

## **IMAGES AS PROOF**

Photographic Portrayal of Catastrophes in Helsingin Sanomat, 1969 - 1979

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Tutkielman aiheena ovat Helsingin Sanomissa 1969 – 1979 uutisoitujen onnettomuuksien kuvallisen esittämisen tavat. Aihetta lähestytään analysoimalla V. K. Hietasen ottamia uutisartikkelien yhteydessä julkaistuja katastrofivalokuvia. Analyysi tapahtuu vertailemalla negatiiveja julkaistuihin kuviin, syventymällä kuvavalintoihin, sekä siihen, miten ne mahdollisesti vaikuttavat lukijoiden käsitykseen todellisuudesta. Tutkielmassa valokuvat toimivat itsenäisinä historian lähteinä, niiden arvo ja luotettavuus punnitaan omassa kontekstissaan. Vaikkakin lehtikuvat ovat pääasiallisena lähteenä, niiden suhde artikkeleihin ja kuvateksteihin on merkityksellinen.

Katastrofi-termi viittaa tutkimuksessa onnettomuus- ja rikoskuviin, niiden yhdistäviä tekijöitä ovat draamallisuus ja dramaattisuus. Toisaalta kuvat ovat todisteita dramaattisesta tapahtumasta, toisaalta ne on rakennettu kertomaan tapahtuman tarina joko yksittäisessä kuvassa tai monesta kuvasta koostuvassa kuvasarjassa. Todistaminen ja kuvien rakentaminen tapahtuu pitkälti henkilöiden kautta. Personifikaation avulla uutisartikkelit ja niiden kuvat tuodaan lähemmäksi lukijoita.

Valokuvien todistus- ja totuusarvot vaihtelevat julkaisuyhteydestä riippuen, vaikka kuvien alkuperäinen tarkoitus on todistaa tapahtumien todenperäisyydestä. Samoin vaatimus niiden autenttisuudesta on artikkelityypille alisteinen.

Kuvavalinnoissa tasapainoillaan todellisuuden näyttämisen ja peittämisen välillä. Lukijoille luodaan kuvavalinnoin mediatapahtumia, joissa onnettomuuksien dramaattisuus korostuu, mutta samalla heille kuitenkin luodaan kuva harmonisesta yhteiskunnasta, jossa auktoriteetit ja yhteisöt liittävätkin voimansa yhteen taistelussa pahaa vastaan.

Asiasanat: kuvajournalismi – historia, onnettomuudet, kuolema – valokuvat – lehdistö, valokuva, 1970-luku, sanomalehdet – Helsingin Sanomat, kuvallinen viestintä, totuus – objektiivisuus, kuvallinen viestintä – vaikuttaminen, uutiset – kuvajournalismi, toimitustyö – kuvitus, rikokset

## Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The Assumed Truthfulness of Photographic Images	1
1.2. Research Focus	8
1.3. Sources, Theme and Temporal Scope	13
1.4. Previous Research	21
2. THE OMNIPRESENCE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES	25
2.1. Recorded Reality in Time of Mass Communication	25
2.2. Illustrative Elements Escaping the Requirement for Evidence	37
2.3. From News Event to Media Event	49
3. FOCUS IN HUMAN BODIES	60
3.1. Composing by Personifying	60
3.2. The Authorities and the Community Fighting Together for the Good	74
3.3. Corpse as the Absent Body	84
4. CONCLUSION	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105
APPENDICE	

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. The Assumed Truthfulness of Photographic Images

*Journalism has discovered that the camera is one of its most powerful tools. A picture can often tell more than thousand of words, and a picture made by photography implies by its method of production a basis of fact. All know that such an implication is untrue, but everyone accepts the photograph as the pictorial evidence of an eye-witness—the cameraman.*<sup>1</sup>

The words of Newhall, even though they were written shortly before the Second World War and the media scene has since developed immensely, can still be welcomed with a sad smile; they tell the very truth. An educated newspaper reader knows that the visual images displayed to him are not an objective representation of reality, but tends to forget it when facing the images while enjoying his morning coffee. This research arises from the different attitudes towards the objectivity of photography, and its meaning in print mass media. Photography has not been fully defined, or figured out, no matter how many people have tried it, it is still up to this day kind of a mystery. What is a photograph? As an inseparable part of this question about photography's essence lies the question of truth, objectivity and reality.

The research focus of this thesis is not the truth-value of photographs, but the use of news photography from 1969 to 1979 in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In the thesis the catastrophe pictures, both published and unpublished, that are taken by the newspaper's staff photographer are analysed. However it is important first to have a look at photography's truth presumptions before proceeding to setting the research questions. The question of truth and photography is such an important part of the medium, that it cannot be overlooked.

There are certain terms, which are mingling together and it is difficult to make an exact distinction between them. The words are truth, reality and objectivity, even though the last one is further away from the first two, it nevertheless is importantly connected to the others and in many cases it is even difficult to think or discuss about

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<sup>1</sup> Newhall 1938, 3.

the first two without having the concept of objectivity in mind. Reality<sup>2</sup> is not a word with fixed meaning, but it is been reconsidered and defined in an individual way by each author or photography theorist. What is often mixed and confused is reality and realism, although in photography the relation between those two is different than in many forms of art; it is thought that realism is such an essential part of photography that it cannot be said that only the photography that defines itself as realistic would be realistic, all the styles have a specific relation to reality. Realism is embodied in the medium itself; it is not a question of style.<sup>3</sup>

While starting with a more in-depth research on the topic, it is very clear that photography is divided into different genres according to the distinct ways of using both the medium and its result—the picture. Indeed the practices may be very distinct, but what they all do have in common is the medium—the camera apparatus. From a social scientist's point of view, photography is a technical invention which convinced the crowd—precisely because of its technical nature—of its capacity for objective and faithful reproduction of reality. Photography seems to produce images analogous to human vision, while simultaneously incorporating the sphere of natural vision. Photographic images extend concepts known from paintings, such as the use of perspectives. A photographic image, due to the combination of technology's believed objectiveness and its continuation of the traditional vision, seems to be the most objective way of recording reality.<sup>4</sup> In a sociologist's view, which Bourdieu presents, what is important to the photographic medium and its relation to reality is the technology behind it: "Photographic technology is commonly held to be the technology most capable of providing faithful and truthful reproduction of reality".<sup>5</sup> In the field of photography and for those focusing on philosophy of photography the medium's technology is important, but not in its main focus, there are other aspects to be considered in the medium, not only its inseparable connection to technology.

John Berger divides photography into three different contexts; scientific investigation, system of social and political control, and media.<sup>6</sup> Surprising here is that Berger fully omits the fourth aspect of photography, namely the private use in the form

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<sup>2</sup> In this work the term reality does not refer to anything that is out there somewhere, it is not a defined entity. Reality rather is an abstract construction of ideas and thoughts of society and individual human beings.

<sup>3</sup> Sontag 1990, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Bourdieu 1996, 77, 93 and Saraste 1980, 149.

<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu 1996, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Berger 1989, 98.

of family snapshots and the like. However, the three above-mentioned contexts are public, in those contexts photographs have a public role, whereas family snapshots are private by their nature even if they occasionally invade the public sphere. Berger claims that in all three contexts of public use of photography photographs are assumed to have the same relation to truth, even though their use differs greatly from one to another. But indeed, in the case of media, the question of truth is more complex, and should be approached in another way than the other two, due to the nature of lived experience that is involved in the production of the image.<sup>7</sup> This important difference between a photograph as communication and means of control and science is often overlooked, with the consequence of not being able to grasp the specific relation to truth. Approaches towards photographic evidence used in the sciences are quite similar to the ideas of social and political control. They both have "an ideological use, which treats the positivist evidence of a photograph as if it represented the ultimate and only truth,"<sup>8</sup> as Berger explains. However this very same requirement for objectivity gives photography such an important and unquestioned position. In the case of politics it is commonly known from the history of Soviet's or Nazi's striking use of propaganda, that photography is treated as doorman to the ultimate truth.

In the case of media, the question of truth is—as mentioned earlier—more complex. In the way media uses photographic images, another person's experience is grasped through a camera and presented to people.<sup>9</sup> The human experience is present in the context of media, whereas in the two other contexts a human experience does not play any role at all, and therefore the media's use of photography is significantly different with respect to the level of truth. According to Berger the confusion of different levels of truth is evident in contemporary use of photographs.<sup>10</sup> He explains that human experience is the one factor that separates the use of photography as communication from the other uses. Coleman, even though his focus is on art photography, which does not clearly fit the above-mentioned contexts, claims that even aesthetically poor pictures educate people to value the photographic medium as means of recording, communicating and giving information.<sup>11</sup> From this perspective all three

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<sup>7</sup> Berger 1989, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Berger 1989, 111.

<sup>9</sup> Berger 1989, 98.

<sup>10</sup> Berger 1989, 98.

<sup>11</sup> Coleman 1979, 3.

photographic contexts after all do share a similar kind of role, however, their respective relation to truth varies.

In addition to the division into the three contexts, photography is divided into different genres. The genres do not stay strictly within the borders of the above-mentioned contextual model. The genres split into two groups according to their assumed level of subjectivity and objectivity. However, the division in two is by no means strict, or even clear; an art photograph can be of documentary style and a photograph taken for a newspaper can be subjective.<sup>12</sup> Commonly art and documentary photography have been separated from each other: it is thought that documentary photography has the ability of telling the truth, where as art photography only presents the subjective thinking or experience of the person who created it. Art and documentary photography are seen to have different ways of being and presenting, their existence is distinct from each other.

Even though until the late nineteenth century such a thing as art photography did not exist in the sense of the present day use of the term, pictorial style emphasised aesthetical expression. The aim of pictorial style was to have a picture with inner beauty which is not depending on the recognition of the object.<sup>13</sup> It was only with the rise of modernism in art that photography started looking for its place within fine arts "as an art form in its own right."<sup>14</sup> Subjective style and formalism emphasised the medium's own means of producing art and opposed the conventions of the pictorial style. Pictorial photography reproduced the language of painting, it did not differentiate between the mediums of painting and photography in the production of artistic images. Moreover, pictorialists used technical effects, such as soft focus, in order to achieve a result resembling painting.<sup>15</sup>

The other pole in the question of subjectivity and objectivity is documentary photography, which was the main genre of the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> Documentary photography is claimed to have the closest relation to reality, as its central theoretical issue is that of truth.<sup>17</sup> It is thought to be the best of all the genres in reaching the ideal

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<sup>12</sup> This is the case especially in the newer news photography. In the 1970s, news photographs were expected to follow the genre of documentary photography.

<sup>13</sup> Saraste 1996, 89.

<sup>14</sup> Clarke 1997, 167.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Clarke 1997, 167-170.

<sup>16</sup> Clarke 1997, 145.

<sup>17</sup> Eisinger 1995, 79.

of presenting reality as it is in an objective way.<sup>18</sup> However, even though objectivism was the main objective of documentarism, one of the most famous documentary photography groups of the twentieth century, Magnum, stressed the individual approaches and philosophies of its members.<sup>19</sup> The need for a personal approach in order to get meaningful photographs was not excluded or forgotten even though the ideal was to reach an objective representation. A subjective approach is enclosed in the genre of documentary photography. It is important to acknowledge the objects of documentary photography, as its legacy in photojournalism is vital. According to Saraste the truthfulness of the image, the ability to give correct and objective information, and the aesthetic representation are the main focus of documentary photojournalism.<sup>20</sup> The aesthetic representation has not been excluded from the genres which have objectivity as their main theoretical guideline.

The notorious divide between subjective and objective photography is still present in contemporary discussions about photography. The media of art and documentary photography are seen as distinct, and the ways in which the viewer is expected to look at the picture are distinct. Even though the distinction between different styles of photography is not particularly important for the medium as such, in terms of historical research, the distinction is there and it is meaningful. A photograph published in a newspaper had, in the time when it was published, different requirements than one made to be exhibited. Those requirements and norms are the ones to be analysed in this thesis, thus - up to a certain degree - a distinction between art and press photography has to be made.

Due to the different ways of using the medium, the questions that have to be asked about truth and photography are even more complex. However, I would consider photography to be a medium in which different ways of photographing are possible. As such, photography is not only artistic, but within the possibilities of the medium the production of art is also possible. Here I am following Eisinger's thought according to which a photograph may be a record by emphasizing the trace aspect, and it may be art by emphasizing transformation. He also declares that photography as a medium is both a trace and transformation, art and record.<sup>21</sup> Sontag states that photography is a medium, just like language, in which artistic work can take place. The idea is somewhat similar

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<sup>18</sup> E.g. formalism does not seem to have any responsibility of reflecting reality, thus, telling the truth.

<sup>19</sup> Clarke 1997, 156.

<sup>20</sup> Saraste 1996, 150.

<sup>21</sup> Eisinger 1995, 6.



to the one of Eisinger; the medium does not predefine its use and thus it also does not predefine the results.

Even though the field of photography has not been divided as strongly into different styles<sup>22</sup> and periods as for example painting, there are nevertheless many different schools within photography, whose relation to reality and objectivity varies a lot. What all the genres, however, have in common is the question, or rather, the problem of truth. This is precisely the issue this research wants to focus on. Even if the photographer's interest is to reflect reality, the artistic choice of aesthetic elements is always present. This ambivalence leads to the question of photography and truth, photography and reality. Photography has been from the beginning so strongly involved with realism, that it has put it in an ambivalent relation to art.<sup>23</sup>

From the early days of history, pictures and images have told about reality. Images have been interpreted reality and informed about it.<sup>24</sup> Images have always been influential over people and people have generally been easily convinced by them, and therefore the use of images in religion, for instance, has caused a lot of quarrels and problems.<sup>25</sup> Visual information is commonly thought to be true, because in visual representation the facts can be seen; in visual form the facts are graspable and thus unquestionable.<sup>26</sup> There is no place for doubt when facts are involved. The visible has control over an oral or written testimony given about an incident. In a certain event photography's ability to furnish evidence is less ambiguous than an eye-witness's account.<sup>27</sup> The images have authority, even though they are taken by a photographer who entails subjective experience in the act of photographing.<sup>28</sup>

Compared to all the other mimetic arts, even though in the age of modernism all of them are said to have a special relation to reality, photography has the closest relation to reality.<sup>29</sup> The term *most* is important when discussed about photography and truth. It implies the idea that all the other forms of representation are so weak in truthful representation that photography gains a special status because of that. It is the medium

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<sup>22</sup> In the early days of photography there were no stylistic groups formed. Photography was united in the way that all believed in unproblematic relation to reality, which arose from the medium itself. Mäkelä 1999, 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> As mentioned above, according to Sontag the medium as such is realistic. Sontag 1990, 127.

<sup>24</sup> Sontag 1990, 153.

<sup>25</sup> Goldberg 1991, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Berger 1989, 100.

<sup>27</sup> Berger 1989, 88.

<sup>28</sup> Sontag 1990, 153.

<sup>29</sup> Sontag 1990, 120.

*most* capable of faithful reproduction. As earlier noted the images have authority, but it is specifically photographic images taken by camera.<sup>30</sup> Roskill and Carrier claim that photographs capture reality by framing it whereas painters form it. From this perspective photographs are true to life and paintings not.<sup>31</sup> However, I would claim that the concept of framing is too narrow and misleading, as the photographer's function in producing a photographic image is much more complex. However, Roskill and Carrier do, by using the term framing, point out photography's particular connection to the reality in front of the camera lens, and the way in which it appears in the final product.

Photographs have authority over other images, because they are not only interpretations or reproductions of reality, but by the technical nature of the medium, they are pieces of it. Neither are they statements of reality, but its miniatures.<sup>32</sup> Sontag emphasizes, that photographs are part of the reality, there is something essential of the time and space captured in each photograph, they are *slices* of time and space, part of the world as it was when the photography was taken.<sup>33</sup> According to Barthes, who uses the term trace to describe the connection between the photograph and reality, there always had been a person or item in front of the camera lens when a photograph was taken.<sup>34</sup> Therefore what is represented in a photograph is a trace of reality. The photograph as such always is connected to its referents, it is never separated from it.<sup>35</sup> For Barthes, a photograph *carries* a certain moment in itself, but for Sontag a picture *is* a slice of world. Therefore a photograph is not a mere representation of reality; it is a trace, which comes directly from reality.<sup>36</sup>

A common element in the theory of photography is the idea that there has been something in the world that has been photographed, and that something is, in one way or another, present in the actual photograph. The differences mainly concern the presence of the referent, but what is more important when analysing the truth-value of a photograph, is the evidence it carries. For Barthes it *has been* there and for Sontag it *is* there; those both statements signify that photography furnishes evidence. "A photograph

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<sup>30</sup> Sontag 1990, 153.

<sup>31</sup> Roskill&Carrier 1983, 50.

<sup>32</sup> Sontag 1990, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Sontag 1990, 17, 22.

<sup>34</sup> Barthes 1981, passim.

<sup>35</sup> Barthes 1981, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Sontag 1990, 154, 74.

passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened,"<sup>37</sup> Sontag explains how a photographic image is able to convince better than a verbal count.

According to Sontag, the truth of a photographic image is naked.<sup>38</sup> The nakedness of truth can be understood as that a photograph alone, without a context, is not capable of telling anything about reality. A photograph always needs a context. A photograph and therefore the truth it tells is only a fragment, its impact depends on the context.<sup>39</sup> However, the objectivity of a photograph, even in a news photograph, has to be questioned. Santeri Tuori says that a photograph is not inseparable of the contexts in which the photography is used. The practices according to which the photographs are used form their meaning, and respectively the institutions in which photograph is used define the status and significance of a particular photograph. A photograph published in a newspaper cannot be scrutinised as such, separate from its context, it is inseparably part of the newspaper in which it has been published.<sup>40</sup> The truth-value of photographs has to be reflected into its own medium, there is no scale outside the medium on which it could be evaluated how true, if at all, a single picture is.

Photographs are thought to be true even though it is known that they are not able to represent reality objectively. As photographs are perceived as the most objective form of art and representation, the trust in their capacity of being a proof of something that has happened is immense. Newspapers employ the photography's credibility in proving that something happened, and for the sake of the photograph's existence it has to be true. In the media there is a strong trust in the capacity of photography in giving objective testimony of a news event.

## 1.2. Research Focus

Based on the above-discussed ambiguous relationship between photography, truth and its quality as evidence, the following questions will be asked with respect to the original sources used in this thesis. What were the practises of using photographs as proofs in *Helsingin Sanomat* in the 1970s? What were the conventions of the choice of catastrophe photographs? In which ways was the selection of photographs confirming

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<sup>37</sup> Sontag 1990, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Sontag 1990, 87.

<sup>39</sup> Sontag 1990, 105, 106.

<sup>40</sup> Tuori 2001, 7.

and restructuring the readers' conception of reality? These questions will be approached by comparing taken photographs to the published ones - negatives to the positives published in *Helsingin Sanomat*. By this comparison it is possible to see what has been omitted from publishing and on the other hand what has been chosen to be shown. The analyses of cropping, captions and the photograph's connection to the text play an important role in finding answers to the research questions. Not only the positive is important, but also the negative, to investigate what else was in the scene that has been left out, or rather, what has been thought as more important to be shown. Negatives are traces that tell another side of the story, but it should not be forgotten, that they are neither more true nor objective than the published photographs, even though they do give a wider perspective of the events in question. Analysing the choice of photographs is important in finding out what has been omitted and what has been included.

In the thesis the taken photographs are compared to the published ones, negatives to the positives. A photographer makes the photograph when he chooses the object, frames the picture and sets the exposure. In professional use many of the negatives, after the selection has been made, lose their meaning and importance. In most of the cases only one or two negatives are chosen to be printed and published in the newspaper. However, the main focus in the thesis is not the practical work of the photographer, or the daily practices that take place at the picture desk of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Even though there always are individuals—the photographer and picture editor—making the editorial choice, a wider range of factors influence the single choice.

The role of the media is significant in the creation and confirmation of common beliefs, and photography plays an important role in it, as it is one of the media's most important tools. The media offer readers a choice of what they want to read and see, and is thus dependent on the shared imagination. The media is in direct interaction with the world pictures of the community. The world pictures are built by communities, but they also keep the communities united. The common-sense constructions of the world built by society have an impact in the processes of media. Society both produces and consumes the imagery.<sup>41</sup> Photography is a part of the mechanisms creating reality as a social experience.<sup>42</sup> The role of photography in influencing existing opinions is especially elaborated due to the supposed transparency

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<sup>41</sup> Brothers 1997, 12.

<sup>42</sup> Koski 1999, 25.

of its medium.<sup>43</sup> Photographs do not only record or reflect reality, but they participate - and in a way control – the way in which people perceive reality and the world.<sup>44</sup> This participation in the formation of reality happens within the framework of existing visual culture. Media images are strongly influenced by conventions.<sup>45</sup> The existing visual culture has a strong impact in the formation of an image, and also the reception of the image.<sup>46</sup> The slow impact of photographs is an important part of the formation process of the world picture in the way that images stay in the memory and interact with each other.<sup>47</sup> The interaction is made possible by the existing visual culture shared by members of the society.

Images, in this case photographs, can give historians access to the structures of reality shared by a certain community. The ways in which images have been used in giving information about the divinity, or as a medium of religion, can tell the historian something about the information structures or characteristic of obeyed religion.<sup>48</sup> The images do not tell directly about the social reality of the time in questions, but the way in which they are used might reveal something about the existing power structures. Brothers writes that: "This book [*War and photography*] will argue that press photographs offer the historian an unparalleled means of approaching the mind-set of each nation."<sup>49</sup> She analyses war photographs, and what she claims is that with the help of that material it is possible to inspect a mind-set of a large group of people as big as a whole nation. That is maybe too much to say, as nations tend to be incomprehensibly diverse and complex entities. My aim is to use press photographs as giving an idea about the structures and conventions of a very limited time, but I am not so deluded as to think that a set of photographs would be able to reveal the whole mind-set of Finnish society.

I am rather following Burke's idea that "images give not access to social world as such but rather contemporary views of that world."<sup>50</sup> The painted portraits never show exactly the world of what they were presenting, but the illusions and desires of that world, which is dear to the historians interested in the mentalities.<sup>51</sup> It is not the aim

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<sup>43</sup> Elovirta 1999, 173.

<sup>44</sup> Sontag 1990, 87; Tuori 2001, 68.

<sup>45</sup> Lehtovirta 1997, 181.

<sup>46</sup> Saraste 1996, 156.

<sup>47</sup> Saraste 1980, 195.

<sup>48</sup> Burke 2001, 13.

<sup>49</sup> Brothers 1997, 13.

<sup>50</sup> Burke 2001, 187.

<sup>51</sup> Burke 2001, 28.

of this work to see what are the components in the photographs of car accidents in order to inspect what are most common reasons for having an accident in the 1970's Turku, but rather to try to understand what were the reasons behind choosing to show, and in the first place to take, these photographs.

When analysing the omitted side of representation, Freud's thesis on the unconscious side of human actions gives interesting insights to the topic. His comparison of negatives and the unconscious is a fascinating idea that opens a new perspective to the use of negatives in historical research. Every photograph is first of all a negative, and for the ready picture to be developed it first has to go through the negative phase. The positive, the photographic print, is selected from a variety of possible images, and thus it can be compared to the conscious in human thinking.<sup>52</sup> Even though the negatives show a wider view of the news event, I would argue that already the negatives have gone through the unconscious/conscious process.

Historiography is always speculating on the survived sources, so does counterfactual research. The negatives of catastrophes do not even claim to be complete, but they do give the historian a possibility of observing what were a newspaper's options for publishing, what was the basis for the selection. By observing the negatives it should be possible to create a counterfactual account of the world, opposed to the one that was that was conveyed to the readers by the selection of photographs. The negatives are empirical material which enables the historian to consider other possible realities.<sup>53</sup> Even though the aim of the thesis is not to reconstruct other possible worlds, the omitted photographs shed light on the possibilities of choice and also what were the chances of having the specific photographs chosen. In the idea of counterfactual history the range of alternative courses of history is not vast, but only the options and alternatives that would somehow be likely from the contemporaries' point of view, should be considered.<sup>54</sup> In the case of news photographs the possible other choice would have been taking place within the frame of the existing visual culture.<sup>55</sup> In counterfactual research the idea is to look back into history, back to the time under research, and scrutinise the different possibilities that existed in order to understand and

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<sup>52</sup> Cadava 1997, 97.

<sup>53</sup> Ferguson 1998, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Ferguson 1998, 85.

<sup>55</sup> It is important to remember here that the photographer already works within the existing visual culture, and thus the choice is already limited.

explain why something that happened happened.<sup>56</sup> The negatives give an insight into the possibilities of choice, and thus an idea of how the reality could have been presented to the readers in some other way.

In order to have an analysis as complete as possible of the topic, the thesis will proceed in the following order: The work is divided in two main chapters, which have a rather distinct point of view to the research material. The first main chapter focuses chiefly on the different uses of catastrophe photography in the press between 1969 and 1979, where-as in the second main chapter the presence of the people in the photographs is the starting point. In the first chapter the need for photographic representation is considered by comparing the published photographs to the unpublished ones, also how much new it tells about the situation in which it was taken; does it carry information in itself that the text is not telling or is not able to tell? In the first subchapter the general need for photography and the desire of gaining knowledge about the world by seeing is discussed. This problem will be approached by examining the relation between reality and the media. The chapter focuses on the ideas and structures behind the modern media, the underlying bases of the practices of photojournalism and the readers' modes of perception. In the second subchapter the illustrative photographs will be analysed. The roles and meaning of these photographs, which do not have eventual connection to the article, will be considered. The special role of the illustrative photographs opens up a new perspective to the question of truth-value and the alteration it brings to the uses of press photographs in the newspapers. In the last subchapter of the first chapter the articles with many photographs will be analysed. The amount of published catastrophe photographs will be considered in connection to the slight shift that turns a news event into a media event.

In the second main chapter the role of the people in the photographs is under scrutiny, as they appear in a significant amount of images. The common practice of bringing a person to the forefront of both the picture and the article is taken under closer analysis. The second main chapter is divided in three subchapters according to the different roles the human beings in the pictures possess. In the first subchapter the different roles the ordinary people possess, and the thin line between the roles, is discussed. In the second subchapter the officials and authority are the main focus; a closer look will be taken at the importance of an authoritative character in the reassuring

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<sup>56</sup> Ferguson 1998, 85.

process, and the way in which the community is united in the fight for good and against bad. In the last subchapter corpses and the lack of corpses are being analysed. In a way, death is the ultimate misfortune a person goes through, and at the same time it is the one point where the press faces the greatest hesitance concerning the borders of propriety.<sup>57</sup> By proceeding from one group to another it is possible to analyse the functions of different roles people have in the photographs. The aim of this chapter division is to take into consideration different functions of photography as an element of proof and the conventions according to which proofing functions by having a closer look at different aspects of catastrophe photography.

Throughout the whole thesis, in the chapters and subchapters, the captions and the articles are taken into the analysis as an inseparable part of creating the context, and as an aid in analysing the pictures. However, chapter 2.2. does focus in greater detail on the practices of captioning. On purpose, all the photographs and negatives being discussed are not necessarily shown to the reader.<sup>58</sup> Barthes, in *Camera Lucida*, never showed to the reader the most important picture of the book and thus his theory, but rather described and analysed it to the reader in such detail that he is able to understand, though not see it by himself.<sup>59</sup> If there is a study written about Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the reader does not have to read the book in order to be able to follow the line of argument. When pictures or visual elements are in question, the author should be able to describe the image so well that the reader is able to understand the arguments without seeing it by himself, and that is the aim in this thesis.

### **1.3. Sources, Theme and Temporal Scope**

From the years between 1969 and 1979 there are 34 cases of negatives for which it was possible to find a published counterpart. There might have been a lot more catastrophe photographs taken by V. K. Hietanen which were published, but because of the unorganised archives and the fact that roughly only about half of the pictures published in *Helsingin Sanomat* had credited the photographer, it is impossible in this work to make any suggestions about how many of the cases were actually published in

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<sup>57</sup> Taylor 1998, passim.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. Lehtovirta 1997, 177.

<sup>59</sup> Barthes 1977b, passim.



*Helsingin Sanomat*. These pairs of negatives and published photographs consist of eight fires, eight ship accidents, four airplane crashes, eight crimes and six other cases. The photographs have spread rather evenly between the years, with the exception of years 1969, 1974, 1975 and 1976, in which only one photograph per year was found.

Through the text, I will be referring to the photographs by the name the photographer had given them. Firstly, this facilitates differentiating between the negatives and the actual published picture, and, secondly, it also increases the readability of the text. In this way it is possible to avoid always referring to both the article and the archive in the text. However, the required information will be available in the footnote. The names given by the photographer are in some cases incomplete or even incorrect, but that does not pose a problem, as the information the names give is not the main focus.

V. K. Hietanen worked for *Helsingin Sanomat* during three decades. He worked in the Turku region branch of the newspaper as a photographer during 1961-1989. Hietanen was the first fulltime photographer for *Helsingin Sanomat* to work outside the capital area. He, like many of his colleagues, never studied photography; in the times when he started there was no occupational education available for photojournalists.<sup>60</sup> In his youth Hietanen was taking photographs as a hobby and that is the way he learned the required technique. In 1952 Hietanen started his professional career in the service of Åbo Underrättels. During his career Hietanen, like other photojournalists, got professional education in situations when it was needed. One of those occasions was when *Helsingin Sanomat* started using colour prints.<sup>61</sup>

The photographs taken by V. K. Hietanen and the articles in which the photographs were published, form the original sources for the thesis. The negative archive is in the possession of the photographer, and thus the archive has not been kept with very much care. The negatives of each occasion have been stored in envelopes, which then again have been stored in shoeboxes. The manner of archiving causes some problems for the research, especially in when it comes to systematic scanning for adequate photographs. Most of the envelopes are undated, and contain only a short note stating the place or the person in the picture, if even that. In some cases the dates and the names are apparently wrong, as can be proved by comparing the negatives to the

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<sup>60</sup> Saraste 1992, 402.

