

**Photography, the State and War: Mapping the Contemporary War Photography
Landscape**

Erika Marie Kirkpatrick

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School of Political Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT: This dissertation explores the ways in which media, visibility, and politics intersect through an analysis of contemporary war photography. In so doing, it seeks to uncover how war photography as a social practice works to produce, perform and construct the State. Furthermore, it argues that this productive and performative power works to constrain the conditions of possibility for geopolitics. The central argument of this project is that contemporary war photography reifies a view of the international in which the liberal, democratic West is pitted against the barbaric Islamic world in a ‘civilizational’ struggle. This project’s key contribution to knowledge rests in its unique and rigorous research methodology (Visual Discourse Analysis) – mixing as it does inspiration from both quantitative and qualitative approaches to scholarship. Empirically, the dissertation rests on the detailed analysis of over 1900 war images collected from 30 different media sources published between the years 2000-2013.

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For my Parents

Chapter 1: Introduction

How one defines politics and the political has been an ongoing struggle in political science and its sub-disciplines. This is evident in International Relations by the ways that the discipline has policed what counts as international politics, and therefore as legitimate to study. This has been – and in some ways continues to be – a major preoccupation of IR scholarship. What counts as international politics in the discipline of IR has significantly increased since Hans Morgenthau asserted that we must maintain “the autonomy of the political sphere” (2006, 13). In disciplinary terms, we have witnessed an ontological expansion. This occurred in tandem with an epistemological diversification of how these ontological categories – states, institutions, NGOs, MNCs, social classes, individuals, and ideas – are studied.

Although early scholars of international politics like Wilson, Carr, Morgenthau, and Bull based their studies on Enlightenment inspired understandings of objectivity and empiricism, much of their arguments were equally rooted in historicism. It was during the behavioral revolution of the 1960s in the wider social sciences that IR came to be associated with a particularly narrow and limited understanding of the positivist scientific method. Ironically, this extreme adherence to Enlightenment principles like objectivism, empiricism, and *rationalism* led to a radical rejection of the positivist program by critical IR theory – taking various forms, such as: renewed interest in historical materialism, a rise in feminist ‘ways of knowing,’ the appearance of ‘subaltern’ and postcolonial knowledge, and a wholesale rejection of the ‘rationalist’ project by poststructural scholars. Subsequent ‘bridge building’ has given us social constructivism, international political sociology, and a variety of mixed methods and interdisciplinary approaches.

The overall result of this disciplinary trajectory has been the increasing complexity of our subjects/objects of inquiry. The categorization of the discipline into three overlapping subfields – International Political Economy, Global Governance, and Security Studies – demonstrates that IR is no longer simply concerned with preventing or limiting ‘war,’ but also with managing ‘peace.’ This is not to suggest that the problems of war and security have disappeared, but rather that the facets of these phenomena that we choose to study have increased – resulting in the ‘variables’ of IR becoming increasingly complex. The furthest that the discipline has traveled in terms of theorizing this increasing complexity is the problematization of the single most reified entity in IR: the state.

Poststructuralist authors in the late 1980s and early 1990s¹ began questioning not just the primacy of the state in IR theory, but also how the state came to occupy that position in both theory and practice. *Photography, the State, and War* is part of this larger theoretical position, it begins with the assumption that “the state has no ontological status apart from the many and varied practices that bring it into being...[it] is an artefact of a continual process of reproduction that performatively constitutes its identity” (Campbell 2003c, 57). War photography is one such practice.

Throughout the past 160 years of war photography² pictures of the battlefield, surrounding locale and the ‘home front’ have reached people in a multitude of different ways – personal communication, newsreels, broad sheets and newspapers, magazines,

¹ Such as: RBJ Walker, Richard Ashley, James Der Derian, Michael Shapiro, Michael Dillon, and David Campbell.

² Dated from the first photographed war, the Crimean War, 1853-1856.

and eventually on television and via the Internet. The way we see war – its visuality – has morphed with each new war and coterminous technological development.

Representational practices of war photography have never been static, but is the contemporary war photography landscape fundamentally changing the way we view war?

If the lens of 20th century mass media was a multifaceted one, then perhaps an apt description for that of the 21st century is kaleidoscopic – made up of a complex amalgamation of images disseminated through both traditional venues like newspapers and magazines, which are covered in the dissertation that follows; and new venues like social media. In both cases it is essential to consider what these photographs actually show – what sorts of representational practices do they engage in? Are wars between some peoples represented differently than those between others? Are their ‘good’ wars and ‘bad’ wars? What role do considerations of ‘good taste’ and ‘decency’ play in the publication of images? How do these representational practices function as a discourse, and what work do such discourses do?

All of this is to say, what is the role of war photography in international politics? A society’s collective attitude toward war and conflict is one of the many ways in which the state is continually reproduced. This collective attitude is mutually constitutive of the war photographs produced and consumed in a society. Therefore, the contemporary war photography landscape is part of a variety of continual processes of reproduction that help to performatively constitute a state’s identity. In turn, the identity of a state – for example: hawk or dove; status quo or expansionist; virtuous and righteous; civilized or barbarous – helps to construct ‘conditions of possibility’ for geopolitics.

1.1 Research Questions

This dissertation is driven by a series of research questions of both an empirical and interpretive nature. The empirical research questions are as follows:

- What do war photographs show?
 - What are the representational practices of war photography?

These empirical questions guide the compositional analysis of the content of the images, which makes up chapter 5 below. In answering these questions, this dissertation argues that contemporary war photography shows a considerable amount of human agents engaged in war waging. A finding that goes against the received wisdom that representations of war in western media follows a discursive logic of technological supremacy. Furthermore, by tracking the frequency of the compositional elements of the individual photographs in their aggregate (tracing ‘what photographs show’) this dissertation is able to demonstrate the highly gendered and raced nature of contemporary war photography. Thus laying the groundwork for answering the interpretive set of research questions that are the basis for the arguments made throughout this dissertation.

Those interpretive research questions are as follows:

- How do war photographs construct and perform the state?
 - How does their performative power work to reproduce the state in international politics?
 - What sorts of conditions of possibility for geopolitics result from this reproduction?

In answering the interpretive research questions, this dissertation argues that war photographs both construct and perform the state through their intertextuality. That is, through the ways they interact with other texts, images, and socio-historical knowledges

to reaffirm deeply held ‘truths’ about the state and the international. Through their intertextuality photographs, and images in general, embody a performative power – a concept drawn from the theory of performativity. The performative power of images is derived from their capacity to not just communicate information, but to construct, perform and reproduce identity. Through its reproduction of the liberal democratic (Western) state as the pinnacle of human progress, contemporary war photography constricts the conditions of possibility for geopolitics to an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ logic – narrowing the range of choices for international interactions.

1.2 Foundational Concepts: Photography, the State and War

Both the empirical and interpretive research questions that undergird this dissertation are based on three foundational concepts: photography, the state, and war. At first glance these terms may seem self-explanatory. However, as they form the overarching framework of this dissertation a deeper exploration of each is warranted. The section below on photography demonstrates that far from being simply a medium that reflects reality, photography is a social practice with profound political implications. Similarly, the section on the state expands upon the basic definition of the state as a rational unitary actor in an anarchic system of equals. By contrast, herein the state is understood as an ideological construct – continually reproduces and performed by a variety of social practices. Finally, the section on war explores this violent phenomenon as a ‘social fact’ and technique of government with transformative and productive potential. Thus, the notions that photography is a social practice with performative power, that the state is an ideological construct, and that war is a ‘social fact’ from the foundation of this dissertation – each is addressed in more detail below.

1.2.1 Photography

What is photography? This seems a simple enough question to answer if a literal definition is all that is required: Google defines photography as “the art or practice of taking and possessing photographs.” However, this definition is insufficient as it reveals little about what photography and photographs actually are, from either a technological or philosophical viewpoint. That is the purpose of this section, to act as an introduction to the practice and medium of photography while also offering some thoughts on its ontological and political status.

In postmodern life photography is superfluous – it is constant, instant, and excessive. Digital technology has fundamentally altered the labor of photography. The ubiquity of today’s digital technology is a far cry from the first pinhole cameras used in the 5th century. These ‘cameras’ were light-proof boxes with a very small hole in one side through which light passed and projected an inverted image on to the opposite side of the box. Also known as a ‘camera obscura,’ the pinhole camera eventually gave way to the invention of modern photography in the 19th century. Louis Daguerre is credited with bringing photography to the masses when he developed a method of ‘fixing’ the image produced by the camera obscura using metal plates. Essentially, “Daguerre’s photographs were iodized silver plates exposed in the camera obscura which could be turned back and forth until, in the proper light, one could make out a delicate, light gray image” (Benjamin 1972: 201). With the invention of the daguerreotype, photography was born.

