements, the animal rights movement needs the media to get their message through. According to Juppi (2004), the media is a platform through which to present concrete political demands, such as closing down all fur farms in Finland. It also uses the media to have a chance to define themselves the way they wish to be defined, to strive to form an identity independently. Above all, the animal rights movement needs the media to challenge the general way animals are discussed and to

replace it with a discourse that questions the use of animal exploitation. Through the voice given by the media, they seek to challenge the moral order and prevailing practices related to animals. The animal activists engage in a struggle over how the social problem is defined and who has the power to determine it. For the animal activists, the subordinate position of animals compared to humans is at the center of their mission. However, the animal rights movement needs this to be accepted as a legitimate social problem by others outside their movement. This is not an easy task, because often instead of tackling the social problem that the animal activists are trying to bring forth, the media pays attention to the activists and their possible infringements of the law. So instead of raising awareness for a social problem, the animal activists themselves are defined as a social problem. This means the animal activists are refused the chance to define who they are and what they want, but instead the media gives opposing fronts, such as fur farmers, journalists and politicians a voice. This has led to animal activists being labelled terrorists and criminals from the very start. Because the media is unpredictable, the relationship between the media and the animal rights movement is controversial and divided. The animal rights movement needs publicity, but it often suffers from entering the media field. (Juppi, 2004, p.107-108.)

The discursive clash between different actors caused a heated discussion in the media in the 1990s and early 2000s. To counter the symbolic threat imposed, the roles of the animal rights activists as “others” and the legitimate society as “us” were reinforced in the media. (Juppi, 2004). This is similar to the polarization that is characteristic to war journalism (Pankov, Mihelj, & Bajt, 2011). An example of this is the fact that reporters from Al-Jazeera have referred to Palestinian suicide bombers as “martyrs”. It is language like this that is believed to be one of the reasons why Al-Jazeera is popular in the Arab world compared to Western news channels. In a Western context, Palestinians may be referred to as terrorists, and thus they are given the role of the antagonist. (Al Jenaibi, 2010.)

In fact, according to Juppi (2004) the phrase “The war has begun” was spray-painted on the wall of the first of the four fur farms, where animal activists released tens of foxes into the wild in 1995. Particularly fox pups perished, which caused outrage in the

media. The activists in charge of releasing the foxes were generally referred to as “the fox girls” in the media and were initially accused of cowardly behavior for avoiding the media and not publicly admitting to the crime. Later, when they stepped forth and gave interviews, they were dismissed for being too fame hungry. The next publicity peak came in the winter of 1997-1998. A group of animal activists attempted to free minks from a fur farm, but were instead shot at by an angry farmer. Three of the five activists were wounded in the fire. This caused a media storm. In the early 2000s nothing dramatic happened on the animal rights front and smaller incidents passed without receiving much media attention. The media seemed to grow tired of animal activism and instead turned its focus on other, more heated subjects. (Juppi, 2004.) However, this all changed with the pig farm filming incident by Justice for Animals.

2.2 Justice for Animals

Justice for Animals is an animal rights organization that aims to put an end to fur farming, factory farming, animal testing and recreational and intensive commercial fishing. It is also critical of pet breeding and owning, as well as the use of animals for entertainment e.g. in circuses and dolphinariums. Justice for Animals is the cornerstone of the Finnish animal rights movement. It was founded in 1995 and has a growing base of members. (Justice for Animals website.) According to Juppi (2004) Justice for Animals had over 300 members at the turn of the millenium, but as subscription fees are not mandatory, the number of official members does not tell the whole story. The events organized by Justice for Animals are open to everyone regardless of membership. Justice for Animals passes out flyers, organizes rallies and strives to pressure decision makers. Justice for Animals does not engage in illegal activity, except for civil disobedience. It has organized several campaigns such as Save the Dogs of Karttula in 1998 and the boycott against the clothing brand Marimekko in 2000. The members of Justice for Animals have differing views related to how animal rights should be defended. This is apparent in disputes over whether releasing caged animals and sabotaging livelihoods in the name of animal rights is the right way to go about it. This dispute has been problematic for the organization. (Juppi, 2004.)

2.2.1 The Undercover Pig Farming Incident

2007 was a big year for the Finnish animal rights movement. On November 28th, A-studio, a Yle magazine program, showed undercover footage shot by Justice for Animals from pig farms, henhouses and chicken farms. The activists behind the filming chose to remain anonymous. The videos, which had been shot over the course of a year, were disturbing, showing suffering, even dead animals squeezed in filthy pens and cages. The issues related to animal farming were not new, as the animal rights movement had long criticized the cruelty of animal farming. However, the images were so powerful and shocking that they caused a strong emotional reaction from viewers. According to Juppi (2008), video is often accepted as authentic proof. This was helped by the fact that the footage was shown on Yle, a symbol of trustworthiness (Jääsaari, 2004, p. 9). The discussion that ensued dominated the media for an unprecedented three weeks. The fact that Justice for Animals provided more information little by little kept the media interested. Justice for Animals started off by telling the police about 15 farms, later that number grew to 58 farms. Justice for Animals promised to deliver more material to make sure all was being done to stop these animal welfare offenses. (Juppi, 2008.)

Unlike before, the media now focused on issues related to animal farming and the meat industry. According to Juppi (2008) the polarization between the media and the animal activists that set the tone in the 1990s and early 2000s was practically gone. This, in my opinion is possibly an exaggeration, as traces of this division were quite clear in the analysis I conducted from 2009 (see chapter six). However, it is true that the relationship between the media and the animal activists seemed to have changed, as not just animal activists were vilified. The animal activists also seemed to manage their public image admirably compared to before, and their composure was even lauded by the media. (Juppi, 2008.)

Justice for Animals started a campaign on December 10th, 2009 that focused solely on animal welfare issues in Finnish pig farms. Justice for Animals shot undercover footage from over 30 pig farms all over Finland, which was once again published on A-studio. The organization also set up a website, sikatehtaat.fi, that showcased video and images

from the pig farms in question. (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.12.2009; Suomen Kuvalehti, 28.5.2013.)

Two years after the first undercover footage was released, it became evident that not much had changed concerning animal rights and factory-style farming. The state was criticized for not taking responsibility, as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, downplayed the issue and stressed the role of Finnish Food Safety Authority, Evira. Evira on the hand, claimed that as it had no legal role in animal rights surveillance, and implied that veterinarians should be held accountable. (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.12.2009.)

The activists behind the undercover filming decided to step into the public eye. Karry Hedberg and Saila Kivelä published a video on their website where they openly spoke out about their experiences visiting the pig farms and seeing so much suffering. Karry Hedberg compared the position of animals to that of machines, with no dignity. The animal activists said the reason they were revealing their identities was because they wanted to prove that they were serious. (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.12.2009.)

Eleven pig farmers sued Hedberg and Kivelä and two other members of Justice for Animals for trespassing and/or libel. They demanded prison sentences and more than a hundred thousand euros in damages. The district court of Salo stated on November 15th, 2011 that the material on the sikatehtaat.fi website was authentic and publishing the images and videos was legal. All but one of the charges were dropped. Hedberg was charged with trespassing on one account. The court of Appeal of Turku came to the same ruling on May 24th, 2013. (sikatehtaat.fi.)

A-studio published new footage from Justice for Animals in 2011. These videos were released on their website on December 1st, 2011. They also organized a demonstration in the city center of Helsinki with dead piglets on show. The idea of the event was to inform consumers that the "Christmas ham has suffered in a pig farm and has died because of it." (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.12.2011.) It is worth noting that the pig farm footage shown on A-studio in the media in 2011 did not cause the same kind of stir as it did in 2007 and 2009. Yle channels aired just two news stories covering this topic in

2011, compared to eleven news stories in 2009. Although Kantola and Vesa (2013) point out that moral issues in society tend to keep resurfacing until the issue is resolved, it does seem that the novelty value of the issue, and the shock value of the footage had somewhat faded. According to Juppi (2008) this is typical, as journalism is often accused of having a short attention-span.

2.2.2 Five Categories of Political Action

Before moving on to discussing the Finnish pig farming industry and the public service role of Yle, it is worthwhile to compare the actions of Justice for Animals in 2007-2011 and the "fox girls" from the mid-1990s using Konttinen and Peltokoski's (2004, p. 137-138) breakdown of direct political action. They divide political action into five categories.

Legal means of political action accepted by society:

1. Public lawful demonstrations.
2. Citizens' right to freedom of assembly and freedom of expression that do not require special permit from authorities.

Means of political action that are prohibited or illegal:

3. Civil disobedience, meaning influencing affairs contrary to official provisions, but minimizing violence.
4. Ecotage, meaning open or underground action aiming to damage property and cause symbolic or concrete structural effects.
5. Eco-terrorism, meaning intentional action threatening human safety, seeking to spread fear and horror.

Konttinen and Peltokoski (2004, p. 138) claim that the actions of the "fox girls" could be labeled as ecotage in step four, due to the financial and property damages that took place at the fox farms. Justice for Animals, on the other hand, sticks to civil

disobedience, meaning it belongs to category three. This is something that many would probably dispute, but it is clear that the damages brought on by the undercover filming of pig farms caused no direct financial losses in the form of the likes of wrecked property. The magnitude of how their actions caused losses in ham sales over Christmas, or affected the reputation of certain farmers or their families is another story.

2.3 The Finnish Pig Farming Industry

The Finnish food industry has come a long way from consisting mostly of subsistence farmers to becoming one of the largest industries in the country. After the wars, Finland strived to become a modern welfare state through powerful economic growth. The concepts of production, the market and economic calculations were ingrained in agrarian vocabulary. Agriculture become more than a way of live, it became a business. (Salomaa, 2009.)

One hundred years ago households used over 60% of their income to buy food, whereas now that figure has dropped to 12% in Finland. Even though Finland is part of a global market, the focus on local markets is substantial. 85% of the food we consume is made of Finnish raw materials. The food industry is the fifth largest industry in Finland when comparing labor force and gross value added. The slaughtering and meat processing industry makes up 27% of the gross production, making it the largest field of the Finnish food industry. (Salomaa, 2009.)

Salomaa (2009) writes that there is no denying the importance of the meat, and particularly the pig farming industry, to the Finnish economy. The size of the meat industry has almost doubled over the past 40 years. Out of the 77 kg of meat/person in 2008, 35 kg was pork, making it by far the most consumed meat in Finland. Around 9500 people worked in the slaughtering and meat processing industry, which makes up almost a third of the labor force working in the food industry. The ten largest companies employ three quarters of the labor force. These large companies control the market with their volume, forcing smaller companies to specialize in order to compete with the efficiency of the larger companies. The structural development of the meat processing

industry is leading to “less units producing larger numbers of animal” (Salomaa, 2009, p. 172). It comes as no surprise then, that Justice for Animals decided to target specifically pig farmers.

2.4 The Public Service Role of the Finnish Broadcasting Company Yle

Yle is Finland’s national public service broadcasting company. It operates four national television channels as well as six radio channels. Yle TV1 is the most watched Finnish television channel, and all of Yle’s television channels combined form a daily viewing percentage of almost 42%. The company produces a variety of programs with a range from arts to children’s shows, and a special emphasis on programs aiming for minority groups. Yle is 99, 9% state-owned and is financed by a public broadcasting tax which is a yearly maximum of 143 euros. (Yle website, 2015.)

Public service broadcasting companies have been struggling to legitimate their position in a media landscape that is constantly becoming more commercial and the struggle for viewers is becoming fiercer. Public service broadcasting has always wanted to steer clear from commercial goals. As the role of commercial radio and television has grown all around Europe, Yle has stressed its position as a provider of independent news, free from commercial or state pressure. (Hujanen, 2010.)

Ekström (2000) sees journalism as a marketplace for news and stories. The competition for viewers is growing, which means broadcasting companies are doing what they can to maximize viewers and time spent in front of the television. However, for Yle, it is not just a question of viewers, but a question of values. The position of the public broadcasting company reflects the ongoing values of the society, because it entails perceptions of how the lives of citizens could best be supported. (Leppänen, Heino, & Mäntymäki, 2010, p.13.)

According to Becker and Vlad (2009) news organizations are commonly defined as organizations that strive to generate profit. This ultimately means profit goals influence journalistic decisions. This goes against the public service mission of broadcasting

companies that aims to serve all citizens on equal terms. The public service mission, after all, justifies the use of public funding. (Lowe, 2010.) However, Yle has added their supply of entertainment centered programs during the last few years. This has sparked a heated debate, because many interpret this as stepping on the turf of commercial channels with the help of public funding. (Hellman, 2010.) Public service companies have also been criticized for not taking the fragmentation of the audience into consideration in its variety of programs (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009, p. 406). It is clear that role of Yle and other public service broadcasting companies is disputed and their future is unclear.

2.5 Finnish Television and Yle News

Although there is much talk about the popularity of the internet and the way it is challenging traditional media, television still plays a central role in the lives of most people, and is still watched in large numbers (Couldry, 2012, p. 15). In the field of media studies, the interest in television happened in the late 1980's and 1990's. Television was seen as more than just a text, watching television was and still is a social phenomenon. People like to watch television together with others, and discuss the events unfolding. (Madianou, 2009.)

Finnish television broadcasting is divided into public service, commercial and subscription-based channels. The scope of television broadcasting activities keep broadening, even though it is getting economically less viable. This growth means that the field of television activities is changing constantly. Most of the four million television sets found in Finnish households are HDTC-ready. The time spent watching television has grown. In 2010, Finns spent an average of 21 hours a week watching television. Senior citizens watch more television than any other age group and women form a slightly larger audience than men. 15% of households watch domestic television content online, but mostly television is watched live. The four channels of the Finnish Public Broadcasting Company Yle (TV1, TV2, Yle Teema and Yle Fem) held a total of 45% of all television viewing. (Wiio & Uronen, 2012.)

In the 1990s both Yle and the largest commercial channel MTV started broadcasting short television news reports several times a day. This was because the need for real-time newscasts was becoming a general requirement. Changing technologies have affected the rhythm and routines of journalism, television news included. Transmission of news is expensive as it is, but nowadays news also competes for viewers in a tougher market than ever before. (Kivikuru, 2012.)

Yle is considered a reliable source for news. In fact, the main news report from Yle TV1 is considered to be the most trustworthy news source out of all sources (Jääsaari, 2004, p. 9). Contrary to some beliefs, the popularity of television is not dwindling either. The main news report from Yle TV1 at 20.30 on Monday/week fifteen in 2015 was the most watched program on all Finnish television channels, with a reachability of 1 039 000 viewers (Finnpanel website).

3. Central Concepts and Theoretical Backgrounds

In this chapter I will discuss central concepts and theoretical backgrounds concerning narratology, narrative and dramaturgy and their relationship to journalism and television news. There are opposing views regarding the role and function of narrative in television news, not least because often narrative has been seen to oppose the role of journalism as a provider of information (Pietilä, 1995). In this chapter I will present thoughts on the narrative structures and elements of television news. It is a vast field with many opposing views. I wish to show that the fragmented nature of television news, means it can be challenging to grasp substories and hierarchies within stories with more traditional narrative methods. This is why I have chosen to use the deconstruction antenarrative method. I will also present the concept of dramaturgy and the way a dramaturgical analysis can be used to search for inequalities in a text.

Narrative and story are often used interchangeably, although they are not synonyms. In this thesis, I have translated the Finnish term *kerronnallisuus* as narrative, unless the author has referred specifically to storytelling. I believe that n*arrative* is a better translation for kerronnallisuus than *storylike*, as it entails more than *story*. Of course, the fact that news stories are in fact called *stories* can be confusing. This highlights the challenges concerning the terms narrative and story, because they are both used in everyday speech. The terminology will be discussed more thoroughly in the following subchapters.

3.1 Narrative and Narratology

According to Bal (1997, p. 3) narratology is a theory that is used to analyze and understand narrative texts. Herman (1999, p. 3) sees it in a broader context. Narratology in his opinion, seeks to identify both elements of narrative discourse and features of individual narratives. Hayden White's (1987) description of narratology takes the definition even further away from concrete texts:

> (F)ar from being one code among many that a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative is a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted (White, 1987, p. 1).

Narratology is used in many disciplines, including sociolinguistics, cognitive psychology and historiography, among others. I have chosen to use the theoretical framework of narratology, because of its prevalence and position in media studies, particularly in films and television.

Narrative can be difficult to define. In its simplest form, narrative is defined as being synonymous with "story-like" (Corner, 1999, p. 47). This, however, leads to the challenge of defining what a story is and that is not an easy task to do (Machill, Köhler, & Waldhauser, 2007). One way to describe the bare bones of a story is quite straightforward. According to Aristotle, it requires a beginning, a middle and an ending (Aristoteles. & Saarikoski, 1977). Another way to define story is the following: a story is a narrative of events arranged in a time sequence that does not have an emphasis on causality (Foster, 2002).

Vladimir Propp was a Russian Formalist who created a model for analyzing and categorizing fairytales and his research has been the basis for narrative research (Dundes, 1997). Propp, along with other Formalists in the beginning of the 20th century, was interested in language. They believed that when language draws attention to itself, it also draws attention to its own materiality. They attempted to find methods to investigate structural laws and changed their focus from poetic language study to prose fiction analysis. (Propp, 1971.)

Propp's Morphology of the Folktale remains the strongest single influence upon structuralist narratology. French structuralism took Propp's narrative analysis even further and extended the narrative analysis to all kinds of texts. (Harland, 1999.) Greimas found that this similarity between sentence structure and elements in stories could also be used with media texts. He created the *actantial model*, which is based on narrative roles like the subject, object, sender, receiver, opponent and helper. He

claimed that these roles exist in television news reports and present a useful tool for analysis. (Machill et al., 2007.)