<sup>61</sup> In V. K. Hietanen's diary there is a mentioning "Värikurssi" (colour course) on 18.4.1978. VKH diary 18.4.1978.

published versions in the newspaper. Then again, as it seems to be in some cases, *Helsingin Sanomat* has been using photographs out of their context, and thus the researcher is in a difficult position to decide whether either the date or the name is correct, if at all. It is possible that some of the dates and notes have been added afterwards to the negatives.

The other group of original sources is formed by the photographs taken by V. K. Hietanen and published in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 1969 and 1979. Naturally the article and the captions belong to this group of sources as a vital part. All of the published photographs are located either in the front page or in the *Kotimaa*<sup>62</sup> section of the newspaper, and none of them was published in special supplements, and therefore can be put in the news category. In 16 out of the total 34 cases the published photographs were accredited to V.K. Hietanen. The cases that do not have the name of the photographer are possible to identify by comparing them to the original negatives. There are also some other photographs in *Helsingin Sanomat*, which have Hietanen's name next to them, but the negatives have not been found from the archives, and thus it has been left out of research. Also, as mentioned earlier, there probably are some cases where photographs have been taken, but the pictures, for a reason or other, were never published. Within the scope of this thesis further conclusions cannot be made, and the impartial photographs are left aside.

The role of *Helsingin Sanomat* in this thesis is not very significant, even though part of the sources consist of the articles published in it. The analysis will not focus in the newspaper as such, but in the articles published in it. However, *Helsingin Sanomat* was the biggest newspaper both in circulation and size from the 1960s onwards in Finland, and thus its role in the Finnish media is significant.<sup>63</sup> The steady market lead particularly from the 1970s onwards made possible the production of a high quality newspaper that had a wide selection of topics.<sup>64</sup> According to Klemola this was a crucial point in making the people believe that *Helsingin Sanomat* was absolutely non-aligned.<sup>65</sup> Particularly the non-aligned role of the newspaper seems to be a crucial factor in its growth in both importance and circulation.<sup>66</sup> Klemola claims that *Helsingin*

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<sup>62</sup> Domestic.

<sup>63</sup> Klemola 1981, 17.

<sup>64</sup> Tommila 2003, 48; Klemola 1981, 10.

<sup>65</sup> Klemola 1981, 10.

<sup>66</sup> Suomen kulttuurihistoria 4 2004, 508. Another reason behind its popularity is that it is a newspaper from the capital area. Tommila argues that mainly the newspapers in the capital area could have national importance. Tommila 2003, 48.

*Sanomat* was a newspaper whose main aim was in making profit, and any political or ideological ideas were subordinate to that aim.<sup>67</sup> However, news media is never fully free of the background structures, and therefore it is questionable how newspapers should be approached as sources in historical research.<sup>68</sup> However, as the thesis does not focus on the politics of the catastrophe pictures, the presumption is that *Helsingin Sanomat* did not in the 1960s and 1970s have a strong political or ideological agenda.

The main source of the thesis are accident, violence and crime photographs V. K. Hietanen has taken between 1969 and 1979 while working as a regional photographer for *Helsingin Sanomat*. The photographer and the topic represent the everyday of news photography. V.K. Hietanen is not a celebrated genius, but rather a professional photographer, who was good enough to be among the first ones to get a long-term contract as a regional photographer.<sup>69</sup> For historical research the artistic products of ordinary people can be a lot more fruitful as sources than the works of geniuses, as the latter present an exception of the norm.<sup>70</sup> Alas, the photographer as such does not have very much importance, it is the existing negative archive which sets his photographs under scrutinising in this work. The photographer works according to the given tasks which reflect the attitudes of the readers. V. K. Hietanen's archives give access to a topic and material, which is otherwise difficult to access. His personality and individuality is practically of no importance, but his work as a professional photographer is there to represent Finnish news photography between 1969 and 1979.

During his 30-year career, Hietanen took an array of typical news photographs. Those photographs include meetings of politicians, birthdays, funerals and a variety of everyday occasions, the common visual material in newspapers. Most of the photographs are news photographs, but there are also a few pictures which were published in other sections of the newspaper as well, such as Sunday supplements, which are thought of as rather entertaining, not informative.<sup>71</sup> The photographs that form the main sources in the thesis are so called catastrophe photographs, which are practically without greater exception part of the news picture genre.<sup>72</sup> The photographs chosen to be analysed had very high chances of being published in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

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<sup>67</sup> Klemola 1981, 9.

<sup>68</sup> Tommila 2003, 52.

<sup>69</sup> Komulainen 200, 11.

<sup>70</sup> Lehtovirta 1997, 178, 182.

<sup>71</sup> Holland 1998, 17-25.

<sup>72</sup> The pictures that are analysed in chapter 2.2. are sort of an exception, they do not fit solely the hard news genre.

They were full of *news*, not only showing the faces of certain politicians, but there was a sense of scandal in all of them. It was probable that some other pictures were dropped so that these ones could be published. This is proven by the fact that in relatively many cases the photographs were the only ones on the whole page, and some made it to the front cover.

Already in the early newspapers, from the time when it was possible to accompany an article with an image<sup>73</sup>, the photographs were about accidents, fires, natural disasters and wars.<sup>74</sup> In the early days burning buildings were an easy target for a photographer, because there was enough light for the slow films being used. For freelance photographers accidents of all kinds, and especially photographs of the aftermath of these situations were a steady form of income.<sup>75</sup> In a way catastrophe photographs are the core of news photography as a catastrophe is an important news event. The way in which the concept of catastrophe photography is used in this thesis arises from the idea that all those photographs of fires, accidents and natural disasters, that have been popular and wanted from the very beginning of the newspaper business, share the same kind attitude toward drama. Saraste says that it was exactly due to the drama in war photographs why they became so popular alongside natural disasters to be presented in photographs in newspapers.<sup>76</sup> The shared drama is also common in the photographs of crime, and that is why in this research they are included in the concept of catastrophe photographs; they share the same moment of the extraordinary and excitement as pictures of accidents or fires. It could be claimed that crimes as such are not part of catastrophes, but as the focus of the thesis is in the photographic representation of catastrophes, I would argue that the way in which the crimes are represented, and indeed similar practices of representation in both catastrophe and crime pictures are used, they can be approached as part of catastrophe genre.

According to Allan Sekula the ability to read photography is a learned function.<sup>77</sup> Photographs are learned to be read in the same manner as books or any other kind of text. The people reading newspapers have learned to read photographs of accidents, the newspapers have been educating the readers to read the images they see during many years. In the case of catastrophe pictures the importance of picture choice

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<sup>73</sup> In the earlier times of course sketches and drawings, later on engraving of photographs and later on photographs printed by different techniques.

<sup>74</sup> Saraste 1996, 91.

<sup>75</sup> Saraste 1996, 92.

<sup>76</sup> Saraste 1996, 92-93.

<sup>77</sup> Sekula 1982, 86.

is underlined, and therefore have the ability to give better answers to the asked questions. According to Janne Seppänen, the genres of journalism form a specific surrounding for a photograph.<sup>78</sup> The surrounding is like a frame in which the photograph should be interpreted and in which it should be given meaning. Catastrophe photographs are precisely hard news photographs and they are supposed to be read as news photographs, as windows to the world.<sup>79</sup>

Even though the photographer's negative archive covers the years from 1961 to 1989, the time-span under scrutiny does not as such arrive from the negatives, but from the other side of the sources, namely newspapers and press photography. The original sources are formed of negatives which the photographer took between 1969 and 1979. This time-span is chosen based on twofold influences. In the history of photography and newspapers the 1970s are rather distinct from the earlier and later decades. Also the technical development rules out the early years of the archive; V. K. Hietanen was in the 1960s partially using a medium format camera, whereas from the end of 1960s he was, with minor exceptions, using a 35mm film camera. The use of the small format camera enables the photographer to expose more film in shorter time, and as the production costs of each negative were lower, it was possible to take more pictures.<sup>80</sup> The technical development within the thirty years would mean significant difficulties in comparing the photographs taken in earlier years and the 1970s, and thus the time-span is cropped down to include only a part of the archive. Towards the end of the 1970s *Helsingin Sanomat* started using colour negatives, but none of the cases fitting to the time frame were shot on colour film.<sup>81</sup>

Photojournalism is not only part of photography or newspapers, but it gets influences from the two. It is dependent on both traditions and theories. Vanhanen, who has done a lot of research in the field of visual communication, emphasises that "Kuvajournalismi imi vaikutteita television tuloon asti paljolti ja miltei yksistään dokumenttivalokuvauksen traditiosta. Sen jälkeen yhtä suurta tarinaa ei ole ollut.

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<sup>78</sup> Seppänen 2001, 202.

<sup>79</sup> Seppänen 2001, 202-203. Brothers comments that not only the context in which the photographs are shown is important, but also the situation in which the photograph was taken. This is important in a way that supposedly most of the catastrophe photographs were taken in a rather pressuring situation where there is not necessarily time for setting extra lights or to ask the protagonist to move into a better position. Brothers 1997, 16-17.

<sup>80</sup> According to Saraste, it was exactly 35mm film that was behind the birth of photojournalism. The 35mm film enabled the production of series of photos and the try of new techniques, while the small format camera enabled the photographer to experiment more. Saraste 1980, 101,116; Saraste 1996, 91. See also Komulainen 2000, 10.

<sup>81</sup> VKH diary 18.4.1978.

Kuvajournalismi sulattaa sisäänsä monia vaikutteita taide-, muoti-, mainos- ja muotokuvan traditiosta."<sup>82</sup>

In Finland photography was going through big changes during the thirty years V. K. Hietanen worked as a professional photojournalist. The changes were both aesthetic and technical. According to Leena Saraste documentary photography was the main style in the 1970s in Finland. It was appreciated by both theorists and photographers.<sup>83</sup> Even though documentary style was in the focus of photography, it had two distant poles; social and classical.<sup>84</sup> However these two documentary styles had a common goal, to present reality as objectively as possible.<sup>85</sup> In general the relation of photography and reality was seen as rather unproblematic.<sup>86</sup> Coming to the 1980s the focus shifted dramatically, and in the field of art photography subjective photography gained space. The subjective style was very distinct from the documentary style and theories of the previous decade.<sup>87</sup> This subjective style did not believe anymore in the objectivity of photography, it rather tried to show the inner world, more subjective experiences and interpretations of the world.

According to Vanhanen the photographs in newspapers and magazines in the 1960s and 1970s represent the classical style.<sup>88</sup> Photojournalists shared the same documentary style and belief in objective representation of reality as the whole photographic scene in 1970's Finland. However in *Valokuva* magazine<sup>89</sup> there was a disagreeing comment by Erno Paasilinna. His words "yksi kuva valehtelee enemmän kuin tuhat sanaa"<sup>90</sup> mock the common belief in the capacity of a photograph to tell more than any verbal account. On the other hand the discussion the comment aroused indicates that many photojournalists had not lost their faith in photography.<sup>91</sup> This situation changed when reaching the end of the 1980s, and new kind of photo reportages by young photographers became more common. The work of the new generation had

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<sup>82</sup> Until the appearance of television photojournalism was greatly and almost only getting its influences from the tradition of documentary photography. After that there wasn't any single great story. Photojournalism melts many influences from the traditions of art, fashion, advertisement and portrait photography. Vanhanen 1994a, 46. See also Vanhanen 1994b, 9.

<sup>83</sup> Saraste 1996, 144.

<sup>84</sup> Haapio 1992, 412.

<sup>85</sup> Saraste 1996, 150.

<sup>86</sup> Kukkonen and Vuorenmaa 1999, 165.

<sup>87</sup> Saraste 1996, 9; See also Kukkonen and Vuorenmaa 1999, 168.

<sup>88</sup> Vanhanen 1994b, 8.

<sup>89</sup> *Valokuva* magazine was aimed at professional photographers and it worked as a forum for critique and discussion.

<sup>90</sup> Paasilinna, *Valokuva* 12/1973. A photograph lies more than thousand words.

<sup>91</sup> See e.g. Kultala, *Valokuva* 3/1974; Vuorenmaa, *Valokuva* 7/1974.

strong influences in photojournalism.<sup>92</sup> Photojournalist Jorma Komulainen writes in his book on photojournalism in Finland how in the 1990s the quality of the photographs reached a low level: "Kuvat olivat kuvaajien henkilökohtaisia tuntemuksia elämästä, niistä kuvista oli kuvajournalismi hyvin kaukana."<sup>93</sup>

In Finland the most fruitful time in photojournalism was in the 1960s, the picture magazines died in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the ambitious photographers started producing pictures for special supplements of daily newspapers.<sup>94</sup> The Sunday supplements gained growing importance in the exposition of photographs and at the same time the main focus of press photography shifted from picture magazines to daily newspapers. *Helsingin Sanomat* got in the mid 1960s their own picture editorial board.<sup>95</sup> Salo argues that the death of weekly picture magazines was greatly due to television's arrival in Finland. Conversely television was not only bringing down weekly picture magazines, but it also gave new topics for the photojournalists by bringing up new celebrities.<sup>96</sup>

While the field of photography was changing so were newspapers. Not only the style of the front page changed, but also the amount of pages and pictures grew. There were also other more significant changes taking place in the newspaper industry. In the 1970s subscribing to newspapers became a commonplace, which had the impact that newspaper readership became more stable.<sup>97</sup> The amount of newspapers had been growing radically after the Second World War. Many local newspapers faded away during the 1950s and 1960s, and thus in each region always one newspaper reached an important position. At the same time political and ideological strings loosened.<sup>98</sup> The newspapers in the 1970s were emphasising the content over political connections.<sup>99</sup> The readers were more likely to choose newspapers on the basis of better content than their political conviction.

It is challenging to pin down a specific time when the changes take place. It happens slowly, and what is even more important, the pace is not the same in all fields.

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<sup>92</sup> Vanhanen 1994b, 9; Uimonen, Valkonen and Vuoristo 1989, 27.

<sup>93</sup> Photographs were the photographers' personal feelings about life, photojournalism was far from those photographs. Komulainen 2000, 13.

<sup>94</sup> Uimonen, Valkonen and Vuoristo 1989, 24; Vanhanen 1994b, 8-9; Koski 1999, 98.

<sup>95</sup> In 1965 *Helsingin Sanomat* got their own picture editorial board. This might be due to the shift in press photography's importance. Uimonen, Valkonen and Vuoristo 1989, 25.

<sup>96</sup> Salo 1992, 406-407.

<sup>97</sup> Tommila 2003, 60.

<sup>98</sup> Tommila 2003, 48.

<sup>99</sup> Kivikuru and Rantanen 2003, 141.

In this case newspapers, photography and photojournalism were linked together, and they all keep on revolving at their own pace, but at the same time get impulses from each other. However, the intention in the thesis is not to specially map the changes taking place in the fields that have influence in photojournalism. The changes are useful in defining the timeframe for the research.

#### **1.4. Previous Research**

Photography is a popular topic for research, though not in historiography. Many historians consider photographs only as material source, which can be used in complementing the testimony of written documents or in bringing evidence of the clothing people were wearing. Older historiography commonly omits photographs, because they are not thought to be as trustworthy as written document. It is commonly said that photographs lie, thus a historian cannot trust what they say. However, as Lehtovirta points out, the fact that also texts are manipulated—thus are not trustworthy—is often forgotten.<sup>100</sup> Burke suggests that the reliability of photographs should be evaluated separately in each case. Pictures are not universally reliable or unreliable, but they are more reliable in one use than other.<sup>101</sup> When using a written document a historian has to consider the character of the document; a letter to a friend and a public column in a newspaper need to be approached in different ways. The same is true with photographs. The approaches and the questions to be asked have to be considered case by case.<sup>102</sup>

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, a photograph is not defined and thus it poses grave difficulties when used as a source in historical research. Every time a historian starts research using photographs as sources, he has to reconsider the starting point. What is a photograph? What is the essence of photography? Is it a reproduction of reality, is it trace, or is it a representation? In order to use photographs as sources, the above-mentioned questions have to be answered. Historians using photographs in their research face the questions about truth/reality/objectivity, which are the core of photography.

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<sup>100</sup> Lehtovirta 1997, 179-180.

<sup>101</sup> Burke 2001, 184.

<sup>102</sup> See Lehtovirta 1997, 182.



The previous research in the field is rather scattered from the historian's point of view. Media is a well researched topic, and so is the philosophy of photography. But when it comes to combining the various elements, finding research is not an easy task. In most of the research the negatives have been left out, there is practically no research on the topic. That is the reason for writing the thesis.

However, a couple of fruitful books about the use of photography as a historical source do exist. Leila Koivunen, in her research *Visualising Dark Continent. The process of illustrating nineteenth century British travel accounts of Africa* employs different methods and focuses on a different time than I do, but nevertheless she is one of the few people approaching the topic of the importance of pictures as traces of what people used to think. Koivunen uses a lot of other material alongside the visual sources, which probably gives a deeper understanding of the questions she is asking. Koivunen also looks at the material behind the surface, she goes behind the ready image in a travel account, and has a closer look at the original sketches, or in some cases photographs, the explorers produced. The study gives a more practical example of how images can be used as a main source in historical research.

Another invaluable book on the use of images as historical source is by Peter Burke. In *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Pictorial Evidence* Burke connects the use of photography in historical research with the newer way of writing history, in the time after Annales. He looks at the possibility of using images as a source, or as he prefers to put it, trace<sup>103</sup>, from a fresh point of view. Burke does not claim that images show the history as it was, but that they might give an insight to a topic the written sources omit.<sup>104</sup> Burke's example of methods and their use in practise give essential guidelines in the question setting and completion of this thesis. In *Eyewitnessing* he is answering some of the theoretical questions which a historian confronts when using images as a primary (and only) source. On a more general level the choice of photographs is very well analysed, especially in when it comes to propaganda. A lot of research has been done on war propaganda and its photography, but the starting point is somewhat different than in everyday news photography, and hardly anybody analyses negatives, or the excluded material. Traditionally historians mainly use those photographs that have been chosen to be published.

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<sup>103</sup> Burke 2001, 13. According to Burke it would be better to use term trace for what historians traditionally call sources, because source implies that it has an access to the truth. Notice the use of the same term by photography critics, i.e. Barthes, indicating the relation photography has with reality.

<sup>104</sup> Burke 2001, 28-30.

*On Photography* by Susan Sontag is a work that nobody writing about photography should omit. Her witty way of considering different aspects of photography gives new ideas about the possibilities and limitations of photography. Even though the work consists of individual essays and was not meant as a complete book, the essence of photography is well captured. The problem is that her work, like the work of many other theorists in the field of photography, is very universal, and thus tricky to use in historical research. Also Sontag's writing is partially very sharp, and polemic, which makes her analysis partially controversial. Of the Finnish theorists Leena Saraste is of great help as she brings the history and practices of photography into a well understandable form in her book *Valokuva tradition ja toden välissä*. In some parts there is a lack of well-reasoned arguments, which causes problems in reliability. There are some well-known books about the history of photography available, but the problem, as is the case in Saraste's book is that they all start the story from the very beginning, and thus more detailed information of the more recent history in photography is very scattered and incomplete.

Also in the field of media studies, visual communication is gaining more and more appreciation; therefore in the study I cannot ignore works by Benjamin, Baudrillard and many others who have written fundamental manifestos about the structures and practices of the communication system. Heidegger, in his essay *The Age of World Picture* sets the ground for understanding the modern communication system. It hardly can be passed without closer examination. Media studies that focus particularly on the side of visual communication are various. Professor Hannu Vanhanen has done a lot of profound research in when it comes to photographs in Finnish media, and specifically pictures of death.

John Taylor in his book *Body horror. Photojournalism, catastrophe and war* discusses similar kinds of topics as the ones that are in the focus of this research. His methods are different, and his main analysis focuses on the British media, but nevertheless, the work is of great support in the analysis of catastrophe images. Like Taylor's work, many of the fruitful researchers focus on Britain or the USA, which creates a slight problem in adapting the result to the research of Finnish news photography. The print media is rather uniform all over the western world, but nevertheless each nation has their peculiarities that influence the practices of visual

representation.<sup>105</sup> The differences should not be omitted, but it also should not limit the use of foreign research.

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<sup>105</sup> Wiiö & Nordenstreng 2003, 15.

## 2. THE OMNIPRESENCE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES

### 2.1. Recorded Reality in the Time of Mass Communication

In the 1930s the first media events in the modern sense took place. The Hindenburg airship caught fire while media was waiting for its landing, and the accident was recorded both in film and photographs. The footage did not only show the aftermath of the situation, as the custom had been so far, but the records were showing the accident while it happened. This was to change the news industry and public's expectations for good. The element of drama had penetrated with an unprecedented impact.<sup>106</sup> However, in everyday news coverage the element of drama is not present in the same way as in the Hindenburg accident. What is more true, especially to the news photography, is the need to cover an event in its entirety, as was done in the case of the Spanish Civil war during the same period as the airship accident happened. It was the first war brought to the reader's conscience by full picture coverage.<sup>107</sup> The public has a desire to see and know also the grim material of news.<sup>108</sup> Sontag writes: "The freedom to consume a plurality of images and goods is equated with the freedom itself."<sup>109</sup> The modern public consumes news and its images in the manner it consumes any goods; it has a right to see and know everything.

Of the pictures accompanying a short article<sup>110</sup> in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the catastrophe pictures *Laivapalo Naantalissa*<sup>111</sup> and *Helikopteri pellolle Huittisissa*<sup>112</sup> achieve the goal of informing about the news event. In *Laivapalo Naantalissa* the close up of a badly burned boat standing by the pier is shown, in the picture the type of the boat can be seen, and how severe the damage was. The published picture is very ordinary, the only interesting detail is a sizable milk can on the front deck. The picture is taken, and also cropped, so closely, that it is not possible to see the place where the fire happened, this information is given to the reader in the headline of the article.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Goldberg 1991, 192-194.

<sup>107</sup> Sontag 2003, 21.

<sup>108</sup> Taylor 1998, 193.

<sup>109</sup> Sontag, 1990, 178-9.

<sup>110</sup> Here the articles with less than 1 700 characters are considered, the majority of the longer articles are significantly longer, and thus it is more relevant to analyse the short articles in their own group.

<sup>111</sup> Jaala paloi Naantalissa, HS 11.4.1978.

<sup>112</sup> Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa, HS 30.4.1977.

<sup>113</sup> VKH archive 39\_3; Jaala paloi Naantalissa, HS 11.4.1978.

*Helikopteri pellolle Huittisissa* shows the wreckage of a helicopter, which had fallen into a field. The photograph is focused on the crooked wreckage, and in the background there is a small crowd of onlookers.<sup>114</sup> However these onlookers are not identifiable, but judging from the negatives, they are not very likely to be victims of the crash.<sup>115</sup>

Both of the photographs depict the aftermath of the situation, in *Laivapalo Naantalissa* the boat has already stopped burning. The fire happened the previous night, whereas the photograph, according to the lighting conditions, is taken during daytime.<sup>116</sup> In the published picture of *Helikopteri pellolle Huittisissa* the scene has been cleared out and marked by a rope as a no-go area, and the victims are absent.<sup>117</sup> Amongst the photographs accompanying a short article, only in *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa* the people in the photograph are in action; they are saving a sinking boat.<sup>118</sup> However, even this photograph depicts the aftermath as the boat had already sunk, and the firemen are trying to bring the boat up to the surface. The photographs are indeed catastrophe photographs, or photographs of catastrophic event, but they struggle with the sense of drama. All the photographs are fairly basic, they only represent the aftermath of the accident to the viewer. In respect to the negatives the situation hardly changes, they are as ordinary as the published ones. Some cropping has been done, but even that only up to the degree of changing the form of the picture or bringing the protagonists more into the focus.<sup>119</sup>

To put it boldly, there is nothing interesting in these photographs, yet they are printed in the paper. Even though there is nothing special—even if the highly appreciated drama is missing—people want to see, they think they have a right to see. Newspapers support readers' right of seeing by publishing these mundane images. According to Sontag photographers think that they can, in the end, reveal the truth.<sup>120</sup> It can be assumed that the public believes in the same idea, after all they do want to see everything, and stress the freedom to see everything. "All that photography's program of realism actually implies is the belief that reality is hidden."<sup>121</sup> Photojournalists are trying to show - to reveal - reality. They are chasing a hidden reality, the one that is

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<sup>114</sup> Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa, HS 30.4.1977.

<sup>115</sup> VKH archive 71\_1-4, 7-10.

<sup>116</sup> Jaala paloi Naantalissa, HS 11.4.1978.

<sup>117</sup> Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa, HS 30.4.1977.

<sup>118</sup> Luotsivene kumoon ja pohjaan, HS 4.11.1971.

<sup>119</sup> See Jaala paloi Naantalissa, HS 11.4.1978; VKH archive 39\_3.

<sup>120</sup> Sontag 1990, 106.

<sup>121</sup> Sontag 1990, 120.

hidden from them.<sup>122</sup> For photographers, reality is like a prize or a goal that has to be reached; their ultimate aim is to capture reality.<sup>123</sup> Photography is to show a reality that has not been seen before and at the same time the photographic image confirms that reality.<sup>124</sup> In the three above-mentioned photographs the reality is glamourless and dull, but it is, up to a certain degree, a reality that has not been seen before, this particular event has not taken place ever before.

The need for a representation of an event is so important that even though the articles are rather short, a photograph accompanies the article. Because of the need to see, it could be argued that some of the news articles were printed in virtue of there being a picture. These articles may have not been published if they were lacking a picture.<sup>125</sup> Conversely an article could be published, or an event might turn into a news event, due to an existing picture. The photographs and the articles in which they are seen could be turned upside down. The photographs are traditionally thought to illustrate articles, but in this case it might be the other way around. For example, the article *Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa* is rather short, only 830 characters, and it is placed in the left upper corner of the page. In the article nobody is interviewed, and the story is very matter of fact.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, if comparing the three articles and pictures, the article *Jaala paloi Naantalissa* is also rather short, only 1 650 characters, but its place and importance is somewhat different. In the article the owner of the boat is interviewed, and more details are given.<sup>127</sup> Especially in *Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa* the likelihood that the news would not have gotten as much visibility on the page is very high, and the possibility that it would not have been published at all, does exist.

Photographs are perceived as unbeatable in providing information on a news event. The accuracy of a photographic representation is thought to be supreme in gaining knowledge of the world.<sup>128</sup> This approach to photography's supremacy can be explained not only by the technical nature of the medium, but also by Heidegger's theory about the world picture. According to him the modern way of perceiving the world as a picture is caused by a major change in science's approach to exactness. Modern science sets nature in front of it as a representation. Knowledge of nature is

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<sup>122</sup> Sontag 1990, 55.

<sup>123</sup> Sontag 1990, 54-55.

<sup>124</sup> Sontag 1977, 24; Sontag, 1990, 119.

<sup>125</sup> Taylor 1998, 38.

<sup>126</sup> *Helikopteri putosi Huittisissa*, HS 30.4.1977.

<sup>127</sup> *Jaala paloi Naantalissa*, HS 11.4.1978.

<sup>128</sup> Koivunen 2006, 51.

gained through representation that explains, which leads to objectified representation of what is.<sup>129</sup>

“This objectifying of what ever is, is accomplished in a setting-before, a representing that aims at bringing each particular being before in such a way that man who calculates can be sure, and that means certain, of that being.”<sup>130</sup> Everything that is, is ought to be explainable by the means of modern science, which trusts in that everything is calculable, and provable by science’s own means, “the certainty of representing.”<sup>131</sup>

The very essence of man itself changes, in that man becomes a subject. Man is not anymore the one who is being looked upon by what is, now it is the man as a subject who is looking at what is as an object. Thus man becomes the centre of all that is.<sup>132</sup> For the changed position of the human being also his relation to the world has to change. In the same way as science has become an object, so does the world become one. The world as an object is set before the subject, man, as a picture which is presented to man in a systematic way, in the same way as the nature is set before, represented, in science. A world picture is not an imitation of the world, but it is an entirety of what is; it is a system, and in order to be able to say that something exists it has to be put in a picture. In the world picture everything is systemically set and put before man.<sup>133</sup>

Man being at the centre of what is, wants to gain mastery over it.<sup>134</sup> “The world ‘picture’ now means the structured image that is the creature of man’s producing which represents and sets before. In such producing, man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is.”<sup>135</sup> In this world picture the visual predominates, and the eye is given a privilege.<sup>136</sup> That is the core reason for the need to see, to know by seeing, and to own by knowing.

The need to know, the need to see the world in its entirety has lead into a situation where everything is a mere representation; everything is transformed into

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<sup>129</sup> Heidegger 1977, 121-124.

<sup>130</sup> Heidegger 1977, 127.

<sup>131</sup> Heidegger 1977, 127.

<sup>132</sup> Heidegger 1977, 128.

<sup>133</sup> Heidegger 1977, 129. Here I would argue that the word world is interchangeable with reality; that is what is generally understood in present day parlour with the word world, and indeed it coincides with Heidegger’s idea about the world as a entirety, what is.

<sup>134</sup> Heidegger 1977, 132.

<sup>135</sup> Heidegger 1977, 134.