Eventually, Daguerre’s metal plates were replaced with photographic film in the late 19th century and early 20th century, making photographs not only easier to take but also easier to reproduce mechanically. Eventually other developments arose, such as

color film in the 1930s, and instant developing film (the Polaroid) in the 1960s. The 1980s, 90s and 2000s saw the rise of digital technology where an electronic image sensor replaced light in cameras, allowing images to be converted into a set of electronic data which can be even more easily saved and reproduced, not to mention manipulated. The inclusion of such technology in mobile phones, and the concurrent development of advanced telecommunications, has contributed to the rise of an occularcentric society in which no life event is too mundane not to merit photographic recording.

This rise of a society in which ‘everyone’ has a camera, and everything is photograph worthy begs again the question: what then is photography? If the advent of digital technology has made photography ubiquitous, then why take it on as an object of study? I argue that it is indeed this very ubiquity that imbues photography with even more social power than ever before. Now that everything and everyone has gone digital, photography has become ‘democratized.’ More people have access to the technology to not only capture and produce photographs, but also to store and share them with hundreds of millions of others. While this capacity for image sharing may or may not engender a politics of compassion and empathy (see the discussion below in 2.2.2) it does generate an attitude toward visual imagery in which ‘seeing is believing;’ and wherein no story, however big or small, is complete without an accompanying photo array.

The Ontology of Photography

As outlined above, at its most basic level “photography is an objective technical medium that records and reproduces what appears before a camera” (Innes 2014: 88). However, photography is more than a technical process – it is also a social practice imbued with power. The photograph itself “is the product of an encounter of several protagonists, mainly photographer and photographed, camera and spectator” (Azoulay 2010: 11) and these protagonists often hold super/sub-ordinate subject positions. Thus “the ontological framework commonly held for discussing photography...[is] linked to whoever held the camera,” that is the photo is the product of the gaze of the camera and photographer (Azoulay 2010: 11). This is problematic because such an ontological position assumes that photographs are products of a single point of view, an understanding which neglects “the fact that the photographer’s field of vision – and hence also that which is visible within the photograph – is usually determined by the arms of...[the] state” (Azoulay 2010: 11). In effect, the single, fixed point of view of the camera is a gaze emboldened and directed by powerful social forces beyond that of the individual photographer.

The photographs produced through the encounter between photographed and photographer are given meaning by the third subject position necessary for the social practice of photography: the viewer. It is the viewer’s beliefs that inform the interpretation of an image, and these “interpretations depend on historical context and cultural knowledge” (Watt 2012: 33). Thus, photography is “not only a technology of visual representation, but more profoundly...a constitutive type of (visible action) within the social world” (Becker 2013: 20). Photographs rely on an “internalized knowledge of photography’s representational power” (Becker 2013: 20): an acceptance of the common sense social currency that is ‘seeing is believing,’ and a veneration of the power of witnessing.

Photography and News Media

The exaltation of witnessing in our society is linked to “the unspoken faith in vision as a corollary for belief” (Zelizer 2005: 29) engendered by the occularcentric nature of society as described above. This doxa of photography is discussed in more detail in the pages that follow, particularly in section 6.1.2, here it is sufficient to point out that news images are often taken for granted as evidence – as evidentiary supplements to the stories alongside which they are published. While this may often be the case, it is important to note that frequently photographs are “used as pegs not to specific events but” to larger stories, they are tools provided to help the viewer interpret “events in a way consonant with long-standing understandings about the world” (Zelizer 2005: 28). Thus, the commonsense understanding of news images is that of “mirrors of the events they depict” rather than as social constructs which are “the result of actions taken by individual photographers, their corresponding photo editors, and the larger institutional setting that engages both” (Zelizer 2005: 29). These media economies that influence news imagery are discussed in more detail below, particularly in 3.5.1.

Four groups have a vested interest in this status quo: journalists, publishers, politicians, and the public. For journalists “the notion of ‘having been there’ that a photograph implies...helps...credential their accounts of events as they happen” (Zelizer 2005: 29). Essentially, the image lends authority and credibility to the journalist’s story. Meanwhile, in our image saturated culture “newspaper publishers and chief executives of media organizations...recognize that images compel public attention” (Zelizer 2005: 29). Similarly, “politicians regard images as valuable tools for shaping public opinion and justifying policy in war time” (Zelizer 2005: 30). Finally, the public sees images as a way to more easily come to grips with global events, “helping them grapple with the world in a more manageable, reliable, and readily understandable fashion” (Zelizer 2005: 30).

These four positions reinforce each other, demonstrating that although the doxa of witness may be the driver behind both the production and consumption of news photographs, other power dynamics are most certainly at play. Photography is a social practice that does more than to reflect a simple reality. In the pages that follow, this dissertation explores the representative and performative power of photography through the analysis of hundreds of war photographs. This is in an effort to demonstrate how such photographs do more than reflect reality, but also how they work to produce it.

1.2.2 The State

In *Photography, the State, and War* I begin from the position that “the state has no ontological status apart from the many and varied practices that bring it into being.” As such “[it] is an artefact of a continual process of reproduction that performatively constitutes its identity” (Campbell 2003c: 57). This is a vastly more complicated understating of the state than appears in some International Relations research, much of which sees the state as a unitary rational actor operating in an anarchic system made up of other such actors – a conception which can be linked back to Waltz and his realist protégés who in the past have dominated the theoretical school of realism and the discipline of International Relations. For those scholars, the state is a reified entity marking the boundary between the ordered, peaceful, domestic realm and the disordered chaos of international anarchy – “the border between the inside/outside, sovereign/anarchic, us/them” (Campbell and Bleiker 2016: 199). Thus, the state is regarded as the most important actor in world politics.

The poststructuralist ethos that informs this dissertation arose in the early 1980s in response to the dominance of the neorealist position. It began by questioning why it should be so that the state is the most important actor in world politics, and how “the *practices of statecraft*, that made the state and its importance seem both natural and necessary” came to be (Campbell and Bleiker 2016: 199). I follow in the footsteps of this approach by focusing on “the state’s historical and conceptual production” and the production and performance of its “social exclusions” (Campbell and Bleiker 2016: 199) through the practices of contemporary war photography.

In order to demonstrate how war photography constructs/produces/performs the state it is first necessary to offer a theorization of the state as something other than simply the most important and powerful actor in a system of equals. As such, I begin here by proposing that the state be understood not just as an actor but also as an ideological construct. It has been proposed that the ideal state form, the pinnacle of modern civilization, is liberal democracy. This is the ultimate target of the trajectory of ‘development’ and ‘progress’ lauded by scholars, politicians, and activists around the globe. This position can be traced to the Hegelian notion that history would culminate “in an absolute moment – a moment in which a final rational form of society and state [would become]...victorious” (Fukuyama 1989). Whether this is true/false, good/bad or a worthy ambition, is of little consequence for the arguments laid out below. I do not seek to sit in judgment on the ideal form of state, or to propose a utopian future that will solve the problems of violence, conflict, and exclusion found in the photographs discussed in the pages that follow. Rather, I seek to demonstrate that the liberal democratic, peace-loving, benevolent warrior state presented as the height of human progress is an *ideology*, and as such, it depends upon social practices to ensure its continued existence. This dissertation is an investigation and analysis of one such social practice among many: war photography.

The Rise of the Modern State

Many forms of states have existed throughout history: from geographically tiny and relatively homogenous city-states, to vast and heterogeneous empires; from republics to monarchies; religious oligarchies to socialist dystopias – the historical diversity of human political organization is amazing. Given this variance, how did we arrive at the current relative uniformity of socio-political organization? There is, of course, a vast literature on state formation and a detailed review of all the approaches that seek to explain the rise of the modern (nation) state and the contemporary states systems is unfeasible here. However, I would like to offer a short overview of the rise of the modern state – that is the rise of the territorially sovereign nation-state existing in a system of equals – by drawing on arguments put forth by John Ruggie in his 1993 article “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations.”

Subsequently, I offer a brief discussion of two competing visions of ‘postmodern’ political organization: the first an account of how one particular form of nation-state (liberal democracy) has come to represent the pinnacle of human progress and development – the so-called ‘end of history’ thesis (Fukuyama 1989); and the second an argument that the extension of liberal democratic ideals rests on the construction of an imperialist machine – the rise of Empire (Hardt and Negri 2000). The goal of these reviews is to set the stage for this dissertation’s central, unifying, argument: the state is ideology and, no matter its territorial manifestation, as an ideological construct it relies

upon social practices for its continued material existence – whatsoever form this may take.