Although the models of Propp and Greimas are interesting and have greatly shaped the field of narratology, they have also been met with strong criticism. Hietala (2006) points out that Marxists saw narratology as yet another mechanism that maintained the power of capitalist ideology. In the 1970's narratology rose to popularity again along with other sense-making theories. The general trend was in favor of theories that were based on the notion that there was no way to be in contact with reality as such, all theory was just an interpretation of the real world. (Hietala, 2006.)

3.2 Narrative and Journalism

Traditionally, the construction of news stories has been described through the concept of the *inverted pyramid*. This means news stories are structured so that key information is given first followed by more information in a decreasing order of significance. This is a dramaturgical choice that stems from the way information is often structured in newspapers. This way the reader/viewer will know as much as possible just by reading/watching the beginning. (Pöttker, 2003.) The inverted pyramid is based on the notion of objectivity and lacks the usual characteristics of narrative, such as protagonists or an emphasis on closure. The inverted pyramid is often linked to *hard news* (Dunn, 2003). Hard news is typically centered on economic life and politics, and its focus is serious, objective and descriptive. *Soft news* on the other hand has a personalizing and depoliticizing quality (Prior, 2003). Television news has been respected, because it has been perceived as trustworthy and fact-based, which are attributes that traditionally fall under the category of *hard news.* However, Fisher (1987), sees narrative as not just an example of *soft news*, but rather a meeting place for both *hard* and *soft news.*

Communication has not always been viewed in this way. According to Fisher (1987) serious and rational discourse had become the respected mode of communication by the twentieth century. Rhetoric and poetic had become less respectful and irrational ways of

communicating. Fisher (1987) claims that human beings are inherently storytellers and have the ability to recognize whether a story is coherent and plausible. This, he believes, leads to the conclusion that narrative thinking combines both rational and irrational thinking. Human communication is based on the principles of probability and fidelity, the truthfulness of a story. A story is believable, when it is structurally coherent, materially coherent and characterologically coherent. Structural coherence refers to good argumentation, material coherence on the other hand, means that counterarguments and relevant information is included in the story. (Fisher, 1987.)

Characterological coherence is central to all stories, and it is an aspect that I have chosen to focus on in this thesis. Fisher (1987) points out that is essential to be able to interpret the motives of all "characters" in the news, the anchors, journalists and anyone who is interviewed, because according to Fisher, a story is believable if its characters, both as narrators and characters, behave predictably and according to the values that are expected of them. It is important to determine a character's motives, because this leads to trusting the character, and trust leads to belief. (Fisher 1987, p. 47.)

I find Fisher's thinking very interesting, when it comes to analyzing television news. Main characters of television news are usually members of the economic and political elite, and they are expected to tell the truth (Juppi, 2004). I decided to focus on the roles given to Justice for Animals in television news, because I was curious whether they would be presented as protagonists, antagonists or if they would just be given a supporting role. If the characters are not believable, the story is not believable (Fisher, 1987, p. 47). This means that it is in no way insignificant how the characters or actors of television news are represented. Studying the roles given to different actors in television news can be very insightful to evaluate power relation and hierarchies.

In my opinion, it is difficult to overlook narrative, when discussing journalism. According to Fisher (1987, p. 63) humans make sense of the world by shaping and continuing stories in intellectual and spiritual communities that form a collective interpretation of the world. Fisher points out that the world as we know it is formed by a number of stories that humans have chosen and debated collectively (Fisher, 1987,p.65).

According to Hietala (2006, p. 96) even the most detailed and factual news story is still a story that requires making the choice of what to include, what to leave out and in what order to structure it, just as in any other work of fiction. After all, as Hietala (2006, p. 96) points out, narrative is always ideologically loaded. Hietala (2006) also claims that genres are an inherent part of journalism that entail decisions that are unique to the news genre, such as the national aspect and the cause and effect structure that gives the narrative its lure.

The sociological turn of the 1980s and 1970's brought on the turn away from the research of journalism's conventions towards an interest in the media texts themselves. This included narrative analysis and a broader conception of where storytelling devices are used. This was linked to a growing interest in elite news organizations and the role of journalism in maintaining dominant ideologies. (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009.) According to Bird and Dardenne (2009), the notion of journalism as storytelling was actively explored by scholars and professionals in the field by the 1980s. Still journalists are expected not to pick sides in the given discourse, but instead thrive for objectivity (Kunelius, 2000).

In Ekström's (2000) opinion the factual and information laden approach of television journalism has been exaggerated. He finds the division of journalism into entertainment and information unhelpful, because they do not rule each other out. He claims that television would have never reached the heights of popularity that it has without the narrative tools it uses. Hartley (2009) also finds the polarization of narrative and factual journalism artificial. In fact, historically, popular culture and serious journalism are both part of the same realist textual system. The early European press was a union of realism and narrative means. The aim was to spread truths in the public through the help of engaging narratives. (Hartley, 2009.)

Television news has been designed to give off an impression of factuality and reliability through its structure and presentation (Ekström, 2000). However, television journalism also uses its dramaturgical potential to capture the attention of the audience. Ekström (2000) presents five narrative characteristics of a journalistic text: characters, order,

points, resolution and multiple levels. With order, Ekström (2000) emphasizes the importance of the order of events and interviews, with points, he refers to clues and cues on how the viewer is to interpret the text they are watching. Resolution signifies some sort of ending to the text that is satisfactory to the audience. With multiple levels, Ekström means that narratives can also be tied to a broader story about culture or society. Because my interests for this thesis lie in the study of roles in particular, it is interesting to compare what Fisher (1987, p. 47) has said about characters to the point Ekström (2000) makes. Not only do characters need to be believable (see Fisher 1987, p. 47), but they need to be dramaturgically captivating in one way or the other to give off a feeling of trustworthiness (Ekström, 2000). It is no wonder then, that according to Juppi (2004, p.74), newsworthy news is often presented in a way that borrows its conventions from the theatre. Events are personified and these characters may even be given traits of mythical heroes. Political issues are portrayed, as a battleground for heroes and villains in conflict. Political news often follows the structure of a classical drama and is built around archetypal roles. (Juppi, 2004; Bird & Dardenne, 2009.) Often, it is possible to draw out the heroes and villains of television news, which is precisely what I aim to do in my analysis.

The question I will seek to answer in chapters six and seven is how this polarization is evident in the news stories centered on the undercover filming of pig farms by Justice for Animals in 2009.

3.3 Narrative and Television News

There are many different kinds of formats, types and lengths of television newscasts, but they share a lot in common. In this chapter I will present previous research on the narrative analysis of television news stories and the criticism that the prevalence of narrative in television news has received. I will also discuss the role of the narrator and the protagonists of television news in more detail.

The newscast has unique features that separate it from other material on television, and it usually starts and finishes with distinguishable music or sound. The news anchor

works as a kind of narrator and presents several news stories. (Pietilä, 1995, p. 173.) Narrative can be found both in the newscast and the separate news stories. Because I was above all interested in analyzing the news stories that focused on the pig farm filming incident, I chose to analyze separate news stories.

The study of the pragmatics of language are concerned with ideologies and patterns in texts. A narrative approach can take into account what is spoken, heard and what is seen in still or moving frames. This makes narrative analysis a contender for not only the analysis of tabloids or newspapers, but also television. (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009.) These are precisely also the strengths of the deconstruction antenarrative method, which is why it is surprising that it has not been used more. Not only can it be used to reveal ideologies, but one of its strengths as a narrative method is the fact that it is very versatile. (Boje, 2001.) It can be used to study most aspects of an audiovisual text. The deconstructive antenarrative method is also suitable for both a more specific and a more general analysis. I will mostly be looking at news stories separately in my analysis, but I will also examine the kind of narrative the stories form as a whole, as a grand narrative. This is part of the last step of the deconstruction analysis that I will be presenting in more detail in chapter four.

The deconstruction antenarrative method can also surpass most of the criticism that other narrative methods have received. Next, I will present criticism towards the prevalence of narrative in television news. Indeed, if news stories lack narrative coherence (e.g. Ytreberg, 2001), what is the point of analyzing them with a narrative method? This is where the strengths of the antenarrative method step in. The deconstruction antenarrative method seeks to look behind the fragmentary form of television news, and go beyond the main storyline. The method digs into narrative elements, such as structures, polarizations, plots and characters, but rejects the notion of a synthetizing dramatic arc (Boje, 2001.)

Not everyone agrees with the extent of similarities between narrative and television news. In their studies of classic news stories, Bell & Garrett (1998, p. 90) come to the conclusion that news stories usually do not have a strong linkage between sentences.

Many have come to the same conclusion, when it comes to the structure of television news. According to Corner (1999) the narrative plot of television news is much less continuous than that of films. The low narrative coherence of visual clips combined with the fact that average news story are short, naturally restricts the choice of narrative devices. (Corner, 1999.)

According to Montgomery (2005) television news often fails to show any storytelling characteristics. The actions presented in television news are usually too incomplete to form plot, and no identifiable characters of protagonists are exhibited. Narrative is part of the structure, but only as an occasional tool. News does not rely on narrative, but it always relies on pictures to get the message through to viewers. In his opinion then, television news is above all interplay between the verbal and the visual. (Montgomery, 2005.)

Ellis (1992) agrees that the structure of television news lacks coherence, is fragmentary and has no clear protagonists. He claims television narrative is missing the element of closure; in other word it has a beginning, middle, but no ending. Opposing Jaramillo's (2009) view that television news has borrowed its narrative form from fiction, Ellis (1992) argues that fictional forms of television are in fact borrowing from non-fictional forms. He claims television news was the first program to endlessly update events, but never synthesize them (Ellis, 1992, p. 145).

Ellis (1992) also views television narrative to be segmented in nature. Television news does have an element of repetition, but it is different from the one found in classic cinema narrative. The news shows viewers something new continuously, but this is never directed towards a final goal, closure. This segmented nature is partly due to the circumstances in which television news are watched. Television news is usually watched at home, which makes it an interruptible environment. (Ellis, 1992.)

Machill et al. (2007) want to make a distinction between narrative form and other ways of conveying current issues like offering guidance and simply reporting facts. The strength of narrative communication is the fact that it has a lot in common with the

characteristics of the medium of television itself. Their strengths lie in the ability to convey emotion, while being relatable and entertaining. Yet rationality, knowledge and information are also given space, but often from a more emotional point of view. This powerful combination is the reason behind the success of narrative structure in television news. (Machill et al., 2007.)

Narrative structure does not aim at fictionalizing news content, though that fear has been raised. Machill et al. (2007) suggest a new approach to the debate between narrative structures and the inverted pyramid in television news. Television news can be organized between two poles: the descriptive and the narrative. This way, television news can be constructed in a factual, but narrative way. (Machill et al., 2007.)

It is not only the structure of television news that is being debated. A narrative aspect of television news that has received a lot of attention from scholars is the role of the narrator. Ytreberg (2001) does not perceive the voiceover tradition of anchors as a narrative device, but rather, an example of a feature that belongs to the inverted pyramid. He claims that the connection between the images and the voiceover in news stories is usually loose and associational, not dramaturgically built. He states that that the role of narrative is subordinate to the descriptive style of the inverted pyramid. However, in his opinion, the narrative structure of television news is becoming more common. This, he stresses can be seen as a shift between textual models, not so much as a takeover of the narrative structure. (Ytreberg, 2001.)

The voice-over narrator is expected to be reliable: the symbol of truth and objectivity (Dunn, 2003). Opposing the view of Ytreberg (2001), Bal (1997), sees the narrator as the most central concept in the analysis of narrative, because the style and choices of the narrator always gives a text a certain character. Among other tools of analysis, Bal herself (1997), suggests moving from actor to character analysis and giving room for the role of the narrator. The news voice-over narrator can be seen to tie image and sound together and deepen the wanted point of view (Pietilä, 1995, p. 14). The narrator helps create a world with rules of its own.

Bal (1997, p. 175) also points out that narrative analysis is useful even when the text at hand appears nonnarative, because narrative is formed in the mind of the reader or viewer. This is where the strengths of the deconstruction antenarrative method lie, because it can tackle elements that may lack a coherent narrative structure, and not focus on the role of the recipient (Boje, 2001). (Bal, 1997, p. 175.)

Bal (1997, p. 175) also claims that reactions to stories change depending on what medium is being used. According to Ridell (1998, p. 141), negativity, crises, wars and natural disasters are often headliners of television news, especially if they have to do with politics and economy. The protagonists of television news are often heads of states and military and economic leaders. The role of citizens is usually to appear as an extra on the side. There is also a strong tendency to building the monolith "us", which represents the people as a mass, with one shared vision. The affairs of The United States and the rest of the Western world and are portrayed in television news more often than those of other countries in Western television news. (Ridell, 1998, p.141.)

Animal activism breaks the law and touches on moral sensitivities, which is why it can bring about the same kind of formation of "us" versus "them" (Juppi, 2004). This is why it is not a stretch to compare war journalism to the news coverage of the undercover pig farm filming incident. I will elaborate on this topic in chapters six and seven.

3.4 Dramaturgy and Television News

In addition to being interested in the antenarrative analysis of the Yle news stories, I will be using the concept of dramaturgy in my methodology and analysis. Dramaturgy considers the way in which a story or narrative is told. It is centered on what devices are used to tell a story and how to keep the audience interested. Dramaturgy embodies storytelling devices such as tones of voice, camera movements and changes in plot order. (Koivumäki, 2011.) This is why *dramaturgy* is a concept that also works well in the realm of television.

Dramaturgy refers to the active decisions the creator(s) of the text takes to make the story come alive. Dramaturgy is what screenwriters and playwrights use to breathe life into a story. Koivumäki (2011) understands dramaturgy as the use of any material selected during the creation process for the purposes of building a performance for the audience to experience. As a concept, dramaturgy is handy, because it broadens the scope of television news analysis. It is by no means indifferent what news clips are chosen to be presented and what tone of voice is used. These choices are not neutral, they take a stance, and this is what makes them dramatic choices.

Dramaturgy can be used to analyze many things, such as roles in media texts, but also social movements. Benford and Hunt (1992) define social movements as power plays between protagonists and antagonists in a social setting. The media takes part in this power struggle by portraying the events through characterization into roles, all the while claiming to be objective throughout the process. (Benford & Hunt, 1992.)

According to Kantola (1998) dramaturgy is a useful term. Because television news is centered on real life events, viewers are drawn to watching it. This is true to drama in general: movies and television shows that claim to be based on real events fascinate viewers. Kantola (1998) makes an interesting point, when she compares the dramaturgy of television news not to that of movies, but to soap operas that seem to have a never-ending dramatic arc. According to her, television news and soap operas do not have a beginning, middle and an ending. Instead, they have an ongoing midpoint that is never resolved, because new drama is introduced every day. This open ending also serves as a kind of cliffhanger that keeps the viewer coming back for more. (Kantola, 1998.)

A dramaturgic analysis of television news is particularly efficient in revealing bigger trends inside stories that are formed as a combination of countless choices made by the production team in the newsroom. According to Turner (1988, p. 23), a journalist in the newsroom can be seen as a kind of master-of-ceremonies, conducting the use of visuals and sounds, facial expressions and gestures in the text that all influence the dramaturgy of the performance that the audience is watching. The mode of dramaturgical analysis I will be using in this thesis is the *drama analysis*.

3.5 Drama Analysis

As has been stated earlier, dramaturgy seeks to reveal what kind of drama is affective to a viewer (Koivumäki, 2011). It can also be used to reveal what is hidden beneath the bigger picture and helps outline hierarchies and inequalities in a text.

According to Held (1980), the achievements and features of the Frankfurt School, also known as critical theory, became one of the key elements in the formation of the New Left, which believed that the present distribution of power worked towards defending the economic, political and cultural status quo (see also Bird & Dardenne, 2009). Many found that critical theory provided an interesting interpretation of Marxist theory, particularly with its stress on mass culture, which had not been thoroughly explored by other approaches of Marxism. Critical theory claims that the capitalist economy produces culture in the same way as any other commodities. Capitalism produces a culture industry that does not strive for quality, but standardizes culture and avoids individuality. (Pietilä, 2005, p.146.)

In the 1960s several trends of Western Marxism surfaced that challenged the positivist-behavioral field of mass communication studies. What these trends had in common was the fact that they were opposed to the dominant capitalist economic-political system. They wanted to prove that the media was not a distributor of impartial information, but instead supported the prevailing economic and political power. According to some New Left movements, not only the content of commercial media, but also that of the public service media is determined by the capitalist structure of the economy. (Pietilä, 2005, p. 146.)

In *drama analysis* that stems from critical theory, drama is seen as a way for the political and economic elite to control the public by producing images of equality and democracy (Kantola, 1998). According to Deegan (1989, p. 19) modern society is organized through theatrical metaphors that are controlled by anonymous elites. In fact, this forms a dramaturgical society, which controls people's attitudes and values through the use of communication and the arts. These images of democracy shape what people want, while they further the interests of the elite. These images discriminate against

minorities and reinforce hegemony. Deegan points out that when communities are not in charge of their own rituals, this has long-lasting effects. According to Deegan (1989, p. 20), differing interpretations are repressed under two major forms of inequality: sexism and capitalism. Capitalism dictates the rules of the drama and molds what is perceived to be natural. Sexism is evident in images that repeat gender stereotypes and positioning that promotes male hegemony, and ultimately marginalizes women. These are core forms of inequality according to Deegan (1989, p. 20), because they present social rules in a variety of situations, categorize social situations and organize experiences in everyday life. These core codes repress certain groups of people that, in fact, might form a large part of the community (Deegan, 1989, p. 21). According to Turner (1988, p. 35), when consensus over key values no longer exists in a complex community, and redressive action from actors in a position of power fail, or the elite loses its legitimate role, it can lead to a social crisis.