<sup>136</sup> Mutman, 2007.

images.<sup>137</sup> Things and events do not happen in reality anymore, they take place in the media.<sup>138</sup> In Baudrillard's theory of the simulations the reproduction of reality has led so far from reality that it does not even reflect it anymore, indeed there is no reality to be reflected. However, it is not the media that creates the simulated world, on the contrary, the media is creating the feeling of authenticity and reality in the world full of artificial duplicates. The world as such is formed of simulations; there is no whatsoever authenticity, everything is a mere simulacra. In the world of simulacra the original is reproduced in duplication, which makes the borders between reality and its reproduction blur, it is no more possible to differentiate the authentic from simulation; the duplication makes them both look artificial.<sup>139</sup> Indeed the duplicate is better than the original; it seems more authentic than the original.<sup>140</sup> The reproduction overrules the authentic experience as Sontag also point out. According to her the people who experience a catastrophe do not experience it as it happens, but they experience it as a representation. They perceive the catastrophe as they learned to perceive while consuming the media imagery, which represent events in a more pronounced and articulated order than they occur in the real life.<sup>141</sup> A photographic image is an improved duplication of reality.

Actually the world of simulations is not anymore about representation, but about the reproduction of reality. People have realised that reality is escaping them and try to get it back through its reproduction.<sup>142</sup> The media has the same aim. It is trying to create an illusion of reality.<sup>143</sup> The scandals that the media present to the audience are manufactured in order to fulfil this aim, "to regenerate a reality principle in distress."<sup>144</sup> The faith in visual representation is extraordinarily strong, even up to the point that it has created the world of simulacra where the real is replaced by its representation, and therefore the media is able to reassure the public of the existence of a reality.<sup>145</sup>

Baudrillard brings up a reality TV experiment from the early 1970s as an ultimate example of the role the media has in reinforcing the illusion of reality. During the experiment television cameras recorded the ordinary, everyday life of the Loud

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<sup>137</sup> Barthes 1981, 118.

<sup>138</sup> Suomen kulttuurihistoria 4 2004, 508.

<sup>139</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 18.

<sup>140</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 23.

<sup>141</sup> Sontag 2003, 21.

<sup>142</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 44.

<sup>143</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 71.

<sup>144</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 27.

<sup>145</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 10.



family for seven months night and day.<sup>146</sup> This experiment was welcomed with very much enthusiasm by the audience; they perceived it as the ultimate historical document in its undeniable authenticity.<sup>147</sup> The audience received the broadcasting of the life of the family “as if you were there”, as if the people were present in the lives of the Loud family without the camera being there, without the interference of the medium.<sup>148</sup> This is the paradox of showing reality in TV, or whatsoever in any media; it never is reality, the event is to begin with too real to be authentic. As Cadava argues: “Although it [media] seems to determine our conception of reality, it also distances us from the already distanced reality it presents to us. We are brought closer to the production, not the event.”<sup>149</sup> This is what took place in the filming of the Loud family; the audience did not get closer to the event, in this case the everyday life of the family, but they were observing it through the medium, which presence was so discreet, that it almost enabled the viewers to forget its existence, and the fact that the show was a mere representation of reality, but not the reality itself.

The nihilism of Baudrillard’s simulations may be opposed, although many media theorists do acknowledge the artificial nature of media representations. Sontag’s approach to reality follows similar paths, but she has not abandoned the existence of reality as a starting point, as Baudrillard has. She claims that while the sense of reality is weakened, it does still exist.<sup>150</sup> What is more important here is the above-discussed role the media has in the world of simulations. The world reproduced and represented all over again sets reality in a position where it is bound to its representation. There is no reality; there is no event, unless it is turned into a representation.<sup>151</sup> This leads to a situation where only representations—images—exist.<sup>152</sup>

It is not only in the media that there is a need to reproduce the reality in images, to record the present day and its appearances. The idea that everything should be in catalogues, recorded, saved and documented, arrives from the need to take under control new things happening. Shortly before the invention of photography the growth of the cities in France was rapid, and the cities had turned in to a mysterious place to live. The wake of the modern cities resulted in a situation where people were faced with

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<sup>146</sup> These kinds of experiments are a common genre in present day broadcast TV, but the alleged authenticity of the TV-*verité*, as Baudrillard called it, has not greatly altered.

<sup>147</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 49.

<sup>148</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 50.

<sup>149</sup> Cadava 1997, xxiv-xxv.

<sup>150</sup> Sontag 2003, 109.

<sup>151</sup> Cadava 1997, xxii.

<sup>152</sup> Barthes 1981, 118.

phenomena unfamiliar to them, including citizens from other parts of the country and foreigners. In order to tackle the overflow of unfamiliarity in everyday situations, *physiologies* were created. These cartoon like books depicted different kind of people in various groups, they categorised the people mainly by their physical appearances.<sup>153</sup> By labelling people, setting them in the picture, it was possible to have control over what was going on. Photography must have been seen as a helpful tool in categorising and controlling, in the documenting of reality. Photography indeed follows this same tradition of recording and cataloguing, but in a distinct way. A photograph is objective to wit, and therefore it does not represent a people according to the assumed stereotypes, but reveals the individual physiques behind the stereotypes.<sup>154</sup>

Rather photography was found as a suitable way of recording the appearances of criminals and patients. In the kind of categorisation taking place especially in different institutions, photography's ability of making an image without interpretation was central. Photography was very quickly adapted to the use of surveillance, regulation and categorisation. It was to distinguish the healthy from the sick and the innocents from the criminals.<sup>155</sup> When something is put into the catalogue by photographing it, it becomes a part of a system of information.<sup>156</sup> The idea behind recording and categorising is to gain both knowledge and power, as is very apparent in the case of criminals, over what is being photographed. This coincides with the idea that photographs do not interpret, but are direct products of the objective medium. Photography could be seen to have a specific feature in relation to reality, it is thought that a photograph is an extension of the object being photographed and thus has control over it.<sup>157</sup> In Sontag's words "Photography inevitably entails a certain patronizing of reality. From being "out there", the world comes to be "inside" photographs."<sup>158</sup> By photographing the object and putting it in a catalogue, people wish to gain control over it, to have the world under control.

Baudrillard raises the question about what would have happened to the Loud family if the camera had not been there.<sup>159</sup> This question can be asked on a more general level of the media—not only TV-verité—what if an event is not recorded and

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<sup>153</sup> Ray 2001, 295-298.

<sup>154</sup> Ray 2001, 297-298.

<sup>155</sup> Sturken & Cartwright 2001, 95.

<sup>156</sup> Sontag 1990, 156.

<sup>157</sup> Sontag 1990, 155.

<sup>158</sup> Sontag 1990, 80.

<sup>159</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 49.

reproduced? Does something happen if there is no record of it?<sup>160</sup> Moreover, if the aim is to get everything under control by recording and categorising, what happens to the reality if it is not recorded? These questions can be approached by analysing the selection of images in the media. As argued earlier in connection to the three newspaper articles and the photographs published with them, the possibility of the articles being published solely due to the existence of the photographs is high. However, the question remains, if there had been no photograph and thus no article, had the incidents passed without noticing? The cases in question were minor incidents, and they could not be claimed to have great significance in representing the world to the readers. The absence of photographs limits, to say the least, the visibility of the news, which then again influences the perception of the world brought to the reader by news.<sup>161</sup> The famine in Africa is not actual, not real to the reader, unless it is represented to him in pictures. An event becomes real to the reader through its representation.<sup>162</sup> If no pictures of suffering Africans were published, the famine would not be real, from a European point of view.

Thus the photographic record is not the central issue, but its appearance in the media plays a crucial role. Important is what is shown in a newspaper and what is left outside, what is omitted.<sup>163</sup> A media scholar Janne Seppänen uses the expression *visual order*, to describe the structures of visual reality. The visual orders do not exist as an independent actor in the reality, but they exist in relation to institutions. The media is one of the institutions to have its own visual orders.<sup>164</sup> As the visual orders never exist on their own, but always in connection to a social order, the question of power is not absent from visual orders.<sup>165</sup> The selection of pictures in the press obeys the existing visual orders, and is thus inseparably connected to power. Conversely there always are pictures that are chosen not to be shown.

The published pictures correlate with the visual orders, whereas they do not directly reflect reality. Indeed the visual orders created by the media create a reality of their own, they are in no relation to an outside reality.<sup>166</sup> However they do pretend to show a reality, which is accessible by pictures. The visual orders constructed by the media do create memories that the readers share. People remember important events

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<sup>160</sup> Burke 2001, 148.

<sup>161</sup> Taylor 1998, 38. See also Brothers 1997, 21.

<sup>162</sup> Sontag 2003, 21; Taylor 1998, 195.

<sup>163</sup> Seppänen 2001, 34.

<sup>164</sup> Seppänen 2001, 36.

<sup>165</sup> Seppänen 2001, 41.

<sup>166</sup> Seppänen 2001, 67.

from their past even if there are no pictures to nourish the memories.<sup>167</sup> However, for a community the situation is different. People perceive and understand things differently, of one experienced situation there are various interpretations. People remember news events from the photographs they have seen, they do not necessarily remember the event as such, but they remember its representation in the media. A visual image leaves a strong mark in the memory.<sup>168</sup> The community has seen the same images in the newspapers, and when they think about the event, it is these memories they have in their minds, they remember the representations which interpret the situation in the same way to all the readers, the first hand experience. As Sontag points out, this kind of common memories might distort the ways of remembering. People do not remember the events any more with the help of seeing images representing the past, but all they do remember is the photographic image.<sup>169</sup>

Since television got its primary role in giving first-hand information on news events, photography's significance has altered.<sup>170</sup> Photographs are not able anymore to reveal a news event to readers in the sense that it was before television. It can only work with the information the people have already gained from other media, but it still has the ability to interpret and represent the event to the reader.<sup>171</sup> The importance of still photographs in anchoring the memories is not lost with the rising of new media.<sup>172</sup> However, Goldberg claims that particular photographs of news events would not stay in the memories in the same way as they used to before the invention of television.<sup>173</sup> This might be true in the way that the variety of images has widened. People consume more images, they are impregnated with an ever growing flow of moving images. However, the impact some particular pictures, even in the television era, have on people is undeniable. Shared memories are enforced by the repetition of certain photographs. Repeated images are the means of creating common memories par excellence.

Like in movies, repetition in visual images of print media has an important role. Repetition helps people understand what they see through recognising the visual presentation. In the context of news photographs the repetition has a peculiar character,

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<sup>167</sup> Lintunen 2007, 19-20; Taylor 1998, 194.

<sup>168</sup> Burke 2001, 140.

<sup>169</sup> Sontag 2003, 89.

<sup>170</sup> In present day the newspapers have online versions in the Internet that are able to give news coverage at fast pace. It will be interesting to see what kind of influences that will have in the combat of being the first media to cover a story.

<sup>171</sup> Koski 1999, 20.

<sup>172</sup> Goldberg 1991, 225-226.

<sup>173</sup> Goldberg 1991, 247-248.

as in fewer cases there is a possibility for a sequence, which would reinforce its impact, but repetition takes place in relation to other photographs in the media. There always is a certain kind of repetition going on, namely the repetition of imagery. News photographs always try to make an impression at the first sight.<sup>174</sup> In this aim clarity and familiarity are important. The common imagery is being used, so that the viewers understand right away what is happening, they are used to see catastrophes presented according to the same principles. If the topic or a theme of the picture is not very familiar, its reception can be aided with well-articulated visual presentation and clarifying captions.<sup>175</sup> Indoctrination is also easily done by the means of photographs, as people perceive the images and what they represent based on their bias. It is more difficult to pass new information.<sup>176</sup> Thus the importance of familiar iconography is emphasised especially in depicting something unfamiliar, the pictures used borrow from the visual imagery in order to make the unknown more understandable.<sup>177</sup>

In respect to the material under scrutiny, repetition of images is almost non-existent. That is partially explained by the nature of the news event, they were not part of a continuum, but one-off events. One of the few cases that form a sort of continuum are pictures taken of an oil spillage in 1969.<sup>178</sup> Pictures of the event first appear in an article telling about the cleaning of the sea and islands where the accident happened, and later on illustrating an article based on a report written by the oil protection committee.<sup>179</sup> What is interesting is that the published images are not similar, they depict different phases of the cleaning process. In the first published image a big dark smoke cloud is pictured, whereas the pictures published later shows the next step of the process, namely people washing the contaminant off the cliffs.<sup>180</sup> On the one hand the published pictures repeat certain imagery, but on the other hand the images are not repetition of the same image.

Walter Benjamin has argued that mechanical reproduction of a piece of art makes it lose its aura. By technical reproduction, duplication of an image, the work of

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<sup>174</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 39.

<sup>175</sup> Saraste 1996, 175.

<sup>176</sup> Saraste 1996, 178.

<sup>177</sup> Koivunen 2006, 155.

<sup>178</sup> VKH archive 44.

<sup>179</sup> Sää on suosinut öljyn hävittäjiä, HS 7.5.1969; Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970. More about the second article in chapter 2.2.

<sup>180</sup> Sää on suosinut öljyn hävittäjiä, HS 7.5.1969; Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970.

art loses the flare of uniqueness.<sup>181</sup> However, as he admits himself, the photographic medium is distinct to begin with, it is a medium made for mechanical reproducibility.<sup>182</sup> Also Sontag follows his line of argument by acknowledging that “an image may be drained of its force” depending on where and how often it is shown.<sup>183</sup> However, Sontag is not as strict as Benjamin, she concedes that the catastrophes which are not rooted in the minds of the people—and this can only happen by repeated viewing of an image—seem more remote.<sup>184</sup> Even though the aura for Benjamin means a certain kind of distance, this is not the kind that would create the awe.

Burke opposes Benjamin’s claim about the loss of aura by arguing that it is indeed the reproduction of certain images that add them the sense of aura, a sense of awe. Film stars gain from the reprinting of their images, they become stars exactly due to technical reproduction of their images.<sup>185</sup> Also in other imagery, especially in the images of war and catastrophe, the reproduction of a single image can alter its original meaning and importance greatly. In the most extreme cases an image reprinted and reproduced by various media all over again can turn an image into a symbol, which is reused for different purposes, or into an icon.<sup>186</sup> An iconic image captures the symbolic meaning of a particular event; in one single picture it is capable of summarizing the core questions or course of the event.<sup>187</sup> The iconic images of the Vietnam War are etched in the minds of people, the picture has gained its aura precisely due to being reproduced. But Perlmutter warns about a too loose use of the word icon; the images that are commonly perceived as icons are such only to a very limited group of people, they are anchored to particular generations’ minds, and thus historical.<sup>188</sup>

The repetition of certain imagery may also lead into its disappearance in the long run. The topics that are too familiar are gradually omitted. In the catastrophe photographs at hand the absence of car accidents is remarkable, as the accidents belong to the group of the most dominant topics in the newspapers.<sup>189</sup> In the catastrophe photographs between 1969 and 1979 there is only one car crash published. Due to the difficulty in tracking down all the photographs taken by V.K. Hietanen, as mentioned

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<sup>181</sup> Benjamin 1986, *passim*.

<sup>182</sup> Benjamin 1986, 224-226.

<sup>183</sup> Sontag 2003, 105.

<sup>184</sup> Sontag 2003, 84-85.

<sup>185</sup> Burke 2001, 17-19.

<sup>186</sup> Goldberg 1991, 239-244.

<sup>187</sup> Zelizer 2005a, 172.

<sup>188</sup> Perlmutter 1998, 10-11.

<sup>189</sup> Taylor 1998, 69.

only about half of the published photographs have the name of the photographer, and the unorganised negative archive, too far reaching conclusions should be avoided. However, the existence of one single accident type is rather remarkable, as out of the 106 cases—this is the number of the case from all thirty years the negative archive covers—there were 19 cases of car accidents.<sup>190</sup> In the photographer's work diary three car accidents have been written down during the 1970s, of which two supposedly were in the negative archive.<sup>191</sup>

However, the only case published was *Auto ja juna yhteen*. The picture of the accident is published above a short article of about 1 300 characters. The picture is significant in size, it spreads over two minor articles, which have no connection to the picture.<sup>192</sup> As in the case of other pictures in the group of short articles, there is nothing extraordinary in the published image. In the front people are crossing railway tracks; the train which had crashed into a truck occupies the background of the image, whereas the wrecked truck is in the middle field. In the negatives it is possible to see the same crowd walking on the rail tracks away from the train.<sup>193</sup> Apparently the photographer reached the place very soon after the accident had happened, the police are still present in the scene and the passengers are only vacating the scene of the accident.<sup>194</sup> The photographer had not caught the accident exactly while it happened, but very soon afterwards. The photograph is not only showing the aftermath, as there are still victims and police in the scene. Also the composition emphasises showing the action by placing the passengers in the foreground, in the negatives there is a variety of close ups from the scene, which focuses more on representing the wreckage.<sup>195</sup> This particular photograph was chosen to be published, whereas other accident images, and news, were omitted. The published image turned the accident into an event, while the unpublished accidents failed to fulfil the requirements of the media.

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<sup>190</sup> VKH archive 1, 8, 9, 31, 32, 36, 42, 53, 57, 65, 73, 78, 91, 94, 96, 97, 99, 105. As mentioned earlier, the negatives seldom indicate when they were taken, and thus it is difficult to say how many, if any of the 19 cases were taken in the 1970s.

<sup>191</sup> In 10.2.1972 V. K. Hietanen had written "Kolari Pansiossa, säiliöauto" (Crash in Pansio, tanker) and in 12.1.1977 "Kolari, Pansio" (Crash, Pansio). In the negatives there were two accidents, 97 Pansion autokolari (Pansio Car accident), and 73 Kolari Pansiossa (Crash in Pansio), that had happened in Pansio, but as there were no dates or further identification, it is impossible to say whether these were the accidents in question. In fact 97, according to the way people are dressed, was taken in the summer, and thus does not fit either one of them, but 73 could be the one from 12.1.1977. VKH archive 73; VKH archive 97; VKH diaries 1972-1977.

<sup>192</sup> Juna murskasi kuorma-auton Turussa, HS 10.3.1979.

<sup>193</sup> VKH archive 42\_1-9.

<sup>194</sup> VKH archive 42\_2, 3, 6-11, 13, 14.

<sup>195</sup> VKH archive 42\_13-16.

## 2.2. Illustrative Elements Escaping the Requirement for Evidence

*Pulin uhri* and *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* are two cases that have a different status than other cases in the material at hand. These two published photographs are exceptional compared to the other material in question, because they are the only ones not accompanying a hard news story. These articles are not even directly about catastrophes, as the others are. However, the situations in which the photographs were taken were catastrophes, and thus their analysis neatly fits into the aspect I want to explore next.

The articles in newspapers can be divided into groups depending on their context and the language which is used in the text. The most common type is the so-called hard news, for example the cases analysed in chapter 2.1. represent this type. Hard news report events or phenomena that already took place, or are about to happen.<sup>196</sup> The subjectivity of the journalist is omitted, and the main emphasis is in the objectivity and informational content of the article, which normally appears in the very first paragraph.<sup>197</sup> Also the other cases, excluding *Pulin uhri* and *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa*, can be seen as hard news; they tell about events that already took place, they depict a specific event as soon as possible after it had taken place. They fulfil the requirement for spreading information as soon as possible after the particular event happened.<sup>198</sup> The hard news, which are delivered to the reader with a fast speed, are the ones that make the newspapers sell.<sup>199</sup>

In this research two other article types are important, namely features and reports. The article in which *Pulin uhri* is published tells about the housing situation of alcoholics in the city of Turku. Especially female alcoholics have great problems finding a place to stay; the only place where they might find accommodation is in a mental hospital. Two people who work with alcoholics within Turku are interviewed in the article, they are the main authority and the whole story is more or less based on their views of the situation.<sup>200</sup> The article does not tell about a specific news event, but it is more an overview about the state of the society, thus it does not fall into the category of

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<sup>196</sup> Keeble 1997, 105.

<sup>197</sup> Keeble 1997, 105.

<sup>198</sup> Keeble 1997, 108.

<sup>199</sup> Keeble 1997, 108.

<sup>200</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.



hard news stories. Indeed the article does not have a particular news dimension, and it, even though it tells about the contemporary situation in Turku, is not bound to a certain date. These characteristics are typical for a feature story; the article is longer than a regular hard news story, and thus has the ability to go deeper in the topic.<sup>201</sup> A feature story tends to make a point, or give an opinion, where as a hard news story should stay objective.<sup>202</sup> The article, due to the timelessness of the topic and depth of the issue, has to be approached in a distinct way from a hard news story.

The other case at hand which does not fit the characteristics of a hard news story, is *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa*; it reaches even greater length than *Pulin uhri* with 10,500 characters. The article tells about a disquisition made by an oil protection committee, which was given to the Ministry of Trade and Industry three days earlier. The article shares some characteristics of hard news stories, such as providing the important information in the beginning. However, the article is mainly a summary of the disquisition, and it does not tell the readers anything more than the written report does.<sup>203</sup> The article is a report of written account, which form an important part of newspapers daily material, just like press releases.<sup>204</sup> This particular article is not turned into a feature story, as is a common practice to do because of the profound research done by the instance that gives the report.<sup>205</sup> However, it is not a typical hard news story either, as it only summarises what was written in the disquisition, and no people were interviewed, and no other aspects were considered.

What is typical in these two cases is that the photographs do not tell about a particular event; they are not accompanying an article which tells about an event that turned into a news event. Interestingly these two articles are arising from potential news events, in the case of *Pulin uhri* the event however never turned into published news.<sup>206</sup> In the negatives of a male corpse is shown, but they do not tell much else about the situation. However, the name *Pulin uhri*<sup>207</sup> the photographer gave to the pictures indicates that an alcoholic had died.<sup>208</sup> The *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* was indeed a

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<sup>201</sup> Keeble 1997, 105, 216.

<sup>202</sup> Keeble 1997, 105, 216.

<sup>203</sup> Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970.

<sup>204</sup> Keeble 1997, 164.

<sup>205</sup> Keeble 1997, 164.

<sup>206</sup> There might be several reasons for the *Pulin uhri* never to make it into news, some of the reasons are discussed in the chapter 3.3., and newsworthiness—which influences the decisions based on which certain events are being published—is considered in greater detail in chapter 2.3.

<sup>207</sup> The victim of wino.

<sup>208</sup> VKH archive 82.

news event to start with, the pictures are taken after an oil tanker had hit rocks, and leaked oil had polluted the sea.<sup>209</sup> However, here the photograph is used in a different way, and it is accompanying a different article type. The two articles do not tell about a particular catastrophe, but in general more about bad conditions and decisions based on those. These articles arrive from events that have taken place in the past, in *Pulin uhri* it was first apparently approached as a potential hard news, the presence of the photographer in the situation indicates that. However, the news and consequently the pictures were never published. Even though the event did not cross the news threshold, it apparently did raise interest in the topic. Given the fact that the article was published a few days after the death of the alcoholic, I would assume that it was also an inspiration for writing a feature about the alcoholics and their situation in Turku. In the case of *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa*, the situation is somewhat different, there had been an accident and hard news, based on which the report was delivered. To write the article was not of the journalist's initiative, but it hardly could be called a news event, and it was connected to an earlier hard news. In both case the photographs published next to the article were taken from an event, which was in the long run the first spark for these articles. In a sense, the photographs are not solely illustrative, but they do bare a direct connection to the text.

It is important to make these divisions into different article types, even though they might feel somewhat artificial, as they define the way in which the photographs are perceived. The photographs are always in connection to the context in which they are shown. This is true also in the newspapers. The context plays an important role, and furthermore, inside the newspaper there are more divisions into different contexts according to the news' location. Supplements are considered to be more entertaining, and thus also the images published in them differ from the images published with a hard news article.<sup>210</sup> The two above-mentioned articles are not hard news, other than the rest of the articles analysed in the thesis, and therefore also the pictures published next to the text should be approached differently. Commonly only articles and article types are analysed, but the divisions can be adapted in the analyses of the images published in the newspaper, too. According to Taylor a similar kind of division, due to the huge number of photographic images in the press, might take place also in the field of published

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<sup>209</sup> The pictures were first accompanying the article *Sää on suosinut öljyn hävittäjiä*, HS 7.5.1969. The pictures published in the article are not the same as the one published in *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, but they are from the same negatives.

<sup>210</sup> Holland 1998, 17-25.

photographs.<sup>211</sup> The meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context-determined.<sup>212</sup> This means that also in photography there are different type groups, not only in the text. However, these types do not seem to correlate directly to the news types.

John Taylor is one of the few scholars to consider the different article types significant when analysing news photographs. A division into photographic essays, features, and other genres is a common practice, but these divisions are based on the tasks given to the photographers, whereas the consideration of the images, when they are not published in the original context, has been omitted.<sup>213</sup> The photographer, when he produces photographs, has a primary goal in mind, and the produced photograph corresponds to the requirement the specific genre, or media has.<sup>214</sup> In his book *Body Horror*, Taylor considers only hard news as part of photojournalism. Photojournalism includes the photographs which illustrate actual events in daily newspaper.<sup>215</sup> This is an interesting way of approaching the division into different types of photographic contexts in newspapers. With this division Taylor excludes the use of any other news types from his research, and thus limits the approach. The divisions are important to acknowledge especially when analysing catastrophe pictures; when a photograph is accompanying a hard news story, which is always current, and published right after an incident took place, more horrific images are shown.<sup>216</sup> This means that in different types of articles different kind of photographs are thought as proper.

The different news types have consequences in the requirements of authenticity and truthfulness in the use of news photographs. In the case of *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* the caption connects the picture to the article, but also gives the reader wrong facts: ”Säiliöalus Torrey Canyonin onnettomuus kiihdytti öljyvahinkojen suojalaitteiden ja -menetelmien tutkimusta ja kehittämistä kaikissa valtioissa. Säiliöalus Palvan saastetta pestiin pitkään Utön edustan saarten rannoilta polttamisen jälkeen,”<sup>217</sup> lets the reader understand that the picture is taken in Utö, where as, according to the

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<sup>211</sup> Taylor 1998, 78.

<sup>212</sup> Sekula 1984, 85.

<sup>213</sup> See about the divisions e.g. Vanhanen 1991, 44-49, 74.

<sup>214</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 55.

<sup>215</sup> Taylor 1998, 5.

<sup>216</sup> Taylor 1998, 104.

<sup>217</sup> The accident of tanker Torrey Canyon fuelled the research and development on safety device and methods in the case of oil catastrophes in all the countries. After burning the pollution of tanker Palva, the cliffs in front of the Utö islands were washed for long time. Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970.

photographer's notes it was taken in Kökar. The distance between these two places is not great, and it is questionable if the photographs in the first place were taken in Kökar. However, it is interesting in the way that the photograph is, in a certain way, giving false information. The Palva accident did happen in Utö, but apparently, according to Hietanen's diary the photographs were taken in Kökar.<sup>218</sup>

The photograph does not as such necessarily give wrong testimony of the particular event, but the way in which it is used, with the help of captions and its connection to the article, does misinform. In this case it is not the photograph as such that lies or falsifies the evidence value of the image. The other negatives from the same situation show the first steps of the cleaning process, namely the oil in the sea, the burning of the oil in the sea and, as in the published picture, the cleaning done after the burning.<sup>219</sup> Comparing the published picture to the negatives, an argument can be made that the published photograph as such is authentic and it does not, in itself, falsify the event in which it was taken. The photograph is quoting from the reality. It is a slice of time and place as Sontag has argued. Berger follows her thought, and adds that photography does not have a language of its own to translate, that is why it quotes. According to him the photograph prints directly and therefore it cannot lie. However, if the photographic image, the quotation of reality, is given a status of fact, it can misinform about the given event.<sup>220</sup> Here it is the *use* of the photograph that makes it misinform. In this particular article, *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, it is done by giving false information in the caption.<sup>221</sup>

Authenticity of the image is not straightforwardly a sign of objective information. Saraste differentiates the authenticity and truthfulness of photographic images by claiming that even a non-authentic photograph can be truthful. The photograph is authentic if the photographer has not interfered with the scene he is photographing, that he has not touched the objects that lie in front of the lens, but this kind of authenticity does not guarantee truthfulness.<sup>222</sup> In principal, the question on

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<sup>218</sup> In V. K. Hietanen's diary there are two entries from those days; in 2.5. there is an entry "Palva karilla" (Palva hit the rocks) and 6.5. 1969 Kökarin matka lento (Trip to Kökar flight). It is more probable that the photographs were taken in Kökar on the 6.5.1969, as the photographs depict the men cleaning the cliffs, and therefore it is not probable that the photographs were taken the very next day after the oil spillage. VKH Diary 1969; VKH archive 44.

<sup>219</sup> VKH archive 44\_1-12, 21-40. Places in the negatives 44\_13-20 are unidentifiable, and thus are left out of the analysis. Due to the disorderly nature of the original archive it is justified to assume that they are not necessarily even in connection to the other images from the scene.

<sup>220</sup> Berger 1989, 96-97.

<sup>221</sup> *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, HS 3.1.1970.

<sup>222</sup> Saraste 1980, 157, see also Roskill & Carrier 1983, xi; Price 2004, 71.

misinforming is not exactly about a fake picture, even though Sontag claims that a fake picture is falsifying reality, it is more about the use of photographs, no matter if the image in itself has been staged or manipulated afterwards.<sup>223</sup> As argued above, the photographs, as far as can be claimed based on comparison between negatives and published, are authentic—even though the published image *Pulin uhri* is retouched—but the question is if the photograph, and more over the ways in which it is used, is truthful.

The hypothesis that this particular article gives a false testimony of the photograph's origin, even though the misinformation is rather insignificant, gives a possibility to research the practices of deliberate use of photographs in misinforming the readers. I would argue that the misinformation is not seen as something wrong, as the nature of the articles is not to present a detailed documentation of an event, the information value is not very significant. At the same time the 'this was there' function, which is crucial to the photographs depicting a past event in a hard news context, disappears. In this context, the photographs accompany a report and feature, they do not have the same requirement in sharing information. Taylor argues that the main element of photographs accompanying hard news is the truthful documentation of a news event.<sup>224</sup> Due to the non hard news nature of the articles in which *Pulin uhri* and *Öllyä poltetaan Kökarissa* photographs were published, the question of altering expectations rises.

