

Framing environmental issues, heroes and villains in a journalistic narrative

The Greenpeace project Arctis reportage
in Helsingin Sanomat

Anna Nurmivaara

Masterarbete / Master's thesis

Media Management

2014

DEGREE THESIS	
Arcada	
Degree Programme:	Media Management
Identification number:	
Author:	Anna Nurmivaara
Title:	Framing environmental issues, heroes and villains in a journalistic narrative The Greenpeace project Arctis reportage in Helsingin Sanomat
Supervisor (Arcada):	Mats Nylund
Commissioned by:	
<p>Abstract:</p> <p>In September 2013 Greenpeace demonstrated against the Russian oil corporation Gazprom and arctic oil drilling, which led to massive media coverage in Finland as one of the arrested activists was Sini Saarela, member of Greenpeace Finland. The aim of the research was to understand how the environmental issues were communicated and framed in the journalistic narrative in the Helsingin Sanomat online news portal. The aim was also to create an understanding of how the parties involved were framed, as heroes or villains. This research is conducted using a qualitative, data-driven method that is based on the communications theory of narrative framing. Three main frames were found and analyzed. The risk frame covered the environmental issues that were mainly communicated on a risk level. The heroes and the villain frames characterized the parties that created the main conflicts. The parties of conflict were Greenpeace, the Russian authorities and Gazprom. The Sini Saarela frame analyzed the framing of Saarela, as she became the character for the media to follow. Saarela was framed a character the editorial office obviously sympathized. environmental friend and a sincere friend.</p>	
Keywords:	greenpeace, framing, journalism, environmental communication, sini saarela
Number of pages:	28
Language:	English
Date of acceptance:	

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1 INTRODUCTION

Environmental communication faces many barriers before reaching the newspapers. As newspapers compete for market shares, they publish news that interests the audience and are considered newsworthy. Even when an environmental issue reaches the level of newsworthiness, the media often focuses on conflict and frames “goodies” and “bad-dies” of an event.

Greenpeace set up project Arctis to demonstrate against arctic oil drilling on the Russian oil rig Prirazlonaja in Russia. Thirty activists were arrested. One of the thirty activists was Sini Saarela, member of Greenpeace in Finland. Saarela faced charges of piracy, which caused a massive media coverage in Finland. The media followed the events of Sini Saarela for months. This research analyzes how the environmental issues were reported on during a debate on conflict and a newsworthy narrative. This research also seeks to find the heroes and villains of the reportage.

1.1 Research problem

Greenpeace’s project Arctis gained extensive media visibility in the Finnish press. Despite the massive media coverage, the environmental problems related to arctic oil remained a side narrative, instead focusing on the framing of heroes and villains of the event. This research aims to understand how and in which depth the environmental issues were presented during the reportage as well as analyze how the different parties of the conflict were presented. The analysis is conducted using the narrative framing method. The research questions are:

1. How were the environmental problems in arctic oil drilling presented?
2. How were the parties involved presented, as heroes or villains?

1.2 Material outline

This research investigates the state of environmental journalism in Finland, which supports the choice of researching material published in Helsingin Sanomat, Finland’s biggest newspaper. As digitalization is still an ongoing process and an increasing number

of news readers are utilizing digital forms of information resources, the research material is limited to online articles. Articles analyzed in this research were published during the time period August 26th to December 28th of 2013, which covers the arrest and release of Sini Saarela. A total of 123 articles were accessed via sign-in to the Helsingin Sanomat online newspaper, which pay-wall provides more in-depth writing than the free online version. The articles were written by 31 different HS journalists in addition to cited sources of press agencies and Greenpeace. The articles were published in different sections of the paper, e.g. domestic news, foreign news, financial news, city news, politics (referred to as news in the Table 1), reportages, letters to the Editor and editorials. The table below illustrates the types of articles analyzed in this research.

Table 1. News types published in HS online news portal concerning project Arctis.

Articles, total: 123	News	Editorials	Letters to the Editor	Reportages
Number of articles	110	4	7	2

1.3 Methodology

This research is conducted using qualitative data-driven content analysis of articles regarding the Project Arctis campaign published in the Helsingin Sanomat (HS) online news portal. The study seeks to answer the research questions and hypothesis by analyzing the frames used in the selected news sample. The analysis utilizes the communications theory of narrative framing which is described in Chapter 3.

2 FRAMING ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATION

2.1 Environmental communication

Environmental communication has many functions in our society. According to Robert Cox (2010, p. 23) it structures our perception of the world, mediates beliefs, attitudes and behaviors related to environmental problems. Environmental communication can also be defined as educating, alerting, persuading and mobilizing (Cox 2010, p. 20). And as environmental issues affect a community or sometimes the whole society, environmental communication easily forms a public sphere e.g. room for public debate.