In “Territoriality and Beyond” Ruggie offers an excellent discussion of the rise of the modern state, which focuses on three interrelated dimensions: *material environment*, *strategic behaviour*, and *social episteme* (1993: 152). By *material environment* he means “human ecology, the relations of production, and the relations of force” (Ruggie 1993: 152). Human ecology includes the natural and physical environments in which people live: the design of dwellings; the layout of villages, towns, and cities; transportation systems; and sanitation systems; etc. The relations of production refer to the production of food (crops and livestock vs. hunting and gathering); and new innovations in manufacturing and mechanization (the rise of the factory). Shifting relations of force refer not only to the development of new weapons technology, but also the rise of standing armies, mercenaries, and professional soldiers – as well as the consolidation of the legitimate use of force into the hands of the sovereign. By *strategic behaviour* Ruggie means the ways in which such changes “altered the matrix of constraints and opportunities for social actors, giving rise to different situations of interaction between them” (1993: 154). Finally, *social episteme* refers to the imaginary, or affective, life of the state – which happens to be the principle concern of this dissertation.

The affective life of the state is built upon the processes “whereby a society comes to imagine itself, to conceive of appropriate orders of rule and exchange, to symbolize identities, and to propagate norms and doctrines” (Ruggie 1993: 157). In other words, the rise of the modern state is linked to a fundamental change in “the mental equipment that people drew upon in imagining and symbolizing forms of political community” (Ruggie 1993: 157). Crucially, Ruggie links this shift in thinking to developments that occurred in the visual arts, particularly “the invention of single point perspective” (1993: 159) in Renaissance painting – a moment that was also imperative for the eventual development of photography. Fixed-point perspective prized the point of view of “a *single* subjectivity from which all other subjectivities were differentiated” (Ruggie 1993: 159). The single perspective in art transferred to the political sphere so that political space also came to be defined “*as it appeared from a single fixed view point*” (Ruggie 1993: 159). Ruggie thus equates the ideology of sovereignty as “the doctrinal counterpoint to the application of the single-point perspective forms to the spatial organization of politics” (1993: 159). As shown in the chapters below, the visual arts, particularly photography, continue to play a pivotal role in the imaginary life of the state.

The purpose of Ruggie’s arguments is to provide a conceptual basis for contemplating the historical transformation of political organization. He does so because the discipline of IR had not been very good at “studying the possibility of fundamental discontinuity in the international system,” particularly he was concerned with the discipline’s inability to address “whether the modern system of states may be yielding in some instances to postmodern forms of configuring political space” (Ruggie 1993: 143-144). Below, I consider two such competing visions of post-modernity.

The Post-Modern State

In order to consider visions of post-modernity it is necessary to first conceptualize modernity. Taking my lead again from Ruggie, by modernity I refer to the international system that is made up of “territorially disjointed, mutually exclusive, functionally similar, sovereign states” (Ruggie 1993: 151). By post-modernity, I refer to any

suggestion that we have reached a defined end point of the modernist project: the ‘end of history;’ or that we are witnessing the waning of the modern state and the rise of a new order: Empire. Both are post-modern in the sense that the first proposes an end point to “humankind’s universal linear march toward modernity – a modernity that is both liberal, globalized and cosmopolitan in appearance” (Bowden 2004: 43), while the second insists on the emergence of a new “global order, a new logic and structure of rule – in short, a new sovereignty” (Hardt and Negri 2000: xi). In both cases, the affective life of the state plays a crucial role in the legitimizing narrative. Whether we are moving toward the end of history as neo-liberals would have it, to a new empire as neo-marxists argue, or are continually trapped in the anarchic system as neo-realists claim, the façade of the state, its ideological existence, plays a fundamental role in the governing³ of the multitude.

The ‘end of history’ thesis made popular by Francis Fukuyama at the end of the Cold War is presented as “a natural and inevitable turn of events,” as “the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution” and as “the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government” (Bowden 2004: 43). What is crucial to my argument is that there is nothing ‘natural’ or ‘inevitable’ about the global push toward free-market capitalism and democratic institutions. Rather, there exists “a concerted effort to impose” this “particular ideological rationale [on]to the passage of history” (Bowden 2004: 43). Organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF “have a clear-cut vision of the form of international society they hope to see materialize” (Bowden 2004: 43). Thus, the end of history thesis – the ‘democratic syllogism’ – has become a key component to “international public policy in the ongoing endeavor to ‘civilize’ international society” (Bowden 2004: 44). It rests on three interrelated tenets: democratic peace theory; the correlation of economic development and democracy; and the Washington Consensus.

The first tenet of the democratic syllogism that influences international politics is the so-called ‘democratic peace theory’ which suggests that democracies do not go to war with each other. Thus, in a world made up of sovereign, yet interdependent, liberal democratic states, there would be no international conflict. The second tenet is the assumed “correlation between democracy and economic development” (Bowden 2004: 45) – that is, the best way for democracy to flourish is through sustained economic growth, and that the best system of government to promote growth is democracy. Finally, the third tenet is that the best way to promote the economic growth needed for the second tenet (which thus enables the entrenchment of democracy required for the first tenet) is to open a country’s economic system up to the world through the “complete integration into the international trade and investment regimes” (Bowden 2004:45). These three tenets represent a master narrative of progress, often presented by its adherents as truth, or logical fact. However, it is more productive to understand it as an ideology equivalent to the modern state.

To be modern is to decide on who gets to be recognized as properly human and part of the civilized, international order and who does not. This involves a double move. First, “modern political status is expressed through membership in a modern sovereign state” (Walker 2006: 71) – so, to be human is to be a citizen. Second, not just any state will do – to be properly modern, and thus human, the state to which one belongs “must conform to basic standards of democracy, rights, and so on” (Walker 2006: 71). In short,

³ Governing is used here in the sense of *governmentality*.

the modern state that commands legitimacy and respect – whose members get to be recognized as the most fully human – is liberal, democratic, and capitalist. This is ‘the state’ of the title of this work. My principle preoccupation in this dissertation is to question how contemporary war photography constructs and performs the state as such, and the resultant conditions of possibility for geopolitics that arise.

The competing vision of post-modernity considered here is that of Empire – “a global concert under the direction of a ...unitary power that maintains the social peace and produces its ethical truths” (Hardt and Negri 2000: 10). It should be noted that Empire is distinct from the old imperialism that marked the colonial period – Empire is not the rule of several powerful states over others, but rather is its own logic of control. It is marked, first and foremost, by “the globalization of capitalist production and its world market” (Hardt and Negri 2000: 3). Through its rise the economic and political power of the capitalist project are fully realized and a truly and “properly capitalist order” takes hold. Thus the rise of Empire, unlike the ‘end of history,’ is marked not by the triumph of the liberal ideology of *democracy*, but by the triumph of *capitalism*. While Empire is not a global government, it is a world order marked by the inordinate influence of the powerful in global society: the United States, the G7, the World Bank and the IMF.

In this sense, Empire is the flip side of the end of history coin. The ‘unitary power’ of Empire being the same ideological foundation of the democratic syllogism: the liberal, democratic, capitalist state. The shift to Empire is thus a consequence of the ‘end of history,’ however it is one that was unanticipated or denied by adherents of the progress narrative. As outline above, the end of history is the belief in “the triumph of the West over all political and economic alternatives” (Held 1993: 249). It is based on the belief that socialism has failed and that “liberalism is the sole remaining legitimate political philosophy” (Held 1993: 251). However, there still remains a place for the state in this liberal vision – if only as protectors of markets and agents of economic management.

Three levels of statehood mark the transitory period of the contemporary world, the movement toward the end of history: post-modern, modern, and pre-modern. First is the ‘post-modern’ capitalist liberal democracies who have reached the ‘end of history’ and have open democratic societies fully integrated into the consumer capitalist global economy. Second is the modern sovereign state that maintains control over their domestic population via various non-democratic or pseudo-democratic political regimes, and which have partially integrated into the global economic system but continue to deny various human rights to their populations. Finally there are the pre-modern states that exist outside the realm of civilized international society; the failed states and pariahs which offer their citizens no securities, rights, or freedoms and stubbornly remain as much outside the global economy as possible.

Contrarily, the rise of Empire is marked by “a definitive decline of the sovereign nation-states” – democracies and non-democracies alike. Despite this assertion of the material decline of the nation-state the ideational, affective and ideological existence of the state still has an important role to play in Empire. This links back to Ruggie’s discussion of social epistemes – while the sovereign state may very well be in practical decline, it still remains the over-arching conceptual category for political life in the contemporary world. To be human and to count is still tied to, and marked by, citizenship and participation in a sovereign nation-state. The affective and ideological life of the state

is reproduced by various practices in society – this dissertation deals with one of those practices: war photography. In so doing, it relies on an understanding of war as a ‘social fact’ – this conceptualization of war is developed more fully below; first I offer a further conceptualization of the state as ideology.

The State as Ideology

In conceptualizing the state as ideology I define ideology as a practice, “located within the rituals of specific apparatuses or social institutions and organizations” (Hall 1985: 99). Above all, ideology is a system of representation – semiotic and discursive. Ideology encompasses the “systems of meaning through which we represent the world to ourselves and one another” (Hall 1985: 103). To call the state ideology is to recognize the contemporary ‘post-modern’ liberal democratic state – held up as both the agent of progress and its eventual realization – as a “framework of thinking and calculation about the world” (Hall 1985: 99) which gives (post)modern life meaning.