In the *Pulin uhri* case, the caption does not even try to point out what happened in this particular case where the photograph was taken, it solely connects the article with the photograph.<sup>225</sup> Comparing the negatives of the scene to the published photograph we can learn that a man had died in the riverbank. Indeed in all the pictures taken in the scene the corpse is present.<sup>226</sup> The published picture has been modified by using a common practise in news industry, namely, the photograph has been cropped to fit the required function it has in the article; a corpse has been excluded by cropping from the published image.<sup>227</sup> These are common practises in the press, yet they do, when found out, arouse discussion about the credibility of news photographs. Indeed, in the situations where the falsifying nature of a specific photograph is found out, the main

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<sup>223</sup> Sontag 1990, 86.

<sup>224</sup> Taylor 1998, 52.

<sup>225</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

<sup>226</sup> VKH archive 82\_1-39.

<sup>227</sup> Taylor 1998, 53.

reason for using photographs is being questioned. Something is photographed, and then published in a newspaper, exactly because of the common credibility in photograph's truthfulness, that it copies what ever is in front of a camera.<sup>228</sup>

However, the belief in the truthfulness of photography is commonly exploited and used in the publicity to misinform people.<sup>229</sup> Berger comments on the misinforming in the use of photographs, which should not be overlooked. He writes that "Sometimes the misinformation is deliberate, as in the case of publicity; often it is the result of an unquestioned ideological assumption."<sup>230</sup> In the cases of *Pulin uhri* and *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* it is not directly ideology that is behind the publication of these articles and photographs, but if the term ideology is widened to include the common sense structures about reality that communities share, an interesting situation is faced. In the common sense structures the perception of news stories other than hard news, for example reports and features, are not expected to carry precise information of an event, and thus the requirement for the truthfulness is lesser, and so is the case with pictures illustrating these articles.<sup>231</sup> In the cases of *Pulin uhri* and *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa*, the photographs are chiefly perceived as illustrative by both the editors and the readers. The readers do not see a need to question the credibility of photographs when they are published in some other than hard news context.

This brings us to the meaning of these photographs in the articles. If their main purpose is not to provide information of a particular event, there has to be some other reason why they are published. No doubt the growing number and importance of photographs has something to do with the fact that they are published.<sup>232</sup> Also, the articles are exceptionally long, and on the pages where they appear, there are no other pictures; the pictures make the layout lighter.<sup>233</sup> The pictures, as argued above, do not bring in any new information about the event, in fact here the articles do not tell about an event, of which the photographs could be a proof.

Thus also the aesthetic level of the photograph is significant, probably more important than in general use of press images. The *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* is a beautiful photograph. In the negatives there were other compositions of the same event

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<sup>228</sup> Berger 1989, 96-97.

<sup>229</sup> Berger 1989, 96.

<sup>230</sup> Berger 1989, 97.

<sup>231</sup> Sontag 2003, 84.

<sup>232</sup> Komulainen 2000, 11; Uimonen, Valkonen and Vuoristo 1989, 24; Saraste 1996, 144.

<sup>233</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS, 1.3.1972; Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970.

of burning oil and washing cliffs, most of them were technically good, but nothing extraordinary. Indeed there are images in which the photographer is standing behind the men, and the water is sprayed away from the camera.<sup>234</sup> In the published picture the situation is the same, but by changing the composition of the picture by altering the shooting angle, a certain feel of drama is added to the image. In the published image a man is standing in the upper right corner of the photograph, and sprays water to the ground. The man, and his colleague, appear as silhouettes, anonymous people fighting against the disaster. The photograph has presumably been taken with a wide-angle lens; the rocks in the foreground of the picture appear very large compared to the men in the background.<sup>235</sup> By selecting this particular, visually beautiful photograph to illustrate the *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti* article, an aesthetic selection has taken place. The photograph's information value of this particular image is smaller than in most of the negatives, it does not provide a comprehensive representation neither of the situation nor surroundings. The aesthetically impressive photographs may cause the reader to watch it for a longer time than other, regular photographs do. For that little moment that the reader halts, the image has a possibility to affect him.<sup>236</sup> Even if an aesthetically impressive photograph may steal a moment of the reader's attention, its power is mainly aesthetic, not political.<sup>237</sup> Aesthetically pleasing photographs are chosen as illustrations, but their beauty hardly is the core reason for choosing these photographs, or indeed the publication of any images.

Berger claims that the use of photographs can be divided into two; a photograph as evidence in the public sphere, and the subjective and private use in which emotions have an important place.<sup>238</sup> Berger contradicts these two uses and claims that the public use of photographs is solely about the representation of truth, but I would argue, following Taylor's idea, that press photography has invaded the other field as well. News photographs are also used to present moral and ethical issues to the readers.<sup>239</sup> Press photographs may in some cases withdraw from the information aspect

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<sup>234</sup> VKH archive 44; *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, HS 3.1.1970.

<sup>234</sup> Berger 1989, 111; VKH archive 44\_1-10, 23-36.

<sup>235</sup> *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, HS 3.1.1970.

<sup>236</sup> Saraste 1996, 108.

<sup>237</sup> Perlmutter 1998, 19.

<sup>238</sup> Berger 1989, 111. See also Sekula 1984, 94. Sekula does not make explicitly the division to cohere with private and public sphere, but nevertheless he sees that photographs are imagined to have these capacities.

<sup>239</sup> Taylor 1998, 5.

and employ photography's means in a way more common in the private use of photographs, in order to use their affective power.

Especially in the human-interest stories this is the case. The human-interest aspect is significant in any news article, but especially in non hard news articles. The impact an event has on the people is of most importance to the newspaper, and the readers.<sup>240</sup> In features and reports the human-interest aspect manifests itself in a distinct way; the structures of the world are shaken and the readers ought to do something about it. Human-interest topics represented in the press do not arrive from a certain agenda that the press has, it is more a matter of public interest.<sup>241</sup> The articles *Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa* and *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti* urge the reader, though not explicitly, to intervene with the situation, to save the sea from pollution and alcoholics from living in inhuman conditions. Interestingly the photographs are from Finland, they are close to the readers, and they would have, if wanted, power to change the situations. However, or maybe exactly due to that reason, the photographs are subtle, the *Pulin uhri* is cropped not to show disturbing details, namely the corpse of an alcoholic, but nevertheless the reader is confronted with the presence of death. The purpose of these photographs is human-interest arousing, but not disturbance.

I would argue that the main purpose of the photographs accompanying the articles is that they try to make the readers feel; they aim at touching the readers' feelings, rather than giving information. The photographs assist the articles in trying to make a point, they help the articles' appeal to the emotions.<sup>242</sup> This opposes Taylor's claim that press photography has no aim to make people act by showing them ethical problems in daily images.<sup>243</sup> Taylor focuses on the hard news photographs, and this might well be the situation in that field, but when analysing photographs accompanying features and reports, I would argue that the use of the images does have moral implications.

The exposure of moral and ethical problems can be reinforced with the help of captions. The captions can manipulate the responses to the press photography.<sup>244</sup> Press

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<sup>240</sup> Keeble 1997, 132. The human-interest aspect should not be mixed up with personification of news, even though they have certain similarities. More about the personification of news articles and photographs in chapter 3.1.

<sup>241</sup> Taylor 1998, 5.

<sup>242</sup> Zelizer 2005a, 168.

<sup>243</sup> Taylor 1998, 6.

<sup>244</sup> Burke 2001, 183.



photographs are not isolated from their surroundings, the text and picture sequence; they always are connected to some other structures of communication.<sup>245</sup> Press photographs do not exist in vacuum, and thus the reception is influenced by other factors. When a photograph is isolated from all its surroundings, it can be understood as a message without a code, its directness is so strong that its content cannot be easily turned into words, or be otherwise described in a sphere of communication.<sup>246</sup>

However, as Barthes points out, a press photograph does not reach the reader in its denotative form. Due to the interference of editors, and the mere presence of the text by its side, it reaches the field of connotation, and the directness of presentation, or rather naturalness, is lost.<sup>247</sup>

As the photographs accompanying the articles *Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa* and *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti* are assumed to be authentic—even though up to a certain degree the composition in the photograph is arranged in the way that the photographer, as can be seen in the negatives, has been changing the place in order to find a good angle—it means that the connotation is not produced before the picture is taken, but after it. The assumption leads to the conclusion that the images step into a connotative level whilst they are pooled together with the text, which is always present in a press photograph. The closer the text is to the image, the more separable it seems to be from it, and the less connotative.<sup>248</sup> The caption enjoys a denotative flare, it is perceived as an inseparable part of the image, and is encapsulated in the naturalness of the photographic message.<sup>249</sup> The text connotes the message of the image, which makes the image more easily graspable, but it does it in an innocent way, the reader does not understand that he is guided in the reading process.<sup>250</sup> And in many cases that is the way it is perceived, it seems like a neutral guide informing about the item or event depicted in the photograph.<sup>251</sup>

The text, which adds the connotative level to the photographic message, is twofold. It either anchors or relays the meaning of the image.<sup>252</sup> The caption may be either associative or informative.<sup>253</sup> In every image there are several possible meanings,

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<sup>245</sup> Barthes 1977b, 16.

<sup>246</sup> Barthes 1977b, 17-18.

<sup>247</sup> Barthes 1977b, 19.

<sup>248</sup> Barthes 1977b, 26.

<sup>249</sup> Barthes 1977b, 26.

<sup>250</sup> Barthes 1977b, 25.

<sup>251</sup> Sontag 2003, 45.

<sup>252</sup> Barthes 1977a, 39.

<sup>253</sup> Saraste 1996, 175.

and in the anchoring the caption fixes the meaning.<sup>254</sup> The gaze is fixed in the image, it points out certain elements of an unarticulated image, the elements that are valued as important by the photographer or the editor. By adding a caption underneath the image the possibilities of interpretation are limited, and the reader is likely to perceive the image in the desirable way, it may for example tell to the reader how to read, that is to understand, the facial expression of a person in the photograph.<sup>255</sup> The other function, relaying, unites the picture and the text in a complimentary way, neither one is subordinate to the other, whereas in the case of anchoring, the text controls the reception of the visual presentation.<sup>256</sup> In an ideal situation the union of the text and image is so complete, that they form an entity.<sup>257</sup> However, seldom this is what happens in everyday photojournalism. Commonly the images are subordinate to the text, which can be seen in the practices of using photographs as illustration, and the clumsy captions that connect the image to the article.<sup>258</sup>

The caption of *Pulin uhri* employs above-mentioned means of connecting an illustrative photograph to the article: ”Suurin osa Turun alkoholisteista ei mahdu minnekään. Hoitokodit eivät suvaitse ryyppäämistä. Kaupungin parakit ovat ylikansoitettuja. Yöparakit sulkevat ovensa päiväksi. Joen rantaan voi mennä, mutta sangen usein sieltä tullaan pois ruumisautolla.”<sup>259</sup> The main concern of the article is summarised in the caption, but it does also give an explanation why this particular photograph was chosen as an illustration to the article. The *Pulin uhri* photograph is rather unambiguous, two men walk towards the camera carrying stretchers between them and the hearse is in the background, the readers should be able to understand what the event is about. Nevertheless, the hearse in the background is brought to the centre of focus by naming it in the caption, and the presence of death in the picture is underlined. The caption gives a meaning to the photograph, it connects the article to the published image, even though the caption is very general, and does not tell anything about the particular situation in which the photograph was taken.

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<sup>254</sup> Barthes 1977a, 39.

<sup>255</sup> Barthes 1977a, 39-40; Hall 1981, 229.

<sup>256</sup> Barthes 1977a, 41.

<sup>257</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 8.

<sup>258</sup> Vanhanen 1994b, 14.

<sup>259</sup> Most of the alcoholics in Turku do not fit anywhere. The nursing homes do not tolerate drinking. The barracks organised by the town are over populated. The night barracks close their doors during the daytime. One can always go to the river shores, but very often people return from there in a hearse. Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

In the case of *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* the caption connects the photograph to the topic, and at the same time explains where the whole report comes from. The text is based on a report given by Öljysuojatoimikunta<sup>260</sup>, but the article does not explain the underlying reasons behind the report. This is done in the caption: ”Säiliöalus Torrey Canyonin onnettomuus kiihdytti öljyvahinkojen suojalaitteiden ja -menetelmien tutkimusta ja kehittämistä kaikissa valtioissa. Säiliöalus Palvan saastetta pestiin pitkään Utön edustan saarten rannoilta polttamisen jälkeen.”<sup>261</sup> Interestingly the function of the caption is to explain the background for the report, and thus also the article. Otherwise the photograph as such, or the object of the photograph, men washing cliffs, should be easy to grasp, but the caption nevertheless explains it to the reader. The caption facilitates, and speeds up the reading of the image.<sup>262</sup> Also in this case the caption works as a connection between the photograph and the article, but even more as an explanation for the background of the article.

Even though the photographic image in a newspaper testifies of an event, and makes the article more credible by its mere presence, it is evidence waiting to be given meaning by words, namely the captions. The caption is to explain what people see in the image, it is the written word that is capable of disproving the testimony of a photograph by claiming it is false.<sup>263</sup> Images are considered to be powerful in their presentation, but they lack the ability to speak. No matter how strong and explicit the image is, the reader expects a caption to verify its truth.<sup>264</sup> Particularly when the question is about illustrative pictures, the power of words overrules the representational capacity of the images.

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<sup>260</sup> Oil protection committee.

<sup>261</sup> The accident of tanker Torrey Canyon fuelled the research and development on safety devices and methods in the case of oil catastrophes in all the countries. After burning the pollution of tanker Palva, the cliffs in front of the Utö islands were washed for a long time. Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti, HS 3.1.1970.

<sup>262</sup> Barthes 1977a, 38-9.

<sup>263</sup> Sontag 2003, 10.

<sup>264</sup> Sontag 1990, 108.

### 2.3. From News Event to Media Event

Four newspaper articles, *Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa*<sup>265</sup>, *Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon*, *Viking I päin saarta* and *Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa*, stand out from the rest of the cases at hand. In each case more than one photograph is published, which seems to be rather exceptional when having a look at the other cases in this research. These four cases follow a loose pattern; in each case one photograph is published on the front page with a short introduction to the article next to it, and two photographs, in the case of *Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa* only one, with a long article is published in the inside pages.<sup>266</sup> Curiously, even though there article *Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n palo* seems to be important, as it is considerably long and there is a follow up in the next day's paper, it did not make it to the first page like the other three cases.<sup>267</sup> However, *Bore II palo* is the only case that had a sequel in the next day's paper, which proves of the importance of the event.<sup>268</sup> The four cases, even though they are not identical, can be approached as sharing something significant; the articles, and the pictures, are not only newsworthy in a common sense of the word—all the articles that are published are newsworthy—gain an extraordinary amount of space in the country's leading newspaper.<sup>269</sup>

Newsworthiness, or parallel news value, determine the selection of publishable news. The staff of the newspaper select the news from a pool of potential news by referring to the practices of standard news selection.<sup>270</sup> The selection processes operate under certain premises, in which the seriousness of the offence, the extent of the consequences, its unusualness, dramatic circumstances, or the involvement of an important or famous person are evaluated.<sup>271</sup> Particularly the situations in which death is present, be it manslaughter or merely an accident, are more likely to gain importance in

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<sup>265</sup> The text in the negatives says that the photograph is from the year 1978, and the article is from 1979, which would indicate that it is not the same case in question. However, when comparing the article, the photographs and the text, to the negatives, it is clear that it indeed is the same case. In the text it says that Baltic Star hit the space between Pommern and the dock, and also that the passenger bridge between Pommern and the dock broke, which can be seen in the published photographs, but also in the negatives. VKH archive 5; *Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa*, HS 1.6. 1979.

<sup>266</sup> *Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa*, HS 1.6. 1979, *Viking I päin saarta*, HS 6.8.1975, *Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa*, HS 5.9.1978.

<sup>267</sup> *Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon*, HS 5.11.1973.

<sup>268</sup> *Bore II:n tuho täydellinen*, HS 6.11.1973.

<sup>269</sup> See e.g. Roshier 1981, 39-41.

<sup>270</sup> Hall 1981, 234.

<sup>271</sup> Roshier 1981, 46; Keeble 1997, 131.

the news scene.<sup>272</sup> Roshier and Hall are mainly concerned about the portrayal of crime in the press, but I would argue, as already noted in the introduction, that all kinds of catastrophe news share more or less similar reasons for selection, their news values do not differ greatly from crime news.

The cases with multiple images are, without the exception of *Taksiryöstäjän etsintä*, boat accidents. The selection of news operates first of all on the level of the topic, and catastrophes and accidents form the core of potential news. Inside particular news types, let it be catastrophes, crimes, or politics, certain types are always more likely to be selected.<sup>273</sup> Interesting here is that a significant part of very visible news is boat incidents. The partial portrayal of news, which is based on the news values, endangers versatile representation of reality by bringing certain topics up to the forefront and omitting others.<sup>274</sup> However, even if boat incidents seem to receive a specific status amongst the catastrophes, the four cases do not seem to be of very great importance in what it comes to the news values. The fire in which Bore II burned down was a big financial loss, but nobody died, or got gravely injured. The boat incidents are important, and they are represented and perceived as very important, even though nothing spectacular happened, as was the case in these three news stories.

The only case which somewhat seems to fulfil all the requirements of newsworthiness is *Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa*. In other articles no lives were actually threatened, even if it at first might have seemed so, and even though the Bore burned badly and caused significant financial loss, it only faced a prosperous company, not a community.<sup>275</sup> The article describes a situation where supposedly a taxi driver, in the end there was no certainty if it in fact was a taxi driver or only somebody pretending to be one, had called for help and said that somebody had robbed and beaten him up, and then escaped from the scene. The police and fellow taxi drivers started a massive search operation, but the driver was never found.<sup>276</sup> In the article a possible death that was caused by human behaviour and the dramatic search for the wounded underline the newsworthiness of the event.<sup>277</sup> The article got the visibility

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<sup>272</sup> Roshier 1981, 44-45.

<sup>273</sup> Roshier 1981, 40.

<sup>274</sup> Roshier 1981, 40. The fact that the photographer was working in the area that includes hundreds of kilometres of coastline, and also numerous islands, including the Åland Islands should be emphasised.

<sup>275</sup> The financial loss for the company does not touch the people in the same way as if a community would have suffered such a loss. The news is not of human interest. Oikosulkua epäillään syyski Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973; Bore II:n tuho täydellinen, HS 6.11.1973.

<sup>276</sup> Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa, HS 5.9.1978.

<sup>277</sup> Roshier 1981, 46; Keeble 1997, 131.

due to the action in it, the story did not end with the stabbing, and the reporter was not there only to write about the scene after the incident took place, but the reporter, and the photographer, were able to report about the dramatic search for the wounded that was still going on.<sup>278</sup>

Interestingly, the importance of the news event correlates to the amount and visibility of the photographs published with the article. If the news is important, there are many photographs illustrating it.<sup>279</sup> In each case more than one photograph was published, and every time, when the case was mentioned for the first time, a photograph accompanied the introduction to the article.<sup>280</sup> The photographer exposed more film while capturing these four events than he did in most of the others.<sup>281</sup> In *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* the photographer had a helicopter in his use, which reveals something of the importance the editors deemed the incident to have. This fact would support the assumption that in each case the photographer got instructions from the editors to take many photographs, and that the editors had decided the story would get a lot of space and it would need a good selection of photographs. The importance of the given events seems to have been decided already beforehand, and a full documentary coverage in the form of photographs was desirable. The photographs of a catastrophe are shown as a documentation of the given event.<sup>282</sup>

According to Hall the news criteria described above form the formal news values of the news.<sup>283</sup> On the other side of the news is its ideological level. After news has been chosen according to the practices of formal news criteria, it is being transformed into a news article by the operations of editing and interpretation. This is a point where the news becomes a text full of connotations.<sup>284</sup> As above the news criteria have been viewed as a whole, from the point of view of the event itself, similar practices also take place in the sphere of the selection of imagery. The same operations of adding connotation take place in the visual representation of a news event. Visual images, here photographs, have to fulfil the formal news criteria, only then they are used to add to the

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<sup>278</sup> Hall 1981, 231.

<sup>279</sup> Zelizer 2005a, 170.

<sup>280</sup> Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6. 1979, Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975, Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa, HS 5.9.1978. In the three cases the articles first appeared on the front page, which means that also the photographs made it to the cover.

<sup>281</sup> Other cases have significantly less taken picture, exception to this are VKH archive 23; VKH archive 43; VKH archive 44; VKH archive 45; VKH archive 55 and VKH archive 82, all of which, besides the *Öllyä poltetaan Kökarissa*, include dead people.

<sup>282</sup> Zelizer 2005a, 173.

<sup>283</sup> Hall 1981, 235.

<sup>284</sup> Hall 1981, 231.

interpretation of the news article. Photographs are used in order to support the connotations that are implemented in the text.<sup>285</sup>

The news criteria of photographs, what Hall calls formal news criteria, are necessarily not articulated very clearly, but commonly they are the same as in the selection of news.<sup>286</sup> Most important here is to concentrate on the most outspoken criteria, namely the photograph's ability to inform about the event, which is a common feature of a photograph in any use.<sup>287</sup> In the case of *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* the informativeness of the image is very explicit especially in the photograph published on the front page. It shows a situation where a man—the caption tells that he was in a boat which luckily did not get involved in the accident—is standing on the dock, and in the background there is the notorious ship stuck into the dock. A viewer is even able to read the name of the boat, it is written on its side.<sup>288</sup> The photograph gives precise information about the accident. However, what cannot be seen in this particular photograph—in the other images it is present—is the other boat, Pommern, which was damaged in the crash.

Even though news photographs are commonly appreciated for their capacity of informing about the news event, that is not solely what they always do. Zelizer points out that after the attack on the WTC tower in New York, the photographs of the situation after the fall of the towers indeed did not give new information of the event, but rather showed well-known images, which did not give information about the details of the event.<sup>289</sup> This notion of the omission of the informative aspect of photographs underlines Hall's theory about the use of news photographs in the construction of news. I would argue that, on the part of the photographs, the second level of news construction, namely the interpretation, takes place particularly in the selection of the photographic material.<sup>290</sup> On the one hand, when analysing the selection of news photographs, the formal news criteria have to be acknowledged, but on the other hand, the fact that the selection process for the photographs adds to the ideological theme of the news should not be forgotten. Hall points out that the division into formal news

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<sup>285</sup> Hall 1981, 237-238.

<sup>286</sup> Hall 1981, 232; Taylor 1998, 193.

<sup>287</sup> Koivunen 2006, 53.

<sup>288</sup> Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6. 1979.

<sup>289</sup> Zelizer 2005a, 174.

<sup>290</sup> Hall calls it interpretation that happens in the ideological level; Hall 1981, 237.

values and ideological level is not clear in practice, the photographs are chosen according to the requirements of a particular article.<sup>291</sup>

In *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* three picture types of the event were published. One picture type is close up of the two boats and the broken dock, the second group is the pedestrian bridge connecting the dock to the boat. The third type is the picture of the two boats taken from a helicopter or small plane; this is the one published as the main image of the inside page. In the negatives there were many almost identical images of each type, but only one photograph of each group was published. Similar kind of grouping of photographs into types seems to take place in the other cases as well, and the practices of publishing follow similar patterns. In *Bore II palo* there are three picture types, and one image of all the types was published, even though one of them only the next day.<sup>292</sup>

The grouping of published and taken photographs is not very clear or established, and it ought not to be, but it helps in analysing what was left out and what was included. In each case the amount of negatives is more than ten times bigger compared to the published pictures, and thus dividing the negatives into groups allows the analyses of types rather than single images.<sup>293</sup> On the one hand though the selection of images from these groups seem to be based on the formal news criteria, on the other hand on the interpretation of the event. In *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* the photograph taken from the air follows general practices of publishing an overview photograph of the catastrophe, if there is one, with the article.<sup>294</sup> This speaks more for the formal criteria, than for the second level. It means that presumably all the other 14 shots, besides one that was underexposed, of this type would have fulfilled the formal criteria.<sup>295</sup> But I would argue that the reason why this specific photograph was chosen is based on the ideological practices of the picture choice, thus it adds to the connotative elements to the news.

In *Viking I karilla* the two photographs published in the inside pages depict what is going on in the boat while it is waiting for help. In the bigger image a happy

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<sup>291</sup> Hall 1981, 232.

<sup>292</sup> VKH archive 46; Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973; Bore II:n tuho täydellinen, HS 6.11.1973.

<sup>293</sup> VKH archive 5; Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6. 1979; VKH archive 46; Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973; Bore II:n tuho täydellinen, HS 6.11.1973; VKH archive 64; Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975; VKH archive 76; Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa, HS 5.9.1978.

<sup>294</sup> Taylor 1998, 108.

<sup>295</sup> VKH archive, 5\_07.



family is enjoying food in the ship's restaurant, and the island on which the ship got stuck is seen through the windows. In the smaller photograph a sailor is attaching a rope to the ship—while a crowd of passengers is watching the process—so that a smaller boat could help the Viking to get back on the route again. The main picture on the front page is an impressive image of a gigantic looking ship stuck on the cliffs.<sup>296</sup> Actually, the pictures which are taken from outside the ship, either from the cliffs or from the sea, the type of which the main picture represents, vary quite a lot. Most significantly, in other pictures the ship does not seem as grandiose as in the published image. It is worth noticing here that the picture is taken from a low viewpoint which emphasizes the size of the Viking.<sup>297</sup> The image is thus impressive, and I would argue, that the reasons for choosing this particular photograph are solely not about the formal news values but it was indeed chosen because of the impact it has in the perception of the article.

There is one picture type in *Viking I karilla* negatives that is not published. There are shots which are taken from the bridge, and the cliffs of the island on which the ship got stuck can be seen through the window. In four of the pictures some members of the staff stand next to the helm, in the rest of the pictures there are no people at all.<sup>298</sup> The pictures would have fulfilled the informativeness criteria as well as does the image in which a family is enjoying breakfast; both of the images depict the situation inside the boat, and at the same time show the island on the background. Maybe the reason for publishing a picture of a happy family was that it creates a more positive impression of the situation than the other picture would have done. Here it was not a selection inside a particular image group in which the interpretation of the news event took place, but a selection of what type of picture was published.

Similarly in *Bore II palo* the selection of the picture types modifies the message of the news. A night photograph of the burning ship was published on the front page. From the whole group of photographs that form the sources for this research, this was one of the few photographs that are taken during dark hours.<sup>299</sup> In the *Bore II palo* night photograph the sky does not appear very dark, but the streetlights reflecting from the river, and the way in which the boat is illuminated by the fire, indicate that the day was turning into night. In the photograph the Bore ship is burning in the background, on

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<sup>296</sup> Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975.

<sup>297</sup> VKH archive 72\_1-6, 14-15.

<sup>298</sup> VKH archive 72\_19-26.

<sup>299</sup> Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973. The other night photograph was published in the article Pitkää miestä haetaan surmatyöstä epäiltynä, HS 27.1.1971. The photograph was taken with a flash.

the other side of the river, whereas in the foreground two people—their backs turned to the camera—watch the burning ship from a safe distance. It seems like the photographer has not used flash as the people in the front do not appear very clearly and the main focus is in the boat, which is illuminated by the fire. The reasons for choosing this photograph may be various, but probable is that it was one of the few instances where it was possible to produce a comprehensible night photograph.<sup>300</sup> The original photograph of the scene is clearer than the published image in the newspaper, and the flames appear very strong and powerful. Even though the impact of the burning boat and the massive smoke cloud is not as striking in the published image as in the original, the photograph has probably been chosen precisely due to its grandeur.

The selection of publishable news photographs is also dependent on the other images that appear in the article. The connotations are not added to the photographs solely by captioning and headlines, but the photograph gets meaning from the other images next to it. The sequence of photographs is important in creating meanings to the pictures, but also to the article. Barthes argues, that when a photograph is published with other photographs, it is no longer possible to analyse a single photograph, but all of them together. In fact a singular photograph loses its existence when published with others. The syntax of the photographs creates interpretation. In film this is done by the help of repetition and in drawing by typification, but as a photograph is incapable of doing either one, it needs other images in constructing a story.<sup>301</sup> Indeed, in the case of *Viking I karilla*, the picture choices give a hint that the photographer might have tried to build more of a photo essay with the images. This would mean that the main focus of the article was not on the hard news side, but it shift away from it by emphasizing the pictorial representation of the event. The pictures in this particular case construct a story in a much stronger way than in any other of the cases. Particularly the images in the inner pages need the context of the picture in the first page to be understood.<sup>302</sup>

The *Taksiryöstäjän etsintä* shows two pictures of the search for a wounded taxi driver. In the photograph on the front page four taxi drivers are gathered together. They are positioned in the front of the photograph, and the background is occupied by several taxis.<sup>303</sup> The number of taxis indicates that there are many more involved in the research than are visible in the photograph. Also the worried expressions of the men indicate that

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<sup>300</sup> Saraste 1996, 91.

<sup>301</sup> Barthes 1977b, 24-25.

<sup>302</sup> Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975.

<sup>303</sup> Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa, HS 5.9.1978.

this is a serious issue. The expressions of the soldiers in the inner page photograph cannot be seen as clearly. However, their mere existence indicates that it indeed is a serious situation.<sup>304</sup> The two images together tell about the seriousness of the situation, that there is still something that can be done about it; the person is still expected to be alive, otherwise the army would not be included in the search.