There are many barriers for environmental issues to reach the news. Robert Cox (2010, pp. 158-166) presents the editorial hindrances of news being published. According to Cox influencers can be newspaper ownership, gatekeeping of editors who make the decision to cover or not to cover a topic and newsworthiness as in how a topic attracts a reader.

Allison G. Anderson (2002, p. 9) presents eight factors to newsworthiness from the viewpoint of journalists:

1. Frequency - event news being published until its climax wears out
2. Amplitude – for example a number of people being killed in an accident
3. Ambiguity – clear-cut news are more likely to be published
4. Meaningfulness – proximity and effect on everyday life
5. Consonance – already familiar viewpoints are more likely to be published
6. Unexpectedness – rare and sudden events are more likely to be considered newsworthy
7. Continuity – earned media attention of an event will likely be viewed as newsworthy afterwards even if at smaller scale and
8. Composition – news is to some extent published to fit into the selection of competing news.

Being affected by these three factors, environmental communication still faces difficulties on the way to being published. Environmental journalist Mike Keating (1993, p. 84) acknowledges that journalists often face problems in finding objective sources of information. Keating admits that even governments that should be independent sources regarding environmental issues are forced to take sides as economic development sometimes override.

When environmental news passes the preconditions of newsworthiness, it may still fail to function as successful environmental communication. Hannigan (1995) identifies six major factors necessary for the successful construction of an environmental problem:

1. Scientific authority for and validation of claims.
2. Existence of ‘popularizers’ who can bridge environmentalism and science
3. Media attention in which the problem is ‘framed’ as novel and important.
4. Dramatization of the problem in symbolic and visual terms
5. Economic incentives for taking positive action.
6. Emergence of an institutional sponsor who can ensure both legitimacy and continuity

It has been recognized that environmental news are often addressed from a negative starting point and as “bad news”. Environmental issues are also identified to be presented rather than issues (Hansen, 1990, 1999; Molotch & Lester, 1975; Singer & Endreny, 1987), which implies that a precautionary starting point is selected more seldom when it comes to communicating environmental issues. Cox (2010 p. 157-158) explains that the media often present these events as sensational environmental concerns to be considered newsworthy. For example, when the Exxon Valdez oil tanker hit a reef in Alaska causing a severe oil leakage, the TV media was filled with sensational imagery of oil-soaked birds and coastlines (Cox 2010, p. 153). The Exxon Valdez oil spill is described in more detail in Chapter 2.5.

It has also been observed that environmental reporting creates a tendency for the media to focus on conflicts and creating audience appeal by framing heroes and villains around the conflict (Anderson, 1997; Lowe & Morrison, 1984). On the other hand, researchers have found implications of that hero characters in particular play an important role in shaping perceptions of climate change (Jones 2013). Michael D Jones’s study concluded that a journalistic narrative with a hero character helped people support the presented arguments concerning the environmental issue.

2.2 Narrative framing

Narrative framing is a method used by journalists to present news from a chosen aspect. Framing is used to present stories in news, but also for example TV programs and radio news. According to Entman (1993) framing is to select some aspects of a perceived reality. The theory of knowledge in sociology, *the social construction of reality*, examines

the constructed understandings of the world. Narrative framing owes the same characteristics as social constructionism, which suggest that as we abandon any notion of reality, we are left with a multiplicity of perspectives of which through the reality, is conceived (Parker p. 14). Entman continues to define frames as a method to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies.

Narrative frames also help the reader to build an understanding of a more complex entity. Already in 1922, Walter Lippman identified (Lippman, 2002[1998] p.16.) the environment as a concept too big to be easily communicated. In other words, framing news in different ways creates smaller stories inside a bigger concept, which help the reader to build an understanding of what is at issue. Cox (2010 p.163) explains that journalists have searched for ways to simplify stories and to 'make maps of the world'.

Cognitive psychologists Kahneman and Tversky (1981) argued as a result of research in decision making that as a frame is chosen to present information, the receiver of the information is likely to be unaware of other aspects of the same information. In other words a frame used in presenting information may be dominant and hide other relevant information.

Journalists create frames by following the rules of objectivity. Entman however explains that some journalists lack the understanding of framing, and can therefore unknowingly use dominant frames on news (Entman, 1993, p. 56).

Today, newsworthiness influence the way the press presents, or frames, news. According to Robert Cox (2010 p.160), journalists are likely to write environmental stories according to some of the eight different types of frames that attract readers;

1. prominence
2. timeliness
3. proximity
4. impact
5. magnitude
6. conflict
7. oddity and
8. emotional impact

These frame types are most likely to attract the reader. However, each frame can be defined and identified by the reader or receiver according to one's personal view of the world. Robert Entman (2004 p. 14) argued that the most impactful frames possess the most prominence, cultural resonance and repetition. It can be assumed that the most impactful frames set the basis for the media's agenda setting influence.

