Photojournalism in War and Armed Conflicts

Professional Photography and the
Framing of Victimhood in World Press Photos of the Year

Uppsala Universitet

Department of Informatics and Media

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Academic advisor: Christian Christensen

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Jelka Ninja Below

Personal number: 850304 – P108
Telephone: +46 – (0)73 – 7876901
E-Mail: Jelka.Below.2220@student.uu.se

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Abstract

During the last decades, the presence of visual media has increased dramatically. However, very little empirical research has been carried out to determine the implication of the medium photograph as a visual information transmitter. The aim of this study was therefore to investigate the characteristics of professional press photos that relate to war and armed conflicts and to examine the framing of victimhood. A thorough literature review as well as *an iconographic* interpretation of World Press Photos serves to ascertain data in order to permit answering the research questions.

The World Press Photo Foundation is the subject of research as it represents the most prestigious international competition for press photography at present and thus acts as an agenda-setter. That highlights the implication of its decisions about professional photographs since its coverage of certain issues biases the international media coverage of the same. It also affects the development of professional photojournalism. In this context the meaning of photographs in today's visual media societies can be discussed.

Keywords

# 1.	Introduction

"I'm a messenger. I don't want people to be concerned about me. I want them to be concerned about the people in the pictures. I try to use whatever I know about photography to be of service to the people I'm photographing. I'm trying not to create photographs that viewers will look at and think: `What a good photographer he is`, or `Look what an interesting composition he can make.` I want the first impact, and by far the most powerful impact, to be about an emotional, intellectual and moral reaction to what is happening to these people. I want my presence to be transparent."[1] – *James Nachtwey.*

## 1.1.	Preface

War correspondents have to fulfil high expectations from societies, from victims, from the ones that suffer, from political parties, from economic actors as well as perpetrators, from the media and from themselves. As for journalists in general, it is their aim to critically inform societies in their home-countries and in the rest of the world about the situation in war and crises zones, about how poor the circumstances for the civic society are and about the implications warfare has on violence and fear.[2]

Thus, visual media publications are characterised by a high degree of sensation and attract the audiences' emotions and attention. News products such as photographs[3] are directed towards people's feelings and their empathy. They show a high level of sensationalism and picture something unexpected; they follow so called news value categories.[4] Those categories pursue the target to endorse news material to successfully compete against the enormous amount of visual material that is sent around the world.[5] It is thereby difficult to follow the general journalistic due diligences, since the social, political and economic forces and restrictions influence as well as direct them in order to successfully enforce their individual targets.[6]

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[1] Nachtwey, cited in: Memorable quotes for War Photographer, available at URL: http://www. imdb.com/title/tt0309061/quotes [2010/04/10]
[2] Cf. Langenbucher, 1994, pp. 160 (et seq.)
[3] In the following often shortened to *photo*
[4] Cf. Östgaard, 1965, pp. 45 (et seq.)
[5] Cf. Galtung / Ruge, 1965, pp. 70 (et seq.)
[6] Cf. Weller, 2002, pp. 27 (et seq.) / Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, pp. 31 (et seq.)

Furthermore journalists face moral and ethic dilemmas, eminently war correspondents, who want to show the situation on the ground which is always linked to poor social circumstances, suffering, death and high risks. Investigative correspondents also follow the target to point out and critically discuss political procedures and decisions. That again can put them into hazardous positions.[7]

Thus, photojournalists in war and crises zones are confronted with the difficulty of what to show and to offer to the public and what actually represents the combat or crisis situation on-site most appropriately. Their basic obligation is to follow the classic due diligences; and this while under the pressure of internal and external forces, as well as the constraints relative to determining which photographs cross moral borders.[8] John Hurst added the remark that the *"verbal and physical aggression he sometimes meets from people who, for one reason or another, don't want their pictures taken"[9]*, belongs to the most unpopular incidents in press photography. That leads to the question what kind of pictures the reporters want to take that people, often victims, feel uncomfortable with the thought of being in this photo. Sometimes they feel threatened in their privacy, they want to protect their families, as well as themselves, from being recognised and they wish to preserve their dignity. *"Though it is generally agreed that every individual has the right to privacy, the issue of whether this right can be transgressed, and under what circumstances, is a topic of considerable contention and debate."[10]*

War photographers and further media workers involved in the news production and publishing process ideally find a way that gives recipients an insight into the incidents without manipulating them. Manipulations in this context already mean to only show the most emotional frames and settings, moments and actions from a one-sided perspective which happens when they mainly follow political and financial defaults.

Qualitative photojournalism can be understood as the work of journalists who follow due diligence, are neutral as well as independent. They offer an insight into the complex world in an objective and true manner – even though that is not to be understood in an absolute sense[11] – instead of publishing false information and propaganda. This is important for the

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[7] Cf. Matheson, 2010, pp. 82 (et seq.)
[8] Cf. Korte, 2009, pp. 10 (et seq.)
[9] Hurst, 1988, p. 172
[10] Thakurta, 2009, p. 112
[11] Cf. Burkart, 2002, pp. 208 (et seq.)

development of societies and thus the genre needs to be encouraged, and the content as well as the context of press photographs, need to be well elaborated and presented.[12]

The World Press Photo Foundation is an accredited institution which has committed itself to maintain and promote quality in photojournalism. Because of the vast social, political and economic power photographs hold, the institution takes over an important agenda-setting function. The distinguished photographs in the context of the World Press Photo Award obtain the relevance to set the agenda for the visual representation of issues of public importance within the year. Furthermore these so called photoicons determine peoples' cognitive pictures of incidents and occurrences.[13]

The today's visual cultures are continuously confronted with visually prepared media products. Nevertheless, mankind is not able to reflect on every single one of them and therefore select those few that attract their attention the most. Obviously, nonconforming pictures from war zones are spectacular and attract attention. However, what is a spectacular, extraordinary, still verifiable photograph that delivers information and, controversially, what is a voyeuristic, sensational image that lives from others´ suffering?

These interdisciplinary issues of the practice of photojournalists in combats and crises regions, as well as the conditioning and perception of visual news material, are relevant concerns for media and communication studies and the public discourse. Discussions, theories and approaches with the attempt to answer these questions can be found in various communication science theories, such as the *framing theory*[14]. For this analysis, visual media frames are of interest. In the researcher's focus are those visual frames, that relate to the presentation of victimhood in war zones, as addressed in the second research question. The *gatekeeper research*[15] and the *agenda-setting approach*[16], which will be discussed later in this paper, need to be considered as well. Last but not least, media impact research, cognitive psychology, sociology, cultural studies and political sciences play central roles for this investigation.

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[12] Cf. Meyer / Ontrup / Schicha, 2000, pp. 98 (et seq.) / Silverstone, 2007, pp. 8 (et seq.)
[13] Cf. Weller, 2002, pp. 33 (et seq.)
[14] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.1.
[15] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.2.
[16] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.3.

1.2.   The aim of the thesis & Research questions

The thesis was designed to do research on the above in short presented subject matter. The researcher wants to investigate how excellence in photojournalism is created and focuses hereby on visual media frames and the features of professional press photographs in the context of visual cultures.

This aim is of public and professional interest since a photograph is one entity in the broad field of mass media. However, in empirical investigations about the meaning of visual media products, its preparation, distribution and perception, it was generally focused on television and later also computer gaming. The *photograph* was often neglected. This research therefore serves the aim to achieve empirical findings that help to link the meaning of professional press photographs to the public and specialised discussion about the preparation and authority of visual media.

The following presented study deals with the issue of how qualitative photojournalism in combats is characterised and how World Press Photos frame victims of war and crises.

The research questions:

- What are the characteristics of war and crises related World Press Photos?
  a) What features changed in the course of time?
  b) What aspects are constant?

- How are victims of war presented in the World Press Photos of the Year? – Analysing the visual media framing of victimhood.

The author of the research paper at hand tries to answer these questions on the basis of a thorough literature research as well as an empirical investigation in which combat and crises related World Press Photos are analysed and interpreted.

1.3.   Method

Important theories for this research paper include the traditional *agenda-setting research* and the *gatekeeper approach*. They relate to questions of the function of media in societies and the perception of media mediated news. Besides the theoretical presentation and examination of the topic, a qualitative research serves to answer the research questions of this survey. They refer to a further theory, the *framing-approach*.
The method which is used for this empirical investigation is a qualitative content analysis of World Press Photos. This includes a *pre-iconographic,* an *iconographic* and an *iconological analysis.*

To ensure that the photographs are of certain and comparable quality, the sample was exclusively chosen from the gallery of the subject of research, the World Press Photo Foundation.[17] The empirical investigation with reference to the theoretical part, serves the aim to draw conclusions about the posed research questions.

1.4.   The structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into three main sections. The first part serves to offer necessary background information, the second part is composed of a theoretical discussion and the third part offers a presentation of the empirical investigation. In the end, the research results are discussed and with help of both the literature review as well as the empirical results, the research questions are attempted to be answered.

After *chapter one*, the introduction, *chapter two* forms the first section of the research paper. Here an overview of the relevant background information is given. To emphasise the relevance of the thesis, the subject of research, the World Press Photo Foundation, is introduced. The author discusses its ideology, social functions and targets. Thereafter, the overall concept of photojournalism as well as the journalistic genre of war correspondents is discussed.

With *chapter three*, the theoretical discussion of the topic begins. Together with the first section, this chapter forms the foundation for the empirical research. The medium photograph as a unit of the mass media is presented. Furthermore the *framing-theory*, which is of relevance for the analysis, is discussed and communication science theories

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[17]   Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/years [2010/03/24]

concerning the information flow, the *gatekeeper research* and the *agenda-setting theory,* are introduced.

Chapter four to six refer to the empirical investigation. This begins with an introduction of the methodology of a qualitative content analysis and presents the specific method of *Iconography*, which is applied in this survey. *Chapter five* deals with the analysis of the World Press Photos, followed by *chapter six*, that seeks to outline the research results and its interpretation.

With *chapter seven*, a conclusion and research outlook are provided, and the thesis closes.

1.5. Notes

All translations from German to English are made by the author herself. Besides, the author abandons gender-specific language since she takes the view that mentioning both forms, the female and the male, would disturb the flow of reading. Incidentally it should be pointed out that, unless otherwise noted by the author, both genders are always meant; even though only the male form is used.

2.   Background knowledge

2.1.   The subject of research – World Press Photo

To emphasise the relevance of the research paper, in this chapter the subject of research, the World Press Photo Foundation, is introduced:

> *"Our mission is to encourage high professional standards in photojournalism and to promote a free and unrestricted exchange of information."*[18]

"The Amsterdam-based non-profit-making [World Press Photo Foundation] was founded in 1956, when three Amsterdam photographers, Ben van Meerendonk sr., Kees Scherer and Bram Wisman, expanded Holland's national competition for the Press Photo of the Year into an international one."[19] The organisation is managed by an independent executive board and a supervisory board, with approximately 25 permanent staff members, and the *"support of the Netherlands Government, the City of Amsterdam and a group of Friends of World Press Photo."*[20]

World Press Photo organises the *"world's largest and most prestigious annual press photography contest"*[21] and a yearly changing touring exhibition for the year's winning photographs. Over two million people in approximately 45 countries visit the exhibition and many also buy the World Press yearbook, printed in six different languages. It presents all annual prize-winning photos.[22] *"World Press Photo is also deeply concerned with stimulating developments in photojournalism and encouraging transfer of knowledge – organizing the annual Joop Swart Masterclass as well as seminars, workshops and other educational projects all over the world."*[23]

Since its formation, the foundation exclusively addresses professional photographers. Those who submit one or more pictures must name their employer or present a

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[18] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/ [2010/03/24]
[19] Evans, 1981, p. 5
[20] Evans, 1981, p. 5
[21] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option= com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=113&bandwidth=high [2010/03/24]
[22] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option =com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=113&bandwidth=high [2010/03/24]
[23] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option= com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=113&bandwidth=high [2010/03/24]

journalistic pass to proof his professional journalistic activity. Thus, the competition never reflects photojournalism in an entire spectrum, but focuses exclusively on professional photography what explains that the *"World Press Photo's Golden Eye prizes are often called the `Oscars` of press photography."*[24]

The World Press Photo contest's jury is composed of thirteen members who vary from year to year. It is exclusively composed of photographers, picture editors and staff of photo agencies, since their practical knowledge and experience is acquired as the foundation for valuable decisions. The jury awards one Press Photo of the Year and three prizes in ten different categories, which were modified in the course of time. In 1955, the categories were vaguely defined as *news pictures, sports pictures* and *picture stories*. Nowadays there are ten categories, named *spot news* and *general news, people in the news, sports action* and *sports feature, contemporary issues, daily life, portraits, arts and entertainment* as well as *nature*. Besides the nomination of individual images in these categories, photo series also receive prizes.

The nomination for the World Press Photo of the Year is based on various assumptions such as professionalism and creativity as also the representation of an issue of vast journalistic importance within the year. Hence, the common claim for actuality in journalism must be differentiated and viewed in a figurative sense. The requirement for a prize winning photo is not its absolute actuality, but its actuality with the passage of time of the year's contest. It is also forbidden to submit digital manipulated photographic material. Only those changes are allowed which can be achieved with conventional darkroom techniques, such as changing the level of contrast or dodging and burning, in order to lighten or darken certain areas of the photograph.[25]

> *"We have one entry rule concerning image manipulation, but this is […] based on industry standards: The content of an image must not be altered. Only retouching which conforms to currently accepted standards in the industry is allowed. The jury is the ultimate arbiter of these standards and may at its discretion request the original, unretouched file as*

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[24] Evans, 1981, p. 5

[25] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=56&bandwidth=low [2010/03/24]

recorded by the camera or an untoned scan of the negative or slide."[26]

The winning photo prize is composed of a cash prize, 10,000 Euros, as well as the prestige and honour to receive one of the most important prizes in qualitative photojournalism.[27]

As an independent organisation, World Press Photo has devoted itself to the non-profit principles. The foundation's goal is not to generate profit, but to provide a forum for professional photojournalism and to support its development. The funding of World Press Photo is mainly based on the sponsors *TNT*, an international logistic company, and the camera manufacturer *Canon*. Also they are subsidised by the *Dutch Postcode Lottery*. The foundation emphasises independence as the basis for their credibility and admits the mix of their financing sources as actually helpful in guaranteeing the organisation's sovereignty.[28]

While the first prize for the World Press Photo was received by an American only three years after the advent of the photo competition; and a Chinese attended six years later; the exhibition activities were confined to Europe in its early years. The first time the World Press Photo exhibition crossed European borders was in 1969, when the competition photos were to be seen in Japan.[29]

Since its foundation, the organisation stresses the principle to only show uncensored photos and the exhibition in its full extent. Only one exception has officially been made in the early 1990's, when the exhibition was about to be shown in Iran. With the agreement of all photographers, some of their photos, especially those where bare skin of women could be seen, had to be covered up. World Press Photo reasoned this exception with the argument that their refusal of all forms of censorship had to yield to the extraordinary opportunity to exhibit in an authoritarian country. However, no other exception has ever been made since, for example no Chinese edition of the World Press Photo Yearbook exists. The country claims the right to remove unpleasant pictures.

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[26] Cited: Hesselbein, Daniel, Communication Department, World Press Photo, 2010
[27] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=61 [2010/03/24]
[28] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1563&Itemid=50 [2010/03/24]
[29] Cf. World Press Photo, 2005, p. 9

This motive of rejection of censor makes the World Press Photo Foundation an important representative of press freedom.[30]

Considering the success, popularity and prestige of the World Press Photo Foundation, which is a unit of the media landscape, and the meaning of photographs for the development of a collective identification and remembrance[31], the relevance of the study on the World Press Photo Foundation as a major gatekeeper[32] and agenda-setter[33] within the framework of the news selection processes[34] can be comprehended and will be discussed afterwards.

> *"The first years of a new century have seen not only World Press Photo's 50th anniversary, but further restructuring of the organization as it adapts to a changing world. World Press Photo now finds itself in the position where it not only runs the world's most prestigious international contest of photojournalism, but also administers the world's widest-ranging annual photo exhibition, and offers a breadth of related activities that is unmatched."[35]*

[30] Cf. Jacobson, 2002, p. 63
[31] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.
[32] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.2.
[33] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.3.
[34] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.
[35] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option= com_content&task=view&id=126&Itemid=114&bandwidth=high [2010/03/24]

2.2.   Photojournalism

> *"Photography is a strong tool, a propaganda device, and a weapon
> for the defense of the environment…and therefore for the fostering
> of a healthy human race and even very likely for its survival."*[36] –
> *Eliot Porter*

The term photojournalism is composed of the two professional spheres photography and journalism. Together they form the single concept photojournalism which can be defined as photography with the intention to convey information about a topical and current issue.[37] Alternatively it can be described as a form of journalism[38] that creates images in order to tell news stories.

Photojournalism follows the journalistic claim of being timely, objective and narrative. It is distinguished from other close fields, such as street and celebrity photography and definite, even if loosely, from documentary photography, which is characterised by a time-consuming research on current situations and processes.[39]

The Austrian communication scientist Roland Burkart points out how difficult it is for a single medium to picture a news event in its whole complexity, even though a photograph is supposed to be worth a thousand words, even though photojournalists often put themselves in physical and psychological danger for a story. He states that news aim to cover the multifaceted diversity of reality in its entirety, with which, as mentioned above, one medium is overextended. Thus, in order to unfold the documentary potential of photojournalism and to be able to answer the questions on the four journalistic W's – about the process itself (what), about the individuals involved (who), about the time (when), and about the location (where) – the support of written words is needed.[40]

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[36] Porter, cited in: Quotations from the World of Photography: Eliot Porter, available at URL: http://www.photoquotes.com/showquotes.aspx?id=128&name=Porter,Eliot [2010/04/10]

[37] Cf. Photography Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.answers.com/topic/photojournalism [2010/02/26]

[38] The term journalism describes the *"collection, preparation, and distribution of news and related commentary and feature materials through media such as pamphlets, newsletters, newspapers, magazines, radio, film, television, and books. The term was originally applied to the reportage of current events in printed form, specifically newspapers, but in the late 20th century it came to include electronic media as well."* (Britannica Concise Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306742/journalism [2010/02/26])

[39] Cf. Photography Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.answers.com/topic/photojournalism [2010/02/26]

[40] Cf. Hartmann, 1994, p. 32

Texts, as well as photo captions, are important to contextualize news photos, especially for the reason that photographic equipment became handier. Images can now be shot all over the world in passing or in secret. Furthermore a progressive globalisation causes the effect that news coverage without geographic borders in almost real time is possible. As a result, recipients of uncommented photos increasingly face the problem of embedding the image in the right context. Cultural and geographical closeness is not imperatively given and visual material of foreign societies, civilisations and environments is difficult to classify.[41]

Already the question about the actual event or process a picture illustrates, the *what*, can not be answered intersubjectively. Also the analysis of further fundamental journalistic Ws, such as *who* and *when* or *where*, is dependent on cultural contexts and former knowledge.[42] A simple example: A person that has never seen John F. Kennedy before (who) would not be able to recognise him in a picture as a former US president. The reason is that perception is recognition on the basis of previous experiences and knowledge. Therefore the contextualisation and interpretation depend on the specific historical, cultural and political background of those people that produce the picture, the ones that select and encode it, as well as the ones that receive and decode it.[43]

That is why the written word also has to be strong and expressive. It should not leave the photographic construction in its nothingness since that would mean to fail the journalistic aim of transmitting information and offering an insight into a foreign and remote world.

Wilson Hicks, the image editor of the famous US photo-magazine LIFE[44], wants photojournalism, respectively press photography, to be understood as „*the coming together of the verbal and the visual medium of communication […]. Used in combination, its elements do not produce a third and new medium. Instead, they form a complex whole in which each of the components retains its fundamental character, since words are distinctly one kind of medium, pictures another.*"[45]

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[41] Cf. Heidelberger, 2008, pp. 92 (et seq.)
[42] Cf. Andersen, 1989, p. 98 / Cf. Burkart, 2002, p. 308
[43] Cf. Heidelberger, 2008, pp. 73 (et seq.)
[44] The photographic news magazine LIFE was launched by Henry Luce in New York. From 1936 to 2000 it got published regularly, in 2004 only six editions were released as supplements.
The downfall of the famous US photographic magazine LIFE reflects the difficult conditions for professional photography in the news. Nevertheless, since 2008 there is a partnership with *Google* in order to allow ten million professional photographs to be available on the Internet. Furthermore the website LIFE.com, *"the largest, most amazing collection of professional photography on the Web", represents the former magazine in cooperation with Getty Images, an US photo agency. "LIFE.com not only lets you wander through the legendary LIFE and Getty archives, but with more than 3,000 new photos added every day, it also gives you the best pictures of the people and places shaping our world now."* (LIFE, available at URL: http://www.life.com/vice/aboutus [2010/02/26])
[45] Hicks, cited in: Meijer / Swart, 1988, p. 172

However, the information transmitted by photos is a fragile good. Besides the choice of scenes and objects, a simple zooming or extract selection has the power to completely change the intention, statement and purpose of a picture. Accordingly, objectivity in photojournalism, as in journalism in general, is a claim that can not be fully met. As a supplement, the terms credibility and authenticity are important due diligences that can be complied to and thus need to be considered.

Also the photographer's independence of political and economic forces, as well as of prejudices, is expected and desirable, even though challenging and difficult to meet.[46] Though, the reputation of the medium photograph to picture the reality is still present and despite technological revolutions and changes in the media landscape – like the flood of visual supply and image modifying options – this perception of trust towards press photos continues.[47] That is because humans spontaneously believe what they see and internal as well as external influences that shape and define a photo are often and by default overlooked.

Given that photojournalism is a specialisation of journalism, the photojournalist, like a writer, is a reporter who wants to be in print. Nevertheless, the fundamental idea of journalism is to provide the citizens with the information they need to function in a democratic society.[48] Also it has the authority to serve as *"watchdogs"*[49] over those individuals, parties and elites whose power and position most affect the general public and to offer a *"voice to the voiceless"*[50]. Journalists are the carriers of a public discourse, they open up forums for public criticism and comments. Therefore they hold a lot of responsibility and social commitment. Public discussions avail best when the society is informed by facts rather than prejudices and assumptions.

Hence, due to the public character of journalism in democracies, their work can fulfil its social function by investigating and distributing accurate and reliable information.[51]

By commenting on and being critical towards those in power, journalists can act as *opinion leaders*[52] and influence the views and meanings of their disperse audience.

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[46] Mortensen, 2009, p. 49
[47] Cf. Reiche, 2003, p. 16 / Cf. Viehoff / Fahlenbrach, 2003, p. 42
[48] Cf. Burkart, 2002, pp. 401 (et seq.) / Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.
[49] Cf. Menon, 2008, p. 1
[50] Cf. Menon, 2008, p. 1
[51] Cf. Weller, 2002, p. 28 (et seq.)
[52] An *opinion leader* is an individual whose ideas and behaviour serve as a model to other groups and individuals. Opinion leaders communicate messages and hereby influence the attitudes and manners of their followers. Therefore, in certain marketing instances, it may be advantageous to direct the communications especially to those *opinion leaders* to speed the acceptance of an advertising message. (Cf. Dictionary of Business Terms, available at URL: http://www.allbusiness. com/glossaries/opinion-leader/4951795-1.html [2010/02/26])

On the contrary, photojournalists are subjects to regulations and monetary as well as political restraints. That makes it challenging to be an independent-minded journalist, principally free from social and financial forces and thus able to report critically and differentiated towards the governments, global players or the military.[53]

To be able to accurately deal with their responsibility and duties, unlike earlier times, journalism schools and academies have been successfully established. Either independently or as part of a university, they academically educate future journalists in theoretical areas. Besides, they mediate and train journalistic skills and procedures. Their curricula take in a broad variety of communication disciplines and they continuously adapt in order to be up to date and current. For example, broadcast production and news classes as well as public relation and advertising courses in print and electronic media have made their way into academic journalism schools, albeit not without disagreements. That derives from the fact the debate about the necessity and meaning of journalism schools is not yet past. Many professionals do not see the demand for theoretical media education, but ask for practical experience and expertise in the certain scientific field of interest. Others emphasise that it is important to have a general academic knowledge. It enables the journalist to understand, analyse and interpret the information gathered and to see through the given political context.[54]

Related to the development of digital media that opened up newbie transmission and publishing options, as well as digital photography itself, the entire civil society became potential news photographers. Thus, to honor excellent photographs of professionals, Prizes like the Pulitzer Price, founded in 1917, and the World Press Photo since 1955[55], are bestowed to separate the wheat from the chaff. Besides a specialised education, those prizes for excellent work can help strengthen qualitative photojournalism. The American Pulitzer Prize for example awards the Feature Photography and the Breaking News Photography. Other awards are the Best of Photojournalism, Pictures of the Year, International Photographer of the Year, Discovery of the Year as well as The Press Photographer's Year award.