New Left movements have been criticized for not grasping the tensions of society, but instead exaggerating the power and cohesion of capitalism (Bird & Dardenne, 2009). Critical theory has also been accused of viewing the audience as a passive mass, unable to make meaningful evaluations of their own (Pietilä, 2005). However, in my opinion, critical theory still has a lot to offer to the field of communication studies. *Drama analysis* in particular, is very interesting from the point of view of visual journalism. As the animal activists from Justice for Animals oppose the commodification of animals and emphasize the inherent value of pigs (Justice for Animals website), it is no wonder that their values collide with the aims of the pig farming industry. Animal activists can be interpreted as a minority group, and the fact that both of the representatives of Justice for Animals that were interviewed in the Yle television news were women, makes the pig farm filming case fertile ground for an analysis of dramaturgical inequalities. It is important to point out, however, that the most common modes of inequality that Deegan (1989) mentions were found in an American setting, and findings in Finnish television news may be quite different.

4. The Deconstruction Antenarrative Method

In this chapter, I will present the deconstruction antenarrative method. David M. Boje's (2001) deconstruction antenarrative method is an interesting alternative to more traditional narrative methods. Boje (2001) claims that many narrative methods seek to synthesize the main story at the expense of substories. This means that hierarchies and opposing views are easily drowned out in the analysis. The deconstruction method, however, seeks to bring out hierarchies, dualities and hidden power struggles. I think that it is an underused method in media studies and is well-suited for the analysis of television news. Like any method, it is not without its restrictions. I had to pay attention not to replace one authoritative center with another, among other things. I will conclude this chapter with some ethical discussion.

4.1 The Antenarrative Deconstruction Method

Chapter two presented the multitude of differing voices regarding the role and amount of narrative in television news. I also touched on the challenges related to narrative methods that might not take the fragmentary form of television news into consideration. For a long time, I was fairly certain that I would use a narrative method suitable for analyzing either film or fairytales for this thesis. I considered using Propp's folktale method and other more classic narrative methods that had previously been used to examine journalistic texts. However, I kept feeling that they would leave something essential out from the data, as television news is not necessarily structured like a film, or children's tale. Television news is always referring to previous news stories and other media programs, themes and events, and instead of telling one story, several substories are presented to the audience. Many of the narrative methods I considered also lacked a way to tackle the power struggles I was interested in unraveling.

The feeling I had was reinforced, when I watched the Yle television news stories covering the incident of undercover pig farm filming in 2009 for the first time. It seemed challenging to incorporate the television news stories as a whole: speech, sound and image narrative using methods that had been developed for analyzing folktales.

Initially, I concentrated solely on the narrative structure of speech, but I soon realized that I couldn't separate what I was seeing from what I was hearing. Watching a news anchor speak, while an image of a piglet peering behind the bars of its pen is being shown, affected the way I understood what was being told. Images are an important part of effective storytelling, because the use of each frame is a dramatic choice (Kantola, 1998).

I wanted to find a method that could capture the fragmented nature of television news storytelling. David M. Boje's (2001) concept of antenarrative, felt like a solution to this challenge, as antenarrative offers methods to discover what is going on behind the scenes of the story. Antenarrative is derived from the terms *ante* and *narrative*, which together form the meaning "earlier than narrative". The noun ante also has an etymology that refers to gambling, which tellingly links storytelling to something uncertain, but speculative by nature. According to Boje (2001) stories are antenarrative when they lack a proper plot sequence and the coherence required in narrative theory. These stories are often too spread apart to be rightfully captured by retrospective sensemaking, which is what narrative methods traditionally seek to do. According to Boje (2001) narrative requires plot and coherence. In his view, traditional narrative methods synthesize meanings, thus hiding other interpretations and excluding different points of views. This is an important point, particularly relating to television news that seek to appear as objective as possible.

Boje (2001) has used antenarrative methods to analyze organizational communication. Considering the prevalence of journalism's narrative nature, I am surprised to not have found cases were antenarrative methods have been used to analyze media content. In my opinion some antenarrative methods are especially well-suited to analyze the form of television news, because television news too is fragmented and does not necessarily have a classic narrative structure, with a beginning, middle and an ending. Instead, as (Kantola, 1998) claims, the dramaturgy of television news resembles the dramatic arc of soap operas that never reach a conclusion, but are instead caught in a never-ending midpoint, because new drama or news, is delivered each day.

Boje (2001) presents several different antenarrative methods in his book *Narrative Methods for Organizational & Communication Research*. The one that I felt was most suitable for the analysis of television news was the antenarrative deconstruction model. Television news in Finland has quite a standard format and style that hides the fact that news stories are always loaded with ideologies, and actors are given roles that might vary even within the same news story (Juppi, 2004). Deconstruction unmasks authoritative voices. According to Boje (2001), deconstruction happens spontaneously, whenever the audience confronts a text, but it can also be done analytically, in steps and used as a method. Deconstruction analysis questions the legitimacy of the one-sided readings, form, coherence and structure presented in any given story.

Boje (2001) presents eight analytic moves to decenter and deconstruct stories:

1. Duality search. What are the bipolarities in the text?

2. Reinterpret the hierarchy. Whose voice is dominant?

3. Rebel voices. What voices are not being expressed in this story?

4. Other side of the story. What is the other side of the story? Reverse it.

5. Deny the plot. Who is the main character?

6. Find the exception. Who or what is breaking the mold?

7. Trace what is between the lines. What other stories are being told?

8. Resituate. The point of doing steps 1-7 is to find a new perspective, beyond dualisms, or singular viewpoints. Restory the story.

4.2 Limitations of the Method

To my knowledge, the antenarrative deconstruction method has not been used to analyze television news, or possibly journalistic texts in general. This was both exciting and challenging, because in a sense, I was on my own. The eight steps of deconstruction

analysis are broad and ambiguous. Someone else using this method to analyze television news would probably come up with dualities, hierarchies and roles that I did not notice, or possibly disagree with the ones I discovered. Subjectivity is an essential part of qualitative research (e.g. Alasuutari). However, using a method in a new terrain brings along challenges, particularly because I cannot compare how someone else has used the method with another media text. Did they find the same steps challenging? Were the first steps essential in their analysis like they were in mine, or did they get the most out of later steps and why? Particularly step eight was challenging, because resituating the story could be done in endless ways. It would have been helpful to compare the process to someone else's. David M. Boje (2001) demonstrates the use of the method in an organizational context. There are differences in narrative approaches to organization studies and media studies. However, the similarities between the two fields are striking, as is apparent from this quote from Boje:

> Organization study, in my view, has rarely stepped outside the single-voiced, third-person narrative analysis to gaze at the conditions of antenarrative. My goal is to embrace narrative analysis alternatives that would tell organization stories differently, that would resituate narrative analysis to rebalance the hierarchical domination of narrative over story. (Boje, 2001, p.17.)

This quote sums up why I felt that the antenarrative deconstruction analysis could also be suitable for television news. If one were to replace the word "organization" with "media text", or even "television news", the quote would still make sense and the criticism would ring true. Deconstruction offers a way to question the ideology and hierarchy of a system, so why not a media text? Television news stories have been analyzed from a narrative point of view, but the analysis has often stopped short at bipolarities, such as in war journalism. Deconstruction looks at the broader picture.

The prevalence of narrative in television news is debated, but the other methods used in narratology also have their limits in getting most out of the elements that are there. The deconstruction method is not without its flaws, but neither is any method. With this in

mind, I ended studying Boje' (2001) examples of the use of the eight steps of deconstruction. These included, for example, the reversal of a story told by the CEO of a company to a university conference audience (p. 25) and the outlining of substories that countered capitalism in Marxist texts (p. 30). I also used my know-how from screenwriting to highlight obvious narrative elements, such who was speaking, for how long and from what angle. Each of the eight steps has a function, and nearly each step revealed something new from the data. It is possible that I would not have felt as confident using a new method to analyze television news, if it were not for my background in screenwriting.

It is important to remember that the aim of deconstruction analysis is not to replace one authoritative center with another, but to shed light on an ongoing process of change (Boje, 2011). The analysis was a challenge, but it also felt rewarding to undercover what was left untold and what narrative choices were in fact being made in each television news story. I feel that this eight step model was able to uncrack some of what went on under the conventions of each particular television news story.

4.3 Ethical Discussion

Ethically this method was challenging at times, because it is difficult to try and be as objective as possible. It is obvious that the discussion of animal welfare is close to my heart, after all I have chosen to write a full-length screenplay on the subject. Juppi (2004) used to be involved in the animal rights movement herself, which she openly discusses in her doctoral thesis. Although I have not been involved in similar movements, I have had to contemplate my own position regarding the subject matter of this thesis. I have tried to be aware of where my sympathies lie and how that affects my research. I have done a lot of research for my screenplay that was not included in this thesis, and most of the moral discussions that I had with myself are evident in the character arc of my main character.

One of the most important rules of drama is that it is necessary to understand your characters to be able to write complex, touching and above all, honest characters. This

entails having respect for them. The same could be said about conducting research, expect the characters in question are real people. This is something I tried to be aware of throughout the research process. Some of the pig farmers, whose farms Justice for Animals had filmed, suffered as a consequence of the media scrutiny (Helsingin Sanomat, 21.3.2010). The whole incident of undercover filming was a sensitive matter that roused emotions from many sides (e.g. Suomen Kuvalehti, 28.5.2013). Some of the things the actors in the television news said might have been spoken out on the spur of the moment, as there was a lot of stress involved for many. I tried to examine the situation from the point of view of all actors.

It was also important to remember that the way the actors in the Yle television news were represented was a combination of conscious media play and narrative decisions made by the news production team either deliberately or subconsciously. The concept of *role* may carry baggage, as it can be interpreted as a form of pretending, but this is not what I was after. I simply tried my best to interpret what was being said and heard and draw my conclusions from that alone. This, of course, is not possible, as it is hard to escape your own set of presuppositions and values, but I attempted to be aware of them throughout the research process. The fact that more than half of the data was in Swedish also meant that I had to pay extra attention to the interpretations I was making. It was easier to give an in depth analysis on the news stories that were in Finnish, which might mean that I was more critical towards the news stories from Yle TV1. This challenge was highlighted, when I picked up on surprising differences in the news stories between Yle TV1 and Yle Fem. I discuss these findings in more detail in chapter six.

5. Analysis of the data

In this chapter I will go through the data analysis process. I will begin by examining the reasons for choosing the data and discussing how I narrowed it down. I will continue by describing the television news stories, as well as the multifaceted process of analysis. Yle has changed its practices, and now asks for a fee to use its broadcasting archives. This led me to use the software at Kavi, the National Audiovisual Institute, to watch the selected television news stories from both the Swedish speaking channel Yle Fem and the Finnish speaking Yle TV1.

5.1 Narrowing Down the Focus

In this thesis, my focus is on the narrative elements found in the television news stories of Finnish speaking channels Yle TV1 and Swedish speaking Yle Fem covering the pig farm filming incidents, with an emphasis on the roles that Justice for Animals are given. Initially, I was interested in the television news coverage of all four major television channels in Finland: Yle TV1, Yle TV2, MTV and Nelonen.

I contemplated comparing the television news stories of different channels, because I was intrigued whether there would be differences in the way the representatives of Justice for Animals were portrayed. My hypothesis was that the more commercial channels would lean towards a more narrative approach, with an emphasis on plot and emotional elements, such as strong visuals and possibly characterization to heroes and villains. In the end, I came to the conclusion that the differences between channels might not be as stark as they are in countries with a more diverse media field, such as the 24/7 media coverage in the United States. According to Jaramillo (2009), the 24 hour news cycle has led to fierce competition for audiences, which results in a Hollywood like narrative structure that aims at simplifying and dramatizing events to the extreme.

I contacted representatives of all major channels, and asked for access to their television news coverage on the pig farm filming incidents from 2007, 2009 and 2011. Yle was

the only broadcasting company that responded to my inquiries. This automatically ruled out the comparison of news stories from different news channels outside of Finland's national public service broadcasting company. However, the more I read about the undercover pig farming incident, and as I watched the news stories for the first time, I realized that it was natural to focus on Yle for several reasons. First of all, Yle has a particular significance and position in the media field, as I discussed in chapter two. Yle was also a natural choice due to the fact that in all three cases, the undercover footage from the pig factory farms was first shown on A-Studio, a magazine program on Yle. A-studio is referred to several times during the television news. It is possible that MTV and Nelonen might not have been as interested in covering the pig farming incident as Yle, due to the fact that the story broke on a different channel.

Another decision I had to make had to do with the time frame of the pig factory incidents. Justice for Animals has had three campaigns over the span of 2007-2011, where animal activists have broken into pig farms and shot undercover footage of pigs and the premises. Each time this footage has first aired on A-studio, and it has caused a stir in the media thereafter. I was keen to analyze the news from 2007, when the case was new, and the media was possibly more involved than in the following campaigns of 2009 and 2011 (Juppi, 2008). Unfortunately, the records of the National Audiovisual Institute only have access to Finnish broadcasting from January 2009 onwards. The news stories from the campaign in 2011 were ruled out, because Yle aired just two news stories on the topic and the data felt insufficient for an analysis with much merit.

I began by watching all Yle news stories relating to the undercover pig factory filming from 2009. There were eleven news stories all together, but I left out four from my analysis. Four of the news stories were from Yle TV1, five were from the Swedish speaking channel Yle Fem and two were regional news stories. The seven news stories that I picked were sufficient in length and had the voices of several actors on display, either visually or audibly. Some of the news stories I watched simply had a voice-over stating that Justice for Animals had released undercover footage of pig farms, while short clips of the footage were shown. I ruled these news stories out because they were simply not sufficient in duration to produce a meaningful reading, narrative or

otherwise. The news stories I picked ran from a span of 31 seconds to a minute and fifty three seconds.

Originally, I had not planned to include news stories from the Swedish speaking Yle channel Yle Fem, because I feared that the language barrier might prove to be problematic, as Swedish is not my mother tongue. However, Yle Fem had the most news coverage on the topic out of all Yle channels, and indeed, four out of the seven news stories I picked for the analysis were from Yle Fem. Three of the four Yle Fem news stories that are included in the analysis were more than a minute long, two of them almost reaching the two minute mark. After tentatively watching some of Yle Fem's news stories, I felt confident that my language skills would not be a hindrance, and I decided to include Yle Fem news stories into my scope of analysis.

5.2 Description of the Data

All seven news stories can be instantly recognized as television news stories. They have distinctive features of television news such as the voice-over, the anchor, interviews in the studio and/or on location and ambiance sounds (Pietilä, 1995, p. 173.) All but one of the news stories included all of these elements, with the exception of the shortest news story (31 seconds). This news story by Yle TV1 included only an introduction and voice-over of the anchor. Although it stood out in this manner, I chose to include it in my analysis due to the powerful tensions unfolding between the footage that was shown and the words that were spoken in the voice-over. Two of the news stories were from Yle Fem from the same night (12.12.2009). Although there were many similarities between the two news stories, I chose to include both of them in my analysis, because they differed in surprising ways. They were not the same length and I was intrigued to find out which actor in case was given more room to express their point of view.

All television news stories included the undercover footage shot by Justice for Animals from different pig farms. However, the footage used varied greatly. Some of the footage was more shocking in nature than others. Some of the news stories showed mildly disturbing images of dirty interiors of the farms and pigs with wounds, while others

showed rough footage, such as the head of a pig lying in the corner of a staple still inhabited by pigs. One news story also showed a pig that was clearly suffering and seemed gravely ill. At times the voice-overs focused on the brutality of the images, by commenting on them. Other times the legitimacy and authenticity of the footage was questioned by the voice-over of the journalist or the anchor.

5.3. Data Analysis Process

The data analysis process started off with some challenges. After I decided that I would focus on Yle news stories, I contacted a representative from Yle. They informed me that the policies in Yle had changed and it was now impossible to use their video archives free of charge (Yle, personal communication, 25.10.2013). Instead, they charged and hourly rate of 10 euros.[1] It was obvious that this would prove too expensive, so I ended up using the services of Kavi, the National Audiovisual Institute, which is free of charge. Kavi has an archive on almost all broadcasting from Finnish television channels starting from 2009. However, Kavi archives do not recognize searches using keywords, but instead are organized by dates. The representative from Yle helped me out by sending me the dates and times for news stories that she had found in the Yle archive using the keywords "pig" and "pig farm". This meant that any television news stories that were not tagged under these words were impossible to find. It is possible that some news stories were left out of the search due to these keywords, but I find it unlikely.

The Kavi archives have not been in use for long, which became apparent quickly. The archives are not very user-friendly. It was fairly simple to find the news stories that were listed in the sheet I had received from Yle, but as I watched the first news story from Yle TV1, I soon noticed that the archive media player would not pause, once I clicked on the button. Instead pressing pause caused the whole program to crash. This meant that I had no choice, but to watch the whole newscast all over again and wait for

[1] The supervisor of this thesis also contacted Yle, as this was also news to the Discipline of *Media* and *Communication* Studies Faculty of Social Sciences. Yle investigated the matter internally, but did not change the new policy. They maintained that the hourly rate was a matter of securing the adequacy of resources (Leena Ripatti-Torniainen, personal communication, 14.11.2013-3.12.2013.)

the news story centered on the undercover pig farming incident to play. Often this particular story was after several other news stories, which also had to be replayed. This was frustrating, as I had to watch the seven news stories that I picked numerous times for the purpose of my analysis. It was prohibited to save anything from the Kavi archives on your own computer and taking pictures was not allowed either. Kavi provides good service to citizens, who wish to watch an episode of a show that they missed, but it is not designed for conducting research. Unfortunately, I cannot recommend the use of Kavi to scholars or students seeking to carry out research.