The state as ideology involves the ‘fixing of meaning,’ the establishment of a chain of equivalences between material conditions, culture, and practice (Hall 1985). Capitalist social formations like the state – and for that matter Empire as discussed above – require the affective work of “cultural institutions such as the media...which are not directly linked to [economic] production as such but which have the crucial function of ‘cultivating’” subjectivities of a certain “moral and cultural kind” (Hall 1985: 98). That is, the state as ideology requires the function of various apparatuses in society to produce and construct a particular sort of moral/ethical/patriotic citizen who is “able and willing...to be subordinated to the discipline, the logic, the culture, and compulsions...of capitalism” (Hall 1985: 98). Through these apparatuses and social practices subjects willing to be subordinated to “the dominant system ad infinitum” (Hall 1985: 98) are produced. The production of such subjectivities feeds the reproduction of the state, which in turn grants proper humanity.

1.2.3 War

The final titular concept that requires addressing in this introduction is war. Carl von Clausewitz is oft famously quoted as defining war as the continuation of politics by other means. Before so suggesting, in the opening pages of *On War*, Clausewitz offers a more simplistic and direct definition: “war...is an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfill our will” (1832). This definition holds here, war is understood in this dissertation as any violent action used to compel submission on behalf of others whether this is another state, a non-state actor, or an entire social class or society. However, it also expands von Clausewitz definition and views war not just as an action, but also as a practice, as a technique of government. That is, this “understanding of war...[as] the struggle for geopolitical control...[can be]...extended to comprehend...war as the desire to control and regulate” (Chandler 2009: 244) social and political life. This position accepts war as a ‘social fact,’ which is something originating in the institutions of a society that affects the behavior or attitudes of the members of said society. Proposing that war is a social fact requires two moves.

War as Social Fact

The first move is to accept that war can only be recognized and understood as such in relation to the society engaged in it. The current socio-economic and political situation in contemporary North America and Europe would not be recognized as societies at war if viewed through the lens of 20th century warfare. This is in spite of the

fact that the US and Canada, as well as many European states, are actively engaged in war waging. Like much of the unpleasant labor required to uphold advanced consumer capitalist societies, conflict has been outsourced along with sweatshops and subsistence farming. This is the first point: defining war as a social fact means understanding that “each form of war reflects, broadly speaking, a [particular] type of social and political order” (Dal Lago 2006: 10) – the dominant order in a given society.

The second move required is the recognition of war as the “social fact *par excellence*” (Dal Lago 2006: 10). This is because not only does war manipulate and test the political and economic cohesion of society through the sheer disruptive force of mass death and destruction, “but also because it is an amalgam of socially complex processes” (Dal Lago 2006: 10). War requires enormous amounts of social, political, and economic resources. This includes technological and scientific innovation, intellectual and strategic planning, propaganda and ideological work – not to mention the training of large swathes of the population to go against the human inclination not to kill and maim other people, and to not destroy human creations. Not only is war a social fact, it also has transformative and productive potential. Wars change societies, they affect the development of the arts and sciences, and they play a key role in the production and maintenance of forms of political organization – namely the state.

Conclusion

Photography, the State, and War aims to demonstrate how contemporary war photography acts as one of the many social practices that enable the continued existence of the State. It begins from the position that contemporary societies – particularly in the West – are ocularcentric. Furthermore, it proposes that the ubiquity of digital photography has helped to imbue images with more social power than ever before. As such, it defines photography and photojournalism as a social practice that goes beyond the simple reflection of reality. In tandem with this rejection of rationalist-objectivist view of the State as a unitary, utility maximizing rational actor this dissertation begins from the position that the State lacks any fixed ontological status. Conversely, it proposes that the State is continually produced by a variety of rhizomatic social practices. Finally, the research presented below accepts war as a social fact that can only ever be understood in the historical context of the states and societies involved in it, and that the state and war are co-constitutive.

The dissertation below begins with a literature review of those in the discipline of International Relations who have dealt with visuality, photography, and media. Thus, chapter two works to situate the current research in relation to others in the field. It covers both mainstream and critical scholars, concluding that both the mainstream and critical wings of IR are found lacking in that the mainstream focus on causality is too restrictive, while the critical literature takes too narrow a focus by employing small datasets. This dissertation fills this gap in research by applying a rigorous critical methodology to a dataset of over 1900 images. That methodology – visual discourse analysis – rests on a theoretical framework drawn from both within and outside IR.

The guiding philosophy and theoretical framework make up chapter three below. It explains the subjectivist epistemology and relativist ontology, which guide this project. In so doing, it asserts that there is ‘no view from no where’ and that our knowledge of the world is always partial and bound by individual and collective experiences. Thus, chapter three covers five key theoretical areas of importance to this project: conditions of

possibility; raced and gendered others; affect and emotion; media practices; and photojournalism, art, and ethics. This is in an effort to bring the IR literature reviewed in chapter two into conversation with the literature from outside the discipline in order to enhance our understandings of the visuality of war photography. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of chapter three feeds into the visual discourse analysis methodology presented in chapter four.

Visual discourse analysis is a pluralist methodology that encompasses insights from content analysis, semiotics, and discourse analysis. This pluralism rejects the deeply entrenched antagonism in the social sciences between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research – which act as a barrier to our ability to unpack the complexities of visual politics. The methodology presented in chapter four is made up of a combined research design and analytical approach. The research design includes the definition of a universe of meaning, and the identification of data collection procedures. Once the data is collected, it was subjected to manual coding in Nvivo using the theoretically informed coding dictionary reproduced in Appendix A below. The analytical approach guides the three analytical chapters that make up the main body of this dissertation. Finally, chapter four includes some ethical considerations for working with visual data.

The first analytical chapter that forms the body of this work is chapter five “Compositional Analysis of War Photographs.” It is designed to answer the empirical research questions presented above in section 1.2 by analyzing and interpreting the computer assisted coding done in the Nvivo software. This analysis is organized around three broad compositional themes: states and conflicts; events and activities; and subjectivity. The first theme investigates the frequency of which states and conflicts are represented in the data. The second compositional theme tracks the various events and activities that appear in the data, particularly as regards five key sub-themes: death, POWs/detainees, tools of war/troops at work, humanitarianism, and non-military casualties. Finally, the compositional theme subjectivity explores the raced and gendered dynamics of war photography. Exploring these themes lays the groundwork for the interpretive focused analyses found in chapters 6 and 7.

Those chapters deal with the meaning making potential of war photography by focusing on the intertextuality of individual and small groups of images (chapter 6) and their interactions with the wider visual culture through their visual rhetoric (chapter 7). Chapter 6 “Intertextuality – meaning Making in War Photography” deals with three types of intertextuality: within individual images, across spatially proximate images, and between images and their captions. By drilling down into pertinent examples images from the data, the intertextual analysis helps to answer the interpretive research questions by demonstrating how images interact with other texts and images to reproduce longstanding identity constructions of self and other in international politics. Chapter 7 “Visual Rhetoric” continues the insights gleaned in chapter 6 by expanding the intertextual view to the wider visual culture. It does so by focusing on three key tropes: the Islamic Protest; the Terrorist; and the Oppressed Muslim Woman. These tropes act as rhetorical strategies in war photography, serving to reinforce unequal power relations in geopolitics by reducing the complex lives of millions of Muslims into one monolithic identity category: the Muslim Other.

Thus this dissertation is split into two sections: theory and findings. The first three chapters cover the literature review, the theoretical framework and the methodology. The

literature review identifies the gap in knowledge and situates this work in the discipline of International Relations. The theoretical framework broadens this view to literature from outside of IR and provides clarification on the epistemological and ontological assumptions that guide the visual discourse analysis, which is explained in detail in the methodology chapter. The three analytical chapters that make up the remainder of this dissertation demonstrate how the visualization of war in contemporary society shapes the very conditions of possibility for geopolitics.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As discussed in the introductory chapter, this dissertation project attempts to map out a portion of the contemporary war photography landscape and make some suggestions as to what sorts of ‘conditions of possibility’ it may allow. However, before doing so it is necessary to consider what the discipline of International Relations has already made of visuality, photography, and media. This chapter thus provides a review of the current state of the literature in IR on these three themes.

This is by no means to suggest that IR has a monopoly on studying the interstices of visuality, photography, media, and war. Indeed, many other disciplines such as communications studies, cultural studies, and history have at one time or another considered the relationship between the visual culture and war. Which may in part account for the perceived neglect of such themes in IR theory: they are often taken care of elsewhere.