News photographs always interpret the news event to the reader and yet, even if the image is exaggerating, as was the case in the front cover picture of *Viking I karilla*, are perceived as an objective account of reality.<sup>305</sup> It is the presumed naturalness of a photograph that makes news stories appear free of ideologies.<sup>306</sup> As argued in the introduction, *Helsingin Sanomat* does not have an outspoken ideological goal, nor do these given cases seem to claim it to have. If the purpose of publishing numerous photographs of the event which are not of great significance in terms of loss of death, or political risks etc, is not to produce propaganda, it might well be to produce a myth.<sup>307</sup>

The myth aspect of the ideological level turns a regular news event into a media event. It is indeed unnecessary to write so much, publish so many pictures in the four cases only in the terms of giving information about the event. The articles and pictures do not only inform the readers, but they rather turn the event into entertainment. The requirement for informativeness is fulfilled in both text and images, but at the same time they aim at entertaining the readers.<sup>308</sup> The impressive picture of the Viking ship that hit the rocks catches the reader's attention, it urges him to read more about the incident. In the inside page the boring picture of the staff on the bridge what excluded, and instead the picture of a happy family was published.<sup>309</sup> In the ideological level the story is mythicized as something positive. By choosing the picture of a family the situation was represented as positive, even though there was an element of danger in the background.

Commonly accidents and catastrophes are not included in media event theory, indeed it is the spontaneity of the event that disqualifies these natural disaster from turning into a media event.<sup>310</sup> Dayan and Katz make a difference between great news events, which might well be accidents, and media events, which never, according to

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<sup>304</sup> More about the presence of authority in chapter 3.2.

<sup>305</sup> Hall 1981, 241.

<sup>306</sup> Hall 1981, 242.

<sup>307</sup> Hall 1981, 241.

<sup>308</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 137.

<sup>309</sup> Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975.

<sup>310</sup> Gans 2004, passim; Dayan & Katz 1994, 9.

them are spontaneous. Indeed they claim that only ceremonies, that means events with a manuscript, are true media events.<sup>311</sup> However, I would argue that some bigger accidents do turn into such; they are made bigger than what they actually are. According to Gans there is an exception to the rule; the terrorist attack, or in fact any crime that is committed in order to gain publicity either to the cause they represent or themselves. Terrorists commit crimes in order to gain media attention, and therefore even crimes may turn into media events. The sphere of catastrophes is thus not completely excluded from becoming a media event.<sup>312</sup> The *Taksin etsintä* is by no means comparable to terrorist attacks, and it is even debatable if the person who made the prank did it in order to gain media publicity, but I would argue that it is a media event. The article says that possibly there is no wounded taxi driver in the first place, and that the call for help was just an act of vandalism. However, this is not clear to the police or to the reporter, but the possibility of vandalism is well acknowledged. If there was no wounded taxi driver, the question is, did this person who faked the help calls do it for the publicity, and can this particular case therefore be approached as a media event?

According to Gans more important than the spontaneity vs. staging element is the article's capacity to affect the course of events. A media event affects the course of events by the very reporting of the event. Even a spontaneous event, when it becomes news, has the capacity of appealing to the readers.<sup>313</sup> This claim alters the observation of news. When focusing on a media event, the question is whether it has an impact on following events. The article about *Taksiryöstäjän etsintä* possibly made an appeal on the public, the case was not yet closed when it was reported, and thus it might be that the news article does affect the future of the case. The readers might join the search for the wounded taxi driver, as the photographs already give an example that that is the right thing to do. Maybe also the person who committed the act of vandalism gets inspired by the attention he got and continues committing similar acts.

The other three cases do not precisely fit Gans's scheme of media events. However, I would underline the grand treatment they get in *Helsingin Sanomat*; they appear with multiple pictures, and the articles are exceptionally long. The articles do not appear in an ordinary news scale, but are blown up and should be measured in the scale of media events. I would follow Gans's line of argument and claim that it is not solely

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<sup>311</sup> Dayan & Katz 1994, 9.

<sup>312</sup> Gans 2004, 123.

<sup>313</sup> Gans 2004, 124.

about the planned nature of the event that turns it into a media event, but the treatment it gets in the newspaper or other media. An ordinary boat accident is not worth extensive media attention unless it is deemed to have importance, and therefore intentionally magnified. At the same moment when the photographer was flown to the scene of the Baltic Star accident, an ordinary news event turned into a media event.

Interestingly, the importance of the event seems to increase the importance of naming the journalist and photographer. In about half of the cases under research the name of the photographer is mentioned underneath the published picture.<sup>314</sup> The crediting of the photographer does not seem to be connected to the year of publishing, even though by the end of the 1970s photographers started to get more conscious about their rights, but the photographer's name appears randomly.<sup>315</sup> The four cases with multiple pictures, however, make an exception. In all of the cases with multiple photographs the name of the photographer is mentioned, but in three cases not all the pictures get photography credits. In the first article published about the burn of Bore II, both of the pictures had been credited, but the photograph published with the follow up article had no photography credits. In *Viking I karilla* there is the name of the photographer underneath the published picture on the front page, but later no name in neither one of the pictures. *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* and *Taksiryöstäjän etsintä* follow the same patten.

I would argue that the fact that the name of the photographer is written down is connected to the physical size of the article, and the media attention it gets. This seems to be supported by the appearance of journalists' by-line. In all four cases there is the name of the journalist, but these are almost the only ones with a name, in general the journalists seem to get less seldom credits than the photographers do.<sup>316</sup> This, no doubt, is partially explained by the length of the account; the four articles are by far the longest of the whole selection.<sup>317</sup> In all four articles there is the name of the author, however, it does not appear on the front page with the introductory part, but only in the inner pages where the article continues. The regularity—even though there are only four cases, the sample does give at least some hint of the practices of crediting—of the appearance of

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<sup>314</sup> VKH archive 5, 6, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 64, 67, 70, 71, 76, 82.

<sup>315</sup> Uimonen, Valkonen and Vuoristo 1989, 24.

<sup>316</sup> See e.g. Ryöstäjät ryntäsivät palavaan liiketaloon Turussa, HS 16.5.1971; Pommi Turun yo-taloon, HS 5.4.1972; Tuli tuhosi liiketalon Turun keskustassa, HS 5.4.1978.

<sup>317</sup> Also in *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti* the amount of characters was significant, but, as discussed in chapter 2.2., the news type was different, it more summarised a report written by somebody else. *Vahinkojen torjunta olisi järjestettävä kiireisesti*, HS 3.1.1970.

photographers' and journalists' names in the same articles, whereas otherwise it is not regular at all, underlines the special treatment of media events in *Helsingin Sanomat*. The importance of the photographer and journalist rises when a news event becomes a media event.

Media events are optimal in drawing attention to whatever causes the event present. In three out of the four cases the theme was in a way or another connected to ship accidents. In *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* the ship hit a dock and almost ruined a museum ship, and similarly in *Viking I karilla* a navigation mistake had caused a crash into an island.<sup>318</sup> The causes behind the two cases are rather similar; it was estimated that a human error had caused them. The third ship accident is somewhat different; a big cruise ship burned while it was waiting for reparation in the dock.<sup>319</sup> The common factor between these cases is the ships and the risks that might be involved in them. The articles show—even though *Viking I karilla* gives a positive impression of the situation—the risks ships pose. The articles make the readers aware of the potentiality of threat.

Moral panic is a term that is used in sociological research on the effects and practises of crime reporting. By the repetition of certain topics the media is capable of generating negative feelings, such as fear and anxiety in the audiences.<sup>320</sup> Moral panics are generated by pointing out a social problem, by defining it, and demanding action in order to improve the situation.<sup>321</sup> The news media is crucial in spreading, even inventing, moral panic. In fact commonly it is the media that, by publishing articles of a certain material after another, makes people aware of the situation.<sup>322</sup> Even though the term is commonly used in criminology, Critcher points out that any newsworthy event, in theory, is capable of creating a moral panic. He writes that crucial for a phenomenon to develop into a moral panic is the role of the media. In the media a sequence of singular events are connected to one another, and understood as sign of a bigger problem.<sup>323</sup> Moral panic makes people aware and afraid.<sup>324</sup> The three ship accidents did indeed make people aware of the threats sea traffic poses and by doing so manipulated their reception of reality and the dangers involved in life.

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<sup>318</sup> Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6. 1979; Viking I päin saarta, HS 6.8.1975.

<sup>319</sup> Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973.

<sup>320</sup> Kidd-Hewitt 1995, 2.

<sup>321</sup> Critcher 2005, 179.

<sup>322</sup> Critcher 2005, 178-179.

<sup>323</sup> Critcher 2005, 185.

<sup>324</sup> Kidd-Hewitt 1995, 2.

### 3. FOCUS IN HUMAN BODIES

#### 3.1. Composing by Personifying

Catastrophes<sup>325</sup> consist of fires, crimes and accidents of all kinds, what they have in common is that they all are in one way or another a misfortune either caused by human actions, or by forces of nature. In the material, the depiction of catastrophes, without few exceptions, include human aspects either in the article, or in the picture, and in many cases both. In the catastrophe articles there are altogether six pictures with no people in them.<sup>326</sup> In three of these cases there are no people in the negatives either, and in the other three even though there are people in the negatives, none are in the published photographs. In addition to that, in all the articles in which there were more than one photograph published, in each case there was only one picture without a person in it.<sup>327</sup> In the rest of the photographs, which are the great majority, there were one or more persons present in the picture.

The cases in which there are no people even in the negatives are taken after the disaster has already happened. However, the pictures are rather diverse, and as such no pattern is to be found. In *Lento-onnettomuus Hiittisissä* the published photograph is a close up of a badly crashed light aircraft, which is lying on a cliff. The negatives show the same aeroplane from different angles, but in none of the negatives there are people. This is rather surprising, as the article tells that the plane wreck had been in transportation to the mainland, but the transportation was interrupted and the plane wreck had to be placed on the island and wait for further actions which were to take place the next day. The photograph seems to be taken the day after the accident, when also witnesses were questioned.<sup>328</sup> Thus, as there should have been some people around

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<sup>325</sup> As pointed out in the introduction the way in which the term catastrophe is used include also crimes, which commonly are not seen as catastrophes.

<sup>326</sup> Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon - neljä kuoli, HS 8.7.1972; Kadonnut pienkone löytyi murskaantuneena Pöytyältä, HS 9.3.1979; Satojen tuhansien vahingot varastopalossa Turussa, HS 2.11.1972; Hylky nostettiin Hiittisissä, HS 18.8.1979; Jaala paloi Naantalissa, HS 11.4.1978; Sianraatoja löytyi tien penkasta Liedon lähellä, HS 21.4.1976. In *Bore II:n tuho täydellinen*, HS 6.11.1973 there are no people in the picture, but the article is a follow up from the article published a day earlier, and thus it is analysed in companion of the earlier article.

<sup>327</sup> *Bore II:n tuho täydellinen*, HS 6.11.1973; Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi *Bore II:n* paloon, HS 5.11.1973; Viking I päin saarta, HS 16.8.1975; Lastin irtoaminen upotti laivan, HS 11.10.1973; Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6.1979.

<sup>328</sup> VKH archive 11; Hylky nostettiin Hiittisissä 18.8.1979.

the plane wreck, at least the coastal guard and the witnesses, it is rather surprising that there are no people in the photographs. This might be explained by the fact that the accident had already taken place two days earlier and the main focus of the article was the transportation of the plane wreck, as the title *Hylky nostettiin Hiittisissä* tells, and not the depiction of the accident itself, even though the article does also explain the causes and course of the accident.<sup>329</sup>

Whereas it is rather pointless to speculate why there are no people in the negatives – there are too many possible factors influencing the presence of people in the shooting moment – it is more interesting to look at the cases in which there were people in the negatives, but only such pictures were published in which there were no people at all. Two of the cases tell about aeroplane crashes in which people got killed. The published pictures are not very similar, even though they do depict a similar kind of event. The pictures show a crashed plane wreck, the *Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon - neljä kuoli* is a close up of the plane, where as in *Kadonnut pienkone löytyi murskaantuneena Pöytyältä* the picture shows a little bit more of the surrounding.<sup>330</sup> Even though the pictures are distinct, the situations are similar. In both of the cases people involved in the accident got killed.<sup>331</sup> However, the people in the negatives were not the victims, which might be a reason for not publishing these particular pictures, but only regular onlookers lurking behind the police lines indicating the scene of accident.

Even though the above-mentioned cases show the aftermath of the situation, it hardly is the reason for not having a person in the photograph, as in other cases that does not seem to be the reason not to take pictures of the people who are or are not related to the event. Indeed, there are four published photographs with identifiable people in them, but the names of the people are not mentioned in the text, or in the article, and their connection to the event is not explained in any way,<sup>332</sup> and a number of pictures involving a crowd of onlookers.<sup>333</sup> Only one of the pictures is taken while a news event is actually taking place, the three others are clearly showing the aftermath of the situation. The number of pictures with unidentified people is so huge, that I would

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<sup>329</sup> The hulk was lifted up in Hiittinen.

<sup>330</sup> *Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon - neljä kuoli*, HS 8.7.1972 and *Kadonnut pienkone löytyi murskaantuneena Pöytyältä*, HS 9.3.1979.

<sup>331</sup> More on the topic in chapter 3.3.

<sup>332</sup> *Aurajoen sortuma pysyi paikallaan*, HS 10.11.1979; *Laiva törmäsi Ruissalon rantaan*, HS 22.3.1972; *Retkeilymaja tuhoutui palossa Naantalissa*, HS 8.10.1973; *Nuori tyttö surmasi miehen leipäveitsellä*, HS 11.11.1970; *Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon*, HS 5.11.1973.

<sup>333</sup> *Kaapelialus vajosi Aurajoen pohjamutaan*, HS 15.8.1973; *Luotsivene kumoon ja pohjaan*, HS 4.11.1971; *Helikopteri putosi Hiittisissä*, HS 30.4.1977.



argue along the lines of existing research that one of the main goals of the photographer is to have a person in the focus.<sup>334</sup>

All of these catastrophe articles mainly focus on the damage the events have caused to the people, or as in the case of *Sianraatoja löytyi tien penkasta Liedon lähellä*, the damage it has done to some other living creatures. It is the people who make the news event significant, and that is one of the reasons why they appear in the news photographs. At the same time it is the people in the photographs who make the catastrophe horrifying. As Taylor writes, it is the misery of the others that people see and look at in catastrophe photographs, not the event as a material loss.<sup>335</sup> Interestingly, in one the three cases where there were people in the negatives, but not in the published, the headline *Satojen tuhansien vahingot varastopalossa Turussa* of the article emphasizes the material loss.<sup>336</sup> In general, for an event to become news, it has to fulfil formal news criteria, and that is the point where the human interest behind the story is brought to the surface, and an event is dramatised by bringing up the human side of the story.<sup>337</sup>

Newspapers use people to make the story more interesting and appealing to the readers. This act is called personification of news. A person who is somehow involved in, or affected by, the given event is interviewed in the article. The news is seen in relation to an individual's life, not as a mere abstract structure. People make the news vivid, and the photographs more interesting.<sup>338</sup> However, often in hard news stories the people are not the main reason for writing the article or taking the picture, if this particular person had not been available, the journalists could have chosen any other human being who is somehow involved in the event.<sup>339</sup> Galtung and Ruge argue that news, both the articles and photographs, are often built around a person or a collective. This is done in order to facilitate the relay of the message. The people in the article are seen as the cause behind the event, and in that way the news does not stay too abstract, but is more comprehensible.<sup>340</sup> Based on the photographs at hand I would argue that in many cases the people have quite a different function in the news stories. They are not solely the cause behind the event, but they are the proof of the event, that this particular

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<sup>334</sup> See e.g. Galtung & Ruge 1981, 57.

<sup>335</sup> Taylor 1998, 13.

<sup>336</sup> Damage of hundreds of thousands in a storage fire in Turku. *Satojen tuhansien vahingot varastopalossa Turussa*, HS 2.11.1972.

<sup>337</sup> Hall 1981, 232.

<sup>338</sup> Hall 1981, 236-237.

<sup>339</sup> Hall 1981, 237.

<sup>340</sup> Galtung & Ruge 1981, 57.

event did take place, and the people in the picture saw it, or were involved in it. The pictures of people show an image of an identifiable person to ensure that the event was real.<sup>341</sup> The practices of presenting a person might be very similar as Galtung and Ruge argue, but the action is reversed, the people are not seen as cause, but as witnesses.

Pictures of people have in fact been an important part of news photography from the very beginning, but in a rather different way than in these catastrophe photographs. The first published pictures were portraits and milieu pictures; only later on pictures of events as such became the main focus.<sup>342</sup> The readers were accustomed of seeing people in the newspapers, but their representation had been quite a different one; the people depicted were aristocracy, politicians and other important people. The portraits of well-known men were to emphasize their individuality, yet at the same time they were to underline the social status of the person.<sup>343</sup> Portrait photographs followed the traditions of painting; the artefacts in the background of the picture continued to have a meaning in telling about the person's status and character. Indeed the portraits can be seen as slightly ambiguous; they were to underline the individuality, and at the same time to show that the person belonged to a certain social class.<sup>344</sup>

I would argue that portraiture, even though it could be seen as having very distinct use, lends to the depiction of people in the news photography. Photographs, even though they would have the capacity of showing the individuality and singularity, confirm the world that is common to the readers. Photographs, news photographs in particular, confirm the same stereotypes that readers are familiar with from the products of culture, and their everyday encounters.<sup>345</sup> From this point of view, the people in the catastrophe photographs are not represented as individuals, but types. Indeed, in the case of ordinary people the personification is a misleading term, as it is not about the singularity of a given person, but the personification of an event. This is an important distinction in the case of catastrophe photographs, as people, even if their name is mentioned, do not appear as themselves, they are not a person as such, but they represent somebody who witnessed the event. In the published picture of *Juna ja auto yhteen* there are people in the foreground of the picture walking away from the wrecked train. Their names are not mentioned in the caption or in the article, but those are the

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<sup>341</sup> Hall 1981, 241.

<sup>342</sup> Uimonen, Valkonen, and Vuoristo 1989, 10.

<sup>343</sup> Clarke 1997, 111.

<sup>344</sup> See e.g. Clarke 1997, 103-105.

<sup>345</sup> Price 2004, 75.

pictures chosen to be published instead of other pictures from the scene. In the negatives there are pictures from the scene where policemen occupy the front ground and also the damaged train is very visible.<sup>346</sup> Instead of choosing this photograph, a photograph which shows human beings—the victims—was chosen. The news article was, up to certain extent, personified, but as the people in the picture were not identified, their role is not very clear.

In the catastrophe photographs at hand the role of the ordinary people is twofold; they are either the victims or onlookers.<sup>347</sup> In this division the authorities are left aside, as their role will be analysed more closely in chapter 3.2. The aim of the division is not to restrict the practices of personification only to include one type of representation, but it helps with analysing the practices of the representation of catastrophes. The people who appear in the catastrophe photographs are practically all witnesses of the news event, or witnesses of the situation after the catastrophe had taken place. Showing a picture of a witness is thus a common feature of any catastrophe photograph that depicts ordinary people.

Onlookers are witnesses of the event while it is taking place. They share the photographer's experience of the situation; they are witnessing the same moment of the event as the photographer is, which is potentially going to be published in a newspaper. If the photographer had not been on time at the scene, these same people would not have been onlookers anymore, but rather witnesses. This makes the onlookers and witnesses to be the same person, only they transform from onlooker to a witness with time. In *Bore II palo* the only people who can clearly be seen in the published photographs are two people looking at a burning boat. They are standing by the river, their backs to the camera, and are thus not necessarily even aware of the fact that somebody is taking a picture of them. The burning boat is on the other side of the river, within a safe distance from the couple.<sup>348</sup> I would argue that particularly in this photograph, as the onlookers are not half way facing the camera, and are supposedly unaware of its presence, the aim is to give an illusion of the photographer seeing and experiencing the event just like anyone who happened to have an evening stroll by the river while the fire took place.

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<sup>346</sup> VKH archive 42; Juna murskasi kuorma-auton Turussa, HS 10.3.1979.

<sup>347</sup> More complicated is the case of those people who are not actually connected to the case in any way; even their names are not mentioned in the caption or in the article.

<sup>348</sup> Oikosulkua epäillään syyksi Bore II:n paloon, HS 5.11.1973.

The amount of published photographs of onlookers is modest. There are only three cases, *Bore II palo*, *Katyjn kaatui* and *Helikopteri pellolle Huittisissa* with published pictures of onlookers. The people in all the photographs are unidentifiable and thus their names are not mentioned. The small amount of published pictures of onlookers is rather significant, especially if it is compared to the amount of negatives with onlookers. In *Vihannan tulipalo*, *Lentokone pellolle*, *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa*, *Pienkone metsään* and *Pulin uhri* there are onlookers in the negatives, but none in the published pictures.<sup>349</sup> In the case of *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa* there were no pictures in the negatives without onlookers, but one of the negatives has been cropped so that they do not appear in the published image. The omission of onlookers in the published images seems to be deliberate. Maybe there was no need to have these people in the photograph because the photographer was there to witness the event himself, and conversely could be argued that the onlookers get meaningful as witnesses only when the photographer has not been in the scene on time to witness the incident by himself.

Some of the published pictures show victims as onlookers. However they, even if passive, are in the focus of the event, and thus more interesting to the photographer. In *Viking I karilla* the two-dimensional role of the victims is rather apparent in the lower picture of the inner page. The picture is taken from the lower deck on which a member of staff is getting ready to throw a rope off to the sea. Behind him, a crowd of people is standing on the upper deck. They are observing the men working on the lower deck, where the photographer also stands.<sup>350</sup> The people in the picture are at the same time onlookers—they observe the situation from a safe distance, as the caption reveals they were told to do—yet they are in the middle of the accident, in fact victims of the accident. In *Stormälön kartanopalo* a similar shift from being a victim to becoming an onlooker has taken place. The residents of the burning mansion—although the article tells that when the fire started there was only the cleaning woman in the house, and the people in the picture are not identified, it is presumable that the women in the front of the image are residents of the house—stand in front of the burning house and look at the firemen trying to tame the flames.<sup>351</sup> In the picture the women have transformed from being victims into onlookers.

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<sup>349</sup> VKH archive 38\_17-21; VKH archive 40\_3-8, 10, 15-16; VKH archive 61; VKH archive 43\_17-24, 30-32; VKH archive 82\_1-4, 6, 8, 11-17, 20-25, 30-39.

<sup>350</sup> Viking I päin saarta, HS 16.8.1975.

<sup>351</sup> Satavuotias kartano tuhoutui palossa Paraisilla, HS 2.10.1973.

The photographs showing victims of the catastrophes do not show any injured people, but rather happy survivors. In the tragic accident of *Ceres* the captain of the boat died, and the crew had to go through a traumatising rescue operation, but none of the sailors was injured. The only person injured in the accident was the cook, but she was not shown at all in the published pictures, even though she does appear in two of the negatives, however in those it is not apparent that she is injured.<sup>352</sup> The majority of the negatives were taken of the sailors, whose names were also mentioned in the caption, and they were interviewed in the article.<sup>353</sup> I would argue that this is one of the few articles in which personification has truly taken place. The article and the pictures both tell a story of the same people; the tragic accident has been anchored in the individuals' experiences.

Even though the victims in *Ceres* are represented as individuals, they nevertheless are pictured according to the standards of the stereotypes of victims. The men are photographed after sauna, when they are at their most vulnerable without any clothes on them. In the published picture they sit on a bench only towels around their waists hair still moist after the wash. In the negatives there are shots of these same men in the same situation, but their facial and bodily expressions being opposite to the published picture. In the published picture the sailors look devastated and sad, whereas in some of the negatives they are laughing relaxed.<sup>354</sup> A more dramatic picture is chosen, one that fits the verbal depiction of the catastrophe and the sailors' misfortunes.

Interestingly, the people behind these catastrophe events, namely the robbers, or the ones whose fault the accident was, are missing. Generally, it is a common practice in media to show pictures of the criminals, or suspects. They are the other against whom people can mirror themselves.<sup>355</sup> The people, or the types, mentioned above are all influenced by the event, but they are not the cause behind it, as Galtung and Ruge describe the function of the people in the news. The people depicted in the photographs described above, are passive; the misfortune happened to them without them having a chance of doing anything about it. In the negatives of *Viking I karilla* there were pictures of the crew on the bridge, but none of these pictures were

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<sup>352</sup> VKH archive 23\_3-4.

<sup>353</sup> Lastin irtoaminen upotti laivan, HS 11.10.1973.

<sup>354</sup> VKH archive 23\_27; Lastin irtoaminen upotti laivan, HS 11.10.1973.

<sup>355</sup> Price 2004, 79. As the photographs in this study are only of the catastrophes, it is impossible to say if pictures of e.g. the robbers were later on published.

published.<sup>356</sup> This is an interesting notion, as in this case all together three pictures were published, and the picture of the crew was chosen not to be published. The article tells that the ship Viking I hit the rocks, and that the captain and the crew were very unwilling to give any explanations about the reasons behind the accident. The captain did say that a human error might have been the reason why the ship hit the rocks, as no mechanical malfunctions were encountered, but does not give a more detailed explanation. The tone of the article lets the reader understand that indeed the accident happened because somebody had made a mistake.<sup>357</sup> The negatives do not reveal who are the people standing on the bridge, but it might well be possible that amongst others there was the person whose fault the accident was. If that was the case, the picture of a suspect was deliberately not published.

There is also another case with pictures of a person potentially behind the news event. In the negatives of *Rymättylän murha* there are pictures of a young man in a room that looks like an interrogation room. In front of him there is a small tape recorder, which supports the assumption that he was questioned.<sup>358</sup> However, the article tells that a young girl had confessed the crime, not the young man who was accompanying him. Judging only from the article and negatives, which have no explanation, it is impossible to say whether this man was a suspect, or somebody not even connected to the case. None of these pictures were published, but instead a picture of the house where the deceased used to live.<sup>359</sup>

The representations of human beings in photographs follow norms and common practices. In *Helsingin Sanomat* the role of passive onlookers is repressed, whereas the heroic yet tragic victims gain their fifteen minutes of fame. The gender is no exception in the representation of human beings in a way that it confirms existing stereotypes. Indeed Ron Burnett's comment about stereotypes and their omnipresence in the everyday observation is rather straightforward: "We can not talk about vision without also talking about gender, ethnicity, class, and sexual preference."<sup>360</sup> If there were no established practices of depicting people in the way that they are categorised, and that their representation is typified, there would be no need to pay attention to the ways of looking. Alas, we cannot talk about pictures—photographic images—without

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<sup>356</sup> VKH archive 64; Viking I päin saarta, HS 16.8.1975.

<sup>357</sup> Viking I päin saarta, HS 16.8.1975.

<sup>358</sup> VKH archive 55\_55-69.

<sup>359</sup> Nuori tyttö surmasi miehen leipäveitsellä, HS 11.11.1970.

<sup>360</sup> Burnett 2005, 7.

acknowledging these issues. In photographic images gender is represented in a predestined way.

Journalists prefer white male as witnesses of news events. They are believed to be the most reliable news source for a trustworthy and objective account of the course of the events.<sup>361</sup> Male witnesses are seen to have an access to the objective truth in a way that women are never capable of achieving, it is the male perspective that allows them to see the reality as it is.<sup>362</sup> According to this assumption an objective knowledge of the world is accessible meaning that the truth is never subjective, or it never alters. In this reconstruction of the possession of truth women are seen as capable of accessing only partial truth, and therefore are inferior to men as a news source.<sup>363</sup> The news articles dominated by male sources show the world indeed from a male point of view, which is ready to give a distorted account of social reality.<sup>364</sup>

The male dominance in the media distorts the representation of reality, but so do the ways in which women are represented, and the fact that they are only partially present in news. Women are commonly absent as leaders, even if it does not reflect the gender division in reality, and they are over-presented as victims.<sup>365</sup> In the representation of people pictures have a significant role. Ross claims that women are in general under-presented in the news, but particularly in respect to hard news, such as accounts of war, in which case they are solely represented as victims.<sup>366</sup> The gender division is parallel to the seriousness of the news. Hard news are seen to be of male interest, where as more entertaining parts of the newspaper are directed to women.<sup>367</sup> More women appear in the issues directed to them; they stay in the private side of the news as readers, but also as the subject of the news, whereas men control the public sphere. Men both appear in hard news stories, and they are seen as their main consumers.<sup>368</sup>

The people appearing in the pictures analysed in this chapter are all passive figures, they are the victims and onlookers, they are not the cause, or even the rescuers,

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<sup>361</sup> Carter, Branston & Allan 1998, 5-6. In Finland the question is not necessarily very much about the ethnicity of the witness, even though it is questionable if a member of the Roma community would be accepted as a trustworthy eyewitness.

<sup>362</sup> Allan 1998, 126.

<sup>363</sup> Allan 1998, 126.

<sup>364</sup> Carter, Branston & Allan 1998, 5.

<sup>365</sup> Ross 2005, 288-9.

<sup>366</sup> Ross 2005, 290.

<sup>367</sup> Carter, Branston & Allan 1998, 6.