First, I watched all of the news stories that were found under the keywords "pig" and "pig farm". There were sixteen news stories altogether. Two of the news stories were reports from Sweden and Denmark, which automatically ruled them out of my analysis. I also left out three news stories from 2011: two were Finnish, one was a foreign case regarding pig farms. The remaining eleven news stories had aired in December 2009 on Yle TV1, Yle Fem and Yle regional news. I watched all eleven news stories twice, before I began to rule some of them out. The seven I chose had a length of over thirty seconds. I felt that the four other news stories were too short for a thorough narrative analysis. Although it would have been possible to distinguish elements such as the main character from shorter news stories, the more complicated steps from David M. Boje's deconstruction method, such as reinterpreting the hierarchy of the story proved impossible with such limited material.

In qualitative research, it is essential to view the data in question from a certain methodological and theoretical point of view. This means focusing your attention on the area of data that is relevant to the research proposal at hand. (Alasuutari, 1994.) I began by watching the selected news stories to get a general idea of what I saw and what I heard. I wrote down the initial feeling I had about the roles Justice for Animals was given, by listening to whose voice was at the forefront and whose voice was not being heard. Next, I watched each news story several times, each time focusing on a specific aspect. I transcribed the data, although the fact that I could not pause or replay news stories made the process challenging. At times, Kavi's software skipped over a second or two of the news stories, which meant I had to rewatch the story just to catch the

missing words. Writing down the voice-over and the interviews as accurately as possible was important. It is in no way insignificant whether the anchor begins the news story by saying:

"*The animal activists broke into the pig farm without permission*" (Reporter, News story 1) or "*The Finnish Food Safety Authority intends to examine the pig factory farms that were filmed by the activists showing animal mistreatment*".[2] (Reporter, News story 2)

These sentences are very revealing as they promise to tell completely different stories. One is a tale of lawbreaking animal activists, the other a story of the Finnish Food Safety Authority looking out for the safety of animals that the anchor admits have been treated poorly.

I was also concerned with the relevance of ambiance audio, but the news stories chosen rarely used it in a way that I felt significantly affected the narrative being told. At times ambiance audio was used to accentuate something, such as the factory-like feeling at the farm, with the buzzing of the machines playing in the background. When I noticed a striking use of ambiance audio, I wrote it down.

Television news is not just based on what is heard, but also on what is seen, and most of all on the narrative that is formed, when these elements are combined. Next to the transcription, I wrote down what was being shown along with the narration or interview. This meant I paid extra attention to how the news stories were edited, which shot was teamed with which interview and what sort of verbal cues were being given to the viewer to interpret what was being shown. A striking example of narrative power formed by just the order of the shots is apparent in one of the news stories. In this story, the anchor mentions the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Sirkka-Liisa Anttila. The shot that follows the mentioning of her name is footage from Justice for Animals showing a dead piglet (News story 1). The combination of the audio and visual leave the viewer with a feeling of silent accusation towards Sirkka-Liisa Anttila.

[2] All Yle news stories were translated from Finnish and Swedish to English by the author of the thesis.

After I wrote down what was being heard and seen in each television news story, I went over the data using David Boje's deconstruction antenarrative method, the eight step model. Before going through the eight stages of analysis on every news story, I wrote down all actors that were given a voice, which in this case meant anyone who was interviewed. I was particularly interested in how many times animal activists were interviewed, because their role is at the center of my analysis. It was helpful to mark down how many times each actor was interviewed. This helped pave way for a more thorough analysis, because it clearly highlighted who were at the center of the story, and also who were left out. Naturally, the news anchor and/or journalists also had a role as actors, but I did not include them on this list, and took them into account later, during the antenarrative analysis. I counted seven different actors that were interviewed in at least one of the seven television news stories. Animal activists from Justice for Animals are interviewed in three different news stories, as is a spokesperson from EVIRA. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, is interviewed twice, as is a spokesperson from SLC, the Swedish-speaking Agricultural Producers in Finland. A representative of SEY, the Finnish Confederation of Associations for Animal Protection, one veterinarian and one pig farmer are also interviewed. (See Table 1.)

Table 1. Actors interviewed in the news stories

	Story 1 Tv1, 9.12.	Story 2 Tv1, 10.12	Story 3 Yle Fem, 10.12	Story 4 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 5 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 6 Tv1, 17.12	Story 7 Yle Fem 18.12
Animal Activist			x	x	x		
EVIRA		x	x				x
Sirkka-Liisa Anttila						x	x
SLC				x	x		
SEY							x
Veterinarian							x
Pig farmer							x

This overview was interesting on its own, and showcased which four actors were given central stage in the news stories. It is also noteworthy to point out that the first news story covering this topic did not interview anyone, but instead showed footage shot by Justice for Animals and mentions Minister Sirkka-Liisa Anttila. However, this overview gave no information on the contents and tone of what was being said and what was being shown. This is what I hoped the eight step model would do.

Next, I moved on to the eight step model, starting off with phase number one, *duality search*. This was an important step, as it revealed the underlying tensions in the news stories, and helped make sense of all the remaining steps. I watched each news story, marking down all bipolarities I could find in the visuals and audio. I read through the transcript underlining any keywords that stood out to me. Some of the dualities were very concrete and easy to spot, such as clean/dirty, but some were harder to put into words.

The rest of the steps were less straightforward, and at times it was challenging to figure out what to look for. Step number two, *finding the hierarchy*, proved tricky, as the hierarchy could be interpreted in innumerable ways. However, it was an essential step and it formed the basis of my analysis along with step one. When I got stuck, I found it useful to go back to reading the voice-over and the interviews. This helped me to focus on who the main characters of the story were, and how they were being portrayed. This made it easier to map out which hierarchy was being represented as the dominant one. Next I considered what the story would be like with a different main character and different tone. It was also revealing to construct a story that used the same audio, but the video material was switched around. For example, showing video material of clean pig farms versus dirty pig farms, as the voice over of an agronomist from SLC is speaking is a hierarchical choice. If SLC and Justice for Animals are being presented as opposing fronts, who holds the predominant stance? Hierarchy is formed by the news story as a whole, and changing one aspect of the news story, can change the general direction of the story. I noticed that the footage that Yle TV1 had chosen to use from Justice for Animals differed greatly from that of Yle Fem, which was an example of a surprising observation that greatly affected my interpretation of the news story.

Steps three to seven built on the foundation formed by the first two steps. After completing step two, *finding the hierarchy*, it was easier to look for discrepancies in the dominant hierarchy. Steps three and four, *tracking the rebel voices* and *finding out the other side of the story* were very similar to step six, *finding the exception*. These steps required reading what was not being said, shown and heard. I was mostly interested in the role of Justice for Animals, so for step two I tried to determine whether Justice for Animals was indeed a rebel voice, and if not, what was. I looked for claims spoken out loud that either supported or discredited the actions of Justice for Animals. These differences in tone varied from subtle to obvious. I also tried to define the overriding visual narrative, and paid attention to exceptions to it.

Steps three, four and six gave way to step five, *denying the plot.* Although news in its very nature can be interpreted as fragmented and thus it can be seen to lack a clear story-line (Montgomery, 2005), I found that each story had several traceable plots, even if they were not complete in nature. Again, I found it very useful to go back to examining who the main characters in the news stories were, and which actors were shown as their opponents and defenders. This was challenging at times, because the visual story told often differed from what was being heard. To visualize the different plots, I drew the story arcs I could distinguish from the news stories on a piece of paper and tried to see where the lines intersected, if they did at all. This naturally led to findings from step seven, t*racing what is between the lines*. This step, I thought, was a good fit for television news analysis, because it provides a solution to the challenge of interpreting the dynamics between video and audio. I focused on the story told through video and found significant differences between news stories. Although previous steps directed me in a similar direction, it was step seven that really tackled the form of television news and brought out some interesting results.

The most challenging step was Boje's eighth, which called for *resituating the story*. According to Boje (2001), all seven steps build up to form the eighth step. The point of the preceding steps is to help restory the story, and to completely question the original story. Implementing this step meant looking at each news story as a whole and completely reinterpreting what was being seen and heard. It was easy to get sidetracked

while forming a new story with a different hierarchy and main characters. There are endless ways to resituate the news stories, so it was important to remember to focus on the roles of the animal activists. After resituating the roles of the animal activists in the narratives of all seven news stories, I had a clearer view of the way they were being portrayed. Next, I reviewed the grand narrative that all seven news stories formed as a whole. I compared who was being interviewed and what images were being shown. The grand narrative revealed interesting changes from when the undercover footage had first been shown on A-studio, to the last television story aired on the subject. All seven news stories were shown within nine days (9.12.2009-18.12.2009). The narrative underwent significant shifts during this time span.

6. Results

”*They only filmed these metal parts, which makes them look like prison bars*” (Pig farmer Anna-Maj Blomqvist, News story 7).

In this chapter I will present the results of the eight step model and answer my main research question: What are the roles of the animal activists from Justice for Animals given in the substories of Yle television news stories covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009?

I will also answer my sub-research question: What are the main forms of dramaturgical inequality in the television news stories? I will discuss the prevalence of capitalism, sexism and the drama between people living in cities and the countryside in the Yle news stories. Finally, I will explore the differences between the roles that Yle Fem and Yle TV1 give animal Justice for Animals.

6.1 Eight Step Model

The deconstruction antenarrative method is constructed of eight steps. The eight step model seeks to unravel hidden power struggles and dualities one phase at a time, each step building on the previous one. My aim is not to discuss every news story in each step, but instead pick out illustrative examples that sum up essential findings. In steps 1-7, my focus is on separate news stories, but in step 8 I will examine the grand narrative that all seven news stories form together, and discuss the shift in the roles that Justice for Animals is given.

6.1.1 Duality Search

"These are the remains of a pig's head. This is footage shot by Justice for Animals" (Reporter, News story 3*).*

"It is clear that we have economic goals. But it is also stressful to have activists, strangers, coming into the pig farms and putting their photos up online" (Westerholm, SLC, News story 5).

These quotations presents the dominant, opposing stories being told in most of the news stories. The reporter from news story three is focusing on the grievances of pig farming, while the spokesperson from SLC mentions economic goals and speaks up against the invasion of privacy. These quotes could be seen to fall under several dualities, such as Production/Animal Rights, Criminal/Lawful, Male/Female and Moral/Immoral.

The first step of the eight step model required searching for dualities in the news stories. The prevalence of strong dualities in the television news stories came as no surprise, as television news narrative often follow recognizable cultural myths, which are often divided into dualities such as hero/villain (Ridell, 1998, p. 143). I marked down distinguishable dualities that I found in the news stories. This included bipolarities in video, sound and the combination of both. Table 2 presents the most common dualities found in the television news.

Table 2. The most common dualities and their occurrence in Yle news stories

	Story 1 Tv1, 9.12.	Story 2 Tv1, 10.12	Story 3 Yle Fem, 10.12	Story 4 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 5 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 6 Tv1, 17.12	Story 7 Yle Fem 18.12
Good/Bad	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Right/Wrong	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
One of Us/Other				x	x		x
Male/Female			x	x	x		
Criminal/Lawful	x			x	x	x	x
Animal/Human	x		x	x	x		x
Natural/Unnatural	x			x	x	x	x
Moral/Immoral	x		x	x	x	x	
Dirty/Clean	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Violence/Control		x	x	x	x		
Law/Justice			x	x	x	x	x
Evira/Meat Industry		x	x	x	x		x
Suffering/Factory Farming	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sick/Healthy,	x	x	x			x	x
Wellbeing/Mistreatment	x			x	x	x	x
Production/Animal Rights	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Victim/Criminal				x	x		x
Alive/Dead			x	x	x		
Trade/Activist	x			x	x	x	x
Night/Day						x	x
Structural/Exception		x		x	x		x
Power/Fall from Grace	x		x	x	x	x	
Lie/Truth	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Elite/Grassroot				x	x	x	x

As Table 2. shows, all seven news stories were loaded with dichotomies. However, I found more dualities struggling for a dominant stance in the narrative of the last four news stories, when more actors are being interviewed (see Table 1.) Clearly, many of the dualities resemble each other, and often it was challenging to decide which dualities deserved to be picked out on their own and which ones were just part of a larger duality. Good/Bad and Right/Wrong provide a good example of this, as they are enormously broad dualities that overlap and intertwine and serve as a larger frame for more specific divisions. I felt that they were not too broad to leave out, but instead formed the basis for other duality divisions, as many of the dualities revolve around moral issues. Even the shortest news story (story 1) has several dualities that can be categorized under Good/Bad or Right/Wrong. Although the story is not long in length, nor does it have more than one actor (the reporter), the dualities become evident through tensions and accusations and support used in the voice-over and the footage shown. On the one hand the reporter claims that Justice for Animals has forcefully broken into tens of pig farms, on the other he voices support for Justice for Animals:

”*They seek to find out whether there has been an improvement in the way pigs are kept after the incident two years ago” (*Reporter, News story 1).

The word *improvement* is crucial here, as a more neutral word could have easily been used, such as *change*. However, this does not mean that the news story is solely in support of the actions of Justice for Animals. In fact, many of the news stories signal both support and judgement towards their actions within the same news story. The strongest dualities stem from the footage of Justice for Animals that is used in all seven of the news stories. The footage itself varies from news story to news story, but it is hard to deny the impact of the images of untidiness, lack of space and wounds of the inhabitants of the pig farms. The footage itself carries with it a strong accusation towards the meat industry and is a plea for animal rights. This accusation is dealt with in a number of ways through interviews, images and voice-overs. Some news stories carry

a counter-narrative that emphasizes the fact that the footage is an exception to an otherwise well-functioning industry, some question the validity of the footage (e.g. news story 7), and some claim that the footage reveals a serious flaw in the meat industry (e.g. news story 5) and possibly even in the way society positions itself towards production animals (e.g. news stories 2, 3). However, there are huge differences in the kind of footage that is shown in the news stories taken by Justice for Animals. The range from mildly upsetting to disturbing images is all there. This in itself is an interesting finding, and one that I will take on in more depth in chapter 6.4, when I discuss the difference between the narrative in Yle TV1 and Yle Fem news.

One of the most interesting dualisms I found in the news stories was One of Us/Other. According to Lindblom and Jakobsson (2014) in order to convey their chosen message to the public in a persuasive manner, animal activists have to challenge the stereotypes they summon up in the public. Animal activists carry a baggage of "otherness", a role of being different form everybody else. This is brought on by a number of factors, crucially the tension between an antropocentric society and an ecocentric social movement (Helve 1996, 79–82). However, unlike the"fox girls" in the 1990's, whose ideal of animals having intrinsic value was radical at the time (Juppi, 2004), Justice for Animals treads a path already taken. This is not to say that Justice for Animals is not treated as an outsider in the news stories, because it often is. But the dualism of the other and the rest of us is perhaps not as stark as it is in the media landscape of the 1990s. In a sense, Justice for Animals is not necessarily the only one that is treated as the other. Sirkka-Liisa Anttila exclaims:

"*It is time that the veterinarians took some more classes in school*" (News story 7).

It is not just her singling out an actor. Justice for Animals and other fronts speaking up for animal rights blame the politicians and officials. There is an air of uncertainty, suspicion and lack of solidarity directed at several fronts, not just the duality between officials and animal activists.

Dualisms reveal what term is central and what term is suppressed. Another interesting dualism I found was Man/Woman. Only three news (3-5) stories out of the seven interviewed a representative from Justice for Animals, both representatives were female. News story three had only voices and shots of women in the news story. Stories four and five had interviews and reporters that were both female and male. In story five, the men (the anchor and spokesperson from SLC Westerholm), are only shown in the studio, standing up and wearing suits. The setting is formal and they are shown as "whole" human beings, with both their face and bodies in the shot. The two women shown, on the other hand, are reduced to a voice without a body. The female reporter is never shown and the animal activist, Saila Kivelä, is filmed in front of a computer, with her face showing. In story four, the situation is similar, although the interview in the studio is longer, giving more time to the males in the studio. Kivelä is not given more air time. Although Westerholm is questioned, he also receives more time to defend himself and the pig farming industry. This observation is backed up by (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 109) who claims that news sources tend to be male authority figures.

6.1.2 Reinterpret the Hierarchy

"*The municipal veterinarians must visit every farm and set things accordingly. According to the law*" (Jaana Mikkola from Evira, News story 3).

Journalists and their sources have a lot at stake. Authority figures seek to be positioned in positive roles in the media to maintain their status of power (Berkowitz, 2009). According to Juppi (2004, p. 79), the media is ruled by official and legitimate voices of the political and economic elite and specialists from different fields. This elite group has the chance to define and redefine what is considered true and legitimate in society much more often than so called ordinary citizens, NGO's or minorities. When officials in high positions appear on the news, this usually tends to legitimate the standing power structure of society further. (Berkowitz, 2009.)

Animal activists share a moral ideal that often collides with established rules in society. This leaves animal activists in a divided position. On the one hand, they are presented as criminals and law-breakers, on the other, they can be seen as a symbol of a person with admirable moral standards. Animal activists may also be presented as both. According to Lindblom and Jakobsson (2014), this division and tension becomes visible particularly when animal rights activists break the law to reveal issues concerning animal welfare at a structural level, such as filming farms without consent. The ideal of the animal activists is for animals to live at least a decent life without suffering. This being said, they are also intruding unlawfully into a private area. This was emotionally hard on many of the farmers, as is evident in pig farmer Anna-Maj Blomqvist's interview:

"*They also write about us on the internet, they say that it is dirty here. I am not used to being filmed, they are not showing us correctly*" (Anna-Maj Blomqvist, News story 7).

