Friend or Foe? The Danish Mink Industry & Its Contesting Realities

A communicative study of the controversy over mink farming between Kopenhagen Fur & Anima

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ABSTRACT

This project seeks to provide an appreciation off how a single reality, namely that of mink farming in Denmark, can be perceived and communicated from two different stances. In doing so, the cooperative Kopenhagen Fur (KF) and the NGO Anima are scrutinized, as they the past decade have been disputing each other. The project illuminates how KF and Anima employ different communicative approaches to their stakeholders in the controversy over mink farming. The project also analyzes how these communicative approaches can be explained.

The project is anchored in the social constructivist paradigm and primarily employs a qualitative and deductive method of analysis. This analysis is threefold and is based on Mitchell's, Agle's, and Wood's Stakeholder Identification & Salience Theory, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, and Bach's and Blake's Strategic Issue Framing Analysis. The first analysis concludes that KF's and Anima' shares the same salient stakeholders, the primary one being the Danish public. The second analysis leads to the identification of the central discourse in the respective organizations' published texts in which KF primarily appeals to logic, whereas Anima appeals more to emotions. KF's central discourse is identified as "Mink farming is an ethically sound and justifiable undertaking which contributes to a better Denmark." Anima's central discourse is: "Mink farming is an unethical and unsustainable undertaking which serves no other purpose than to harm the mink." The discourse is influenced by the respective organization's structure, values, and perception of reality, as well as its goal and wider societal elements. The final analysis concludes that KF and Anima employ various frames in order to highlight aspects of mink farming and the controversy surrounding it beneficial to them.

It is concluded that KF's and Anima's communicative approaches vary greatly as a result of their organizational structures and goals, where KF represents a profit-driven organization with a pragmatic worldview. In contrast, Anima epitomizes an idealistic lobbying NGO.

PREFACE

Since the dawn of time, humans have dressed in various types of animal fur, and according to historians and archaeologists, fur is the oldest type of clothing worn by humankind (Mahé, 2011). Despite it being the oldest known form of clothing, fur and the farming of fur-bearing animals continue to be a catalyst for disagreement and dispute. When aggregated, it becomes clear that various organizations hold and communicate a plethora of perspectives on the farming of fur-bearing animals. When organizations hold conflicting goals and perspectives on the same matter, their worldviews might clash, which can result in intense and long-standing disputes or controversies. When a heated controversy arises and metamorphosizes, the involved organizations' stakeholder relations, goals, and their perceptions of reality become guiding elements in their communication. The organizations' communication also comes to constitute a central role in the construction and advancement of the controversy. Just as the controversy, in itself, will affect the organizations' governing frames and discourse. Ultimately, such divisive situations are guided by a reciprocal relationship between communication and reality, where the involved organizations' communications construct the controversy and vice versa.

Introducing the Controversy in a Danish Perspective

During the past decade, the controversy over mink farming has metamorphosized in multiple directions. At present, there are 1,345 Danish mink breeders, and globally 58,810,000 mink pelts were produced in 2019 (Kopenhagen Fur 1 [KF 1], n.d). The fur industry in Western Europe, which includes Denmark, is highly regulated, and mink farming was the first type of livestock farming to be supervised by welfare regulations (Kopenhagen Fur 2 [KF 2], n.d). The Danish mink breeders strive to secure good welfare for their mink while they also aspire to produce high-quality pelts. However, during the past decade, the Danish mink industry has been overtly challenged and has faced numerous challenging situations. Nevertheless, to this day, Denmark remains the world's largest producer of mink pelts (Landbrug & Fødevarer [L&F], n.d).

In Denmark, a majority gathering of the Danish mink breeders jointly owns the cooperative Kopenhagen Fur (KF), which counts both the association of mink breeders and the world's largest fur auction house (Danske Minkavlere 1 [DM 1], n.d; Kopenhagen Fur 3, n.d.). As KF comprises both the Danish mink breeders' association and the auction house, these two are referred to jointly as KF throughout this project.

Despite KF's initiatives to improve the conditions of farmed mink, and despite the regulations and programs set out to protect the wellbeing of farmed mink, these initiatives have not been able to guard KF against strong opposition. The fur industry was being challenged as early as the 1970s and 1980s due to heightened environmental awareness and sensitivity towards animals, which corresponded with the rise of a new movement in Denmark. A movement propelled by animal activists, that to this day campaigns against the farming and euthanization of fur-bearing animals. This movement is supported by the Danish non-governmental organization (NGO) Anima. Anima advocates for the rights of all animals, and the NGO's goal is to end animal cruelty by making sure all animals are respected (Anima 1, n.d.). Thus, Anima is actively campaigning against the Danish mink industry and lobbies, what it believes, to be the mink's interests (Anima, 2010).

However, over the past ten years, men and women worldwide have supported KF, and in contemporary Denmark, members of the Royal family, as well as many Danes, wear mink furs. Subsequently, Anima actively and urgently promotes its stance and encourages a legislative ban on mink farming. In Denmark, the controversy over mink farming has been and continues to be strongly influenced by KF and NGOs like Anima. For decades, the involved parties have openly been in dispute over the industry, and through numerous campaigns, interviews, documentaries, protests, and articles, the parties have tried to govern and shape public perception of the issue. As a result of Anima's many years of persistence, and due to other forces, the lucrative Danish mink industry has experienced a financial downturn since 2016 (Attrup, 2018). Over the past ten years, KF and Anima have pursued numerous communicative approaches to dominate the controversy over mink farming. This project, therefore, illuminates how a single reality may be viewed from two contrasting perspectives and how these perspectives can be sustained through contrasting communicative approaches.

RESEARCH AREA

The following sections will aggregate some of the ideas, theories, and background details that led to the project's research question. By offering this information, the purpose of the section is twofold:

- To present the various components which motivated and guided the research
- To clarify the substance, interest, and significance of the research

Multiple components make the situation attractive to research and study. The idea and motivation for the project came from reading two articles from *Tid & Tendenser* [Time & Trends], a Danish magazine concerned with the zeitgeist, consumption, and lifestyle of the Danish society (Jakobsen 1, 2019; Jakobsen 2, 2019). The articles stated that Danish society has experienced enormous changes in the past ten years when it comes to the zeitgeist and social discourse. Social discourse here is understood as the open discussions regarding the norms and accepted rights and wrongs of society; in other words, "... any shared practice by which society imbues reality with meaning" (Ruiz, 2009). Currently, experts argue that Denmark finds itself in an epoch where ethics, morals, and shame govern society, which poses challenges to industries such as meat production, air transportation, agriculture, oil, and fur farming (Jakobsen 2, 2019; Rosenbak, 2016).

Arguably, the change in social discourse and the trend of letting morality drive actions mean that things become relative and if relativity rules, it threatens authorities and divisive industries regardless of the validity of their communication (Rosenbak, 2016). Therefore, the argument is that the shift in social discourse and zeitgeist partially resulted in the downturn of one of Denmark's most successful export industries: the mink industry. When first presented with this communicative perspective, it undoubtedly sparked an interest to study the controversy over mink farming further. At present, Denmark is also experiencing a significant divide between those supporting the mink industry and those opposing it. Therefore, studying the communicative evolution of the controversy and the engaged organizations' communicative approaches will be a fruitful line of inquiry.

It is relevant to study the controversy in a Danish perspective as a variety of leveraged Danish parties with distinct objectives dominate the global mink industry and the debates surrounding

it. The prominent parties in the Danish mink debate include the animal activist as represented by Anima and KF, representing both the Danish mink breeders' cooperative association and the auction house. These organizations' objectives and operations in Danish society constitute a dynamic situation where their stakeholder relations and objectives sway their communicative approach. Furthermore, the involved organizations are all concerned with the lives of the mink but have different objectives in this regard and employ different communicative approaches to reach these objectives.

When considered from a constructivist perspective, the situation breeds a controversy, which represents a plethora of engaging elements. First, the controversy involves two distinct organizations. The organizations both argue that what they practice is the right thing to do as it contributes to a better Denmark. Second, the organizations apply various communicative approaches to disseminate their messages. Third, when working from a constructivist perspective, one pays attention to language and communication "as a tool of reality construction rather than its passive mirroring" (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 12). Therefore, an analysis of the organizations' communication reveals their underlying ideologies and perceived realities. By elucidating these perceived realities, one can gain an understanding of how and why the organizations are pursuing similar or contrasting communicative approaches. When taking all the above information into account, this project aims to shed light on and examine examines how and why KF and Anima employ various communicative approaches in the controversy over mink farming.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The above section formulates the motivation for, and the relevance of the area researched. Therefore, the research question is based on an accumulation of this information. The present project seeks to research the following:

How do Kopenhagen Fur and Anima employ different communicative approaches to their stakeholders regarding the controversy over mink farming? Furthermore, how can these communicative approaches be explained?

Sub-Questions

To guide the analysis, a set of sub-questions have been developed. The sub-questions are implemented to better structure the overall project. These questions will be answered chronologically, and their findings will be summarized in sub-conclusions throughout the project. The sub-questions will be answered in the analysis, while the accumulated findings are presented in the conclusion:

1. Which stakeholders are connected to the Kopenhagen Fur and Anima, and what is their level of salience?

2. What is the central discourse of Kopenhagen Fur's and Anima's communication, respectively, and how can these be explained?

3. When using framing as a strategic tool, how are the organizations trying to guide the controversy in different directions?

DELIMITATION & EMPIRICAL SCOPE

The following section highlights some of the questions, which were encountered when deciding upon the scope of the project. Therefore, this section accounts for the selection of various elements and justifies the inclusion or exclusion of these elements. Furthermore, the section aims to explain some of the conscious choices made when conducting the research project.

First, it is not just in Denmark that mink farming is a divisive topic and has bred a longstanding controversy; it also occurs in other countries. However, the project only investigates the controversy from a Danish perspective, which is justifiable as Denmark is the biggest producer of mink pelts, and KF is the world's biggest fur auction house. Furthermore, given the time, geographic constraints, and COVID19 quarantines, it was more manageable to establish contact with Danish organizations, in particular the NGOs, as compared to establishing contact with the more prominent global NGOs like PETA. Additionally, there was no guarantee that any of the mink breeders or smaller NGOs, Danish or not, would be able to communicate in

English or Danish. Therefore, it was logical to initiate contact with the Danish breeders and NGOs because if English was lacking, communication could occur in Danish if needed.

Second, for this project, a distinction between KF the auction house and KF the association itself will not be made, rather the two will be regarded as one united entity. This unification is justifiable for two reasons. First, KF is a cooperative owned and managed by a majority of the Danish mink breeders. If it were not for the breeders, KF would not exist. If KF did not exist, the Danish breeders would arguably not occupy the dominant position they currently hold internationally. For these reasons, the two parties are highly intertwined and interconnected. Second, KF functions as the commercial part of the association and is in charge of external communication with the industry's stakeholders and the press. Thus, KF's communication represents the breeders' interests and opinions, and it is, therefore, valid to regard them as "one."

The first NGO to be contacted was Anima, who agreed to help with the project. However, as a result of the COVID19 situation, Anima came under significant pressure, and they could, therefore, only agree to do one interview. This imbalance in data would prove a disadvantage both to Anima and to the analysis. Thus, to get more data, the Danish organization "Dyreværns Organisationernes Samarbejds Organisation" [The Animal Protection Organizations' Cooperation], known as DOSO, was contacted. DOSO offered its assistance and agreed to do an interview. DOSO is an organization made up of 22 Danish animal protection and animal rights organizations, including Anima (DOSO, n.d.). DOSO was founded to give smaller organizations more public and political clout; hence DOSO represents the accumulated voices of the 22 organizations (DOSO, n.d.). Therefore, using DOSO's interview and answers as a representative for Anima's stances in the analysis is valid. Moreover, Anima is a member of DOSO, and gathering data from DOSO is therefore justifiable as there is little disparity or variation in their stances regarding mink farming (P. Mollerup, personal communication, March 19, 2020).

Third, the project's focus is primarily on the external communication published by KF and Anima as the aim is to analyze what they communicate to their stakeholders, how this communication differs, or aligns, as well as how these differences and similarities can be explained. However, contact was also established with Anima, DOSO, and KF, and as they all

agreed to do interviews, the interviews became a separate form of data. The interviews allowed the organizational members to elaborate on specific questions, and different worldviews could be investigated and incorporated in the analysis. Fourth, the project only investigates the organizations and the controversy over mink farming within the past ten years. However, the controversy has been going on for much longer. The controversy was initiated in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, the period researched runs from late 2009 to early 2020. This period was decided upon for multiple reasons. Within this period, much more information was readily available online as compared to information from the 1980s. It is more appropriate and relevant for this study program to study contemporary issues rather than historical ones. Moreover, during the interview portion of the research, a majority of the interviewee participants identified Operation X's 2009 show about the Danish mink farms as a catalyst that reignited the mink controversy in Denmark (please see Appendix A for more information). Operation X is a television show made by the Danish tv station TV2, and the show is known for addressing and investigating controversial issues.

It is also worth mentioning that the empirical timeline, in Appendix A, does not paint a full and comprehensive picture of the controversy's evolutionary path over the past ten years. Arguably, countless texts and events have shaped the controversy. However, the listed ones are antecedents, thus, making them the most interesting to study. Furthermore, the highlighted texts also garnered substantial attention in the Danish news media as compared to many of the others. However, to provide an equal and comparable foundation for the analysis, texts describing either KF or Anima that can be accessed through their respective website are included in the analysis. All of these texts will be treated as one big text. Lastly, the scope of the project also restricted the timeline and the number of events listed within it. In retrospect, one could speculate if the timeline should have been significantly shortened in order to allow a more in-depth analysis of fewer events.

The controversy over mink farming in Denmark revolves around and includes more parties than the ones highlighted in this project. Other parties include animal protection and rights organizations like "Dyrenes Venner" and "Dyrenes Beskyttelse", and the Danish government. However, Anima and DOSO were the only two NGOs willing to contribute to the project. Once again, the project's scope served as a natural limitation as to how many parties could be included. Attempts to establish contact with the Danish government were met with silence. No

one from the government responded to the emails sent to them, thus excluding the government as an actor in this study.

As the controversy is examined from a Danish perspective, much of the data gathered were formulated in Danish. As a result, a significant amount of the data has been translated from Danish to English. The translations followed academic theory on the matter, which is presented later in the project. Despite the academic approach to the translations, it still posed the risk that small amounts of meaning could be lost in the translations. To guard against this loss of meaning from happening, the translated interviews were sent to the respective organizations for approval. Furthermore, some of the interviews conducted in English were impacted and limited by the interviewees' ability to communicate clearly and unambiguously. Hence the interviewees' English skills might have hindered them from adequately expressing what they wanted. Retrospectively, it might have been more considerate to conduct all the interviews in Danish, and hereafter to translate them into English.

Lastly, my own opinions and biases regarding Kopenhagen Fur, Anima, and the situation, in general, are also worth considering. These biases and opinions might have clouded elements of the project. One of the precautions that have been taken in this regard is the organizational labeling of Anima. The media and the public tend to define Anima in various ways, such as "animal welfare organizations", "animal protection organizations," or "animal rights organizations". However, these definitions cannot be used interchangeably, and depending on what label is assigned to the organization, different connotations and biases are expressed. Throughout the project, Anima will, therefore, be referred to only as an "NGO" without further labeling. Nevertheless, for the analysis Anima's and KF's labeling of themselves and each other will be considered as such categorizations reflect how they construct and create meaning. Staying as objective and neutral as possible throughout the research process has been of the utmost importance in order to portray KF and Anima without any prejudice and partiality. Although, when dealing with such a divisive and sensitive topic, it has, at times, proven to be a challenging task.

OUTLINE & STRUCTURE OF PROJECT

This section clarifies the outline and structure of the project in order to demonstrate the project's course of action. Presenting the outline of the project also serves as a reading instruction that systematizes the remaining part of the project.

A section presenting the various theories follows the methodology section. These theories have been scrupulously selected as they shed light on different aspects and elements of the organizations' communication. Each theory was thoroughly compared with a diverse set of concurrent theories. Therefore, a section reasoning for the respective theory and its limitations will follow the introduction. Note that the theories are presented in the same order as the theories will be applied in the analysis. The section "establishing the fundamentals" is presented before initiating the analysis. This section is divided into three sub-sections. The first sub-section identifies what a for-profit organization is and introduces KF, together with a clarification of its historical and organizational background. The second sub-section identifies what an NGO is while it also introduces Anima and clarifies its historical and organizational background. The final subsection contains a short explanation of the empirical timeline, which highlights some of the texts and events, which have shaped the controversy over mink farming the past ten years (Appendix A). Noticeably, the section provides essential background knowledge which facilitates a clear understanding of the involved organizations as well as the overall controversy. However, the section also enables a more comprehensible analysis to be conducted.

Hereafter the analysis is initiated. The analysis is threefold and is structured chronologically following the three sub-questions, where an examination of these questions provides the necessary information to answer the research question. The analysis will be divided into three main sections: a stakeholder identification and salience analysis, a critical discourse analysis, and an analysis of the organizations' strategic issue framing. In order to provide a smooth and coherent narrative, the three analyses will support and underpin each other. The stakeholder analysis will be employed in order to identify the organizations' key stakeholders as related to the controversy over mink farming. The stakeholder analysis is conducted first as KF's and Anima's communication presumably is directed at their most salient stakeholders. Thus, the stakeholder analysis provides a foundation for further analysis. Hereafter, the critical discourse

analysis is conducted in order to gain insight into how and why the organizations communicate the way they do. Lastly, the strategic issue framing analysis identifies how the organizations make salient aspects of their perceived realities by emphasizing various elements in order to steer the controversy and stakeholders in favorable directions.

In addition, each analysis will have a subsequent sub-conclusion which will be accumulated and linked in the discussion as well as in the conclusion. Prior to the conclusion, a discussion will unfold. The discussion first recapitulates the broader findings from the analysis. Hereafter, the discussion is anchored in a pondering about effective communication. In this regard, the discussion deliberates which of the communicative approaches and perspectives that are likely to gain the most support. The discussion will be built around the findings from the analysis, and the data obtained from the distributed questionnaire (See Appendix B for more information). Following the discussion will be a conclusion. The conclusion will aggregate the prior sub-conclusions in order to present an answer to the research question.

METHODOLOGY

The following sections present and reflect upon the methodological choices and stances of this project. First, a section on the scientific approach will be introduced. Within this section, the approach to the philosophy of science will be presented. The philosophy of science lays the foundation that guides the rest of the project. Hereafter the project's scientific method is presented and clarified. This section also includes two subsections which introduce the qualitative and quantitative data, and how the data have been gathered. A section outlining the translation methods that were applied to the data obtained in Danish completes the overall methodology section.

Scientific Approach

This section is divided into various sub-sections. The sections account for the knowledge and data development and are also concerned with how various elements have influenced the research project and its findings. The first section is the project's philosophical stance on

science, where science is understood as "...the pursuit of knowledge and understanding of the natural and social world following a systematic methodology based on evidence" (Science Council, 2009). In accumulation, the sections address the theory of scientific method, which forms the base for any decision, position, analysis, or stance made throughout this project (Thurén, 2007/2008).

Philosophy of Science

"Any set of rules that defines what is acceptable, empirical knowledge may be called a philosophy of science. Among philosophers of science and scientists, however, there is more than one accepted philosophy.*"* (Sagan, 2018, p. 33). Therefore, when conducting research, it is crucial to understand and indicate which philosophical stance one subscribes to. The stance on philosophy of science limits and broadens the search for and development of knowledge in distinct ways as the different stances do not agree on what can be considered valid knowledge and how valuable knowledge can be obtained. For instance, researchers who subscribe to a positivist philosophy set out to find objective truth often through quantitative methods. Whereas researchers subscribing to a more interpretive and constructivist view deem it impossible to find objective truth and are instead interested in investigating the individual's worldview and interpretation of reality (Thurén, 2007/2008).

This research project takes its point of departure in the social constructivist philosophy, which falls under the aforementioned interpretive paradigm. Within this paradigm, researchers subscribe to an understanding that the world is affected and, to an extent, completely constructed by the ways in which we understand and perceive it. Therefore, when conducting research, nothing can be considered a given because knowledge about societal and human realities are socially constructed phenomena (Nygaard, 2013). Correspondingly, language holds a constructive power, where language, as mentioned, becomes a tool for constructing reality rather than being its passive mirroring. Thus the focus is concentrated on language and social relations, and how individuals or groups communicate and interact with one another (Nygaard, 2013).