Photojournalists need to capture and classify the often complex incidents immediately, while developing the shape of the composition that communicates the core of the event

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[53] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, pp. 31 (et seq.)
[54] Cf. Menon, 2008, pp. 39 (et seq.)
[55] Cross reference – Chapter 2.1.

most efficiently.[56] *"To take photographs means to recognize – simultaneously and within a fraction of a second – both the fact itself and the rigorous organization of visually perceived forms that give it meaning. It is putting one's head, one's eye and one's heart on the same axis."[57]* Plausibly the U.S. photographer Kenneth Kobre defines Photojournalists as „*visual reporters who interpret the news with cameras rather than pens.*"[58]

2.2.1. Historical overview

> *"Photography can put a human face on a situation that would otherwise remain abstract or merely statistical. Photography can become part of our collective consciousness and our collective conscience. It is a way to remember history and to try not to relive the mistakes of the past."[59] – James Nachtwey*

With the invention of photography in the 19th century, a new epoch began. Until that moment images existed only in form of paintings, hand drawings and graphic prints. They were commonly perceived as the artists' subjective reality. The photograph, however, was immediately surrounded by the reputation of being an objective portrayal of the world outside, of being a mirror of nature.[60] Incidentally it needs to be remembered that this is not true since photographs, as all journalistic products, are only able to present a selected extract of a subjective, biased reality. Nonetheless, due to different reasons, the recipients' perceptions by default observe photos as a picture of an universal reality.[61] [62]

A photo was supposed to testify that an event has in fact happened so and not otherwise. As a result, a world developed which was no longer consigned by hearsay and records, but allegedly reproduced objectively. [63]

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[56] Cf. Hurst, 1988, p. 175
[57] Cartier-Bresson, cited in: Master of Photography, available at URL: http://www.dropoflight.com/masters/bresson.php [2010/03/27]
[58] Kobre, 1996, p. viii
[59] Nachtwey, cited in: Photojournalism and photography quotes, available at URL: http://www.karlgrobl.com/Quotes.htm [2010/04/10]
[60] Cf. Andersen, 1989, pp. 96 (et seq.)
[61] Cf. Viehoff / Fahlenbrach, 2003, p. 42
[62] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1. / Chapter 3.2.
[63] Cf. Reiche, 2003, pp. 11 (et seq.)

ill. 1: Hermann Biow, 1842

The first official news photograph in the world is a daguerreotype[64] from 1842. With help of this early photographic process, Hermann Biow was able to capture the ruins after the great fire of Hamburg, Germany, to visually deliver information about the disaster to posterity.[65]

However, when photographs began to appear frequently in print in the 1880s, the camera's inability to document the violence and dramatic action the public was used to from contemporary paintings and graphic illustrations occurred to be problematic: Photographs were able to portrait no more than static, posed settings instead of lively impressions of outrages and accidents, as traditional paintings did.[66]

Consequently, before photojournalism became a promising information medium, cameras needed to become smaller, easier to use and faster. The transmission time had to become less in order to submit pictures while the actual news was still current and a process to rapidly duplicable images on a large scale, preferably with text, had to be invented.[67]

During the German Revolution at the end of World War I in 1918 and 1919, however, photojournalism was still characterised by slow transmission, poor photo-quality and a stagnant readiness for use. The equipment was heavy and besides the actual camera, photographers needed several accessories such as flashpowder to facilitate an appropriate photograph.[68] Additionally, photo journalists still avoided dangerous situations like shootouts and jeopardising attacks. For these reasons, conflicts and catastrophes

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[64] *"Daguerreotypes (1840 – 1855) are images on polished silver so they are very reflective, like a mirror. Since they are on silver and subject to tarnish, daguerreotypes were put behind glass and sealed with paper tape so air cannot tarnish the plate […]. This was then put into a small hinged case […]. But, the easiest way to tell if you have a daguerreotype is to see if it has that reflection, just like a mirror. You have to tilt it back and forth to see the image."* (The Daguerreian Society, available at URL: http://daguerre.org/dagfaq.php#01 [2010/03/08])

[65] Cf. Gretzschel, 2002, available at URL: http://www.abendblatt.de/kultur-live/article605109/Das-erste-Foto-von-Hamburg.html [2010/03/08]

[66] Cf. Land / Pandel, 2009, p. 12

[67] Cf. Photography Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.answers.com/topic/photojournalism [2010/02/26]

[68] Cf. Buell, 2000, p. 10

tend to be left uncovered. Also, although most photojournalists seemed to have approached their work in a fairly neutral and independent way, the German Revolution exposed issues concerning visual news coverage. For instance, the ordinary public was unfamiliar with photography, but political actors explored how to control events for photographic purposes right after they have discovered what enormous power pictures have. Therefore photos were often used for propaganda purposes during the political struggles of the next decades.[69]

In 1925 the fist commercial 35mm Leica camera was available and in 1929 flash bulbs found their way into the photographers' equipment.[70] The year 1935 implicated the development of the so called wire photo, a technology by which it is possible to transmit photographs in forms of electrical signals, and saw to it that the transmission time diminished from days or hours to minutes.

These innovations paved the way for the so called *golden age* in photojournalism which took place between the 1930's and 1950's.[71] At this time layouts became more creative and dynamic and the recent concept of photo-essays livened up. Magazines such as the *Picture Post* in London, the *Paris Match*, the Berliner *Illustrierte Zeitung* and *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* in Germany as well as *Life*, *Look* and *Sports Illustrated* in the United States of America achieved huge readerships. Their good reputations were based mainly on the use of professionally made photographs. The same applied to newspapers such as *The Daily Mirror* in London, and *The New York Daily News*. Photographers that became well known at that time were, amongst others, Robert Capa, Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and Gordon Parks.[72]

After playing a major role in the news coverage of the Second World War between 1939 and 1945, photojournalism flourished. However, an early sign of upcoming changes was the foundation of the agency *Magnum*[73] in 1947. It reflects the photographers' awakening wish for more control over their own work.[74] This trend developed in the second half of the 20th century, when the agencies *Corbis* and *Getty Images* followed and established. The

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[69] Cf. Taylor, 1991, p. 2
[70] Cf. Buell, 2000, p. 10
[71] Korte, 2009, p. 129
[72] Cf. Stovall, 2010, available at URL: http://www.jprof.com/magazines/05goldagephotog.html [2010/03/08]
[73] The international photographic cooperation *Magnum* is an early agency which is exclusively owned and managed by joined members of the cooperation. The cooperation acts as a supporter for professional photographers from all over the world to help them keeping the copyright to their work. (Magnum Photos, available at URL: http://agency.magnumphotos.com/about/about [2010/03/08])
[74] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 21

labour conditions for photographers varied considerably concerning whether they worked independently or as an employee for a newspaper. Remarkably, far fewer of those professionals were employed at a newspaper or magazine in those days. They wanted to be in control of what happened to their photographs, instead of loosing the copyrights.[75]

During the 1960's, the modern medium television made its public breakthrough and aggravated the conditions for professional photojournalism. With its moving images it became the source of news for an increasing number of citizens. Nevertheless, the bulky television equipment was, compared to the meanwhile relatively compact photo cameras such as the Leica and Nikon F, at a disadvantage.[76] In particular, compared to video cameras, photo cameras were easier to transport and to handle and the photos were quickly ready for being in print. As a consequence, photojournalism was still flourishing.[77]

From the 1960's on, civil and human rights campaigns and the propagation of academic media and communication studies at qualified schools brought photojournalism into the centre of attention.
Since the late 1970's, it has increasingly entered in exhibitions and museums.[78]

Photojournalism, at the beginning of the 21st century finds itself at a turning point. New technologies and the public's attitude could mean the professional photojournalism's downfall. In contrary, they could take on the challenge and become even more authentic, credible and trustworthy.[79]

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[75] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 21
[76] Cf. Photography Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.answers.com/topic/photojournalism [2010/02/26]
[77] Cf. Newton, 2001, p. ix
[78] Cf. Photography Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.answers.com/topic/photojournalism [2010/02/26]
[79] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 379

2.2.2. Photojournalism today

The photograph is the oldest visual medium and even though the moving pictures challenge it, photojournalism has its particular and strong market.[80] Neither film or television, nor computer graphics could expel it from newspapers and other traditional as well as modern media. Not even the colour photo could displace the conventional, journalistic black-and-white picture with its documentary character.

This fact is historically as well as theoretically well understood in communication and media sciences.[81] Rather than creating displacement and rivalry, these mediums operate in a complementary fashion, as almost everywhere else in the media landscape. Furthermore the continuous popularity of press photos is not least reduced; due to its versatility. The new types of media of the 1990's made it possible that pictures, once primarily of illustrative and informative character, enforced the role as a medium of own aesthetic and artistry.

These days, press photographs feature every newspaper and news magazine in print as well as online. The amount of visual objects published every day causes that also photographs of inappropriate quality of amateurs are in print.[82] Indeed, at the base of modern technological prerequisites, principally every civilian and amateur photographer is able to deliver highly professional services in terms of focus, contrasts and exposure. But few of these civilians, which through luck were in the right place at the right time, equipped with a camera, have the essential practical skills and theoretical knowledge to deliver adequate information.[83] For this reason, professional photojournalists have to increasingly put in effort to become even more required as well as requested and simply most professional. They need to follow the ambition to act as a democratic and neutral informant for the civic society and have to be skilled not only in terms of technical expertise. Awareness of the current social and political situation, as well as for the economic and political forces they are surrounded by, is essential as well.[84]

With the development of digital media, the originally in an artistic context developed photo montage became present in newspapers and magazines. Even though a photo does not picture an absolute reality, the conscious decision to work with images and to publish

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[80] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 378
[81] Cf. Langenbucher, 1994, pp. 160 (et seq.)
[82] Cf. Perlmutter, 2005, pp. 109 (et seq.)
[83] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, pp. 49 (et seq.)
[84] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, p. 45 / Cf. Langenbucher, 1994, pp. 160 (et seq.)

distorted photos does not correspond with the responsibility journalists have.[85] Photojournalism has made it its duty to provide people with the most possible objective information and to give a broad insight into the world out there so that the general public is able to understand for example complex political decisions and actions. Even though that is merely their aim, rather a guideline, and social, political and economic forces prevent its absolute fulfilment, recipients should get offered central information about current combats, incidents and occurrences. They should not be fooled and intentionally affected by manipulated pictures.[86]

Nevertheless, various historical events, most of the time not personally experienced, have manifested in people's memories in the form of single, remarkable frames, so called photoicons[87]. They demonstrate what significant impact photographs can have on the individual, as well as the society's collective memory.[88] News referring to earlier and recent events – just like the bombed cities after World War II, the prostration of the former German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt in Budapest in 1956, the Vietnam War between 1959 and 1975 or the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 – can be visually recalled in form of memorised photographs. There is no doubt that journalistic photos are part of people's internal historiography and photoicons that are de facto printed over and over again are the documentations of the stories.[89] This is even more surprising considering that simultaneously with the development of press photography the flood of moving pictures descended upon societies.[90] Nevertheless, the electronic visualisation did not manage to become a part of our internal visual chronicle in the same way. As a consequence, photojournalism can be seen as a contemporary information supplier, an instrument as well as the manifestation of historical events.[91]

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[85] Cf. Burkart, 2002, pp. 378 (et seq.)
[86] Cf. Langenbucher, 1994, pp. 160 (et seq.)
[87] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.2.
[88] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 379
[89] Cf. Viehoff / Fahlenbrach, 2003, pp. 43 (et seq.)
[90] Cf. Reiche, 2003, p 11
[91] Cf. Langenbucher, 1994, pp. 160 (et seq.)

2.3. War correspondence

2.3.1. The history of war and crisis correspondence

On the basis of the strong journalistic aim, the intention to satisfy the public's need for comprehensive information after the Revolution in France in 1848, a new official genre of journalism originated in 1853. There is talk of war reporting, war correspondence or war coverage.[92]

To this day, the conventional journalistic method to gain information from war zones was to employ a serviceman in the field. He was delegated to write letters and to send them to metropolises, such as London. Nevertheless, this traditional system did not satisfy the increasing information need on the part of the society to any further extent. On the one hand it was already problematic that news, in the form of letters, were particularly subjectively produced. On the other hand the aspect that it took much time before news got delivered did not convince the public. Hence, the editor of *The Times* magazine in London, John Delane, decided to run a new direction in order to cover the Crimean War[93] which took place between 1853 and 1856.[94] He wanted to reverse the roles. This means that a professional journalist writes exclusively about the situation on the ground instead of a serviceman, who is supposed and trained to fight, not to write. His choice for this new position of a in these days called special correspondent was the 33-year-old journalist William Howard Russell from Ireland. He did not acquire a taste for the thought of reporting from the actual scenery immediately. He mistook his role as a reporter who acts as an on-scene correspondent for the coverage of combats, but did not let this chance pass by. The early date of his service reasons that he is officially assigned to be the first modern war correspondent.[95]

Nevertheless, it needs to be remarked that the Dutch painter Willem van de Velde reported from a battle field between the Netherlands and the English already in the year 1653. On the basis of sketches which were transformed into drawings after he has arrived

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[92] Cf. Thompson, 2009, p. 194
[93] *"The Crimean War was a war in Crimea [a Ukrainian peninsula between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov] between Russia and a group of nations including England and France and Turkey and Sardinia."* (The Free Dictionary, available at URL: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ Crimean+War [2010/04/04])
[94] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, p. 47
[95] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, p. 47

back home, he submitted a picture of what has happened on the scene, together with a written report to the parliament of the Netherlands.[96]

Also the British Henry Crabb Robinson reported from on the ground. He, as a reporter for *The Times* in London, covered the Peninsular War. It was a conflict between France and Spain, the United Kingdom and Portugal and took place during the Napoleonic Wars which lasted from 1803 to 1814.[97]

The earlier called special correspondence later became known as war correspondence. Generally spoken, those are journalist which report directly from jeopardising and hazardous conflict-ridden places. They deliver background reports, photographs and videos on diplomatic, economic and humanitarian issues.

The First World War, starting in 1914, brought a new development in the field of journalism and thus in war correspondence. It was the first combat which was covered by the modern mass media, which were heavily controlled and regulated.[98]

The conflict was negotiated and argued via innovative mass media and information. Opinions were exchanged on an indirect, media-mediated way while war correspondents were on the ground to gather and convey essential information. This new form of waging a war had, for the first time, a truly public character. Because of the fact that the media reached the civic society, the parties in conflict could receive reactions from the general public. At the same time, they were able to influence the peoples´ opinions by means of the controlled war correspondents´ work.[99] It was the first combat in which the media was politically organised and executed and it was barely impossible for a journalist to free himself from the bonds. Newspapers at time were factional-controlled which impeded an unbiased and free reporting. Military institutions were founded with the commission to control all reports and images of the war. Furthermore they had strict limits on the number of photographers in the line of duty and set the areas of the journalists' operations. Those were mostly far away from the actual setting. Last but not least, they practiced censorship. Hence, the medium photograph became utilised as a weapon for the own military and used as a public's opinion-forming instrument.[100]

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[96] Cf. Maritime Art Greenwich, available at URL: http://www.nmm.ac.uk/mag/pages/mnuExplore/PaintingDetail.cfm?ID=BHC0277 [2010/03/29]
[97] Cf. Cambridge Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://encyclopedia.stateuniversity.com/pages/9823/Henry-Crabb-Robinson.html [2010/03/29]
[98] Cf. Korte / Tonn, 2007, p. 13
[99] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, p. 52
[100] Cf. Schrader, 2002, p. 45

In the following decades the technology developed. Relatively small and mobile cameras were developed and photos became coloured. However, the pictures from the Second World War, which lasted from 1939 to 1945, still followed the patterns from earlier times – politically regulated and organised for propaganda purposes.[101] The presentation of the suffering and the death of ones own soldiers was avoided. Thus, the harm and injury was only shown indirectly or by presenting the death of the enemy. Primarily pictures of clean serviceman and hygienic accommodations or hospitals were in the news in order to create a war that appears to be non-violent. It was followed the target to present dominance and to simulate humanitarianism. Friendship between soldiers and their caring for each other was used as a popular object. Consequently, the flood of images that featured the Second World War provided an only one-sided, biased perspective.[102]

Until the Vietnam War in the 1960's and 1970's, photographs of brutal and cruel scenes in war remained prohibited. The attempt to publish visual material from the scene ended with censorship.[103] Incidentally it needs to be noted that in many developed as well as most developing countries the governmental and military rules and regulations for journalists and editors are still present. These still control the general presentation of war and conflict in their media.[104] A significant example for contemporary regulations in journalism, controlled media institutions and targeted opinion-forming processes is the Persian Gulf War of 1990/1991[105]. "*The pool system, censorship, and military escorts made it difficult for photojournalists to shoot the types of up-close pictures that had helped turn the U.S. public opinion against the Vietnam War."*[106] Furthermore the invasion of the United States in Afghanistan in 2001, after the terrorist attacks of September 11th in the same year, is an example for the governments control over the media and the biased reporting about war and conflicts.[107]

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[101] Cf. Paul, 2005, available at URL: http://www.bpb.de/themen/EFNP4S,0, Die_Geschichte_der_fotografischen_Kriegsberichterstattung.html [2010/03/26]

[102] Cf. Korte, 2009, p. 129 / Cf. Paul, 2005, available at URL: http://www.bpb.de/themen/EFNP4S, 0, Die_Geschichte_der_fotografischen_Kriegsberichterstattung.html [2010/03/26]

[103] Cf.Buell, 2000, pp. 54 (et seq.)

[104] Cf. Korte, 2009, p. 129

[105] At this point, in order to avoid misunderstandings, a definition is given. The Persian Gulf War describes the incidents from 1990/1991. In professional literature it is sometimes referred to as First Gulf War, sometimes as Second Gulf War. The author of the thesis at hand therefore defines the war which took place between August 1990 and February 1991 First Gulf War or Persian Gulf War and the conflicts that started in Mach 2003 Iraq-War, respectively Second Gulf War.

[106] Schwalbe, 2006, p. 267

[107] Cf. Korte, 2009, pp. 131 (et seq.)

"The Vietnam War was the first living room war which broadcasted the atrocities of the front line into Western homes".[108] It got covered visually and more immediate since the continuing technological innovations allowed photo cameras as well as video cameras together with its equipment to be smaller and handier.[109]

Thus the war got internationally covered by reporters from news stations all over the world; which appeared to be a big step in media history, but a political difficulty for the United States of America. Even though mainly from the American perspective, since only few correspondents *"were allowed to visit areas controlled by North Vietnam"*[110], people could now see how brutal and cruel war actually was. The U.S. government was not able to control which pictures and information news stations overseas broadcasted. Everything that came in front of the photographers' lenses was perceived as interesting and spectacular; and hence recorded and presented to the people back home.[111]

Already in the beginning of the history of war correspondence, photographs not only pictured a reality, obviously not in an absolute way, but also interpreted it. That is because professional photographers used to produce a certain politically desired image of the war by appeasing and mobilising, by legitimising the political direction and by demoralising the opponents.[112] Most of the 20th century, the photographs´ markets were more or less limited by national borders. However, with the development of electronic media, visual news reporting and broadcasting was going global in the last third of the century. Ever since, images of war correspondents not only reached their own societies, but also the ones of the enemy, the opponent, and vice versa. That made regulations difficult.[113] Besides, the increasing globalisation of the picture market, which evidently proceeded since the Vietnam War, also caused significant changes in the requirements for war correspondence as well as for the production, use and reception of photographs.

Today, pictures of military violence and power are used for information purposes, as commercial goods, as weapons, and for propaganda intentions.[114] Especially wars in which Western societies, equipped with a high-quality media infrastructure, are involved, are planned in terms of being media suitable and qualified events in order to reach viewing and sales figures.[115]

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[108] Mortensen, 2009, p. 46
[109] Cf. Moeller, 1989, p. 372
[110] Evans, 1985, p. 8
[111] Cf. Korte, 2009, p. 118
[112] Cf. Büttner / Kladzinski, p. 227 / Cf. Schrader, 2002, p. 45
[113] Cf. Büttner / Kladzinski, p. 227
[114] Cf. Perlmutter, 2005, pp. 110 (et seq.)
[115] Cf. Beuthner, 2003, pp. 154 (et seq.) / Cf. Büttner / Kladzinski, pp. 225 (et seq.)