In the seven news stories the role of the animal activists shifted between "bad guys" and heroes. These roles were backed up with emphasis on either the law-breaking or the moral example. (Lindblom & Jakobsson, 2014.) One of the activists who is interviewed in stories four and five, Saila Kivelä, is shown sitting in front a computer that is playing the undercover footage from the pig farms. The reporter asks if the animal activists have lied about the authenticity of the footage, which she denies. As Kivelä speaks, footage of suffering piglets is shown. Representative Westerholm of SLC, the Swedish-speaking Agricultural Producers in Finland, on the other hand, is interviewed in the studio in a tie, representing order and civilization. The tidy and official looking studio could not be further from a pig farm. Westerholm can be seen to represent an authority figure. When he is asked about Kivelä's accusations, he calmly denies them. He claims that the Finnish pig farming business is doing well and is not inhumane. Kivelä then, threatens the prevailing hierarchy. She is an activist who questions the decisions made by the legislative, economic and political elite.

To reinterpret the hierarchy in stories three and four means to give Kivelä the role of the expert instead of the SLC. Just reversing the order of Kivelä's and Westerholm's

interviews might have an effect on the hierarchy of the two news stories in question. If the situation were reversed, Westerholm would begin by saying what is right about the pig industry and Kivelä would be given the last say in the studio, where she would deny most of what Westerholm has said. Deciding who gets the last say from the actors is important from a dramaturgical point of view, because endings are important in stories. It is very revealing to construct the news stories so that Kivelä's critical view of factory pig farming is natural, or the norm, while Westerholm's view is told as the exception, a rebellious point-of-view that emphasizes financial gain and the right to livelihood. The fact that in this reinterpretation of hierarchy, Westerholm is sitting alone by his computer certainly brings down his credibility.

I constructed a chart (Table 3), where I tried to illustrate the hierarchies present in the television news stories. As speech was easier to chart than visual storytelling, I charted only what was spoken. I realize that this leaves out a big part of the narrative, so this chart presents just a glimpse of the ongoing hierarchies. I will focus more on the visual storytelling in steps five, seven and eight. In this chart I marked down *x* for all actors that were interviewed. Instead of using the specific interviewees as in Table 1, I used broader classifications. Minister Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, for example, is classified under "Politicians". This is because, many of the accusations were not addressed to a specific actor, but to a larger group. Veterinarians, for example, are called into question generally, not the specific veterinarian interviewed in news story seven.

I also marked down *q*, if an actor was *questioned* in the news story verbally. With this I mean that the actor's role or behavior is called into question or their legitimacy is under suspicion verbally, such as when Justice for Animals is suspected of falsifying their footage. I included the actor "Meat processors" as a new actor. Representatives from the meat processing industry are not interviewed in any of the news stories, but they do receive a lot of blame from the actors that are interviewed. This is why I felt they should be included as a silent actor. In this chart, I have not specified who is doing the questioning, a reporter or an actor. The point of Table 3 is to demonstrate the relationship between those who are interviewed and those who are questioned in the television news. Often the actors who are questioned are not interviewed in the same

news story. This is particularly true in shorter news stories, with less interviewees. I also hope to show a shift in which actor is questioned most throughout the grand narrative in all seven news stories. Not taking visual narrative into consideration, it seems that meat processors and pig farmers are questioned in news stories 2-5, while Justice for Animals is questioned in later stories 4-7. The chart may be more useful in demonstrating the bigger picture than it is to illustrate hierarchies in separate news stories. I will present the finding related to the grand narrative in more detail in step eight.

Table 3. Actors interviewed (x), and actors questioned (q) in the news stories

	Story 1 Tv1, 9.12.	Story 2 Tv1, 10.12	Story 3 Yle Fem, 10.12	Story 4 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 5 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 6 Tv1, 17.12	Story 7 Yle Fem 18.12
Justice for Animals	q		x	q, x	q, x	q	q
EVIRA		x	x				x
Politicians	q					q, x	q, x
SEY							x
Meat processors		q	q	q	q		
Veterinarians			q				q, x
Pig farmers		q	q	q, x	q, x		q, x

It would be hard to tell, who the hero of news story seven is by just looking at the chart. This is a good example of the complexity of narrative. In my opinion, the heroes of news story seven are the pig farmers. Although pig farmers are questioned, they are also interviewed, and the visual narrative is mostly on their side. However, there is also a visual sub-narrative that defends the animal activists through the use of the emotionally arresting footage from Justice for Animals. Even so, this news story is a story that mostly defends the pig industry. It portrays the animal activists as shady unlawful actors, who work undercover in the night and distort the truth. There is footage of clean,

happy pigs shot by the news crew in the daylight. These images are legitimated by the family veterinarian, who says that he has never noticed any misconduct regarding the pigs. The filthy and upsetting footage by Justice for Animals is thus presented as more of an exception, something that can be controlled by vigorous vets or politicians.

The only politician who is interviewed in the news stories, Minister Sirkka-Liisa Anttila is interviewed briefly, and she is not strongly pressed by the reporters. The actions of politicians are questioned in just three news stories. In fact Sirkka-Liisa Anttila was left relatively unscathed by the whole incident, although Justice for Animals demanded her resignation (MTV website, 13.12.2009). It is worth mentioning that the two news stories that interview Sirkka-Liisa Anttila include no interviews of animal activists. In news story six, the anchor says:

"*The ministry has granted over a quarter of a million euros to the Finnish Pig Entrepreneurs Association. According to A-studio this subsidy is used to promote the image of pork to make it seem trendier and healthier. Minister Anttila says that the funding has been applied for long before the recent events concerning the pig farm uncovering"* (Anchor, News story 6).

Anttila futher denies this claim in an interview later on in the news story. However, no animal activists are given a voice to defend themselves in this story. This goes along with Juppi's (2004, p.79) claim that people in positions of power have the chance to define what should be considered acceptable and legitimate in society more often than other actors. In story eight, a representative of SEY, a far more peaceful animal rights organization than Justice for Animals is interviewed before Anttila. It is telling that the comments used from SEY's representative support the standing order and hierarchy.

"*The police and authorities must do something about the problems in the pork industry*" (Helenä Sirniö, SEY, News story 7).

In fact, the only actor of authority who questions the practice and moral of pig farming is the representative from Evira. This actor is interviewed in three of the seven stories, but interestingly in one of the news stories she stresses that what she is saying in the interview is *her* opinion, not necessarily that of Evira:

"*We have to have a serious discussion, because this issue will not be solved with more surveillance. This is my personal opinion*" (Jaana Mikkola, Evira, News story 3").

6.1.3 Rebel voices

"There have been claims that the undercover footage is not authentic" (Anchor, News stories 4 and 5).

The rebel voices of the television news stories are the ones of the activists, because they are questioning the legitimacy of the pig farming industry. It is unclear what is meant with the passive form in the quote from the reporter above. Who has claimed it? When? Why is it credible? It is simply stated as something that might be true and is worthy of discussion. This sentence also sets the tone of the stories four and five. The news story would have been very different if the anchor had said something more neutral. These stories begin with the activist's view being challenged, not the one of the Minister or the pig farming industry. According to Benford and Hunt (1992) the media takes part in power struggles through characterizing different actors into roles. In stories four and five, it is clear that the animal activists have been given the role of the outsider.

According to Koivumäki (2011) dramaturgy is the use of different material with the purpose of building an experience for the audience. An important dramaturgical choice is how to begin a story. The first words heard and shots seen set the mood and guide the viewer into the right direction. When the anchor speaks out against the legitimacy of the

footage from Justice for Animals, it is a powerful statement, because an anchor can be seen to function much in the same way as a narrator. Narrators are seen to be reliable and objective. (Dunn, 2003.)

Lindblom and Jacobsson (2014) speak of the stereotype of the animal activist as "a militant", who uses violence to achieve moral goals. The role of the militant is a common conception that is reinforced in the media, which functions as a social space for image construction. Echoes of Juppi's (2004) observations about the "fox girls" in the 1990's can be found in many of the Yle news stories. Although Justice for Animals is not accused of violence, the validity of the footage of Justice for Animals is questioned, and the animal activists are blamed for causing stress to both animals and farmers. The image of the mink-releasing animal activist is still used in the media in Sweden today, so it is not surprising to find traces of the same role in Finland. (Lindblom & Jacobsson, 2014).

The voice of the animal activists is not the only rebel voice, however, as story two proves. Not all official fronts are suspicious of Justice for Animals:

"*The most serious one was the one of the dying pig. And several others that show that sick animals were not being adequately taken care of. The pig farming industry and the meat processor companies are the ones that can influence the wellbeing of the animals. It is more or less agreement based production*" (Taina Mikkonen, Evira, News story 2).

This quote from a spokesperson from Evira has a tone of accusation, but Mikkonen uses more official and subtle language than the activists from Justice for Animals:

"*This is what mass production looks like. This is your average day in pig farming. They are sick*" (Janna Rancken, Justice for Animals, News story 3).

The support from Evira softens the role of Justice for Animals. It brings it away from the role of "the militant", away from the label of ecoterrorist or ecotage, more towards a moral guardian of society, although not a legitimized one. The sympathy shown from Evira is crucial, because Justice for Animals is an example of a source with temporary power. The power it has is tied to the time that the media shows interest in the story. (Berkowitz, 2009).

6.1.4 Other Side of the Story

"*If you follow the rules, everything goes fine. Thirty pig farms is just a small portion of all pig farms. The pigs are afraid of strangers. They scare easily and that is why they behave strangely*" (Westerholm, SLC, News story 4).

Finding the other side of the story is to reverse the story, to look for stereotypes that support and confront the roles given to the animal activists as the narrative unfolds. As Fisher (1987) points out, it is crucial to interpret the motives of all actors in the news, meaning anchors, journalists and anyone who is interviewed, because a story is believable only when its characters behave according to the values that are expected from them. This is because motives lead to trust, which finally lead to belief. (Fisher 1987, p. 47.)

I chose the quotation above as an example, because it is very revealing, and in a sense condensed many of the main tensions of all seven news stories into a few lines. Westerholm calls the animal activists out as strangers, and in fact implies that in filming the pig farms, the activists frightened the animals. This is an interesting remark, as this hits the animal activists from Justice for Animals at the heart of their mission, and questions their motives. It is after all their goal to end human-related suffering for animals. Juppi (2004) writes that unlike animal welfare organizations that usually do not question the use and killing of animals for the purposes of human consumption, animal

activist groups stress the intrinsic value of the animals, and their right for life and to live in a manner that satisfies their behavioral needs. Westerholm's words can be seen as an attempt to vilify Justice for Animals. It can be interpreted as an example of social power play between protagonists and antagonists (Benford & Hunt, 1992).

However, the motives behind Westerholm's remark can also be questioned. It can be seen as an example of the "city-dweller" role that is easily given to animal activists. According to this stereotype, animal activists are clueless about farming or anything related to the countryside. In fact their knowledge of animals is not based on reality, but rather it is a fantasy of rowdy city kids, who have never even seen a farm. Lindblom and Jacobsson (2014) believe that this image has probably developed because of the continuous criticism that the farmers have endured for their practices. It is a harmful role that undermines the information that animal activists have to offer, and belittles the activists and their capacity to be more than protesters.

6.1.5 Deny the plot

"*This is normal conduct, promotion of the industry…. We support milk, we support bread and as I said, vegetables with over 200 000 euros"* (Minister Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, News story 6).

This quote from Minister Anttila is from an interview that ends news story six. Her face is not shown. Her voice-over plays over images of pink, clean piglets, which are suckling the sow. The combination of speech and visual is strikingly different from the example in news stories four and five. In stories four and five, a representative from Justice for Animals sits by a computer and shows the reporter footage from the pig farms. The camera zooms in on a sow with a sore that her piglets are nibbling on in a dirty pen.

"*This is a bedsore that the piglets are chewing on. And I'm pretty sure it's obvious that that has to be very painful*". (Saila Kivelä, Justice for Animals, News stories 4 and 5).

These examples show how the same event: a sow lying down with its offspring, can be told in two completely different ways. In story six Minister Anttila speaks in favor of Finnish agriculture and links pig farming to crop growing. Comparing pig farming to growing crops is against the intrinsic value of animals that Justice for Animals is trying to defend (Juppi, 2004).

Plot is formed through a combination of visual and verbal storytelling, and a plot usually has one or several protagonists. As television news plots are fragmented, it can be challenging to find one main plot or the main protagonist. This was also the case with Yle news stories. In Table 1 (p. 42), I displayed the actors who were interviewed in the news stories. Table 4, combines the interviewees from Table 1, with actors who are given a role visually. In other words, I wrote down all actors, who were shown in the television news stories, regardless of whether they were interviewed or not. It is important to be heard, but it is also important to be seen, as it affects the narrative and the roles that actors are given. Not all actors that were interviewed were shown (news story 6), and some actors were visually present, but had no voice (e.g. news story 1). These are clear dramaturgical choices. If an actor is not seen or heard, they cannot be protagonists. However, this chart alone cannot determine which actors are protagonists, because it does not reveal much about the order, length, tone of voice and choice of video material of the news story.

In Table 4, I have marked down "Pig farmers" in plural as an actor, because the pig farmer shown visually in story six is not the same pig farmer, who is interviewed in news story seven. Another note that is important to make is that I have interpreted the undercover footage shot by Justice for Animals to represent Justice for Animals as an actor. This is because, the rough footage from pig farms is visual criticism towards the pig farming industry, and it is part of the campaign of Justice for Animals. The interviews of the representatives of Justice for Animals in three news stories are

arguably not as arresting as the images shown in all seven. It is the same message, but the audience has a stronger belief on the validity of video (Juppi, 2008).

Table 4. Actors interviewed (x), and actors visible (v) in the news stories

	Story 1 Tv1, 9.12.	Story 2 Tv1, 10.12	Story 3 Yle Fem, 10.12	Story 4 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 5 Yle Fem, 14.12	Story 6 Tv1, 17.12	Story 7 Yle Fem 18.12
Animal Activist	v	v	v, x	v, x	v, x	v	v
EVIRA		v, x	v, x				v, x
Sirkka-Liisa Anttila						x	v, x
SLC				v, x	v, x		
SEY							v, x
Veterinarian							v, x
Pig farmers						v	v, x

The plot in stories four and five give Justice for Animals a chance to be the protagonist, which is not the case in any of the other stories. In stories four and five, a representative of Justice for Animals is interviewed and allowed more than one appearance in front of the camera. News story three also has an interview with a representative from Justice for Animals, but she is shown and interviewed only once, while the representative from Evira is interviewed several times. This makes the representative of Evira the main character, because the plot is centered on her. Characters, of course, are an essential part of the plot, because the main character is who the audience chooses to follow.

There is a distinguishable polarization apparent in the plots and characters of the news stories. This is typical for political issues in the media (see Juppi, 2004, p.74). At times, Justice for Animals is given the role of the other, but there are traces of different plots even inside the same news stories. Even though news stories four and five begin with Kivelä's interview and the accusation of inauthenticity regarding the footage from

Justice for Animals, there is a sense of sympathy regarding Justice for Animals from the very beginning. As the anchor begins to speak, the picture capture in the studio is a shot of a pig, pushing its snout through the iron bars of its pen. This gives it a look of a prisoner peering at freedom. This is a crucial decision, because this paints the story of the pigs as a victim story, which gives Justice for Animals an aura of the hero, even though they are also discredited. The unfolding narrative reveals at least two different stories. The one that is voiced questions the legitimacy of the animal activists, however, the visual story told is one of suffering for the pigs. According to Pöttker (2003) news stories are traditionally structured so that crucial information is given first. This emphasizes the importance of the first image the audience sees as opposed to the ending, which is central in film narratives (Jaramillo, 2009; Pöttker, 2003).

The plot of the seven news stories can also be interpreted in much the same way as soap operas. They can be seen to lack clear endings, or even beginnings. In a sense television news stories lack resolution, because new information is available every day. (Kantola, 1998.) Even so, endings do matter in television news, because they can be quite effective. The last image or words can stick with the viewer. Such is the case in news story one, where an image of a dead piglet is shown after mentioning Minister Anttila's name. The change in plots becomes evident, when you look at all seven news stories as a whole. The first news stories give the representatives for Justice for Animals a more favorable role, but towards the last stories, they are not even interviewed. Instead the character interviewed most often is Minister Anttila, and pig farmers are given a more significant role. The biggest change is brought along with the last news story. News story seven is centered on a pig farmer, meaning the overriding plot has changed.

6.1.6 Find the exception

"*I believe that these inspectors are used to it. That that is what pig farming looks like. And those problems will not be fixed with inspections*" (Saila Kivelä, Justice for Animals, News story 4).

The preceding quote is from an interview in story four. Kivelä sits calmly in front of the computer and speaks in a likeable, personal manner. She is not dressed, nor does she behave like animal activists from the 1990's (Juppi, 2004) did in the media. Janna Rancken from Justice for Animals, who is interviewed in story three, behaves in a similar, convincing way. They are composed and articulate in front of the camera, which make their claims sound more believable. This is an exception to another overriding stereotype easily given to animal activists: the one of immaturity and youth.