When considering a research project's philosophical stance, touching upon the philosophical constructs of ontology and epistemology is inevitable. In brief, ontology refers to a given

philosophy's assumptions about the nature of reality, where ontological assumptions shape how we see and study the world. On the other hand, epistemology refers to assumptions about knowledge and what can be constituted valid and legitimate knowledge, as well as how that knowledge can be communicated to others (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Therefore, epistemology revolves around the methods through which one acquires new knowledge. Paying attention to one's epistemological stance is essential because the epistemology will affect which types of knowledge is legitimate. The ontology of social constructivism is relativistic, entailing that reality is not a stable construct, and knowledge about reality is never definitive as it is constructed in social interaction (Nygaard, 2013). It does not mean that the existence of physical reality is questioned, but that the human perception of it is, of which this project is a manifestation.

However, social constructivism also contends "that we cannot expect any truthful insight through the perception of the given, as we are wrapped in our cultural contingency" (Just & Nørgaard, 2004, p. 6). Therefore, when searching for truth in a given culture, one must deconstruct the specific culture's perception of reality in order to understand it. The epistemology of social constructivism is subjective and argues that no objective truth exists as truth is socially constructed. Accordingly, there is not one definitive truth, but rather various truths exist, where individuals' conception, comprehension, and understanding of reality are constructed and reconstructed continuously. For these reasons, a core within the constructivist paradigm is the claim that objective knowledge is unattainable, and that no phenomena are naturally given, at least not to our meaningful recognition (Just & Nørgaard, 2004). Because this project is anchored in a social constructivist approach, its strength lies not in the ability to conclude something definitively valid about truth, or in the ability to state which party will be in the right. Instead, the strength lies in the insights gained about KF and Anima, how they experience and make sense of reality, and how that affects their communication and vice versa.

Scientific Method

When conducting scientific research two main ways of logical reasoning exist, namely, deduction and induction. On the one hand, deduction is referred to as "top-down" reasoning which moves from the general to the specific. On the other hand, induction is done oppositely,

with its "bottom-up" reasoning moving from observations to generalizations (Nygaard, 2013). This project applies an inductive method as the research is based on observations gathered from a variety of different datasets. Hereafter, generalizations and conclusions are formed based on the observations, interpretations, and regularities derived from the theory-based analyses. The aim of the project is not to test the chosen theories but to employ the theories as a foundation for further argumentation, discussion, and conclusion. One could say that the objective is to observe, deconstruct, and interpret KF's and Anima's perceived realities in order to develop "a theory", or a statement which can explain what they experience and how that affects their communication (Newman & Ridenour, 1998).

As this project subscribes to a subjective epistemology, what constitutes acceptable and adequate knowledge are opinions, narratives, stories, perceptions, interpretations, and utterances (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Therefore, the type of knowledge contribution will be individual and context-specific, where new knowledge provides insight into KF's and Anima's perceived realities and how these communicatively are constructed and vice versa. Moreover, this project employs a qualitative research design. Therefore, the emphasis is on KF's and Anima's elaborate descriptions of their perceived realities and on how these realities are continuously constructed and communicated. The qualitative approach is also referred to as the "*verstehen approach*" [the approach for understanding], where gaining an understanding of someone else's worldview equals new knowledge (Newman & Benz, 1998, p. 9). As the qualitative method is applied, the project takes a coherent and interpretive approach to the controversy and the organizations' communicated realities. This approach will lead to relativistic and subjective findings and conclusions. Applying a qualitative approach does not make the findings and conclusion of the project less reliable or valid but is merely a reflection of the scientific approach guiding it.

However, despite it being aberrant to the social constructivist approach, the quantitative method is also applied (Nygaard, 2013). Employing this method is justifiable as Newman and Benz (1998, p. 115) argue that the qualitative and quantitative approaches are not mutually exclusive, but that they can be used in combination. In this project, the quantitative method counts the use of a questionnaire that contains quantitative questions from which quantifiable data is derived (Appendix B). Furthermore, the minor method of simply categorizing and

counting recurrent themes, words, or phrases from the obtained data is also considered a quantitative method.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that social constructivism puts forth that reality is constructed through social interaction where shared meanings and realities are co-created, and that social interactions represent a continual process in which reality is in constant flux (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). For this reason, it has been necessary to study the controversy over mink farming and the involved organizations in detail, including their historical and socio-cultural contexts, to fully appreciate how and why they experience the world the way they do. The data analyzed are derived from multiple sources such as articles, interviews, the engaged organizations' websites, campaign videos, and posted images, all of which span ten years.

Qualitative Data

Qualitative data are rich types of data, which can be verbal, textual, or visual. The purpose of employing qualitative data is to mirror details and nuances of mink farming and to provide a profound understanding of the involved organizations' realities. The qualitative data selected for this project is presented below, together with explanations of how these have been produced and obtained.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Five semi-structured interviews (SSI), also referred to as ethnographic interviews, were conducted in order to provide additional qualitative data for the analysis. The purpose of this type of interview is to gather descriptions of the interviewees' realities and interpret meaning from the described events and phenomena (Nygaard, 2013). The SSI approach was decided upon as it emphasizes a methodological awareness regarding interrogative form, a dynamic awareness about the interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer, and a critical awareness of what is said and how that is interpreted (Kvale, 1990). Thus, this approach is consistent with the ideas and premises of the interpretive paradigm of social constructivism. In addition, this type of interview also corresponds well with the chosen theories, and in such ensures a coherent fusion of the project's philosophical and scientific stance, methodological approach, and theoretical practice.

The purpose of the interviews is to gain an insight into the interviewees' perceived realities, their interpretations of themselves as well as of the mink industry and the controversy surrounding it (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). In order to gain an insight into KF's and Anima's perceived realities, five SSIs with different interviewee participants were conducted. Two individuals representing the party under study were questioned in one-on-one interviews. However, since KF counts both the auction house and the Danish mink breeders' association, two participants from each camp were interviewed to ensure that nuances and realities would be accounted for without biases. The participants are anonymous, meaning that their names and specific job titles will not be stated. However, Appendix C clarifies, to the extent possible, who the interviewees are, and why they can function as legitimate representatives of either KF or Anima.

Please note that interviewee participant "KFI2" and "DMBI2" is the same person. This participant is highly involved with KF and is a mink breeder himself. Therefore, he represented both KF and the Danish mink breeders and switched character depending on the questions asked. Having an interviewee representing both is justifiable as it reflects the interconnectedness within KF. At the same time, it also solidifies the choice of unifying them under the umbrella term KF. Sadly, due to outside forces, the interviews had to be conducted over the phone, though face-to-face interviews would have been the preferred choice. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes and were recorded through the professional Otter AI recording and transcribing software. As the name suggests, the interviews were open and loosely structured around a combination of overall themes related to the mink industry, animal welfare, and the organizations under investigation. The themes were systematically yet emergently explored, which allowed for a comparison of the participants' responses in order to identify their underpinning reality (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Employing this flexible and inductive approach meant that the interviews became contingent on what each participant stated. Throughout the SSIs, the interviewees employed words and ideas in different ways, and probing these meanings added depth to the obtained data.

Naturally, the interviewees also lead the conversations into areas not previously considered but which became significant for my own understanding of the controversy and the organizations. Below is a table outlining the types of questions, which were employed together with several

examples from the actual SSIs. The questions are mixed and based on the classifications of SSI questions presented in the books "*Research methods for business students*" and "*The ethnographic interview*" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019; Spradley, 1979). The transcribed interviews, together with their translated versions, can be found in the separate Interview Folder.

Question	Purpose	Examples from the SSIs
Critical incident	Not a question but a way to make way for a new theme in the conversation. Participants were asked to describe in detail a critical incident or number of incidents relevant to the theme investigated.	*Do you recall any incidents or events which "kick-started" the controversy over mink farming in Denmark?*
Open or Descriptive	Encourage extensive and developmental answers, where the interviewee described a situation. The questions were used to reveal attitudes and enabled the collection of samples of the interviewee's language and also used to obtain facts.	*Can you describe to me what your work consists of? In your own words, what is a mink? Can you walk me through your everyday work at the farm?*
Probing	Used after an open/descriptive question to explore responses that were of significance to the research topic.	*What is a mink, → can you elaborate? Is a mink to be considered property or a creature of self-determination?*
Specific or Closed	Used when commencing questions about a particular theme, or to confirm fact or opinion.	*Are mink farming and wearing mink fur sustainable? Is mink farming an immoral and unethical undertaking?*

Contrast	Used when exploring what the interviewees meant by the various labels used in their language. A way to discover the dimensions of meaning the interviewees employed to distinguish objects and events in their worlds.	*What is the difference between animal and human rights? What is the difference between your objective and the other party's?*
Structural	Used to find out how the interviewee organizes knowledge. However, also, a way to discover information about cultural-specific knowledge.	*What are the different pros and cons of the mink industry? What are the different stages of mink farming? When and why can something be deemed unnecessary or immaterial?*

Table 1: SSI questions and their purposes

Once the interviews had been conducted, transcribed, and translated, the data obtained needed coding. In this regard, the qualitative data collection, analysis, and interpretation became an interrelated and interactive process where the analysis partially occurred during the data collection process as well as afterward. In order to code the data, themes, patterns, and relationships were identified and categorized. "In Vivo," coding was applied to the data (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014).

Words and short phrases from the interviewees' language were employed in the data record as codes. In Vivo coding seemed the most appropriate because of how it prioritizes and honors the interviewee's language and perspectives. The coded interviews resulted in an identification of 52 codes. Naturally, not all of the codes will be incorporated into the analysis, as only some of them will prove relevant. However, coding as much of the interviewees' language as possible was pertinent as it provides a bigger pool from which the analysis can be initiated and supported. Moreover, the codes will be analyzed by their meaning, order, and co-occurrence, please see the separate Interview Folder for a full overview of the coded fragments.

Primarily collecting data through a more objective approach like questionnaires or standardized interviews would not have provided the necessary and sufficient data for this research. This project seeks to uncover the knowledge and structures that KF and Anima employ when they construct and communicate reality. An objective approach to data collection seeks answers but discounts an understanding and contextualization of the participant's perspectives. Moreover, the objective approach also fails to acknowledge participants as social actors who continuously interpret and create reality while also being shaped by it.

Documentary Data

The analysis will primarily be based on documentary data, also referred to as secondary data, which consists of texts, audio, and visual content (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). The analysis will be based on secondary data gathered from KF's and Anima's official websites. These data consist of official documents published by the organizations. It is worth mentioning that the various documents also have been read and studied in order to gain a thorough understanding of KF and Anima. Hence, secondary data have been selected in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis. For this project, visual images are also employed as secondary data, which have been found on the KF's and Anima's websites.

Throughout the controversy, the involved organizations have constructed and posted visual images that represent and communicate their perceived realities. Therefore, images are regarded as valuable sources through which the organizations' worldviews can be studied, and as one of the interviewees stated: Images burn into people's minds, and nothing creates a better effect than an image (Interview Folder, p. 40, l. 157-158). Therefore, two images from KF and three from Anima are included in the critical discourse analysis (Appendix D). Moving images such as films and campaign videos are often accompanied by audio, which is also the case for KF's four campaign videos and for Anima's campaign video listed in the empirical timeline (Appendix A). The audio accompanying these videos is treated and analyzed as textual data.

Quantitative Data

In order to support and conduct the discussion, quantitative data has been gathered. Part of the quantitative data in this project is also derived from categorizing and quantifying themes, words, and phrases expressed in the qualitative data.

Questionnaire

To obtain primary quantitative data, a questionnaire was conducted and distributed. The questionnaire's accumulated answers identify attitudes about KF's and Anima's communicative approaches and their perceived realities. The questionnaire was designed, produced, and analyzed via the professional survey platform, Survey Monkey. The questions were designed to be concise and unambiguous, with closed-ended questions allowing for both single and multiple response options. The questionnaire was distributed via social media and professional networks in order to provide an accurate and larger sample of answers. It was necessary to obtain answers from a wide and random sample of people for the questionnaire answers to validity represent and induce generalization about the Danish population. The questionnaire was completed by 203 recipients, 78 men, 123 women, and 2 "other". The questionnaire and its corresponding answers are available in Appendix B. The questionnaire will be incorporated into the discussion by counting, quantitating, and discussing its findings.

Translation

As mentioned above, a large part of the data has been obtained in Danish and was therefore translated into English. On the request of the interviewee participants, four of the six SSIs were conducted in Danish. Moreover, the data retrieved from Anima's and much of KF's websites were all formulated in Danish. Zethsen (2006) states that meaning is a peculiar phenomenon, which essentially means that meaning is unique to an individual, and how individuals understand a particular word is the result of the sum of his/her knowledge of the word, and our previous experiences with it. Therefore, when faced with the translation task of the present project, attention was paid to the complexity of meaning as a phenomenon. Moreover, the situational context of both the source and target text was also considered.

When deciding on how to do translations, the purpose of the translated texts was mainly considered. This type of translation strategy is referred to as the skopos strategy, where skopos means "*purpose*". The essence of the skopos approach is that any translation is dependent on the target text and its desired function (Ditlevsen et al., 2007). Thus, the source text and its context, as well as the target text and its context, were relevant to consider when translating. For this project, the translations need to exert the same function in the target text's context as in the context of the source texts. Thus, an instrumental translation approach was employed. Correspondingly, the target texts should appear as if Anima or KF had published them, and the reader should not be able to identify the target texts as translations (Ditlevsen et al., 2007). In aggregate, my job was to comprehend the Danish source texts and to reword them into functionally equivalent target texts.

The skopos approach claims an active role of the translator in the communication process. The translator must understand what the purpose of the translation is, who the involved parties are, and how best to transfer the intended messages (Zethsen, 2006). To mirror the meaning of the source texts' words and sentences in the target text, information about practical and technical matters relating to KF's and Anima's language where gathered. Therefore, both KF and Anima assisted whenever I did not have adequate knowledge about their technical languages or jargon. Moreover, knowledge about KF's and Anima's general language practices and their cultural contexts were discussed with the respective organizations in order to create convincing and reliable translations. In order to carry out the translations professionally and academically correctly, several micro strategies for translating metaphors, complex noun phrases, or culturally bound words were needed. For this purpose, some of the micro strategies, which Zethsen introduces, were employed (2006).

Micro strategies	Example
Non-translation	Transfer element unchanged
Calque	Transfers the structure of an element
Direct translation	Translates employing linguistic equivalents
Idiomatic translation	Translates utilizing functional equivalents
Explicitation	Makes implicit information explicit

Condensation	Translates in a shorter way
Adaptation	Creates a similar effect of an element
Substitution	Writes something else

Table 2: Micro strategies for Translation

THEORY

The following section presents the theoretical fundament of this project. The section introduces the theories chronologically as they will be employed in the analysis. In order to study the organizations' communication and their meaning in relation to the social contexts, the analytical tools, the Stakeholder Identification and Salience Theory, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and the Strategic Issue Framing Theory will be employed.

These theories focus on different elements of the organizations' communication and are in combination, well suited for contextualizing and studying the processes through which the organizations construct, experience, and communicate their realities. For this project, the Stakeholder Identification and Salience Analysis highlight whom the organizations direct their communication at, and how that, in turn, may affect their communication. CDA and the Strategic Issue Framing Analysis examine the organizations' perceived realities and the contexts in which these are communicated, in order to gain an understanding of the communicative approaches.

Stakeholder Salience Model

Mitchell, Agle, and Wood (1997) proposed the concept of stakeholder salience together with a stakeholder identification theory in their article "Toward a Theory of Stakeholder Identification and Salience: Defining the Principle of Who and What Really Counts." The theory aimed at covering and answering Freeman's question of "who and what really count." This project adopts Freeman's rather broad definition of what a stakeholder is "A stakeholder is any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's purpose and objectives" (1984, p. 64). Once a group's various stakeholders have been identified,

Mitchell, Agle, and Wood (1997) proposed that these stakeholders can be categorized based on their perceived possession of the following three attributes.

Firstly, the attribute of power is understood as the stakeholders' ability to bring about the outcomes that they desire. Identifying this attribute becomes a question of examining the level of power a stakeholder holds over the group in question (Mitchell, Agle & Wood, 1997). Secondly, the attribute of legitimacy rests on the assumption that the claim made by a stakeholder has to be justifiable and valid. Identifying this attribute becomes a question of examining the legitimacy of a stakeholder's relationship with the group in question (Mitchell, et. al., 1997). Lastly, the attribute of urgency is assigned to stakeholders who call for immediate action and attention. However, for a stakeholder to gain this attribute, two conditions must be met: the claim or relationship must be perceived as particularly critical to the stakeholder, and the claim or relationship must be of a time-sensitive nature (Mitchell, et. al., 1997).
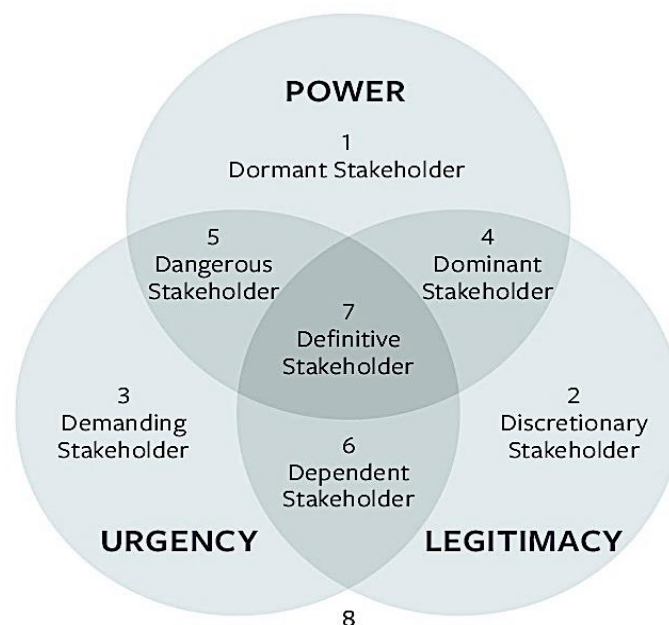
Figure 1: The stakeholder salience model – Adapted from Mitchell, Agle, & Wood (1997)

As seen in Figure 1, the various combinations of the three attributes create seven types of stakeholder categories, or eight if including what is defined as a "non-stakeholder" possessing zero of the three attributes (Mitchell, et. al., 1997). The stakeholders' level of salience is determined based on the number of attributes they are perceived to possess. The more salient a stakeholder is, the more attention they need to be paid (Mitchell, et. al., 1997). In other words,

the most significant priority should be given to the stakeholders possessing all three attributes. When stakeholders are perceived to possess all three attributes, they are labeled key stakeholders. Thus, these stakeholders take precedence over the others and should be prioritized. Stakeholder categories 4, 5, and 6 are labeled as "expectant" stakeholders as they possess a combination of two of the three attributes. Stakeholder categories 1, 2, and 3 are labeled as "latent stakeholders", as they only possess one of the three attributes (Mitchell, et. al., 1997).

Table 3 provides a thorough description of the eight stakeholder categories. When employing this theory, it essential to keep in mind that the stakeholders' perceived attributes and the categories in which they placed are not static and definitive but rather dynamic and socially constructed (Mitchell, et. al., 1997). For this reason, it becomes vital to establish a specific time frame for which the identification and subsequent categorization of the stakeholders take place in order to conduct an accurate and applicable stakeholder analysis.

	Label	**Stakeholder Category**	**Attribute Combination**
1	Latent	Dormant	Stakeholders possessing the attribute of power but holds no legitimacy or urgency.
2	Latent	Discretionary	The stakeholder has a legitimate claim, but it is not considered urgent, nor holds the stakeholder any power.
3	Latent	Demanding	The stakeholder has an urgent claim, and/or the relationship commands immediate action. Though, the stakeholder holds no power and presents no legitimate claim.
4	Expectant	Dominant	The stakeholder possesses power and legitimacy. This combination of attributes gives the stakeholder authority, but the claim is not considered urgent.