An example of narrative framing used by Cox (2010 p. 177-178), dressed a journalistic event where frames defined an event with clear protagonists and antagonists. A detailed research of a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) program made by Schlehtweg in 1992 (Cox 2010 p.177), identified key identity and value terms that defined wood loggers as "regular people" and "timber harvesters" who depended on "timber harvests" and "small-town economies" for "jobs" or "livelihood". The other side presented the people at environmental organization Earth First!, who tried to prevent the forest from harvesting as "wrong people", "terrorists" and "violent" people who engaged "sabotage" and "civil disobedience".

Frames can be analyzed by choice of words, phrases, metaphors, visual images, topics and a narrative that consequently provides a message to the reader.

2.3 Greenpeace from a sociological perspective

Considering the nature of this research, I will describe Greenpeace from a sociological perspective. Greenpeace is an environmental organization founded in 1972 (Öckerman & Friedman 2003 p. 163) and has been acknowledged for working to expand their function to operate globally (Furze p.456). Today, Greenpeace is an internationally operating organization with headquarters in Amsterdam and 28 local offices worldwide (Greenpeace.org, Structure and Organization 2014). The Greenpeace slogan 'Act Locally, Think Globally' (Doherty 2002, p. 183) encapsulates the organizations operational way of acting and also explaining the organizations strategy to globalization.

In the 1970's environmental issues were neglected and environmental sociology stood in similar significance (Dunlap and Marshall 2006, p. 328-329). Being characterized with the roots in pacifism and anti-nuclear movement (Mehta, Ouellet p. 321), Greenpeace has today been described as an organization with identifiers of a modern bureau-

cracy (Zelko 2004, p. 129). The modernity is explained with structured acts worldwide and many environmental specialists representing the organization, making Greenpeace often used as a source of authority by the media. Some journalists have thus more skeptical viewpoints, seeing that the organizations direct action campaigns contend with 'objectivity' and 'scientific detachment' (Manning 2001 ,p. 190).

Greenpeace characterizes itself non-violent, daring and implacable (Yearley 2009, p. 154) but has also been criticized to frame issues to appear more serious to get the media's attention (Yearley 2009, p. 156). Greenpeace has also been accused of acting immoral and irresponsibly "using deception and public relations stunts" (Crouch & Maclean, p.44). Greenpeace operational standards face discussion from different sociological viewpoints. Assumed to be a result of the differing viewpoints, Greenpeace has also been described as the most well-known environmental organization (Öckerman & Friedman 2003 p.163)

Greenpeace is known for making an environmental issue into concrete event with the aim in gaining media publicity (Hansen 1993) and put pressure on the actor they are campaigning against.

2.4 IPCC Climate Report

Carbon dioxide (CO₂) and global warming are the main reasons for Greenpeace to set up project Arctis and the act against arctic oil drilling. Greenpeace reports that use of oil resources found on arctic areas would accelerate global warming to a state with no going back (Greenpeace, Suojellaan Arctis). Greenpeace Communications Manager Juha Aromaa (Aromaa 2014) states also that using the already existing oil resources accelerate global warming to a critical stage. Both Aromaa and Greenpeace base their arguments on science and the IPCC Climate Report.

Respected scientific organization Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), have identified climate change as an urgent threat caused by humans that must be addressed. The organizations list the main cause to global warming in increasing number of carbon dioxide in our atmosphere, which is absorbed into seas, animals and vegeta-

tive life. As the globe warms due to carbon dioxide, more ice melts. And as the arctic ice continues to melt, existing temperature cooling ice disappears which in turn have an effect on global warming.

According to the latest report regarding climate change, published by IPCC (Edenhofer 2014, p. 7), both economic and population growth are the key drivers to emission of CO₂, as a result of increased fossil fuel combustion. According to the report industry should be carbon dioxide free by year 2070-2080, but instead global CO₂ pollution has increased by 2.2% per year during the last decade. IPCC's depict a scenario to a CO₂ free industry with an increased share of carbon free or low-carbon energy from renewables, nuclear energy, and fossil energy with carbon dioxide capture storage or bioenergy by year 2050. The IPCC report states that a carbon dioxide free industry would require strict environmental laws and regulation that force industrial companies to sustainable production methods.

An oil leakage on the other hand is most likely to harm micro level organisms in the sea, which affects species feeding on these organisms affecting fish and seals up to polar bears at the top of the food chain.

2.5 Framing of oil spills

As I described earlier, the media often frames environmental issues from a negative and sensational starting point and by presenting conflicts.

The Exxon Valdez oil spill, that took place in Prince William Sound in Alaska, in 1989, is though one of the most memorized oil catastrophes in our history, thanks to the media's interest in the spill. The Exxon Valdez tanker hit a reef, which caused an oil spill of 10.8 million gallons into the Gulf of Alaska. The oil spill was estimated to reach 20% of the total amount of cargo oil (Holba, 2014) and is one of the biggest leakages in our history of oil spills. The media coverage of the event caused a massive media coverage for many reasons.