2.3.2. Photojournalists in war zones

> *"`The first rule for a war correspondent is you must LIVE to get out and tell the story`. I had somehow, against all odds, just done that. Miller then said: `Dickie was killed a few days ago on a Marine operation near Chu Lai. Someone stepped on a booby-trapped mortar shell and she bled to death`."*[116]

Out of the various branches in journalism, the war correspondents are stated to be at risk of losing their lives and to carry psychological harms the most. At the same time, news coverage from war zones is more flourishing than any other branch in journalism. In war time, the sale rates of newspapers increase and raise the revenue. Nonetheless, only few conflicts in the world receive broad attention and *"the camera does not merely frame and capture reality in war zones. What goes on in front of the lens might not have happened in that way and sometimes might not have happened at all, if the camera had been turned the other way."*[117] Besides well-known and covered combats like the conflicts between Israel and Gaza, the Iraq War and the Drug War in Mexico, most of the civil wars and armed conflicts in developing countries stay unnoticed or overlooked at all[118]. Reasons are that the media are often less interested given that the countries are unfamiliar. The regions are either far away or of no political and economic relevance for developed societies. Also they lack in infrastructure makes reporting more difficult and expensive. Additionally, those conflicts in remote areas are far more dangerous for war correspondents.[119]

Nevertheless, the daily hazard for journalists working as correspondents in war zones is very high. Every day reporters blunder into the crossfire. They get killed, imprisoned or are used as targets for scandalous abductions to reach attention. The *Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)* has published figures which list the numbers of murdered journalist in different war zones. According to these data, in 2009 71 journalists have been killed in war zones, of which the Philippines, Somalia, Iraq and Pakistan appear to be the most dangerous places.[120] Also the organisation *Reporters without Borders (RSF)* reports an increase of 26 %, from 60 up to 76, in murdered journalists in comparison to the year

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[116] Galloway, 2002, available at URL: http://digitaljournalist.org/issue0204/galloway4.htm [2010/03/09]
[117] Mortensen, 2009, p. 49
[118] Cf. Allen / Seaton, 1999, pp. 14 (et seq.)
[119] Cf. Schrader, 2002, pp. 53 (et. seq.)
[120] Cf. Committee to Protect Journalists, available at URL: http://www.cpj.org/killed/2009/ [2010/03/17]

2008. As the reason for why the Philippines appeared to be the most deadly place for journalists in 2009, RSF names the election-related massacre of 31 journalists *"in the Philippine province of Maguindanao"*[121]. on the 23rd of November.[122]

On a timeline from 1992 to 2010, the official number of 802 journalists has been killed. Out of these, 141 had to leave their lives in Iraq, 68 in the Philippines, 60 in Algeria and 52 in Russia. Further hazardous countries for journalists are, among others, Colombia, Somalia and India. The years 2006, 2007 and 2009 reveal the highest death toll.[123]

For the year 2010, RSF already reports eleven killed and 164 imprisoned war correspondents, nine imprisoned media assistants and 118 imprisoned netizens[124].[125]
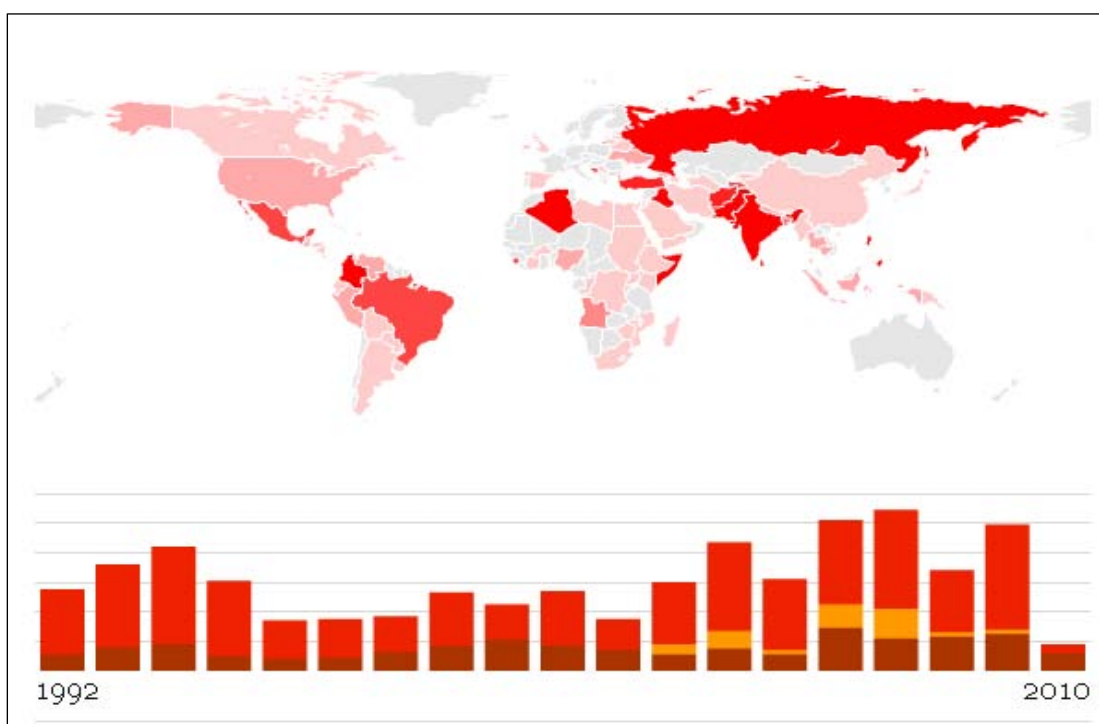
ill. 2: Statistic: Killed journalists between 1992 and 2010, 2010

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[121] Cf. Committee to Protect Journalists, available at URL: http://cpj.org/asia/philippines/2009/ [2010/03/17]

[122] Cf. Reporters without Borders, available at URL: http://www.rsf.org/index.php?page= rubrique&id_rubrique=2 [2010/03/17]

[123] Cf. Committee to Protect Journalists, available at URL: http://cpj.org/killed/ [2010/03/17]

[124] A netizen is a *"citizen who uses the Internet as a way of participating in political society (for example, exchanging views, providing information, and voting)."*,available at URL: http://whatis. techtarget.com/definition/0,,sid9_gci212636,00.html [2010/03/24]

[125] Cf. Reporters without Borders, available at URL: http://www.rsf.org/index.php?page= rubrique&id_rubrique=2 [2010/05/16]

2.3.2.1.   Embedded journalism

„If your pictures aren't good enough, you aren't close enough."[126] –
Robert Capa

The extraordinary career of war and crises correspondents is apparently afflicted with a very high risk. To feel patronised while still following the aim to report from on the ground, many journalists become affiliated with the concept of embedded journalism.

Embedded journalist live, work and travel together with the military units and consequently get protected and sheltered by the armed forces. Some people argue that the concept is not new but has already been introduced during the First World War. Nonetheless, formally the 2003 Iraq operation is the first combat with embedded journalists. The concept of being embedded in a group of soldiers thus has officially been established in 2003 in the scope of the Iraq war.[127] It is propagated as a reaction from the United States military, since war correspondents were not pleased with the limited access to information and strong regulations during the Persian Gulf War in 1991.[128] Ever since, more and more reporters travel with soldiers to report from the war zone while not being alone or in the hands of dubious guides which they neither know nor trust. They are surrounded by people that can provide them with a level of security and it is easier to get access to relevant information.[129]

Nevertheless, the concept of integrating journalists in the troops is heavily criticised and thus should be considered very differentiated and critical.
Due to their proximity to the armed forces, it is impossible for the journalists to report independently and objectively by keeping a necessary psychological distance from the setting. On the contrary, journalists are dependent on the troops, their companions – they eat at the same table, they sleep side by side, they talk and rescue each others lives.
Hence, for embedded journalists it is particularly difficult to draw an adequate line between objective reporting and propaganda, besides the general problem of voyeurism.[130]

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[126] Capa, cited in: Bird, 2002, available at URL: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/ 0,9171,267730,00.html [2010/03/27]
[127] Cf. Korte, 2009, p. 8
[128] Cf. Korte, 2009, pp. 131 (et seq.) / Cf. Perlmutter, 2005, pp. 110 (et seq.)
[129] Cf. Pfau / Haigh / Gettle, 2004, pp. 75 (et seq.)
[130] Cf. Ernst, 2003, available at URL: http://www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen/8ZWGP2,0,0, Journalist_ oder_Kumpel_Zwischen_Livemomenten_und_Reflexion.html [2010/03/27]

> *"We were a propaganda arm of our governments. At the start the censors enforced that, but by the end we were our own censors. We were cheerleaders."[131]* – Charles Lynch

They have to gauge how much detail can and must be shown so that the civic society may perceive a realistic and differentiated picture of the situation; so that the truth is not obscured. However, sufficient information can quickly become too much and too sensational and thereby cross ethical boundaries. There is also a high risk that one-sided and indiscriminate information is produced.[132]

Thus, a special sense for sensitivity on the part of the war photographers is needed. They need talent, sensitivity, humanity and the adequate courage to find the perfect path. As Robert Capa, a *"photographer and co-founder of the legendary photo agency Magnum"[133]* stresses, the classical ideals of war correspondents are being *"independent, humanistic, and heroic."[134]*

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[131] Lynch, cited in: Louw, 2005, p. 218
[132] Cf. Korte, 2009, pp. 10 (et seq.)
[133] Mortensen, 2009, p. 49
[134] Mortensen, 2009, p. 49

3.   Theoretical discussion

3.1.   The photograph in the mass media society

3.1.1.   News and their implication on today's media society

Today's cultures are visually shaped and minted cultures. They are dominated by images which are to be seen at every corner, on every page of a newspaper or magazine and in the modern and digital mass media. They are present in all areas of life and individuals can not escape from the "*information overload*"[135]*,* even less exclude themselves from their influence.[136]

Since images as photographs embed themselves deeper into the human mind than any word and since they are able to trigger much stronger emotions than only texts, their power was specifically appointed by the governments, the military, the media and by further privileged institutions.[137] Photographs became instrumentalized and purposefully used by these authorities in order to reach certain economic targets and political interests already in the early age of photography. However, in the course of time the visualisation process in modern societies continued and daily living spheres became increasingly influenced by visual material.[138] This is linked to technological innovations, as well as the proceeding globalisation, which calls for a universal language whose requirements are so far best met in a pictorial language.[139]

The enormous power of photos is, besides scientifically analysed proceedings in and the complexion of the human memory, referable to their credible and authentic character. They are perceived as a portrayal of an absolute truth and hence it can be relieved that news in the various media channels are increasingly visually reprocessed. Jürgen Reiche describes it as follows: *"We believe what we see and we see what we believe. Images become icons and individuals become myths as well as legends. Both the church and the state instrumentalize the power that is inherent in photographs and equally benefit from the visual trustfulness amongst human beings."*[140]

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[135] Schierl, 2001, p. 193
[136] Cf. Schierl, 2001, pp. 193 (et seq.)
[137] Cf. Krzeminski, 2001, p. 180 / Cf. Sethi, 2008, pp. 52 (et seq.)
[138] Cf. Weller, 2002, pp. 27 (et. seq.)
[139] Cf. Ludes, 2001, p. 72 / Cf. Reiche, 2003, p. 10
[140] Reiche, 2003, p. 11

Besides the interest governments and other powerful institutions have, the media landscape's target is to undertake social responsibility and to fulfil certain duties.[141] In order to be able to meet these requirements, the media have to arrest the attention of the citizens. This controversially means that they also ensure monetary interests and possibly political intents.

In terms of attention, telecasted news benefit from their moving images which create the impression of experiencing the presented event at first hand. The increasingly visually presented news have an important meaning for the information processing and socialisation of human beings, thus for the development of present and future individuals as well as cultures. When watching news reports, people can emphasise with the situation at the scene and almost experience the broadcasted incidents as first hand experiences.[142] The distinction between self-feeling and media mediated knowledge fades away and the published extract of a reality becomes an intrinsic and unsolicited truth.[143]

The process of internalising visual material in the memories of human beings has been explored in the field of cognitive psychology. Scientific investigations attest that pictures are remembered better than words and that especially the long-term memory is responsible for the power of images.[144] It memorises particularly those aspects in a pictorial form which the memory could not prepare for and which trigger a strong emotional resonance of either encouraging or an especially shocking character.[145] Related to news, those attention catching information are mainly of emotionally shocking nature, which's justification is to be found in the news selection theories, such as the *news value approach*.[146]

Hence, via publishing startling news which are, according to the cognitive psychology, efficiently when emotionally prepared, within the disperse audience a mainly consistent character repertoire gets produced. Upon this again, successful communication is contingent.[147] It is the foundation for further interaction within the society, since audiences have, on the basis of their similar media-mediated experiences of the world, the same necessary stock of symbols and signs.[148] What this all amounts to is the effect of being

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[141] Cf. Burkart, 2002, pp. 378 (et seq.)
[142] Cf. Korte, 2009, p. 45
[143] Cf. Weller, 2002, pp. 35 (et seq.)
[144] Cf. Neath / Surprenent, 2003, p. 211
[145] Cf. Krzeminski, 2001, p. 180 / Cf. Schierl, 2001, p. 198
[146] Cf. Grittmann, 2003, p. 268
[147] Cf. Ludes, 2001, p. 71
[148] Cf. Blumer, 1973, p. 81

well integrated into a society, in view of the fact that successful communication and consequently integration is based on this character repertoire.[149]

Most probably this social benefit attracts people and encourages them to consume the visually and shocking news any longer. Nevertheless, obviously shocking news today are not shocking tomorrow anymore. To ensure the viewing and sales figures, people involved in the news production – from the camera man who documents the scenes, to the publisher – have to come up with even more astonishing and unpredicted news as time passes. That is a problematic and often discussed development in the modern media societies since this pressure can easily lead to moral and ethic inappropriateness.

In the particular case of photographs as visual material it needs to be considered that they have been attributed to enjoy very special and intensive power concerning memorising occurrences and recalling pictured events in the cognitive psychology and sociology, in the cultural studies, the political sciences, as well as media and communication studies.[150][151]

By way of illustration, almost no one who can be asked in the 21st century has de facto been there when the Vietnamese monk Thich Ouang Duc set himself on fire in June 1963[152], almost no one watched the execution of the Viet Cong prisoner Nguyễn Văn Lém in Saigon in 1968[153], almost no one saw Phan Thi Kim Phúc running down the street near Trang Bang after the napalm attack in June 1972[154] and only few Western society citizens have personally experienced a food crisis like the one in Niger in 2005, of which a photo of a mother and her child, waiting for food in Tahoua, went across the globe.[155]

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[149] Cf. Blumer, 1973, pp. 81 (et seq.)
[150] Cf. Burkholder, available at URL: http://www.journalismethics.ca/online_journalism_ethics/photojournalism.htm [2010/03/28]
[151] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 379
[152] Cf. Evans, 1985, p. 7
[153] Cf. Viehoff / Fahlenbrach, 2003, pp. 47 (et seq.)
[154] Cf. Buell, 2000, pp. 102 (et seq.)
[155] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/photographer_formal/O%27Reilly%2C%20Finbarr [2010/03/24]

ill 3: Finbarr O'Reilly, 2005

Almost no individual has de facto seen one of these incidents with his own eyes, but almost everyone can recall each setting as a true, a real and a touching incident. The actuator in all these and many other cases is one single photograph. It gets perceived as an authentic and credible exponent of the scenery. Seldom people have a paragraph from a history book or a television report in mind when thinking of historic occurrences, but the one photograph that represents the entire story, a combat, a natural catastrophe or the continuing poor circumstances in a country.[156]

For this reason, the communication scientist Winfried Schulz concedes a vast power to the medium photograph especially in those areas in which first-hand experiences and information are highly improbable. Those are for example early historic events or combats. Photographs are able to shape the pictures in our minds; they crucially influence the level of knowledge in the societies and often become so called photoicons.[157]

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[156] Cf. Reiche, 2003, pp. 10 (et seq.)
[157] Cf. Andersen, 1989, p. 96 / Cf. Schulz, 1974, p. 157

3.1.2. The photoicon

Almost every year since 1955, the World Press Photo Foundation annually nominated a contest winning image which travelled across the globe. Some of these World Press Photos became Photoicons, such as *"a naked girl running after a napalm attack in Vietnam; a Buddhist monk who has set himself alight; a sole demonstrator standing in front of tanks on Tiananmen Square. Others have set trends, established styles of press photography that can be seen re-emerging in years to come."*[158]

Those photographs are internationally known by the civic society and authorities such as politicians, media worker and scholars and they all credit them with a high degree of relevance, respectively *celebrity*. These examples of famous photographs have various characteristics in common that can be linked to the *news value approach*, of which the aspect of *celebrity* is only one example. Also, soon after their emergence, photoicons become well renowned, what they still are after years and decades. That characteristic can be defined as *instantaneousness*. In their careers, they get recurrently published and broadcasted, since they have the factors *prominence* and *frequency* at command. Moreover, their *transportability* makes it possible that they not only get published in certain news media such as newspapers, but that they also appear in, for example, illustrated books.[159]

If photos hold these features, they fulfil requirements in order to become photoicons which hold a far reaching impact for the humanity. They offer a high identification potential as it is stated in Dörner's theory about visual habitualisation.[160] Photoicons are a medium with which almost every culture and social group, across generations and ethnicities can identify.[161] They offer a universal assortment of signs and symbols which allow successful communication.[162] Via photoicons people get mediated a consensus about certain issues according to which interactions and the exchange of information is based.[163]

In due consideration of this implication, the relevance of the study at hand can be derived. Taking into account the fact that some of the World Press Photo award winners became

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[158] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/the-archive [2010/03/24]
[159] Cf. Perlmutter, 1998, pp. 11 (et seq.)
[160] Cf. Dörner, 2000, p. 197
[161] Cf. Viehoff / Fahlenbrach, 2003, pp. 43 (et seq.)
[162] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.1.
[163] Cf. Reiche, 2003, pp. 12 (et seq.)

photoicons and that the World Press Photo Foundation acts as an agenda-setter[164], the influence the prized photos hold on the media agenda and thus on the construction process of individual realities as well as collective identification could not be much stronger.[165]

3.1.3. Critique

A problematic component concerning the development and influence of photography as a visual medium got already introduced in the 1970's by the photographer Giséle Freund. He critically discussed the trend of flooding the society with images, a process which is especially based on the development of digital photography and modern mass media. He pointed out that the increasing amount of images is most likely to be able to destroy the special meaning that has been ascribed to the photo. This is due to the fact that already in these days visual influences were on its way to become a conventional everyday phenomenon, of increasing presence in the social and daily lives of human beings. Hence, he apprehended that the photograph is soon not in the position to catch the people's attention anymore.[166]

Furthermore, new technologies allowed professional and undetectable photoshopping, as well on press photos, which consequently do not show what they have once captured to any further extent.[167] This fact is a menace in two different ways, since, on the one hand, the credibility and authenticity is assaulted and, on the other hand, the instrumentalisation of photographs can develop a never assumed and intense path.[168]

Other problems that come along with the broad visualisation of information are that violence and brutality, which obviously are shocking events the news broadcast, become the norm for the recipients.[169] They might lose the ability to differentiate between media violence and real life and in the course of their socialisation process, they can indeed learn aggressive and destructive behaviours.[170] Also, since media producers use real combats as a form of entertainment, serious news become blurred with entertainment programs.

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[164] Cross reference – 3.2.3.1.
[165] Cf. Weller, 2002, pp. 33 (et seq.)
[166] Cf. Freund, 1979, p. 6. / Cf. McCabe, 2008, p. 85
[167] Cf. Perlmutter, 2005, pp. 113 (et seq.)
[168] Cf. Schäfer, 2003, p. 7
[169] Cf. Schäfer, 2003, p. 6
[170] Cf. Noelle-Neumann / Schulz / Wilke, 2003, pp. 648 (et seq.)

This link between entertainment, media and war already generated new genres in journalism, such as politainment[171], infotainment[172] and militainment[173]. Besides entertaining news and movies, computer games in which gamers systematically kill people are often based on real life sceneries. They mix entertaining spare time activities with true scenarios, which could not be any further away from being a harmless, animated game.[174]

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[171] This term designates the close connection between politics and entertainment. (Cf. Dörner, 2001, p. 31)

[172] *Infotainment* is originally related to the television programme. It is composed of the words information and entertainment and describes the commercialisation of news as entertaining information. (Cf. Wittwen, 1995, p. 13) [173] *"The U.S. Military and the U.S. Department of Defense have enjoyed close working relationships with the computer simulation and modelling industries for decades. Yet over the last fifteen years, this collaboration has increasingly focused on producing military-themed video games for military and non-military audiences; contributing to a production dynamic that some have called the Military-Entertainment [militainment] Complex."* (Payne, 2009, p. 234)

[174] Cf. Schubart, 2009, pp. 1 (et seq.)

3.2.   What news make the news? Visual framing and the information-flow

Relentlessly millions of incidents and events occur in the world that are potential news, respectively press photos, for the international media. In fact only a small sample out of the entire amount of issues and news can be covered and published. Therefore the media system appears to draw on a compilation of guiding principles which assist to detect and produce the newsworthiness of a story.[175]

The information and communication flow is affected by news selection processes. Within the scope of this research paper, on the basis of classical models in communication sciences concerning the news flow, news selection is understood as the process in which information get selected. Furthermore it addresses the question on how information are edited in order to become news. Moreover the audience plays a crucial role in the news selection process. Psychological processes as the *"cognitive dissonance"*[176] avoidance influence the information individuals decide to receive and to decode, conversely which they avoid and ignore.[177] Similar effects are caused by the *priming-hypothesis* and the *spiral of silence. Priming* assumes that the stressing of certain issues such as parties within the media coverage influences the criterions on which recipients judge those actors presented in the news.[178] The *spiral of silence* asserts that individuals perceive and interpret the media reporting as an indicator for the allocation of meanings. Due to the fact that in general human beings avoid social isolation, they thus orientate themselves on the alleged meaning of their environment.[179] Hence, media have the power to distribute singular meanings as the view of the majority and by this determine the perception of the incidents in the world.[180]

A central perspective in terms of news selection are the so called media- or journalistic-frames. They are discussed within the context of the *framing-theory* which is of importance for the empirical analysis of the World Press Photo and hence discussed in the next chapter. Also important within the news selection process is the *news value theory*. It generated a variety of approaches which have defined criteria to estimate whether an event is worth its covering and how to prepare a story in order to make it a

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[175] Cf. Campbell, 2004, p. 105
[176] Festinger, 1964, p. 27
[177] Cf. Festinger, 1964, pp. 32 (et seq.)
[178] Cf. Six / Gleich / Gimmler, 2007, p. 396
[179] Cf. Maletzke, 2002, pp. 71 (et seq.)
[180] Cf. Six / Gleich / Gimmler, 2007, p. 396

headline.[181] An event must meet certain journalistic criteria, it must show news value, in order to prevail in the competition for publicity with other incidents and occurrences.[182]

The *gatekeeper approach* is another established theory and of importance for the research paper at hand. Gatekeeper in the scope of media are professionals such as the editorial staff, news agencies and journalists that decide which incidents get covered and in the following published and which does not.[183] Hence, they are a unit that decides from a mainly economic perspective which information reaches the civic society and what pictures of singular events, as well as the complex entirety, is presented in the media.[184]

A fourth and related classic model in communication and media science which is crucial for the research paper is the established *agenda-setting theory*, which will be especially discussed with reference to the World Press Photo Foundation. Agenda-setting institutions literally set the agenda, a variety of themes and issues, for the public discourse, and are in such a powerful position due to their good reputation and acceptance in the civic society.

3.2.1. The framing theory

The origin of the *framing-theory*, closely related to the later discussed *agenda-setting theory*, can be found in psychological and sociological studies from the 1970th. According to Scheufele, all approaches share the view that frames are interpretation patterns which influence the news selection and news preparation process on the side of media professionals such as journalists as well as the recipients. They help to select, interpret and evaluate information by putting new information and objects in relation to earlier structures, situations and issues. Thus, frames structure the evaluation of occurrences. Certain aspects enjoy priority and others are neglected. That causes a premature judgement on the issues and influences the selection and public perception of news.[185]

„By framing an event in one way rather than another, the media can influence the way people think about it and, later, remember it. During the Iraq War, for example, the news media could select to show the American perspective rather than the Iraqui, emphasize victory and heroism instead of loss and failure, elaborate frames of freedom rather than destruction, and exclude images of the injured and dead."[186]

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[181] Cf. Galtung / Ruge, 1965, pp. 70 (et seq.)
[182] Cf. Burkart, 2002, p. 275
[183] Cf. Heidelberger, 2008, pp. 67 (et seq.)
[184] Cf. Donsbach, 2010, p. 39
[185] Cf. Scheufele, 2001, pp. 144 (et seq.) / Schwalbe, 2006, p. 269
[186] Schwalbe, 2006, p. 268

Framing in the media landscape concerns journalists, recipients as well as political actors and includes a subjective processing of media contents.[187] It can be distinguished between media frames and audience frames, whereby the media frames relate to the issue of how news are presented by the media. Audience frames however deal with the question of *"how viewers and readers understand and react to those frames."[188]*

The phenomenon behind the framing process is that individuals, confronted with new information, activate cognitive models. Those enable to easily classify and interpret the new impressions. Hereby singular aspects which are perceived at first act as sign stimuli. The particular cognitive models are activated, which agree with the sign stimuli, respectively, in which gaps the new impressions fit the best. The further information processing is then controlled by the activated patterns what makes it fast and easy.

In this process, visual material principally contains more individual aspects than verbal information. Thus, Griffin explains that *"news organisations emphasize pictures with simple and immediate 'impact'; they desire photographs that can be 'read quickly and easily', and that symbolically support the verbal text, often as a prompt or lead-in for the reader's eye. As easily recognized symbols and cues, they 'stand in', so to speak, for the more elaborately detailed and specific reporting and descriptive visualisation that one might imagine in idealized news coverage. As simple thematic cues, they frequently serve as the most highly visible markers of news emphases and frames."[189]* For example, in a photograph of war which shows soldiers in uniform, more and different sign stimuli in contrast to a verbal explanation are contained. The more information is available, the more sign stimuli are addressed. Hence, by observing a photo of soldiers, war-patterns are quickly activated on the recipient's side. The photo gets thus placed in a previous pattern and positive as well as negative judgements are immediately and subconsciously involved.

As the result, the *framing-theory* can also be related to the perception of the vast amount of visual information in the everyday life, since obviously not all the individual aspects in every image can be categorised and interpreted. One photograph already contains many sign stimuli and therefore the recipient selects only few images on the base of certain individual, professional and psychological criterion beforehand.[190]

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[187] Cf. Scheufele, 2001, pp. 144 (et seq.)
[188] Schwalbe, 2006, p. 268
[189] Griffin, 2004, p. 384
[190] Cf. Scheufele, 2001, pp. 145 (et seq.)