In this role, animal activists' quest for animal rights is played down as a radical phase, without true commitment and a factual basis. This makes the animal activists seem threatening, because their actions are portrayed as guided by misdirected anger or frustration. These assumptions take a toll on the legitimacy that animal activists have to make claims on animal rights, which weakens the strength of their message and gives them a negative role in the narrative. (Lindblom & Jacobsson, 2014.) To combat this negative role, animal activists in Sweden go through training to make sure that their arguments are scientifically based, because they know they are facing a hostile audience and want to seem professional. Some of the activists rehearse how they present themselves in the media. They use role-plays and work in teams to get their message through in the best way possible for them. (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2012.)

I have not researched how much Finnish animal rights groups have media training, if any, but it would be very interesting to find out. It is clear that the conduct of Justice for Animals in television news has changed from that of the "fox girls". However, this does not mean that the role of "young and immature" activist is missing completely. It manifests in the way Kivelä and Rancken speak. They use spoken language, which differs from the formal tone used by the journalists and Minister Anttila. This emphasizes their age, but could also be a deliberate choice to speak the same language as the audience.

6.1.7 Trace what is between the lines



Photo 1. Photos taken by Justice for Animals 2009-2011 (Suomen Kuvalehti, 28.5.2013).

To trace what is between the lines in the news stories, is to look for things that reveal a sub-story or division in the grand narrative in all seven news stories. It means to search for meanings that are not necessarily spoken out loud, but may come through in images. In the previous steps I have emphasized what is being said slightly more than what is being shown. I began to look at visual narrative in step six, but in step seven I will discuss the role Justice for Animals is given through visual storytelling.

The footage shot by Justice for Animals is used in all seven news stories, and although the images shown vary from story to story, there is no denying that the footage from Justice for Animals differs from what viewers are used to seeing in commercials from the meat processing industry. Images that are in line with the illustration typically used by the pig farming industry are shown in news stories six and seven. Here, the pigs are

clean, the piglets are cute and the farmers dress and behave the way we expect them to: they are wearing boots and raking hay.



Photo 2. Photo from Finnish meat processing company Snellman (Snellman website).

According to Salomaa (2009) the images used to promote the meat industry use traditional Finnish farm animals such as cows and pigs. Consumers are still attached to old-fashioned images of country life and meat production, which is far removed from the realities of intensive farming (Jokinen, Vinnari & Kupsala, 2012). It is interesting that the images shown on Yle television news either show the darkest side of intensive farming, or the romantic view of the "good old days" in Finnish farming. There is no middle ground. This is hardly surprising, because polarization is a typical feature of storytelling. In story six the pig farmer is interviewed in her clean farm, but the footage of Justice for Animals lingers over her story and creates a dynamic: who is telling the truth? What is the truth? Can we even find it? This leaves Justice for Animals in an ambiguous position.

The footage of Justice for Animals dominates the visual storytelling in all seven stories. This is a big change from the 1990s (Juppi, 2004). The animal rights movement has benefited from a general cultural shift. The development of cities and the collapse of the significance of the countryside have opened up room for other representations

(Konttinen, 2003). However, this does not mean that it is easy for actors, who are not in a position of power to get their message heard in the media. As culture has become more heterogeneous, the animal rights movement has not been met with just understanding and sympathy. Finns no longer form a cultural block, but are instead a diverse mix of ethnicity, language and beliefs. This can raise fears, insecurities and uncertainty, and feel like a threat to existing beliefs. (Juppi, 2004, p.53.) This can lead to discussions in the media, which is a platform for social control and moral order. It is common to see a defensive reaction, which often manifests as a longing for the golden olden times. (Thompson, 1998, p. 11).

6.1.8 Resituate. Restory the story

"*We are often under the impression that Finnish farmers take good care of their animals, but these images tell a different story. The pens are too full and filthy and the pigs are so stressed that they chew on each other's bleeding tails, because they are suffering.*" (Reporter, News story 3).

The quote above could have easily been from Justice for Animals. The words are powerful and charged with accusation, but instead it is the voice-over of a reporter. Instead of placing the blame on the animal activists, as was common in the 1990s, the quote from the reporter in story three directs the blame towards pig farmers. According to Benford and Snow (2000), controversies regarding whom to blame are common in social movements, and this is evident in all seven television news stories. The quote above gives Justice for Animals the role of someone brave enough to stand up to the great worries and problems of society (Lindblom & Jacobsson, 2014). This tension is at the center of the presentation of Justice for Animals, and it is the base for the rest of the roles.

It is challenging to restory the story, because there are simply so many different narratives being told in the news stories. As I have seeked to demonstrate in steps one to seven, the animal activists from Justice for Animals are given many different roles even inside the same story. Animal activists tend to be presented on a scale, where one

extreme is the role of the idealistic hero and the other, that of a law-breaker. I found this to be to be accurate in the case of Justice for Animals in 2009.

In steps one to seven, I have focused on individual news stories. To resituate the story, it is revealing to examine the case of Justice for Animals and the undercover filming of pig farms as a whole. How does the narrative change when you look at all seven news stories from 9.12.2009-18.12.2009? What are the main roles given to Justice for Animals from this perspective? With this I mean observing all seven news stories as one big story, with a beginning, middle and an ending. This is complex task, one I looked at from many different angles. Because there is not just one clear protagonist in the news stories, an interesting approach was to compare who was given the last say in each news story and how that affected the grand narrative. Television news stories one to seven in fact form a symmetrical, fairytale-type structure or arc, as both stories end with comments from the news anchor, or narrator. A spokesperson from Evira closes stories two and free. The interviewees condemn the filmed conditions at the pig farms, which supports the view of Justice for Animals as guardians of morality. The plot twists in stories four and five, where the representatives for Justice for Animals and the spokesperson for SLC are both interviewed. However, in both news stories, Westerholm from SLC is given the last say, and he uses this chance to defend the pig farming industry. The penultimate story closes off with an interview of Minister Anttila, who defends the industry with even more authority than Westerholm. The last news story shows images of clean pigs, but the video is followed by a comment:

"*Justice for Animals says that their farm is a typical example of pig farms in Finland*" (Reporter, News story 7).

Interpreted in this way, it seems that the Justice for Animals has the sympathy of the media on their side for the first few stories, but the support slightly diminishes towards the last news stories, (see Table 3, p. 54). It is curious that EVIRA is mostly interviewed in the beginning of the pig farming incident, and Minister Anttila gains a bigger role

towards the end. This can be interpreted as a kind of returning to order. Authorities and politician in defense of the status quo gain momentum towards the end. In the last news story the animal activists are only present in the form of the undercover footage. Center stage is given to a pig farmer, who clearly feels that she has been embarrassed by Justice for Animals on television in front of the whole nation.

6.2 The Roles of Justice for Animals in Yle Television News

In this subchapter, my intention is to answer my main research question: What are the roles of the animal activists from Justice for Animals given in the subnarratives of Yle television news stories covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009? In chapter seven I will go through the results in a broader social context.

In chapter 6.1, I discussed the results of David M. Boje's (2001) deconstruction antenarrative analysis on seven television news stories from Yle, the Finnish Public Service Broadcasting Company. I analyzed four news stories from the Swedish speaking channel Yle Fem and three from the Finnish speaking channel Yle TV1, to examine the roles that Justice for Animals were given.

The roles that Justice for Animals were given fluctuated from hero to villain, even within the same news story. The narrative formed by the verbal and the visual were at times controversial. The search for dualisms (step 1) in the data, produced results that were centered on questions of morality. The debate over roles was above all concerned with whether the animal activists were honorable in their struggle to reveal flaws in the pig farming industry, or whether emphasis should be put on the accusations that claimed that they were a) trespassing, b) had possibly falsified the footage c) were deliberately misrepresenting pig farmers and giving the industry a bad name.

The bigger division into heroes and villains, or moral guardians and criminals, could be broken down into more detailed roles. Most of these roles fell somewhere along the spectrum, where the two extremes were that of hero and villain. With the use of both video, sound and rhetoric, Justice for Animals was portrayed as "the militant", someone

who is not afraid to break the law in order to achieve moral goals (Lindblom and Jacobsson, 2014). Another common role was that of "the other", where the differences between the animal activists and everyone else were exaggerated. This is a sum of many factors, but one of the main causes is the tension between two different world views: an antropocentric society and an ecocentric social movement (Helve 1996, 79–82). The role of city-dweller was also apparent. The city-dweller is too far removed from life at the country-side in order to assess the well-being of farm animals. Lindblom and Jacobsson (2014) say that this image is the result of continuous criticism directed at farmers. This role questions the credibility of the animal activists. A positive role given to animal activists that I found in the news stories was the one of the "grown-up and poised" activist, which interestingly countered a prevailing role of the immature and young animal activist (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2012).

The representatives of Justice for Animals were rarely protagonists in the television news. Visually Justice for Animals took up a large portion of the story, but this was not backed up in the voice-overs or amount of time they were interviewed. All news stories contained undercover footage shot by Justice for Animals. However, when all seven news stories were examined as one larger story, the role of Justice for Animals was challenged both verbally and visually as well. News stories six and seven showed competing images from Justice for Animals, by showing footage shot by Yle in broad daylight. Opposing the footage of Justice for Animals, this footage did not show suffering, but instead the farms were clean and the piglets were pink. This went along with a trend that was also evident in what was heard and who was allowed to speak: Justice for Animals was not interviewed in the last two news stories. The grand narrative of seven stories showed Yle television news beginning to favor the views of authority figures and support the status quo.

6.3 Drama Analysis and Forms of Inequality in the News Stories

My sub-research question was: What are the main forms of dramaturgical inequality in the television news stories? Drama analysis sees drama as an instrument that the

political and economic elite use to control the public. Images that at first glance seem to speak out for equality and democracy in fact hide a dramaturgical society that uses the media and the arts to steer the values and beliefs of people into a desired direction for the anonymous elite. Minorities are pushed to the side, and room is given to texts that reinforce hegemony. (Deegan, 1989.) According to Deegan (1989), the two major forms of dramaturgical inequality are sexism and capitalism, however her analysis is from an American point of view. I discovered forms of capitalist and sexist inequality in the seven television news reports, but I also found traces of a dramaturgical inequality that might be distinct to Finnish culture. The drama of city-dwellers and people of the countryside.

6.3.1 Capitalism

According to Deegan (1989) capitalism is so enrooted in society that it is perceived to be natural. When social movements, such as animal activists seek a change in society, they are challenging the main mode of thinking. The values they stand for, the message they are trying to spread and the actions they take to gain media attention all question the conformed capitalist society. When animal rights activists fight for the intrinsic value of animals, or even compare their rights to those of humans, they are fundamentally questioning not only the predominant way of thinking, but also behavioral norms. (Lindblom & Jacobsson, 2014.) When animal activists advertise and act according to different ideals, they collide with the behavioral codes of society (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2012).

In capitalism, there is a need to be more and more productive, which can lead to deteriorating circumstances for livestock. While the pig farming incident was a hotly debated subject in the media in December 2009, Minister Anttila gave the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat an interview, where she promised that the state would begin handing out investment grants to build new pig farms. Anttila says:

"The pig farmer can decide whether they wish to follow the norms of higher well-being for the animals, which means the state will cover 75 percent of the additional costs. That is a tempting offer" (Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, HS, 19.12.2009).

This offer is probably not what Justice for Animals was looking for, when they started their campaign. This quote reveals how different the approaches of Justice for Animals and that of Minister Anttila are. Justice for Animals speak out for the intrinsic value of animals, while Minister Anttila's suggestion to improve the pig farming situation is linked to profit. She is essentially saying that pig farming is a business, and thus the right way to strive for improvement is to offer a financial incentive. This is logical in the framework of capitalism, as the pig farming industry is important in Finland and provides employment for many people. In fact, pork is by far the most sold meat in Finland (Salomaa, 2009.)

The same tension is also visible in some of the television news stories, most notably in Minister Anttila's comments in stories six and seven, and the interviews of Westerholm, the spokesperson of the Swedish-speaking Agricultural Producers in Finland. Visually the footage of clean, playful pigs in stories six and seven can be seen to concur with the images that the pig farming industry seek to endorse. Representative Westerholm, for example says that he does not see an inherent problem with pig farming, as long as animal abuse is avoided. Kivelä from Justice for Animals obviously disagrees. The general issue is related to the fact that Westerholm's view of animal cruelty is backed up by many. Provincial veterinarians inspected thirty pig farms and found proof of animal welfare misconduct in fourteen of them (HS, 19.12.2009). However, all of the thirty pig farms showed some degree of filth and wounded pigs (sikatehtaat.fi).

According to Harper (2011, p. 110), while before products were primarily consumed because they were necessary in some way, nowadays products are increasingly used as a form of self-expression for the producer or consumer. An example of this is branding (Harper, 2011, p. 86). In news story six, Minister Anttila is accused of using money to rebrand pork as trendier, so that it will find new consumers, instead of using the funding to improve the wellbeing of pigs in farms. This news story shows pink pigs and happy farmers, elements that are easy to recognize from advertisements.

Juppi (2004, p. 87), claims that journalists mostly echo the dominant ideologies of society, even if they strive for objectivity. In addition to reinforcing the ideologies at large, the media has a tendency towards resisting change and maintaining the status quo. On the other hand, Finnish journalism is shaped by the desire to maintain independence from state authorities (Kivikuru, 2012). Journalism can also take a stance against the dominant ideology and the elite, and instead side with the voice of the "other" (Konttinen, 2003). This polarization is also partly evident in many of the news stories. All choices starting from the tone of voice of the reporter, to the angles of the camera and pace of editing affect the dramaturgy of the news story. The ideological choices of journalists are most obvious, when they use language that is not neutral, such as describing the footage from Justice for Animals in an emotional manner.

In my opinion, capitalism does stand out as an all-pervading theme in the television news stories. The battle of Justice for Animals is also a battle against consumption and factory style farming. The fact that the television news stories vary in the way they present Justice for Animals can be seen as a struggle between conforming to dominant ideologies and fighting the values of the elite.

6.3.2 Sexism

According to Deegan (1989), male hegemony dominates the media and arts. This is evident in the way gender stereotypes are repeated over and over again in a way that marginalizes women. I did find differences in the way men and women were treated in the news stories, but most of the interviewees were in fact women. As I explained in chapter 6.1.1, news stories four and five show the two men in the news story (a reporter and Westerholm from SLC) in the studio. Westerholm and the reporter are both standing up and are portrayed as equals, although Westerholm is being asked challenging questions. Kivelä, from Justice for Animals, and other actors in the same news stories are shown in close-ups and have less time to talk.

Interestingly, seven out of the nine people that were interviewed in the television news stories are women. This is a rare phenomenon in television news, as they are usually dominated by male authorities (Berkowitz, 2009). In journalism, a female majority is

usually linked to soft news, which tends to be more emotional and light. However, the pig farming incident could be seen as a topic that is a combination of hard news and soft news, as the incident also touches on themes of the economy and politics. Most of the journalists were also women, which again goes against the norm in journalism (Ruoho & Torkkola, 2010, p. 42). In this sense, it hard to completely agree with Deegan (1989) on the inequality regarding the position of women.

It is interesting that the only representatives from the animal rights movement, two animal activists from Justice for Animals and the representative of the Finnish Confederation of Associations for Animal Protection, were all women. Animal activists represent the marginal of society in many ways, and they must battle against negative stereotypes. One of these stereotypes is related to gender. Lindblom and Jakobsson (2014) describe the stereotype of the strange woman who runs a shelter for animals, instead of raising a family like other women do. There is criticism against the choices these women make, because they break the mold of what is considered to be normal behavior for women. Juppi (2004) found traces of this stereotype in her doctoral thesis, but I did not. Maybe this stereotype is starting to be outdated, or I simply did not see it in the limited data available.

6.3.3 The Drama of the City and the Countryside

A third form of dramaturgical inequality that I picked up on was the division between city-dwellers and people of the countryside. Comments from actors such as the SLC and Minister Anttila discredited the animal activists in a manner that reiterated the stereotype of ignorant city-dwellers, who have never even seen a farm in the daytime. Lindblom and Jacobsson (2014) claim that this is an example of tensions historically existing between people of the city and of the countryside. According to this stereotype, city-dwellers are seen as slightly obnoxious by people from the countryside, while people living in cities view people, particularly farmers as backward folk. The dramaturgical inequality is visible in the news, particularly in the case of Yle TV1, as I will discuss in the following chapter. In my opinion, the view of the countryside has hegemony over the drama, but not significantly.

I did not expect the slight dominance of the city-dweller critique. The fact that cities are growing, and the role of the countryside is diminishing speak against it (Konttinen, 2003). In fact, according to Juppi, (2004) there has been a strong heterogenization and fragmentation of the Finnish cultural and media landscape starting from the 1990s. Finland used to be characterized by a division into social classes, but is now split into smaller divisions centered on values and interests. This development has led to at least a partial breaking down of national coherence and sense of cultural uniformity (Juppi, 2004, p. 47.)

However, the media storm that was caused by a statement of well-known actress Krista Kosonen after the parliamentary elections (19.4.2015), proved that Finnish culture might not be as fragmentary as many believe. Kosonen stated that the version of Finland the voters of the Finns Party (a nationalist and EU-critical party) represent, does not represent her vision of Finland. She also claimed to not know anyone, who has voted for the Finns Party. Her statements caused outrage in many, and she was called a cultural, left-winged elitist. (Kaleva website, 24.4.2015.) This cultural division into two fronts resembles the inequalities between Justice for Animals and the actors representing the pig farming industry. The pig farmers I interviewed for my screenplay used similar language to describe animal activists as the ones used to criticize Kosonen. Animal activism is also seen as left-winged and anti-traditional (Juppi, 2004). It seems that an ideological division of Finnish culture into two big blocs is not just a thing of the past.