The Exxon Valdez oil spill and its media coverage have been described as following:

.. an iconic event, creating a frame of reference for all future oil spills and establishing within the environmental community a repertoire of blame at-

tributions and theoretic techniques, ready and waiting to be re-deployed.
(Anderson, 2002,)

According to Wheelwright and Wilson (Weelwright 1994, Wilson, 1992) a central reason for the massive news coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil leakage was the location of the incident: the natural heritage of Prince William Sound in Alaska that Alaskans hold dear.

Scholars that have researched in the Exxon Valdez media coverage (see Anderson 2002, Merry 2014, Pauly 2002) have identified characteristics of blaming present in the news reportages. According to Anderson (2002, p. 8) the Exxon Valdez reporting values the impression that the blame can be put down to individuals and corporations, instead of presenting institutional politics and social developments.

Frames used in news regarding the Exxon Valdez oil spill, drew the attention from narrowed down safety standards and poor capabilities to clean up oil from the environment to the dominating frame of the drunk Exxon Valdez Captain Joseph Hazelwood, being the cause of the grounding and the eventual oil spill (Dyer et al., 1991; Hannigan, 1995). An example of the powerful framing of the blame against the Captain was presented in BBC television in 1999 (Anderson 2002, p. 8). The TV news reporter described the grounding as “the worst drunk-driving incident in history”.

After the spill the public craved for information regarding the amplitude of the spill and the attempts for cleaning the oil. However, the Exxon Shipping Company’s communicating was not perceived as successful. Exxon Shipping Company was characterized as villain in the reportage for with-holding information and not immediately stepping up to announce the seriousness of the leakage (Pauly 2005, 244-245). Exxon published a press release six days after the accident, which failed to mitigate Exxon being characterized a villain. In addition, the Exxon CEO Lawrence Rawl kept his distance from anything related to the Exxon Valdez. The CEO was seen as a “heartless business leader showing little remorse and understanding toward the citizens and natural environment along Alaska’s shoreline” (Fleischli 2010, p.3).

Exxon took a responsive role to crisis communication, as the news was filled up with powerful imagery of oily birds and blackened shoreline along and volunteers cleaning

up damages. Pauly and Hutchinson (Pauly 2005, p. 244-245) identified the heroic individual in the volunteers of the spills and defined that a hero can be characterized based on heroic acts. Pauly's and Hutchinson's research characterized the villain to be identified for "withdrawing information".

2.6 Theoretical conclusions

The analysis in this research will focus in finding the main frames presented by HS in the project Arctis reportage. As newsworthiness influence the presentation of news, I will use a combination of the earlier presented; factors necessary for the successful construction of news, factors to newsworthiness from the viewpoints of journalists and frame types that attract the reader.

I will use the following elements to find the main frames and analyze the narratives;

1. dramatization of the problem
2. conflict
3. emotional impact
4. scientific authority
5. construction of a narrative
6. media attention, e.g. is the issue being framed as novel and important

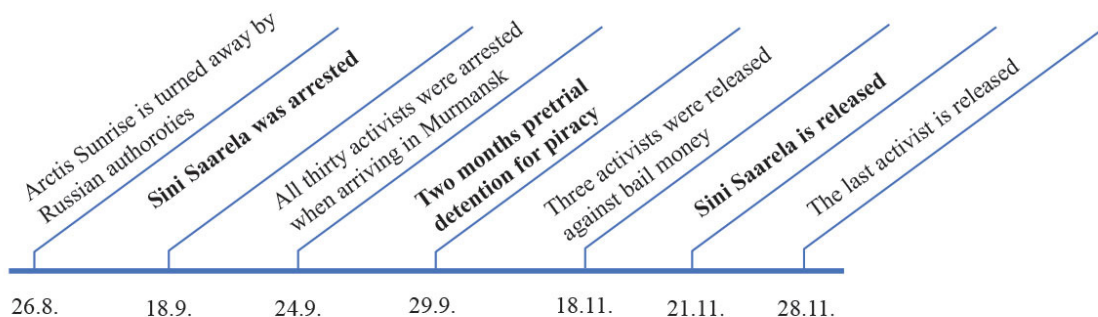
The frames are analyzed by the choice of words and phrases used in news and news topics. The analysis also seeks to find similarities in characteristics between communication in the Exxon Valdez reporting in 1989 and the project Arctis reporting.

3 ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to find and analyze the main frames found in the project Arctis reportage.

Project Arctis is a project set up in 2012 by Greenpeace to act against arctic oil drilling. As a part of the project Greenpeace sent thirty activists from eighteen different countries (Walker, 2013) to demonstrate on the Russian oil rig Prirazlomnaja located on the Barents Sea. On September 18th two of these activists were arrested for occupying Gazprom's oil rig Prirazlomnaja. Gazprom is, Russians biggest company and the world's leader in production of natural gas. A few days later all thirty activists were arrested. One of the arrested activists was Sini Saarela, member of Greenpeace Finland. The arrestment caused an unexpected media coverage in Finland, following the events of Sini Saarela for months including the arrestment and release of Saarela. The key points of the event based reportage are presented below (Illustration 1).