In the framework of this research paper, media frames are of interest, more particular, visual media frames, instead of the principally analysed verbal frames. However, only those visual frames are in the focus that relate to the journalists' presentation of victims of combats, as addressed in the second research question. Characteristics of how victimhood is presented will be examined in the analyses of the subject of research which follows the aim to investigate how the professional press photographs portray, frame, victims of war. Factors that can influence how journalists frame an issue are defined by Scheufele as social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, forces of interest groups, journalistic routines as well ideological and political orientations of the journalists.[191] Those aspects are important to consider, since journalists underlie forces and regulations that affect their work.

3.2.2. The gatekeeper approach

The *gatekeeper approach* in journalism describes a process in which so called gatekeeper – such as the World Press Photo Foundation – select the information, respectively photographs, which are going to be published by assuming whether they are newsworthy and strong enough to reach the population's attention.[192] The communication scientist Michael Kunczik describes the tasks of gatekeeper as the limitation of the information amount. Gatekeeper select topics by labelling them as interesting and hereby decide whether an event becomes a public event.[193] Hence, gatekeeper, in their similar position to the in other theories identified agenda-setter[194] and opinion-leader, contribute to the audiences shaping process of a social reality and their picture of the world by offering the society a stock of signs and symbolic resources. According to Herbert Blumer and the three defined premises related to his *Symbolical Interaction*, these common resources are the origin of all interaction. That refers to the fact that people act on the base of meanings things have to them and these meanings are deduced from a consensus about the symbols and signs in people's everyday lives.[195] In interactive processes humans agree on what a symbol represents and what meaning things have for individuals and groups. That again allows successful interaction with members in their social environment. These agreements are not universal and not static, but need to be renewed and revised in the

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[191] Scheufele, 1999, p.109
[192] Cf. Harrison, 2010, p. 195
[193] Cf. Kunczik / Zipfel, 2005, p. 242
[194] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.3.
[195] Cf. Blumer, 1973, p. 81

course of time, especially referring to the media content, since it reaches a great and broad number of citizens.[196]

Since the *gatekeeper theory* describes a selection process that influences the news flow, a biased coverage got reproached.[197] Critical voices were raised since the selection process concerning what information the public receives appears to be controlled and subjectively controlled.[198] Financial aims of media institutions and individual preferences of agencies and editorial offices are the primary authorities that influence the information flow in a society.[199] Hence, gatekeeper are dependent on the social and institutional influences of their work environment. They follow editorial guidelines which are either of informal character, or formally adhered and valid for national and international news.[200]

3.2.3. The agenda-setting theory

The origin of the agenda-setting related research can be dated back to 1922, when the American journalist Walter Lippmann investigated the impact of the media on the society's perception. He found out that people do not respond directly to issues in the world, but live, act and respond within an environment which is based on subjective *"pictures in our heads"[201]*, individual realities. Apparently the media take over an important part in the process of furnishing and modifying these pictures in the public's heads. It is the entity which selects and delivers information about current national and international issues. Furthermore the media are the instance that omits events and facts.[202]

The actual *agenda-setting theory,* introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972, is based on their study from 1968. According to McCombs and Shaw, mass media set the agenda for a public discourse and opinion by reporting only about a choice of issues out of the total amount of possible themes. In their investigation they have explored to which extent and in which way political campaigns were covered in the media. They found out that the main effect the media have is the one they called *"agenda-setting*

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[196] Cf. Blumer, 1973, p. 81 / Cf. Burkart, 2002, pp. 46 (et seq.) / Cf. Scheufele, 2001, pp. 144 (et seq.)
[197] Cf. Burkart, 2002, p. 283 / Cf. Harrison, 2010, p.195
[198] Cf. Panzer / Caujolle / World Press Photo, 2003, p. 31
[199] As mentioned before, in the context of this paper, there is talk of democratic societies with good media infrastructure and ever-present digital mass media influences.
[200] Cf. Mortensen, 2009, p. 50
[201] Lippmann, 1922, available at URL: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/Lippman/header.html [2010/03/24]
[202] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.2.

effect"[203]. According to this, the media do not primarily tell the society what they should think about certain events, people and institutions, but they tell what issues the society should think about. That is due to the fact that *"elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind."[204] [205]*

3.2.3.1. The World Press Photo Foundation – an agenda-setter

The World Press Photo Foundation is an agenda-setting entity whose annually prized World Press Photos influence the media coverage and the way in which the pictured events are covered further on. It also determines to what extent and with what bias the recipients think about the incidents shown in the photographs and how they memorise them. The outcome of the competition can therefore be characterised as the incentive for an internationally active discussion. The reason for the fact that the foundation is in such a powerful and crucial position is that it disposes about a high level of prestige. It has a good image on an international level at command. That makes the World Press Photo organisation, including its decisions, a credible and authentic actor in the framework of their ideology what reasons the relevance of the institution as the subject of research for this thesis.

The following empirical analysis of World Press Photos and accordingly results of a primary research refer exclusively to the foundation and not to press photography in combats and crises regions in its total sum. Nevertheless, the social function World Press Photo holds, as explained above and further in the following, is strong and hence the research results can be linked to the foundation's role and function in media societies.

Besides the fact that the photo competition in general is internationally famous, a special importance for the role of World Press Photo is ascribed to its annual yearbook, published since 1962. It has become an established multiplier for press photography. This can be comprehended when considering that many complimentary World Press Photo yearbooks are send to every participant of the photo contest. Also the good reputation of the organisation results in the fact that the yearbooks are inherent parts of the libraries of photo agencies and editorial departments worldwide. They are used as reference books,

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[203] McCombs, 2000, p. 3
[204] McCombs, 2000, p. 2
[205] Cf. McCombs / Shaw, 1972, p. 184 / Cf. Schicha, 2002, pp. 125 (et seq.)

idea suppliers and sources on the part of picture editors and journalists that search for photographs for their press releases, which then reach the civic society.[206]

Moreover, professional photographs and experts are influenced by the illustrative book. To them, the collection of prestigious photographs means a study book, a collection of input and inspiration which hence shape their professional development as well as personal views on issues they cover.

The result is that the annually published book becomes an integrated and essential element in the world of professional photography. The World Press Yearbook offers a repertoire of photographs which represent the minded issues of the past years and decades and accordingly professionals worldwide can revert to the same assortment of objects. The yearbook, as a consequence, serves as a communication platform. According to Blumer, this platform can be seen as an official collection of meanings – meanings which got ascribed to the events which were covered by the World Press Photo Foundation. On its base, professional photographers and media workers can interact. As mentioned above, these specialised media worker then confront the civic societies with their selection of photographs and hence influence and form the public's individual realities and collective memories.[207]

It is a complex process which starts with collecting the work of professional photojournalists from all over the world, then selecting them and finally resetting a conglomeration of excellent press photographs back to the overall system, the general public. Hence, World Press Photo becomes a carrier and promoter of contemporary press photography with the position and power to guide a visual development in the societies.

Incidentally and again the fact needs to be pointed out that the thesis at hand primarily refers to the developed societies. Apparently, photographers from developing countries do not have the same possibilities to participate in the World Press Photo competition since they, for example, lack education. Thus their chance to become a professional is slight. That also means a form of bias in photojournalism. The foundation is mainly based on the work of Western society citizens and, as aforementioned, on issues and regions which are of social, political and economic relevance for developed countries.[208]

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[206] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.2.
[207] Cf. Blumer, 1973, p. 81
[208] Cross reference – Chapter 2.3.1.

4.   The methodology

According to Loos and Schäffer, the aim of inquiry is determined at the beginning of an empirical research and contingent upon the methodology with which the data is going to be collected. Depending on which method is considered to be the most appropriate, the questions will be framed and adapted.[209] For the empirical research at hand, the qualitative content analysis is used. This method allows the author to investigate characteristics, to detect differences as well as similarities of World Press Photos in the course of time and to draw a conclusion about the presentation of victims in combat related photographs.

In order to justify the choice of the enquiry method, an introduction of its relevance regarding the social sciences will be made.
Following, a discussion of the concept of Panofsky's *Iconography* will be presented. The *Iconography* is considered to be a valuable method for the content analysis of visual media such as photographs, which have been the primary subject of this research. Besides a description of natural substances and objects together with their relations and meanings to each other in the images, this particular analysis technique offers the possibility to draw a further conclusion about external influences and the meaning of the subject of investigation in the framework of culture and society. The analysis conducted in its last phase considers the image being a stimulus for certain movements and characteristics in the society and is therefore an appropriate tool to get answers to the research questions of this study.

4.1.   The qualitative content analysis

The content analysis is one of the most popular methods to systematically examine empirical data about characteristics and subliminal meanings, frames and intents of media texts and images.[210] Principally it can be distinguished between the quantitative and the qualitative content analysis whereby often a conglomerate of both is used for empirical investigations. The quantitative analysis is used to ascertain the actual content and formal features of media contents by using a category system. It examines for example the placement and size of an article, the extent of visual elements, the size of headlines, or the frequency of certain content.[211] The qualitative examination goes further than just an

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[209] Cf. Loos / Schäffer, 2001, p. 42
[210] Cf. Pürer, 2003, p. 549
[211] Cf. Pürer, 2003, p. 552

exploration of the manifest content. Here lingering attitudes and structures of statements are collected and analysed. Consequently, while a quantitative content analysis investigates certain characteristics with the help of a category system, the qualitative examination can build up categories during the investigation itself.[212] The German media researcher Werner Früh describes the content analysis as "*an empirical method for the systematic, intersubjectively comprehensible description of contentwise and formal characteristics of messages*".[213] In contrast to intuitive observations of everyday life, the research process must therefore meet the quality criteria *systematics* and *intersubjectivity* so as to produce valuable data. That is challenging not only for image interpretations, but also for the analyses of texts. To actually facilitate the realisation of these criteria, they therefore should not be understood in an absolute sense, but as defined in the following: *Systematics* is assigned to be fulfilled if the research sample is analysed under identical conditions and regarding to the same aspects.[214] *Intersubjectivity* is given if all steps of an investigation and in particular the phase of data collection is appropriately documented in order to allow for a repetition of the survey, even though the actual interpretation results may vary from researcher to researcher.[215]

At this point one of the major problems regarding to the analysis of the World Press Photos, as with photographs in general, is to be mentioned. It links to the aforementioned, from different angles explicitly discussed, inability of photos to make universally valid statements. That stands in contrast to their widespread reputation to portrait an absolute truth and to objectively capture the reality.[216] Photographs are characterised by a certain dual nature. This allows that, besides their representational function, photos become an inducement for complex ascription of meanings which go further than the basic cognition of the manifest objects that are pictured. Since a photo acts as an incentive for meaning ascriptions, the further process of defining distinctions is dependent on the observer. The photograph itself is open for various and diverse ways of *reading* since their interpretation is dependent on individuals' personal knowledge, emotions, their norms and values. The detection and interpretation of the symbolic content humans see in pictures and decode often even vary from the intention of the photographer. Additionally photographers are not necessarily aware of the symbolic meaning and significance their products hold.[217]

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[212] Cf. Pürer, 2003, p. 553
[213] Früh, 1998, p. 24
[214] Cf. Noelle-Neumann / Schulz / Wilke, 2003, p. 51
[215] Cf. Noelle-Neumann / Schulz / Wilke, 2003, p. 83
[216] Cf. Land / Pandel, 2009, p. 13
[217] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, p. 41

Former experiences and the personalities of every individual confronted with the image – beginning with the photographer himself right up to the individual recipient – are crucial for the opinion-forming process.[218] Furthermore photographs in the news, about political statuses or those in power, usually follow a target and thus certain frames and extracts are selected purposefully, they are biased. Finally it is to be noted that the effect of images is, besides actual image manipulations, dependent on further variables such as the image size, the surrounding and the lighting.[219]

Due to the fact that the statutes of World Press Photo prohibit the submission of manipulated photographs, at least the issue of photoshopping can be considered impossible in the context of this paper.[220] Nevertheless, since the World Press Photo prized objects are presented in the Internet as well as in illustrated yearbooks, in the framework of travelling exhibitions around the world and in a variety of additional national plus international media, further internal and external, formal and personal possibilities for distortion and biases are relevant concerns.[221]

As a result, there is no universal statement to make about whether a photo pictures a situation which is labelled either desirable or revolting. The original intent of the photographer can not be reconstructed unanimously and without doubts or reservations.[222] An empirical study in its data collecting phase therefore focuses on manifest elements in the photo about which a broad consensus, even from people with different opinions and cultural as well as social backgrounds, can be expected. For example, violence can be documented, albeit the recognition already bases on decoding processes of symbolic contents, although on a very low level. However, the researcher can not tell without reservations whether the journalist advocates the violent incident or if he wants to express his revulsion.

For this reason, the analyses of the sample of the research paper at hand are made in different steps. Moreover, the interpretation is only executed in relation to the profound theory in order to reason the not intersubjective meanings and statements. Those different phases of analyses of photographs will be further discussed in the next chapter by introducing Erwin Panofsky's modern academic study of *Iconography.* This is a content

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[218] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, pp. 45 (et seq.)
[219] Cf. Michel, 2001, pp. 91 (et seq.)
[220] Cross reference – Chapter 2.1.
[221] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, pp. 40 (et seq.)
[222] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, p. 41

analysis model which is divided into three levels: the *pre-iconographic level,* the *iconographic level* and the *iconological level.*[223]

Generally it is to be considered that images in the capacity as objects of studies established relatively late in sciences. They were neglected particularly in the field of social, respectively communication sciences, even though the amount of scientific literature concerning the photograph suggests the contrary. Consequently, analysing methods for in particular visual objects developed posterior to the techniques for the interpretation of written contents as well.[224] That causes the fact that the image interpretation of which is made use of in social sciences nowadays is linked to methods for the investigation of visual objects from the scientific field of art, history and film, to which also the *Iconography* belongs.

In the course of time then, the development of terms such as *iconic turn*, *image turn* and *pictorial turn* indicate new orientations in sciences. They reveal a transition from a language focused research towards the exploration of visual material.[225]

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[223] Cf. Michel, 2001, pp. 100 (et seq.)
[224] Cf. Leifert, 2007, p. 16
[225] Cf. Leifert, 2007, p. 16

4.2. Iconography – analysing the medium photograph

According to Ralf Bohnsack, the *Iconography* is one of the most demanding and influential models of image interpretation.[226]

Even though the so called *Iconology* builds upon the *Iconography*, in the framework of this research paper, the term *Iconography* is used as an overall classification of the method. Its definition includes the *iconological level*, besides the *pre-iconographic* and the *iconographic level*. In the professional literature the method is occasionally also discussed under the terms *Iconology* and *Iconography/Iconology*.

The method was developed by the art historian Erwin Panofsky in the late 1920's, influenced by Max Irndahl, and refers explicitly to the *documentary method of interpretation* of the sociologist Karl Mannheim. To him, also the established term *documentary sense* model is linked.[227] This image analysing method, originally referring to art appreciation, adapted to various fields of modern research. Thus, for example, it applied to the film and social sciences and is used in further academic fields, such as semiotics, anthropology and sociology. Hence, the German scholar Marion G. Müller determines the *Iconography* a suitable methodological tool also in the visual communication and media research. Müller is an expert in the field of humanities and social sciences, specialised on visual mass and political communication. In order to successfully use the method for her investigations, she modified Panofsky's *Iconography.* Those adaptations will be presented later in this chapter since they are of interest for the empirical analysis of this research paper and offer an unsophisticated overview of the method.[228]

The *Iconography's* central goal is the detection and monitoring of hidden contents of pictorial objects which are relevant information for the media and communication research. By means of this analysis method, at first an identification of the content of images can be accomplished, this level of analysis is called *pre-iconographic level*. The second step, the *iconographic level*, is to describe this content. In a so called *iconological* and last level, the meaning and distinction of the before identified visual content is analysed and interpreted by the researcher. Incidentally and with reference to the before discussed problem of intersubjectivity when it comes to an interpretation of meanings of

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[226] Cf. Bohnsack, 2001, p. 67
[227] Cf. Bohnsack, 2001, p. 67
[228] Cf. Wolf, 2006, pp. 120 (et seq.)

photographs, different researchers do not necessarily derive at the same interpretation result, despite interpreting the same data.[229] Besides the option to analyse entire photos, it is possible to select a particular object or a certain subject in a photograph in order to analyse it in respect of certain categories and issues of research interest.

In this particular case, the researcher focuses on the framing of victimhood in war and combat related photos.

Panofsky furthermore emphasises that the *Iconography* with its three levels of interpretation discusses only a part of the total sum of elements that influence the actual content and presence of an artwork. It provides not necessarily information on the origin of the material or the specific intention of the artist. However, researchers can arrive at results in due consideration of background information about the certain historical or political context in which the piece of art was produced and with regard to adequately theoretical supported research questions.[230]

It can be concluded that the *iconographic research* is not merely a descriptive method and according to Panofsky, an exclusively formal portrayal is in fact impossible. He advocates the point of view that already the perception of objects in pictures leads to a translation into objects with meanings, which can significantly vary from individual to individual.

4.2.1. The three steps of an iconographic content analysis

The three stages of interpretation differ from each other by the required degree of previous collective knowledge.

The primary stage, the *pre-iconographic description*, is the natural subject and bases on practical experiences and the familiarity with objects and occurrences. It is conduced to collect data of veracity and expression that everyone can actually see and name.[231] That is based on the fact that structures, forms, colours, appearances and expressions like anger and joy as well as natural objects such as stones, animals, human beings, plants and houses in peoples' environment already got defined. As a result, there prevails a consensus about those substances and expressions within the cultural frame. In case one is not familiar with the pictured object, the spectrum of experiences and knowledge can be extended by asking experts, respectively looking it up in books or the Internet.

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[229] Cf. Pürer, 2003, pp. 549 (et seq.)
[230] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, pp. 41 (et seq.)
[231] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, p. 50

The secondary stage of an *iconographic content analysis* is the *iconographic level*, which is built up on actual knowledge and on familiarity with certain themes and ideas.[232] It requires an understanding of the subject or issue, the context. This level of description presents a world of pictures, stories, estimations and symbols and makes use of the on the pre-*iconographic level* detected material. It can be derived only with knowledge of the actual themes, anecdotes, *"allegories"*[233] and concepts which are represented in the painting, respectively photograph. The primary defined structures and natural objects together with certain knowledge can establish a meaningful connection on the side of the interpreter. In this paper, besides the previously presented theory, there will be given the World Press Photo captions and some background information about the represented event to inform about the context and help to answer the primary journalistic W-questions – *what*, *who*, *when* and *where.* They are essential for an appropriate analysis.[234]

The third stage, the most contentious and complicated level of the content analysis, is the *iconological interpretation.* It detects the actual sense or meaning of the anecdotes and allegories which were identified on previous levels. This is based on individual philosophies of life, the personal psychology and a familiarity with essential tendencies in human culture. Required is an understanding of the inherent meaning of photographs which reasons the structure of the research paper at hand. The comprehensive theoretical part offers a framework in order to be able to analyse the photographs. By classifying the in the photograph pictured and by the researcher described natural forms, colours, objects and expressions as manifest principles, people interpret them as objects or issues of a special symbolic value. That again links to further and broader contexts around the piece of art.[235]

Referring to Panofsky, Müller outlined and applied the *Iconography* to the practice of visual communication research. She claims that the analysis should not be understood as a *"one-way street*[236]*"*, in view of the fact that pictures principally have various layers of meanings. In order to be able to reveal those, it needs to be operated on three levels. At each level the researcher approaches to the actual target, to explore the sense dimension of the photograph.

As in Panofsky's approach, at the first level it is drawn back to everyone's vital life experiences to capture the phenomenon of meaning of the image. It is merely described

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[232] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, p. 50
[233] Panofsky, 1978, p. 39
[234] Cross reference – Chapter 2.2.
[235] Cf. Panofsky, 1978, pp. 40 (et seq.)
[236] Wolf, 2006, p. 126

what everyone, socialised in modern societies, can see, without referring to any further knowledge or information.

The second level is supposed to reveal the pictures meaning on the base of literary knowledge. Data about the photograph as well as formal facts are necessary to elaborate this *iconographic level* of interpretation.

The third stage serves to interpret the image and to analyse its documentary meaning. In order to perform constructively on this level, it needs to be drawn back to former information and analyses results, as well as to ideological, political and social behaviours of human beings, respectively the context and ideology behind the photo.[237] Especially this third stage is influenced by individual aspects and thus every researcher can derive at different research results. Those are dependent on the researcher's personality, his norms and values as well as the context and intent on which the analysis is built upon.[238]

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[237] Cf. Müller, 2003 pp. 257 (et seq.)
[238] Cf. Wolf, 2006, p. 126

4.3.   The research procedure

The in the framework of this research applied empirical method, a qualitative content analysis, was composed of several stages:

- The first step served to view the subjects of research, the so called sample, which were selected from the World Press Photos archive. In respect for the photographers' work, the World Press Photo Foundation was addressed to obtain the contact details of the artists. They were contacted in order to ask for permission to present and analyse the photos. Most of the contacted photographers and agencies replied immediately and granted their permission. Some again did not reply. Nevertheless, with regard to § 51, the copyright law in the statute book, it is permitted by law to use photographs as well as other visual mediums for academic purposes, as long as they are not published in the sense of selling the assignment. It is legitimate to upload the thesis to a university platform and to hand in a printed version to the academic institution in which context it is produced.

- A subsequent stage followed the aim to execute the content analysis on the three levels of the *Iconography*:

    1.   The *pre-iconographic analysis* hereby described the obvious content of the photo, as explicitly defined beforehand. In case the photo shows different layers in terms of foreground and background, perhaps even on three levels with a middle layer, it is preceded along this structure in order to produce a clear and well-structured *pre-iconographic analysis*.

    2.   The *iconographic interpretation* served to explain – with regard to the results of the first level of interpretation, photo-facts, the caption, supplementary background information about the pictured conflict as well as the literature review – what the researcher observes. The content got literally named and described in its broad context.
    The author posed the photo facts and caption as well as additional background information ahead of the actual analysis in order to be able to successfully execute the third level of interpretation. Only in case one knows about the framework in which the photo has been taken and the caption which states what is portrayed, when and where, he is able to analyse the photo in a broader context. The

background information in particular serve to explain the covered complex conflicts and combats. Since this should be done briefly, but in its full entity, it is principally made use of direct quotes from qualitative sources. This is reasonable since the Master's thesis does not concretely deal with those combats, but with the professional photographs that cover those wars and conflicts. Therefore accurate background knowledge is essential in order to be able to detect quality criteria and to analyse the visual media framing of victimhood, but it is not in the focus of this research.

3.   The *iconological interpretation* as the last level of analysis was conducted especially in relation to the presentation of victims, respectively the visual media framing of victimhood. That means, it was described what role the portrayed victims play in the photograph and how the relations between those and other people in the photographs are.

It was intended to concentrate on the presentation of victims since profound *iconological interpretations* of the entire content of the photographs would have exceeded the limited extent of the thesis. Thus, a central aspect was selected which can at best contribute to the investigation of the overall research aim – the intention to analyse quality criteria in professional press photography in order to get information about how excellence in photojournalism is created and how visual cultures are affected by photojournalism.

Furthermore, it was decided to make use of the *framing theory* on this level of interpretation. That is because framing describes the process of embedding a theme or issue – in this case victimhood – in a certain interpretation framework through mass media. Hereby an issue is presented to the public by way of a selective accentuation of features.[239] This profile allows focusing on visual media information, not only on written content, which is further demonstrated in diverse research articles in which visual content is analysed by an observation of possible framing effects.