6.4 Differences between Yle TV1 and YleFem

"*We want to warn sensitive viewers that the footage we are about to show may be upsetting*" (Reporter, News story 3, 4 and 5).

The quotation above was spoken out loud by the anchor at the start of three television news stories from Yle Fem. This is not striking as such, after all, a disclaimer like this is

used in television news from time to time. What makes this disclaimer remarkable is the fact that it was only said on the Swedish speaking channel Yle Fem, never on the Finnish speaking channel Yle TV1. The footage that Yle Fem uses in all of its news stories is very different from the videos shown on Yle TV1, even though it is all footage taken by Justice for Animals. Yle Fem news shows filth, bleeding sores and dead pigs lying around in pens with pigs that are alive. Yle TV1 shows images of dirty pigs with wounds that also gives off the impression that all is not well in the pig farm industry. However, the severity of the images Yle Fem has chosen are at a whole other level. It is a very clear narrative choice that affects the viewer.

Yle Fem's news story three is far from objective reporting. It is not just evident in what the journalist says, but in the way she says it. She hesitates and stops in the middle of the sentence as she says:

"*This is what it looks like in at least a dozen farms. Suffering, nearly dead pigs lying in their own feces, bedsores, the farms are too crammed*" (Reporter, News story 3).

The same style, which could be called the emotional narrator, is prevalent in other Yle Fem stories as well. The journalists from Yle TV1, on the other hand, do not comment on the footage from Justice for Animals in any way, except to explain what an actor such as Minister Anttila has said about it. This shows that there is a division between Yle Fem and Yle TV1 news stories in regard to soft and hard news. Hard news reporting strives to steer clear of moral judgements (Dunn, 2003).

Another surprising difference that seems to place Yle Fem quite strongly in defense of the actions of Justice for Animals is the fact that it is the only channel that actually interviews them. Representatives of Justice for Animals are interviewed in news stories three, four and five, all of which are Yle Fem news stories. Even the representative from SEY, the Finnish Confederation of Associations for Animal Protection is interviewed on Yle Fem. It is surprising that Yle TV1 has decided not to interview the

representatives from any animal rights movement. This too is an important choice that affects the message in the narrative that is told to viewers. To interview the animal activists is to legitimate them, to give them the potential role of the protagonist instead of the outsider.

It is also worth noting that Yle TV1 did not interview anyone from MTK, the Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners, while Yle Fem interviewed the representative from the SLC, the Swedish-speaking Agricultural Producers in Finland. Although, many signs point to a certain bias in favor of Justice for Animals, Yle Fem interviewed opposing actors in a more versatile way than YLE TV1.

The remarkable difference in the positioning of the reporters to the actions and footage of Justice for Animals was certainly something that I was not expecting, when I began analyzing Yle television news. Initially, I contemplated whether there would be a difference between the narrative told by a commercial channel and Yle. I could not have foreseen such huge narrative differences inside the Finnish public broadcasting company. The differing approaches of the two channels also had an effect on my analysis, because evidently the roles given to Justice for Animals were also slightly different, depending on the channel.

7. **Conclusion**

In this thesis, I analyzed seven news stories from Yle TV1 and Yle Fem with an antenarrative deconstruction method. My goal was to find out what kind of roles the animal activists from Justice for Animals are given in the substories of Yle television news stories covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009. I also asked how the main forms of dramaturgical inequality are present in the television news stories. In this chapter I will summarize the theoretical backgrounds I presented in the early chapters of this thesis, and the results of my analysis from the previous chapter and attempt to set the answers to both research questions in a broader social setting.

The use of narrative elements in television news is seen to be on the rise, although it is a debated topic. Some say that the form of television news is more similar to the traditions of journalism, and follow the order of the inverted pyramid, where the most essential facts are told first (e.g. Ytreberg, 2001). However, many interpret television news stories to have several narrative features, such as the narrator-like anchor, and protagonists, who are usually politicians, authorities and other members of the elite (Ridell, 1998, p.141). The style of news reporting is changing, and it seems that style in which television news are told depends on the country and media climate. According to Jaramillo (2009) the 24 hour news cycle in the United States has led to a struggle for viewers, which in turn simplifies the news and emphasized the storytelling characteristics of television news. This is linked to a general trend of tabloidization and an increase in the use of narrative in media texts all over the world (Dunn, 2003). The positive and negative impacts of this development have been at the center of media studies for the past years.

I used David M. Boje's (2001) antenarrative deconstruction method to analyze the roles given to Justice for Animals in substories of Yle television news.I analyzed the four television news stories from Yle Fem and three from Yle TV1 using the eight steps of deconstruction. The short answer to my main research question is that the roles given to Justice for Animals in the pig farming incident in 2009 shifted between hero and villain in the substories. The antenarrative analysis broke the news stories into smaller stories

and elements, which revealed that the animal activists were not just given one role inside a story.

Another interesting observation concerning the roles given to Justice for Animals was how different these roles were in Yle TV1 and Yle Fem news stories. Representatives of Justice for Animals were interviewed in just three out of the seven news stories. All of them were Yle Fem news stories. It is hard to call an actor a protagonist, if they are not given the possibility to speak up. The protagonists of the stories were certainly not representatives of Justice for Animals for Yle TV1. However, Yle TV1 and Yle Fem differed in additional ways. Yle Fem used stronger language to defend the footage of Justice for Animals, and Yle Fem also showed footage of pig farmers that was far more shocking than Yle TV1. Yle Fem even used a disclaimer to warn sensitive viewers of disturbing images, while Yle TV1 did not.

I also asked how the main forms of dramaturgical inequality are present in the television news stories. According to Deegan (1989) the main forms of dramaturgical inequality are capitalism and sexism. Capitalism was indeed at the center of the drama, as Justice for Animals questioned the very demand for generating profit at the expense of animal welfare. Several actors defend the general state of pig farming and state that the pig farms shown in the footage of Justice for Animals are exceptions, and claim that there are no structural issues related to pig farming. There was a clear division between actors defending animal welfare and those defending the right to livelihood.

Sexism was also evident, but in a surprising way. While there were images that framed men and women differently, showing the men in an official setting in widescreen shots, most of the journalists and interviewees were in fact women. This is exceptional, as most journalists and most actors who are given a voice in the news are male (Berkowitz, 2009). This directly contradicts Deegan's supposition of male hegemony in the media, which is an intriguing observation. A form of dramaturgical inequality that I noticed has a history in Finland, between the country-side and the people living in the cities. Traces of this were noticeable, but there were differences in the presentation of this inequality between Yle Fem and Yle TV1.

These finding on the roles of Justice for Animals and the dramaturgical inequalities are interesting. They are somewhat different that Juppi (2004) found in her doctoral thesis. Juppi names three dominating discourses that are used to describe animal activists in the 1990s and early 2000s: demonizing, trivializing and criminalizing. Four less common ones are: patronizing, legitimizing, exoticizing and politicizing discourses. Although, it is clear that there are differences between narrative and discourse analysis, they can both be used as methods of qualitative research that seek to find patterns and hidden power relations behind what is said. In addition to this, the narrative analysis of roles in my analysis also sought to see behind what is immediately shown. What is interesting is that the use of antenarrative deconstruction analysis produced observations that were similar to the discourses that Juppi (2004) discovered. Traces of the criminalizing discourse could be seen in the vilification of Justice for Animals in the television news stories. However, Juppi (2004) mentions the legitimizing discourse as a less common one. I, on the other hand, found that one of the dominating roles given to Justice for Animals was a positive one, the role of the hero was quite common, particularly in Yle Fem news stories. The role of the hero is missing from Juppi's observations. These findings support the claim that there has been a change in the way animal activists are presented and discussed in the media, although the data from 2009 is limited in scope.

According to Juppi (2004) the change in the attitudes of the media towards animal activists is a continuation of a process that began in the 1990s, and is a sum of several factors. The states have lost their exclusive right to control the culture, media and news flows within their region. Although new technology could provide states with massive tools to homogenize the content in the media, transnational information floods stop this from happening (Juppi, 2004, p.51.) Juppi (2004) claims that this has come about through globalization and the emergence of new media technologies.

The changes in the media landscape are related to the way in which journalists position themselves towards the political and commercial elite, which in McNair's (2009) view is linked to a wider socio-cultural trend. The political elite has never been watched and scrutinized as closely as they are now. The elite is questioned and their moral trespassings are frequent material for the press. (McNair, 2009.) Modern politicians are aware of the importance of image, but increasingly, so are other actors in the media

field. This is also evident in the rise of political scandals. Although the Justice for Animals pig farming incident is not a political scandal as such, it has similar elements, such as a debated moral level. (Thompson, 2000.) This is why the rise of political scandals showcases the changes in the media that are also related to why animal activists are given different roles from before.

One of the most notable factors speeding up the process of heterogenization is the ubiquity of the internet, which was not the case in the 1990s. The more traditional roles and codes of news are being challenged, which leaves more room for different subject matter and style of news stories. (McNair, 2009.) Messages do not necessarily originate from just one source anymore (Harper, 2011, p. 86), although Yle news still boasts incredible ratings. Justice for Animals opened up their own website called The truth about factory farming on the same day that the undercover footage from pig farms was shown on a A-studio in 2007. Links to their website were distributed on Facebook and other social media platforms, and a Facebook page for the cause was opened right after the A-studio program had aired. (Juppi, 2008.)

Debates on cultural values are held in a public arena hosted by the media. Civil society actors and activists are given a chance to express their voices more freely in a heterogenized environment. This includes both actors supporting and opposing the causes in question, as well as political actors and those that are accused. Social movements, including animal activists, have the chance to politicize issues that are important to them and even make them part of the official political agenda. (Juppi, 2004, p. 76.) Some say that news is dumbing down for the sake of drama and that this trend is deteriorating democracy. According to Kemppi and Kivivuori (2004), the intensive competition of the media industry has a need to boost ratings and create drama by shocking viewers with visually stimulating footage.

It is traditionally not easy for actors, who are not in a position of power to have a voice in the media. (Juppi, Peltokoski & Pyykkönen, 2003, p. 270.) However, as culture has become more heterogeneous, the animal rights movement has not only encountered prejudice and blame, but also understanding and sympathy. The fact that there are such dramatic differences between the television news stories on the undercover filming of

pig farms by Justice for Animals between two channels from Yle is also interesting. One of the possible explanatory factors in the differences between roles is linked to decisions made by the production team. The values and ideologies of the newsroom affect the way a television story is told.

However, it is important to point out that the apparent sympathy that the media demonstrated towards Justice for Animals compared to the "fox girls" might not only be caused by cultural and media changes, but could also be linked to the severity of the cases in question. According to Konttinen and Peltokoski (2004, p. 137-138), it can be stated that ecotage is a more serious crime than civil disobedience. Justice for Animals did not cause damage to properties, unlike the "fox girls". This should not be overlooked as one of the possible explanations for the changes in the roles that the media has given to animal activists.

8. Discussion

This little piggy went to market,
This little piggy stayed home,
This little piggy had roast beef,
This little piggy had none,
And this little piggy cried wee, wee, wee,
All the way home
(Traditional English Nursery Rhyme).

When I watched animal activists Karry Hedberg and Saila Kivelä from Justice for Animals being interviewed on the popular talk show Maria! on October 19th, 2011, I paid attention to the positive reactions they were getting from the audience, and the composure and expertise the animal activists were displaying. Hedberg and Kivelä were the two activists behind the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009 and 2011, but instead of receiving only criticism, to me it seemed that they were also admired for what they had done. This got me wondering, whether this change of attitude was down to the fact that the talk show in question was known for supporting provocative actors, or if there had been a more general shift in the Finnish media field concerning the roles given to animal activists. I chose to study this phenomenon by analyzing substories of Yle television news centered on the topic of undercover filming of pig farms.

Looking back, I am happy that I chose this topic for my thesis. The research process has been challenging at times, particularly concerning the software at Kavi, as it did not serve the purposes of conducting research. Although I watched all seven Yle television news stories many times, I might have thought of new angles of analysis, if the technology had been more accessible. It would have been great to have the possibility to save the news stories, or even to pause them. This is particularly true with my sub-research question, which I would have wanted to focus on more. This being said, it is possible that enlarging the analysis for the study of dramaturgical inequalities might have required broader data.

However, mostly the process has been interesting and the results even more so. The answers to my main research question regarding the roles given to Justice for Animals in substories in Yle television news covering the undercover filming of pig farms in 2009, were not that surprising, as I had observed a change in the media field concerning animal activists. The reasons for this change may be linked to a cultural shift and could also relate to the severity of conduct between animal activists from the 1990s and Justice for Animals in 2007-2011. As the data only consisted of seven television news stories, broad claims cannot be made about changes in the roles of animal activists in the media.

I was predicting an even bigger shift in favor of the animal activists in the television news stories. Now, the analysis of the news stories from Yle revealed that the roles given to the animal activists were more positive in the first few stories, but in the last news stories Justice for Animals seemed to be cast to the side, and pig farmers and Minister Anttila were given the central roles. This signaled a return to the status quo.

I am relatively satisfied with David M. Boje's deconstruction antenarrative method. It really helped me dig deeper and peel away layers of the narrative step by step. It was a good way to study storytelling elements related to both sound and visual, and the narrative they form together. Initially, I felt that some of the steps of the eight step model were simply too similar to each other to be of much use, but as the analysis progressed I noticed that each step deepened the analysis, although some steps were more useful than others. I would definitely recommend the deconstruction antenarrative method to anyone who seeks to study forms of storytelling in texts, especially if they are interested in revealing substories and hierarchies.

The most essential steps in the analysis in my opinion were steps 1, 2, 7 and 8: duality search, hierarchy search, tracing what is beneath the lines and resituating the story. These steps seemed to form the core of my analysis. Searching for hierarchies and dualities set the focus for the rest of the analysis. Step seven was helpful for the analysis of visual storytelling that I felt did not deserve as much attention as the verbal analysis. Generally speaking, I would focus more on visual storytelling in the future. It was the visual substories that formed the strongest counter narrative against the dominating

verbal narrative, which sought to question the legitimacy of Justice for Animals particularly in the last three news stories.

Step eight helped form a broader picture and made me see the roles of Justice for Animals in a new way. I am also happy that I picked to study the roles given to Justice for Animals, instead of some other narrative feature. The focus on roles was very revealing, as characters are at the center of all stories.

When I began the research for my thesis, I was curious about how much a narrative method could reveal about the hierarchies between animal activists, representatives of the pig farming industry and politicians. Boje's (2001) method proved that an antenarrative method was well-suited for just that. Instead of focusing on just storytelling elements, the deconstruction method focused on revealing hierarchies and substories in a more thorough way than I had expected.

It is unfortunate that I did not have access to Yle news stories covering the pig farm filming from 2007, and there simply was not enough data from 2011. It would have been interesting to examine the narrative changes in the role of Justice for Animals from the first undercover filming of pig farms in 2007 to the latest one in 2011. There is evidence pointing to the media losing interest in the matter, as there were only two news stories on the topic on Yle television news in 2011. It is common for the media to lose interest quickly, if new information is not provided (Juppi, 2008). While I was conducting interviews for my screenplay, I had a talk with one of the members from Justice for Animals, who had been involved in all three pig farm filming cases. She claimed that there were significant changes in the way the media presented them in 2007 compared to 2009 and 2011. She felt that the reactions of the media were critical in 2007, but suddenly became more understanding in 2009. It would have liked to study whether similar changes would be visible in the research of television news.

There were seven news stories that had sufficient length for a narrative analysis in 2009. The data is not extensive, but I believe that it provided a natural delimitation of the data, as it covers almost all television news coverage on the topic from the public service broadcasting company. It would have been interesting to include television news stories

from commercial channels, but as they did not reply to my inquiries on the topic, my focus was solely on Yle. The data provided valid and interesting results. In fact I was surprised to see such a shift in the hierarchy of the news stories moving Justice for Animals from the role of hero towards the role of villain.

Critical theory has been criticized for exaggerating the power of capitalism (e.g. Pietilä, 2005), which I tried to remember as I analyzed the news stories searching for dramaturgical inequalities. I watched the television news stories and read the transcriptions many times to make sure that my analysis was as objective as possible. It is clear that I cannot escape my personal opinions regarding any ideologies I stand for, such as being a vegetarian. It is clear that a narrative analysis is a subjective interpretation, and although I spent a lot of time studying the theoretical backgrounds and was diligent with my analysis, it is possible that someone else might have gotten different results. Still, I believe I was able to put my personal beliefs aside and remained as objective as possible.

Initially, I was worried that the premise for my sub-question might not yield interesting results as Deegan's (1989) notion of dramaturgic inequalities is based on observations from the United States. However, capitalism and sexism were prevalent to a significant degree in the Yle television news stories. Capitalism was at the center of the debate between Justice for Animals who defended the rights of pigs and the pig farming industry who spoke up for their right to pursue their trade. The dualism between branding and animal rights was striking. I was surprised at the dominance of female reporters and interviewees. I wonder if it is simply a matter of coincidence, or is the number of women linked to the prevalence of elements of soft news in the seven Yle news stories studied. It would be interesting to find out more about the roles of women in television news. An intriguing addition to Deegan's main inequalities was the observation of the drama between city-dwellers and people from the countryside. Although Finnish culture is becoming more heterogeneous (Juppi, 2004), the recent media hype suggests that the inequality between the countryside and people in the city might not be a dying social division. Social changes are not necessarily straightforward

in nature, so in this sense, it is not surprising to finds traces of traditional cultural blocs and fragmentation into smaller ideological groups.