Illustration 1. The timeline illustrates the key points of the project Arctis event reportage.



This chapter will focus in answering the following research questions

1. How were the environmental problems in arctic oil drilling presented?
2. How were the parties involved presented, as heroes or villains?

Four key frames were identified at the first review of the material; the risk frame, the hero frame and the villain frame and the Sini Saarela frame.

3.1 The risk frame

Environmental issues are often presented as bad news in the media. As arctic oil drilling was during the reportage at a planning state and Greenpeace acted to prevent oil corporations from drilling on arctic areas, the published articles did not have material to form a sensationally newsworthy reportage of an environmental catastrophe. Instead the environmental problems were presented from 'a what' if perspectives, discussing the risks of an eventual oil spill and the risks in using arctic oil to global warming.

The environmental issues constructed a risk frame. The risk frame address two environmental problems; the risk of an oil leakage and the risk to increasing speed of global warming. The environmental risks remained a side narrative to the event based reportage focusing on Sini Saarela.

The risks were identified from the word 'risk' that was used in contact with the environmental issues discussed in the reportage.

"According to Greenpeace Rosneft's oil drilling has caused so much damage already in the inland, that drilling on top of an arctic ecosystem would form a big risk" is stated in one article. Another article discussing Sini Saarela's pretrial detention referred to Greenpeace and arctic oil drilling as following; "according to Greenpeace the risk to the fragile arctic environment is unreasonably big". In a published opinion letters, the risk was again identified; "The discussion of the environmental risks that could destroy the fragile environment for decades has emerged".

Almost two months after the arrestment of Sini Saarela, an in-depth article with the topic "Drilling on the Arctic Ocean brews enormous risks" was published. Also the sub header "Arctic oil drilling would accelerate global warming and could lead to environmental damage. However, the high price of oil drives governments and companies north. Finland want's its share, too" refers to global warming and environmental damage in addition to the pricing of oil and Finnish business opportunities. In the long, in-depth Sunday themed article it is stated that Greenpeace's arguments are strong when it comes to "risks in oil exploration". According to article the French oil company Total has refused from arctic oil due to the "risks in oil leakages". The article continues to explain that the arctic conditions make any reparation project more difficult, referring to

an oil leakage on the Mexican Gulf. The article focuses in explaining the technicalities in the dangers of fixing any damage to the oil rig itself. The in-depth article refers to the existing environmental risks, mainly focusing on safety precautions and technicalities in drilling oil. No concrete environmental effects were explained, instead the article referred to the IPCC climate report and their depicting of industrial change to decrease acceleration of global warming.

One published article explained the concrete effects of an oil leakage to the arctic environment. The article refers to Novaja Zemlja, a Russian island, being an important breeding area for polar bears and narwhals. The rest of the concrete effects remain unexplained. The remaining articles produced by the editorial office approached environmental threats to the ecosystem and global warming by referring to “environmental risks”.

A conflict between the environmental issues and economics is formed as the Finnish government owned ice-breaker company Arctia Shipping is expected to take part in arctic oil drilling as its interest towards arctic areas in Russia was revealed in of the articles. Arctia Shipping might be seen as part responsible in case of an oil leakage. The discussion evolve around the Finnish ice-breaker company, HS putting more focus on economics than environmental issues.

The public reacted on the risks being presented on an issue level. During the reportage, a total of seven letters to the Editor were published. The letters functioned as the public’s voice in the reportage, taking sides on whether Saarela’s act was considered morally just. In one letter it is suggested that instead of focusing in moralizing Sini Saarela, the fundamentals should be discussed. The letter designates global warming as the real problem.

In another letter to the Editor it is registered that Finnish politicians politicize issues regarding arctic oil. It is being pointed out that no environmental decisions are made in fear of Russia’s reaction. The same letter include a quotation of the Director of Finnish Meteorological Institute, who stated that there is no need for additional research to global warming and that politicians have all knowledge available to make needed decisions in order to address climate change.

The public debate continues to underline that as the discussion does not evolve around global warming; the public does not know its effects on their lives and causes no pressure for decision makers to act on environmental issues. In several letters to the Editor it is referred to the IPCC climate report, reasoning the risk of global warming. These published letters revealed that the environmental issues regarding arctic oil had not got the media's attention to discuss environmental problems on a level the public demanded.

The risk frame forms a debate of the environmental dangers that oil drilling can cause to the arctic nature. The debate was formed by HS journalists and the public in form of letters to the Editor and quotations presented by HS. The risk frame forms a narrative that does not evolve through-out the reportage, but rather functions as an alerting reminder of the existing environmental issues in contact with other discussion related to arctic oil.