<sup>368</sup> Holland 1998, 17; Carter, Branston & Allan 1998, 6.

but solely passive, which maybe explains the relatively high amount of women in the pictures. In *Stromälön tulipalo* a woman is standing in front of a burning house, which presumably is her home, and next to her lie some pieces of furniture that were carried out of the burning house. Her lower body is turned towards the house and her upper body is twisted so that she looks straight into the camera. The woman stands arms crossed over herself, and the facial expression is plain and sad.<sup>369</sup> The published picture has been cropped from the original so that there is no excess space on the left side of the woman's figure, and on the left side two people are cropped out.<sup>370</sup> This framing of the pictures makes the attention focus on the woman in the foreground of the picture. There are also other people in the background, but they are unidentifiable. In the negatives there is a very similar shot of the situation, the main difference being that the woman was absent from the scene.<sup>371</sup> The woman is positioned as a victim in the foreground of the picture, and the published picture has been cropped so that it emphasizes her victimhood.<sup>372</sup>

*Viking I karilla* is the only case in which a picture of a family is published. The family is sitting around their breakfast table inside the Viking ship, which had some hours ago hit the rocks, but had not yet been able to continue its journey. The family consists of mother, father, two children and a grandmother. The caption comments that the family calmly enjoyed their breakfast while looking out to the extraordinary landscape. The tone of the caption is light, and so is the atmosphere in the picture. The mother is depicted as a happy mother taking care of the children's needs, and a good wife to her husband.<sup>373</sup> In fact, the people in the picture do not have any connection to the article, they are not interviewed, nor are their names mentioned in the caption. The picture is chosen to relay to the readers that even though the situation at first was threatening, it has now been solved and everything is back to normal. The picture emanates family warmth, which reassures that everything is normal. I would argue, as already pointed out in 2.3., that the picture shifts the whole article toward being more of entertainment, or feature story, than hard news.

One group of people that has been mentioned already briefly is the people who are not directly connected to the event, and whose names are not mentioned. In some

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<sup>369</sup> Satavuotias kartano tuhoutui palossa Paraisilla, HS 2.10.1973.

<sup>370</sup> VKH archive 50\_1.

<sup>371</sup> VKH archive 50\_2.

<sup>372</sup> Ross 2005, 288-289.

<sup>373</sup> Ross 2005, 288-289.



cases, such as *Sortuma* and *Laiva maihin* the people in the photographs seem absolutely unconnected to the situation or event, they only stand idly next to the scene without doing anything.<sup>374</sup> In others, such as *Retkeilymajan palo* and *Rymättylän murha* the actions of the people connect them to the scene, although not very explicitly. In these cases even the caption does not help the reader by anchoring the meaning of the image, and particularly the function of the person in it.

The position of these unconnected persons in the published photographs is rather particular in a way that they do not strictly correspond to the idea of personification. These people might have been witnesses of the news event, but they do not fall into any of the above-mentioned groups of people. Indeed, positioning a person in the picture can hardly be an act of personification, as even their names are not mentioned, and nothing of them is told to the reader. Personification, even though it reinforces existing social structures, is nevertheless more individual in a way that it specifically calls the readers' attention to the suffering or misfortune of the particular person in the photograph, even if he/she at the same time is representing a larger group. Thus the presence of these people in the picture has to be analysed from a different point of view, namely from a more photographic aspect. I would argue that the above-mentioned functions and roles the people occupy in news photographs are rather common in the whole field of journalism, not only in photojournalism. In producing pictures with people, the photographer fulfils the needs of the media.

The accounts of the written media are based on the eyewitnesses' accounts, but the particularity of the medium of photography is that it is able to reconstruct the event of witnessing. What is common to all the pictures showing the aftermath of the situation, or rather to the people in these photographs, is that they are constructed witnesses who re-enact the moment of witnessing *even* if they were not in the first place there to witness the situation. In *Sortuma* the female figure had hardly been there to see the ground collapsing, but in the picture she takes the place of a witness; she witnesses to the reader the current state of the occasion; the current situation is caused by the incident, and thus, even though only consequently, the person is witnessing the incident itself. In *Sortuma* and *Laiva maihin* the witnessing is fully constructed, where as in *Vellnanjoen tulvaa* and *Pommiräjähdyks yö. talolla* the moment of witnessing has rather been re-enacted. In these four cases, even though they are not identical, the picture has

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374 Aurajoen sortuma pysyi paikallaan, HS 10.11.1979; Laiva törmäsi Ruissalon rantaan, HS 22.3.1972.

been fully composed. In the negatives there is only a low number of shots of each situation without a person in them. The photographer has had a ready picture in the head, and realised it by composing it. The difference is that in *Vellnanjoen tulvaa* and *Pommiräjähdys yo. talolla* the persons in the photographs are connected to the event by naming them in the caption.

The composition of *Velluanjoen tulvaa* is very similar to *Sortuma* and *Laiva maihin*. In all three pictures a person is standing on the right side of the image, and water—either a river or a sea—occupies the middle and right fields of the image. In all three images the person is facing the water, and does not look at the camera. As seen, the three images follow so strongly the same rules or practices of composition that they can be claimed to be composed by the photographer.<sup>375</sup> Similarly in *Pommiräjähdys yo. talolla*, even though the composition of the photograph is different, it is rather clear that the situation is not spontaneous. In the published picture the person in the photograph, a man of about 30 years of age, is looking at the damage a bomb caused to his car. The photograph is taken from the inside of the car and the owner of the car is facing the camera, although his eyes are focused at the broken window. The other shots in the negatives are similar, in one the man puts his finger through the hole in the window, in others he looks at the camera.<sup>376</sup>

In chapter 2.2. the falsifying aspect of photographs was discussed, but in a distinct way. There the assumption was that a photograph as such does not lie, but the way in which it is used, gives wrong testimony of the event. With the idea of composed photographs new light is shed on the problem of photographic representation. Price approaches the dilemma of composite photographs with the tools from semiotics. He opposes the denotative level of truth in photography with the connotative level of truth. A particular photograph may not be true in the denotative level, i.e. the scene is staged, but in the connotative level it is a true representation i.e. of the dynamics in the scene.<sup>377</sup>

Composition is a term describing the photographer's act before he exposes the film, whereas a constructed photograph is done after the exposure. A constructed photograph makes a new image using parts of various photographs. A composed photograph can be seen as a reorganisation of already existing objects or features in front of the camera lens. In the end, they both touch the scene, and influence the

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<sup>375</sup> Laiva törmäsi Ruissalon rantaan, HS 22.3.1972; Aurajoen sortuma pysyi paikallaan, HS 10.11.1979; Kylmä sää piti tulvan kurissa Kalannissa, HS 22.4.1970.

<sup>376</sup> Pommi Turun yo-taloon, HS 5.4.1972; VKH archive 29.

<sup>377</sup> Price 2004, 72.

perception of the event. The composition is not solely seen as falsifying the event, but on the contrary, a photograph may be composed to tell the reader more about the situation. In painting it was indeed the composition of the image that gave the meaning to it. The inner-life and ideas of the person painted in the portrait was revealed through the staged surrounding.<sup>378</sup> Photography has followed the example of painting, it aims at showing more than the mere surface.<sup>379</sup> In order to reach the goal photographers have never been afraid of breaking the rules, but have manipulated their photographs in order to reach a more truthful result.<sup>380</sup> For the contemporary photographer Jeff Wall to construct a picture is "to reproduce the way the eye sees."<sup>381</sup> According to him, constructing a picture is not about falsifying reality, but about making it more apparent, so that the viewer sees a photographic image as if it was real. He tries to make a photograph as real as possible by constructing it.<sup>382</sup> Wall draws an analogy between painting and his work as a photographer by saying that his works are "paintings of modern life."<sup>383</sup> With this he refers to the constructed and composed nature of his photographs. However, despite the close relation between documentary photography and photojournalism, the expectations people have towards their authenticity are distinct. In art photography composition is allowed, but not in photojournalism.<sup>384</sup>

According to Saraste photographs that are composed too well, that means the picture was too harmonious, arouse suspicion about the authenticity of the picture. She also points out that in the 1970s the public was not ready to accept composed photographs as suitable.<sup>385</sup> Indeed she does not claim that the photographs would not have been composed, but that they were. She also hints that it was a secret to the public that the photographs were composed, but that amongst the photographers it was a common practice. According to this claim the readers who saw these catastrophe photographs in the newspaper believed, or at least wanted to believe in the authenticity of the photographic images. It was from the 1980s onwards that the amount of constructed imagery grew, due to the rise of new conceptual photography. It had influence on the newspapers as well. This was also the time when news photographers

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<sup>378</sup> See Clarke 1997, 119.

<sup>379</sup> Burnett 2005, 81.

<sup>380</sup> Meyer 1995, 11.

<sup>381</sup> Lubow 2007, 8.

<sup>382</sup> Lubow 2007, 9.

<sup>383</sup> Burnett 2005, 10.

<sup>384</sup> Hoy 1987, *passim*.

<sup>385</sup> Saraste 1996, 158.

started using a supplementary flash; a shift to a new type of photojournalism, which was more open to the technical manipulations of the photographs, had taken place.<sup>386</sup>

Sontag approaches the question of composed photography from a different point of view; she claims that if people see in photographs something that threatens to disrupt their worldview, they are ready to accuse the photographer of staging the scene.<sup>387</sup> People are not willing to accept things that are not already familiar to them as truth, they are more likely to take as a fact something that fits their pre-existing ideals and compliments them. Everything that does not fit to their pre-existing worldview is excluded from the sphere of truth. The conventional wisdom may very well be even opposite to truth, but the story it tells is appealing to the people, and therefore more likely to be accepted than the truth.<sup>388</sup> This holds not only true for photography but everywhere, the age old troubles the scientists have had e.g. with the church and no doubt also with common people. The heliocentric solar system must have been unacceptable to the common people. The same takes place in photography, if the readers see something that disturbs their hierarchy, they are more likely to doubt its truthfulness.

Based on the comparison between negatives and published pictures I cannot claim that V. K. Hietanen would have composed whole new scenes, but only few of the pictures can be said to be fully natural or non-composed. The cases in which the people are unconnected to the event, *Sortuma* and *Laiva maihin*, are more clearly composed, in the photographs the people re-enact the moment of witnessing to the camera.<sup>389</sup> However, even in these photographs it could hardly be claimed that the photographer manipulated the reality in a way that it gives wrong testimony of the event or phenomenon. I would argue, following Saraste's line of argument, that touching the composition of the scene for shooting the photograph is such a common practice, that it is not considered to be wrong. The photographer alters the composition to create a photograph with narrative; he aims at telling the same story the journalist tells in the written account in one picture. Besides the aim of representing the scene as realistically, and yet narratively, as possible, there might be other reasons behind the reorganisation of the scene. A lack of action is a common problem in accident photographs; the

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<sup>386</sup> Vanhanen 1994a, 46; Vanhanen 1994b, 9.

<sup>387</sup> Sontag 2003, 10-11.

<sup>388</sup> Samuelson 2001, xiii.

<sup>389</sup> Aurajoen sortuma pysyi paikallaan, HS 10.11. 1979.

photographer often reaches the scene only to depict the aftermath.<sup>390</sup> In *Cereksen miehistö Porissa* one of the published pictures shows men cooling down after sauna. The photographer was not able to record the accident while it happened, instead he was able to take pictures of the people who survived it.<sup>391</sup> The image as such is not necessarily composed, it may well be that the photographer did not ask them to sit on the bench, but nevertheless the picture is sort of a construction of the event in a way that it depicts the victims while they encounter their experience, and thus is not a direct representation of the event.

### **3.2. The Authorities and the Community Fighting Together for the Good**

Even though the mass media do not have any significant effect on the level of violence in society, it does have influence on the people's perception of the amount and nature of violence in society.<sup>392</sup> The media does not create violent behaviour in the society, it only reinforces already existing behavioural models.<sup>393</sup> Therefore the amount of violence and crime in the media does not have straightforward influence on the amount of crime in society. However, according to the common opinion in society the amount of crime and violence is seen as increasing.<sup>394</sup> The publicity crimes and catastrophes get in the media reinforces the assumptions of rising threats in the society, which may lead to a situation where the amount of police is increased and legislation made more severe.<sup>395</sup> Control and censorship are always ahead of the actual threats.<sup>396</sup> The public opinion spirals, and even though the actual amount of crime does not increase, the publicity it gets gives an impression of an ever worsening situation.<sup>397</sup>

The spiralling public opinion may lead to a situation where the society is captured in fear. The fear society is created by the media's representation of crime. The hysteria about crime is already present in the society, and the media reinforces it by employing the stereotypical representations of criminals and crime.<sup>398</sup> Osborne suggests

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<sup>390</sup> Uimonen, Valkonen & Vuoristo 1989, 81.

<sup>391</sup> Lastin irtoaminen upotti laivan, HS 11.10.1973.

<sup>392</sup> Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, vii.

<sup>393</sup> Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, 24.

<sup>394</sup> Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, 5.

<sup>395</sup> Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, 15.

<sup>396</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 73.

<sup>397</sup> Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, 15-6.

<sup>398</sup> Osborne 1995, 31; Howitt and Cumberbatch 1975, 24.

that the alliance between crime and media, the way the media makes the crime situation look more severe than it is, “redefines the social-psychological understanding of ‘law and order’ and more importantly of its function of social control.”<sup>399</sup> The interest therefore lies in the impact the media generates in the public’s attitude towards crime, and the authorities’ possibilities in controlling threatening situations.<sup>400</sup> If the media regenerates negative feelings, i.e. of fear, terror, anxiety, the possibility of the birth of a fear society—within which moral panics are developed—is present.

Interesting in the creation of moral panic is that it does not necessarily need a pre-existing group to promote their opinions, the media itself is capable of creating a moral panic, and indeed it is the main single factor behind a creation of moral panic.<sup>401</sup> In the generation of moral panic the most crucial point is the connection of single events together, showing that they are not independent of each other, but a sign of a greater problem. Therefore ordinary news events that fulfil the requirements for formal news criteria, when connected to similar news, may lead into the generation of moral panic.<sup>402</sup> The media is in a crucial role in naming and labelling the phenomenon by connecting events to one another, and interpreting them to the public.<sup>403</sup> Sociologists use the term moral panic in relation to social problems, but I would argue that other kinds of phenomena may also be turned into moral panics. The article *Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon – neljä kuoli* is accompanied by a smaller article *Maskun onnettomuus viides tänä vuonna* in which the dreadful recent history of aviation accidents was described.<sup>404</sup> The backgrounder gives information about the history of the incident that happened, it explains the setting of the event.<sup>405</sup> In the backgrounder the deaths caused by aviation accidents from the past few years are described in detail and the major disasters from the previous decade are also referred to. The title *Maskun onnettomuus jo viides tänä vuonna*<sup>406</sup> sets a convicting note to the whole backgrounder. Even though the article does not give any solutions to the problem of aviation accidents, it however, by listing them in detail, makes the reader understand that everything is not under control. The reporting of the accident can hardly be said to generate moral panic, but it

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<sup>399</sup> Osborne 1995, 35.

<sup>400</sup> Kidd-Hewitt 1995, 10.

<sup>401</sup> Critcher 2005, 178.

<sup>402</sup> Critcher 2005, 185.

<sup>403</sup> Critcher 2005, 179.

<sup>404</sup> *Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon – neljä kuoli*, HS 8.7.1972.

<sup>405</sup> Keeble 1997, 105.

<sup>406</sup> The accident in Masku already the fifth one this year.

does employ similar practices. It connects a singular event to the bigger body of incidents.

Even though moral panics might eventually lead into solving a problem, it first raises deterrence and fear in people. The crime news reporting may in some case amount to the reinforcement of a fear society and the creation or development of moral panics. Often when the media influences the public opinion, particularly in the case of photographs, it is called propaganda. It is a strong word to be used in the connection of published catastrophe pictures in 1970's *Helsingin Sanomat*. As noted earlier, the newspaper does not have an explicit politically driven agenda, which is often behind propagandistic media. However, the media has also more positive ways of influencing.

Journalism has, and is expected to have, an impact on the public good. The media is expected to support the people in constructing a stronger society, it is supposed to support and guide the building of a common good in society.<sup>407</sup> The media is an important playground for the formation and maintenance of public norms. It influences various aspects of the value formation of individuals' lives.<sup>408</sup> Photographs are thought to be optimal tools in influencing people because they are very convincing in their "truthfulness" and "authenticity". Pictures are commonly used in connection with articles to prove the point the article makes in visual representation.<sup>409</sup> In earlier chapters different ways of influencing the reader by the choice and use of photographs were discussed. In this chapter the photograph's ability to influence and convince is looked at from a different point of view. The photographs in this chapter are not trying to convince the reader of the course of the event, nor are they trying to convincingly display reality in a particular moment. The photographs are used to influence the readers' perception of power, to make them think that everything is under control and that power does indeed exist.

In Foucault's model of pastorship the term governing is not used in a narrow political meaning, but it is more of a "conduct of conduct."<sup>410</sup> By governing people is not meant a powerful forcing of the people, on the contrary guiding them in making the right choices.<sup>411</sup> Pastorship is an individualising power, and its use of power is different

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<sup>407</sup> Zelizer 2005b, 208-9.

<sup>408</sup> Curran 2005, 135-6.

<sup>409</sup> Saraste 1980, 185-186; Goldberg 1991, 236.

<sup>410</sup> Lemke 2002, 50.

<sup>411</sup> Lemke 2002, 52-53.

from the centralised system of state power.<sup>412</sup> The shepherd's task is to guide the souls to a better life.<sup>413</sup> The pastoral power works by guiding the herd at all times, giving them good examples.<sup>414</sup> Simultaneously the flock self-governs itself in everyday life.<sup>415</sup> I would argue that the media employs a similar kind of power upon the reader. It is not like state power that gives preemptory orders, but it is more like a shepherd that guides the reader through governing him gently. In this governing the individual is self-governed, not only governed from above. The media is guiding the public towards a better life; it tries to contribute to the public good. Consequently the photographs published with the catastrophe articles do not underline the tragedy, but they give the readers examples of desirable behaviour.

As pointed out in chapter 3.1., journalists employ certain hierarchies in sorting out the credibility of witness accounts. The trustworthiest accounts come from professionals and experts who have witnessed the news event.<sup>416</sup> According to the great presence of different authorities in news photographs, they seem to possess the greatest trustworthiness of all.<sup>417</sup> The way the term authority is used here includes firemen, police and doctors. An authority is a person who has power in the particular news event; he is a professional who is there to solve the situation. In the catastrophe pictures these authorities may be shown while they work in order to keep the situation under control, as in fires, or they appear in the pictures as experts, telling about the incident to the readers after it has already taken place.<sup>418</sup>

In the main picture of *Baltic Star kolhi Pommernia* staff sergeant Mikko Kovanen, who barely escaped a dangerous boat crash, stands in front of the scene of the accident. His position in the picture bears great resemblance to the roles of the witnesses discussed in chapter 3.1; he is an eyewitness of the situation, and thus is pictured in the photograph. The photographer was not an eye-witness of the event and so took a picture of a person who did see the situation himself. The staff sergeant is an eyewitness *par excellence*, he was involved in the situation, however not as a victim, and he represents

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<sup>412</sup> Foucault 1988a, 60.

<sup>413</sup> Lemke 2002, 53; Foucault 1988a, 62.

<sup>414</sup> Foucault 1988a, 67.

<sup>415</sup> Foucault 1988a, 70.

<sup>416</sup> Carter, Branston & Allan 1998, 5.

<sup>417</sup> See e.g. Holmia ja proomu yhteen Turun sataman edustalla, HS 7.4.1972; Hinnerjoen murhaa epäillään ryöstömurhaksi, HS 9.1.1974; Tehtaan lajittelukeskus paloi: Paraisten Kalkille miljoonavahingot, HS 23.8.1973; Pamputtaja ryösti postin, HS 28.10.1970.

<sup>418</sup> See e.g. Luotsivene kumoon ja pohjaan, HS 4.11.1971; Ryöstäjät ryntäsivät palavaan liiketaloon Turussa, HS 16.5.1971; Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6.1979.



the authority.<sup>419</sup> In *Holmian naarmu* a similar picture is published. The caption tells that the captain is checking the damage caused to the ship in a collision with another ship, but actually in the published picture the captain is walking away from the ship, and not looking at the damage.<sup>420</sup> The composition of this picture is rather similar to the one in *Baltic Star kohli Pommernia*; the men stand on the right field whereas the ships occupy the left side and the background. Also in both pictures the men stand so that their bodies face the camera, and they both look directly at the camera.<sup>421</sup>

Here another look at Baudrillard's thesis on the production of reality in media has to be taken. Baudrillard claims that pictures of authority are shown in order to convince the public of the existence of power. The need for assurance of control works in two ways; the power—the police—has lost its meaning, and that is why they have to reproduce the imagery of control, and at the same time the public demands signs of power to assure them of security and control. That is why so many threatening pictures show policemen at work, they are the sign of power, that there is a power in the society, not random anarchy.<sup>422</sup> This reflects a situation where people have started to doubt the existence of control, they are exposed to the above-mentioned scenarios of a fear society. The public is not calm and confident without seeing the signs of control. Conversely, if they knew that there is power, they would not need to see its symbols.

After catastrophes the public may indeed be sceptical about the performance of the authorities, and wonder if they would have been able to prevent the situation from happening.<sup>423</sup> This is why particularly the pictures from horrifying events focus on the positive side of the situation, namely the rescuers and survivors. They try to assure the people that, even though there was an accident, they now have everything under control. The presence of authorities also makes the reproduction of a threatening situation in a photograph more acceptable, showing badly hurt victims without rescuers in sight gives a hopeless image of the situation, whereas the presence of a helping authority maintains the hope aspect of the situation.<sup>424</sup> It is a common practice to focus on the positive

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<sup>419</sup> Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6.1979.

<sup>420</sup> Holmia ja proomu yhteen Turun sataman edustalla, HS 7.4.1972.

<sup>421</sup> Holmia ja proomu yhteen Turun sataman edustalla, HS 7.4.1972; Laiva törmäsi laituriin Maarianhaminassa, HS 1.6.1979.

<sup>422</sup> Baudrillard 1994, 45.

<sup>423</sup> Taylor 1998, 97.

<sup>424</sup> Taylor 1998, 95, 106.

representation of the situation, to depict the situation by showing images of rescuers at work, instead of the wreck, or badly injured victims.<sup>425</sup>

In the picture of *Hinnerjoen murha* police is examining the crime scene. The man in the picture is not wearing a uniform, but his actions indicate that he is a policeman. He is hunkering down in order to examine the blood spatters on the door next to the chalk lines of the victim's body. The dead is not pictured in the image, but the situation is very implicit. The situation in the case is very severe; an unknown person intruded to the house and killed its resident.<sup>426</sup> The horrific scene is balanced by the presence of authority, who is very carefully—the person has crouched down in order to see more closely—inspecting the scene. The picture also gives a more positive image of the search for the culprit than the article does. The article tells that the murder had taken place a while ago, and there are no traces or hints of the event.<sup>427</sup> In the picture the policeman is actively looking for evidence, it shows that they have not lost hope yet, and it is still possible to solve the case.

A crime that has already taken place is a lost case, there is nothing—besides capturing the culprit—the police can do about the particular case. Indeed, the pictures in which authorities are depicted show the symbols of power, they do not have the power in that specific scene, the criminal has taken it away from them, but by showing the symbols of authority the pictures can convince the readers about the future being under control. The pictures accompanying the articles tell about the efforts the authorities are making in order to get the bad elements away from the society, not to solve a particular incident.<sup>428</sup> This is the main reason why authority is shown; the police are represented as active, to show that they fight against evil, it is not about the particular case at hand, but it shows that society can trust the authority in the future.

The pictures in which authorities have something concrete to show, that they have captured the culprit, refers to the police's possibilities and potential in the future. In the picture of *Pankkiryöstö* a policeman stands with two men in front of a bank window so that the bank clerks, who were in the bank while the robbery took place, can identify them. However, the caption tells that the clerks were not able to identify the men, and thus they were relieved afterwards.<sup>429</sup> It is rather surprising that this picture

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<sup>425</sup> Taylor 1998, 88, 108.

<sup>426</sup> Hinnerjoen murha epäillään ryöstömurhaksi, HS 9.1.1974.

<sup>427</sup> Hinnerjoen murha epäillään ryöstömurhaksi, HS 9.1.1974.

<sup>428</sup> Foucault 1988b, 128.

<sup>429</sup> Huppumiehelle 70 00 mk Turussa, HS 5.2.1977.

was published instead of other images from the scene, as, even though the suspects stand backs to the camera, they might be recognisable from the picture. And moreover, the men in the picture were in no way involved in the crime. In the negatives there would have been greater variety to choose from; there were pictures of the bank clerks inside the bank, and also pictures in which a police car is standing in front of the bank.<sup>430</sup> I would argue that the published pictures were chosen to underline the productivity of the police. The pictures display to the reader the police's capacity for capturing suspects, and imply that eventually they will find the culprits. There was no practical reason for publishing the picture, and in a way it even gives a false image of the situation. The picture falsely gives the reader an impression of power in the situation.

The authorities or rescue workers are themselves sometimes threatened in the catastrophes. In *Paraisten kalkin palo* three firemen who went to tame down the flames were almost captured inside a burning tunnel. The caption does not tell if it were those three men who appear in the picture who were threatened by the flames. The published picture shows three firemen cleaning the tunnel after the fire was already distinguished.<sup>431</sup> In other shots from the scene of the fire the burned tower of the factory is shown from different angles.<sup>432</sup> The pictures taken outside are not dramatic, the scene is practically empty of firemen and other authorities. By choosing to publish the picture of the three firemen inside the tunnel, the caption was able to link the picture to the event of the fire, it was that very tunnel where the men who were doing their duty almost got caught by the flames. The picture assures the readers of how devoted the firemen were to their work.

It is obvious that the authorities fight for the good, and against the bad, in what they do; it does not have to be explained to the readers by media appearances in news photographs. However, in respect to ordinary people, the media does emphasize the goodness or badness in people.<sup>433</sup> This is the case particularly in the news of crimes. The people are divided in two categories, into the good, moral subject, and the bad, the criminal.<sup>434</sup> The moral subject is the opposite of a criminal who breaks the law and thus

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<sup>430</sup> VKH archive 70\_1,2, 7, 8.

<sup>431</sup> Tehtaan lajittelukeskus paloi: Paraisten Kalkille miljoonavahingot, HS 23.8.1973.

<sup>432</sup> VKH archive 49.

<sup>433</sup> Samuelson 2001, xvi.

<sup>434</sup> Biressi 2001, 74.

messes up the order of the society.<sup>435</sup> The moral subjects are to work for the greater good of humanity, to be good and responsible citizens. The criminal subject does not only threaten to break the law, and commit a crime, but he threatens the values the good citizens build their lives on.<sup>436</sup> The aim of this extrapolation is to make people aware of the existence of the criminal subject and therefore give the criminals less space to act.<sup>437</sup> The imagery in the media reinforces the polarities of good and bad citizens as the moral subject and the other.<sup>438</sup>

The moral subject is like an individual in Foucault's scheme of the pastoral model, in which the individual is self-governed. As Curran says:

Self-government does not only take the form of law-making and public administration. Self-rule, in any meaningful sense of the word, is also based on collective regulation through public norms. These norms influence how we fulfil a social role, understand a sense of obligation, and relate to others in myriad social situations. These norms are collectively arrived at, maintained and enforced.<sup>439</sup>

The moral subject and his conduct is indeed individual, but at the same time it is elementarily connected to the community and society where he is living in.

In the construction of the enemy of the state and moreover its inhabitants, the construction of the criminal other, the meaning of communality is crucial. The good citizen is the opposite of the bad citizen, and, at the same time belongs to the crowd of good citizens. The fear of the criminal other is a collective fear; it is an element unifying society as a community.<sup>440</sup> By constructing limits for the acceptable and the unacceptable, the media creates uniformity within the society.<sup>441</sup> This is true particularly in the images of catastrophes where the positive side of uniformity is presented. In the pictures of catastrophes the uniformity of society is presented in the form of communality. In *Vihannan tulipalo* individuals join the authorities, and work side by side with them. In the published picture a shop is burning in the background, and the firemen extinguish the fire, whereas the people, the onlookers, get involved in the scene

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<sup>435</sup> Biressi 2001, 73.

<sup>436</sup> Biressi 2001, 74.

<sup>437</sup> Biressi 2001, 83.

<sup>438</sup> Biressi 2001, 102.

<sup>439</sup> Curran 2005, 135.

<sup>440</sup> Foucault 1988b, 142.

<sup>441</sup> Osborne 1995, 30-31.

and help the conscripts in carrying out the furniture from the burning house.<sup>442</sup> In the published picture the people have joined forces to help the others, and in this action they revolt the borders of authorities by intruding into the area which commonly belongs to the authorities, that is the accident or crime scene.<sup>443</sup>

A similar kind of intrusion takes place in *Taksiryöstäjän etsintä*, as the colleagues of the taxi driver who is assumed to be wounded, get together and help the police and army in the search operation. In the front-page image four taxi drivers have gathered together, and they stand in the middle of the road in front of their cars. One of the drivers is facing the camera while others stand sideways and look away from the camera. The caption tells the names of the people in the picture, and that they are taxi drivers who gathered for a meeting in between the searches. In the inner page picture four men, three NCOs and one outsider are depicted while they undertake searching operations in a small forest. The headline on the inner page *Lähes 200 etsi taksimiestä*<sup>444</sup> emphasizes the community's efforts in looking for the disappeared taxi driver. Interestingly, in neither one of the pictures the police is present.<sup>445</sup> I would argue that the absence of the police or any other authority in the image, besides the NCOs, emphasises the communal aspect of the news. The images and the headlines underline the presence of the taxi driver community in the search for their colleague. In a few images of catastrophes an idea of communality is built by showing people who joined their forces to defeat the bad and fight for the good. By showing these pictures of communality the fear of the criminal other that has in the first place unified the people, fades to the background.

With the pictures media constructs common identity amongst the readers.<sup>446</sup> In the fight for the good, as in the above-mentioned cases, the individuals feel that they are part of the community of righteous people.<sup>447</sup> The pictures of people working together function in two ways. Firstly, the pictures demonstrate to the people what is the right behaviour, it shows good citizens who exemplarily do what they ought to do, be on the side of the good against the bad, they show people who unify their forces instead of protecting themselves. They think of the public interest, and do not firstly think of

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<sup>442</sup> Tuli tuhosi liiketalon Turun keskustassa, HS 5.4.1978.