Obviously, additional approaches exist which were originally invented in order to investigate written content of media products and which could have been modified so that they are practicable for the analysis of visual material. Examples are the

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[239] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.1.

semiotics and the concept of *intertextuality.*

Semiotics is the theory of signs, symbols and visual elements of texts that work together in order to produce meanings. It describes how and why people understand presented issues and how they mentally organize the information. The *semiotics* focuses on the people's understanding of given signs and symbols which allow them to understand the overall meanings of information. This process of understanding and interpreting is essential in order to be able to communicate successfully.[240]

The *intertextual approach* claims that the hermeneutic scope of mind of recipient requires the interpretation of media contents, generally texts. Media contents are being considered the products of reception and transformation of former information. The different ways of processing content and the relationship between already established and new information base on the knowledge and evaluation of the individual recipient, the observer. Thus, the concept argues that contents are shaped by former contents and that recipients continuously link from one information to another.[241]

However, in this case and due to the above mentioned features, the *framing theory* was considered to be the most appropriate concept.

- Once the data gathering had been completed, the collected information were summarised.

- Finally the results could be interpreted and related to the theoretical discussion as well as the research questions. They were analysed and discussed separately, but in the end obviously linked to each other.

The further discussion of the research results is based on the researcher as an individual. Despite the same data, two different researchers would not necessarily arrive at the same interpretation results.[242] Besides, the significance of the research paper as well as additional research suggestions were given.

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[240] Cf. Sottong, 1998, p. 9
[241] Cf. Scheffler, 2004, pp. 28 (et seq.)
[242] Cf. Früh, 2007, pp. 133 (et seq.)

4.4. The sample

"A sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole. [Hereby] a population is a group of individuals, persons, objects, or items from which samples are taken for measurement."[243]

The sample for this research, six photographs, was selected exclusively from the World Press Photo archive. Since the author's aim was to ascertain characteristics, potential differences, similarities and even trends in the course of time concerning the World Press Photo's portrayal of conflicts, the author decided to analyse one photo from each decade since the contest's advent in 1955. All of those photos received the title World Press Photo of the Year what stems a subjective selection possibility and secures the qualitative comparability of the subject of research.

As a result, the first photograph was selected from a period between 1955 and 1959. The second picture was prized between 1960 and 1969, the third in a period between 1970 and 1979 and the fourth between 1980 and 1989. The fifth picture is an award-winning photo from a time period between 1990 and 1999 and the sixth and last one was nominated between 2000 and 2009.

This sample chosen for the analysis represents the below listed wars, respectively armed conflicts, which joined the attention of the World Press Photo Foundation and thus play a role in the development of journalistic war coverage and professional photography.[244] Indeed, this selection criterion determines a mainly Western view, but, as before discussed, the thesis primarily refers to developed societies as already the fact that those events were covered by the media relates to the information that they are very likely to be of political or economic interest for the Western world. This is explicitly explained in the theoretical discussion.

The covered conflicts are:

- The Second World War – respectively the return of a German prisoner, released by the Soviet Union
- The Vietnam War

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[243] Mugo, available at URL: http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/tutorial/Mugo/tutorial.htm [2010/05/03]
[244] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.3.1.

- The Lebanese civil war – respectively the Karantina Massacre
- The Tiananmen Square massacre / The June Fourth Incident
- The Persian Gulf War / The First Gulf War
- The Lebanon War

The author did not proceed by selecting photographs in terms of what they picture. That would lead to a subjective decision which would have determined the interpretation already prior to its commencement. It was decided on the coverage of specific topics. Imposed criterions were to only select the subject of research from the Year's winning photos as well as to cover a different event in each decade.

Photos of war and crises could have been also found in the categories *general news* and *spot news*. However, in order to be as objective as possible already in the selection process, it was decided on only one, the most prestigious, category, the *World Press of the Year*. The other aspect, the choice for the conflicts, is based on rational selection decisions. Obviously some conflicts are of great importance in the media history. Thus they needed to be covered. Examples are the Vietnam War and the First Gulf War. Since each photo should picture another conflict and it could only be chosen from the ten winning photos within a decade, the further conflicts were the only choice. Certainly, there are various wars and conflicts which would have been interesting to consider as well, such as the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the Arab-Israeli conflicts, the Kosovo War in 1999 and the Iraq War since 2003. However, that was organisationally impossible.

5. The analysis of World Press Photos

5.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation – describing the obvious & Iconographic interpretation – naming and contextualising what one can see

5.1.1. Photograph 1
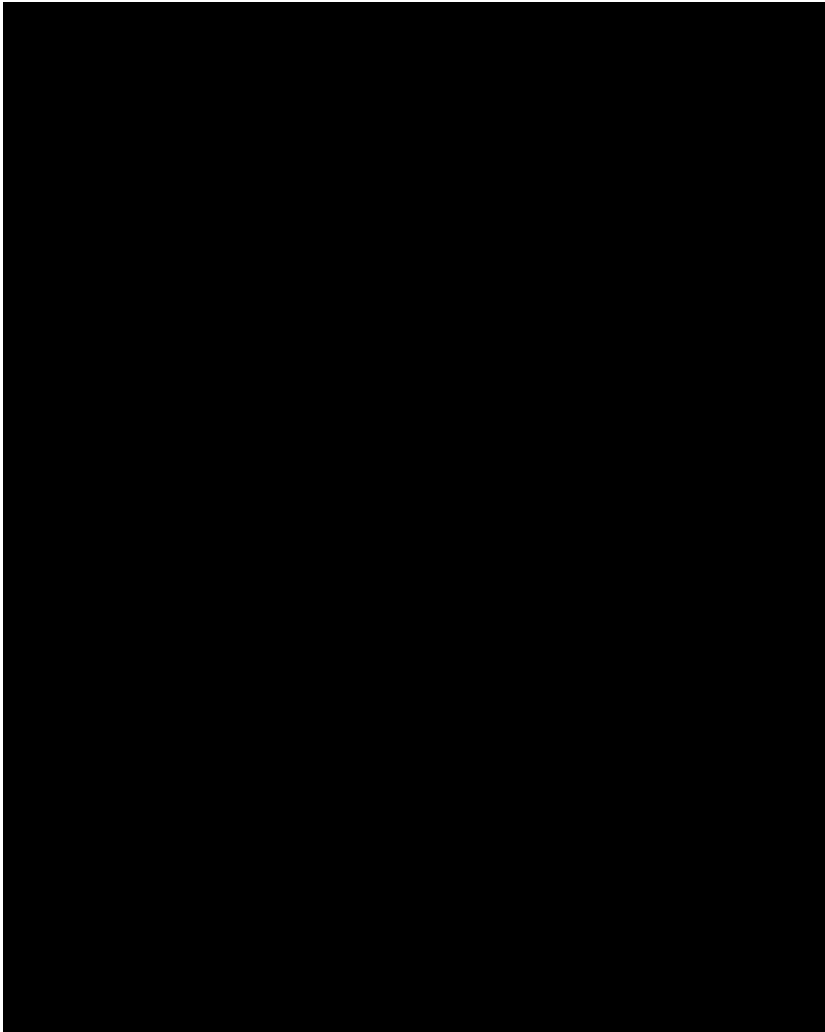
ill. 4: Helmuth Pirath, 1956[245]

5.1.1.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

In the foreground: Four human beings, two men, one woman, and one girl, are to be seen. Those humans are dressed in decent cloths. The man on the left wears a white shirt, a

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[245] World Press Photo Archive, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/ form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1956 [2010/03/24]

dark tie, a dark hat and a grey cloak. The other man who is located on the right side of the photo is dressed in a dark quilted jacket and he has combed his hair backwards.

The girl in the centre of the photo, between those two older men, looks anxious. She leans against the man on the left, but looks fearful at the man on the right. Her hands are raised in front of her upper body. She is the central person in the picture. On the one hand, her location in the middle of the photo between the two men and in the focus of all people which surround her, and on the other hand because of her lighted face. It is bright, obviously not from her expression, but from the colour of her face which catches the observer's attention immediately.

The man behind her, on the left side of the photo, is leant forward, towards the girl. His face does not tell anything about his emotions, but he puts his arm protectively around the girls shoulder. He is obviously not the reason for her anxiousness.

The man on the right, only to be seen from the side-face, has a happy, even excited expression on his face. His left hand is on the girls shoulder. He seems to be the reason for her emotions.

From the woman behind the girl, also between the two men, one can only see the hair. Therefore the observer can not detect any details about her cloths, even less about her emotional expression, but she also bends over the girl and thus seems to belong to her, to be familiar to her.

In the background: In the background one can see an assembly of people, in which one man, one woman and one boy are actually identifiable. They as well wear decent cloths, the man a tie, and their facial expressions, which are not necessarily dedicated to the people in the foreground, tell tension. Only the man turns towards the girl in the centre of the photo. He stands behind the woman in the foreground, and seems to be curious and could even belong to the group in the foreground.

5.1.1.2. Iconographic interpretation

<u>Facts:</u>[246]

Year: 1956 • Photographer: Helmuth Pirath • Nationality: West Germany • Organization / Publication: Keystone Press • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 9-10-1955 • Country: West Germany

<u>Caption:</u>[247]

A German World War II prisoner, released by the Soviet Union, is reunited with his daughter. The child had not seen her father since she was one-year-old.

<u>Background information – The Second World War:</u>

The World War II started in September 1939, when German troops invaded Poland, and lasted until the 8th of May in 1945. *"Two separate wars made up the `Second World War`: a European war and a Far Eastern War. After 1942 the United States and the United Kingdom took part in both, while their enemies waged separate wars and, until the last days, the Soviet Union fought only in Europe. These two wars were caused by the conflicts between the actions of the rulers of Germany and Japan on one side and, on the other, what the governments and the politically influential sections of the populations of Britain, France, and the United States, thought acceptable. In 1939 the government of Poland chose to fight, encouraged by Britain and France, rather than risk the loss of Polish independence; in 1940 Mussolini voluntarily brought Italy into the European war, but only because he supposed that it was already won. The numerous other countries who fought, or were fought over, had no choice. Towards the end of the war more states joined in against Germany in order to qualify themselves as founder members of the United Nations: their participation was usually only nominal. The actions of Germany and Japan, and the reactions to them of Britain, France, Poland, and the United States explain the Second World War. Most important is to study Germany; the German Government [under the control of Hitler] started the war in Europe. […] The paradox of Nazi rule in Germany was that Hitler's government was both unrepresentative and popular. Only a very small proportion of Germans would have approved in advance Hitler's expansionist, violent, and murderous actions, yet his dictatorship seems to have won the support of the majority for several years and nearly complete acquiescence almost until the end."*[248]

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[246] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1956 [2010/03/24]
[247] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1956 [2010/03/24]
[248] Parker, 2001, p. 1

After the termination of the war in May 1954, not all prisoners were immediately released by the former enemies. Thus, for example, the Soviet Union imprisoned more than three million servicemen from Hungary, Romania, Italy and Finland. Of course, also German soldiers were in their captivity and the Soviet Union did not release them by the time of the war's termination. The servicemen were kept as force labour until the German Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer visited Moscow in September 1955 to set up diplomatic relations and to persuade the Soviets to release German captives. As a result, the latest main dismissal of World War II prisoners took place in 1955.[249]

Analysis:

In this photo of 1956, the photographer Helmuth Pirath documented the return of a German soldier who was in Soviet captivity. This man's name is Karl Wawrzinek and he is the person on the girl's right side. Karl Wawrzinek is one of the 9626 men who returned to post-war Germany. His daughter is the girl in the centre of the photo. She, at this time, is eleven year old and named Roswitha. Her anxious expression derives from the fact that she has not seen her father for ten years, given that he had to go to war when she was only one year old. Thus she can not remember, respectively recognise him and it seems as if she tries to protect herself by positioning her hands in front of the upper body, between her and the unknown man, her father. After this documented first encounter with her father Roswitha said: "He was so foreign to me. I was just scared of him."[250] The man on Roswitha's left is her grandfather who is trying to calm her down by offering security. Her mother and consequently Karl Wawrzinek's wife is the woman behind Roswitha, of which one can only see the hair.

This photo of Helmuth Pirath received the World Press Photo of the Year prize of 1956. Indeed, it needs to be noted that the photo is actually made in the previous year, in October 1955, what would not be compliant to the contest's rules in recent years. In the beginning of the World Press Photo award albeit, the rhythm of the competition was not strictly separated by years and thus 1956 is not represented in any winning photo.

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[249] Cf. URL: http://www.infobitte.de/free/lex/ww2_Lex0/e/entlassungAusDerGefangenschaft.htm [2010/04/20]
[250] Knopp, 1999, p. 242

5.1.2. Photograph 2

ill. 5: Kyoichi Sawada, 1966

5.1.2.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

This photo of Kyoichi Sawada's appears to be three parted. Also three men are to detect in the piece. The first line appears to be the photograph's foreground. A man lies on the ground, with his back upwards. The compositional middle line is dominated by a tank which takes up most of the photos image area. In the third, the uppermost line, two men can be seen on the tank which is designed with a star and equipped with a rifle on its top.

The bare feet of the man on the ground are tied together and strapped to the tank, which protrudes beyond the body. His legs are also bare and his face turned down, to the sand.

Thus he can not to be identified, and the researcher can not make a statement about his emotions. It is not even clear whether the man is still alive.

The two men on the tank wear vests. The one on the left side also looks to the left side of the photo and there are no special emotions to recognise. It is possible that he speaks into a microphone, since his left hand is raised and positioned in front of his month.

The man in the middle of the tank has his right hand on the rifle. He looks back, towards the man they pull after, but as well without showing specific emotions like hate, anxiety, sympathy or even joy.

About the environment which surrounds the scenery it can be said that they are not in a city or lively place, but in the woods, on a small and sandy road. There are shadows from the trees to perceive in the foreground which convey the idea that the sun is already low.

5.1.2.2. Iconographic interpretation

<u>Facts:</u>[251]

Year: 1966 • Photographer: Kyoichi Sawada • Nationality: Japan • Organization / Publication: United Press International • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 24-02-1966 • Country: Vietnam • Place: Tan Binh

<u>Caption:</u>[252]

The body of a Viet Cong soldier is dragged behind an American armored vehicle en route to a burial site after fierce fighting.

<u>Background information – The Vietnam War:</u>

After the Indochina war of the French, the Communist Republic of Vietnam consolidated. Vietnam joined aid agreements with China and the UdSSR and promoted a guerrilla war in the south, where the anti-communist, catholic Ngo Dinh Diem had been taken over the government in 1954. The United States government wanted to establish a welfare society in South Vietnam, as in South Korea, and by this attract the population in the north.

Nevertheless, against the repressive regime of Diem, Buddhists were protesting, as for example by self-immolations.

In 1960 then, the *National Liberation Front*, known as the Viet Cong, was formed. Diem was overturned in 1963 and two years later, in 1965, general Nguyen Van Thieu took over the power in South Vietnam.[253]

The United States government under president Lyndon Baines Johnson feared, after the victory of the communists in the Chinese Civil War of 1949 and the division of Korea into a pro-Western and a communist government in 1953, that one Asian state after the other could become a communist state now. Therefore the Americans took an alleged attack by three North Vietnamese patrol boats on a U.S. destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 as an opportunity to intervene in the military conflicts between the Viet Minh and the Viet Cong on one side, and the South Vietnamese republic on the other side. Nevertheless, the U.S. army's material and technical superiority was meaning- and powerless against the Vietnamese guerrillas. They fought in small groups, transported supply on remote jungle paths, built subterranean tunnel systems, hid in the jungle and

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[251] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1966 [2010/03/24]

[252] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1966 [2010/03/24]

[253] Cf. URL: http://www.dieterwunderlich.de/vietnam_krieg.htm [2010/04/20]

circulated under the screen of the civilian populations. Since they were most successful with their helicopters, the Americans called in bombers, equipped with napalm, as soon as they had detected a Vietnamese guerrilla unit. In order to make it easier to spot the troops, they made use of defoliants, known as Agent Orange, to demolish the heavily vegetated environment.[254]

In January 1968, the United States were surprised by an open attack with more than 80.000 soldiers. Although the Vietnamese lost 50.000 fighters in this attack, the Tet-Offensive, the Americans were militarily and morally so weak that they summoned peace talks with the communists in Paris in May 1968. The by then president Richard Milhous Nixon informed the public in June 1969 about a withdrawal of the troop from Vietnam.

However, half a year later it became public that the American infantrymen had killed the 500 inhabitants of the South Vietnamese village My Lai. This news about the massacre intensified the worldwide criticism of the U.S. government's actions.[255]

On the 27th of January in 1973, the negotiator Henry Kissinger and Lé Duc Tho agreed on a peace agreement in Paris. It was also going to be signed by the South Vietnamese government.

The resume of the Vietnam War was that estimated five million people, of which 80 percent were civilians, had been killed.[256]

Analysis:
In 1966, Kyoichi Sawada won the prize for the World Press Photo of the Year with a Vietnam photo, as in the previous year.
The three-parted composition can be interpreted as a diversification in its presentation of the victim, a machine that demonstrates dominance and the executives which are the most dominant and powerful individuals in this specific scene. They are in control of the machine, as of the victim.

The man in the foreground, pulled behind the tank, can be defined as a Viet Cong soldier. He is dead and strapped to an American tank, which is on its way to a place of burial. Since the Viet Cong soldier's face is turned downward, the observer of the photograph

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[254] Cf. URL: http://www.dieterwunderlich.de/vietnam_krieg.htm [2010/04/20]
[255] Cf. URL: http://www.dieterwunderlich.de/vietnam_krieg.htm [2010/04/20]
[256] Cf. URL: http://www.dieterwunderlich.de/vietnam_krieg.htm [2010/04/20]

can not see his facial features. The fact that he is pulled behind a military machines appears like a metaphor for the marks a war leaves.

The two American soldiers in the distance, on top of the tank, do not communicate that they feel pity for the dead Viet Cong soldier they pull behind the tank, that they are concerned or critical towards their action. They indeed seem to be calm, self-conscious and resolved. They are unconcerned about the fact that they drag a dead person behind their tank. Perhaps that derives from the fact that they follow an order and have leaned to do that without doubts or even objection.

This winning photo takes on a special position in the history of World Press Photos of the Year in view of the fact that it is the first image that pictures a dead body. Even though the photo of the dead soldier is taken from a distance, it is a significant step in the contest's development. Due to the distance and position, in this year the observer of the photograph is not yet confronted with facial expressions, gunshots or visible wounds of the victim. Nonetheless, the partial nudity of the corpse, which is presented like a war loot, is shocking and emotionalising. The composition of the photo, with the dead man on the ground and the soldiers high above on the tank, furthermore emphasises the relationship between victims and perpetrators. The dominance and superiority of the ones in power is represented and, on the contrary, the inferiority and defencelessness demonstrated.

It is stated that Sawada was not pleased about foundation's decision to award this photo for the World Press Photo of the Year. The Japanese photographer was evidently against the war. He was outraged by the scenery which he documented in the image and thus did not evaluate it as worthy a prize. Only four years later, in 1970, the Japanese photographer was killed during conflicts in Cambodia.[257]

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[257] Cf. World Press Photo, available at URL: www.worldpressphoto.org/index.php?option=com_ photogallery&task=view&id=167 [2010/03/24]

5.1.3. Photograph 3
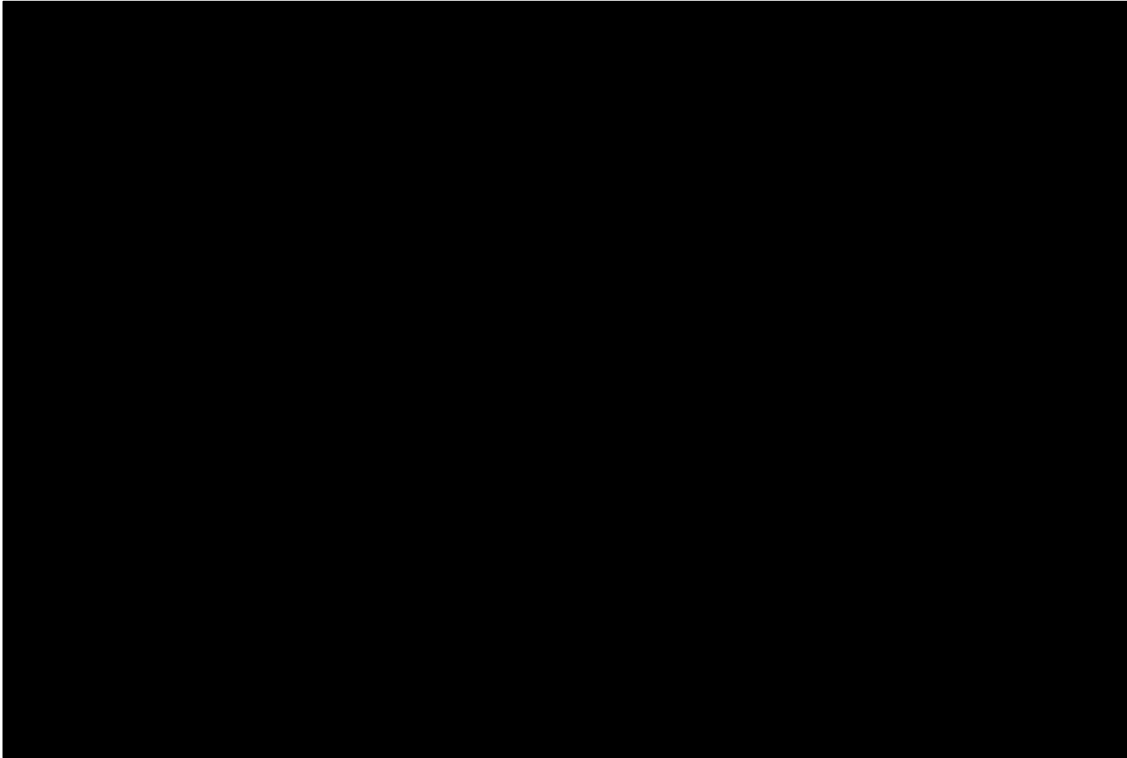
ill. 6: Françoise Demulder, 1976[258]

5.1.3.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

In the foreground: Five human beings can be seen in the foreground. They are placed all over the photo, horizontally relatively central. On the left side one can see a man with a young boy at his left and at his right hand, in the middle there is an older woman and on the right side a man can be detected who is in the closest position to the camera.

The man on the left side of the photograph wears a white headscarf, tied with a black ribbon, and a jacket. The boy on his right hand is dressed in a striped pullover. The second boy on the man's left is located almost entirely behind the man. Therefore it can not be said much about him, except of that he is of a similar age as the other boy since he has the same height and that he also wears a striped sweatshirt. The three people walk in the direction of the woman and do not seem to amble, but to hurry.

The elderly woman appears to be the centre of the photo. She is turned towards the camera, standing and communicating with the man on the right. She wears a white headscarf, a dark jacket and a dark, long skirt. Her face seems sad, helpless. The palms

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[258] World Press Photo Archive, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/ layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/ form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1976 [2010/03/24]

of her hands are turned upwards, which, together with the fact that she bows her head, can be identified as if she begs the man, she silently pleases for something.

This man on the right side of the photograph is only to be seen from the back. He is dressed in a dark jacket, a headscarf, though a black one, trousers and boots. Conspicuously is the rifle in his left hand, which is thus the closest object to the observer. He puts his left feed before the other and leans his upper body foreword which mediates the impression that he turns energetically towards the elderly woman.

In the background: A boy, who is probably a few years older than the two children in the foreground, is to be seen in the background. He is the most left person in the photo and located behind the man with the two boys at his hands. He looks in the direction of the pleading woman and raised his hands as if he wants to demonstrate that he is innocent, helpless or inoffensive. He runs behind another woman, which is also covered with a headscarf. Those two people appear to form a middle layer of the image, as there is a level which is even further in the back.

This actual background is composed of debris, ruins and burning houses. One big house in the distance, positioned on the right side of the photo, seems almost dislocated for the reason that it is higher and not yet burned or bombed. All people are located on a wide, dusty road which is covered with ashes. Smoke soars into the air from a burning house and every individual in the image seems to move from the left to the right, along the street, hurryingly past the older woman and the armed man.

5.1.3.2.   Iconographic interpretation

Facts:[259]

Year: 1976 • Photographer: Françoise Demulder • Nationality: France • Organization / Publication: Gamma • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 00-01-1976 • Country: Lebanon • Place: Beirut

Caption:[260]

Palestinian refugees in district La Quarantaine.