It can be argued that the event centered debate on Sini Saarela got the media's attention. It is also evident that the environmental risks to the arctic nature in case of an oil leakage are un-known to the journalists and the public that took part in the discussion. The environmental issue reminders, written by HS and the public, based its scientific background to referring to the IPCC climate report and Greenpeace.

Greenpeace's arguments were characterized as "strong" and used frequently which is why it can be argued that Greenpeace was the main source of authority, e.g. source of scientific information. However, it is good to acknowledge that Greenpeace bases its campaign strongly on the IPCC climate report.

3.2 Heroes and villains frames

As I wrote in Chapter 2, the media has a tendency to present environmental issues through a conflict and by framing heroes and villains. This chapter seeks to identify the hero and villain frames of the reportage..

The conflicts are formed between three actors; Greenpeace, Gazprom and the Russian authorities. The conflicts set the ground for HS to frame these actors in the reportage.

The first conflict is formed between Greenpeace and the Russian authorities. Greenpeace sent thirty activists to demonstrate against the Russian oil corporation Gazprom's

intentions in drilling oil on arctic areas. The activists occupied Gazprom's oil rig Prirazlomnaja on September 19th. The demonstration led to arrestments of the activists, which started a debate on the morality of Greenpeace's and the Russian authorities' acts.

Two of the Greenpeace activists were arrested on September 19th. Three days later, Russian authorities occupied the Greenpeace ship Arctic Sunrise. HS described the event based on Greenpeace's bulletins and social media accounts which were assumedly the only resource of information at the time. HS quoted parts of the bulletins and Greenpeace Twitter account; "commando uniformed soldiers descended on the ship from a helicopter using ropes" and "soldiers that occupied Arctic Sunrise wore automatic weapons" as well as "the crew sits on their knees on the deck being pointed at with guns". The soldiers were later informed to be representatives of the Russian security service FSB. All thirty activists were arrested on September 24th after Arctic Sunrise was towed and arrived to Murmansk.

The blaming effect that I presented in the chapter discussing the Exxon Valdez oil spill is recognizable in the conflict between Greenpeace and the Russian authorities. The Russian authorities blame Greenpeace for breaking the law and not reacting to orders presented by authorities. The Russian coast guard had shot 11 warning shots over Arctic Sunrise as a sign for them to turn around. Greenpeace ignored the warning signs and occupied the rig.

The Russian authorities presented charges against all thirty activists. The charges were called "piracy" which can lead from ten to fifteen years of prisoning. The conflict was dramatized. HS framed the Russian authorities as harsh and dangerous as they were armed, forcing the unarmed activists on their knees. In addition the Russian authorities pressed harsh accusations against the activists, threatening them with the power of authority.

Even though the Russian president was quoted "it is not piracy", Vladimir Putin agreed that the law has been broken. HS informed earlier, that the activist had broken the law of crossing the oil rig's 500 meter safety area. The Russian authorities were reasoning the two months pretrial detention with the stating that if free the activists "may escape the country, continue criminal activities or destroy evidence". Russia strongly presents

the activists as criminals that need to be held imprisoned. Saarela on the other hand was quoted several times during pretrial detention, presenting her opinion of that the prosecutor, the judge and later the verdict was biased. This tightened the conflict between Greenpeace and the Russian authorities. Blaming can now be identified to exist both ways between Greenpeace and the Russian authorities.

As the Russian authorities' sought to frame Greenpeace as a criminal organization, HS framed otherwise. HS responded to the arrestment of the activists by publishing an in-depth article of Sini Saarela. HS interviewed Saarela's friends and family, who characterized Saarela as a devoted environmental friend and a loyal friend. It is obvious that the HS editorial office sympathized Saarela and used a frame appealing to emotional impact. I will discuss the framing of Saarela in more detail in the next chapter. Evident is however, that instead of focusing on the methods used by Greenpeace, the media focused on Saarela.

HS published two editorials discussing Greenpeaces' demonstration. The first editorial was published on October 1st with the headline "An environmental activist gives a face to a trial", written by the HS editorial office. In the editorial it was stated that environmental issues are extensive, that they develop slowly and that as an issue is turned into a concrete event the situation will change.

It [demonstration] has turned out to be an effective method to draw the public's attention towards the chosen issue.

The discussion around Russia's judiciary can be done using the help of a Finnish face. The trial can evidently turn into a success (HS 1.10).

HS also published direct quotations based on an interview with a professor and human rights advocate, who stated that the accusations for piracy are bogus, and that it would require evidence of violence as weapons or explosives. HS wrote that the question of violence is important. HS also published quotes presented by Greenpeace representatives and the public.

Charges are pressed against women are men, for them having a conscience. This is an aggression against the basic principles of a peaceful demonstration. Accusing these activists for piracy is absurd. The point is to frighten and silence us but we will not give in (Kumi Naidoo [HS 3.10.]).