<sup>443</sup> Biressi 2001, 75.

<sup>444</sup> Almost 200 were looking for the taxi man.

<sup>445</sup> Taksin avunhuudot käynnistivät suuretsinnät Turussa, HS 5.9.1978.

<sup>446</sup> Curran 2005, 137-8.

<sup>447</sup> Biressi 2001, 84.

themselves.<sup>448</sup> Secondly, the pictures manifest that there is no need to be terrified by the criminals. The community, if only it works together towards a common goal, that is a free and well functioning society, is able to defeat the criminal. With these pictures the readers are convinced of the existence of a fear free society as an opposition to the fear society described in the beginning of the chapter.

The authorities have a crucial role in the fight for the good, but they are not able to achieve their goals without an active community. As seen in 3.1., the ordinary people depicted in catastrophe photographs are passive. They are the people to whom something happens, they are not the cause, or active in preventing the course of events. The case is quite different in the pictures of authorities, as already noted, in the majority of the images the authorities were active, they were doing something instead of superfluously standing around. The good citizens are supposed to be active in their everyday life, as the criminal other is the passive one.<sup>449</sup> The requirement for activity in the society may even reach a level where the victim is accused of not preventing his misfortune. This is particularly the case in crimes, not so much on the level of the singular event, but in whole, if the person had actively fought against there might be fewer criminals, and the given thing might not have happened to him.<sup>450</sup>

As noted earlier, authority figures are active subjects in the majority of the photographs, however, their activity is part of their profession. By showing authority at work, the aim is to convince the readers that everything is under control, whereas by publishing pictures in which onlookers turn into active partakers, the aim is to get the readers involved and active themselves. In *Vihannon tulipalo* a picture was chosen where the onlookers had turned into active citizens, who help carrying the furniture to safe.<sup>451</sup> The published images do not reveal the massive crowd of onlookers standing further away from the scene. In the negatives there are images in which only this numerous amount of onlookers and the burning house is seen, but the people carrying the furniture cannot be seen.<sup>452</sup> A picture that emphasizes the activeness and communality of the people was chosen to be published instead of an image where the people are mere passive onlookers.

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<sup>448</sup> Curran 2005, 138.

<sup>449</sup> Biressi 2001, 85.

<sup>450</sup> Biressi 2001, 79.

<sup>451</sup> Tuli tuhosi liiketalon Turun keskustassa, HS 5.4.1978.

<sup>452</sup> VKH archive 38\_17-21.

In *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa* a similar kind of choice was made, although the passive onlookers were cropped out of the published picture.<sup>453</sup> In the original picture the workers of the shipyard where the accident took place stand in the dock around the sunken boat. In the foreground of the picture there are a few onlookers, and also the ship in the background is occupied by onlookers.<sup>454</sup> In the published picture the diver who helped in the uplifting of the boat is in the focus. The picture has been cropped radically so that only a small number of onlookers are present in the published picture. The choice to leave out these passive onlookers seems to be very voluntary, even more so than in the *Vihannan tulipalo*, where the decision to show active people over passive was realised by mere picture selection, whereas in the case of *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa* a picture was radically cropped in order to eliminate the passive onlookers.

Interestingly there is one case in which the possibility to publish images of active citizens was not used. In *Öljyä poltetaan Kökarissa* the article tells that many of the local fishermen had joined the authorities in cleaning the oil that had spilled on the cliffs in an oil catastrophe. The article also tells that the fishermen had rented their boats to the cleaners and joined them on the trips as drivers.<sup>455</sup> However, in the negatives there are no images of these volunteers.<sup>456</sup> Admittedly it is possible that none of the volunteers were present in the situation when the pictures were taken. This however means that the photographer had not purposefully tracked down these volunteers in order to get their pictures published, and thus the activity of the community was not emphasised up to the same degree as in other cases.

### 3.3. Corpse as the Absent Body

An important part of photojournalism is corpses and the way in which they are represented - or not represented - to the readers. In broader terms the imaging of corpses is about death and its representation, but also the representation of human suffering, let it be a dying or already dead person. The most valued journalistic photographs have long been pictures of dead or dying people. The representation of death is part of newspapers daily practices, and of journalistic discourse. It is such an important part of

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<sup>453</sup> Luotsivene kumoon ja pohjaan, HS 4.11.1971.

<sup>454</sup> VKH archive 61\_5.

<sup>455</sup> Sää on suosinut öljyn hävittäjiä, HS 7.5.1969.

<sup>456</sup> VKH archive 44.

information flow in mass media, that the main theme of the news classics is that of death.<sup>457</sup> Vanhanen even boldly argues that death is an ideal case for news photojournalism. It is the drama effect especially in war photographs that makes them the most wanted and appreciated part of picture flow in the media. This effect of drama is achieved by the imitation of the structures of fictive films. The catastrophe news share the same moment of drama, but they are not, according to Vanhanen, purely dramatised stories. In newspapers, which have a different means of representing a catastrophe, because they cannot compete with speed, dramatisation is done by constructing the event to the readers.<sup>458</sup>

The images of war and other disasters in the mass media influence the everyday understanding of death. The first encounters people have of death are through the media. War photographs were the first to bring death to people's everyday experience through the consumption of news. These deaths are dramatised by media producers, and they create in the viewer an idea of what death is supposed to look like.<sup>459</sup> The images of dying people are not of people who die because of natural causes, there is always some other cause. The people depicted in news photography have died because of war, famine, epidemic, or natural disaster. None of the photographs, unless its main focus is the death as such, show an older person in a hospital bed. The news photographs of dead have an element of drama in themselves. They did not die because of natural causes, but they died because they were victims of a catastrophe event. This brings the viewers to a situation where "Fictionalised, violent death is the template against which we measure all representation of death," as Ruby writes.<sup>460</sup> Even though war is far from the pictures at hand, the pictures of death shown in *Helsingin Sanomat* in the 1970s do share a common approach towards death and picturing the dead.

The negatives of the published pictures under scrutiny show that there was only a very limited possibility for *Helsingin Sanomat* to publish images representing death. Out of seven articles in which it was mentioned that one or more persons got killed in only two there was a corpse pictured in negatives, and only in one case a picture of a corpse was published.<sup>461</sup> In most of the cases there were no pictures of bodies in the

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<sup>457</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 136.

<sup>458</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 43-44.

<sup>459</sup> Ruby 1995, 12.

<sup>460</sup> Ruby 1995, 12.

<sup>461</sup> Kaksi kuoli latopalossa Köyliössä, HS 28.12.1972; Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972; VKH archive 11; VKH archive 23; VKH archive 28; VKH archive 45; VKH archive 56; VKH archive 40; VKH archive 43.



negatives, only the place of death was depicted. In hard news stories, whenever possible to publish a photograph of a corpse, or a photograph suggesting the existence of a corpse, it was done.<sup>462</sup> I would not consider this conclusion as a very trustworthy one, as the source is more suitable for quantitative research, but never the less the result points into the direction of the want to see images of death. Following Philippe Ariès's words "death loves to be represented,"<sup>463</sup> but twisting them slightly, it can be said that people love to see representations of death. With his words Ariès refers to visual representation, but the scope can be widened to include any kind of representation, also verbal accounts.

As stated, people are willing, and even eager, to see the suffering or death of others. It has to be asked, why do people want to see horrific images of disasters? One reason might be the belief that showing the cruelties and horror would make people wake up and end the misery, do something about the suffering of others as well, not only their own.<sup>464</sup> However, as Taylor claims, the human-interest perspective is very seldom the reason for the press to show those images. The reason is rather to make the newspapers sell.<sup>465</sup> And the newspapers sell because of the interest people have in looking at the tabooed pictures in newspapers.<sup>466</sup> A photograph in a newspaper gives the readers a right to stare at pictures they otherwise would not think of as suitable.<sup>467</sup> These are acceptable viewing events, but Sontag says, that looking at the suffering of others is always a voyeuristic act. When people either intentionally or unintentionally look at the suffering of others, they intrude to the privacy of the person depicted in the photograph.<sup>468</sup> Death has become an excluded part of modern society, the only place where people can face it is in newspapers; in real life situations they are not supposed to stare at the scene of catastrophe.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> The article *Turun naisalkoholisteille hoittoa vain mielisairaalassa* is not a hard news, and thus it is excluded here.

<sup>463</sup> Ariès 1985, 1.

<sup>464</sup> Sontag 2003, 14.

<sup>465</sup> Taylor 1998, 7. Taylor writes about British news media, where the situation is rather different from Finland, as in Finland most of the readers of newspapers have a subscription. The subscription practices started vitally in the 1970s. This means that the importance of selling pictures is not as important as for newspaper which has to be picked up from the newsstand. Tommila 2003, 60.

<sup>466</sup> Bronfen claims that it is the fear of death that has made a corpse into a taboo. Bronfen 1992, 60.

<sup>467</sup> Taylor 1998, 14.

<sup>468</sup> Sontag suggest that maybe only the people who could actually do something to help the suffering would have a right to look at the horrific photographs. The rest, those who do not want, or are not able to, help are pure voyeurs. Sontag 2003, 42.

<sup>469</sup> Taylor 1998, 14.

When watching images of disasters in newspapers, people are not as much looking at a dead person as they are looking at death, the tabooed topic. The female figure in photographs is passive and the object of male gaze, which is active. The body is captured in a private space, which makes the onlooker a voyeur.<sup>470</sup> Clarke's explanation of the classical position of women in photographs can be adapted in the analysis of the position of corpses in photographs. In news photography a body does not have any individuality, it gives the onlooker a presentation of death, in the same way as a female nude is an object without individual identity.<sup>471</sup>

In the negatives at hand, there is only one single case, *Pulin uhri*, with a dead person fully pictured without being covered or otherwise hidden. The published picture shows only two well-dressed undertakers walking towards the camera. They carry a blanket and a stretcher between the two of them, and in the background the viewer can see a hearse with an open backdoor. The people and the objects in the picture indicate the presence of a body.<sup>472</sup> What cannot be seen in the published photograph is the dead body in the front ground of the scene. The original negative reveals that the corpse has been cropped out of the published photograph.<sup>473</sup> In all the other negatives of the scene there was a body, either covered or uncovered, pictured very clearly. The image of the dead man in the negatives is not a horrific one. The man is stiff, which makes him look dead, but otherwise his body is not harmed or distorted.<sup>474</sup> It is not because of the morbid body that the picture is not publishable but the fact that it is an image of dead person and it represents death to the viewers. It is the death in the picture why the published photograph was cropped. The photograph shows death as a real event, but it also symbolises the unavoidable death of all the people.<sup>475</sup>

The attitudes towards death, its meaning and place are changing. Even the character of death is dependent on the time.<sup>476</sup> So is the representation of death time-related. Taylor writes that "Thought falling beyond the limit of life is an inevitable process, the horrors of mortality and morbidity are expressed differently in various times and places; the consensus on horror is shaped by and within cultural formations

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<sup>470</sup> Clarke 1997, 133.

<sup>471</sup> I would argue that the role of the dead in the pictures is similar to some people in the personified pictures. The individuality of the person is not important.

<sup>472</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

<sup>473</sup> VKH archive 82\_29.

<sup>474</sup> VKH archive 82\_1-39.

<sup>475</sup> See e.g. Vanhanen 1991, 21.

<sup>476</sup> Ariès 1985, 176.

and is always subject to historical change.”<sup>477</sup> The attitudes toward death are not universal and thus there is no correct or incorrect way of representing it in the media. The extent to which the media shows the bodily harm depends on the reflections press gets from the consumers. The representation of the body is changing according to the customs of the time and place.<sup>478</sup> Even though the representation of death is dependent on the time, there never the less are long-term structures and traditions that influence the imagery of 1970’s photographs of death.

The iconography and symbols of photography have their roots in painting. However, during its history photography has as well developed traditions in picturing the body, and especially the nude. The representation of the body in photography carries the attitudes of past times in itself.<sup>479</sup> In the images of bodies, and particularly in the images of corpses, the old symbolism is present. The symbols are not necessarily intentional, but they do run underneath the surface and are employed in the representation of modern images of death.<sup>480</sup> Suffering has a far reaching iconography, which influences the depiction of pain, also in terms of hierarchy; the iconography of suffering does not only reflect whose pain is worth presenting, but it also underlines the purposes of showing suffering.<sup>481</sup> More than others, one tradition in the representation of suffering and death tends to be particularly strong, namely the Christian iconography. The use of Christian iconography permits the press to show even gruesome images which otherwise would be deemed as improper.<sup>482</sup> The existence of recognisable symbols in an image, which are commonly connected to sublime and noble purposes, allow breaking the common practices. The well recognisable symbols distance the viewer from the suffering of the individual in the picture and sets the problem of suffering in a bigger sphere. The symbolism distances the viewer from experiencing an individual’s pain.

Photojournalism is the public sphere where death is present, and where it is aestheticised.<sup>483</sup> Aesthetisation and beautifying are central themes in the representation

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<sup>477</sup> Taylor 1998, 2.

<sup>478</sup> Taylor 1998, 79.

<sup>479</sup> Clarke 1997, 123-125.

<sup>480</sup> Ariès 1985, 268.

<sup>481</sup> Sontag 2003, 40-41. Here the term suffering is considered to reflect also the dying and the dead. Suffering is only a boarder term that includes all kind of human misery.

<sup>482</sup> Taylor 1998, 91-92.

<sup>483</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 94, 5-6.

of bodily suffering.<sup>484</sup> The catastrophe photographs are indeed one of the most dramatic and aesthetic representations in photojournalism. According to Vanhanen the death pictures are the highest point of the tradition and development in pictorial photojournalism.<sup>485</sup> Pictorial presentation of death in press photographs has become more of a standard than exception.<sup>486</sup>

The problem with the above-mentioned *Pulin uhri* case is that it was never published in its original context. However, it is the only case in which an uncovered body is directly shown in the negatives, and thus - even though it cannot tell about the practises of aesthetisation of the dead body in a published photograph – it can show what kind of images the photographer was delivering to the editors. In the *Pulin uhri* case there are 39 negatives which all show the corpse. The photographer has been moving from one place to another, excluding and including different elements in the photographs taken from different angles.<sup>487</sup> In the negative 82\_10 the body has been placed in the background of the picture, an empty bottle—a possible cause of his death—and a coffee pot occupy the foreground.<sup>488</sup> The composition of the image does not only inform the viewer about the death, and where it happened, but I would argue that it tries to reach pictorial representation of the death. Other pictures in the negatives support this interpretation; considering how many photographs from various different angles are taken, it cannot be only about the need and will to give as detailed information as possible. The images of *Pulin uhri* follow the practise of beautifying a scene of suffering by emphasising the form over the content.

In the images the need for sharing information has faded to the background. The aim of these photographs is to get good, aesthetically beautiful pictures, which however do not have any moral impact. Beautifying eliminates, or at least diminishes, the moral aspect of a death scene.<sup>489</sup> Indeed turning a scene of death into an aesthetically pleasurable act of viewing is a moral problem as such. The pain has been taken away from the image and the only thing that remains is pleasure.<sup>490</sup> The

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<sup>484</sup> Taylor 1998, 133. There is another aspect of aesthetic representation of corpses, which is not solely innocent and sublime as the aesthetic representation is ought to be. The other approach takes pleasure in a pornographic way of the aesthetised images of death. This connection of death and pleasure can be traced back to the late eighteenth century. See e.g. Ariès 1985, 210.

<sup>485</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 136.

<sup>486</sup> Ruby 1995, 13.

<sup>487</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972; VKH archive 82\_5-7, 9, 10.

<sup>488</sup> VKH archive 82\_10.

<sup>489</sup> Sontag 2003, 81.

<sup>490</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 109.

aesthetisation of a picture can be brought so far that the picture does not anymore symbolise grieving or death, but it is so strongly connected to the traditions of painting, that it refers more to art than representation of grief.<sup>491</sup> The beautified photograph has lost the connection to its referent. Following these lines of thought, it is not surprising that Vanhanen concludes with the idea that an image of death, as it is in most of the cases turned into an aesthetic image or impression, does not fulfil the standards of hard news photographs.<sup>492</sup>

Among the published photographs the only one representing a dead body is the *Köyliön palo* case.<sup>493</sup> The article tells that two persons got killed in a barn fire. In the published picture there is a corpse lying in the foreground of the picture, and it is covered by a white paper.<sup>494</sup> In the foreground a man is bending over the corpse, according to the caption a crime scene investigation is taking place. In the background of the picture there is a policeman in uniform and nine other people standing, most of them observing the incident.

The bodies are covered and one of them lies in the middle of the published image. It is possible to realise that under the white cover there is a body, which is made even clearer by the caption.<sup>495</sup> When comparing the published image to the negative it is possible to see that the published image has been cropped. It has not been cropped very significantly, but just so much that the focus of the sight is altered. In the original negative the covered body is more in the middle of the picture, and there is some space around the image.<sup>496</sup> In the published image there is not as much space for a wondering gaze as in the original one. In all of the negatives the covered bodies were pictured, but not in all as explicitly in the front field of the vision as in the published image.<sup>497</sup> This is a common practice in representing a dead person; they are shown in the picture, but if they appear in the foreground, as in the published photograph, they are covered or

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<sup>491</sup> Taylor 1998, 104-105.

<sup>492</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 113.

<sup>493</sup> Kaksi kuoli latopalossa Köyliössä, HS 28.12.1972.

<sup>494</sup> The caption states that there are two corpses underneath the white paper in the foreground of the picture. The caption does not tell the number of corpses, but a plural form is used. When having a closer look at the photograph it is possible to see that there is another similar white pile in the background. Also the article tells, that the two dead persons were found on opposite sides of the barn. This information is not very easy to see in the published photograph, but the negatives taken from the scene prove that the information given in the caption is not correct. See e.g. VKH archive 56\_1-4. In the negative of which the print was made, the second covered body in the background can be seen more clearly; see VKH archive 56\_6.

<sup>495</sup> Kaksi kuoli latopalossa Köyliössä, HS 28.12.1972.

<sup>496</sup> VKH archive 56\_5.

<sup>497</sup> In the images 56\_13-15 the covered corpses could hardly be distinguished from the pile of burned wood.

otherwise unidentifiable. There is a need to have a corpse in the photograph, but it is represented in such a way that no one is supposed to get offended by too straightforward imagery. People are used to seeing this kind of images in the newspaper, and thus they raise fewer objections than more subtle images only signalling of the past death. The press makes the pictures of bodies, presented in the above-described way, everyday; the presence of the body is less shocking than its lack.<sup>498</sup>

Different kinds of photographs have different purposes according to the use they are made for, and in a newspaper those images are lending the actuarial power from its primary medium. In the *Cereksen miehistö Porissa* case a passport photograph of the captain is published on the front-page of the article. The caption of the passport photograph only gives the name of the person, nothing else.<sup>499</sup> In the negatives of *Köyliön palo* there is a repro photograph taken of one of the deceased person's driving licence.<sup>500</sup> However, this photograph was not published. In the two cases where there was a passport photograph of a deceased accessible, only the one of the captain was published.<sup>501</sup> As argued in chapter 3.2., the authorities have an important role in reassuring the public, the reader, of the happened incident. A passport photograph goes somewhere in between the private and public sphere; a passport photographs is exactly a sign of identity, that is what it was meant for when it was first taken, and that is also its function in a newspaper.<sup>502</sup> A passport photograph is produced for the means of showing identification. The purpose in which it is first used makes it seem to be objective, to give an objective, and correct image of the person whom it represents. The passport photograph is in a hard news article to assure that it was this given person who died.

On the other hand this kind of visual identification is quite contradictory to the way in which the faces of the dead should not be shown. Sontag claims that this kind of dignity of showing naked face is a common procedure when a domestic death is in question.<sup>503</sup> What seems to make a difference in the case of *Cereksen miehistö Porissa* is that the person in the passport photograph is still alive, it is only the photograph of a

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<sup>498</sup> Taylor 1998, 87-88.

<sup>499</sup> Lastin irtoaminen upotti laivan, HS 11.10.1973.

<sup>500</sup> VKH archive 56\_10-12.

<sup>501</sup> These are the two cases where it was possible to find a passport photograph. However, it is not known if the picture editors had access to a passport photograph of other deceased people, but maybe never published them. Only in the case of *Köyliön palo* the photographer had taken a repro photograph of the dead man's identity card.

<sup>502</sup> See e.g. Clarke 1997, 19.

<sup>503</sup> Sontag 2003, 70.

person who is going to die. The faces of domestic deaths are not supposed to be shown, as the person in the photograph might be recognised by the readers, but when the death happens to other people, there is no need to be as discreet, or show respect, but it is usual to represent the dead in an identifiable way. The dignity seems to lose its meaning.<sup>504</sup> The representation of bodies which are the furthest away can be depicted without too much hesitation, but with the corpses closer to the circulation area of the newspaper, the corpses are supposed to be shown more discreetly.<sup>505</sup>

Taylor uses the term hierarchy in connection to visual representation of death. Death has its hierarchical order, which can also be seen in its representation by photographic means. The press weighs the value of disasters as news by the nationality of its victims. The dead at home are more important and need to be recognised whereas an incident taking place abroad only passes the news threshold in case it has greater significance on the international level. Also in the domestic news section the hierarchy plays a significant role, a death of an unknown person is not very likely to be considered newsworthy unless there was something unordinary in the cause of death.<sup>506</sup> In the *Pulin uhri* case the photograph was never published in its original context, nor was there an article about the death.<sup>507</sup> Not even though the picture of the death was esteemed to have such an important or such a high aesthetic value, that it had to be presented in a falsified context as an illustrative photograph. The far-close argument for the publication of news is solid, but also domestic bodies get distinct treatment according to their social status. An alcoholic dying by the river does not fulfil the news criteria, but it may be an inspirational starting point for a feature story.

The practices of showing, and even more not showing, the deceased in the home country are connected to what Vanhanen calls immunisation. According to him the viewers are numb towards the visual representation of traumatic news. However, when the catastrophic event happens close to the viewer, it suddenly wakens up, the viewer is not anymore immune to the suffering he sees in the newspapers and other media on a daily basis. If the shocking news is close enough to the everyday life of the viewer, he is not indifferent anymore. A similar kind of awakening happens to the

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<sup>504</sup> Sontag 2003, 70; Taylor 1998, 79, 90.

<sup>505</sup> Sontag 2003, 61-62.

<sup>506</sup> Taylor 1998, 69, 90-91.

<sup>507</sup> VKH archive 82. The photographer had dated the negatives to be taken on 23 February 1972. The date is likely to be correct as on the same date in the photographer's diary there is a note "Pultsarin kuvat" (the photographs of the wino). In HS within the few following days there was no news about a man dying in Turku.

readers if the disaster has a strong impact on society. The reader is likely to be alerted by a strong enough catastrophe taking place in his close surroundings.<sup>508</sup> If the readers are too close to the horrific events, or to suffering people, their sense of morality is alarmed.<sup>509</sup> The readers become more sensitive to the representation of suffering and death, and thus react stronger to the violent images of death.

The press, when illustrating the news of catastrophes practises careful consideration and reflects the readers' responses toward what is ought to be shown and what not. The self-regulation tries to balance between the people's want to see, and their sense of propriety. In the situations where a corpse is estimated to have a right to be shown, the practices of representing bodies are carefully regulated and restrained.<sup>510</sup> As discussed above, the traditions and practices of showing bodies on the home front are more regularised and discreet, and a closer look on the practices has to be taken.

In the *Hinnerjoen murha* case a photograph of a crime scene is published in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In the published photograph an ordinary kitchen has turned into a crime scene. In the foreground of the image a coffee cup and sugar bowl are neatly placed on the kitchen table, whereas chalk outlines and a policeman doing a crime scene investigation occupy the background of the image. The only extraordinary thing in the kitchen is the chalk outlines and the spattered blood on the walls. The body of the victim has been removed, but the blood spatters and the chalk outline of the victim can still be seen in the picture.<sup>511</sup> The blood on the wall is there to signify that a violent event took place in this very kitchen.<sup>512</sup> These signs, and the presence of the policeman, indicate where the murdered body was found, there is not need to show a violated body, when the non-direct signs are as strong as in this image. Even though the blood is supposed to be only a subtle sign of the past disaster, together with the chalk outlines it forms such a strong indicator, that the absent body is no more absent. The published image in the newspaper makes a heavy statement even though there is no body of the dead present. The photograph does not only hint about a possibility of a violent death, but it shows it as well as is possible without the presence of an actual body. The chalk outlines and the blood together give no space for hesitation. In this published photograph the earlier mentioned effect of more subtle hints towards the existence of a

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<sup>508</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 39.

<sup>509</sup> Taylor 1998, 43.

<sup>510</sup> Taylor 1998, 6-7,193.

<sup>511</sup> Hinnerjoen surmaa epäillään ryöstömurhaksi, HS 9.1.1974.

<sup>512</sup> Taylor 1998, 87.



corpse may have more of a shock effect than the images where the corpse is present.<sup>513</sup> The *Hinnerjoen murha* case contains some of the more drastic photographs of a corpse, even though it is not really there.

Based on the 17 negatives taken on the scene I would argue that it would have been possible to choose a picture with less strong impact. The chosen negative was one of the most straightforward.<sup>514</sup> In the negatives the chalk outlines and the crime scene investigation have been pictured 11 times, in the remaining six photographs the prints of car tyres, or policemen walking in the forest are being pictured. Most of the crime scene photographs are close ups, they only show the blood and the chalk outlines. In the practices of showing a corpse, a close up is commonly avoided, because of the lack of discreetness.<sup>515</sup> However, in *Hinnerjoki murha* the presence of the surroundings in the picture makes it more dramatised. The orderly kitchen table and the tidy sink make the scene more personal. The viewer enters the life of the victim, the viewer has access to the victim's private sphere, and looking at the murder scene becomes an act of voyeurism.<sup>516</sup> Based on the comparison between the taken negatives and the published photograph I would argue that this photograph has been selected on purpose because of the dramatised and voyeuristic elements present in it.

A similar kind of murder, *Rymättylän murha*, was reported in *Helsingin Sanomat* about three years before the *Hinnerjoen murha* case.<sup>517</sup> The death was violently caused by another person, and it happened in the victim's home, only in this case the body was found outside the house. The circumstances of the death were rather similar, but its visual representation in the newspaper was strikingly different. In the *Rymättylän murha* case, typically for a murder case, the written article is relatively detailed, whereas the photograph published next to it tells very little; it only shows the place where the murder happened.<sup>518</sup> In the published photograph a man stands next to the closed door of the house, and the caption explains that the body was found there. In the picture there are no clues of the body, no blood or signs of fighting whatsoever. The crime scene has lost its attraction, and the photographer tried to get more interesting images by shooting the rooms of the house through a window.

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<sup>513</sup> Taylor 1998, 87-88.

<sup>514</sup> VKH archive 45\_13.

<sup>515</sup> Taylor 1998, 79.

<sup>516</sup> Clarke 1997, 133. Barthes uses the keyhole metaphor when describing the activity of taking a photograph. Barthes 1981, 10. Already the act of taking a photograph is voyeuristic.

<sup>517</sup> Nuori tyttö surmasi miehen leipäveitsellä, HS 11.11.1970.

<sup>518</sup> Taylor 1998, 114.

Interestingly the visual representations of the stories share the aim of intruding the private sphere. Six of the negatives were showing the inside of the house, in front of which the body was found.<sup>519</sup> On the sides of the pictures the windows reflect images of trees, which indicates that the photographer was staying outside, because he had no access to the house. This is interesting in the way that the murder had happened outside, and thus the interior of the house had no actual relevance in the case. Nevertheless the photographer had considered the private sphere of the house to be important. Newspapers have a need to have photographs confirming the happened incident rather than capturing a grisly image. The article is able to give a detailed account of the death, whereas the photograph supports the story, but tries to stay within the borders of decency.<sup>520</sup> In the *Hinnerjoen murha* case it was not possible to take gruesome pictures of the death, but it did not lessen the value of the photograph as evidence.

The evidence value of the photograph has also been used in three aviation accidents, *Lento-onnettomuus Hiittisissä*,<sup>521</sup> *Lentokone pellolle*<sup>522</sup> and *Pienkone metsään*.<sup>523</sup> In these cases the aftermath of an accident is shown, but in the negatives or published photographs there are not bodies, even though the articles let the reader know that people got killed. The photograph of the *Lentokone pellolle* case is published on the front page. According to Taylor it is common practice to publish aerial photographs of plane and ship wreckages on the front pages of newspapers, as they are rather discreet by nature.<sup>524</sup> In the *Lentokone pellolle* case the picture is in the front cover, but it is not an aerial shot, which would neutralise the effect of the image. In the negatives there would have been pictures closer to the aerial photographic images, with landscape and onlookers balancing the picture.<sup>525</sup> Instead, the selected photograph rather emphasises the result of the accident; the little bit of the landscape in the background of the original image has been cropped out, and the focus is on the wrecked body of the plane.<sup>526</sup> The

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<sup>519</sup> VKH archive 055\_14-15, 20-23.

<sup>520</sup> Taylor 1998, 87.

<sup>521</sup> Hylky nostettiin Hiittisissä, HS 18.9.1979; VKH archive 11.

<sup>522</sup> Surmansyöksy vehnäpeltoon – neljä kuoli, HS 8.7.1972; VKH archive 40.

<sup>523</sup> Kadonnut pienkone löytyi murskaantuneena Pöytyältä, HS 9.3.1979; VKH archive 43.

<sup>524</sup> Taylor 1998, 108. Taylor is making his conclusions based on British newspapers which, as mentioned earlier, are for sale in the magazine stands. The photographs in the front cover are supposed to be attractive, but not too horrific. Even though the situation in Finland in the 1970s was somewhat different as the vast majority of the readers had subscriptions, and the front cover is occupied for advertisement, I would consider the editors to follow similar kind of practices in the positioning of photographic images.