Background information – The Lebanese civil war and the related Karantina Massacre:

The Lebanese civil war, lasting from 1975 to 1990, was a civil *"conflict resulting from tensions among Lebanon's Christian and Muslim populations. The conflict was exacerbated by socioeconomic disparities and the presence in Lebanon in the 1970s of fighters from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In 1975 Lebanon's Muslims and leftists supported the PLO and sought more political power; its Christians, seeking to maintain their political dominance, opposed the PLO. The factions fought fiercely through early 1976, and Lebanon became effectively partitioned, with the Christians in power in the north and the Muslims in the south. Fearing an expanded war, both Israel and Syria initially intervened on the side of the Christians, who had begun to lose ground. In 1982 Israel invaded southern Lebanon to destroy Palestinian guerrilla bases. PLO forces were driven out of Beirut, and by 1985 Israel had withdrawn from much of Lebanon, which by then was split internally over whether to accept Syria's leadership. The failure of parliament to elect a successor in 1988 precipitated a crisis between two rival governments, each claiming legitimacy. In 1989 the Christian leader Gen. Michel Aoun attempted to drive Syria from Lebanon but was defeated, and the Arab League mediated a peace deal. Aoun's removal from power in October 1990 marked the end of the civil war and eliminated one of the major obstacles to the implementation of the 1989 Ta'if peace accord.*[261]

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[259] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1976 [2010/03/24]

[260] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1976 [2010/03/24]

[261] Britannica Concise Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334139/Lebanese-Civil-War [2010/04/14]

> *"Christian forces conquered Karantina, a slum district populated primarily by poor Kurds and Armenians but controlled by a PLO detachment. More than 1000 civilians were massacred."[262]*

The specific incident on the 18th of January in 1976, the Karantina Massacre, took place in the framework of the introduced Lebanese Civil War. *"Karantina was a strategically situated slum district in Beirut controlled by forces from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), but inhabited mainly by Kurds and Armenians, as well as some Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims. Karantina was overrun by Christian militias with Syrian backing, and a large number of civilians massacred. The fighting and subsequent killings also involved the nearby Maslakh quarter. The massacre is often cited as a motive behind the Palestinian-led massacres in Damour, and together, the two atrocities prompted many Muslims and Christians to flee their home areas in Beirut to relocate in areas held by their own sects. This contributed to the division of the Lebanese capital into East (Christian) and West (Muslim) Beirut."[263]*

Analysis:

The World Press Photo's interest in the portrayal of escalating moments causes the fact that the World Press Photo of the Year in 1976 has been taken in Lebanon, when a civil war between Christian and Muslim groups has started. This armed conflict caused up to 60,000 deaths and 100,000 injured. In the framework of this conflict, the French photographer Françoise Demulder, the first woman that has received the World Press Photo prize, documented a scene in Beirut.

The people that were described on the *pre-iconographic level* as quickly walking along the street, from the left to the right of the photo, are Palestinian refugees in the devastated district *La Quarantine*.

The woman in the centre of the photograph pleases the armed man for peace. The fact that it is a very dynamic photo since everything seems to move from the left to the right even highlights her position given that she has decided to stop. She wanted to put herself in contact with the man who holds the rifle.

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[262] URL: http://www.liberty05.com/civilwar/civil.html [2010/04/14]
[263] Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://en.allexperts.com/e/k/ka/karantina_massacre.htm [2010/04/14]

He represents the opposition and thus a perpetrator and reason for her sorrow and harm. This relationship can be found again in their metaphoric headscarves. The elderly woman wears a white one, the tall man with the rifle a black one. Those colours implicates symbolic meanings such as good and bad or saintly and unsaintly.

5.1.4. Photograph 4
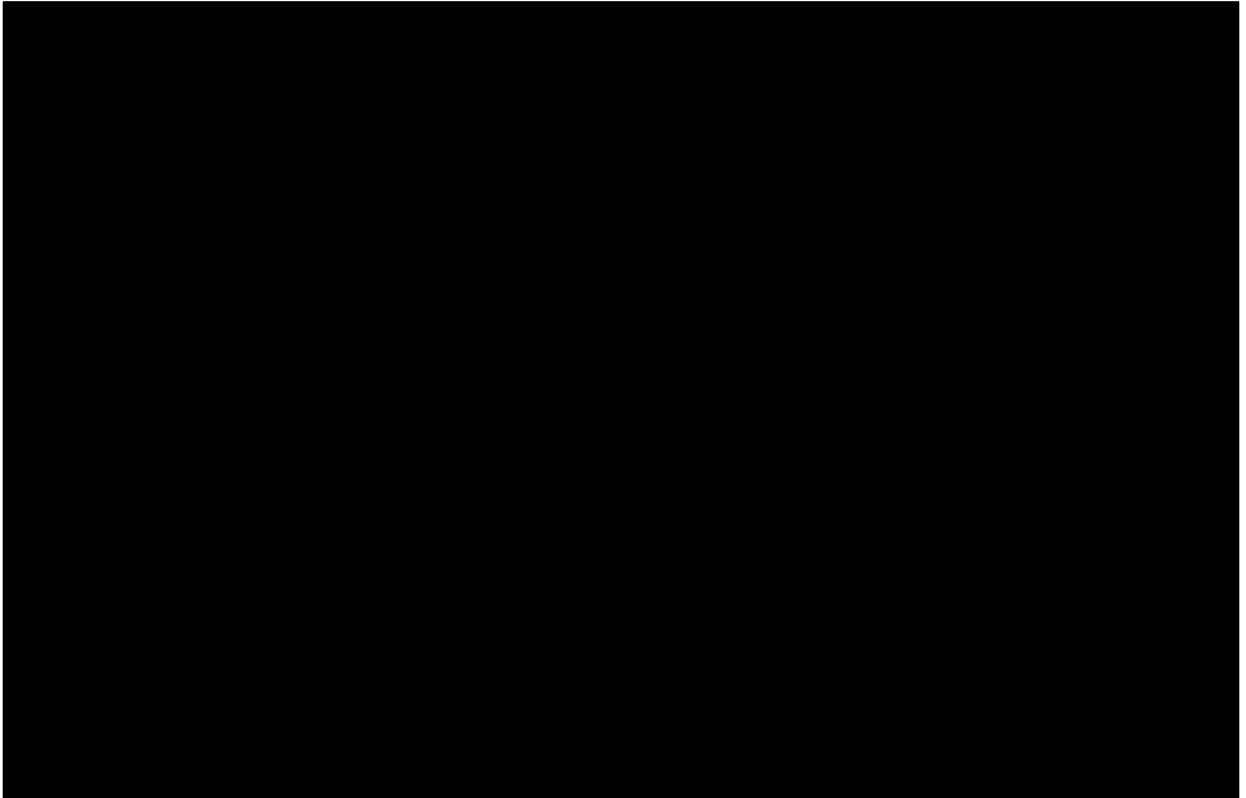
ill. 7: Charlie Cole, 1989[264]

5.1.4.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

Three camouflage coloured vehicles, designed with a red star, are already in the photograph, a fourth one is about to enter the field of focus. They move along diagonally and in alignment, from the upper right side of the image to the lower left side. This movement direction is underlined by the straight position of the armoured conduit as well as the diagonal street marks. They are all over the image.

The object most proximate to the camera is a man, who, in relation to the tanks, seems to be tiny and thus insignificant. He is placed in the lower left corner, his back turned towards the camera. Despite his objectively physical insignificance, his situation quickly catches the observer's attention. He stands right in front of the first tank and does not seem to plan about leaving his hazardous position. It almost seems as if he has jumped in front of the tanks spontaneously. He wears a white shirt and black trousers. In his right hand he holds a white sack, in his left another bag, darker and smaller.

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[264] World Press Photo Archive, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1989 [2010/03/24]

The scene takes place on a wide road, asphalted and symmetrically marked which forms the background of the photo. There is no other layer or any further objects to detect in the photograph.

5.1.4.2. Iconographic interpretation

Facts:[265]

Year: 1989 • Photographer: Charlie Cole • Nationality: USA • Organization / Publication: Newsweek • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 04-06-1989 • Country: China • Place: Tiananmen Square, Beijing

Caption:[266]

A demonstrator confronts a line of People's Liberation Army tanks during protests for democratic reform.

Background information – The Tiananmen Square massacre:

The Tiananmen Square massacre from 1989 is also known as *June Fourth Incident*, since there were already two previous massacres on the Tiananmen Square. This massacre of June 1989 is the Chinese government's reaction on protests of students and scholars, demonstrating for democracy. The government sent military troops to the Tiananmen Square to stop the demonstrations. The military activities ended in a brutal massacre of Chinese students on the Tiananmen Square as well in its entire neighbourhood.[267]

"The morning of June 3, 1989, the 27th and 28th divisions of the People's Liberation Army moved into Tiananmen Square on foot and in tanks, firing tear gas to disperse the demonstrators. They had been ordered not to shoot the protesters; indeed, most of them did not carry firearms.

The leadership selected these divisions because they were from distant provinces; local PLA troops were considered untrustworthy as potential supporters of the protests.

Not only the student protesters, but tens of thousands of workers and ordinary citizens of Beijing joined together to repel the Army. They used burned-out buses to create barricades, threw rocks and bricks at the soldiers, and even burned some tank crews alive

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[265] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1989 [2010/03/24]
[266] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1989 [2010/03/24]
[267] Cf. Szczepanski, available at URL: http://asianhistory.about.com/od/china/a/TiananmenSquare. htm [2010/03/24]

inside their tanks. Thus, the first casualties of the Tiananmen Square Incident were actually soldiers. [...] That night, around 10:30 pm, the PLA returned to the area around Tiananmen with rifles, bayonets fixed. The tanks rumbled down the street, firing indiscriminately.

Students shouted "Why are you killing us?" to the soldiers, many of whom were about the same age as the protesters. Rickshaw drivers and bicyclists darted through the melee, rescuing the wounded and taking them to hospitals. In the chaos, a number of non-protesters were killed as well. [...]Throughout the night of June 3 and early hours of June 4, the troops beat, bayoneted, and shot protesters. Tanks drove straight into crowds, crushing people and bicycles under their treads. By 6 a.m. on June 4th, 1989, the streets around Tiananmen Square had been cleared."[268]

Analysis:

Charlie Cole's World Press Photo of the year 1989 documents the Tiananmen Square massacre in China. On June 3rd and June 4th, the Chinese army, which is represented by the tanks in the photograph bloody suppresses the mass demonstrations for freedom and democracy of students and scholars.

The American Photographer Cole covered the massacre at the Tiananmen Square with a strong zoom from the Beijing-Hotel. The certain scene with which's documentation he won the World Press Photo award pictures a Chinese man who could never be identified. This man is the guy in the lower left corner, as described in the *pre-iconographic analysis*. He is positioned right in front of the first tank of the Chinese military convey, which is about to bloodily finish the incidences. What happened to the man after the photo has been taken is unknown.

Through the fact that the last talk in the alignment is half-cropped, the researcher has the impression that this line of tanks is endless. One has no idea how many military machines will follow and thus how much volume menaces the only human in the photo. This young Chinese man is alone, he is unarmed and physically powerless. He seems to be lost. At the same time, this intent to stop military tanks by blocking their way with the own and bare body shows psychological strength. He must be of incredible will, courage, bravery and especially pride.

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[268] Szczepanski, available at URL: http://asianhistory.about.com/od/china/a/TiananmenSquare.htm [2010/03/24]

5.1.5. Photograph 5
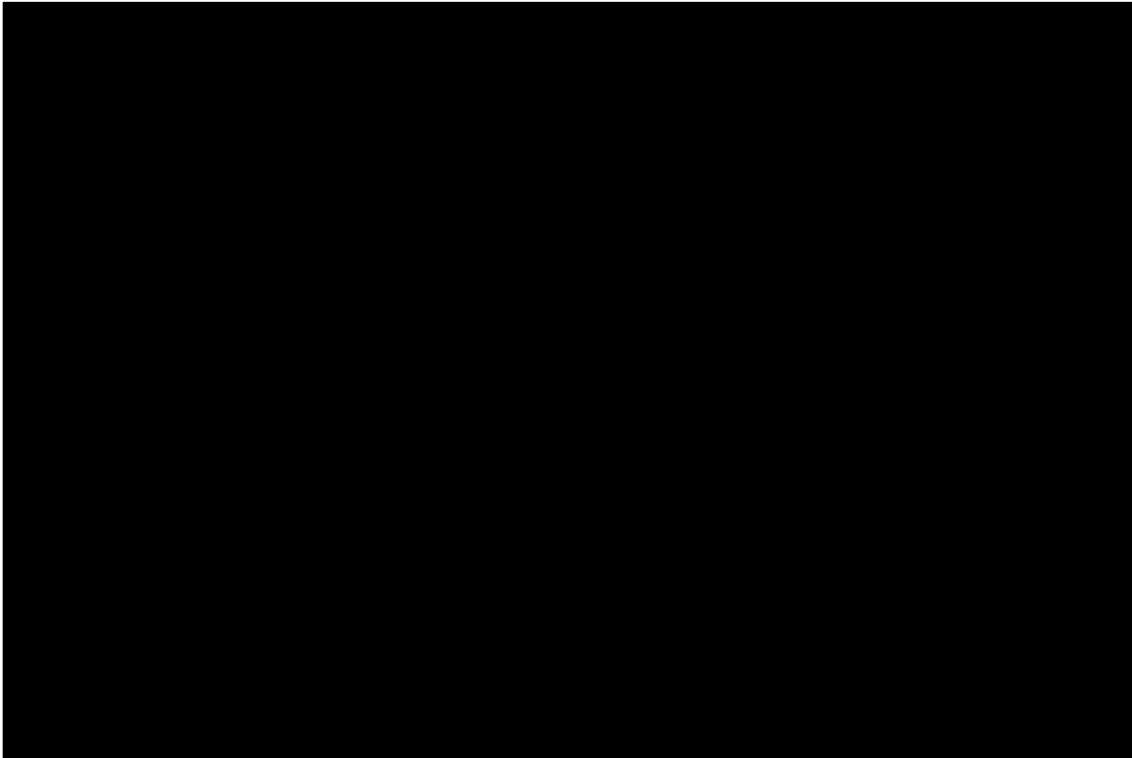
ill. 8: David Turnley, 1991[269]

5.1.5.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

In the foreground: Four human beings are to be seen in the foreground of this photograph of David Turnley from 1991. The first one, most proximate to the camera and thus in the foreground, shows a soldier. That can be interpreted by looking at his cloths. He wears a helmet, is dressed in a dark green jacket and trousers. His arm is bandaged, also in a dark green fabric. His facial expression tells the observer that he is crying. Besides the fact that pain could be a reason, the research detects sadness and defencelessness. His posture is slumped and every tension in his body is gone. He sits on the floor, his lags slightly stilted, his hands between them. He looks to the left side of the photograph, therefore not towards any other person in the photo.

From the researcher's point of view, further right in the picture there can be detected a second soldier. About his cloths it can be said that it looks like he is wearing the same uniform. Furthermore his black boots can be seen. He has a white bandage around his head which catches the researcher's attention since it is bright white and, in contrast to

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[269] World Press Photo Archive, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/
layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1991
[2010/03/24]

the rest that is dark and camouflage coloured, conspicuous. This bandage covers his eyes, what makes it difficult to interpret his expression, but his mouth is closed and not very tense. He sits next to the first described soldier, but looks in the other direction. He braces his arms on the tucked up knees. His hands location implies that he is moving them. It is possible that he is communicating with the third soldier which lies on the ground, a bit further to on the photos right side.

This third soldier on the photos right side is difficult to perceive. That derives from the fact that he also wears camouflage and that his left arm covers his head. Furthermore a camouflage coloured bag, perhaps a sleeping bag, is in front of his body. Therefore the researcher can only see the left arm. His jacked is taped right behind his hand which he moves towards the soldier with the white bandage around his head.

In the background: Behind the soldier who is the most proximate to the camera, a fourth man can be recognised. He is the most left object in the photograph, but due to his position in the background, inconspicuously. One can only see his head, protected with a helmet, and part of his upper body. He is also dressed in dark green or camouflage cloths, but no bandage or tape can be detected. The man looks down and he seems to concentrate on something, perhaps on the white paper on his knees.

The whole scenery takes place inside an object, most probably a helicopter, but it could also be a tent. It is dark in there and no lamps or unnatural sources of illumination are in the photo. Nevertheless, on the photograph's right side, a big, white area indicates an exit. Outside it is bright and therefore the researcher has the impression that it is in the middle of the day. Nothing but brightness is to be seen outside.

Inside the spectator area, lashings keep materials such as a beige fabric and dark green or grey objects out of the seating area where the men are placed.

5.1.5.2.   Iconographic interpretation

Year: 1991 • Photographer: David Turnley • Nationality: USA • Organization / Publication: Detroit Free Press / Black Star • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 00-02-1991 • Country: Iraq

Caption:[271]

US Sergeant Ken Kozakiewicz (23), gives vent to his grief as he learns that the body bag at his feet contains the remains of his friend Andy Alaniz. 'Friendly fire' claimed Alaniz's life and injured Kozakiewicz. On the last day of the Gulf War they were taken away from the war zone by a MASH unit evacuation helicopter.

Background information – The Persian Gulf War:

"The First Persian Gulf War,. Jan.–Feb., 1991, was an armed conflict between Iraq and a coalition of 32 nations including the United States, Britain, Egypt, France, and Saudi Arabia. It was a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990; Iraq then annexed Kuwait, which it had long claimed. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein declared that the invasion was a response to overproduction of oil in Kuwait, which had cost Iraq an estimated $14 billion a year when oil prices fell. Hussein also accused Kuwait of illegally pumping oil from Iraq's Rumaila oil field.

The UN Security Council called for Iraq to withdraw and subsequently embargoed most trade with Iraq. On Aug. 7, U.S. troops moved into Saudi Arabia to protect Saudi oil fields. On Nov. 29, the United Nations set Jan. 15, 1991, as the deadline for a peaceful withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. When Saddam Hussein refused to comply, Operation Desert Storm was launched on Jan. 18, 1991, under the leadership of U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf.

The U.S.-led coalition began a massive air war to destroy Iraq's forces and military and civil infrastructure. Iraq called for terrorist attacks against the coalition and launched Scud missiles at Israel (in an unsuccessful attempt to widen the war and break up the coalition) and at Saudi Arabia. The main coalition forces invaded Kuwait and Iraq on Feb. 24 and, over the next four days, encircled and defeated the Iraqis and liberated Kuwait. When U.S. President George H. W. Bush declared a cease-fire on Feb. 28, most of the Iraqi forces in Kuwait had either surrendered or fled.

Although the war was a decisive military victory for the coalition, Kuwait and Iraq suffered enormous property damage, and Saddam Hussein was not removed from power. In fact, Hussein was free to turn his attention to suppressing internal Shiite and Kurd revolts, which the U.S.-led coalition did not support, in part because of concerns over the possible breakup of Iraq if the revolts were successful. Coalition peace terms were agreed to by Iraq, but every effort was made by the Iraqis to frustrate implementation of the terms, particularly UN weapons inspections.

In 1993 the United States, France, and Britain launched several air and cruise-missile strikes against Iraq in response to provocations, including an alleged Iraqi plan to assassinate former President George H. W. Bush. An Iraqi troop buildup near Kuwait in 1994 led the United States to send forces to Kuwait and nearby areas. Continued resistance to weapons inspections led to bombing raids against Iraq, and trade sanctions imposed on Iraq remained in place, albeit with an emphasis on military-related goods until the second Gulf conflict."[272]

Analysis:

The photographer of the World Press Photo of the year 1991, David Turnley, travelled as an embedded journalist with the American medical unit inside Iraq during the Persian Gulf War. That results in a different form of censorship in journalism, since, beside the strict regulations that are characteristic for this First Gulf War of 1991, travelling together with one party of a conflict biases the point of view and possibilities of coverage. However, as this aspect and the problematic of the concept of embedded journalism were already discussed in the theoretical discussion, at this point it does not need additional explications. However, the U.S. military censorship made Turnley worry about not being allowed to publish the photo which portrays American soldiers.

The photo was taken, as assumed in the *pre-iconographic analysis*, inside of a military vehicle. It actually is a helicopter, which serves as a means of carriage for the soldiers.

The crying man in the photograph's focus is called Ken Kozakiewicz. He is an American soldier, suffering from an injured hand. Nevertheless, his expression of grief derives from the fact that he was just informed about the *friendly fire* related death of his best friend Andy Alaniz.

Friendly fire is the military jargon for an erroneous bombardment or fire of own troops in a battle. The photo caption is especially necessary for this level of interpretation, since one

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[272] Columbia Encyclopedia, available at URL: http://americanhistory.about.com/gi/o.htm?zi =1/XJ/
Ya&zTi=1&sdn=americanhistory&cdn=education&tm=16&f=10&tt=14&bt=1&bts=1&st=24&zu=http
%3A//www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0838511.html [2010/03/24]

could not identify this fact as the reason for his emotions. Furthermore, one can not see that the sleeping bag is actually a body bag. It contains the remains of his killed friend.
The man on the very left in the background belongs to the medical care staff. He, probably without knowing about their friendship, just submitted the information about Alaniz's death by handing over the identification card of the killed person in the body bag.

The composition of the photo allows the researcher to estimate that Turnley, the photographer, is location opposite of Kozakiewicz. Therefore he is immediately involved in the situation and a direct witness of the very emotional moment.

5.1.6. Photograph 6
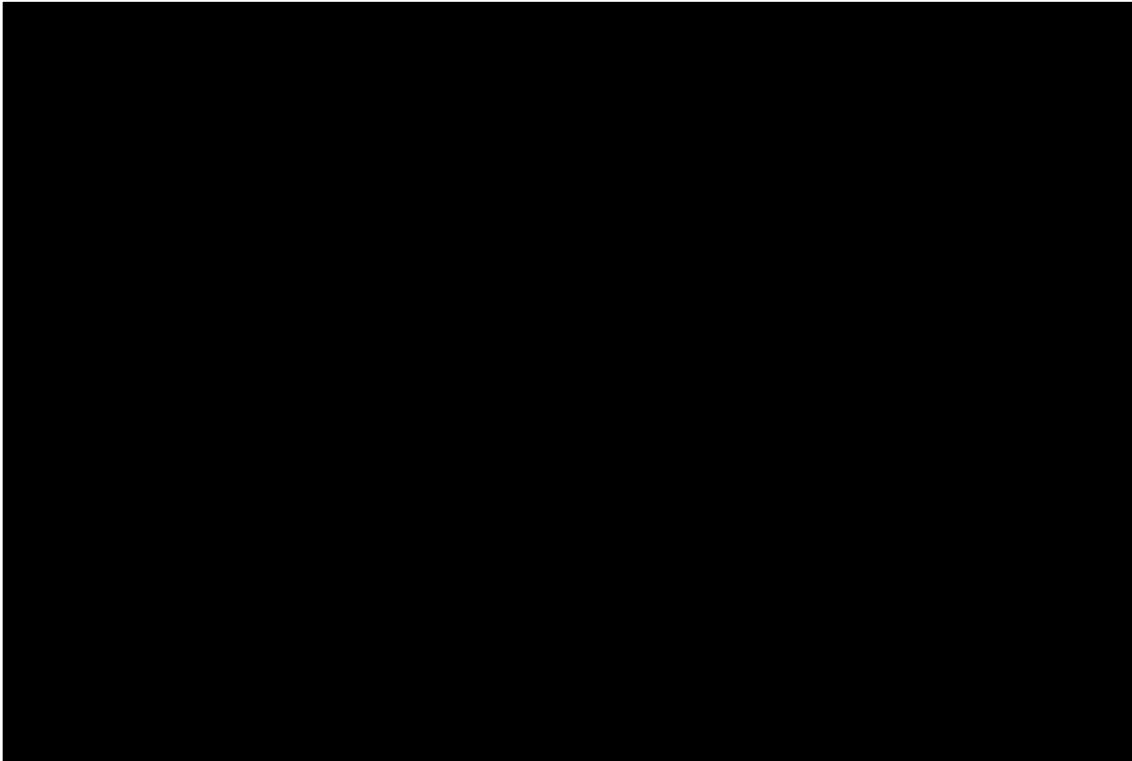
ill. 9: Spencer Platt, 2006[273]

5.1.6.1. Pre-iconographic interpretation

In the foreground: This photograph of Spencer Platt from 2006 portrays five young people, four girls and one boy. Due to their skin colour one can say that they look Lebanese.