That being said, this review does focus solely on the discipline of IR. I believe such a focus is warranted because of the unique specialization of International Relations on the causes, consequences, and dynamics of warfare. One would think that a discipline founded to deal with mass violence and suffering on an international scale would devote some of its resources to a discussion of the role of media and visuality therein. In subsequent chapters of this dissertation I go beyond this IR focus to consider other literature, particularly as they have helped to inform both my theoretical and methodological approaches.

One unintended and unfortunate consequence of such a disciplinary focus is the condensing of complex theories of international politics into brief overviews, rather than a preferable nuanced engagement with their key epistemological, ontological, and methodological claims. Furthermore, the ad hoc nature of the coverage of my subject within IR has made reviewing the existing literature a challenge, I had to make some difficult choices in leaving out many in the discipline that have engaged with these themes. I have done so in an effort to provide a review that is both broad in its engagement with a variety of approaches within IR, while simultaneously specific in its focus on those in IR’s critical wing that engage with the political dynamics of photojournalism.

The following review is therefore divided into two broad sections – based on disciplinary orientation. In the first section I provide a brief account of the mainstream literature, focusing specifically on those engaged with foreign policy and strategic studies. Following this is a review of the critical IR literature, focusing on securitization theory and poststructural approaches.

2.1 Mainstream Literature

The bedrock of the positivist wing of IR is a belief in the capacity for scholars to use factual evidence – gained via empirical observation – in order to arbitrate between rival truth claims. Part and parcel of this desire is to establish and measure causality. Here, the philosophical notion of objectivity forms a strong foundation. The assumption is that there exists an independent reality from the human mind, making it therefore possible to know the world and that reality from the stance of an independent observer. This approach to scholarship rests on the mistaken belief that the only way the social sciences can find legitimacy is via mimicry of the natural sciences – particularly by

applying quantitative methods to empirical data. This reflects “a relatively narrow...and exclusive understanding of social science” (Bleiker 2001, 519) and in the case of IR asserts the capacity for scholars to study balances of power in the same way a (Newtonian) physicist would study gravity. Out of the various positivist-influenced approaches in IR, rational choice theory has come to dominate the mainstream in many respects. This approach “treats actors as rational, self-interested maximizers of utility” and “models behavior on the basis of fixed, and pregiven identities and interests” (Smith 2004, 502) – a set of assumptions which leads to a particularly narrow research agenda when it comes to media, photography and visuality.

By sharing the core assumptions of rationalism and objectivism (Morgenthau 2007), mainstream IR theories and the literature they have influenced are limited in the ways in which they could possibly approach the themes considered here. This is because when rational-objectivism is the driving force behind theories of world politics particular “perspectives and people [are] excluded from prevailing purviews” as are “the emotional nature and consequences of political events” (Bleiker 2009, 2). In such approaches the existence of an observable external reality is taken as a given. The primary way in which humans are able to observe this external reality is through their senses – vision being principle among them. The logical extension of this in terms of photography is an understanding of photographs as unmediated snapshots of that external reality, capturing a particular place and time, and crucially for international politics recording particular events and providing *evidence* (Kennedy 2012, 306) that they happened.

One of the core realist theorists of IR, Hans Morgenthau, assumed that there are no universal moral principles uniting humankind beyond simplistic survival motives. Due to this he concluded that public opinion inspired by a global media would be impossible (2007, 273). Thus, from the very outset there was a restriction on considering the media in IR. Ironically this occurred at a time when mass media was really starting to take off, and the trend continued throughout the Cold War period. Furthermore, because states are the primary ontological unit in much of the mainstream IR literature, the media can only be considered in very particular ways: principally, through the measurement/assessment of how it can influence or impact the state, and by extension international politics, through foreign policy.

2.1.1 Media and Foreign Policy

Scholars that study the media’s influence on foreign policy arose as a response to concrete events in world politics, as well as to advancements in information technology that revolutionized media in the latter half of the twentieth century (Robinson 2002, 2). The ending of the Cold War removed the rationale of superpower rivalry around which the United States had fashioned its foreign policy for decades. This, combined with the increased capacity for real-time reportage and the development of the 24h news cycle in the 1990s (Robinson 2002, 7-8), led to an increased focus on the media in IR to match its increased presence in international affairs.

In general, this literature combines insights from the rationalist-objectivist core of IR and political science, as well as communications studies. From the assumptions of much of mainstream IR theory and political science is the goal of measuring, assessing, or otherwise discussing causation in terms of the influence of media on foreign policy analysts or decision-makers (Seib 1997; Hoge 1994). Furthermore, the legacy of state supremacy in international politics is at the heart of this literature – the express goal of

which is to investigate the relationship between media and the state as it pertains to foreign policy (Hoge 1994, 142). This literature draws on communications studies to aid in categorizing different perspectives on media-state relationships in the domestic realm (Hackett 1997, 141-142) – which is then extrapolated to foreign policy and international politics.

Specifically, within this body of literature one of the most debated theses is the ‘CNN-effect.’ Like much of the literature dealing with media and foreign policy, work on the CNN-effect is rationalist-objectivist at its core and thus concerned with assessing the influence and impact of media on foreign policy decision-making (Robinson 2002, Livingston 1997). Within this literature Piers Robinson and Steven Livingston appear as two key authors. Robinson’s book *The CNN Effect* is a good example of what Robert Cox has termed problem-solving theory, which takes for granted the world as it finds it and whose general aim is to make the “prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions unto which they are organised...work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble” (Cox 1981, 128-129).

In it Robinson seeks to either prove or disprove the existence of the CNN effect within a reality that is given and accepted, he does not attempt to address the state-society relations and power dynamics behind the effect. He concludes that the CNN-effect exists, but that there are multiple effects at play and ultimately the relationship between media and foreign policy is dependent on degrees of ‘policy certainty’ within the government (2002, 25). Livingston also concluded that multiple CNN-effects exist: the media can act as accelerant, impediment, or agenda setter (1997, 10-11). Robinson’s book can be viewed as an extension and critique of Livingston’s arguments (1997, 10).

A key feature of Livingston’s work that Robinson picks up on is his categorization of: the degrees of media interest; media impact on public opinion; and government relationship to media by type of military intervention (Livingston 1997, 11; Robinson 2002). This is by far the most nuanced explanation of the ‘CNN-effect’ in terms of different effects being tied to different levels of ‘policy certainty’ as reflected by foreign policy decisions. It presents the ‘CNN-effect’ as a two-way street wherein the media both effects and is affected by government policy makers. Primarily this literature dealt with a set of nationalist, ethnic, and civil conflicts that occurred in the early 1990s at the end of the Cold War, particularly in Bosnia (Livingston 1997, Robinson 2002) and Somalia (Livingston and Eachus 1995, Livingston 1997, Mermin 1997, and Robinson 2002).

While many take seriously the ability of media to drive and influence foreign policy, others concentrate on debunking the ‘myth’ of such an effect. Instead arguing that it is far more likely that foreign policy decision makers drive the news media rather than the other way around. Jonathan Mermin, uses a mixed methods approach combining a quantitative assessment of airplay and story length, combined with thin descriptions to establish framing of the Somalia crisis by the main American television networks: ABC, CBS, and NBC. He concludes that although television “...is clearly a player in the foreign policy arena...the evidence from Somalia is that journalists set the news agenda and frame the stories they report in close collaboration with actors in Washington” (403, 1997). Thus rendering the CNN-effect at best a mutually constitutive element in American foreign policy, and at worst a complete myth.

Indeed, critics of CNN-effect scholarship argue that it has appeared as little more than a distraction in the study of media and international politics (Gilboa 2005b, 326). Eytan Gilboa goes as far as to categorize the CNN effect as “highly exaggerated,” “highly questionable” and “just an attractive neologism” (2005b, 326). He argues that “no sufficient evidence has yet been presented to validate the CNN effect hypothesis” (2005b, 326) and outlines a potential method of comparative analysis that could remedy the perceived lack of empirical evidence in the literature – by assessing the impact of global TV networks on specific foreign-policy decisions in comparison to other factors, and by then applying that procedure to multiple cases (2005b, 334). By way of concluding his critique he insists that technological innovations necessitate further research be conducted into media and international politics (2005b, 337). However, it is clear from his work that this research should take a specific form of empirical analysis in line with the rational-objectivist legacy of this body of literature.

While such research may offer genuine insight into the relationship between the media and foreign policy establishments, this body of literature does little to consider the affective reach of media coverage of war and conflict. Although they strive to trace the agenda setting role and framing capacity of media through the quantitative assessment of variables like the length of airplay devoted to a particular conflict, or a frequency count of how often a particular event is broadcast, they do not delve into the power dynamics at play in the representational practices of the visual coverage of war and conflict splashed across screens, magazine covers, and on the front pages of newspapers. However, the military and security establishments, especially in the United States, have shown much more interest in the viscosity of war and conflict than those working primarily on media and foreign policy.