It was incredibly interesting that Yle Fem covered the subject of undercover pig farm filming so differently from Yle TV1. In my analysis, I found that the Swedish speaking news used a more personal and affective tone and choice of words compared to journalists at Yle TV1. Yle Fem also used far more drastic footage from Justice for Animals. The most shocking aspect in my opinion, was the fact the Yle TV1 did not interview Justice for Animals even once, although the whole incident revolved around the actions of the animal activists. Yle TV1 decided to air three television news stories on the subject, so they showed interest in the subject and clearly thought the incident was newsworthy. Why then did they only interview Minister Anttila, Evira, a veterinarian and a pig farmer? It seems an odd choice not to include such central actor the interviews. I wonder what the reasons are for these dramaturgical and narrative choices. It could just be coincidental, a difference that would not be apparent in other cases of television news, but it does seem strange and it is certainly a phenomenon that deserves further research.

As changes in the media landscape, both culturally and in news reporting, cannot be established clearly on the basis of this study, further research would require broader data. Both Yle Fem and Yle TV1 are part of same company, so it does not seem likely that the differences would come down to commercial goals or competition for viewers. There could be broader cultural difference between the two channels, or possibly a difference in the views and values of the production teams of both television news channels. In this thesis, I have left out the significance that the production teams bring to the narratives in television news stories. Decisions of the whole team, choices of the editor, sound designer, producer, among others, certainly have an enormous impact on what kinds of roles actors are given. While an analysis of cultural shifts is important to possibly explain the movement from villain to part-time hero, there are other factors that might explain differences in the roles actors are given in television news. It would be interesting to conduct further research on the differences of Yle Fem and Yle TV1 television news reporting.

Another topic that interests me, is the position or role that milk has in Finnish culture. While I wrote my screenplay, I got sidetracked and did extensive research on the Finnish milk industry and advertising relating to it. I discovered that there are many myths related to drinking milk, and these myths were often utilized in marketing. It would be interesting to study the changing narrative of milk. I might change my focus to cows in the future, but I am still interested in finding out what Justice for Animals plans to do next. Will the plot thicken in the narrative where the pig meets the market?

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Appendix

Technical Details of the Television News Stories Sent From Yle

1. Television News Story 1

_____

20080722071121517202715502000 1B7876452A0000006120B000 00D0F037140 Tv-uutiset ja sää 49229020000

OHJELMAID: \~00,45,

27,0~PROG_2008_00016309

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-uutiset ja sää
OHJELMAN NIMI: TV-uutiset ja sää 20:30
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-nyheter och väder
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091209

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00041161

Taltion numero	**Kesto**	**Knar**	**Kiar**	**Digitoitu**
1BE-048265 A		AR		Ei
1BE-054761 A		AR		Ei
1DB-271471		AR		Ei
1DB-271472		AR		Ei

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Suomi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Uutislähetykset **KP NUMERO:** 4922
TUOTANTONUMERO: 49229020000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis -ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot: ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-Urheiluun (esim Eurosport, SNTV, Canal+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Anne Borgström	Meteorologi			
Henrietta Hassinen	Kuvatoimittaja			
Juha Okko	Ohjaaja			
Jussi-Pekka Rantanen	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			
Mårten Lampén	Apulaisohjaaja			
Nina Pyykölä	Apulaisohjaaja			
Petri Jauhiainen	Uutispäällikkö			
Rea Lemström	Graafikko			

AIH2: 00:04:21:21 - 00:04:52:19
Eläinaktivistit tunkeutuivat **sikaloihin** ilman lupaa ja pyrkivät selvittämään, ovatko eläinten
olot parantuneet kahden vuoden takaisen kohun jälkeen.
INSE: 00:04:21:21 - 00:04:52:19
AIHE: Eläinaktivistit tunkeutuivat **sikaloihin** ilman lupaa ja pyrkivät selvittämään, ovatko
eläinten olot parantuneet kahden vuoden takaisen kohun jälkeen.
ENVA: **20091209**

2. Television News Story 2

20080718081005317202715502000 1B7876452A0000006120B00000D0F034078 Tv-uutiset 49229011000

OHJELMAID: \~00,46,27,0~PROG_2008_00013669

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-uutiset
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-nyheter
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091210

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00041415

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Suomi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Uutislähetykset **KP NUMERO:** 4922
TUOTANTONUMERO: 49229011000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis -ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot: ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-Urheiluun (esim Eurosport, SNTV, Canal+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Anna Järvinen	Apulaisohjaaja			
Heta-Leena Sierilä	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			
Katri Elfving	Apulaisohjaaja			
Mikko Pesonen	Uutispäällikkö			
Petteri Sopanen	Graafikko			
Pia Torvinen	Ohjaaja			
Terhi Nikkanen	Meteorologi			
Tommi Pylkkö	Kuvatoimittaja			

SISA: 00:01:15:8 - 00:02:22:22
Sikoja sikalassa, huonoissa olosuhteissa. Puhelinhaast Taina Mikkonen (SU-).
AIH2: 00:01:15:8 - 00:02:22:22
Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto aikoo tarkistuttaa sikatilat, joilla aktivistit ovat kuvanneet
eläinten huonoa kohtelua. Oikeutta eläimille -yhdistys kertoo toimittavansa Eviralle tiedot
30 **sikalasta**, joista aktivistit sanovat löytäneensä muun muassa hoitamattomina kituvia, pahasti
sairaita **sikoja**. Evira pitää Ylen A-Studion julkaisemissa kuvissa näkyvää **sikojen** huonoa
kohtelua vakavana epäkohtana. Evira perää myös lihatalojen vastuuta.
INSE: 00:01:15:8 - 00:02:22:22
KUVA: **Sikoja sikalassa**, huonoissa olosuhteissa. Puhelinhaast Taina Mikkonen (SU-).

AIHE: Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto aikoo tarkistuttaa sikatilat, joilla aktivistit ovat
kuvanneet eläinten huonoa kohtelua. Oikeutta eläimille -yhdistys kertoo toimittavansa
Eviralle tiedot 30 **sikalasta**, joista aktivistit sanovat löytäneensä muun muassa hoitamattomina
kituvia, pahasti sairaita **sikoja**. Evira pitää Ylen A-Studion julkaisemissa kuvissa näkyvää
sikojen huonoa kohtelua vakavana epäkohtana. Evira perää myös lihatalojen vastuuta.
TEKIJÄT: Antti Pilke (toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: Oikeutta eläimille-yhdistys
HAASTATELTAVAT: Ylitarkastaja Taina Mikkonen (puhelinhaast, Evira).
ENVA: **20091210**

3. Television News Story 3

2009042411374211720271550200001B7876452A0000006112B00000D0F003352 TV-nytt 65251050000

OHJELMAID: \~00,51,

27,0~PROG_2009_00049372

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
OHJELMAN NIMI: TV-nytt 19:30
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091210

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00041663

Taltion numero	**Kesto**	**Knar**	**Kiar**	**Digitoitu**
1DB-271491		AR		Ei

.

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Ruotsi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Nytt **KP NUMERO:** 6525
TUOTANTONUMERO: 65251050000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis -ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009
asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot:
ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston
tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-Urheiluun (esim Eurosport, SNTV, Canal+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Aleksi Hartikainen	Apulaisohjaaja			
Caj Rönning	Uutispäällikkö			
Gunilla Löfstedt-Söderhol	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			
Linda-Lotta Linnanterä	Ohjaaja			
Outi Norberg	Apulaisohjaaja			
Petteri Bülow	Kuvatoimittaja			

SISA: 00:08:28:5 - 00:10:21:17
Kuvia **sikalasta** jossa kärsiviä **sikoja**, huonot olosuhteet. Haast Janna Rancken (RU+). Haast
Jaana Mikkola (SU+).
AIH2: 00:08:28:5 - 00:10:21:17
Eilisessä A-studiossa näytettiin Oikeutta eläimille -järjestön kuvaamaa videomateriaalia siitä,
kuinka **sikoja** kohdellaan huonosti suomalaisilla sikatiloilla. Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto
Evira alkaa tehdä tarkastuksia sikatiloilla.
INSE: 00:08:28:5 - 00:10:21:17
KUVA: Kuvia **sikalasta** jossa kärsiviä **sikoja**, huonot olosuhteet. Haast Janna Rancken (RU+).
Haast Jaana Mikkola (SU+).
AIHE: Eilisessä A-studiossa näytettiin Oikeutta eläimille -järjestön kuvaamaa videomateriaalia
siitä, kuinka **sikoja** kohdellaan huonosti suomalaisilla sikatiloilla.
Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto Evira alkaa tehdä tarkastuksia sikatiloilla.
TEKIJÄT: Laura Leivo (toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: YLE + Oikeutta eläimille -yhdistys.
HAASTATELTAVAT: Janna Rancken (Oikeutta Eläimille). Yksikön johtaja Jaana Mikkola (Evira).
ENVA: **20091210**

4. Television News Story 4

20090424122340217202715502000 1B7876452A0000006112B00000D0F003720 TV-nytt 65251151000

OHJELMAID: \~00,52,

27,0~PROG_2009_00049535

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
OHJELMAN NIMI: TV-nytt 21:40
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091214

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00043102

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Ruotsi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Nytt **KP NUMERO:** 6525
TUOTANTONUMERO: 65251151000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis- ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot: ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-urheiluun (esim. Eurosport, SNTV ja CANAL+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Daniel Olin	Uutispäällikkö			.
Daniel Olin	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			.
Jenni Kiiskinen	Ohjaaja			.
Katja Lautamatti	Apulaisohjaaja			.
Tommi Pylkkö	Kuvatoimittaja			.

SISA: 00:03:19:1 - 00:04:34:4
Haast Saila Kivelä (SU+). Oikeutta eläimille järjestön kuvamateriaalia **sikaloista.**
AIH2: 00:04:49:17 - 00:05:51:19
Agronomi Mikael Westerholm kommentoi **sikaloiden** kuntoa.
INSE: 00:03:19:1 - 00:04:34:4
KUVA: Haast Saila Kivelä (SU+). Oikeutta eläimille järjestön kuvamateriaalia **sikaloista.**
AIHE: Eläinaktivistin haastattelu.
TEKIJÄT: Lena Linderborg (toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: Yle, Oikeutta eläimille.
HAASTATELTAVAT: Eläinaktivisti Saila Kivelä.
INSE: 00:04:49:17 - 00:05:51:19
KUVA: Studiohaastattelu. Haast Kristia Westerholm (RU+).
AIHE: Agronomi Mikael Westerholm kommentoi **sikaloiden** kuntoa.
TEKIJÄT: Daniel Olin (Toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: Yle (aiemman lähetyksen studiohaastattelu).
HAASTATELTAVAT: Agronomi Mikael Westerholm kommentoi **sikaloiden** kuntoa.
HAAS: 00:04:49:17 - 00:05:51:19
Agronomi Mikael Westerholm kommentoi **sikaloiden** kuntoa.
ENVA: **20091214**

5. Television News Story 5

_____
20090424113928317202715502000 1B7876452A0000006112B000 00D0F003460 TV-nytt 65251051000

OHJELMAID: \~00,54,

27,0~PROG_2009_00049426

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
OHJELMAN NIMI: TV-nytt 19:30
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091214

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00043055

Taltion numero	**Kesto**	**Knar**	**Kiar**	**Digitoitu**
1DB-271804		AR		Ei

.

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Ruotsi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Nytt **KP NUMERO:** 6525
TUOTANTONUMERO: 65251051000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis- ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot: ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-urheiluun (esim. Eurosport, SNTV ja CANAL+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Aleksi Hartikainen	Ohjaaja			
Daniel Olin	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			
Jenni Kiiskinen	Apulaisohjaaja			
Katja Lautamatti	Apulaisohjaaja			
Susanna Sjöstedt	Uutispäällikkö			
Tommi Pylkkö	Kuvatoimittaja			

SISA: 00:07:30:18 - 00:09:17:2
Oikeutta eläimille -ryhmän kuvaa **sikaloista**: kuollut **sika**, huonokuntoisia **sikoja**. Haast Saila Kivelä (SU+).
INSE: 00:07:30:18 - 00:09:17:2
KUVA: Oikeutta eläimille -ryhmän kuvaa **sikaloista**: kuollut **sika**, huonokuntoisia **sikoja**. Haast Saila Kivelä (SU+).
AIHE: Eläinaktivistin haastattelu.
TEKIJÄT: Lena Linderborg (toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: Yle, Oikeutta eläimille.
HAASTATELTAVAT: Eläinaktivisti Saila Kivelä.
ENVA: **20091214**

6. Television News Story 6

20091113130658817202715502000 1B7876452A0000006232B00000D0F000396 Tv-uutiset 49229013000

OHJELMAID: \~00,55,

27,0~PROG_2009_00412455

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-uutiset
OHJELMAN NIMI: Uutiset 13:00
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: Tv-nyheter
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091217

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00044230

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Suomi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Uutislähetykset **KP NUMERO:** 4922
TUOTANTONUMERO: 49229013000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis -ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot: ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-Urheiluun (esim Eurosport, SNTV, Canal+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Ilmari Kontio	Uutispäällikkö			.
Jani Uitto	Apulaisohjaaja			.
Jussi-Pekka Rantanen	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			.
Marko Myllynen	Apulaisohjaaja			.
Veli-Matti Huotari	Ohjaaja			.

AIH2: 00:02:24:13 - 00:03:14:13
Maa- ja metsätalousministeri Sirkka-Liisa Anttila kiistää, että sikayrittäjien valtionapu
liittyisi **sikojen** kasvatusoloja koskevaan kohuun.
INSE: 00:02:24:13 - 00:03:14:13
KUVA: Kuvapurku klo 1100 lähetyksessä.
AIHE: Maa- ja metsätalousministeri Sirkka-Liisa Anttila kiistää, että sikayrittäjien valtionapu
liittyisi **sikojen** kasvatusoloja koskevaan kohuun.
KUVALÄHDE: Yle ark.
HAASTATELTAVAT: Maa- ja metsätalousministeri Sirkka-Liisa Anttila (Kesk.).
ENVA: **20091217**

Television News Story 7

20090424122327617202715502000 1B7876452A0000006112B00000D0F003704 TV-nytt 65251151000

OHJELMAID: \~00,56,27,0~PROG_2009_00049527

SUOM.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
RUOTS.LÄHETYSNIMI: TV-nytt
VERSION NIMI: A

DIGITOITU: Kyllä
ENSILÄHETYSPVM: 20091218

MEDIA-ID: MEDIA_2009_00044800

VÄRILLISYYS: Väri **KUVASUHDE:** 16:9
KIELI: Ruotsi
KUSTANNUSPAIKKA: Tv-Nytt **KP NUMERO:** 6525
TUOTANTONUMERO: 65251151000

KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET1: Oikeudet käyttää osia muissa ohjelmissa. Ei sovittuja uusintakorvauksia. Sisältää esitys- tai käyttörajoituksia.
KÄYTTÖOIKEUDET2: EBU ja EBU:n jäsenyhtiöt tv-oikeuksin. CBS ja Reuters uutis -ja ajankohtaisoikeuksin 31.12.2009 asti. Muutokset mahdollisia, epävarmoissa tapauksissa ota yhteyttä toimitukseen. Arkistokopiot:

ks. alkuperäinen lähde; jos alkuperää ei mainita, käyttöoikeudet eivät ole TV-arkiston
tiedossa. Urheilukuvat: ota yhteys TV-Urheiluun (esim Eurosport, SNTV, Canal+).

TEKIJÄT

Nimi	**Rooli**	**Free**	**Yhtiö**	**Lisätiedot**
Anne-Mari Erikäinen	Kuvatoimittaja			
Gunilla Löfstedt-Söderhol	Uutispäällikkö			
Gunilla Löfstedt-Söderhol	Lukija (kertoja/speak)			
Jan Vainio	Apulaisohjaaja			
Linda-Lotta Linnanterä	Ohjaaja			

SISA: 00:06:57:7 - 00:07:51:3
Aktivistien kuvaa **sikalasta**. Haast Sirkka-Liisa Anttila (SU+). Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto
ulkoa. SEYn kyltti. Haast Helinä Ylisirniö (RU+). **Sikoja** karsinassa.
AIH2: 00:06:57:7 - 00:07:51:3
Evira on löytänyt noin puolella eläinaktivistien esiin nostamista sikatiloista laiminlyöntejä.
Evira on tarkastanut runsaan viikon aikana lähes kaikki sikatilat, joilla Oikeutta eläimille
-järjestö kävi syksyllä salaa kuvaamassa **sikojen** oloja. Tarkastettuja tiloja oli 32,
laiminlyöntejä löytyi 14 tilalta.
INSE: 00:06:57:7 - 00:07:51:3
KUVA: Aktivistien kuvaa **sikalasta**. Haast Sirkka-Liisa Anttila (SU+).
Elintarviketurvallisuusvirasto ulkoa. SEYn kyltti. Haast Helinä Ylisirniö (RU+). **Sikoja**
karsinassa.
AIHE: Evira on löytänyt noin puolella eläinaktivistien esiin nostamista sikatiloista
laiminlyöntejä. Evira on tarkastanut runsaan viikon aikana lähes kaikki sikatilat, joilla
Oikeutta eläimille -järjestö kävi syksyllä salaa kuvaamassa **sikojen** oloja. Tarkastettuja tiloja
oli 32, laiminlyöntejä löytyi 14 tilalta.
TEKIJÄT: Thomas Von Boguslawski (toimittaja).
KUVALÄHDE: Yle.
HAASTATELTAVAT: Sirkka-Liisa Anttila (maa- ja metsätalousministeri, keskusta). Sirkka-Liisa
Anttila. Helinä Ylisirniö (toiminnanjohtaja, SEY).
ENVA: **20091218**