5	Expectant	Dangerous	The stakeholder holds power and urgency, but no legitimacy. This combination of attributes makes them vulnerable, which can lead them to employ physical power. These stakeholders should be managed cautiously.
6	Expectant	Dependent	The stakeholder holds an urgent and legitimate claim but has little to no power to put it into effect. This stakeholder is likely to be reliant on others to make their claim powerful.
7	Key	Definitive	The stakeholder possesses all three attributes and is, therefore, the most important to consider and manage.
8	Irrelevant	None-stakeholder	Possesses none of the attributes and is therefore not relevant to consider.

Table 3: Stakeholder Attributes – Adapted from Mitchell, Agle, & Wood (1997)

Accounting for Theory & its Limitations

This theory is employed, in order to identify whom KF and Anima direct their communications to. It is a straightforward theory to comprehend and employ. Unlike the Power/Interest or the Power/Influence matrix developed by Mendelow (1991), the stakeholder salience model employs three parameters instead of two in order to categorize stakeholders. Using three parameters instead of two allows for seven stakeholder categories to be identified, whereas Mendelow's two parameters only allow for four stakeholder categories to be identified (1991). Arguably, as the stakeholder salience model operates with more parameters and thereby can identify more stakeholder categories, it contributes to a deeper understanding of stakeholders and their categorization. At the same time, the Stakeholder Identification and Salience Theory also provide a stronger foundation for further analysis. Though, as stressed above, the theory only provides a constrained view of a specific stakeholder landscape. Therefore, in order to provide the most valuable and accurate identification of relevant stakeholders and their respective levels of salience, the analysis has to be continuous.

Additionally, when using this tool, it is essential to set a framework within which the stakeholders and their salience are being analyzed. Furthermore, the Stakeholder Identification and Salience Theory was also selected due to its qualities as a descriptive tool. As mentioned earlier, KF represents a unified whole of two interconnected and intertwined groups. Therefore, when employing the Stakeholder Identification and Salience theory, it can help identify and streamline the interconnected relationship between the two.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The concept of discourse is ephemeral, and definitions vary depending on the discipline, context, and author. However, most agree on is the idea that communication is structured according to different patterns, which language follows when people partake in various domains of social life. This project adheres to the following definition of discourse "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world or an aspect of the world" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 1). In any situation, language is modified depending on who is interacting, the context in which the interaction is taking place, what is fundamentally believed, and the interests that have motivated the interaction. In this manner, people's language reflects their social worlds, which are constructed continuously (Burck, 2005). Discourse can be further defined as identified by Gee (2015). Gee distinguishes between little d' discourse and big D' Discourse. In a narrow sense, discourse is understood as language in use, as people's everyday ways of talking. In a broader sense, Discourse refers to systems of language use and other sense-making practices that shape ways of talking about social reality (Gee, 2015).

Michel Foucault was the first philosopher to work with discourse. His studies are anchored in the link between power, knowledge, and discourse, and an essential tenet of Foucault's thinking is the critical position he takes on discourse. Foucault had a critical position on discourse and moved from analyses of language and linguistics and instead discourse as relatively confined areas of social knowledge, where power is employed to convey truth (McHoul & Grace, 1995). In this way, language is powerful because it institutionalizes various types of discourse that construct particular versions of events and the social world. Foucault's work takes a critical approach because it studies discourse while taking social contexts into account by considering how these affect each other.

However, Foucault's studies move away from language and linguistics and take a more abstract approach to discourses, which makes it hard to work within this project (McHoul & Grace, 1995). Whereas, Norman Fairclough's theory on critical discourse analysis is built on the foundation that Foucault developed. Fairclough's method of analysis focuses more specifically on linguistics while it also keeps a critical stance on social interaction and context (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). As compared to other approaches to discourse analysis, Fairclough's CDA distinguishes itself in two significant ways: (I) In its perception of the relationship between society and language and (II) The link between analysis and the analyzed practices. A discourse is a reflection of social practices. However, this reflection constitutes a reciprocal relationship where a: "discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). As a result of the reciprocal relationship between discourse and society, language is significantly powerful.

Regarding the link, CDA seeks to intervene and encourage society's oppressed groups to combat the powerful groups in society by analyzing their discursive use (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The goal of CDA becomes an emancipation of society's less powerful groups who are considered to be under the influence and, to a large extent, manipulated by the elite's constructions of society. This emancipation happens through enlightenment, and enlightenment happens through an analysis of the powerful elite's manipulative discursive practices. Hence, CDA is not an object and passive method of analysis but rather a committed and engaging approach to the study of social science and the powerful elites' attempts to construct and control society (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In order to thoroughly examine what happens when people communicate, CDA studies language on three different levels (see figure 2 below).
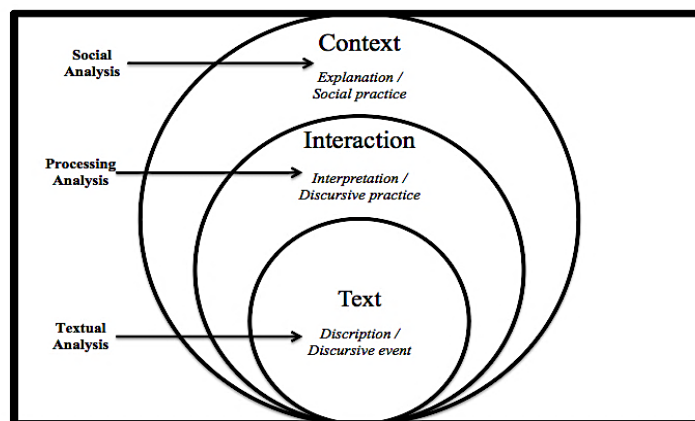

Figure 2: Levels of the critical discourse analysis - Adapted from Fairclough (2001)

As seen above, a discourse is studied as a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). These three levels of analysis are interdependent and are referred to as Text, Interaction, and Context (Fairclough, 2001). At the Text level an analysis of the use of language is conducted to illustrate how specific discourses are produced linguistically and textually. The text level, therefore, studies vocabulary, rhetorical devices, and deixis. The interaction level explores the nature of the discourse and the process of production and interpretation in the practice between sender and receiver. The interaction level, therefore, looks at speech acts, conventions, argumentation, and other texts that are drawn on in order to produce the central discourse of the text. The context level examines the social conditions and structures within which the discourse is produced and how these settings affect the nature of the discourse and vice versa (Fairclough, 2001). In aggregate, the CDA studies the relationship between little d' discourse and big D' Discourse.

Accounting for Theory & its Limitations

CDA was chosen because, in applying it, one can observe, interpret, and contextualize Anima's and KF's communications. By conducting a critical discourse analysis, a greater understanding of why KF and Anima communicate the way they do can be gained. At the same time, CDA also allows for an identification of how language can be used purposefully to create desired effects in the receiver. Anima's and KF's language use could also have been studied by employing other types of analyses, such as a content analysis. The content analysis categorizes and discusses the meaning of words, themes, phrases, and sentences but without considering the communication's social context. Therefore, such analysis would not have generated applicable findings that could thoroughly answer the research questions. When employing CDA, it is also necessary to consider its limitations and the precautions that as a result, have been taken in developing this project. It is noteworthy that CDA was developed during a time where philosophers and social researchers separated themselves from the more classic hermeneutics and Marxist paradigms.

Instead, philosophers like Foucault and linguistic like Fairclough, studied knowledge and power from a critical angle in order to portray and present how knowledge and power can be used to control society (McHoul & Grace, 1995). As mentioned above, both sought to emancipate the less powerful groups of society through a scrutiny of the elite's discourses to

illustrate the manipulating use of power (McHoul & Grace, 1995). It is acknowledged that this perspective of society is the foundation on which CDA was developed. However, this project holds a neutral disposition to the organizations in question. The goal is to conduct unbiased research, thus, initially attributing more power to Anima or KF would cloud this goal. Moreover, the aim is not to aid the emancipation of KF or Anima, or of any other group in Danish society. Instead, the aim is to study and present how language is never neutral. In summation, CDA is employed because of its interest in and motivation to better understand, pressing issues. In employing CDA, the hope is not to induce emancipatory change, but to engage in critical thinking. A critical thinking that can assist the reader in gaining an appreciation of KF's and Anima's language use and their respective interpretations of the world.

Strategic Issue Framing

There are arguably few concepts as omnipresent across traditions of organizational research and the social sciences as that of frame or framing. The concept of framing is frequently employed outside of the academic sphere and repeatedly in colloquial language. This employment increases the risk of ambiguity and misunderstandings to occur. From an academic point of view, framing offers a means to describe the salience and focus of a communicated text. In this way, frames function to define, limit, and broaden the meaning of a given matter by shaping the assumptions people make about that particular matter (Hallahan, 1999). As Entman puts it (1993), framing is inherently about selection and salience of a certain aspect of a perceived reality.

This project adheres to Entman's (1993) definition, "To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Therefore, framing strategically is the art of choosing a frame of salience that will determine what is accentuated, included, and emphasized, and what is excluded, deemphasized, and obscured and how that something is contextualized. In this way, frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and propose remedies (Entman, 1993). When frames are employed purposely, they can be

considered strategic tools through which people or organizations can exercise power (Entman, 1993). The act of framing, therefore, becomes a powerful tool to develop discursive strategies that can construct a specific version of a perceived reality. At the same time, it can also challenge alternative or contrasting realities.

The organizational environment is becoming more complex and dynamic, and it is often characterized by conflicts of interest. Therefore, framing represents a key discursive action organizations can undertake in order to construct a legitimate perspective about its organization, its decisions, and actions (Ravazzani & Maier, 2017). When working with any type of issue framing analysis, the goal is to dissect how a specific issue is defined, presented and problematized by a given party, and to investigate the effect this has on the broader discussion of that particular issue. Studying strategic issue frames allows for a presentation and analysis of how there has been an attempt to purposely control human consciousness and our social world (Entman, 1993).

The power of strategic issue framing and its ability to mold how an issue develops and metamorphosizes over time is undeniable. When used purposefully, frames become schemata of interpretation that influence, and at times fully control, how people understand and give meaning to complex issues by focusing attention and filtering what to emphasize. However, the frames themselves are often hard to detect and recognize. The researchers Bach and Blake are interested in this particular aspect of framing and study how strategic issue frames can be identified and how they can change the perception of an issue over time. Bach and Blake have developed a method of how to identify and analyze such issue frames (2016). In this regard, an issue should not necessarily be understood as a problem, but merely as an unsettled matter between two or more parties (Cornelissen, 2014).

Bach and Blake suggest that framing an issue to gain strategic advantage and to win favor can be done by adhering to one of five distinct pathways within five different dimensions and that these dimensions can be entered and deserted depending on how the issue develops (2016). Each dimension represents the focus of a strategic frame, whereas the pathways illustrate how the various dimension can be altered through strategic issue framing. Ultimately, switching between these dimensions and pathways will shape and effect which actors are deemed

important as related to the issue. Furthermore, it will also affect how these actors perceive their interests, while it will also affect the political setting in which the issue is presented. Lastly, different types of information and assets will shape how the issue should be solved (Bach & Blake, 2016). Please see below for a comparative table of the five dimensions and pathways.

Dimension	Pathway	Description
Actors / Stakeholders	Introducing new actors or excluding current or other actors from the issue.	When framing, organizations can introduce new actors in order to broaden the issue at hand, and in that way make it relevant or relatable to more people. However, when framing, organizations can also limit their fame by excluding or deemphasizing certain actors in their communication.
Interests	Shaping and molding existing actors' interests	When framing, organizations can emphasize or deemphasize specific gains and losses, which will shape how the various actors perceive their interests.
Arenas	Entering a more favorable arena or abandoning a detrimental arena	Some arenas are more desirable to address an issue in than others because every arena has implicit and explicit standards and norms of engagement. For this reason, an issue might be perceived as legitimate in one arena. However, when presented in another arena, the circumstances change, and so does the perception of what can be considered legitimate and appropriate.
Information	Arranging or separating types of information into relevant and irrelevant	This pathway becomes a matter of molding and shaping what information is worth considering and what is not. Employing this pathway is about emphasizing an aspect of an issue that is favorable to you or your organization while steering away from information that will harm your position.

Assets	Influencing which assets matter	Marshaling different assets, either tangible or intangible, is a way to reframe an issue strategically. Framing and reframing in this way will influence what assets are perceived as necessary for a resolution of the issue, while framing through this pathway will also influence how effective various assets are believed to be.

Table 4: Dimensions & pathways of strategic issue framing. Adapted from Bach & Blake (2016).

Accounting for Theory & its Limitations

The strategic issue framing theory is used to illuminate how KF and Anima try to shape the controversy in their favor. Furthermore, the concept of framing and the strategic issue framing theory is employed for two main reasons: (I) to allow for an understanding and appreciation of various interpretations of reality. (II) Their ability to examine how parties construct social problems and controversies and how the parties ultimately compete to make their perception of a given issue the prevailing one. However, it can be argued that the theory on strategic issue framing is too simple and that it lacks theoretical depth. Nevertheless, for this project, the theory is highly applicable and relevant due to its practical approach, which, when used in combination and as antecedents to both the stakeholder salience analysis and the critical discourse analysis, can accumulate a thorough foundation for a satisfactory conclusion.

It can be argued that frames and discourse can be regarded as interchangeable concepts. This project treats frames and discourse as two distinct concepts, which cannot be employed conversely. Arguably, any type of framing analysis is a subcategory of discourse analysis, where studying frames fundamentally is an analysis of discourses. A framing analysis examines how people or organizations employ discursive elements to frame an issue in a certain way so that stakeholders perceive and experience the issue in that same manner. Whereas discourse analysis represents an umbrella term for a variety of analytical approaches, all of which share the common denominator of analyzing discourses. In brief, "a discourse is a socially constructed way of speaking or writing about a particular issue, whereas a frame is a tool used to determine what is made salient within the discourse" (Lundberg & Maglehøj, 2016,

p. 22). It can be further argued that people or organizations tend to employ discourses unconsciously, while strategic frames are employed consciously or deliberately.

Another distinction to be made is that between persuasion and framing. It can be argued that persuasion and framing hold substitute meanings and can be used convertibly. For this project, this convertibility is not acknowledged. Instead, it is argued that the concepts hold different meanings. Persuasion focuses on altering beliefs through argumentation. In contrast, framing focuses on shaping or molding the weight assigned to someone's existing beliefs by stressing specific considerations over others. As a result of this appreciation of the concepts' differences, persuasion is studied in the CDA by looking at how certain argumentative forms and techniques affect a given discourse and its context. In contrast, strategic frames are studied to see how a particular discourse is emphasized.

ESTABLISHING THE FUNDAMENTALS

In the following sections, the differences between an NGO and a for-profit organization are presented. This distinction is anchored in Dettmer's concepts of goals and critical success factors (2011). Additionally, the definition of a cooperative is also incorporated. Hereafter, KF and Anima are comprehensively introduced, together with their roles in the controversy over mink farming. Therefore, KF's and Anima's founding stories, goals, and contexts are presented. This information is provided as an awareness of KF's, and Anima's backgrounds are crucial in allowing for further appreciation of the results deduced from the analysis. The section is completed by an introduction to the empirical timeline presented in Appendix A.

For-Profit Organization

A for-profit corporation is an organizational constellation that is legally established in order to generate a profit. For-profit corporations are mainly concerned with their own interests, as opposed to public organizations. Their goal is to gain a profit and to continually maximizing it, which makes the critical success factors contingent on what the particular corporation engages with, how it operates, and from which industries it generates its profit (Dettmer, 2011).

For this project, it is relevant to define what a cooperative is and how such constellations function, as that is what KF is. Put broadly; a cooperative is a company owned and managed by the very people who use its products or services and who benefit from what the cooperative has to offers. The international Co-Operative Alliance defines a cooperative as "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise" (n.d.). A cooperative differs from that of a "traditional corporation." Shareholders can influence how a given corporation is owned and operated depending on share percentage. The member-owners of a cooperative also have a say in how the organization is run. However, because equality is a founding principle of cooperatives, each member has an equal vote. No single vote carries more weight.

The purpose of a cooperative is, therefore, to realize the economic, cultural, and social needs of the organization's members and its surrounding community. Hence, a cooperative has strong commitments to its members and the community it operates within or which it serves. Due to this relationship, when a cooperative prospers financially, the community which it serves benefits too, and not just a group of shareholders. Therefore, a cooperative's primary goal is to maximize value for its members. Therefore, a cooperative's critical success factors may be a hybrid version of those an NGO uses, and those a for-profit organization uses.

Kopenhagen Fur

Currently, there are 1,500 Danish mink farmers comprising the world's biggest producer of mink pelts. Their pelts have an annual export value of approximately €1.1 billion (L&F, n.d). Nonetheless, the story of Danish fur breeding gathered momentum during the 1930s' agricultural crisis (Kopenhagen Fur 4 [KF 4], n.d; Kopenhagen Fur, 2015) when the Danish mink farmers decided to work together towards a common goal. They established a community through which they could share and develop knowledge on farming while also gaining a more significant international presence, which ultimately would maximize the single farmer's profit. For this reason, the cooperative, the Danish Fur Breeders Association was founded (Kopenhagen Fur 5 [KF 5], n.d). In 1946, the association acquired Kjøbenhavns Pelscentral and renamed it Danish Fur Auctions.

At present, Kopenhagen Fur is the name for both the association and the auction house itself, and Kopenhagen Fur is still cooperatively owned by the members of the association (KF 4, n.d.). The Danish mink breeders' vision is to become the world's most sustainable. To help them fulfill this vision, Kopenhagen Fur's strives to "develop, optimize and refine fur skin production by gathering and sharing knowledge, employing state-of-the-art equipment and ensuring the most humane conditions" (DM 1, n.d.; KF 5, n.d.). Because KF is a cooperative, it adheres to the principle of "one man – one vote'. Thus, the farmers have equal influence, independent of turnover and the scale of the operations. Furthermore, because KF is a cooperative society owned by the Danish mink breeders, they also make up the board of directors, thus allowing the breeders to influence the activities of the company (KF 4, n.d.). The success of KF is undeniable. Presently, Denmark's largest export commodity to China is fur skins, while fur farming is ranked Denmark's third-largest type of animal farming (KF 3, n.d.).

From the above, it can be deduced that KF's ultimate goal is to maximize the value of the Danish breeders' products while also securing the best conditions for the mink, in order to increase overall profit. In this case, it can, therefore, be argued that KF's critical success factors, among others, are stakeholder management, research, and development of sustainable and humane practices that increase the quality of the product and its value. However, other critical success factors also include streamlining the Danish mink breeders' daily work to maximize the value of their products and to engage in innovative and experimental thinking in order to optimize daily operations.

Non-Governmental Organization

NGO is an abbreviation of the term "non-governmental organization". An NGO is a public organization or assembly of people who advocate for or work to serve a range of social and charitable issues. An NGO's primary goal is to fulfill the purpose it has been put in the world to serve or protect; for this reason, an NGO's overriding goal cannot be expressed in financial terms. Instead, an NGO's overriding goal is expressed in terms of its mission. Naturally, the critical success factors needed for an NGO to reach its goal depends on its mission and the context in which it operates. However, one critical success factor which is always present is

for the NGO to gain financial stability through funding and donations in order to be able to reach its goal (Dettmer, 2011). Additionally, one may then wonder, is an NGO not the same as a cooperative? This project argues no because the two constellations differ in how money flows back into their communities. An NGO is unable to distribute profits back to its members, volunteers, or donors. On the other hand, a cooperative generally at the end of each fiscal year, distributes profits to its members or its community. Arguably, the primary differences between the two constellations are, therefore, how they are capitalized, and who the organizations are directly accountable to.

Anima

Anima is a Danish NGO concerned with the protection of animals. The organization was found in 2000, and as Anima puts it, they work to make sure that all animals are respected and not abused (Anima 1, n.d.). Anima works from a principle of prioritizing their work based on where most animals suffer. Anima estimates that most animals suffer in the fur industry, which automatically makes it their primary matter to campaign and advocate against (Anima 2, n.d.). In doing so, Anima seeks to influence politicians, corporations, and consumers by representing and articulating what they suppose is the interests and voices of various animals that cannot speak for themselves (Anima 1, n.d.). Anima believes that in order to forward their cause cooperating with like-minded organizations is the way forth. Therefore, to gain results and to gain more clout, Anima works with DOSO to get mink farming banned in Denmark. Anima is, for the same reason, also a member of the association Fur Free Alliance (Anima 1, n.d.). A majority of Anima's capital is acquired from donations, and the organization is mainly run by volunteers. However, Anima also has a few paid positions, and for that reason, approximately 6% of its budget covers administrative costs (Anima 2, n.d.).