The boy sits behind the steering wheel of a red cabriolet with which they drive from the left of the photo to the right. He looks out of the windscreen and can only be seen from the side-face. He wears a blue shirt with some black stripes on its shoulders, has black, curly hair and put sunglasses on. He concentrates on the street and his facial expression does not show any emotion.

The girl on the passenger seat is blond. She wears a white, tight shirt and sunglasses. Her upper body is turned slightly to the right, a bit further towards the camera. Nevertheless, her glances pass the photographers position on the right side. Her face seemed tense and her entire posture causes that the researcher interprets curiosity and interest in what happens outside of the car.

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[273] World Press Photo Archive, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/ layout/result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/2006 [2010/03/24]

The girl on the left side of the back seat is mainly covered by the two girls next to her, but one can recognise her white shirt, black hair and sunglasses. She looks in the direction of the camera.

The girl next to her, in the middle of the back seat, wears a black tank-top. Thus she has bare shoulders and arms. Moreover she has black hair which is tied together. She seems to concentrate on something as she screws up her eyes in order to recognise something on the display of her mobile phone, which she holds in her right hand. It seems as if she is just about to take a picture of something which is not in the photo, but somewhere in the direction of the right side. It is most probably the object or scenery that also caught the attention of the girl in the front seat, as their heads are turned towards the same direction.

The third person on the back seat of the cabriolet is another woman. She as well wears a black tank top, has black hair which are tied together, and she wears sunglasses. With her right hand, she holds a white tissue in front of her nose. She also looks towards the camera, but due to the sunglasses the exact direction can not be identified.

In the background: The most significant is that the entire background is consists of ruins and debris, but five more people can be recognised. Two men walk from the left of the photo to its right. The one on the very left is dressed in a dark blue shirt and jeans. The second man in the background, almost in the centre of the image, wears a grey shirt and glasses. He looks in the photographer's direction. A woman with a light blue headscarf and a dark jacket, walking from the left to the right, can only be seen from the back. Two further men stand in front of the woman. They are on the phone and do not seem to walk anywhere. Both are dressed in white shirts and jeans. One has also put on a white cap.

The environmental scenery does offer debris and dust. The houses are bombed and besides some almost untouched beige buildings in the left half of the photo's background, the entire right half is characterised by bombed buildings. One palm tree can be detected which grows between the two man in the background which are walking to the left.

The red, apparently new or at least washed, cabriolet is the transportation of the five modern looking, young people. In the car paint something is reflected which is probably exactly the setting which caused the young people's attention, but it can not be identified, even though the sun shines on it. The researcher has the idea that there are ruins and debris as well, or perhaps houses that did not get bombed.

### 5.1.6.2.	Iconographic interpretation

<u>Facts:</u>[274]

Year: 2006 • Photographer: Spencer Platt • Nationality: USA • Organization / Publication: Getty Images • Category: World Press Photo of the Year • Prize: World Press Photo of the Year • Date: 15-08-2006 • Country: Lebanon • Place: Beirut

<u>Caption:</u>[275]

Young Lebanese drive down a street in Haret Hreik, a bombed neighborhood in southern Beirut. For nearly five weeks Israel had been targeting that part of the city and towns across southern Lebanon in a campaign against Hezbollah militants. As a ceasefire gradually came into force from August 14, thousands of Lebanese began to return to their homes. According to the Lebanese government, 15,000 homes and 900 commercial concerns were damaged.

<u>Background information – The Lebanon War:</u>

The Lebanon War, sometimes referred to as the Israel-Hezbollah War, took place in July and August 2006. The month-long conflict cost more than a thousand lives. The majority of them were Lebanese citizens.

"On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah militants fired on an Israeli patrol on Israel's side of the border fence, killing three Israeli soldiers and seizing two of them. Olmert responded by bombarding parts of south and eastern Lebanon, then widening the bombing campaign to cover most of Lebanon in what became a 34-day all-out war between Hezbollah and Israel. Hezbollah retaliated with intense, daily, indiscriminate missile barrages at towns in northern Israel, and as far south as Haifa.
Olmert pledged to destroy Hezbollah's military capacity. Hezbollah pledged not to stop its barrage until Israel ceased its operations, which included widespread incursions into south Lebanon.
It wasn't until Aug. 14 that a cease-fired brokered by the United Nations ended hostilities.
[...] The 2006 Lebanon War, in sum, killed many, destroyed much, but advanced neither Israel's objectives nor Lebanon's. Only Hezbollah seemed to emerge from the conflict stronger than before it began, even though Lebanese army troops are now deployed in south Lebanon. With tensions still high between Israel, Syria and Hezbollah, the

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[274] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/2006 [2010/03/24]
[275] World Press Photo, available at URL: http://www.archive.worldpressphoto.org/search/layout/ result/indeling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/ishoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/2006 [2010/03/24]

immediate future is uncertain. Within Lebanon, where presidential elections are slated for the latter part of 2007, the future is even more uncertain as murmurs of civil war, should the election fail to break the current stalemate, have been echoing in most ears. [276]

> *"When Israel and Hezbollah battled for more than a month in Lebanon in the summer of 2006, the result was widely seen as a disaster for the Israeli military. Soon after the fighting ended, some military officers began to warn that the short, bloody and relatively conventional battle foreshadowed how future enemies of the United States might fight."* [277]

Analysis:

Spencer Platt is the photographer of the in 2006 taken photograph. The setting is Beirut, the Lebanese capital. It is well known for its internationality and lively nightlife, but in 2006 it became the target of a bombardment in the framework of the conflicts between Hezbollah and Israel.

Platt's photo portrays five wealthy, young Lebanese in the Shia-dominated southern part of the town in August 2006. After the exclamation of ceasefire, thousands of further Lebanese returned home to their, from Israeli air forces bombed, neighbourhood, not knowing whether their houses are still habitable.

The World Press Photo of the Year seems to be an imposition, since the young people are obviously wealthy and one can have the impression that they are insensitive bystanders. World Press Photo give no information about their identity and thus the researcher can not verify of falsify this first impression by looking at the photo caption. In the press they are discussed as wealthy Lebanese citizens, but sometimes also as rich war tourists. That animated the Belgium journalist Gert van Langendonck to travel to Lebanon in order to unravel the mystery.[278] On the ground he actually found out that the five people, portrayed in Platt's photograph, are as well residents of this southern part of Beirut. They came to see if their flat was bombed.[279]

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[276] Tristam, available at URL: http://middleeast.about.com/od/lebanon/a/me070918.htm [2010/03/24]
[277] Jaffe, 2009, available at URL: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/05/AR2009040502235.html [2010/04/20]
[278] Cf. Schweitzer, 2007, available at URL: http://www.ksta.de/html/artikel/1172183405540.shtml [2010/04/14]
[279] Bickel, 2007, available at URL: http://www.weltreporter.net/texte/14/bickel12.pdf [2010/04/14]

5.2.   Iconological interpretation – discussing the framing of victimhood

5.2.1. Photograph 1

This black and white photo of the German photographer Helmuth Pirath is a very emotional image which portrays and personalises the German mood of the post-war-era. It documents an outstanding newsworthy event, the return of German World War II prisoners, which was covered with great interest by the media of this time. In the centre of the photograph is the girl, Roswitha. She is the central victim in this image, even though her father, Karl Wawrzinek, is the one who has been imprisoned for years, not being released for ten years after the war was officially terminated in 1945. Thus there are actually two victims in the photograph, but Pirath's focus and interest applies to Roswitha. It is her emotion and expression of anxiety, fear and insecurity that catches the observers' attention. It is a very personal story and the remarkable about the presentation of this girl as a victim is that, if one would hear about the case, he would think that the girl must be lucky to have her father back. However, as soon as one sees her facial expressions and the tension of her body, the way she shies away from the stranger that is supposed to be her father, her conflicting emotions and feelings are comprehensible and haunting. There is no doubt that she is a victim of the Second World War, even though she has not experienced physical violence, as for example her father did.

Thus, it is not the presentation of a war victim one would necessarily expect. There are no open wounds, no physical injury, no blood, no debris, no fire or smoke, no religious signs and neither is there a soldier in uniform with a rifle, a tank or a dead person in the photograph. People in the foreground look neat and so do the ones in the background, which are not necessarily involved in the pictured scene. However, they seem to be in a similar taut situation. Perhaps they as well wait for the return of a prisoner and thus the reunion with their husbands, their fathers, sons or friends.

This unconventional approach to the discussion about the Second World War and by this the thematisation of a post-war era and the individual ramification is interesting. It opens up a special perspective on the framing of victims. The photograph does not present the Second World War during its activities, but reflects the mood of a post-war society, the psychological harm, suffering and loss the people experienced and the individual strokes of fate the war caused.

It can be concluded that the photograph frames the victim of war as someone who mentally suffers, who has experienced loss and anxiety. The fact that a young girl is in the focus corresponds with classic media frames towards victims, for the reason that

generally *"children are seen as fully innocent victims."*[280] That awakes strong emotional reactions on the observer's side since one can feel with the girl who has obviously nothing to do with the political activities of the Second World War and who did not do any physical harm to others. She had to grow up without her father, she has experienced the war and now she is still caught in the role of a victim since she is confronted with her new life which includes a man, her father, who is an absolute stranger to her.

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[280] Berns, 2004, p. 151

5.2.2. Photograph 2

The presentation of the victim of war in this black and white photograph of Sawada is totally different to the one of Pirath from the 50th. Besides the aspect that the photograph has been taken during the war and not in the post-war period, the fact that it presents the Vietnam War which is characterised by very little control over the media may be accountable for the significant change in the framing of the victim.

There is no doubt that the dead Viet Cong soldier on the ground is the victim in the photograph. The research showed that he is actually the first dead person portrayed in a World Press Photo of the Year ever. Thus it is intelligible that the dead individual is not yet presented as a close-up. Hence the victim can not be identified. Since his face is tuned towards the dusty ground, one can not see the facial expression of the dead Viet Cong what secures distance to the human being. Nevertheless, it is a highly emotional photograph since already the composition of the image reflects the power of certain people over others and illustrates the attitude that some lives are worth more than others.

This victim on the ground is treated disrespectful and degrading. One might get the impression that he is the culprits since nobody could ever act that inhuman and cruel, especially not without a strong reason, but the composition and obvious dominance of the two American soldiers – in power of the machines, the tank and a rifle – causes sympathy for the Viet Cong.
He is the victim of war in this photograph of the Vietnam War. Thus, even though one does not know what the Vietnamese soldier did so that he was killed, he is actually portrayed as the innocent individual and the one who deserves the empathy of the observer.
Furthermore, background knowledge about the Vietnam War encourages this interpretation of the researcher since the combat is known for the inhuman actions of American troops in Vietnam.[281]

Especially obviously at this point is that a different researcher could derive at an entirely different research result. For example, in case the photograph is being interpreted by a former U.S. officer who has been based in Vietnam, the situation of the dead Viet Cong soldier on the dusty ground would most probably be interpreted differently. Thus, the

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[281] Cf. Active Politik, available at URL: http://www.aktivepolitik.de/vietnam.htm [2010/05/01]

social and political background of an examiner is of great importance for the research results.

5.2.3. Photograph 3

The central victim in the third black and white photograph is the woman with the white headscarf, turned towards the man with the rifle. Also children are to be seen which are popular objects for the presentation of victims, but in this photo the older woman is the one who catches the attention and empathy of the observer. She is not wounded or visibly suffering on loss and deprivation, but her emotional mimics and gestures awake sympathy on the side of the receiver. The environment that surrounds her demonstrates the devastation of life and can be seen as representative for the situation of the woman. That can include the loss of her home and her belongings, perhaps a child, husband or friend. Even though the photo does not show what she is pleading for, one feels like she deserves receiving it, respectively that the man with the rifle should stop doing whatever is undesired by her.

The woman as a victim of war represents the deprivation the civic society experiences. The lives of the general public get destroyed, people loose their families, relatives as well as the only property and material goods they owned.

The soldiers and perpetrators do not emphasise for the civilians. They have their mission and follow it, no matter what that means to the innocent, mostly already poor civilians.
In this photograph the situation of the woman is highlighted by the background. Besides further civilians which seem to be in a similar situation as she is, the debris and ruins in the background illustrate the result of war. Also the fire and updraughting smoke are well-known, typical symbols for destruction, armed conflicts and war.

5.2.4. Photograph 4

The fourth photograph is a colour photo which became a Western symbol for the human power over military machines. Nevertheless, a spokesman of the Chinese government considered this photograph as a proof to the Chinese army's tolerance. *"To me it is a symbol of the tolerance of the Army. The soldiers were very tolerant during most of the six weeks of the uprising until provoked in the streets at the very end."*[282]

Whether the photograph is interpreted as a symbol for individual strength by Western societies or the tolerance of the Army by the Chinese government, the only visible individual in this photograph is a victim. The photographer Charlie Cole, as well as all the other eyewitnesses, did not know what would happen to the protesting student. The tanks could have driven over him, which would have meant one more dead to the Chinese soldiers, which is, in relation to the entire death toll of the massacre, insignificant. Thus it would not have been very surprising.

Furthermore the observer of the photograph does not know if the tanks are moving or whether they have stopped in front of the protester, as long as one does not has further information about the scenery. Hence, the student in front of the tank can be defined as a victim and the composition of the photograph causes empathy towards him. He appears to be small and powerless individual in front of the machines. His bravery and pride is strong and obvious, but the machines are dominant and could terminate his life within seconds.

This image captures a moment which might be the last of a victim's life and the emotional aspect is thus conspicuous. Even though the photo is taken from distance and the victim is only portrayed from the back, one can see his commitment.

Therefore, the victim in this photograph is not framed as a physically or mentally injured individual. The victim is strong and committed. There is no mental suffering and loss to detect, no fire, no debris, no dust or dirt, but the pure confrontation of a human being with military machines.

Those attributes distinguish the photograph from Sawada's photo from 1966. However, the two photographs obviously have various similarities. Both pictures show a single victim in his relationship with the hostile group. In Sawada's photo it is a soldier form the opposition, in Cole's picture it is a protester who, in this incident, appears to be the opposition as well. In both pictures the dominant parts are the military machines, the

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[282] Jacobson, 2002, p. 180

tanks. They demonstrate power over the victims and underline the insignificance of individuals for enemy combatants.

5.2.5. Photograph 5

This photo is one of the most published pictures of the Persian Gulf War. However, at first the photographer David Turnley feared to not be allowed to issue his image, since it covers a situation in which an American soldier is suffering. If one was convinced that going to war was the right thing to do for America, it is a politically correct photo. If one had doubts about the warfare and its legitimacy, this photo encouraged thinking critically. Additionally Turnley criticised that his photo does not represent the war appropriately since it was actually far more horrifying than one can imagine by looking at this image.[283]

However, the presentation of victims was generally avoided, respectively prohibited by the U.S. government. Television channels were allowed to broadcast images of rockets in the sky, instead of soldiers and the civic society on the ground, between bombed homes and dead relatives. Thus the media, directed by the U.S. government, evoke the illusion of a clean warfare which reasons Turnley's reservations about the permission to publish the photo. This photograph sets an accent against the typical portrayal of the First Iraq War due to the reason that it shows the fate of an American soldier, even though it does by far not represent the suffering of the mass.

> *"The rules of combat enforced by the military required that Turnley give his film to military officials for approval for publication. A day after the incident, Turnley learned that his editors had not yet received his negatives from the Defense Department officials. Military officials insisted that they were holding on to the film because the images were of a sensitive nature."[284]*

The victim in this colour photo is an American soldier. His facial expression tells sadness, desperation and helplessness. The bandages also mediate physical injury. Not only with regard to this soldier named Ken Kozakiewicz, but also with respect to his companions in the helicopter. They may be physically as well as psychologically hurt as well. Nevertheless, the photo is about the soldier Ken Kozakiewicz and his loss. He is the central person in this photo and thus the victim which is focused on.

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[283] Cf. Patterson / Wilkins, 2004, pp. 184 (et seq.)
[284] Patterson / Wilkins, 2004, p. 184

The portrayal of him as a victim of war primarily presents the deprivation and the mental grief on which a person, confronted with the violence of war, suffers. Generally in photos these attributes are linked to the civil society at first hand, but even though soldiers are on the one hand the perpetrators, on the other hand and at the same time they can be seen as victims. It is their duty to go to war and besides the horror they do to others, they suffer as well. They are afflicted with dangerous injuries and physical violence, the vision of dead humans and the memories on having killed people, as well as with the sorrow about having lost a friend whom they could not help in their misery.

Thus, the victim of war in this photo is one that could easily be interpreted as the perpetrator in another photo of another situation, but due to the media regulations and censorship, this is one of the few critical photographs. It presents an U.S. soldiers perspective and offers an interesting insight into the life of a serviceman. It enables the observer to see the soldier in his role as a victim and actually awakes an understanding and emotional solidarity for him. Thus, the photograph causes that one feels for the victim that is often labelled perpetrator. The observer is able to see the situation from another perspective and to temporarily forget about the soldier's actions on the ground.

5.2.6. Photograph 6

This colour photograph of Spencer Platt from 2006 presents a totally new idea of war victims. It is surprising and unexpected and the first emotion towards these victims is by far not sympathy, empathy and understanding. That is based on the fact that further knowledge is needed to realise that the young and cosmopolitical looking individuals actually are victims of the Lebanon War themselves. At first one would think they are war tourists or bystanders since the idea of victims people have in mind is different to how these citizens look.

Thus the photo encourages observers to think about clichés and to realise that victims of war not always cry and visibly suffer. They do not always need to be physically injured and dressed in old, dark cloths, perhaps with a headscarf. Victims simply do not always look the same.

The in the foreground of this photograph pictured people do not fit in the frames observers have about victims, since they do not fit in the normal media frames of war. The observer expects suffering, be it mentally or physically, perhaps darkness, but at least colourlessness.

Still, since there are debris and ruins in the background of the photo and people that fit into the normal frames of war victims, the photograph can be easily interpreted as an image of a war. That again causes the fact that those young people awake antipathy, but as soon as the necessary background information reveal that they are also victims, the sympathy on the side of the researcher changes and he can feel with them.

This photograph presents the victims of war in a different way, but they also suffer on deprivation. They might have lost all their belongings since probably also their flat has been bombed down. They look modern and rich, but they mentally go through the same as other victims of the Lebanon War.

The outside of human beings does not always tell anything about the psychological situation and the circumstances under which a person is portrayed. This photo motivates to think about spontaneous judgements. It becomes obvious that a photo's message can only unfold when the caption explains the journalistic W-questions as, without further information, observers are lost with their already established frames, with prejudgements and clichés.

Even though this photo appears to be unique in its presentation of victims, since observers can not identify the five young people as victims, still not after having read the photo caption, there is actually a consensus with Pirath's photo from 1956 to detect. The victim is one individual or a group of civilians which is unintentionally involved in the conflict. He is positioned in the central foreground of the photograph and one can see the victims' faces from a medium distance. The recognisable emotions of the protagonists vary significantly in the two photographs, but the entire scenery reasons the comparison of the two photos from 1956 and 2006 – the first and the last analysed object in this study. The photographs have been taken after and not during the war and the pictured victims are innocent civilians. In both photos one can see people in the background. Some look in the direction of the camera, some are just captured while passing by. Furthermore, in both photos the central actors wear decent cloth and, because of the certain colouring respectively lightning, the presented victims catch the observer's attention immediately.

5.2.7. Summary of findings

In every analysed World Press Photo of the Year, one central victim could be detected. In the first photograph from the 1950's it was the girl in the centre of the image, in the second photo, created in the 1960's, the dead Viet Cong soldier and in the third photo from the 1970's the woman with the headscarf. These three photographs are black and white images and present totally different situations and characters of victims.

That is not going to change in the 1980's, when a Chinese student is presented as the victim of the massacre and neither in the 1990's, with a U.S. soldier in the role of a victim. The portrayed victim of the first decade of the 21st century is not a single person, but a group of five young people, even though one might see the girl on the passenger seat as the most central person. Nevertheless, she communicates the same as the other four do and thus the whole group is interpreted as *the victim*. Those three photos of the later decades are colour photos. However, as in the first three decades of World Press Photo, victims are portrayed from different points of view and they all represent dissimilar characteristics, roles, situations and fates.

Those ascertained information and findings about the selected World Press Photos of the Year, one from each decade since the foundations advent in 1955, will be analysed in the next chapter. It serves to interpret the research results in the framework of the research questions and the theoretical discussion.

6. Interpretation of the research results

6.1. The characteristics of war and combat related photographs

The author focuses on the characteristics of professional photographs that deal with the topics war and armed conflicts as well as on the framing of victimhood. Those photos are as objectively as possible selected and could be identifies as photoicons.[285] They are all prized by the World Press Photo Foundation. Consequently they are refereed to as extraordinarily good and assessed as appropriate to portray a certain event of journalistic importance. Therefore it is possible to compare them and to examine characteristics, similarities and differences.

The *pre-iconographic analysis* served to collect formal and visible information and the *iconographic analysis* to acquire background knowledge to be able to name and contextualise the pictured scene. The two analyses together now allow drawing a conclusion about certain characteristics of war photographs, which relate to the first research question:

- *What are the characteristics of war and crises related World Press Photos?*
  - c) *What features changed in the course of time?*
  - d) *What aspects are constant?*

Obviously the in the framework of this thesis detectable characteristics are not universally valid, but the result of a profound analysis of professional photographs, of which every one represents a significant conflict in the course of time.

The analyses have revealed the information that the first three photographs are black and white photos and that the other three are colour photos. That is based on modern technologies and a changing, increasingly visual media landscape, as discussed earlier. However, it is well known that World Press Photo still nominates black and white photos for their World Press Photo of the Year. For example, the entire 1990's, with exceptions of the years 1990, 1991 and 1997, are black and white photos and the tendency did not stop in the 21st century.

Thus, the findings can be temporarily explained by considering that photographs of war and conflicts are characterised by a dark atmosphere. That is easier to proof if it is a

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[285] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.2.

colour photo, at least as long as it is a photo from a distance. A close-up is a different kind of perspective, since the colour of a face and the eyes is important, but none of the analysed photos is a real close-up. Hence, the effect on the recipient is stronger when he sees how colourless and dismal the situation on the ground is, without being irritated by the fact that only the photo might have taken all the colours out of the scene. Therefore it actually is a characteristic.

It can be concluded that the technological innovations are on the one hand used in order to present the situation on the scene in a most natural and detailed way, and on the other hand they forced the photos to become even more conspicuous to still catch the observer's attention and to awake his interest. That potential of professional photos is needed in the today's visually overloaded media landscape to not disappear, but to continue communicating news and to deliver content for the preservation of a collective memory. Even though black and white images are supposed to have a higher documentary potential at command, the technological development seems to have brought the colour photo in the sphere of press photography as well and to win on acceptance amongst professionals.

The photographs picture most of the people from a medium distance and position which still allows identifying them. In each case it is the victim that can be identified. That implies that no perpetrator in the World Press Photos of the Year is clearly identifiable. In case they are portrayed, then from a medium or long distance, often from the back.

Summarising it can be valuated that close-up shots are no characteristic for photos of combats. Also it seems as if the photographers, as well as the World Press Photo Foundation, regard a conflict as best represented in case the entire scenery is covered, not simply the emotion of one single person. Nevertheless, it is always a fate of an individual about which is reported and not simply a mass of people without a central victim and person to sympathise with.