2.1.2 Strategic Studies

In the 1990s American foreign policy priorities changed drastically when the armed forces underwent a ‘Revolution in Military Affairs’ that reoriented the priorities of an all-volunteer military force in a time of American preponderance (see: Der Derian 2009). Without the looming shadow of mutually assured destruction, or the potential of a large-scale conventional war between the US and the Soviet Union, the American military began to reorient itself towards new types of operations. This came particularly on the heels of the ‘success’ of Operation Desert Storm and the First Gulf War. These shifts in policy and practice opened up a space for scholars to engage with media impact on military operations.

Analysts and scholars within the military itself have long been concerned with the effect of media on public opinion and public support for war. Top on the list of concerns is the possible use of the media, defined as the mass exchange of information, as a weapon – including its possible psychological effects on the ‘home front’ and soldiers alike. In the contemporary era, the perceived effect that the media had on the American military and foreign policy apparatus during the Vietnam War has dictated the way the American military currently interacts with the media and how they allow war to be covered. The assertion that the media undermined support for the Vietnam War by broadcasting the returning dead has been accepted by officials in the military, and impacted how they allowed future wars to be covered (Hoskins 2004). This was especially apparent in the First Gulf War, and the legacy has equally impacted coverage

of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as evinced by the wide scale use of embedded reporting during these conflicts (Hoskins 2004, 14-15).

Within this subset of strategic studies scholars, a novel approach has appeared in military publications in the early 21st century since the inception of the Global War on Terror. Even though they have always been concerned with the media, and cognizant of its role in military operations, strategic studies scholars are now publishing on ways to help the United States win, not just the ground wars and the war for hearts and minds in the Global War on Terror, but on how to increase their ‘visual literacy’ (Gurri and Harms 2010, 102) to win the ‘infowar’⁴ (Der Derian 2003; 2009). In some ways, this new literature rejects some of the assumptions of the rationalist-objectivist paradigm on which much of strategic studies and foreign policy studies are based.

A good example of a concerted effort within the military establishment to increase ‘visual literacy’ and close the “visual information gap facing analysts and decision-makers” (Gurri and Harms 2010, 103) is the Combatting Terrorism Center’s *Islamic Imagery Project* – “the first comprehensive cataloguing of the most important and recurring images used in jihadi literature” (*forward*, 2006) filling a perceived gap in empirical data. In it the CTC laments the engagement with pre-modern art by historians and museums, claiming that there is a lack of information on modern violent jihadi images – which they associate with “political Islam” (2006, 5). This is part of a wider concern in the military establishment with the rise of ‘infowar’ or ‘netwar’ (Der Derian 2003; 2009) wherein new media and technologies are perceived as part of Islamic terrorists’ arsenal. Awan dubs this the ‘virtual jihad’ (2010) – the uploading and sharing of terrorist training videos and propaganda to the Internet through file sharing, blogs, and social networks.

Interestingly, this literature seems to be engaging with cultural theory and social theory in its approach to visuality – such as in Gurri and Harms’ proposed methodology for policy analysts to increase their visual literacy, which includes the analysis of ‘master narratives;’ and Awan’s concern with the ability of the Internet to level “hierarchies of knowledge and power” (2010, 10). These articles demonstrate how the tools of critical theory can be used just as effectively in the quest for exploitation, control, and dominance – for what else could ‘winning’ in the global war on terror entail – as they can in the quest for emancipation, the traditional goal of critical scholarship.

Despite their clear focus on visuality, this literature is overwhelmingly devoted to increasing the strategic capacity of the security and military establishments. As such, it does little to question the performative or productive capacity of visual imagery beyond the scope of ‘knowing the enemy.’ While such literature shows concern with gaining knowledge of the representational practices of ‘jihadi’ visuality it does little to consider the conditions of possibility that result from the reproduction of such imagery in mainstream western media. Rather, the focus is on the ability of such images to reproduce ‘jihadist’ subjectivities both at home and abroad, allowing for little insight into the equally productive power of such images to foster anti-Islamic sentiment and backlash

⁴ “...the meaning of infowar shifts with escalating phases of violence. In its most basic and material form, infowar is an adjunct of conventional war, in which command and control of the battlefield is augmented by computers, communications, and intelligence. At the next remove, infowar is a supplement of military violence, in which information technologies are used to further the defeat of a foreign opponent and the support of a domestic population. In its purest, most immaterial form, infowar is warring without war, an epistemic battle for reality in which opinions, beliefs, and decisions are created and destroyed by a contest of networked information and communication systems” (Der Derian 2003, 46).

when disseminated by mainstream media. Such concerns are better represented in the critical IR literature.

2.2 Critical Literature

Unlike the positivist-influenced theories of mainstream IR, critical scholarship focuses not on the causes of events in international politics, but rather on constitutive questions of meaning construction, production and performance. This is what Cox termed ‘critical theory’ in IR, which “does not take institutions and social and power relations for granted but calls them into question by concerning itself with their origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing” (Cox 1981, 129). Essentially, critical literature in IR has tasked itself with understanding how things come to be in the international, and indeed how the international has come to be.

Particularly, early works focused on the role that IR theory itself played in creating its world (see, for example: Ashley 1984). This is in stark contrast to positivist theories “...licensed by an empiricist methodology, [and] focuse[d]...on explaining” (Smith 2004, 510) things from a ‘neutral,’ ‘value-free,’ ‘objective,’ position; to the detriment of understanding the construction, production and performance of the actors and structures involved in world politics. As Smith reminds us, “the social world...is not something that we observe, it is something we inhabit, and we can never stand in relationship to it as neural observer...there is no view from nowhere” (2004, 513). Despite the significant diversity within the critical wing of the discipline, all scholars working in this tradition take Smith’s admonishment seriously.

The literature reviewed below, has been influenced by this goal of challenging rationalist-objectivist social science. Which has allowed critical scholars in IR to carve out one of the most productive spaces for engaging with visuality, photography and media. These challengers defy “the grand theories or definitive structures which impose rationalist identities or binary oppositions to explain international relations” such as those of mainstream ‘rationalist’ approaches (Der Derian 1990, 297). Within this body of literature there is a diversity of interventions and engagements with photographs and media in international politics, ranging from: the role images play in securitization; the representation of ‘humanitarian disasters’ (HIV/AIDS, famine, natural disasters); the ethics of photojournalism and media consumption; practices of war photography; the politics of witness and evidence; and the politics of photography itself.

2.2.1 Visual Securitization

In considering the place of images in securitizing processes, the visual securitization literature continues the work, in part, of the mainstream foreign policy literature reviewed above in that they are also preoccupied with exploring the relationship between media and the actions of decision-makers. However, because securitization theory has undergone a transformation in recent years toward a more sociologically oriented approach (Balzacq 2010) the visual securitization literature does not approach the study of media and international politics through the rationalist-objectivist lens of the mainstream literature.

Two articles stand out as key works within the visual securitization research program: “Theorizing the Image for Security Studies” by Lene Hansen and “Securitizing Images the Female Body and the War in Afghanistan” by Gabi Schlag and Axel Heck;

both attempt to provide new methodological approaches for studying visuals under the securitization theory program, and in IR more generally.

In her article Hansen argues that “images ‘speak security’” (2011, 52) and aims to theorize how, by studying four components: the image itself, the immediate intertext, the wider policy discourse, and the texts ascribing meaning to the image (2011, 53). The four components are then subject to three analytical categories of empirical analysis: “immediacy” – the potential for an image to provoke “immediate emotional responses;” “circulability” – images can circulate faster than words, and thus reach a wider audience faster; and “ambiguity” – an interpretive gap between an image and a collective identity; and the inability of images to make specific policy demands (2011, 55-59). Hansen then applies this method to the Muhammed Cartoon Crisis.

Schlag and Heck draw on iconology to present a method for “understanding how (in)securities are visually constructed and wars are delegitimized” (2012, 2). This approach highlights desecuritization processes, and presents a threefold iconological method for studying visual (de)securitization. The three stages are: “the pre-iconic description;” “the iconographic analysis;” and the “iconological interpretation” of images (2012, 9). This approach is then applied to an empirical analysis of a *TIME* magazine cover featuring a photograph from the war in Afghanistan.

Although the authors disagree on what to study under the securitization research program – ‘desecuritization’ or ‘securitization’ – both highlight the important role images play in these processes. Furthermore, they approach images from a similar epistemological understanding, making them less concerned with demonstrating causation and more concerned with interpreting the role of visuality in desecuritization/securitization processes. As such, Hansen insists that we approach the “visual as an ontological-political condition rather than a variable” (2010, 52). Similarly Schlag and Heck also prefer a “relational ontology...[wherein] images are as much the producers of their reality as they are its products” (2012, 8). Thus, both of these works point toward an engagement with critical theory that is manifestly lacking in the mainstream *media and foreign policy* literature, while maintaining a focus on the importance of policy decision makers.