The present project is only concerned with the Danish mink industry, and therefore not farmed animals in general. It is in this regard deduced that Anima's goal is to secure a ban on Danish mink farming by bringing awareness to the situation and by articulating the mink's interests. Arguably, Anima's critical success factors, among many others, are therefore stakeholder management and to gain financial support. Anima is a non-profit organization and would not be able to achieve or fulfill its mission without financial support.

Empirical Timeline

It is necessary to provide a code of guidance to understand the empirical timeline. The empirical timeline highlights various texts published by KF and Anima the past ten years during the controversy over mink farming. As mentioned, the timeline does not outline every text and element of the controversy but only the more prominent ones. In this way, the timeline paints a broad yet comprehensive picture of the situation. The timeline is presented in Appendix A. The coloring indicates the attitude a given text holds. Purple sides with KF, red with Anima, and green is neutral. What is written in bold represents events or actions which impacted the controversy.

ANALYSIS

After having established all of the above, the project proceeds to the analysis. The analysis seeks to answer the research question. To answer the research question, an identification and analysis of the organizations' salient stakeholders will be conducted. The stakeholder analysis will move on to support the critical discourse analysis. Hereafter, the analysis of the organizations' strategic issue framing will be conducted.

Stakeholder Analysis

The following analysis is conducted in order to identify and analyze various stakeholder groups and their level of salience to KF and Anima. The stakeholders are identified and analyzed as related to the controversy over mink farming as it has unfolded the past ten years. The analysis takes its point of departure in the time running from October 2009 to February 2020. It is a broad time frame, however, it was necessary to match the stakeholder analysis's time frame with that of the empirical timeline for the overall analysis to paint an extensive picture of the controversy. In this way, the project will also be better off when having to conclude why KF and Anima have been and are employing various communicative approaches. Moreover, the analysis is conducted from a Danish perspective, which naturally excludes many stakeholders, e.g., in the case of KF, a majority of its customers are international. Additionally, as this project

adheres to Freeman's definition of a stakeholder, countless stakeholders can be identified. Nonetheless, only the most prominent stakeholders relating to this project are addressed.

The following analysis clarifies with whom KF and Anima communicate, which can help explain why their communicative approaches are taking specific forms. Hence, the stakeholder analysis aids when researching why distinct or similar discourse governs KF's and Anima's communication. Because the theory is a simplification of reality, there is no guarantee that the stakeholders only fit one category. It is further acknowledged that there can be more stakeholders than the ones identified, just as new stakeholder groups may arise while others may become irrelevant.

Stakeholders Connected Kopenhagen Fur

o   The Danish mink breeders is a Definitive stakeholder. The breeders hold legitimacy as it is their profession and livelihood which KF represents and defends in the controversy. Moreover, the breeders also have a legitimate claim as they, to some extent, "is KF". They also hold a great deal of power as the breeders founded KF, make up the board of directors, and have a direct say on KF's operations. For these reasons, the urgency of the breeders' claim is also high as KF functions to serve the breeders. Moreover, their urgency is high because it is their profession that is under attack. If KF does not represent the breeders well, it is their livelihood that is at risk. In this particular case, the breeders can, to some extent, be compared to that of a corporation's shareholders and hold the same type of power. However, it can be contemplated how relevant the breeders are to consider in the controversy over mink farming, as the breeders and KF represent the same entity. Additionally, KF's external communication is likely not directed at the breeders, but at other prominent stakeholders.

o   The Danish media fall under two stakeholder categories, namely Definitive and Dominant. The placement between the two categories depends on whether or not the media side with KF in the controversy over mink farming. The media hold great power because they control what the public is presented with and how this information is emphasized. Moreover, within Danish society, the media hold a legitimate standing. The Danish media's legitimacy is reflected in a study made by Schrøder, Ørsten, and Eberholst (2018). The study examined the Danes' media usage and the extent to which they trust what they are presented. The study found

that 56% of Danes trust the news they are presented with. Thus, the Danish media hold a legitimate claim. The attribute of urgency depends on the attitude governing the media. As was the case with Operation X, the media did not side with KF. Therefore, the media also gained the attribute of urgency, which KF had to act upon. This case made the media a Definitive stakeholder. However, the media tend to swing between supporting and not supporting KF. Moreover, in the SSIs, it was expressed that KF is currently presented better or as less controversial in the Danish media as compared to five-ten years ago (Interview Folder, p. 40, l. 165-166). It is also noteworthy that the various news stations back different political and ideological stances, and for that reason, some more naturally sides with KF whereas others oppose them.

o   Anima. This stakeholder may swing between Dominant and Definitive. Anima holds power over KF. If it was not for Anima, KF could likely operate in Danish society without meeting as much resistance. However, because animal activists have organized themselves in organizations like Anima, the voices of many are now represented. Organizing in this way gives the activist more clout. Hence, it is more likely that politicians and the public listen to them. As a result of its sheer number, and because of how that can affect public opinion, Anima holds much power. Anima can is ascribed the attribute of urgency for two reasons: (I) In any given situation, the longer KF allows Anima to express its opinions without openly counterarguing, the more likely Anima will be to control the controversy. (2) It is never favorable to have someone actively opposing or talking badly about you, your image, and what you believe in. Especially not when they at the same time, hold much power to influence public perception, which ultimately can impact and determine KF's future. Anima holds the attribute of legitimacy because the media and the public listen to it. However, seen from KF's perspective, Anima may not be considered to hold legitimacy. Arguably, KF would argue that Anima holds no legitimacy because its claims rest on an inaccurate view and understanding of mink farming. Regardless of the categorization, Anima is a salient stakeholder that can influence the development of the controversy and, eventually, KF's operations.

o   The Danish Animal Ethics Council (DAEC) and The Ministry of Environment and Food. This stakeholder is Definitive. The DAEC produces statements regarding the protection of animals, which include mink, based on ethical considerations. The Ministry of Environment

and Food consults this council when drafting animal welfare legislation, or when general issues relating to animal welfare arise (The Danish Animal Ethics Council, n.d.). For this reason, this group holds power to influence the controversy over mink farming, as it can affect and control legislation on animal welfare. Ultimately, this group can affect KF's operations and their claim in the mink debate depending on whether the group approves or disapproves of KF's operations. Moreover, the group has legitimacy as both the DAEC and the Ministry are reliable and authoritative institutions. Their claim is moderately urgent as KF is consulted when new legislation is proposed and considered.

Furthermore, KF contributes significantly to the Danish economy, which arguably benefits KF whenever the Ministry deliberates restrictions or new implementations on legislation. It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Environment and Food in February 2020 gathered a unanimous Parliament which passed a new Animal Welfare Act. The Act explicitly acknowledges animals as sentient beings (Appendix A). Such regulatory formulation leans more towards an acknowledgment of Anima's formulations and can be used to Anima's advantage in the controversy over mink farming. For that reason, the group also holds urgency as its decision may impact KF's operations and claim in the controversy.

o   The Danish public is a Dominant stakeholder. The public's claim is legitimate, as it is justifiable to hold opinions about the society one is part of. Their level of urgency can be debated. Based on the findings from the questionnaire, almost 33% of the participants stated that KF contributes positively to society, which arguably indicates that the public supports KF (Appendix B). The public can be attributed with little urgency as they tend to approve of KF. However, if opinion changes, this group can also gain the attribute of urgency and move into the Definitive stakeholder category. The public holds a great deal of power, which the interviewee participants also pointed out. They have power in the sense that KF's existence and success are dependent on their license to operate in Denmark. A license to operate is given by the Danes, who need to be accepting and supporting of KF's operations. If not granted this license, it would be much harder for KF to justify their existence and run their businesses. Therefore, the public holds power, maybe not to affect the day to day operations, but in the bigger scheme of things.

o   The mink is also worth considering as a stakeholder. The mink is placed in the Discretionary stakeholder category as it is due to the mink that that controversy exists. The mink has little power as it cannot express itself, nor can it have an impact on KF's operations. The mink is dependent on the power of others, such as Anima. When seen from KF's perspective, the mink has no urgency as the breeders comply with welfare regulations and take good care of the animals. Therefore, no urgent claim can be made by the mink. However, the mink does hold the attribute of legitimacy. After all, it is the mink, which is being farmed and ultimately euthanized. Therefore, its claim in the controversy is valid. Though, they cannot express their claims but are still a stakeholder to consider in the controversy.

o   Researchers and developers of animal welfare standards. This group is placed as Dominant because it holds a great deal of power. Depending on what the researchers find and conclude, it can affect KF's operations either negatively or positively. Furthermore, they also hold legitimacy as their relationship with and claim to KF is valid. KF bases its operations on what the researchers find and propose. Therefore, the researchers can also legitimately estimate whether or not KF is providing good animal welfare and whether mink farming is ethically sound. However, the group's claim does not seem to be urgent, as their findings are not opposing or protesting the mink industry's practices.

o   The final stakeholder group which is worth considering is the fashion industry. This stakeholder group is placed as either Definitive or Discretionary. The fashion industry holds a great deal of power over KF as it can decide whether or not to use fur in the designs. Currently, some fashion houses are using fake fur instead of real fur, which impacts KF negatively and also sends undesirable signals to the public (Appendix A). In this regard, the group gains legitimacy. However, their level of urgency can be disputed as the industry is torn. The big fashion houses both support and oppose the mink industry. Therefore, this group holds moderate urgency. When leading fashion houses like Gucci decide not to use fur in their designs, it encourages others to follow their example, which harms KF (Appendix A).

Stakeholders Connected to Anima

o   The mink is a Dependent stakeholder. It holds no power to affect the controversy, which is why Anima has taken it upon itself to represent what it believes is the mink's interests. The mink holds a legitimate claim as it is the mink Anima is fighting for. To Anima, the mink has high urgency as Anima argues that it is tortured and suffers at the farms. The mink has no power, which is why Anima takes it upon itself to represent the mink.

o   The Danish media falls under two categories. It is a Definitive and a Dominant stakeholder, depending on the stance the media decide to take in the controversy over mink farming. As mentioned above, the media hold power because it controls what information is given to the public and how the information is emphasized. Anima needs to make sure that the media paint a good picture of its operations while presenting KF as villains. Moreover, the media also hold a legitimate claim as the Danes widely trust them. As presented above, the media may have urgent claims if it chooses not to side with Anima. Anima needs the media to support its viewpoints in order to gain as much clout as possible.

o   KF is placed in the Definitive stakeholder category. KF holds high levels of power, urgency, and legitimacy as it is KF who is to blame for the mink's suffering. KF is also the one openly challenging and counterarguing Anima's claims. Additionally, KF holds much power over Anima because its utter existence prevents Anima from reaching its goal. Moreover, KF holds high levels of urgency, as the organization, according to Anima, is torturing and causing unnecessary suffering to the mink (Interview Folder, p. 62, l. 62).

o   Volunteers at Anima and donors are placed in the Dominant stakeholder category. They hold legitimate claims because they choose to support Anima and its cause either through volunteer work or money donations. Therefore, they become legitimate members of the organization which Anima has to respect. This group also holds power because Anima's existence is tied to donations and people's voluntarily work. Moreover, the more donations Anima receives, the more financial leverage it has to spend on campaigns and to create awareness about its cause. However, they hold no urgency, as they are supportive of Anima. As long as this group agrees with Anima's mission, it has no urgency. However, Anima likely has internal communication with its volunteers, and Anima's communication is therefore not

directed at them. Though, Anima's communication may target donors and potential donors whom Anima is dependent on and always is interested in acquiring more of.

o   DAEC and The Ministry of Environment and Food are placed in the Definitive or the Dominant stakeholder category. They are placed in these categories for the same reasons as listed under KF. They hold power to influence the controversy because they can affect and control legislation on animal welfare and mink farming. Moreover, this group holds legitimacy merely by being a part of the Danish governmental institution. However, their claim in the controversy fluctuates. The group currently seems to emphasize Anima's stances after implementing the new Animal Welfare Act, and thus, has low urgency (Appendix A).

o   The public falls under the Definitive stakeholder category. As mentioned above, the public can be attributed with legitimacy, as it is justifiable to hold opinions about the society one is part of. Therefore, the public comes to have a legitimate claim in the controversy. In addition, if solely based on the findings from the questionnaire, this group also holds urgency. The questionnaire found that 18% of the participants think Anima contributes negatively to Danish society, which arguably reflects a lack of general support (Appendix B). If this accurately reflects the Danes' opinions, then the public is urgent for Anima to consider. The public also holds power over Anima. Anima is an NGO which relies on the public's acceptance and support to legitimatize its standing in the controversy. Arguably, as long as Anima has supporters among the public, it can continue its operations. However, Anima gains more clout in the controversy when more people support and view the NGO as legitimate.

o   Researchers and developers of animal welfare standards. This stakeholder group can be placed in the Dominant or Definitive stakeholder category. The group holds power over Anima. The researchers' findings and conclusions can affect Anima's operations either negatively or positively, depending on what the findings support. Furthermore, the group holds legitimacy as its relationship to Anima is valid. Anima bases arguments on this group's findings which attributes it with legitimacy. However, the group's urgency is questionable. No one is directly opposing Anima and its goal of banning mink farming, but neither are they openly supporting it. However, a formal research study from Aarhus University concluded that the Danish mink is secured good welfare on the farms and thus a good life (Appendix A). These findings

contradict Anima's goal and stances, thus, posing a threat to Anima in the controversy over mink farming.

o   Lastly, the fashion industry is also an important stakeholder for Anima to consider. The fashion industry falls under the Dominant or the Dormant stakeholder category. The fashion industry has power over Anima. If all big fashion houses excluded fur, this action would solidify Anima's claims, whereas using fur in their designs would devalue Anima's claims. Many fashion houses, such as Gucci, have decided not to use fur in their designs, and for that reason, this group is only moderately urgent to consider. However, it is a stakeholder group that is important for Anima to address because having its backing can impact the public's stance on the controversy and the consumers' choices.

Sub-Conclusion

Which stakeholders are connected to the Kopenhagen Fur and Anima, and what is their level of salience?

KF's and Anima's organizational structures result in them having different goals and critical success factors. KF's goal is to optimize the value of the breeders' products in order for them to gain a more substantial profit. Therefore, one of KF's critical success factors is to ease the breeders' work, which entails securing that they are accepted in Danish society. Moreover, for KF to reach its goal, it is dependent on fortifying its own and the breeders' "social license to operate". Anima's goal to ensure a ban on mink farming is dependent on financial support and gaining sympathy for Anima's mission among the Danes. Therefore, the Danish public represents a very salient stakeholder to both organizations. Additionally, the analysis found that KF and Anima, to a large extent, have the same group of salient stakeholders to attend to in the controversy over mink farming. However, the parties' communication with the various stakeholders is contingent on the organizations' goals, their stakeholders' salience, and the attitude which these stakeholders hold (Cornelissen, 2014).

As KF and Anima share many of their most salient stakeholders in the controversy over mink farming, the two organizations arguably compete to win over these groups, in particular, the

public and the media as these are highly salient to both. However, despite KF and Anima being salient stakeholders to each other, they are arguably not trying to convert each other. The communication they direct at each other is considered more of resistance and retaliation mechanisms. The situation can be compared to that of politicians seeking to win over or gain more voters during an election. Arguably, it is a lost cause trying to convert the opposite extreme. However, it is useful and encouraged to direct communication at the more uncertain middle group. Therefore, it is unlikely that the organizations spend time targeting their communications at each other.

To accentuate the above findings, KF's most salient stakeholders are the Danish media, the public, the fashion industry, and the DAEC, and the Ministry of Environment and Food. Anima's most salient stakeholders are also the media and the public. However, volunteers and donors are also very salient. For both KF and Anima, the researcher group is a salient stakeholder. Nonetheless, this group will not be further addressed, as it cannot be – or at least should not be – affected by KF's and Anima's communications as this group's conclusions and stances should be based on unbiased and academic research. Anima and KF are reliant on the researchers' findings. However, they likely do not alter or direct their communications at this group as they cannot be influenced by communicative skills, plots, and arguments. Lastly, the mink is also a highly salient stakeholder for both organizations. However, it is fair to assume that while KF's and Anima's communication is about the mink, it is not directed at it.

Critical Discourse Analysis

In the following sections, a comprehensive critical discourse analysis of KF's and Anima's texts will be conducted. The analyzed texts relate to the controversy over mink farming and have been produced as a result of it. Moreover, informative texts presenting either KF's or Anima's attitudes towards mink farming and which are publicly accessible are also included in the analysis. Lastly, the findings from the SSIs are also included in the analysis.

The CDA of KF's texts is based on the texts which are listed in the empirical timeline as well as the SSIs. These texts count three articles from the publication "*Dansk Pelsdyravl*," four campaign videos, one campaign image which is accompanied by text, one pamphlet, one

editorial article, two online articles, and an article from the politically independent online newspaper "*Altinget*". Correspondingly, the CDA of Anima's texts is also based on the texts which can be found in the empirical timeline. These texts count two pamphlets, five blog posts, one campaign video, two petitions, one article, and an open letter published on Anima's website.

The overall goal of the critical discourse analyses is to examine and determine the differences in discursive use, linguistic devices, and central discourse that KF and Anima employ and construct in the controversy over mink farming. Additionally, the aim is to identify the central discourse governing the organizations' texts in order to gain an understanding and appreciation of how the two construct and perceive what appears a single reality. In order to do so, the text level and interaction level of KF's texts are analyzed and interpreted first. Hereafter, the same two levels relating to Anima's texts are analyzed. The text level aims at identifying the discursive event and linguistic devices, whereas the interaction level addresses and illustrates the discursive practice between sender and receiver. Finally, at the context level, the social practices behind KF's and Anima's discursive events and discursive practices are analyzed as well as coupled and connected with significant societal and organizational factors.

Kopenhagen Fur

Text Level

The text *Here is our weakness* was created as a response to Operation X's and Anima's accusations of animal abuse at the mink farms. In this text, KF uses a lot of personal **deixis**. It is never pleasant to have your weakness exposed (Kopenhagen Fur 1., 2012), here the 2nd person pronoun "your" is employed instead of the third person pronoun "our." In doing so, KF creates sympathy and invokes tolerance for its mistakes and undertakings by reminding the reader that everybody has weaknesses. In this way, the pronoun allows for a generalization while creating inclusion, whereas the pronoun "our" would exclude and more specifically emphasize KF's mistakes and weaknesses. Moreover, in trying to convince and explain that KF is not "a bad guy" who enjoys when animals are injured, KF uses the **rhetorical device** of **enumeration**: It is not pleasant for the mink. It is not pleasant to you, the reader. And it is not pleasant for us as mink breeders. In particular, because we actually care for the animals, we work with every day. (Kopenhagen Fur 1., 2012).

This employment debunks the potential perception that there is a divide between the reader's opinions and KF's. Instead, KF illustrates that the reader and KF are on the same side and that no one gets pleasure from hurting the mink. Here the final phrase also counterargues a prevailing attitude, namely that the breeders do not care for the mink. Moreover, KF also employs the personal pronoun "we" to indicate shared responsibility when having mink farms in Denmark. Such operation is not solely up to the breeders and KF to agree upon but Denmark as a whole. Therefore, KF writes: the question is whether we have room for that weakness in Danish society? (Kopenhagen Fur 1., 2012). Additionally, by probing a **rhetorical question,** KF indicates that it values and esteems the Danes' opinion. However, it is also a way to spread out part of KF's responsibility and evoke a communal spirit.

KF consistently expresses **presuppositions**, which are its perceptions of reality projected into the texts as an undisputed and definitive truth(s). KF anchors its communication in the presupposition that humans are allowed to use animals because the benefit of doing so is greater than the cost of killing the animal. However, only on the condition that humans treat that specific life well and properly while it is in their keeping (Interview Folder, p. 24 l.174-176). This presupposition was identified in all three SSIs as represented in the code "Humans are allowed to use mink but have to care for them while in their keeping" (Interview Folder, p. 72). The presupposition also accentuates why KF focuses on animal welfare in its texts and explains why KF builds many arguments from a perspective stressing a symbiotic relationship between humans and animals.