Furthermore it is interesting to see that in five of the six photographs machines are to detect. Only the first photo which has been taken in a post-war period does not show any machine or technical object such as a tank or a rifle. In two photos the machines are tanks which are brought into relation with the perpetrator, and so are the rifles. In the photo of Sawada from the Vietnam War, there is a rifle and a tank, in the photo of Demulder from the 70th only a rifle. The helicopter and car, however, are presented in relation to the victims.

In summary, it can be stated that machines are distinguishing for photos of combats. Not necessarily combined with perpetrators, but in case there is a perpetrator in a photograph, then in correspondence with a machine. He may even be represented by a machine, as in the photo of Cole from the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

Military clothing such as a camouflage uniform, a helmet or vest can be seen in three of six photos and thus seems to be, in contrast to machines, no clear feature for a professional photo of combats. However, they help to identify a photo as a war and crisis related photograph and highlight desired effects for the emotional impact on the observer, as also ambient aspects like dirt and ruins do. Three of the six photos show shadows and dust, and one photograph includes fire and a dark sky.

As mentioned above, all photos are characterised by their colourlessness. Hence this natural or created drabness appears to be a central characteristic for a war photo. Nonetheless, the last photo from the sample, Spencer Platt's image from 2006, shows unconventional accents that make the photo unusual and out of the ordinary.

The background of the photo fits into the classic frames of war and the destruction warfare causes, but the central characters, the five young people in the expensive sports car, fall out of alignment. There is the bright red colour of the vehicle and the shiny white shirt of the woman on the passenger seat what makes the observer wonder about the peoples' role in the photo. Also one girl takes pictures with a modern mobile phone. It is untypical to see personal goods of value in war related photographs. Since the research showed that they are victims as well, one can conclude that their presentation does not agree with common frames. That reasons the broad discussions about this photo and the special interest for the analysis of victims, to which the author will derive later.

Concerning the characteristics of professional war photography, however, one should not overlook the background of the image. By examining the scenery behind the car, one finds out that the photo is a typical portrayal of warfare and its direct effects. As well as in Demulder's photo, the background presents debris and destruction and the further people fit into the classic frames of combats. Therefore the background, as mentioned above, allows contextualising the photo as an image of war and emotions of empathy towards the victims on the side of the recipient.

About the presentation of human beings in general it can be concluded that only two times a child is portrayed and out of these two times only one time in the role of a central character. It might be expected that the presentation of children in war photos is typical since they are naturally framed as victims and those are actually present in every single

shot. However, from this sample the researcher can not verify the assumption that babies and kids are distinguishing for war photographs.

In four photos a soldier is presented. In one of those pictures, in the Vietnam War photo, military troops are represented by tanks and not directly portrayed. That means, the observer knows that a serviceman, a human being, is involved in the scenery, but he can not see him since he is inside the tank. In two other situations, soldiers are in the position of being the opposition or perpetrator. Nevertheless, in Turnley's photo of 1991, soldiers are portrayed as the ones that suffer.

Furthermore, in two out of six photos one can see a dead person. Both times they can not be identified. In Sawada's photo he is turned towards the sandy ground and in Turnley's image even covered by a body bag. Thus one needs further information to even realise that there is a dead body pictured. Besides, wounded are only the soldiers in the helicopter, also in Turnley's winning photograph from the Persian Gulf War.

In summary it can be said that a soldier is a common character in a war photograph, even though not a necessary attribute. Furthermore there is no certain trend to detect in the course of time. The same applies to the presentation of civilians. In four of six photos civilians are presented, of which only one time together with a soldier. That allows the researcher to valuate that there is either a soldier or a civilian, who is not dead or obviously violated, in a war photo.

Most certainly a professional press photograph presents the war or armed conflict on the example of someone's fate and thus needs a human being who is alive to activate stronger emotional feelings such as empathy and compassion. Also the relationship between perpetrator and victim seems to be important in order to tell a story about the war which is worth the title of the World Press Photo of the Year.

In addition, no photograph shows actual positive emotions such as joy. Also pride can only be read into the victim in Cole's photo, who is portrayed from the back. Thus it is the action and not the facial expression which leads to this interpretation.
Emotions one can read from the face and the body tension of a portrayed human are entirely negative and to detect in every single photo from the research sample. Hence, negativism can be detected as a characteristic of professional photographs of war and armed conflicts.

In the first photo it is anxiety and sadness, in the second photo indifference and coldness and in the third photograph one can see despair and solicitation. In the fourth photo, which also shows pride and bravery, one can actually detect apathy and blandness. The fifth photo is characterised by suffering, exhaustion and hopelessness and the sixth by coldness and, with respect to the girl on the backseat, even loathing. Therefore the researcher analyses negativism in the photographs, which is present in every decade, no matter what conflict is covered, whether it is a black and white photo or how far away the portrayed object is. In some photographs the negative expressions are further highlighted by the *iconographic implications* of the covered situation. The reason for the soldier's expression of grief for example is the loss of a friend and the debris in the background of two photos represent the destroyed homes of civilians.

To conclude, the analysis produced some interesting and usable data. On the first glance, one might not detect a lot of similarities or differences in the photographs. They all look different and picture entirely diverse situations as well as characters. Also, within a timeframe of 60 years, a lot of developments and innovations have occurred in the media landscape and thus influenced the profession of press photographers.

However, with reference to the research question about the characteristics of combat related photographs, some significant aspects could be detected.

The only feature that has changed in the course of time is the shift from black and white photos to colour photos. In the 50th, 60th and 70th, a black and white photo was prizes, in the 80th, 90th and 2010th, a colour photo became the World Press Photo of the Year. Reasons are discussed above. The author's research furthermore leads to the assumption that it is not actually a trend, but that the war photo from a prospect decade might be black and white again. Obviously the ten winning photos of the 1980's are dominated by colour photos – only one black and white photograph in year 1981 – which most probably derived from the technological progresses and developments. However, already seven of the winning photos of the 1990's are black and white again. The 21st century's winners, so far, are equally black and white as well as coloured.

Thus, after the excitement about the developments and innovations, the documentary potential of black and white photos is still remembered. They are not obsolete and surely not unprofessional.

Besides the fact that, within the research sample, black and white photos of war became coloured in the course of time, no feature significantly changed.

Constant aspects are that professional press photos of combats are no close-ups. People are always portrayed from a medium distance, if not from a long distance, and within a setting, a scenery, in which others are involved as well.

However, the author assumes that the result would have probably been a different if not only photographs of wars and armed conflicts, but also terror attacks, natural disasters and developing world problems such as famine would have been covered.

The same remark applies to the characteristic that always, with one exception from 1956, machines are pictured. Vehicles or weapons are obviously one of the most significant aspects of professional press photographs and essential for the observer's cognitive processing to recognise as well as memorise the photograph as a photo of war.

A further characteristic of professional photography, prized by the World Press Photo Foundation, is that always human beings are pictured. Equally often those are civilians and soldiers, or both. The photos all picture the fate of one certain individual, but those people are constantly presented in relation to further people. It may be a *victim – perpetrator* scenery, but this topic is further interpreted in the next chapter which refers to the second research question. Babies and children are no feature for war photos. However, as remarked above, if also photos of terror and disaster would have been covered, the results would have been most probably different.

The last and very significant characteristic is the negativism-aspect in the photographs. Every photo shows negative emotions, even though from a totally different nature and for diverse reasons. In only one photo one can also see pride, but the overall impression of the photo and the situation is adverse as well.

Besides the presentation of those negative emotions, every photo causes an oppressive, disturbing feeling on the side of the researcher. In the context of a progressing visualisation process it is interesting to observe that war photos hold more negative emotional factors. It is an indication for the assumption that negative emotions attract people's attention more than it is possible with the presentation of positive emotions.

This finding can be linked to Andén-Papadopoulos paper about news frames, visual culture, and the power of images and reasoned with his comment that *"news images must account for the potential of particularly resonant photographs to `speak louder` than the bulk of visual coverage, and to quickly shift from more marginal positions in the news to cultural centrality and canonicity."*[286]

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[286] Andén-Papadopoulos, 2008, p. 10

Summary:

Coloured but drabness, one central human being – not portrayed as a close-up but from a middle or long distance – in his current misery, soldiers and civilians, machines and military objects, as well as the presentation and evocation of negative emotions are the constant characteristics of professional photography of war and crises, nominated by the World Press Photos of the Year.

6.2.   The framing of victimhood in World Press Photos

"Victims are central characters in most stories about crime, violence, and other social problems. […] Some victims are portrayed in the media as more 'worthy' of our sympathy than others. Some victims are depicted as completely innocent, while others are depicted as partially or fully responsible for or deserving of the crime committed against them. […] Not all social problem frames that focus on victims are meant to blame them. Advocates often use dramatic, emotional stories of victims to raise public concern about a social problem and to generate resources to help its victims."[287]

Unlike the specified features the analysed photos have in common or precisely not in common, as discussed in the previous chapter, the framing of victims in general and specifically in the World Press Photos of the Year has been treated intensively already. First it was thematised in the theoretical discussion and furthermore in the *iconological analysis,* the third level of an *iconographic interpretation* where specialised data were ascertained. The analysis at this point will thus merely serve to draw a conclusion about the data which refer to the second research question:

- *How are victims of war presented in the World Press Photos of the Year? – Analysing the visual media framing of victimhood.*

The individuals presented as victims in the World Press Photos are: A young girl whose victimhood is related to the Second World War in a broader sense, since the photo has been taken ten years after the termination of the war, when her father was released by the Soviet Union. The victim in the second photo is a dead Viet Cong soldier, dragged behind a U.S. tank. The third photo portrays an older woman from the civic society as the victim. She desperately beseeches a soldier who is weaponed with a rifle. A Chinese student is the fourth victim. He belongs to the civic society but is actively involved in the conflict in view of the fact that he is a protester. In the fifth photo a U.S. soldier is presented as the victim. He just found out that his best friend has been killed. This friend is the dead person in the body bag next to him in the helicopter. The sixth and last photo is featured by a group of young, rich people. They can be seen as one victim, since the car in which they drive through their neighbourhood literally links them together and they all represent the same situation and character. They are civilians and their portrayal opens up a new perspective on victimhood.

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[287] Berns, 2004, pp. 151 (et seq.)

The diversity in the presentation of victimhood is very interesting. It is fascinating to realise that a professional photograph can awake empathy for such a broad variety of characters and roles, simply by using established and approved media frames in order to categorise certain human beings as victims of war.

However, what is it about those frames in the photos that cause the fact that a person is perceived as a victim? They all represent different demographic and social groups, characteristics, situations and especially positions and roles. How is it be possible to identify the certain individuals as caught in his victimhood and how important are victims in photos of war and armed conflicts?

"Although a large body of literature has contributed to our understanding of frames and framing effects, a shortage of research attention exists about crisis news framing and framing effects based on crisis news coverage."[288]Therefore the researcher interprets the findings of the analysis at hand without taking into account certain framing effects that have been found in earlier surveys. Since framing effects are principally analysed in the framework of a specific topic, issue or medium, results are not universally valid and therefore inadequate at this point of the research.

The major visual media frame that has been detected in this subject of research, with regard to the topics war, crises and armed conflicts, is that victims can only be interpreted as those in case they are presented in an entire setting, a scenery. They need to be brought into relation to something as well as someone. This someone can be an offender, a perpetrator, a friend or a military troop represented by tanks. However, in order to allow identifying a victim in a photo immediately, the related person, who can also be represented by a machine, must be the actuator for the victim's situation.

For example, in the first photograph the victim, Roswitha, is linked to Karl Wawrzinek, who actually is the actuator for her anxiety. As in this photo, one can find a victim and a linked individual in every photo, except of in Platt's photo from 2006, which is an extraordinary example that will be discussed later.

Furthermore the Persian Gulf War photo highlights the importance of background information. The trigger of the soldier's emotions is present in Turnley's photograph, but one needs further information in order to be able to analyse the situation correctly. This issue is discussed earlier in the thesis at hand, since it is a general problem related to the

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[288] An / Gower, 2008, available at URL: http://www. allacademic.com/meta/p271509_index.html [2010/04/25]

understanding of images. The caption and background knowledge is essential for their contextualisation.

That can also be proven by looking at Spencer Platt's photo, which one most probably misinterprets at first glance. Only together with the caption, the documentary potential of the photograph unfolds. In this special case it even needed research on the ground to understand the photo and to draw the right conclusions.

Still, there is no actuator in the photo. The victim is not brought into relation to a perpetrator, an opponent or at least acquaintance. Together with the fact that the facial expression does not tell much but curiosity and loathing, the contextualisation is especially difficult for the observer. One is used to constant media frames and this photo does not fit in the schemes people are used to, that became manifest in their minds. However, even though or especially because this photograph does not fit in the normal cluster, it awoke interest and provoked an important discussion. It challenges the stereotypes human have internalised. On the one hand it is essential to be able to interpret visual media frames correctly, but on the other hand recipients need to be more open and flexible in their analyses and implications. This finding is very interesting and offers a new perspective on the framing of victimhood.

Nonetheless, the major finding has not become obsolete by this remark. It can be further encouraged on the example of the dead Viet Cong soldier, linked to the perpetrators on the tank. The U.S. has only allowed publishing the photo in case it was cropped. More precise, the dead person was allowed to be shown, but not as long as the soldiers on the tank were to be seen. The cropping of the U.S. soldiers resulted in the fact that the relation between victim and perpetrator became obsolete. Obviously the explicit emotional effect and judgemental potential a photo holds can get lost when there is no perpetrator in it.

Analysed from another perspective, it can be concluded that photos, only presenting one party and a victim but no actuator, are less politically sensitive. That leads to the result that a professional press photo of combats is courageous. Those photo journalists reporting from war and crises regions are not prized for the perfect quality of a photo, the presentation of the harmonic atmosphere within the troops or a nicely made, aesthetic portray of a suffering civilian, but for their courage to show politically problematic actions and situations. These are obviously best presented and most emotional in case they show the people involved, the victims that suffer as well as the actuators that causes the misery.

Victimhood itself is therefore a characteristic for professional war photography and thus complements the findings related to the first research question.

The framing of victims is versatile and dependent on perspectives, experiences, knowledge, norms and history – on the side of the photographer, as well as on the side of the recipient. Every individual can be framed a victim of war. However, he needs to be constituted in relation to the triggers so that the observer can immediately define him a victim.

7. Conclusion

"For me, the strength of photography lies in its ability to evoke a sense of humanity. If war is an attempt to negate humanity, then photography can be perceived as the opposite of war and if it is used well it can be a powerful ingredient in the antidote to war. In a way, if an individual assumes the risk of placing himself in the middle of a war in order to communicate to the rest of the world what is happening, he is trying to negotiate for peace. Perhaps that is the reason why those in charge of perpetuating a war do not like to have photographers around. It has occurred to me that if everyone could be there just once to see for themselves what white phosphorous does to the face of a child or what unspeakable pain is caused by the impact of a single bullet or how a jagged piece of shrapnel can rip someone's leg off - if everyone could be there to see for themselves the fear and the grief, just one time, then they would understand that nothing is worth letting things get to the point where that happens to even one person, let alone thousands."[289] – James Nachtwey

7.1. Critical review

In order to draw a conclusion about the quality criteria of professional press photos, it should be pointed out again that the purpose of study was to investigate characteristics World Press Photos hold. On the one hand it has been analysed whether features have changed in the course of time and on the other hand, if some characteristics are stable. Besides that, as an overall aim of the research conducted, an attempt has been made to examine how victimhood is framed in the respective sample.

The earlier described findings suggest that the World Press Photos, which can be interpreted as photoicons[290], hold a variety of characteristics that can be considered as quality criteria in press journalism.

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[289] Nachtwey, cited in: Memorable quotes for War Photographer, available at URL: http://www. imdb.com/title/tt0309061/quotes [2010/04/10]
[290] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.2.

Thus, there is significant indication that the presentation of victims itself is a central characteristic of professional press photos of combats. Even though the certain presentation of victims is not consistent, as it does not follow one central scheme, the fact that a victim is presented in every photo is conspicuous.

This research result can be further related to a finding of Michael Griffin in his study on photographic motifs as news frames. He states that pictures "*serve to prime viewers towards certain dominant discourse paradigms and frames of interpretation.*"[291] For this reason, one can draw the conclusion that every person involved in a conflict can be framed victim. The decision who is framed victim and who is framed perpetrator depends on the intention behind the photograph and the political as well as ideological attitude of the photographer. This again contributes to the discussion about the meaning of the World Press Photo Foundation as an agenda-setting institution.[292] The World Press Photo Foundation was selected on purpose in view of the fact that they manage the most prestigious photo contest on an international scale. Besides, the foundation is well-known for its promotion of professional press photography. As a consequence, the prized images are labelled extraordinary and thus the particular photos – in their position as photoicons – hold the power to represent a conflict which gets embedded into the human mind in the form of this one photo and thus to shape the collective memory.[293] Additionally, it has the power to set new norms, as well as to influence prevailing quality standards in photojournalism.

Furthermore it was investigated that continuously war and conflict are presented on the example of an individual's fate. That can be the misery of a civilian as well as of a solider or any further person involved. Inherently victims are presented from a distance, in relation to their perpetrators, which again are linked to military machines. Attributes such as colourlessness, drabness, dust, smoke, debris and fire help to contextualise a photograph as a photo of war.

Additionally, negativism tendencies have been detected which indicate that negative emotions attract people's attention more than positive emotions. That can be linked to Andén-Papadopoulos finding which claims that news images have to be ostentatious in order to attract the attention of modern media societies and to survive within the vast

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[291] Griffin, 2004, p. 299
[292] Cross reference – Chapter 3.2.3.1.
[293] Cross reference – Chapter 7.2.

amount of visual news material.[294] Obviously, negativism is a mechanism which is purposefully introduced in order to attract people's attention.

If this investigation would have focused on regular war photos that are released in daily newspaper, on paper or in the Internet, the research results would probably vary significantly. However, the research has been dedicated to analyse professional photographs since the interest applied to quality criteria in photojournalism and the professional framing of victimhood.

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[294] Cf. Andén-Papadopoulos, 2008, p. 10

7.2.   Discussion

The empirical part of the paper at hand produced significant data on which base the researcher was able to answer the research questions. To conclude, findings should be discussed in the context of complex visual media societies, which was not possible to explore by primary research. However, in the framework of the thorough theoretical as well as empirical investigation, the meaning of photographs in general and World Press Photos in particular can now be discussed.

Visual media are present in today's societies. For this reason, the discussion about the impact of visually communicated information is an important aspect of examination. In order to evoke the desired reactions on the recipients' side, the media workers have to know as much as possible about the effect of visual stimuli. Therefore, the medium photograph can not be neglected. Besides the television and the Internet, the photo is a permanently present influencer. Furthermore, as discussed in the theory, it has a strong impact on the socialisation, communication, awareness and memorisation of individuals as well as collectives.

Because of its prestigious position, the World Press Photo Foundation plays a significant role as an agenda-setter. By nominating certain photographs and labelling them *Photo of the Year*, the foundation influences the entire media landscape concerning the events they cover as well as their perspective. Thus, the in this analysis interpreted photos are more than professional photographs. They have an impact on the public's memory of the conflicts and cause the manifestation of a single image of the issue in people's minds. Hence, also the presentation of victims plays a major role. The World Press Photo Foundation basically defines which party the consumers should perceive as the *good one,* mostly presented as the victim and which as the *bad one,* portrayed as the perpetrator.

By awarding a prize to, for example, Demulder's photo from 1966, the foundation basically determines that people memorise the Vietnam War as a conflict in which Vietnam is the victim, the U.S. on the contrary the perpetrator. Everybody who knows the photo and knows that it is prized by World Press Photo, even though one does not know anything else about the conflict, can internalise this point of view as his own perspective. That is based on the fact that they know that such a prestigious foundation would not nominate a photo which represents a situation totally distorted. This would only do harm to their reputation and has nothing to do with professionalism. It might be provocative and may evoke a discussion, but since the foundation is known for their promotion of professional

photojournalism, they obviously not focus on provocation. They follow the aim to cover a conflict in a most professional, visual way. Along with that and with regard to previously discussed due diligences in journalism, being professional means to be as neutral and objective as possible; not to cover an issue one-sited and not to offer a personal meaning. Apparently the example of Sawada's World Press Photo of the Year 1966 is only one example. It can be assigned to every sensitive picture and thus to war and conflict related photos.

By revealing this relation between the World Press Photo Foundation and the public's perception of news, the relevance of this research topic for the scientific field of media and communication should have become clear. That it is a theme of current scientific as well as public interest can be furthermore deduced from the fact that the media lately present various newspaper articles as well as television documentaries and movies about war correspondence and photojournalism. To conclude, it can be stated that the research paper conduces to deliver scientific research about the photograph as a subject of research. Since photos in the capacity as objects of studies established relatively late in sciences, this investigation serves to offer data about the medium photograph in order to contribute to the academic knowledge of visual media and their implication on today's media societies.

7.3.   Outlook

In order to encourage further research concerning this subject matter, the author poses some ideas that relate to questions which came to his mind while examining the topic. The investigation of these aspects would be a great completion and relevant for a variety of sciences.

Besides the questions answered in this survey, it would be interesting to observe by primary research what the civic society opines about released press photographs. Whether the public regards that their preparation and application changed in the course of time and what they consider being the reasons for potential changes.

Since the media are regularly accused to sensationalism, to a distortion of reality, to trivialisation, to the invasion of privacy, aestheticisation and to misinformation, also the ethical and moral questions in photojournalism are relevant aspects to observe. Wars *"put special demands and pressures on those who cover them: War reporters are confronted with the atrocities that arouse their feelings and stir their conscience while their professional ethos obliges them to do justice to the facts. They have to decide how far they can go when showing crimes against humanity"*[295] as well as how close they should go to get their picture. The discussion about media ethics involves whether it is ethically appropriate to risk lives in order to get a picture taken which is so spectacular that it is sold easily, since wars are headlines and therefore can be profitable for journalists.[296]

Additionally, the audience frames concerning the presentation of victims are very interesting and an analysis could offer another perspective on the visual framing of victimhood. Essential is to mind the distinction between professional photojournalism and amateurs, since the preparation of war photographs divers significantly between these two groups.

Consequently, further research could also focus on the distinction between professional journalism and the increasingly establishing amateurs. What does the development towards amateur-journalism and online-publishing mean for the professional genre?

An investigation that focuses on the people portrayed in professional press photographs could also generate interesting data. It would be interesting to ascertain information about

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[295] Korte, 2009, pp. 10 (et seq.)
[296] Cf. Lester , 1991, p. 84

how victims of war feel when they are photographed. Empirical data would contribute to war photography related research. In case they ever see the photo, what do victims feel and what do they think about the image?

Besides, this study could also refer to the framing of perpetrators and what they think about being presented in press photographs.

Moreover, since the principle claim to independence on the side of journalists, respectively the mass media landscape, is an important base for the functioning of democracies, journalists are considered to be *"watchdogs"[297]*.[298] The populace expect them to act in favour for the society by controlling those who abuse their powerful positions and to guide the general public through the complex visual world. Besides providing information, they are supposed to ensure transparency and to confront national powers with their decisions and mistakes.[299]. Nevertheless, photojournalists and further media worker are often accused to manipulation, to instrumentalisation and to digital imaging.[300] Thus, to press photography related issues like photoshopping and propaganda are aspects of remarkable relevance. A thorough investigation of these aspects would have exceeded the extent of this research paper and unfortunately could only be introduced within the research at hand.

Additionally, even though not precisely linked to the topic of this thesis, the question to what extent media violence and the increasingly on entertaining purposes focusing news animate aggressive behaviours of recipients would be worthwhile to observe in relation to press photographs. It is often discussed concerning broadcasted television news and computer games, but in this discussion the meaning of photography is mistakenly neglected. Photojournalism as well is of vast importance to the field of communication.[301]

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[297] Cf. Menon, 2008, p. 1
[298] Cross reference – Chapter 3.1.
[299] Cf. Meyer / Ontrup / Schicha, 2000, pp. 98 (et seq.) / Silverstone, 2007, pp. 8 (et seq.)
[300] Cf. Korte, 2009, pp. 10 (et seq.)
[301] Lester, 1991, p. 4

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