In an letter to the Editor is stated the following:

The fact that president Sauli Niinistö and prime minister Jyrki Katainen refuses to “politicize” the case has shown that the Finnish foreign politics is still guided by two factors; fear and cynicism (Timo Miettinen [HS 4.10.]

The editorial described earlier was responded to on October 4th. HS published an opposing opinion that was also published under the editorial section of the newspaper, written by a member of The Finns Party. The editorial headline was “Contradiction: The activist has the face of a green militant”.

A Greenpeace member acts like a warrior of religion, which is internationally referred to as terrorist. The verdicts will be set accordingly. The Greenpeace activists announced that they are aware of this before the strike in Murmansk (Matti Putkonen [HS 4.10.]

The two editorials started a debate on the moral justness of the Greenpeace demonstration.

HS published the results of a poll, discussing the moral justness of Greenpeace’s act. According to the published results, 65% of the respondents think that moral can bypass law. The published comments supporting Greenpeace belonged to known Finnish influencers in the field of media and politics. It was stated that “The protection of the fragile arctic nature, as well as preventing global warming, is everyone’s responsibility. There are big risks in oil drilling on arctic areas”.

HS also reported that eleven Nobel Prize winners, among others Desmon Tutu and Mairead Maguire, approached the Russian president in order to appeal to the release of the Greenpeace activists. According to HS, Paul McCartney wrote a letter to Russia’s president to ask for the release of the arrested activists.

It is obvious that Gazprom did not respond to the demonstration by presenting safety precautions, instead the company remained silent during the whole debate. The Russian authorities blamed the activists with heavy accusations as a response to the Greenpeace demonstration. The politization of the issue formed a barrier between Greenpeace and Gazprom, moving the focus from the issue to the arrestment and presented charges against the activists.

HS presented Gazprom as an “energy giant corporation” that bases arctic oil drilling on financial ground and “tries to silence all discussion related to environmental issues”. As stated in an article published soon after the arrestment, Gazprom would suffer” image

loss” in case of an environmental catastrophe. Again, characteristics of the Exxon Valdez case and lack of communication from the oil company can be identified. HS did not publish any statements presented by Gazprom. In addition, HS wrote that Russia will “surely do whatever they can to prevent an accident”, which implies that Gazprom’s safety precautions are not known publicly. Gazprom was framed a faceless company with no emotional attachment to the environment.

The conflict and the villain frames are evident. The hero frame on the other hand remains more indeterminate. The Russian authorities were framed as a faceless facet, armed and coming forward with the harshest accusations against an unarmed group of activists. Greenpeace on the other hand had broken the law, which in some amount justified the arrestments of the activists. HS framed Greenpeace as an organization with effective conduct to environmental issues and an organization with the support of influencers and celebrities. However, the framing was more focused on Sini Saarela and found more appealing to emotional impact than arguing for heroism.

3.3 Sini Saarela frame

As I described earlier it is reported that a hero character help people to support the presented environmental related arguments. This chapter seeks to understand if Sini Saarela was framed a hero character and functioned as a support for the environmental issues discussed in the reportage.

At the beginning of the reportage Saarela was called a “Greenpeace activist” and “environmental activist”. Saarela soon became a well-known representative for Greenpeace in Finland as she was one of the arrested activist facing charges for piracy. On November 25th 2013 HS published an in-depth article of Saarela as a character. HS quoted Saarela’s friends and family that described her as a person devoting her life for the well-being of the environment and a true friend.

It is hard to fully understand when Saarela has worked as a volunteer and when receiving a paycheck, neither has she distinguished between these. The most important organizations have been Greenpeace and Luontoliitto (HS 25.11.2013).

The article presented Saarela's background in education, work experience and environmental devotion. Saarela was characterized as person worrying for the well-being of her family and a character that acted for her own moral opinions.

HS continued to characterize Saarela as a "just person" and "friend that one could rely one's life on". It is evident that the HS editorial office sympathized Saarela and reacted to the accusations by presenting her positive characteristics.

Saarela being in the spotlight during the two months trial detention gave room for a public debate in the form of letters to the Editor, taking sides on Saarela's act. Saarela was called "pirate", "terrorist" and "warrior of religion". Saarela was also referred to as a "blue-eyed 31 year old blonde" and a "young girl that was fooled to be a mannequin". The negative and dismissive name-calling appeared in published letters to the Editor.

Despite the referrals to the accusations, Saarela was described as a true environmental hero by the HS editing office.

In addition of HS frequently publishing encouraging characteristics of Sini Saarela said by her friends and family, HS published the support of celebrities and influencers. As I described in the previous chapter, eleven Nobel Prize winners approached the Russian president in order to appeal to the release of the Greenpeace activists. In addition Paul McCartney wrote a letter to Russia's president to ask for the release of the arrested Greenpeace activists. Sympathizing can be seen as a global response to the arrestments of the activists.