Animal welfare is a **topic** that is continually presented in the texts: The general impression is that the occurrence of diseases and death in mink is at a low level, significantly lower than the level for other livestock farming in Denmark (Kopenhagen Fur 3, 2012, p. 5). KF shows that the mink's condition is vital for the breeders. Moreover, KF often addresses animal welfare at the mink farms in comparison to the welfare elsewhere. When presenting the mink's welfare in **contrast** to those of other farmed animals, KF accentuates that the mink is cared for while also directing attention to other and worse circumstances. Moreover, KF also employs many **rhetorical questions**, "We need to ask ourselves, how do we change the way we use our resources? To many, fur is part of the problem. But is it in fact, part of the solution?" (Appendix

E). This rhetorical question is as devices to persuade and influence the reader. The question is not asked to be answered but is asked for the effect it creates in the reader. The question becomes a way to connect with the reader by documenting KF's belief that mink farming and wearing mink fur is sustainable and beneficial to everyone. Proving this belief is crucial as it validates or legitimizes KF's operations. Fur's sustainability and its benefits to society is a **topic** that is touched upon in 11 of KF's 13 texts. Furthermore, the topic is addressed ten times by the three interviewed KF participants, as expressed in the code, "The mink industry contributes to a green and sustainable society" (Interview Folder, p. 76). KF uses the rhetorical device of **alliteration:** Reduce. Reuse. Recycle. Rethink. (Pedersen, 2017) in order to concentrate attention on fur's relevance in the climate change debate.

KF's texts are characterized by containing **figurative language**. However, KF also maintains a professional, commercial, and candid tone which is suitable for the type of organization it epitomizes. The figurative language is expressed in a **metaphor**, which emphasizes furs relevance and positive contributions in the modern world, "Wearing fur is a gift from the past. Of values inherited through ages and passing it on to the next generation" (Appendix E). In employing this metaphor, KF compares the fundamental act of passing down beneficial values and knowledge to the next generation to that of a fur coat, which can be passed down in the same way. It creates a logical connection while speaking to the readers' emotions. The metaphor also amplifies why fur is to be considered an essential product in the modern world. KF in seven of its 13 texts, and in all three interviews, use **contrasts language** to strengthen its position in the controversy over mink farming.

KF purposely employs a contrast when stating, "Many of our clothes are made from non-degradable microplastic that is washed out into our oceans" (Appendix E). Arguably, when compared to plastic, which is posing one of the biggest threats to the ecosystem, the qualities of mink fur become intensified. By employing such contrasts, KF clarifies why mink farming should not be banned but rather acknowledge as an essential profession providing an essential product. KF also employs many **antitheses** to reverse the negative claims the industry is met with. One frequently used antithesis is employed in four of KF's texts and serves to reverse the assumption that fur is outdated and only pollutes. KF presents the following, "But looking back, might be showing a way forward. The oldest clothing known to man might be the most

sustainable fabric of today" (Appendix E). This antithesis is employed to bolster the mink industry's relevance in Danish society. Moreover, KF is often confronted with the argument that mink fur serves no relevant purpose, and the antithesis counterargues that.

KF uses deliberate **choices of words** in coalition with each other, "Fur is the world's oldest type of clothing. The unique ability of fur to keep a body warm has served to protect man against the elements ever since prehistoric times" (Kopenhagen Fur, 2015, p. 10). The choice of combining "fur" and "protect" makes the connection that fur is valuable and vital. These words indicate that fur serves humans' most basic needs, survival. When considering choice of words, it is also noteworthy that KF addresses the fact that farmed mink at some point will get put down. Likely, it is to show transparency, as avoiding the subject might cause suspicion and distrust. In the campaign video *Danish mink breeders: A global success*, the subject is tackled by using the word pelting, which is a technical term that deemphasizes the fact that the mink has been killed. Moreover, to a non-specialist, the word might not create strong connotations to the act of taking a life. Moreover, during the SSIs, whenever the subject was addressed, the word "aflive" was employed six times (Interview Folder, p. 79). "Aflive" translates to "euthanized," which rightly means to put the mink to death humanely. Moreover, during the SSIs, the word "kill" was used nine times, which, to some, might seem macabre. However, it expresses KF's realistic stance as to what its profession entails. Instead of sugar coding, what is going on, KF displays transparency and presents its pragmatic yet realistic stance to the subject.

Moreover, KF does not spend much time addressing Anima in its texts. Instead, KF focuses on stressing its positive attributes and contributions to society and building its ethos. However, when Anima is mentioned, KF tries to paint a negative image to devalue Anima's standing in the controversy. KF writes about Anima: people who hide their real agenda and intentions behind the false declaration "animal protection association," and further states that Anima is a rabid animal rights association (Nielsen, 2009, p. 6). KF seeks to convince the reader that Anima's opinions are invalid as it markets itself and its purpose under false labeling. Thus, seducing the readers with incorrect information. Employing the word "rabid" when describing Anima is done seven times in KF texts and four times in the SSIs. The word depicts Anima as a group of untrustworthy fanatics. Due to the conventions of the genre, which will be discussed

below, KF also applies graphic devices to catch attention and affect the receiver. Through the use of **pictures,** KF employs pathos appeals to reassure the reader of the mink's conditions. In the pictures, KF accentuates the conditions and welfare at the farms where the breeders have nothing to hide. Moreover, the pictures also illustrate that the breeders care for the mink (see pictures in Appendix D).

Interaction Level

In the case of KF's texts, a multitude of **genres** is present such as campaign videos, official and informative pamphlets about the mink industry, and news articles. What these texts have in common is that they are formal texts generally published by larger corporations. However, while being highly professional texts, they also allow for KF to employ figurative language through which they can engage and encourage the reader to take a stance in the controversy over mink farming. All the texts are published online and are therefore available to everyone using the Internet. The **conventions** for such online texts are that the content is condensed, precise, and to the point. However, the campaigns are not as condensed, they present concise content, but at times it can be hard to identify what the campaign is about.

The texts' level of **formality** is moderate and comprehensible to laypeople, except for the three times when more technical terms are employed to explain procedures at the farms. Even though the language gets technical, it still stays informative and educational. The level of formality can be explained through the description of **roles**. KF is arguably addressing the media, the Danish public, the fashion industry, and the DAEC and the Ministry of Environment and Food, as these are considered the most salient stakeholders with the power to affect KF's operations. KF has to convince these groups to support the mink industry by making them understand the benefits of doing so. Ultimately, gaining this support smoothens the breeders' work and allows them to run their business better. In this particular case, the **relationship** between KF and the receivers is therefore characterized by an imbalance where KF's and the breeders' existence, in the long run, is dependent on the stakeholders' acceptance. As identified, Anima is also a salient stakeholder, however, KF's texts are not aimed at the NGO, but serves to counterargue and refuse Anima's accusations.

KF's perceptions are expressed in **presuppositions** throughout the text. KF express the presuppositions that: you cannot fully take care of your mink if you do not care for the animal, and if you are not concerned for their physical and mental health (Interview Folder, p. 38, l. 78-79). During the SSIs, this worldview was emphasized, as seen in the code "you can only farm mink if you care for and respect them" code (Interview Folder, p. 75). This presupposition would under other circumstances be a discussable matter, especially according to Anima. However, here it is presented as a fact where the presupposition represents a reflection of KF's worldview and how it believes reality is structured. Additionally, the presupposition that "good animal welfare benefits everyone" is also ever-present in KF's text (Kopenhagen Fur 1, 2016). The presupposition is presented as a logical and undisputed truth, from which KF also rejects the argument that animal welfare cannot be realized as long as the mink is in captivity.

The main **speech acts** in KF's texts are representatives that illustrate KF's beliefs and stances towards its operations: Fur is one of Denmark's few global successes. No other sector enjoys similar global position or strength (Kopenhagen Fur, 2015, p. 5). Furthermore, much of the argumentation is based on KF's beliefs, which are manifested in representative speech acts: That is what humans do because it provides us with something nice. And that something is greater than the cost of taking a life but only on the condition that we treat that specific life well (Interview Folder, p. 24, l.173-176.). A belief that dominates many of the texts is: Fur without a doubt provides an answer to today's demands for sustainable materials and resource-friendly fashion (Danske Minkavlere, 2017). It is presented as an undisputed truth from which KF anchors much of its argumentation.

KF also uses commissive speech acts, "The fur industry has been listening to those concerns, and from 2020 you can look for the independently controlled certification WelFur, that guarantees a high level of animal welfare" (Appendix E). Employing commissive speech acts is a way for KF to demonstrate its responsibilities. It indicates that KF is concerned with the mink's wellbeing when making a profit while also being committed to contribute to a better Denmark. Such pledges are significant for KF to express as a lack of commitment for the mink's wellbeing, was what KF was under attack for initially. Lastly, a few directives are also employed in order to challenge and counter some of the big fashion houses' choice of not using fur in their designs. KF writes, Gucci's no to fur is not sustainable (Pedersen, 2017). Employing

such directives demonstrates power because KF dares challenge Anima and the fashion industry while it also reflects KF's confidence in its operations and products.

Intertextuality is employed strategically and stylistically throughout KF's texts. Drawing on the research study made by Aarhus University is, e.g., a way for KF to make the reader see mink farming as ethically sound. Moreover, by referencing the WelFur Certification and the fact that the European Commission endorses it also underlines KF's ethos and justifies its operations. While drawing on animal welfare acts and research also is a way for KF to emphasizes its concern for the mink's wellbeing. In aggregate, intertextuality is primarily used by drawing on legal texts from which KF solidifies its positions as a legitimate organization with ethically sound operations.

Before identifying the central discourse, it is also relevant to address KF's **appeal forms** and **argumentation**. KF primarily employs **logos appeals** by persuading the reader through logical arguments. KF references the financial benefits of the mink industry, arguing that it is not just the breeders and KF who benefits but Denmark as a whole: More than 6,000 people work with mink in Denmark, where KF in 2011, exported for more than 8 billion Danish kroner (Kopenhagen Fur 1, 2012). Moreover, KF employs logical argumentation to justify its operations and the welfare at the farms: The price of the pelts is dependent on its quality, and as such dependent on how the mink has been treated. This is the reason why the Danish mink breeders receive 20% more for their products as compared to foreign breeders (Danske Minkavlere, 2012, Time 07-17). At the same time, this argument also strengthens KF's and the breeders' **ethos** and credibility by indicating that their success is a result of them treating the mink well.

However, KF does also make **pathos** appeals and persuade by talking to the readers' emotions, especially in the "*Part of the solution campaign*". Here caring for the next generation and the planet is equated with the act of wearing and supporting fur. To further enhance its credibility and to logically explain why a ban on mink farming is not valid, KF argues: "Democracy is a dangerous form of government if political decisions are based on beliefs and prejudices rather than knowledge and insight" (Kopenhagen Fur, 2013, p. 5). KF parallels the controversy over mink farming with that of a democratic state, arguing that democracy is harmful if decisionmakers are swayed by sentiments instead of evidence. Implicitly it is also a way to

discredit Anima's and other like-minded NGOs' claims in the controversy, as it is argued that their stances are based on emotions. This argument strongly reflects KF's more pragmatic approach and stance in the controversy over mink farming. **Consistency** in communication is essential when persuading the reader. KF is throughout its texts successful when advancing the idea that one message can have many facets but only one unified sound. KF, throughout its texts, primarily employs logical reasoning and engaging language to persuade the reader of its worldviews. This consistency is also evident between the texts and the SSIs with no real deviations between the two. Instead, the identified codes match many of the beliefs and presuppositions expressed in the texts.

Based on the above analysis and interpretations, the **central discourse** of the texts is identified: "Mink farming is an ethically sound and justifiable undertaking which contributes to a better Denmark." This discourse suggests a more macro and business-oriented approach. Furthermore, it also reflects a pragmatic yet sympathetic perspective to mink farming. The central discourse is anchored in all of KF's texts and is the foundation from which KF perceives reality. In aggregate, the identified discourse is the socially constructed way through which KF approaches the controversy.

Anima

Text Level

Generally, Anima's texts are very emotionally loaded and filled with passionate and sensitive buzzwords. Anima employs much **figurative language** to amplify its beliefs and to engage the readers. In this regard, Anima often **personifies** the mink, which indicates a strong emotional attachment to the cause. In order to justify why mink farming is not acceptable Anima through a personification, and a **metaphor** writes: a similar argument was used back in the days to claim that black people were better off being slaves at the plantations than by being free men and women (Anima 3, n.d.). Such a metaphor fuels the controversy and shows Anima's strong resentment for the mink industry. Additionally, employing figurative language dresses up an otherwise plain statement in an evocative manner when slavery is used to compare and pinpoint why mink farming is not ethically sound. Such comparison creates enormous emotional effect. By bringing up the subject of slavery, Anima allures that mink farming is unethical because it shares traits with slavery, however, without directly stating that connection.

The statement: fur production is barbaric (Anima, 2019), is employed five times when referring to KF and the mink industry in Denmark, and unambiguously reflects Anima's stances on the matter. Anima employs connotative language and value-loaded words and has a distinct and focused **choice of words**. The term "animal abuse" is purposely employed 12 times in the texts and four times in the SSIs, to describe KF's undertakings. Such words create strong images in the receiver and also reflect Anima's perception of mink farming. Anima's connotative language is particularly strong whenever KF is addressed, or its operations described. To show Anima's strong antipathy towards KF, it, e.g., employs words like "Minkboss" (Anima, 2012) when referring to leading characters at KF. This deliberate choice of word creates undesirable connotations to that of a mafia boss in order to portray mink farming as a morally corrupt industry. Moreover, such words also signify the conviction that mink farming is a greedy and utilitarian undertaking.

The identified code: "Unsustainable to purposely hurt animals" was continually expressed during the SSI and in the texts (Interview Folder p. 78). Juxtaposing the words "purposely" and "hurt" paints a picture of KF and the mink breeders as primarily being interested in hurting the mink. Anima, in this way, implies that the primary purpose of mink breeding is to hurt the animal and not to produce a product. It becomes a way to call for urgent action to ban the industry. Intentionally connecting the words "unsustainable to purposely hurt" also seeks to discredit the argument that mink farming produces sustainable products. In order to create forceful content and to display the unsustainable effects of mink farming Anima employs **contrast language**. Anima writes: fur production is, per animal unit, the most polluting form of animal husbandry in Denmark, far worse than pig factories (Anima 3, n.d.). Just like KF, Anima also compares the mink industry to other livestock farming. However, Anima's goal is to paint a negative picture of the industry. Therefore, the sustainability focus is placed on a more micro level of only part of the production process. Anima zooms in on elements of the mink farming process to pinpoint how it is not sustainable to "purposely hurt animals," and that many chemicals are used to preserve the mink pelts. Whereas, KF when employing the argument of sustainability, focuses more on the overall circular process and general mindset of the industry. Additionally, using the word "factories" construct a picture of animals on assembly lines, which equitably displays Anima's beliefs about livestock farming in general. Employing contrast also accentuates Anima's perception of itself and KF. Anima seven times

refers to its organization as "the animal friends," and therefore, indirectly implies that KF is not friendly towards the mink or concerned for them.

Anima employs many catchphrases together with very graphic pictures in its texts: All animals are entitled to be respected (Anima, 2010, p.2). This phrase illustrates one of Anima's core **presuppositions** about the world, which also is expressed in the code: "Representing and respecting the mink's interests (rights)." Anima manifests a link between the act of respecting an animal with that of considering its interests (Interview Folder, p. 70). Furthermore, Anima uses words in specific ways in order to convey its belief about the world and to persuade the reader to agree with these beliefs. By employing an **antithesis,** Anima seeks to counterargue that there should be anything sustainable or natural about mink farming: fur is not a natural material but is produced by the unnatural exploitation of animals (Anima, 2010, p. 2). This emphasis evokes emotions within the reader by playing with the words "natural" and "unnatural." The antithesis also expresses one of Anima's core beliefs from which much of its argumentation is built, namely that fur farming is inherently unsustainable. The choice of words is also noteworthy as "exploiting" is used in collation with the word "mink" six times in the texts and three times during the SSIs. Employing these words together allows Anima to express and nudge that mink farming is about taking unfair advantage of the mink in order to create a profit, where the mink is degraded to a mere object which the breeders are free to use.

Anima also employs **rhetorical questions** to emphasize its beliefs and to encourage the reader to support Anima in its mission. The rhetorical questions are used to persuade and subtly influence the reader to adopt Anima's worldview. As mentioned above, rhetorical questions are mainly asked for their effect, or to emphasize an argument, but no real answer is expected. However, Anima decides to answer its own question: Is it okay to wear a fur coat that has been passed down? Fashion should be about fun and creativity. Wearing a coat made out of an animal's skin, which was ripped off its body, is not funny or creative (Anima 3, n.d.). By answering the question, Anima solidifies that no valid argument can be made to justify mink farming. It is a powerful choice of words that denotes Anima's antipathy to the industry, and Anima aims to awaken the same feeling in the reader. Moreover, it is a statement that is hard not to agree with when presented in this way, as it strongly talks to the readers' emotions.

Arguably, no one would find it fun to "rip off" a mink's skin, not even the breeders as otherwise implied.

What is highly characteristic of Anima's texts is their level of **sarcasm**. At first, it might seem odd that Anima employs sarcasm to address such an important and serious topic. At the same time, the Danes are known for their sarcastic tone, and therefore can be a way to better connect with the reader. When referring to the mink's conditions at the farms Anima writes: only battery hens would consider such circumstances as luxurious (Anima, 2013). Employing sarcasm in this way mocks and ridicules KF's arguments, while it also reflects Anima's contempt for the industry. Anima is clearly stating the opposite of what it believes and does it in a particularly hostile tone in order to paint KF's attempts to validate the mink industry as ridiculous and banal. Furthermore, to call for action, Anima states how it wishes that KF would: voluntarily invest in animal welfare, even during economic recovery like now. However, it is probably as realistic as the election of a female pope (Anima, 2013). The sarcastic statement illuminates Anima's belief that action is needed as KF is unwilling to regulate itself. Therefore, unless Anima and it supports act upon the issue, nothing will happen. Anima spends much time addressing and describing KF and its operations, which is an element in seven of the 13 texts. Likely, negatively portraying KF's operations supports Anima's goal of securing a ban on mink farming. Painting a negative picture of KF is an essential element in Anima's texts as it can devalue and make invalid KF's claims.

Lastly, due to the conventions of the genre, Anima applies many moving images to catch attention and affect the receiver. Through the use of **pictures** and coupled catchphrases Anima employs pathos appeals and seeks to affect the reader directly. A catchphrase that is continuously employed is: the animals suffer only to produce an irrelevant luxury product (Anima, 2014). It reflects one of Anima's core presuppositions that will be discussed below. When communicating negative messages about KF, Anima persistently couples these with unpleasant pictures of injured mink. Furthermore, when calling for action, Anima couples these messages with pictures of mink in cages which with begging eyes are looking out into the free (Appendix D).

Interaction Level

Anima's texts represent various **genres**, such as blog posts, campaign videos, pamphlets, and articles. What Anima's texts have in common is that they are highly personalized and often directly address the reader, creating a more casual connection between Anima and its audience. All the texts are published online, and therefore publicly available to anyone using the Internet and who reads Danish. The **conventions** for these genres are categorized by condensed yet graphic language, where the messages are easily comprehendible and unambiguous. Anima's language tends to be very **informal** and, at times, overly graphic, which makes sense as Anima urgently is calling for action. As the level of formality is low, the texts are understandable to everyone, and Anima makes sure that even if the text is not understandable, its accompanying pictures are. Anima's **role** in the interaction becomes one of enlightening the readers in order to call for action and persuade the readers to adapt Anima's worldview.

Anima's communication is arguably directed at its salient stakeholders, whose role is to pass on Anima's beliefs and to provide Anima with more clout in the controversy. This **relationship** is evident in the following**:** Your help is vital (Anima, 2009), where Anima inspires commitment from the stakeholders in order to prompt the desired action. As mentioned earlier, the texts are presumably not directed at KF. However, the texts serve as combative campaigns against KF's operations. Throughout the texts and SSIs, Anima expresses **presupposition** about the certainty of the situation. Anima's presuppositions are expressed when Anima highlights KF's operations and the people behind the organization: They think it is okay to crush animals' bones in traps, and it is okay to stomp on their heads and necks, and it is okay to kill animals by anally electrocuting them all in the name of vanity (Anima 3, n.d.). Such statements are reflections of Anima's worldview and how it believes reality is constructed.