While both of the above examples, and the visual securitization literature more generally, take seriously the question of the representational practices of visual imagery and their performative power in terms of securitization processes, neither applies these insights to a broad range of visual imagery. Rather, their focus is on the dynamics of specific visual events, which is valuable in terms of the insight it allows into a specific case but is ultimately unable to allow for more general conclusions to be drawn about the performative power of a broader regime of representation.

2.2.2 Poststructural Approaches

Like those working under the securitization program, many postpositivist IR theorists engage with questions of language and discourse. We can very loosely label this poststructuralism; a key author who stands out in this approach is David Campbell. Throughout the past decade his work has focused almost exclusively on visuality, photography, and media. After spending the late 1980s and 1990s engaging with questions of international political theory, ethics, identity, and security, in the early 2000s Campbell turned his attention toward photography in an edited book chapter “Salgado and the Shaleh” (2003b). The chapter engaged with issues of mediation and politics of

representation in documentary photography – using the work of Sebastiao Salgado in North Africa as a backdrop.

Campbell critiqued these types of images as portraying “a particular kind of helplessness that reinforces colonial relations of power” (2003b, 70). He also discussed the difference between images and words, specifically in terms of the speed/immediacy of images (71, 2003b), and the power of photographs in our understandings of strangers (83, 2003b). This represents the beginning of a repeated engagement with the photographing of ‘Africa’ and other postcolonial sites, such as Gaza (Campbell, 2009), in Campbell’s work.

Simultaneously, in a two-part journal article “Atrocity, Memory and Photography” (2002a & 2002b) he engaged with a media lawsuit over the political impact of the representations of camps in the Bosnian War. Campbell showed how assumptions about the “impact of particular images is...a good deal more problematic than assumed by impoverished accounts of a causal relationship between pictures and policy” (1602002b) – bound up as they are with affective issues of individual and collective memory⁵ – in this case, of the Holocaust and photographs of the camps and ghettos. This highlights a common theme stretching throughout Campbell’s work on visibility, photography, and media: a critique of causal explanations, and the advancement of a more ‘hermeneutic’ approach to these themes.

As with his earlier work in IR and security studies (see, particularly: Campbell 1992), his approach to studying media has followed several ‘turns’ – the turn to postmodernism/poststructuralism; the turn to discourse; and the turn to aesthetics and materiality. A key theme appearing throughout his work is a consideration of the way media cover war and the consequences of this coverage (2003a; 2003c; 2009; 2012). His work over the past decade has been toward detangling the “stickiness of the web of meaning” (Der Derian 1990, 297) that is international politics. This has culminated in a complex web-based project entitled “Visual Storytelling: Creative Practice and Criticism” (www.david-campbell.org).

Campbell is not unique in his focus on visibility, many IR scholars have taken up the research puzzles he suggested in the article “Geopolitics and Visibility” in 2007: how to theorize visibility as a form of knowledge; the impact of philosophical understandings of visibility for understanding photography; and, photojournalism as a technology of visibility that helps establish the “conditions of possibility for geopolitics” (2007b, 358). In an attempt to consider how HIV/AIDS in Africa is represented, Bleiker and Kay (2007) engage with all three puzzles. They argue that photographs are political, and that such dynamics become more acute when photographs enter mass media (140). This line of thought shows acceptance of the groundwork laid by mainstream theorists who argue that photos influence policy, but rejects attempts to measure said influence – preferring a more hermeneutical approach akin to Cox’s definition of critical theory (1981, 129-131).

The key point they make is that different methods of photography embody different forms of representation giving meaning to political phenomena surrounding an image (Bleiker and Kay 2007, 140). They identify three archetypes of photography: naturalist, humanist and pluralist. Naturalist photography tries to reflect an objective reality by remaining neutral and value free. Humanist photography tries to invoke compassion and social change by photographing human suffering; it entails a normative

⁵ See discussion of ‘intertextuality’ below.

element. Pluralist photography shares the normative goals of humanist photography, except in an emancipatory sense wherein iconic representations from outside are rejected and the focus is on situated practices as they create multiple sites of representation (2007, 140-141).

They argue that these different methods allow/disallow particular types of politics and therefore different responses to international political events like war, famine, and disease (Bleiker and Kay 2007, 149-151). Bleiker and Kay's approach theorizes how photography establishes different conditions of possibility for geopolitics – such as how different photographic representations of AIDS in Africa may engender different types of international engagement (see also: Campbell, 2008). Of the three archetypes, they present pluralist photography as having the most promise for challenging entrenched understandings of international political problems – like the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

This line of thought leads some to find renewed hope in new media and new technologies as they increase the capacity for pluralist photography in the form of citizen-journalism. Frank Möller locates this form of pluralist photography outside the political economy of photojournalism (2010, 501-502) but within the liberal ethic of humanitarianism that drives the 'photojournalist dream' of exposing horrors in order to drive social action (Campbell 2009, 7-8). Campbell's critique of this 'dream' isolates three interrelated problems: first, it is nearly impossible to show when/where the dream has been realized, that is, demonstrating causation between pictures and policy; second, perpetrators of atrocities and human rights violations are cognizant of the 'photojournalist's dream' and yet continue to commit these types of acts anyway; and finally there is a contradiction between the ethics of engagement/social change/intervention and the epistemology of objectivism. This last point has always been part of photography (Campbell 2009, 8-9). These three problems are further complicated by the effects of the global political economy on media, which dictate what can be shown ('taste and decency') while simultaneously being driven by the paradigm of immediacy wherein the insatiable appetite of the 24h news cycle demands constant coverage.

According to Möller, photography can engender social change most effectively when decoupled from this political economy through citizen-journalists: people "who [do not]...take photographs...solely for commercial purposes...[and who] understand their activities as political acts in search for social change" (2010, 510). Whether those acting as 'citizen-journalists' all view their activities in this way is debatable. Campbell argues that "photograph[s]...require [the]...overt and committed politics of a photojournalist" (2003c, 72) suggesting that the economy of the media is not the most limiting factor in the emancipatory potential of photojournalism.

Rather, Campbell presents the aesthetic strategy of documentary realism as an intrinsic limit apparent in both naturalist and humanist methods of photography. It requires specificity: *a* dead person, *a* bombed building, *a* starving child. He argues that if this is combined with the paradigm of immediacy regulating media conduct – premised on the idea that the truth of a conflict can be found at a particular time and place – the result is the disappearance of many of the political dynamics of the particular event depicted in the image, narrowing and constricting the 'conditions of possibility' and limiting the public's political literacy for interrogating geopolitical events.

This intrinsic limit of photojournalism is paralleled by the intrinsic limits of current studies in International Relations on media, visuality and photography. The

overwhelming focus on single images, or on small numbers of images/cases narrows our field of vision and prevents us from envisioning the broader regime of representation of war photography. The collective unconscious of a society is “made visible by the photograph[s]” it produces and consumes (Brothers 1997, 27). Therefore, examining a wider array of war photographs could “help expose the collective attitudes of the society” consuming them (Brothers 1997, 27). If we begin from a poststructural definition of the state, wherein its ontological status is dependent upon processes of “reproduction that performatively constitutes” its identity (Campbell 2003a, 57) projects such as this dissertation can help unpack these performative dynamics.

Although the poststructuralist literature in IR comes closest to addressing the concerns of this dissertation, like the visual securitization literature they focus mainly on specific visual images. When and where a plurality of images is considered they are often collected from only one or two media sources, thus again failing to consider the broader regime of representation that could be revealed by examining a wider array of visual images from a variety of sources. Such an examination helps to unpack the performative dynamics of an entire genre of imagery and thus “expose the collective attitudes of the society” consuming them (Brothers 1997, 27). Thereby allowing for a consideration of the conditions of possibility for geopolitics that visual representations of war and conflict may allow or disallow.

Conclusion

The academic discipline of International Relations was founded in the twentieth century with the goal of systematically studying international politics – in particular, how to limit war and promote and manage peace. Many things have changed since the catastrophic world wars, but the occurrence of violent conflict and the need to study the many facets of it has not. Advances in information technology have rendered international, or perhaps more accurately termed ‘global,’ politics more visible to more people, more immediately than ever before

In reviewing the current state of the literature in IR on the themes of visuality, photography, and media this chapter demonstrates that the most useful and interesting work that is taking place in the current period is occurring under the postpositivist/interpretivist research tradition. As such, the next chapter delves more deeply into this body of literature, and adds to it by incorporating work from outside the discipline of IR. This is done so in the context of considering the theoretical orientation of this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Guiding Philosophy and Theoretical Orientation

In the preceding chapter I set out to understand what the discipline of International Relations has made of visuality, photography, and media. I focused primarily on the differences between the ‘mainstream’ (positivist, causal, rational) IR literature and the ‘critical’ (postpositivist, non-causal, affective) IR literature, and concluded that the most useful and interesting work that is taking place in the current period is occurring in the postpositivist/interpretivist research tradition. With this in mind, here I focus on interpretivist research by both broadening the scope to include literature from outside the discipline of international relations, and by deepening the engagement with many of the critical works reviewed above.