HS also created a poll (as described in previous chapter) asking the public whether Saarela's act can be considered morally just. According to the conclusion of HS, 65% of the respondents think that moral can bypass law. The published comments of reasoning the bypass belonged to known Finnish celebrities and influencers.

If we look at the Exxon Valdez oil spill in 1989, similarities in strong personifications are similar to the project Arctis reportage. In 1989, the media framed the Captain of Exxon Valdez a drunken driver and the Exxon CEO an unemotional business leader. Sini Saarela on the other hand was framed an environmental hero. HS evidently framed Saarela as a dedicated environmental hero that was supported by her friends, family and the public and well-known influencers. It can be argued that Sini Saarela was framed

with the characteristics of an environmental hero and assumed that the characterization helped build the public's understanding of the importance of the environmental issues at hand.

3.4 Reflection by Greenpeace Communications Manager and HS journalist

Greenpeace Communication Manager Juha Aromaa and Helsingin Sanomat journalist Petja Pelli were interviewed in June 2014, to get an insight of how the media coverage was perceived by Greenpeace and Helsingin Sanomat.

Greenpeace Communications Manager Juha Aromaa agreed that the arrest of Sini Saarela resulted in a massive media coverage in Finland (Aromaa 2014). Aromaa revealed that Greenpeace's media coverage during the reportage had increased by 400% and that the campaign was considered successful. Aromaa continued to explain that the media coverage resulted in the public's better understanding of the environmental issues.

Both Aromaa (2014) and HS journalist Petja Pelli (Pelli 2014) reasoned that Sini Saarela was a sympathetic character to follow and that the accusations presented by Russian authorities created an interesting narrative.

Petja Pelli (2014) implied that the editorial office sympathized with Saarela to some degree, while still trying to stay objective. Pelli implied that he during editorial meetings suggested that a stronger environmental approach should be applied. HS journalists were not supported with editorial guidelines for environmental issues or guidelines for the particular reportage (Pelli 2014).

4 DISCUSSION

The research questions presented in this research were; *How were the environmental problems in arctic oil drilling presented?* and *How were the parties involved presented, as heroes or villains?*

The risk frame presented the discussion and narrative of environmental issues. As evidenced, the environmental discussion remained on a risk level, functioning as alerting environmental communication instead of forming an educational perspective. The risks were mainly presented using environmental organization Greenpeace and IPCC's climate report as a source of information. The risks were presented using the word risk in contact with the environmental issues regarding arctic oil drilling. Phrases like "environmental risks" and "big risks" were used but mostly without presenting concrete facts of the possible risks, or explaining the effects of previous oil spills. The risk level discussion was noticed by the public which tried to underline that the discussion should evolve around global warming as well as threats to the arctic ecosystem. HS published opinion letters that functioned as reminders of the "fundamentals", as was written in one letter.

Evident is, that Russian authorities managed to draw the attention from environmental risks to politics. The Russian authorities were framed as a faceless group of soldiers, armed and unpredictable. The accusations of piracy set the focus in politicizing the issue and the reportage focusing on conflicts and framing of the good and the bad.

This caused the Finnish media to focus on Sini Saarela, who was framed an environmental hero, devoting her life for environmental causes. Saarela was described as a specialist in environmental issues as well as a well-liked family member and a sincere friend. In addition to family and friends, HS gathered the support of the public, celebrities and influencers to support the building of the hero frame of Saarela.

Russian oil company Gazprom, who was the counterpart of the demonstration remained silent and was framed by HS as a faceless "energy giant" with no emotional attachment to the environment. Gazprom remaining silent was found to have many of the same characteristics as the faceless facet in the Exxon Valdez reporting. Blaming between the parties was evident in both the Exxon Valdez case and the project Arctis reportage.

The media focused on a conflict and framed good and bad in a journalistic narrative. The reportage created a public debate taking part in judging the actors of the issue. The Russian authorities and Gazprom were found to be framed villains, instead the hero character was not that evident. Greenpeace divided the opinions on morality, not being strongly framed good or bad. Instead Sini Saarela, the main character of the reportage, got the media's attention and was sympathized by HS and framed an environmental hero and devoted friend.

Greenpeace received massive media coverage and got the arctic issue on the media's agenda. Evident is, that Greenpeace's methods to receive media attention by creating a concrete event served its purpose as it resulted in a public debate discussing arctic oil. Without a demonstration, the issue would not have fulfilled the criteria of newsworthiness, resulting in dramatization of a journalistic narrative lasting for months. The public's reaction to the reportage showed that the environmental issues were considered important.

The findings of this research with the support of the interviews with Juha Aromaa and HS, imply that Sini Saarela helped create the public's understanding of the environmental issues Greenpeace campaigned for.

For future research, I suggest that the long-term effects are studied. The demonstration has now set the agenda for arctic oil, but will the IPCC depictions of a carbon dioxide free industry be a reality?

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