Moreover, Anima's confidence in how the world is structured is also reflected in how the organization refers to mink farming as murder: the people who work with murdering mink (Anima 3, n.d.). To Anima, mink farming is not justifiable, as mink farming essentially is the same as murder. Moreover, the word "murder" denotes an unlawful act committed by the breeders. Such a statement could under other circumstances be disputed. However, Anima presents it as a fact that the breeders are murders. Anima also holds the presupposition that

mink cannot be domesticated and therefore, cannot be farmed. By presenting this belief as a given and not as an estimate, it is a way to logically and emotionally justify why mink farming is not sound. In this regard, Anima uses the word "domesticated" three times in texts and five times in the SSIs, which emotionally appeals to saving a wild animal from captivity.

The primary **speech acts** in Anima's texts are **representatives** through which Anima displays its beliefs and makes it communication fit its worldview: don't forget... unlike fake fur, "the real thing" means intense suffering for millions of animals (Anima 3, n.d.). Furthermore, Anima's argumentation is rooted in its beliefs about the world, which are revealed in the representative speech acts: as fur essentially is an unnecessary luxury product, it can be debated if it is even necessary to find an alternative (Anima 4, n.d.). Such speech acts manifest Anima's reasoning as to why mink farming should be banned – because it serves no relevant purpose. The belief that fur is a luxury or irrelevant product was strongly emphasized during the SSIs and was identified eight times in the code "Fur is a luxury product that is unnecessary/irrelevant" (Interview Folder, p.72). Another speech act that also is strongly present in Anima's texts is directives. The directives are employed to invoke strong emotions in order to get the reader to take action: Many people who wear fur have no idea what the animals are exposed to, provide them with the information and ask them to consider whether they actually want to back animal abuse" (Anima 3, n.d).

Anima uses **intertextuality** to shape and enhance its arguments by drawing on other texts and quotations, such as the one from Sir. David Attenborough: "Keeping them packed together in close confinement is an even greater torture than that inflicted on herbivorous group-living animals. That this should be done to provide human beings with luxury seems indefensible*"* (Anima 6, n.d.)*.* This intertextuality builds Anima's ethos and legitimizes its arguments in the controversy over mink farming. Anima also employs intertextuality by drawing on legal decisions made in other countries to ban mink farming: 11 out of 27 countries in the EU and a further three European countries have chosen to say no to fur or are close at doing so (Anima, 2010, p.10). This reference is a way for Anima to justify and legally validate its mission. The same type of intertextuality is employed when Anima draws on comments and utterance from the big fashion houses that have decided not to use fur in their creations.

Anima employs **pathos appeals** when persuading the readers to acknowledge and adapt Anima's worldview: fortunately for the foxes, they were not worth enough money to make the politicians ignore a production system which can be referred to as animal abuse on assembly lines (Anima, 2013). This type of argumentation touches the readers' feelings, and further reflects Anima's conviction that KF treats the mink as objects and not as living beings. Moreover, this argument postulates that the politicians and KF are capitalists to whom profit is more important than the mink's wellbeing. This argument runs in line with the identified code "The mink industry cares more about profit than the mink" (Interview Folder, p. 78). Additionally, the pictures which Anima employs can also be considered a type of indirect argumentation targeting the readers' emotions. Anima's campaign video with TV hostess Sarah Grünewald (2014) represents both an ethos and pathos appeal. Getting a famous Dane to do the campaign strengthens Anima's position, while it also emotionally encourages change. It is crucial for Anima to bolster its position in the controversy continuously, and to display its validity in order for the readers to support Anima's mission. When arguing the following: after pressure from Anima and other international organization, Prada this year decided to join the list of big fashion houses which disassociate themselves from fur (Anima, 2019), Anima fortifies its position and creates a picture of itself as being very influential.

Anima's **consistency and coherence** in its communication are high, which arguably secures that messages more successfully are conveyed to the reader. Just as consistency and repetition arguably allow for more effective persuasion. Anima primarily employs emotional appeals together with figurative and graphic language to influence the reader. However, this steady employment of emotional appeals also imposes a feeling of urgency in the reader, which should evoke action. Furthermore, there is high consistency between Anima's texts, and the SSIs were the classified codes harmonizes well with the beliefs and worldviews expressed in the texts. Based on the above analysis and interpretations, **the central discourse** of Anima's texts is identified as: "Mink farming is an unethical and unsustainable undertaking which serves no other purpose than to harm the mink." The central discourse reflects Anima's antipathy and aversion towards KF and is the basis from which Anima perceives reality. Put differently, the central discourse reflects the socially constructed way in which Anima approaches and perceives mink farming and the controversy in general.

Context Level

The context level studies the social practices behind the discursive event and the discursive practices of the organizations' texts. In the following, significant organizational and societal elements are examined and analyzed. Analyzing these two factors serves to illuminate what has influenced and shaped the text level and interaction level of KF's and Anima's texts.

Organizational & Societal Factors

KF and Anima represent two distinct organizations with different organizational structures and goals. As identified above, KF is a cooperative and is categorized as a for-profit organization. KF's founding values revolve around maximizing the worth of the breeders' products in order to increase profit. "With this intense focus on development comes an entrepreneurial spirit, which is at the core of Kopenhagen Fur's values" (Kopenhagen Fur 5, n.d.), KF's values are underlined in this statement which indirectly emphasizes that though being concerned with the mink and its continuous wellbeing KF's entrepreneurial spirit is what drives the organization. Arguably, many people, and especially outsiders of the livestock farming industry, experience these values as incompatible and paradoxical. Generating a profit from breeding mink clashes with the idea that the breeders care for the mink and its wellbeing. Therefore, KF has to clarify how these two values harmonize. Likely, it explains why animal welfare is central to KF's communication. This focus also allows KF to downplay its business-oriented goals and instead accentuate care for the mink, which arguably makes KF more relatable and likable. Furthermore, KF's values also explain why KF logically presents profit and the mink's wellbeing as intertwined. This link serves to validate KF's operations while also obtaining an understanding of the industry. KF's organizational structure and goal forces it to have a realistic and rational perspective to mink farming, where it has to justifiably balance profit and animal welfare without over or underemphasizing the mink as a living being.

Anima, as an NGO, is mission and not profit-driven. Anima's values are anchored in animal protection, and the organization's goal is to secure a ban on mink farming by bringing awareness to the situation and by articulating the mink's interests. Anima sees itself as a lobbyist for the mink and its interests, which Anima perceives as being disrespected by KF. However, in order to bring awareness to the mink's situation and to reach its mission, Anima

needs financial support. Though, in this particular case, Anima can more strongly focus on its lobbying work, as the survival of the NGO is not at risk in the controversy over mink farming. Likely, these circumstances explain why Anima's textual content personifies the mink and calls for urgent action in order to secure a ban on mink farming. Additionally, as Anima feels strong urgency, it explains the visual and emotional communicative approach. As Anima's financial needs do not restrict its communication, it can better focus on its lobbying work by creating emotional content that evokes instant and urgent connections to Anima's mission. However, KF's organizational structure and corresponding values entail a more pragmatic approach where too much personification of the mink may risk KF's operations and, thus, profit. The organizational structures and corresponding values can partially explain KF's and Anima's deviating linguistic approaches. Furthermore, their organizational structures, goals, and values can partially explain why the controversy continues to be unsettled. KF and Anima likely perceive it as impossible to find common ground as KF takes its point of departure from an animal welfare perspective and Anima in an animal protection perspective.

KF's and Anima's linguistic approaches are also contingent on their salient stakeholders and theses' attitudes. As identified above, the organizations have many of the same salient stakeholders, including the media, the public, and the fashion industry. KF and Anima are for different reasons trying to win support from these groups and try to convey their perception of reality in order for the stakeholders to adopt that specific reality. Furthermore, both organizations are trying to convey their perception of reality to the media in the most favorable way to them as organizations because the media holds the attributes of legitimacy, power, and urgency. As identified, the fashion industry is more salient to KF than to Anima. KF is, to an extent, financially dependent on this stakeholder. Likely, this relationship explains why KF logically justifies its operations and why KF, through rational accounts, presents mink fur's timeless and sustainable qualities in order to win over the fashion industry. Moreover, the DAEC and the Ministry of Environment and Food is also a Definitive stakeholder to KF. Targeting this stakeholder group requires displaying a willingness to care for the mink and cooperate. It also requires logical reasoning laying out the financial and sustainable benefits mink farming contributes to Danish society. More importantly, it also explains why KF employs many commissive speech acts to denote engagement and concern for the mink, which is important to this stakeholder group.

In the case of Anima, it also has volunteers and donors as salient stakeholders, which KF does not. Arguably, this group expects an emotional return from the support they provide Anima, and therefore, it is appropriate with a more idealistic approach when targeting this group. Moreover, it also explains Anima's emotional appeals and urgent calls for action to strengthen the volunteers' and donors' commitments. The fashion industry is also a salient stakeholder to Anima, which explains the attention directed at painting an unethical and bad picture of KF where connotations of murder and abuse are something the fashion industry does not want to be associated with. In this project, the public is the most salient stakeholder to both organizations.

To Anima, support from the public provides more clout and a better chance of reaching a ban on mink farming. To KF support from the public is more symbolic as it licenses KF's operations. Moreover, as Denmark is a democratic state, it can be argued that the public's general support or resentment can impact KF's operations and profit in the long run. Likely, KF's deictic references are a way to create sympathy and to connect with the public, while it also designates a sense of shared responsibility between the two. Furthermore, KF's rhetorical questions engage the group and make it feel included, which is important as the public needs to feel a connection to the industry. Additionally, the public also needs to appreciate the mink industry and the benefits it can provide them. Whereas, Anima's employment of sarcasm serves to ridicule and invalidate KF's arguments so that the public experiences an absurdity in supporting the industry.

In aggregate, Anima's linguistic approach is more emotional and reflects idealistic values. Anima expresses urgency through provocative metaphors, touching choices of words, graphic pictures, and personifications of the mink. KF's linguistic approach is more rational, transparent, and factually based, where it presents its stakeholders with logical arguments and pragmatic clarifications of KF's operations, priorities, and values. Additionally, KF's metaphorical language seeks to create understanding and appreciation among the public by drawing parallels to things that are more relatable to them. Likely, this communicative approach is also the result of a bigger societal change. Danish society, according to Statistic Denmark, has become strongly urbanized in the past ten years (Danmarks Statistik, 2018). Furthermore, it is generally agreed that livestock farming is less compatible with urbanization

(Larson, Findeis & Smith, 2001). Therefore, KF is dependent on creating awareness, transparency, and understanding of its industry.

Additionally, if taking a departure in Rosenbak's (2016) and Jakobsen's (2019) arguments about morality and emotions currently governing social discourse and society, then it explains why Anima focuses on emotional messages when presenting its worldviews, instead of attributing much attention to legitimizing itself. However, 32.47% of the questionnaire participants, which in this project represent the public's general opinion, identified KF as powerful whereas only 12.12% identified Anima as powerful (Appendix B). Likely, these findings explain why Anima also, through its emotionally loaded words, seeks to depict KF's operations as unethical and illegitimate to weaken its overall power. Moreover, 13.64% of the participants see KF as selfish (Appendix B). Therefore, to appeal to the public, KF must provide it with logical arguments as to why KF is committed to the mink's wellbeing while also explaining how KF's operations not just serves itself but Danish society in general. Likely, this group's support is dependent on KF displaying an interest in the mink's wellbeing as wells as being able to see advantages of supporting KF. Advantages that go beyond KF's financial gains.

Induced from the analyses, the organizations' perceptions of reality are distinct and unharmonious. KF is a for-profit organization, put into the world to maximize the value, and thus profit, of the breeders' products. Anima is an NGO, lobbying its more altruistic and drastic mission. Based on the above analysis, KF's perceived reality is found to be pragmatic and rational. Concerning the controversy, KF experiences a perfectly sound and ethical connection between profit, mink farming, and a concern for animal welfare. On the other hand, Anima's perception of reality is characterized by idealism and a naive yet compassionate stance. Concerning the controversy, Anima perceives an urgent issue where it has to protect the mink's interest as Anima perceives it as being harmed. The contradictory organizational ideologies and structures, goals, and values are reflected in KF's and Anima's communication directed at their most salient stakeholders, which they wish to persuade. Moreover, the organizations' communication is under the influence of various societal conditions and prejudices, which also explain KF's and Anima's communicative approaches.

Sub-Conclusion

What is the central discourse of Kopenhagen Fur's and Anima's communication, respectively, and how can these be explained?

 KF's and Anima's communicative approaches are very different. The identified central discourse of the organization's communication highlights this difference. KF's central discourse is: "Mink farming is an ethically sound and justifiable undertaking which contributes to a better Denmark," and Anima's central discourse is: "Mink farming is an unethical and unsustainable undertaking which serves no other purpose than to harm the mink." KF being a profit-oriented organization with a pragmatic and realistic perception of reality primarily communicates through neutral logos appeals. At the same time, it also incorporates emotional content to display interest for the mink and Danish society at large. This communication is aimed at the Danish public, the media, the fashion industry, and the DEAC, and the Ministry of Environment and Food. KF depends on the support of these stakeholder groups and primarily presents rational but also emotional arguments to assure them why supporting KF is widely beneficial and morally sound. Oppositely, Anima being a lobbying NGO with a charitable yet drastic mission, is communicating more emotionally and informally, targeting feelings and calling for action. Anima's communication is aimed at volunteers and donors who expect emotional gains from their engagement. Moreover, Anima's communication also targets the Danish public, the media, and the fashion industry, which it seeks to stir up and induce with antipathetic sentiment towards KF.

However, the difference in the central discourse governing the organizations' communication can also be explained by their respective perceptions of reality and resulting organizational values and ideologies. KF's perception is that mink farming is an ethically justifiable undertaking, as long as the mink's welfare is prioritized. KF perceives and emphasizes a strong link between the mink's wellbeing and the profit it can generate. Whereas, Anima's perception is that mink farming is animal abuse and murder, and therefore there is an urgent issue that needs to be dealt with through a legislative ban. Lastly, the difference in discourses is also attributed to societal trends and different prejudice held towards the organizations as a result hereof.

Strategic Issue Framing

The following analysis examines the broader strategic issue framing performed by KF and Anima during the past ten years. The analysis is based solely on the texts presented in the empirical timeline. However, only the texts which employ new frames and framing strategies will be addressed. The analysis is conducted chronologically following the succession of the texts and subsequent operational actions (see Appendix A). Bach's and Blake's theory on Strategic Issue Framing will be applied to identify the various dimensions and pathways employed by KF and Anima in order for them to frame and promote the issue in their favor. The analysis also illuminates aspects of the organizations' perceived realities.

Mink farming is an old tradition that in Denmark has met opposition since the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the controversy over mink farming has been fluctuating and metamorphosing since then. On October 27, 2009, TV2's show 'Operation X,' in cooperation with Anima, aired the documentary *Fur inside out* which displayed the alleged conditions at the Danish mink farms. This event resulted in yearlong lawsuits and confrontations between Anima and KF (Munch, 2014).

October 27, 2009   Operation X & Anima: Fur inside out

Anima, together with the Operation X team, broke into various mink farms in order to create the documentary (Landbrug Fyn, 2014). Working with TV2 can be seen as an employment of the dimension arena where Anima moved the issue to a more favorable arena. TV2 is one of Denmark's two largest TV stations. Therefore, moving the issue from a more local arena between Anima and KF to a national one was strategically beneficial to Anima. Especially as Anima had a say in what was presented to the public. As identified above, the Danes tend to trust the media, thus presenting the issue in a trustworthy arena bolstered Anima's claims. Arguably, switching to this arena, Anima wanted the issue to gain public momentum by making it more salient to both the media and the public. Additionally, Anima also employed the dimension of information by sorting the presented information into relevant and irrelevant. In the documentary, Anima's perceived reality was made salient by only focusing on the injured mink. By doing so, Anima tried to mold the issue in its favor by focusing on the injured mink, without displaying the healthy ones. By determining in this way, what information was included, Anima diagnosed a problem at the farms and accentuated it in order to portray the

mink breeders as soulless people not caring for the mink's wellbeing. By stressing the bad and critical incidents at some of the farms, mink farming, in general, was framed as animal cruelty and unethical business.

October 28, 2009,   **Anima: Petition to ban mink farming**

Launching the petition was the employment of the dimension actors where Anima allowed for new actors to enter the controversy. Anima broadened the issue to the public and urged them to sign the petition in order to: end the animal cruelty at the mink farms (Anima, 2009). Additionally, Anima also employed the dimension of asset by emphasizing a ban on mink farming as the only way to secure the mink's wellbeing. In this way, Anima promoted the casual interpretation that no regulations or standards can be set in order to provide the mink with welfare; only a ban can secure this.

November 3, 2009,   **Anima: Campaign to end mink farming in Denmark**

Anima's campaign to end mink farming strongly employs the dimension of information as the campaign emphasizes elements that are favorable to Anima's agenda, and steers away from any information about the breeders' opinions and experiences with the mink. Anima wrote: When the animal is nothing but a business model, then it may seem unnecessarily cumbersome to take care of even the smallest things that could make the animals' lives a little less unbearable (Dyrenes Stemme, 2009). Anima makes salient the business aspect of mink farming in order to paint the mink breeders as greedy and inconsiderate capitalists. Moreover, Anima makes sure not to mention anything about what the breeders' experience and how they feel about the mink. By only addressing mink farming as a business model, Anima, e.g., avoids mentioning that it often is an old family tradition that is thought of more as a lifestyle than just a business model. It is presented as a fact rather than an estimate that the mink is suffering. Likely, providing information as to whether or not the mink actually does suffer would harm Anima's mission. Instead, Anima promotes that mink farming cannot be justified as the mink always will suffer at the farm.

November 8, 2009,   **KF: Articles in Dansk Pelsdyravl**

The two articles in KF magazine Dansk Pelsdyravl, are strategic attempts to reframe the issue(s) presented by Anima. Both texts employ the dimension of interests through the pathway

of shaping existing actors' interests. In this way, KF's framing serves to shape how the public and potential supporters of Anima perceive their interests by focusing on how Anima's actions have created no winning side. In this regard, KF highlights: this case has no winners. The mink breeders have lost, TV2 has lost, and society has lost (Kristensen, 2009). KF avoids addressing the mink and the conditions at the farms and rather emphasizes that Anima's methods are invalid as they are criminal. Highlighting that the information Anima provided was acquired through unlawful acts, and as such, makes Anima less trustworthy. The focus becomes to shape the public's interest as to whether or not they are provided with valid information, rather than focusing on whether or not mink farming is justifiable. Moreover, both texts also sort information into relevant and irrelevant, KF emphasizes that the mink industry provides jobs for 20,000 Danes, and thus, stresses this information as more important than the alleged conditions at the farms. By making these aspects salient, is a way for KF to bolster its position.

October 7, 2010   KF: Changing times bring new standards

This text is published by KF and arguably serves as damage control by introducing a new aspect of the controversy. The text frames the situation through the dimension of information by stressing information beneficial to KF. Focus is mainly on explaining the alleged and notorious issues at the farms, which branded 60% of the mink breeders as lawbreakers. The text highlights how 431 out of the 609 issues identified at the farms relate to equipment inefficiencies and not the mink's condition. Making this element salient is a way for KF to justify its operations while highlighting that the mink is cared for.

February 3, 2011,   Anima: The animals' voice during Fashion-Week

To mold the issue in Anima's favor, this text follows the dimension of actor. However, what is interesting is that Anima brings in the fashion industry and writes: Copenhagen's fashion-week is sponsored by Kopenhagen Fur meaning that more designers are being pressured into using fur in their creations and that the Fashion Week is willing to do everything to terminate the discussion about the welfare of fur-bearing animals (Anima, 2011). However, Anima does not include the fashion industry's opinion about the matter and avoids asking whether the industry feels pressured as otherwise presented. Anima makes moral judgments about the mink industry and accentuates KF's harmful influence on the fashion industry.

December 5, 2011,   **KF's Campaign: Fur – A Danish global success**

The campaign employs the dimension of interests as it seeks to frame how the reader should perceive its interests in the controversy over mink farming. The text focuses attention on how the fur industry financially benefits KF and multiple Danes whom it provides with jobs. In this way, KF makes salient how mink farming is relevant to many people, and therefore, a ban is not an option. In this way, KF's more business mindset is emphasized. This frame stirs focus away from the mink and rather focuses on the many people dependent on the industry. Arguably, it also frames KF more gently, by stressing concern for the people within the industry which also counters Anima's presentation of KF as cold-hearted.