<sup>525</sup> See e.g. VKH archive 40\_1-8.

<sup>526</sup> VKH archive 40\_17.

close up in this case has a similar kind of dramatising effect as in the representation of human bodies.

In the case of *Pienkone metsään*, the original image has been cropped so that the wrecked plane can be seen better.<sup>527</sup> In the foreground of the published picture a plane tyre that has broken off lies next to a tree cut in half by the aeroplane. In the background the badly damaged wreckage lies in snow. The main focus point is the tree trunk, and the plane in the background is not very identifiable. The published photograph shows more the consequences of the plane crash rather than the damaged plane. In the negatives 20 pictures out of the total 33 are close ups of the aeroplane, and the rest of the pictures are similar to the published one; in the remaining 13 pictures the tree trunk is positioned in the foreground, only the other objects next to it change due to varying angle.<sup>528</sup> The composition turns the photograph into a story. It imitates the practises of film industry in dramatising the picture.<sup>529</sup> The published photograph is no longer giving evidence of the happened accident, but it gives a representation of how things happened, the image tells a story with a plot.

The selection of published photographs could be interpreted in a metaphoric way, that the remains of the planes are a sign which symbolises the horror of the accident. The wreckage symbolises the severity of the incident; all the people died, and this is all there is left, only a wrecked aeroplane.<sup>530</sup> However, this conclusion could be made if there had been some other negatives of the scene where there were bodies, or even the rescuers. In the case of *Lentokone pellolle* and *Pienkone metsään* there was no need to make the decision between not showing gruesome pictures and choosing the metaphorical ones, as there was no possibility of publishing any other. There was no actual choice or selection process in relation to publishing grisly images, and thus not too far reaching conclusions should be made. On the contrary, as discussed above, the published photographs do the opposite, they emphasise the severity of the accidents by dramatising the pictures by the choice of angle and nearness.

The scope of the article in *Lento-onnettomuus Hiittisissä* somewhat differs from the two other cases, even though its visual representation is very similar. The helicopter accident had happened on Sunday, but the picture was only published on Tuesday illustrating an article telling about the problems of getting the helicopter to the

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<sup>527</sup> Kadonnut pienkone löytyi murskaantuneena Pöytyältä, HS 9.3.1979; VKH archive 43\_8.

<sup>528</sup> VKH archive 43.

<sup>529</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 43-44.

<sup>530</sup> Taylor 1998, 89.

mainland.<sup>531</sup> The actual hard news part had already passed, the news was not about the accident anymore, but the situation a day after the accident had happened. However, the published image is of the same kind as the two above-mentioned cases, and so are the negatives. The negatives of all the three cases are rather homogenous, but the published pictures are partially distinct in appearance and they differ in practices of use. What is common to the three cases is that the photographs follow normal practice of showing the aftermath of the death scene once the bodies have been removed.<sup>532</sup>

The problem of discreetness is present particularly in the *Pulin uhri* case, as the photograph was not published in its original context, but only later to illustrate news related to the incident. As a matter of fact, the photographs of the dead man had practically nothing to do with the article, and moreover, the article could hardly be counted as hard news. Above mainly hard news stories are analysed, and thus *Pulin uhri* has mostly been left aside. The photograph published in the *Pulin uhri* case does share a lot with the other pictures of death, it follows the same rules of fulfilling people's need to know, but also keeping them from facing too gruesome pictures of reality.<sup>533</sup>

Even though it is not possible to see the body in the published picture, it is clear that there is one. Two undertakers walk towards the camera carrying a blanket, and in the background there is a hearse with its backdoor meaningfully open. There is also a police car in the background, but in this specific photograph only people from funerary services can be seen, there are no other people in the photograph.<sup>534</sup> There is a strong implication of death in that photograph, but not even a covered body is shown. It would not have been possible to show the non-covered body, as the article was about females, and the corpse was a male. It would have been possible to get a picture of a covered corpse on the stretcher, which the mortuary people are carrying into a hearse. The story does not tell anything about the alcoholics dying, but the picture tells it in a very straightforward way, so does the caption. The image tells about a harsh fact about reality which is not spoken out in the text.<sup>535</sup> Even in the caption the word death is not spelled out, but the caption mentions that some of the people who go to sleep by the river—the published image is taken by the river—do not necessarily return. Something

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<sup>531</sup> Hylky nostettiin Hiittisissä, HS 18.9.1979; VKH archive 11\_04

<sup>532</sup> Taylor 1998, 108.

<sup>533</sup> Taylor 1998, 70.

<sup>534</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

<sup>535</sup> Ariès 1985, 1.

that is not wanted to be written down in the text can be expressed by a photograph, let it be a not mentioning of death.

In the pictures from the scene there are many people, but particularly two of them alert more attention than the others. Compared to the undertakers and the policemen the two men seem to be dressed rather poorly. Judging by their behaviour, the police are interrogating them, they could be friends of the deceased, and possibly the ones who found the body.<sup>536</sup> In five of the images the two men are drinking from a bottle resembling a liqueur bottle in front of the deceased.<sup>537</sup> The composition in the pictures is very explicit and almost shocking. The photographer has on purpose taken these unnerving photographs, he has grasped the element of drama in the scene. I would argue that the images would have been very unlikely to be published even as hard news context.

The context of publication of the *Pulin uhri* photograph is somewhat different from its original context. The article is connected to the photograph, it tells about the sad situation of alcoholics - especially women - in Turku, and the lack of accommodation for them.<sup>538</sup> This and the distance in time between the exposure and publication make the correctness of publishing such images debatable. Pictures containing elements of horror are less likely to be published unless they appear in hard news.<sup>539</sup> The photograph was taken to accompany a different type of news, which might be the reason why the photographer was so much focusing on having the corpse in the picture.<sup>540</sup> In fact most of the images from the scene challenge the question of privacy in the public presentation of death. As argued earlier, the corpse is not distorted or otherwise morbid, but it is depicted in a very direct, realistic way. There is no discreetness in the images. In the negatives there is even a close up image of the dead person's face. According to the existing standards, even if the photograph had been published as a part of hard news, it is very unlikely that the close up would have been published in the first place.<sup>541</sup> On the other hand the dead man was not a person of respect; he was an alcoholic and an outsider. The discreetness and privacy did not apply in his case, and the photographer recorded his death in its realistic grimness. The

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<sup>536</sup> See e.g. VKH archive 82\_23-25.

<sup>537</sup> VKH archive 82\_8, 20-22, 28.

<sup>538</sup> Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

<sup>539</sup> Taylor 1998, 104.

<sup>540</sup> It is of course debatable if *Helsingin Sanomat* was going to publish the news in the first place, but an assumption that the photographer went to the scene of death to take pictures for a regular news is hardly worth questioning.

<sup>541</sup> Sontag 2003, 70.

privacy and respect, discreetness indeed, are occupied mainly for the domestic dead, but also that is dependent on the hierarchy. However, *Helsingin Sanomat* did not publish any of the images as such, they decided to suppress the horror in the image, and publish a strongly cropped image, which was in accordance to the consensus on the representation of death.

Hannu Vanhanen argues that there are three ideological approaches in representing physical death in every day practices of photojournalism. The approaches are routine, ritual or aesthetic/hedonist.<sup>542</sup> However, analysing the published pictures, but also negatives, I would claim that these three approaches are included in every single photograph, only the emphasis alters. In the cases of death the same photographer has been producing material for the same newspaper, but as seen above, the emphasis is changing case by case, and the cases are treated individually. In the cases of *Pienkone metsään* and *Hinnerjoen murha* the more dramatised images found their way into the newspaper, whereas in the case of *Pulin uhri*, even though the negatives could be considered hedonistic, the published image is closer to routine. In the publication of the photograph a lot of consideration was shown by cropping the image and bringing down its the impact. In general, the cases of death, compared to the other published images from the scenes of catastrophes, were treated more individually. Even though *Helsingin Sanomat* did follow certain patterns in their practices of publication, each case was treated as unique, the impact of each photograph was carefully evaluated in the context of the article.

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<sup>542</sup> Vanhanen 1991, 45.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The catastrophe pictures look old. At the first glance it is possible to say that they are not published in present day newspapers. It is difficult to define what exactly makes the photographs look so old. Of the photographic elements, probably the lack of colour, the black-and-whiteness of the photographs makes the impression of the pictures being old stronger. At the same glance, when noticing the black-and-whiteness of the photographs, it is apparent that also the material objects in the pictures are old. The flared legs of the trouser, the haircuts, not to mention cars, do tell about the time when the pictures were taken. Outside of the material factors in the photographs and of the photographs, the difference is not as great anymore. In some of the pictures the blinding power of the flash makes the pictures look less professional from present day's standards. Also the strong influence of documentary photography is visible, but except of these stylistic factors, the photographs are surprisingly similar to the ones we see in contemporary newspapers. More precisely, the use of photographs is the same, even if on the surface they do look distinct.

The analysis of the pictures in this thesis is not very strongly connected to the time in which the photographs were published. The photographs speak their own language, and the researcher has to listen to what they have to say. The point is not to describe what is different, but what is. For this particular reason the photographs analysed in the thesis do not seem to have a historical perspective. Without analysing more closely present day photojournalism, I would argue that the underlying practices have not changed greatly, it is mainly the surface, the style that has changed. And as the analysis of the style was not in the focus of the thesis, not much of a change can be pointed out. The ahistoricity of media research has indeed troubled me while writing the thesis. However, as Hartley points out, the major change in the media was a turn from modern press to post modern press.<sup>543</sup> From this perspective the change of year, or even decade, does not necessarily mean much of change in the media's representation of catastrophes.

The main focus of the thesis, namely the selection of catastrophe photographs was not done in a systematic manner. Moreover, in many of the cases it is impossible to

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<sup>543</sup> Hartley 1998, 62. The change to post modern media took place after the death of princess Diana's death.

point out if a particular picture was chosen because of what it represented, or if it was seen as a better choice than some other picture taken at the scene. The selection process, from the perspective of the photograph's qualities, is thus twofold. As mentioned in the case of *Hinaaja upposi Pansiossa* the photograph had been cropped so that the onlookers had been left out and only the rescue workers were seen. In this particular case it is not possible to say if the photograph was cropped to exclude the onlookers, or to emphasize the role of the rescue workers. Either way, the result is the same, the active people were represented, where as the passive ones were left out, and the influence the photography has on the readers' ideas about the responsibilities of the good citizens has not changed. The elaborate reasons behind particular picture selections cannot be pointed out; they are too complex to be spotted.

Within the group of catastrophe photographs, the photographs have different functions that should not be overlooked when analysing their content. The main division is between the photographs that embody evidence of the news event, and images that tell a story. In the images that function as a proof of the situation it seems to be a common practice to show the object, or the scene, from a good angle that shows as many details of the situation as possible. The pictures' only function is to deliver a proof to the viewer, as such it does not try make an aesthetically beautiful image, or the news more interesting. The other polarity of news photographs proof/narration division is occupied by the photographs which tell a story. The photographs are often composed, or the shooting angle is chosen so that the cause and effect are understandable from the picture. These pictures do not only show that something had happened, they also tell how things happened. They are not as subordinate to the verbal account in the text as the other pictures are. Also these pictures embody the proof in them, they do it even in a more complete way than the others do; they are able to show the proof of the causes as well, not only of the effect.

A group that was omitted in the division above are the illustrative images that were discussed in chapter 2.2. The use of these images is radically distinct from so called hard news photographs, and therefore their functions cannot be paralleled with them. When it comes to the truth requirements, these illustrative images are in an important position. The illustrative photographs have shown that photographs may have distinct truth requirements and expectations depending on their function. I would argue that the two types of pictures, even though both prove of the news event, have different requirements of authenticity and also that the proof they provide is of distinct nature.



The simple images of the scene of the event must be as untouched as possible, their credibility is lost in the eyes of the reader if they have any reason of doubting that the picture is not authentic, whereas the photographs that tell a story have more freedom of action, the reader does not assume that the scene is precisely the way as when the event took place. As long as the photograph is capable of delivering the story to the reader, the absolute authenticity of the photograph is not a necessity.

However, in the selection certain topics get more attention than others, and I would argue that in these cases the reasons behind the choice are rather straightforward. Here, the term topic does not mean different types of accidents (e.g. boat accidents), as it is not up to the photographer to decide what kind of incidents happen and are later turned into news event. This does not mean that the existence of a photograph would not give an event higher chances to turn into a news event. Indeed, photographs presumably increase the events' news value and make the article gain more space and visibility.<sup>544</sup> A topic that is very frequently seen in news photographs is people. Even though there are some, but notably few, photographs published with no people at all in them, the main focus is on the people. Generally speaking the people make the news, not the natural disasters or the accidents. The way these incidents affect people's lives is the point that makes the news. The importance of the people is reproduced also in the news photographs; the people are in the focus.

People may be passive or active, victims or authorities, what they have in common is that they prove the point the article makes. A photograph of a given situation as such is an undeniable proof, but the existence of a person in the photographs nails its credibility. A person in a photograph is lending his own person as a witness, a photographic witness, to the reader. The witnesses are preferably authorities who can assure the readers that everything is under control, that the victims in the scene are not out of the reach of help. With the presence of authorities in the published pictures a better world is built to the reader. To support the safe and righteous view of the world active people are depicted, and the passive onlookers are eliminated from the scene, unless, as is the case in *Bore II palo*, they create an aesthetically pleasant image.

The image of active citizens that create righteous life is supported by the omission of certain photographs. The published photographs are very subtle and comforting. Not to say that in the negatives taken of the catastrophes the images would

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<sup>544</sup> However, this can also be the other way around.

be very horrific. Nevertheless, the softer and happier pictures were preferred over shocking images. The scenes of accidents were preferred to be shown either without any people at all, as was the case in the aviation accidents where people got killed, or then controlled by an authority. The images actively balanced the severity of the verbal account of the catastrophe with images of hope. However, one has to keep in mind that these photographs are domestic, the foreign images might well look rather different. The tone of the pictures may influence greatly the perception of the news, say in *Viking I karilla* the news was published with images that were by no means threatening, even though the situation principally might have been horrific; hitting the rocks in the middle of the night hardly is a pleasant feeling. By publishing pictures of a family enjoying their breakfast, the more positive side of the incident is emphasized. The caption joins the soothing note of the image by explaining that the people were only happy to enjoy their breakfast in an unexceptional surrounding.

In most of the cases it is difficult to make a clear outline of what was chosen not to be published, what was omitted on purpose, and what were the reasons for that. Rather there are certain similarities between the omitted pictures, but as mentioned earlier the patterns of choices are often obscure. However, it is clear that the images of death were the most controlled ones and the reasons for their omission are rather straightforward. Curiously it is exactly these cases in which the photographer has taken multiple pictures—significantly more than in most of the cases, even though the publication of images of death was strictly regularised, and he must have anticipated that the majority of those images will not be published. The crooked situation of numerous negatives and limited chances of publication brings back the Freudian idea evolved in the introduction. The unconscious side of the photographer took the pictures because he yearned for drama, and he knew that so did the readers. However, in the editing process, the conscious side, the pictures that were too horrific or seen as unsuitable, i.e. showing a recognisable corpse, were smothered.

Except for the cases where the photographer had made a miscalculation of the publishable images, namely by taking multiple images of the deceased or the crime scene with signs of death, the photographer seems to have known generally what kind of photographs to take. In the cases with multiple photographs the photographer had commonly taken three to four types of photographs, and one of each was published. Of the events where the photographer had exposed a lot of film, besides the cases with images of corpses, also multiple photographs were published. It is notable that not all of

these cases were more newsworthy than other published articles. This practice would suggest that the news were chosen beforehand, and particularly the space they would get in the paper was decided in advance.

In the cases where only one photograph was published, the selection process has been more challenging. However, in most of the cases the selection fits to the picture type of which the photographer has taken the biggest amount of shots. In general, even though the selection process omitted certain photographs, it could be said that the photographer took pictures that were likely to be published. The relation of negatives and published pictures would suggest that the photographer followed the directions gotten from the editors, or rather he was producing the kind of images the newspaper was likely to publish. In both case, the photographer has taken photographs that fulfil the requirements of news photographs. All this would suggest that the norms of suitable hard news photographs were strictly controlled, and even though this controlling may not have been outspoken, the photographer knew precisely what kind of pictures to take, and thus his personal choice was limited.

The selection of photographs is not solely based on the newspaper's agenda. The readers influence the practices of the use of catastrophe photographs. If a photograph of an event presents views of reality that they want to see, it is accepted even if it is not objective. The photographs that confirm their expectations are perceived as truthful and objective. This is particularly the case in the representation of human beings in the photographs; they follow the pre-existing models of family, gender, good and bad. The stereotypes are both used by newspapers and required by the readers. Stereotypes of happy families confirm their faith in happiness, whereas images of active communities restore their belief in goodness. Disturbing images that shake the public's worldview are avoided.

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HS = Helsingin Sanomat

VKH = V.K. Hietanen

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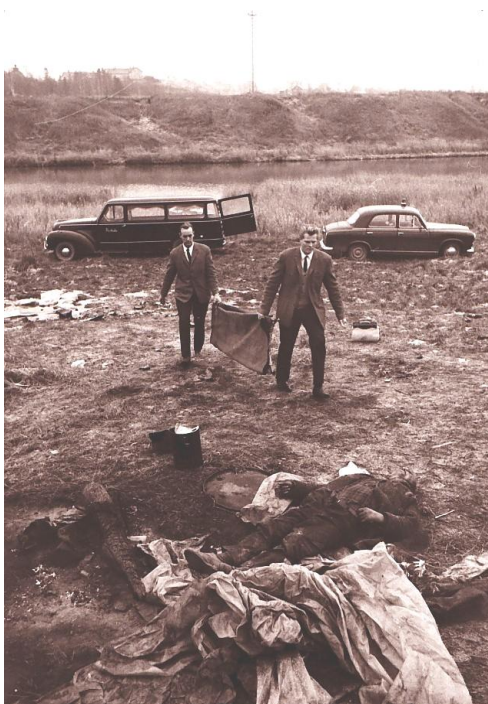
### **Lectures**

Mutman, Mahmut: "Visual Technologies and narratives". Seminar in Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. Spring 2007.

Appendix 1



Photograph published in Turun naisalkoholisteille hoitoa vain mielisairaalassa, HS 1.3.1972.

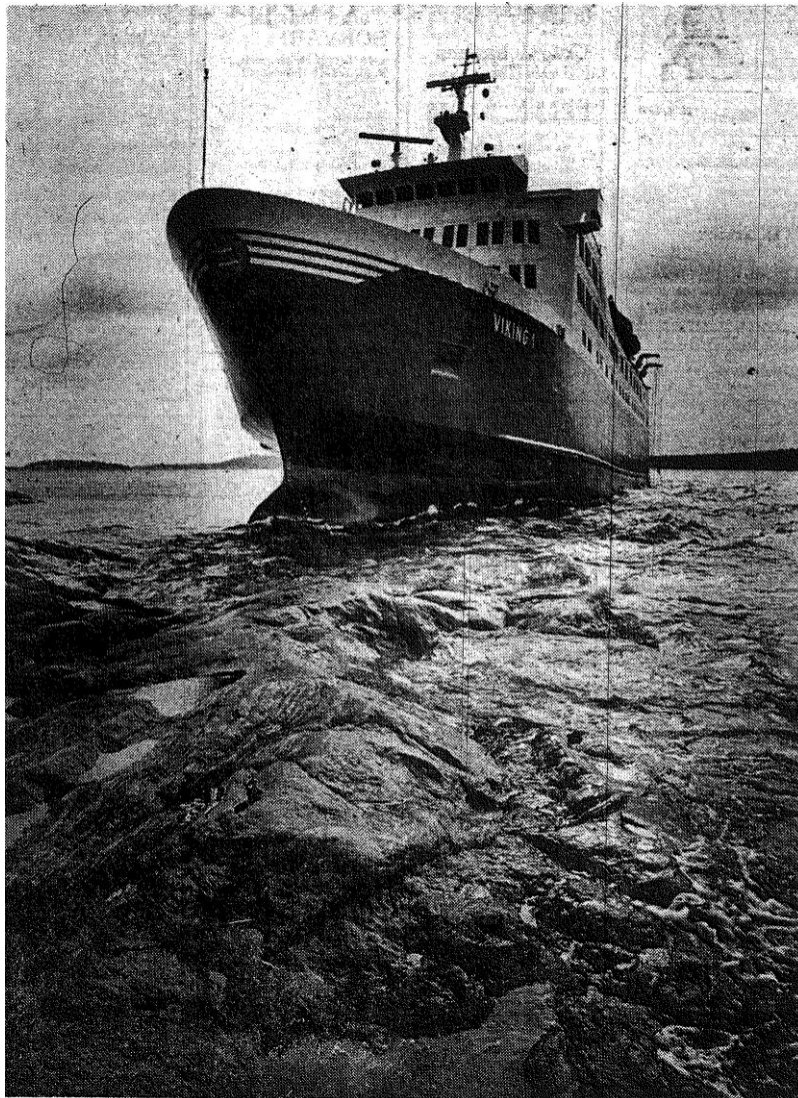


VKH Archive 82\_29



VHK archive 82\_8

Appendix 2



Photograph published in Viking I pään saarta, HS 16.8.1975



Viking I pään saarta, HS 16.8.1975 VKH archive 72\_25

# Tuli tuhosi liiketalon Turun keskustassa

Turku (HS) Tuli aiheutti suuret vahingot Turun keskustassa Eerikinkatu 8:ssa tiistaina. Yksikerroksinen vanha liikeyritys leimahdusti liekkeihin nestekaasupallon räjähdyttyä alkuperänsä kahta metriä korkealla. Lähellä Kauppiaaskadun kulmaa sijaitseva rakennuksessa on tilava ulkosekkeri, joka tuhoautui koko talon pituudelta. Katutasoa neljä liikettä kärsivät pahjista vaurioista ja seuraavuuksista, kuitasepänliikkeessä paloi sisus. Palokunta sai hälytyksen kello 14:14. Tuli oltiin nopeasti puristettulle ulkokuole, jossa oli myös runsaasti irtaimistoa. Palokunta hälytti sammutus töihin kaikki vapausvoressa olleet työntekijänsä, ja Eerikinkatu suljettiin. Kauppiaaskadun ja Brahenkadun välisellä osalla liikenteellä monesti tunniksi. Vainakotat ryhdyttiin repimään mutta sisäisiä paloa ei silti saatu heti sammumaan. Apulaissopäällikkö Pentti Turjakken mukaan kato purkamiseen oli vaikeasta, koska vanhan peltil-

katon päälle oli rakennettu vielä tiilikatto. Paikalle hälytetyt varusmiehet, liikkeitten henkilökuunta ja palon hoidetteluksat katselijat yhdyntä vastustilikkettien ja sähköliikkeeseen irtaimistoa kadulle. Ruusuan avun vuoksi ei kullasepänliikkeestä voitu pelastaa juuri mitään. Tomilla olevien talojen purkamiseen on ollut seitsemän kertaa vuosikymmenien ajan, mutta tässä tapauksessa ei ole ryhdytty. Kiinteistöjen hallituksen mukaan nyt vaurioituneita rakennuksia ei ole kunnassa enää korjattava. Silloin Kauppiaaskadun ja Eerikinkadun kulmassa vastapäätä Hamburger Börsin ja Wilhelmin tavarataloa sijaitsevan liiketontin uudelleen rakentaminen saatia tulla ajankohdaksi. Palovahinkojen suuruutta ei tiedetä vielä oltu arvioida. Kiinteistöjen vakuutusyhtiönsä on ollut tarkkaa selvyyttä.



Varusmiehet ja katselijat yrittivät yhteistyönä pelastaa palavasta talosta mitä voivat kantamalla tavaraa ulos Eerikinkadulle. V. K. Hietanen

## Maalaustyö sulkee Helsingin kauppahallin

Kauppatorin halli Helsingissä suljettiin sisämaalaustöiden vuoksi toukokuun puolivälissä lähtien. Hallin torinpuoleinen osa avataan asiakkaille jälleen toukokuun loppupuolella, mutta hallin keskiosassa ja aulapäässä maalaus jatkuu 31. kesäkuuta saakka. Kiinteistölautakunta päätti asiasta tiistaina. Lomajärjestelyjen vuoksi hallin kauppiaayhdistys toivoi maalaustyöt aloitettaviksi toukokuun puolivälissä. Maalaus aloitetaan hallin torinpuoleisesta päästä, ja sen arvelaan olevan valmis 27. toukokuuta. Hallin keskiosassa ja aulapäässä työt ovat käynnissä toukokuun puolivälillä kesäkuun puoliväliä asti.

Tuli tuhosi liiketalon Turun keskustassa, HS 5.4.1978



VKH archive 38\_19

Appendix 4



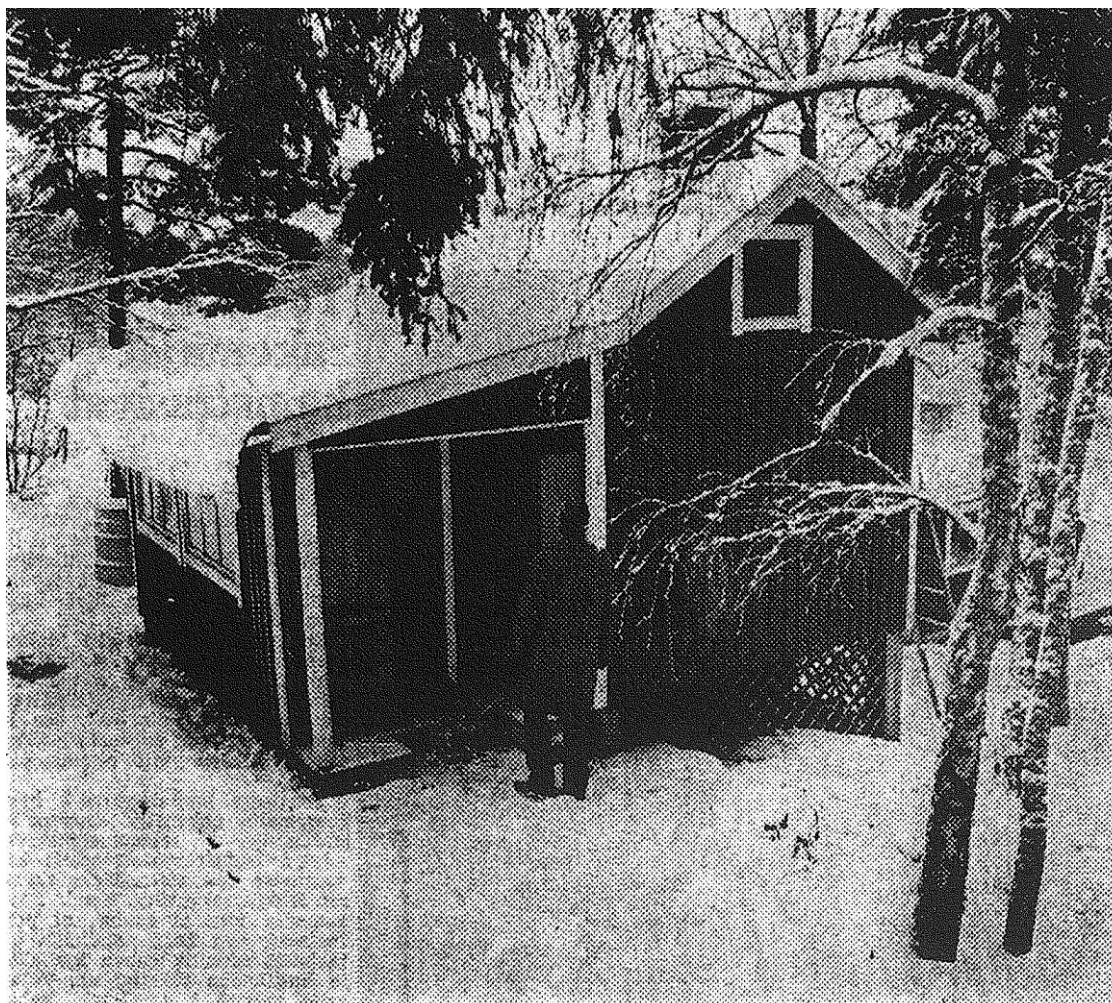
Picture published in Luotsivene kumoon ja pohjaan, HS 4.11.1971



VKH archive 61\_5



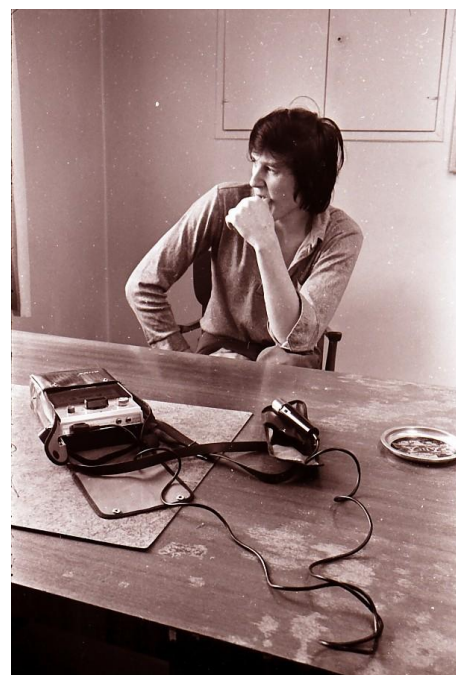
Appendix 5



Picture published in Nuori tyttö surmasi miehen leipäveitsellä, HS 11.11.1970



VKH archive 55\_23



VKH archive 55\_60