April 16-18, 2012   **KF's Campaigns: Here is our weakness &**
                        The world's best but not perfect

These two texts are part of the same campaign, which serves to create appreciation and understanding for the mink industry. The texts, in particular, employs the dimension of interests by focusing on various gains and losses related to the issue. It is presented that less than 1% of the Danish mink are injured at the farms and that this is unavoidable when working with livestock farming. The texts balance the unavoidable injuries with the many jobs and financial gains the industry provides. In this way, KF asks whether the less than 1% of injured mink is more important than they many jobs and financial stability the industry provides Denmark with. It is noteworthy that KF, in its framing, recognizes its issues, as this arguably is unfavorable. However, in this case, by emphasizing KF's issues, frames KF as transparent, while it also encourages a pragmatic stance on mink farming. Additionally, the texts also highlight information that can justify KF's operations. "The price of the pelts is dependent on its quality, and as such dependent on how the mink has been treated" (Danske Minkavlere, 2012), making this information salient KF draws the connection that since Danish mink pelts are the highest priced the Danish mink cannot be suffering.

November 14, 2014,   **Anima's Campaign with Sarah Grünewald**

This text addresses new actors by bringing in a celebrity to the realm of Anima's antifur campaigns. It attempts to broaden the issue and make it salient to more people. When framing the issue with the help of one of "Denmark's sweethearts" and known celebrities, it bolsters Anima's position and arguments. The text employs the dimension of interests as it molds how

stakeholders of the controversy should perceive their interests. Anima focuses on specific losses, where supporting the mink industry equates dismissing concern for animals. The text focuses on the gain or loss of the title "animal friend," one can only be considered as such if supporting Anima's worldview. The text highlights how Sarah, in her modeling career, rejected an amazing offer because it entailed promoting fur. Presenting Sarah's decision as an act of compassion encourages others to follow this example. Ultimately, it is a way to promote Anima's agenda as the most appropriate cause of action if one cares for animals.

December 15, 2016   **KF: Good animal welfare benefits everyone**

The text employs the dimension of asset by trying to influence which assets matter to the stakeholders. The text clarifies various tangible and intangible assets that can be gained when promoting and appreciating animal welfare instead of a ban on mink farming. In this regard, KF introduces its welfare certification program, WelFur, which "takes steps to improve and ensure animal welfare beyond legislation" (Kopenhagen Fur 1, 2016). It is a way to reframe what matters in the controversy over mink farming, while it also highlights KF's willingness to regulate itself. The text promotes the idea that the mink's wellbeing is secured if the WelFur certification program is implemented and therefore excludes a ban on mink farming as the only remedy to provide care for the mink.

October 12, 2017,   **Anima: Gucci ditches fur**

Anima's text employs the dimension of actors through the pathway of bringing in the fashion industry in order to broaden the issue even further. The fashion industry is a salient stakeholder to both organizations, and by highlighting Gucci's decision puts pressure on the rest of the fashion industry and urges it to make the same decision. The text also employs the dimension of information through the pathway of sorting information into "relevant" and "irrelevant." In this way, Anima only emphasizes the big fashion houses which have decided not to use fur and ignores mentioning the bigger fashion houses which are still promoting fur.

September 13, 2019   **Campaign by KF: Part of the solution**

In this text, KF employs the dimension of interests. The text focuses on how the mink industry and wearing fur represent a sustainable and circular mindset. In particular, the text frames the mink industry as part of the solution to the green transition. In this way, supporting the fur

industry is framed to be in the interest of everyone because it secures a healthy planet, which arguably is in most people's interest.

Sub-Conclusion

When using framing as a strategic tool, how are the organizations trying to guide the controversy in different directions?

Framing strategically is a critical feature when targeting and communicating with stakeholders, as the employed frames shape how the stakeholders experience the presented issues. The above analysis illustrates how KF and Anima persistently attempt to shape the perception of mink farming favorable to the organizations' own goals. KF primarily frames and accentuates the more pragmatic aspects of mink farming in order to emphasize how it is a sound and widely beneficial business model. Oppositely, Anima attempts to focus on the minks' situation and more emotional aspects by stressing how the mink is suffering.

Moreover, Anima continuously tries to broaden the issue by making the mink's condition known to as many people as possible. However, none of the two organizations accept each other's frames and continuously employ new dimensions to accentuate aspects of the issue favorable to themselves. At the same time, they also strategically frame the other organization's arguments as invalid or irrelevant. These framing attempts are the result of KF's and Anima's perceived realities and what they believe is beneficial and relevant to emphasize within these realities. When studying the strategic framing attempts, it is clear that the issue is faced and constructed from two contrasting worldviews.

DISCUSSION

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that KF's and Anima's communicative approach differs significantly. This difference is partially a result of the respective organizations' structure and the goal the respective organizations set out to achieve. Additionally, KF's and Anima's communicative approaches are influenced and affected by their perceptions of reality, which dialectically influence their communication and organizational values. As identified, KF is a for-profit organization, and Anima is an NGO. Therefore, the organizations serve widely

different purposes as well as have different goals and values, which is echoed in their communication.

This project presents a discourse as a socially constructed way of speaking about an aspect of the world. In contrast, strategic issue framing purposely determines what is made salient within a given discourse. This project takes its point of departure in the controversy over mink farming in Denmark and studies KF's and Anima's socially constructed ways of speaking about and addressing mink farming. Moreover, the project also looks at what the organizations make salient and emphasize within their identified central discourse. The project acknowledges that discourse is socially and unconsciously constructed. However, a text's governing discourse is identified and examined through an analysis of deliberate choices relating to linguistic features and rhetorical devices.

The discourse governing KF's and Anima's texts, respectively, echoes their perceived realities and what the organizations believe to be true. Oppositely, strategic issue framing is employed deliberately. It was analyzed and deduced that the organizations hold contrasting worldviews and perceptions of reality. KF's perception of reality and relating central discourse was identified as "Mink farming is an ethically sound and justifiable undertaking which contributes to a better Denmark." On the other hand, Anima's perception of reality and relating central discourse was identified as: "Mink farming is an unethical and unsustainable undertaking which serves no other purpose than to harm the mink." An appreciation and understanding of the different central discourses were acquired and exhaustively clarified in the context level of the CDA. Furthermore, KF's and Anima's central discourses influence their respective issue framing strategies, where it was identified that the organizations try to make various aspects of mink farming salient to their stakeholders.

Without being exhaustive, this project could be widened through an examination of the effectiveness of KF's and Anima's communicative approaches. This would be a fruitful line of inquiry as it has been identified that the organizations target much the same stakeholder groups in the controversy over mink farming in Denmark. However, effectiveness is an ambiguous concept, and how does one measure effective communication? The Cambridge Dictionary defines effective as "successful or achieving the results that you want" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

As identified, KF and Anima, in order to achieve their goals, are, in part, dependent on gaining the accept or support of the Danish public. KF as a license to operate, which smoothens and protects the breeders' work and, ultimately, the profit they generate. While Anima is dependent on the public's support to gain more clout and backing to secure a ban on mink farming ultimately. As a result, the Danish public was also identified as the most salient stakeholder for both organizations to consider in the controversy. Both KF and Anima are through their communications targeting the Danish public. Therefore, one may ponder if effectiveness can be discussed from the perspective of which organization, as based on their communications, would and could gain the most support in the controversy over mink farming. In order to clarify, support is meant as public support gained as a result of KF's and Anima's published communications relating to the controversy over mink farming. The term support does not entail financial support.

In reflecting on this question, the conducted questionnaire provides insightful information where its findings can induce generalizations about the Danish public (Please see Appendix B for an overview of the findings). The questionnaire found that 34.43% of the respondents indicated that they would be more likely to support Anima in the controversy over mink farming, whereas 65.57% would be more likely to support KF and the mink breeders. However, it is interesting that when asked "what type of communication is more likely to have an effect on you," 80.77% of the respondents indicated that a pragmatic and logical communication would influence them more. As identified in the analysis, the pragmatic and logical communicative approach is what KF primarily employs. Whereas, the other 21.43% of respondents indicated that idealistic and emotional communication would have a greater effect on them. As identified in the analysis, this communicative approach is what Anima primarily employs. Hence, a group of 13.09% (.3443-.2143) of respondents assume they are more likely to align with Anima's beliefs but have stated that they are less affected by the communicative approach Anima employs, in comparison to a pragmatic and logical approach.

This 13.09% gap exists because more respondents (34.43%) aligning with Anima's beliefs, which is greater than what otherwise predicted (21.43%). Furthermore, a group of -15.2% (.6557-.8077) of respondents aligns more with KFs beliefs, but state that they are more affected by the communicative approach KF takes. Ergo, KF is likely not gaining this group's (-15.2%)

support, despite respondents stating that they are influenced more by the communicative approach KF employs. Though not definitive, this merely suggests that Anima is supported by people (13.09%) who should not be influenced by the communicative approach it employs. In contrast, KF does not have the support of (-15.2%) of respondents who stated they would be influenced more by the communicative approach that KF employs. Arguably, it can be inferred that Anima has more support (13.09%) than it is predicted to have based on survey responses. However, KF has the potential to gain more support (15.2%), as fewer people align with KFs beliefs than what could be predicted based on the communicative approach KF employs.

Another way to examine who would gain the most support is by illuminating the number of respondents who have indicated that their perspective on "animal usage" is consistent with the number of respondents who are most affected by the communicative approach of either Anima or KF. As 80.77% of respondents stated they most likely would align with KF's beliefs, and 21.43% most likely would align with Anima's beliefs, it can be anticipated that proportionately similar groups align with KF's and Anima's worldviews on how animals must be treated. When these responses are compared, it is identified that 81.71% of respondents align with KF's worldview, and 18.29% align with Anima's worldview. Based on this, more respondents align with KF's worldview, whereas fewer agree with Anima's worldview. As the proportion of survey responses is similar for both questions, it can be assumed that KF's communicative approach is more likely to win support, as more individuals consistently share KF's worldview and are more affected by KF's communicative approach.

Though not definitive, it is found that the pondering and discussion on which of the two organizations are likely to gain the most support is an area for academic curiosity and allows for further perspective-taking on this project. Ultimately, KF and Anima are communicating from two opposing premises about reality. Hence, this project is not seeking to present one of the two organizations as being more truthful or in the right. Rather, this project encourages an appreciation of the many nuances the controversy over mink farming breeds.

CONCLUSION

How do Kopenhagen Fur and Anima employ diverse communicative approaches to their stakeholders regarding the controversy over mink farming? Furthermore, how can the communicative approaches be explained?

This project investigates the controversy over mink farming as it has been constructed and developed between the two Danish organizations Kopenhagen Fur and Anima, as of October 2009 to February 2020. To identify and analyze the organizations' communicative approaches to their respective stakeholders, it was essential first to identify and categorize whom the organizations' stakeholders are as well as what their level of salience is. The analysis found that KF and Anima primarily have the same group of salient stakeholders to attend to in the controversy over mink farming. KF's key stakeholders were identified as the Danish public, the media, the fashion industry, and the Danish Animal Ethics Council as well as The Ministry of Environment and Food. Anima's key stakeholders were identified as the Danish public, the media, the fashion industry, and Anima's volunteers and donors. It was additionally identified that the most salient stakeholder to each organization is the Danish public.

Hereafter a critical discourse analysis was conducted. First, through a text and interaction level analysis of the organizations' published texts, the central discourse governing KF's and Anima's communication were identified. KF's central discourse was identified as "Mink farming is an ethically sound and justifiable undertaking which contributes to a better Denmark." In contrast, Anima's was identified as "Mink farming is an unethical and unsustainable undertaking which serves no other purpose than to harm the mink." Hereafter, contextual, and broader organizational as well as societal elements were examined and analyzed in order to elucidate what has shaped KF's and Anima's communication.

Several elements were identified. The organizations hold different perceptions of reality. KF has a pragmatic and rational outlook on the world, which is echoed in its business and more macro appreciation of reality. On the other hand, Anima has a compassionate, naïve, and concerned outlook on the world as mirrored in its more protective and confined interpretation of reality. Moreover, these organizational worldviews and values are strongly reflected in KF's and Anima's communication to their stakeholders, whom they are trying to validate their

positions. Likewise, KF's and Anima's organizational structure and goals also influence their communication. KF is a profit-driven cooperative that functions to maximize the value of the Danish mink breeders' product, which essentially is the mink. These elements are reflected in KF's communication, where it, through logical accounts, balances profit and animal welfare. As an NGO, Anima is not driven by profit but by its mission. This structure is mirrored in Anima's emotional communication, which focuses on its lobbying and protective function while urging action to save the mink.

Furthermore, the analysis of KF's and Anima's issue framing strategies depicts how both organizations are trying to affect the perception of the issue in various directions advantageous to their own organizational goals. It was found that Anima primarily is concerned with broadening the issue in order to urge action and strongly emphasize the conditions of mink farming. KF is primarily concerned with emphasizing the assets which mink farming provides, not just in terms of the profit KF generates but also on a broader societal and environmental level.

In aggregate, this project provides an insight into how a single reality can be perceived and experienced from two contrasting worldviews and how that, in turn, may affect the organizations' communication and the development of the controversy between the two. The project further sheds light on a current and arguably indefinite controversy, which outcomes impact multiple actors in Danish society. It was identified that KF and Anima communicate with much the same group of salient stakeholders, which the organizations are dependent on when solidifying and validating their operations in the controversy over mink farming. The underlying circumstances and explanations for the organizations' communicative approaches have been examined and explained.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Empirical Timeline 2009-2020

Bold = Events & actions taken

Purple = Sides with KF

Red = Sides with Anima

Green = Neutral

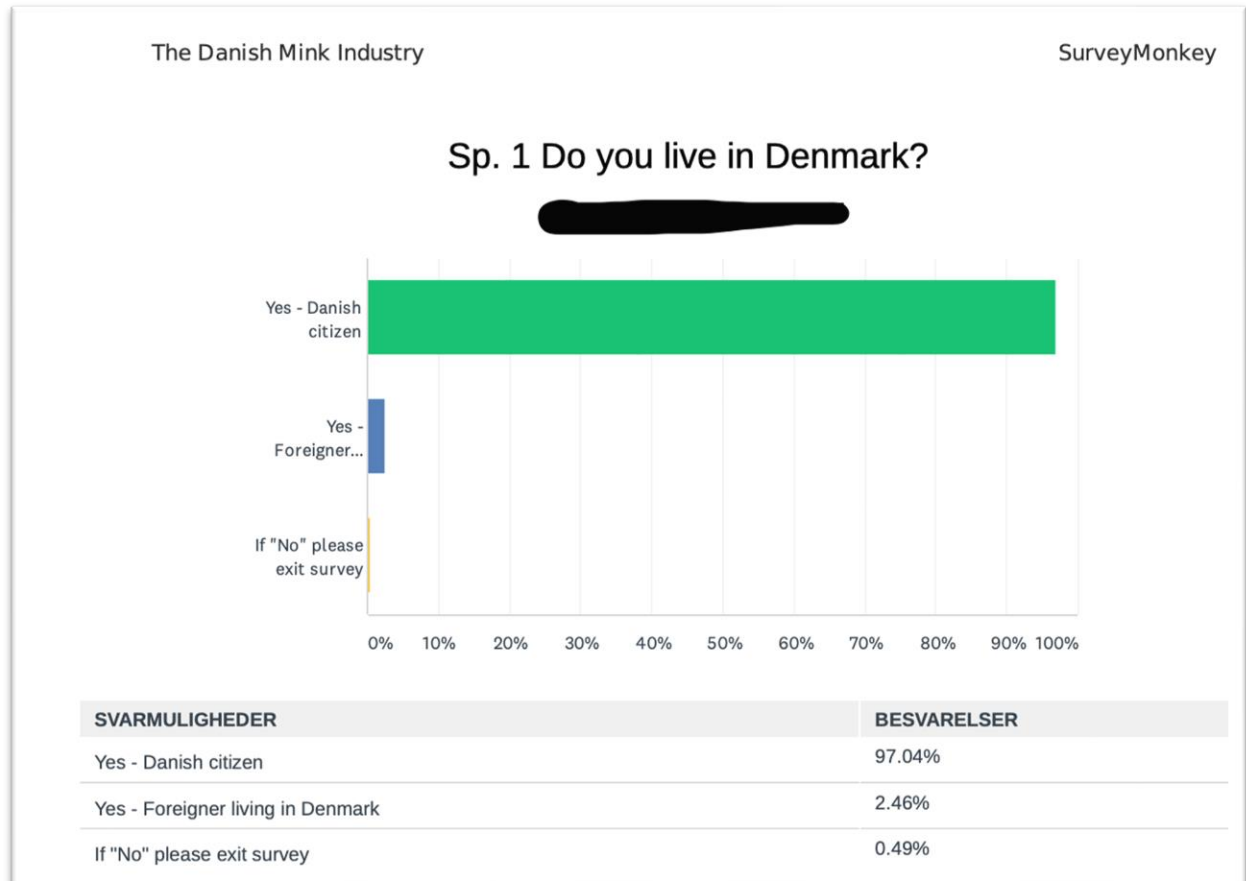| DATE	ACTOR	MEDIUM	TITLE
October 27, 2009	**Operation X**	**TV2**	**Pels på vrangen [Fur inside out]**
October 28, 2009	**Anima**	**Anima launches petition to ban mink farming in Denmark**	**Forbyd minkavl [Ban mink farming]**
November 3, 2009	Anima	Dyrenes Stemme – Campaign pamphlet to end mink farming in Denmark	Danske mink mishandles [Danish mink are being abused]
November 8, 2009	Kopenhagen Fur	Dansk Pelsdyravl	Kun tabere efter Operation X & TV2 valgte den kriminelle løsning [Only losers after Operation X & TV2 chose the criminal explanation]
January 27, 2010	Anima	Anima's pamphlet about the fur industry in Denmark	Hvad du bør vide om pels og pelsdyr [What you need to know about fur and fur-bearing animals]
October 7, 2010	Kopenhagen Fur	Article in Dansk Pelsdyravl	Ny tider nye krav [Changing times bring new standards]
February 2, 2011	**Copenhagen Fashion week**		**KF opens and sponsors Copenhagen Fashion Week 2011**

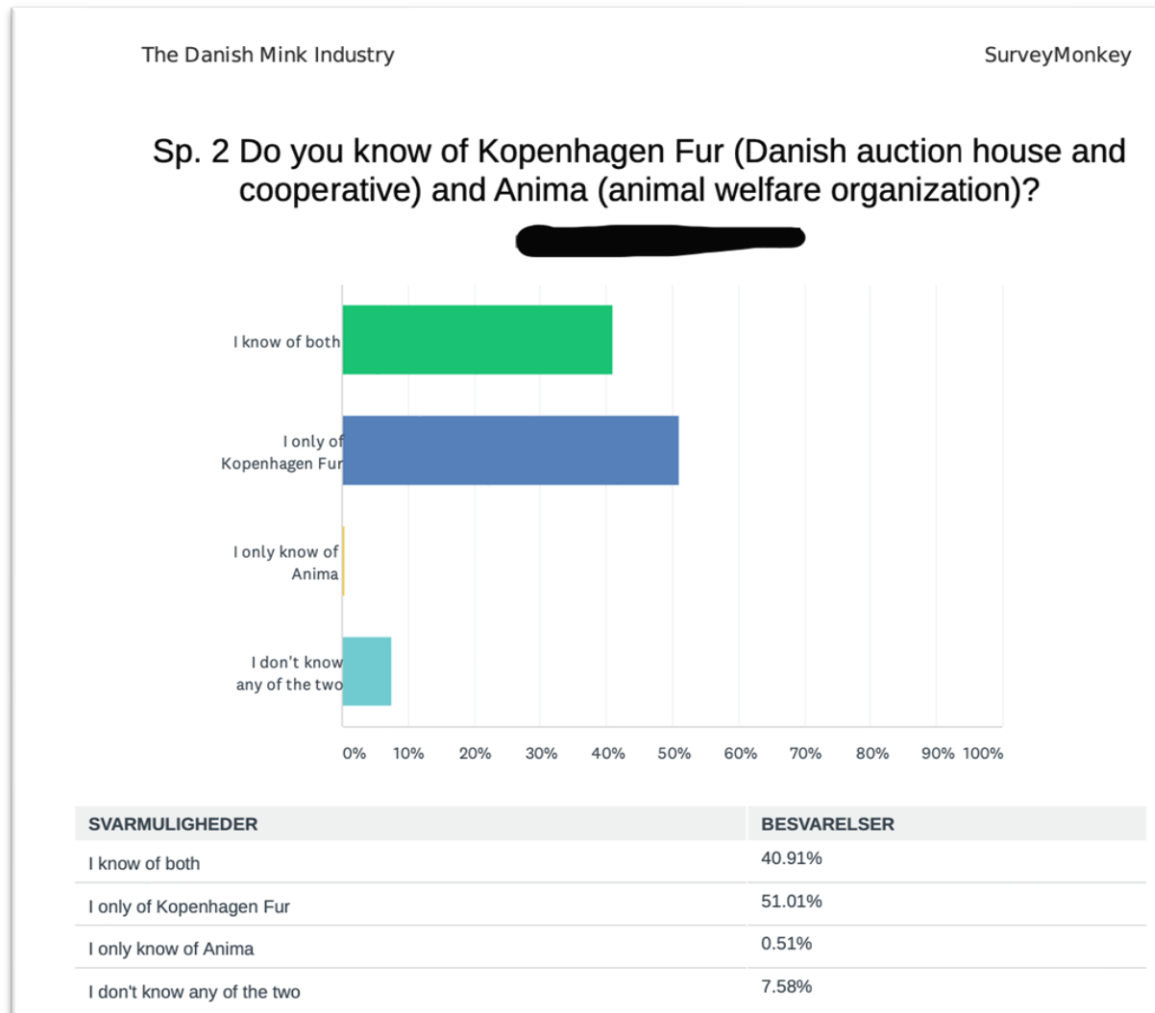|			
February 3, 2011	Anima	Protest and blog post on Anima's website	Anima represents the animals' voice during Fashion Week
April 15, 2011	**Aarhus University**	**A research study finds that the Danish regulations secure good welfare for the mink**	**Danske regler for mink giver god dyrevelfærd [Danish regulations secure good welfare for the mink]**
October 14, 2011	Anima	Blog post on Anima's website	Disputing the argument that the Danish regulations secure good welfare for mink
December 5, 2011	Kopenhagen Fur	Uploads campaign video about mink farming in Denmark	Pels – en dansk verdenssucces [Fur – A Danish global success]
February 12, 2012	Anima	Blog post on Anima's website	Minkboss erkender sig skyldig i vanrøgt af mink [Mink boss pleads guilty to neglecting his mink]
March 28, 2012	**Byretten Frederiksberg**	**DR**	**Anima is acquitted of libel charges for referring to pictures of neglected mink as animal cruelty**
April 16, 2012	Kopenhagen Fur	Campaign	Her er vores svaghed [Here is our weakness]
April 18, 2012	Kopenhagen Fur	Campaign video	Verdens bedste men ikke perfekt [The world's best but not perfect]
December 19, 2012	**Danish High Court**	**DR**	**Anima is found guilty of libel charges by the Danish High Court**
April 2013	Kopenhagen Fur	Editorial in Kopenhagen Fur's news magazine	An attack on democracy

May 23, 2013	Anima	Blog post	Pelsdyrene straffes af politikernes grådighed [Fur-bearing animals are being punished because of greedy politicians]
October 17, 2014		**Jyllandsposten**	**Settlement of legal dispute between Anima and the mink industry**
November 14, 2014	Anima	Campaign video and article with Sarah Grünewald	Vild med dans – vildere med dyr [Dancing with the stars hostess loves dancing but loves animals even more]
December 4, 2015	Kopenhagen Fur	Booklet	Kopenhagen Fur – A global success
April 19, 2016	Kopenhagen Fur	Campaign video	Danish mink breeders – A global success
December 15, 2016	Kopenhagen Fur	Article on KF's website	Good animal welfare benefits everyone
May 24, 2017	**Elle Style Awards**		**KF wins Elle's CSR award**
October 12, 2017	Anima	Blog post on website	Gucci skrotter pels [Gucci ditches fur]
October 24, 2017	Kopenhagen Fur	Article in Altinget	Guccis nej til pels er ikke bæredygtighed [Gucci's no to fur is not sustainable]
December, 2017	Anima	Article in annual report	More people are saying no to fur
September 10, 2018		**Article in Finans.dk**	**De gyldene tider er forbid – minkeksporten styrt**

			dykker [The prosperous times are over – the mink export is plunging]
January 25, 2019	**European Commission**		**The European Commission endorses WelFur, the European fur sector's new animal welfare program**
August 3, 2019		**Article in Landbrugsavisen**	**Prizes on mink skins are continually declining**
September 13, 2019	Kopenhagen Fur	YouTube – campaign video(s)	Part of the solution
November 18, 2019	Anima	"Letter" and petition to stop Illum from selling fur	Det eneste vi ønsker er en pelsfri jul [All we wish for is a fur free Christmas]
February 6, 2020	**Folketinget (the Danish Parliament)**		**Denmark becomes the first country to acknowledge animals as sentient creatures by law**

Appendix B

Questionnaire

The Danish Mink Industry SurveyMonkey

Sp. 1 Do you live in Denmark?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Yes - Danish citizen	97.04%
Yes - Foreigner living in Denmark	2.46%
If "No" please exit survey	0.49%

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The Danish Mink Industry   SurveyMonkey

Sp. 2 Do you know of Kopenhagen Fur (Danish auction house and cooperative) and Anima (animal welfare organization)?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
I know of both	40.91%
I only of Kopenhagen Fur	51.01%
I only know of Anima	0.51%
I don't know any of the two	7.58%

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The Danish Mink Industry

SurveyMonkey

Sp. 3 Age?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Under 18	1.52%
18-25	5.05%
26-35	19.19%
36-45	21.72%
46-55	33.33%
56-65	16.16%
66+	3.03%

The Danish Mink Industry

SurveyMonkey

Sp. 4 Gender

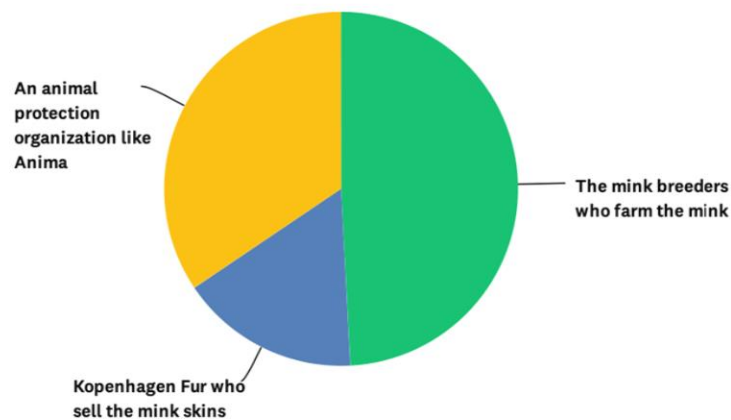| SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Male	36.87%
Female	62.12%
Other	1.01%

The Danish Mink Industry   SurveyMonkey

Sp. 5 Who would you be more likely to support/sympathies with in the controversy over mink farming?

An animal protection organization like Anima

The mink breeders who farm the mink

Kopenhagen Fur who sell the mink skins

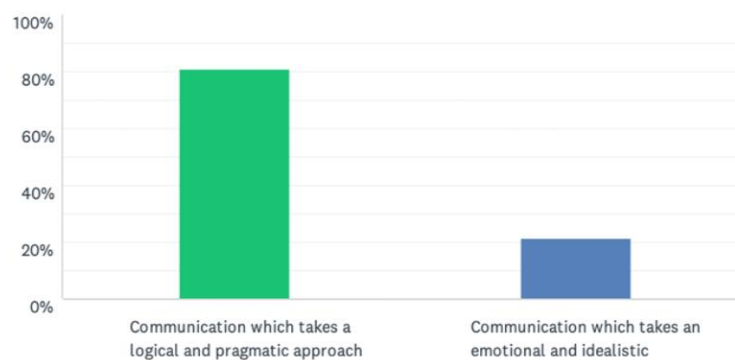| SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
The mink breeders who farm the mink	49.18%
Kopenhagen Fur who sell the mink skins	16.39%
An animal protection organization like Anima	34.43%

The Danish Mink Industry   SurveyMonkey

Sp. 6 What type of communication is more likely to have an effect on you

Communication which takes a logical and pragmatic approach

Communication which takes an emotional and idealistic
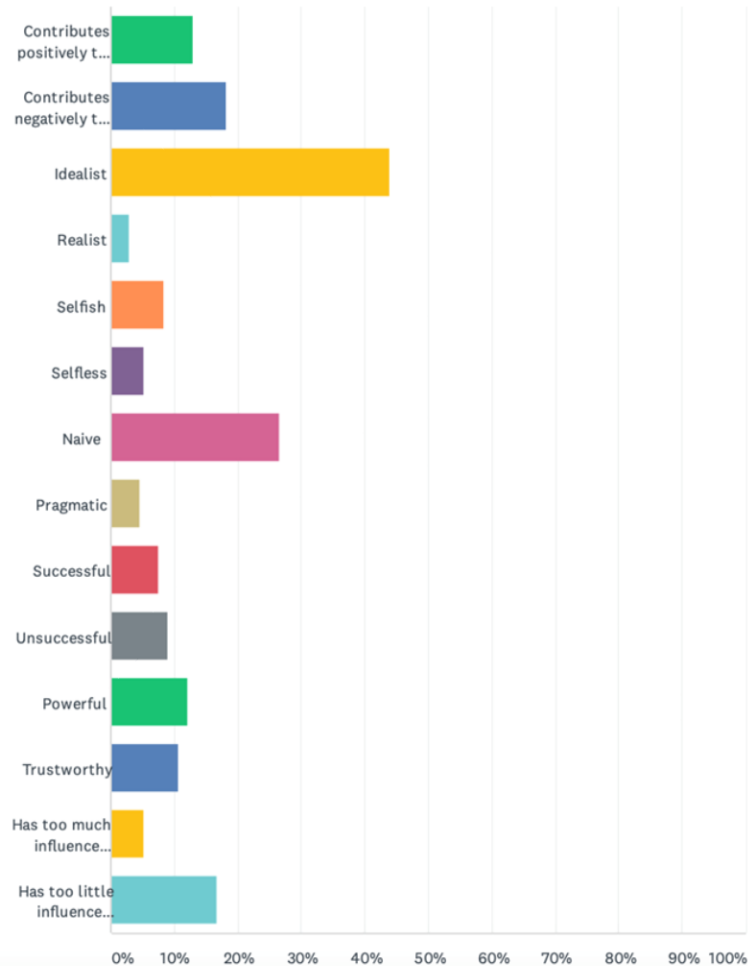
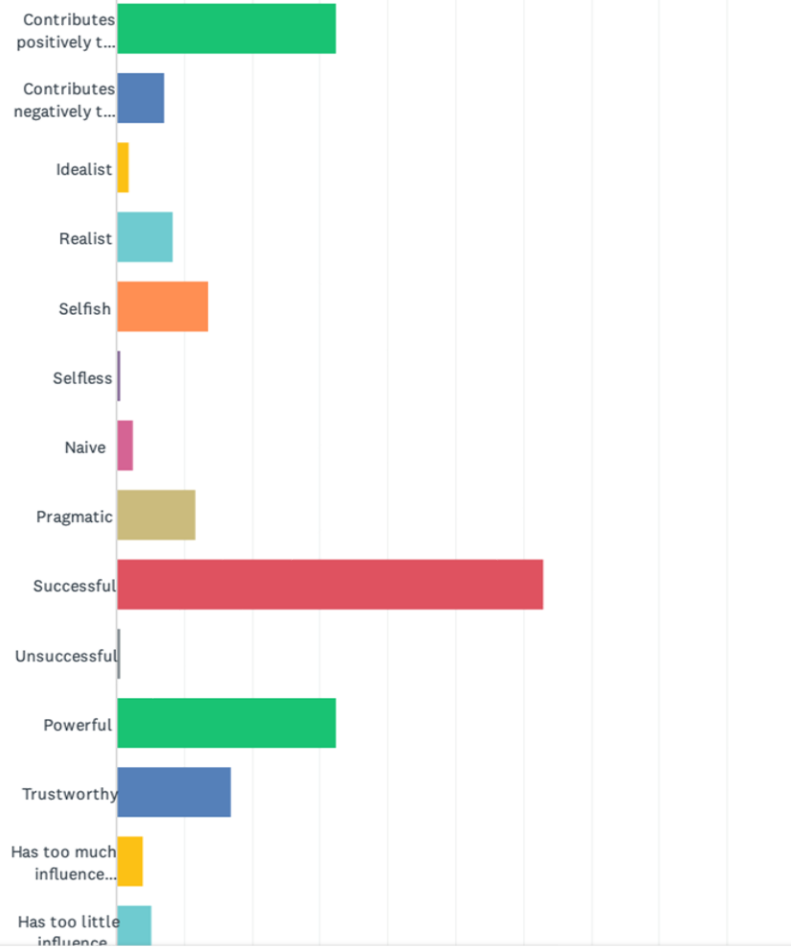| SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Communication which takes a logical and pragmatic approach	80.77%
Communication which takes an emotional and idealistic approach	21.43%

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## Sp. 7 Which of the following words and sentences do you associate Anima with?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Contributes positively to the Danish society	12.88%
Contributes negatively to the Danish society	18.18%
Idealist	43.94%
Realist	3.03%
Selfish	8.33%
Selfless	5.30%
Naive	26.52%
Pragmatic	4.55%
Successful	7.58%
Unsuccessful	9.09%
Powerful	12.12%
Trustworthy	10.61%
Has too much influence within the Danish society	5.30%
Has too little influence within the Danish society	16.67%

Sp. 8 Which of the following words and sentences do you associate Kopenhagen Fur with?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
Contributes positively to the Danish society	32.47%
Contributes negatively to the Danish society	7.14%
Idealist	1.95%
Realist	8.44%
Selfish	13.64%
Selfless	0.65%
Naive	2.60%
Pragmatic	11.69%
Successful	62.99%
Unsuccessful	0.65%
Powerful	32.47%
Trustworthy	16.88%
Has too much influence within the Danish society	3.90%
Has too little influence within the Danish society	5.19%

Sp. 9 Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?
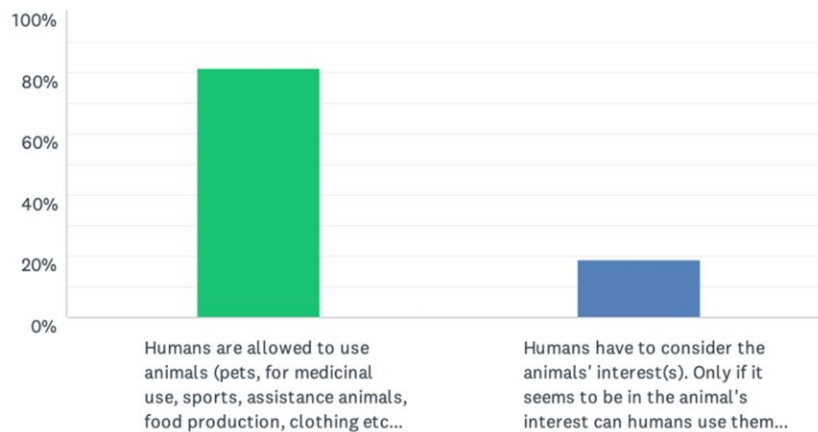
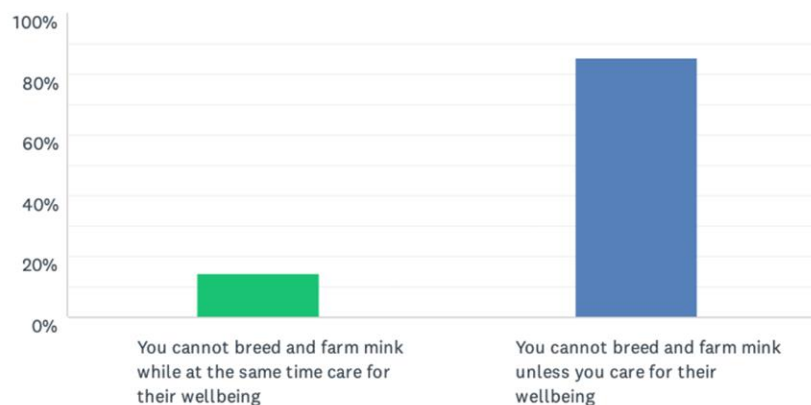| SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVAREL
Humans are allowed to use animals (pets, for medicinal use, sports, assistance animals, food production, clothing etc.) but only if humans treat the animals well while they have them in their keeping.	81.71%
Humans have to consider the animals' interest(s). Only if it seems to be in the animal's interest can humans use them (pets, for medicinal use, sports, assistance animals, food production, clothing etc.).	18.90%

Sp. 10 Which of the statements do you agree with the most?

SVARMULIGHEDER	BESVARELSER
You cannot breed and farm mink while at the same time care for their wellbeing	14.29%
You cannot breed and farm mink unless you care for their wellbeing	85.71%

Appendix C

Interviewees

| | "Animal" Organization | | The Danish Mink Industry | |
	DOSO	Anima	Kopenhagen Fur	Danish Mink Breeders
Interviewee Description	Founding and leading member of the DOSO organization. 13 years of experience with representing and communicating on behalf of DOSO and thus Anima.	Leading and influential member of Anima, who occupies a managerial position (not a volunteer but an employee). Represents Anima in all public matters.	Member occupying managerial position within the communications department at KF. Often represents KF in the press and in other communicative instances.	Mink breeder and managing character at family run "fur business" (feedmill, mink farm, pelting facility and agricultural farming).
			KFI2	DMBI2
	Code For Abbreviations - *AOI#* ("Animal" Organization Interviewee#) - *KFI#* (Kopenhagen Fur Interviewee#) - *DMBI#* (Danish Mink Breeder Interviewee#)		Member occupying executive position at KF. Often represents KF in national and international matters. Is however also a mink breeder himself.	Mink breeder running the day to day operations of his family owned "fur business". A spokesperson for the Danish mink breeders who represents them in the press and in other public matters.

Appendix D

Pictures

Kopenhagen Fur 3, 2012.
Animal welfare on Danish mink farms. P. 7.

Kopenhagen Fur 3, 2012.
Animal welfare on Danish mink farms. P. 5

Anima, 2009. *Stop mishandlingen på minkfarmene* [End the animal abuse at the mink farms]

Anima 5, n.d. *Virkeligheden på danske pelsfarme* [What reality looks like at the Danish mink farms].

Anima, 2014. *Vild med dans – Vildere med dyr*.

Appendix E

Transcribed Campaign – Part of the Solution

Are we about to destroy our planet? By shopping too much. And trashing too fast. We need to ask ourselves; how do we change the way we use our resources? To many fur is part of the problem. But is it in fact, part of the solution? The clothing industry is one of the most polluting industries in the world. Production of fashion emits more co2 than all of our flights and maritime shipping combined. Growing cotton has been drying out ancient waterways, about half the garments we produce are thrown away within a year, turning beautiful landscapes into junkyards. Many of our clothes are made from non-degradable micro plastic that are washed out into our oceans. But looking back, might be showing a way forward. The oldest clothing known to man might be the most sustainable fabric of today. First farming began as a way of using remnants from fishing and still today, most of the feed comes from food production leftovers. Everything, the manure, the dead animals are turned into fertilizers and biodiesel. Essentially, fur waste upcycles to a biodegradable fabric with a low co2 footprint. There is still high concern amongst consumers about whether fur is an ethical choice. The fur industry has been listening to those concerns, and from 2020 you can look for the independently controlled certification WelFur, that guarantees a high level of animal welfare. But the most important part of fur as a sustainable choice is the way it is kept in use for as long as possible by reusing it and passing it on. By recycling and remodeling it. The fashion industry is driven by fast fashion. New Seasons, sales, and shopping events. Ever faster consumption. But with fur, it is the other way around. It is a high-quality fabric that is loved, maintained, and repaired. Wearing fur is a gift from the past. Of values inherited through ages and passing it on to the next generation is how we need to treat all our resources. If we care about our planet and our future.

Kopenhagen Fur. (2019). Part of the solution.