This is in an effort to describe the guiding philosophy and theoretical orientation of this dissertation, including epistemological and ontological considerations as well as the more specific theoretical themes that have informed the development of the coding dictionary presented below in chapter 4, and the analysis of the war photographs presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Philosophically, this dissertation fits into the postpositivist/interpretivist research paradigm and is concerned with exploring how war photography contributes to the conditions of possibility for international politics – these dynamics are discussed further below in sections 3.1 Philosophical Orientation, and in 3.2 Conditions of Possibility.

I then move on to an in depth discussion of the following core theoretical themes: 3.3 Raced and Gendered Others; 3.4 Affect and Emotion; 3.5 Media Practices; and 3.6 Photojournalism, Art and Ethics. By way of conclusion I introduce methodological notes as segue to the discussion and explanation of the ‘visual discourse analysis’ methodology employed in mapping the contemporary war photography landscape.

3.1 Philosophical Orientation

In International Relations (IR) theory, postpositivism is concerned with discourse as constitutive of reality, positing that power free knowledge does not and cannot exist. The goal of research within this paradigm is usually an in-depth analysis of material in order to understand international political phenomena. Such research does so by asking questions to try and determine how power relations are produced by various cultural and political practices (Campbell 2007: 209). As mentioned above in the literature review postpositivist approaches are less concerned with determining causes and effects in international politics, and more concerned with the constitutive elements that have helped to produce the international. This orientation is greatly influenced by epistemological and ontological considerations.

3.1.1 Epistemology and Ontology

Within the paradigm of postpositivism, it is accepted that an objective reality exists, but our knowledge of said reality is necessarily filtered through the subjective experience of individuals; knowledge is thus always partial and bound by our experiences of it. This is a subjectivist epistemology wherein the researcher is always part of knowledge and never external to it. In sum, this is a way of knowing wherein we cannot separate ourselves from what we know, the inquirer and subject/object of inquiry are inextricably linked and reality is inseparable from our knowledge of it.

Whereas epistemology concerns itself with the “possibility, nature, sources, and limits of human knowledge” (Sumner 2006a: 92), ontology is “the study of the essential

nature of reality” (Sumner 2006a: 92). Conceptually, ontology is “concerned with the existence of, and relationship between different aspects of society, such as social actors, cultural norms and social structures” (Barron 2006: 202). The ontological position of postpositivism flows directly from its *subjectivist epistemology* wherein knower and known are necessarily intertwined with each other and reality is inseparable from knowledge. Knowledge is a social reality; it is value laden, incomplete, and bound by both individual and collective experiences.

The counterpart to a *subjectivist epistemology* is a *relativist ontology*, wherein reality as we know it is intersubjectively constructed through socially developed meanings. These meanings are constructed, performed, and produced through an unquantifiable number of social exchanges taking place simultaneously on both the micro-political (interactions between individuals and groups) and macro-political (interactions between structures and institutions) levels.

3.2 Conditions of Possibility

The theoretical orientation of this dissertation flows from the broader philosophical approach and rests on a view of photographs as politically impactful not in a directly causal sense, but in a performative and productive sense (Campbell 2002: 160). That is, photographs are politically and socially significant by the various ways in which they contribute to the ‘conditions of possibility’ for politics. They “shape what can and cannot be seen, and indirectly what can and cannot be thought” as well as “what can be said legitimately in public” and what cannot (Bleiker, et al. 2013: 400). More succinctly: “how we visualize the political shapes the very nature of politics” (Bleiker 2015: 874). In this way, visual representations contribute to the construction of a “pre-established field of perceptible reality” upon which political strategies depend (Shim and Nebers 2013: 290).

3.2.1 War Photography

War photography is an important constitutive element in constructing reality because “visual representations...bring about political consequences by shaping particular ways of seeing” (Shim and Nebers 2009: 290). In particular, war photography helps to set the conditions of possibility for geopolitics through the promotion of a war imaginary in which a “configuration of popular practices of representation” results in “war...imagined as a constitutive dimension of our public morality” (Chouliaraki 2013: 316) – such as by representing distant wars as benevolent and humanitarian in nature. Through such “structured configuration[s] of representational practices,” specific wars are produced “with a view not only to informing and persuading us, as per the instrumental aspect of propaganda, but also to cultivating longer term dispositions” (Chouliaraki 2013: 318). Producing a vision of humanity that rests upon a “particular kind of [raced/gendered] helplessness that reinforces colonial relations of power” (Campbell 2003c: 70) inherent in media practices.

3.2.2 Controlling the Representable

Media and journalistic practices, such as embedded reporting, are an important contributing element to the ‘field of perceptible reality’ and the conditions of possibility for politics because they, in part, reveal the “performative power of the state to orchestrate and ratify what will be called reality” (Butler 2007, 952) and contribute to controlling the domain of the representable (Van Veen 2011). For example, during early days of the American detention facility at Guantanamo Bay photos of the facility

worked to uphold public support in the face of accusations of prisoner abuse. Such images “demonstrate...[the] effectiveness of [the] US...by proving the existence of terrorists...[and]...constitute[ing] itself as a human agent who complies with the Geneva Convention” (Van Veeren 2011: 1733). Similarly, the “US mainstream news media largely followed the Bush Administration’s framing of Abu Ghraib as ‘abuse,’ not ‘torture’” (Hansen 2015: 264) – mediating those events to maintain a conceptualization of “humanitarian war [that] is primarily defined by massively proliferating images of empathetic exchanges between local populations and soldiers” (Chouliaraki 2013: 335) – a practice known as mediation.

3.2.3 Mediation

All political knowledge is mediated in part by practices of media representations, unpacking these dynamics can be achieved through the application of an ‘analytics of mediation’ which assumes that “choices over how suffering is portrayed” by media and journalistic practices “always entail broader ethical dispositions” (Chouliaraki 2009: 522). The flip side of this is a ‘politics of immediation:’ “the covert denial of mediation that occurs in the formal properties of [media] institutions” (Allen 2009: 162). Mediation/immediation help to construct the visibility of politics in the media landscape, but the interruption of these dynamics by art is also a feature of the messy reality of visual politics.

Taking journalistic photographs out of media context and rendering them visible in the contemplative space of the museum or gallery can interrupt media practices and force a confrontation with questions of ethics and morality. Essentially, images perform the political, set the conditions of possibility, and shape what can be seen and therefore thought and done in politics (Bleiker 2014). They do so through relying on racial and gendered tropes, playing on affective dynamics, and by conforming to particular media and journalistic practices – which may be interrupted through artistic reformulations.

3.3 Raced and Gendered Others

The processes of what has come to be known as ‘othering’ in social theory includes any actions or practices by which a group or individual is constructed as ‘not one of us.’ Often by being marked out against the standard of the dominant subject – white, middle class, male. A phenomenon conceptualized in feminist theory as ‘the male gaze,’ which refers to “the androcentric attitude of an image...its depiction of the world, and in particular women, in terms of male or masculine interests, emotions, attitudes, or values” (Eaton 2008: 878). Othering through the male/imperial gaze in humanitarian and war photography is located at the level of rhetoric, and in particular through tropes.

3.3.1 Tropes

A trope is a rhetorical device wherein visual “conventions” like a mourning woman or a child soldier “remain unchanged despite their travels across the visual sphere, gaining...recognition and having a strong affective impact” (Zarzycka 2013: 977). Tropes in press photographs, such as the ‘Islamic protest’ and ‘the Oppressed Muslim Woman’ for example, use race and gender as rhetorical vehicles to mediate press images, rendering them recognizable and thus enhancing their circulability (Zarzycka 2012: 72).

In effect, tropes are simplifications and patterns that conform to already established frames through which “certain lives do not qualify or are not conceivable as lives;” these frames are “politically saturated” and “are...operations of power” (Hannula

2013: 63). Through their performative power, raced and gendered tropes in press photography work to “transform geopolitical conflicts from local or regional political disasters into safely communicable spectacles of atrocity” (Zarzycka 201: 71), wherein the spectacle is not simply a collection or archive of images, but rather a visually mediated social relationship (Campbell and Shapiro 2007: 132).

The mediating function of the spectacle is tied to media “norms of taste and decency that inform the authoring of suffering in journalistic reports” (Chouliaraki 2009: 522). Gendered and racialized tropes “draw on ideals of gender, sexuality, race and nation to justify military intervention” in the name of humanitarianism (Kozol 2004: 5). Similarly, children are often employed as a universal moral referent (Moeller 2002: 38) in war photography – drawing on notions of innocence and vulnerability of childhood. Often race and gender are combined with age in images of children to create unique and complex tropes like that of the child soldier.

At their core, racialized and gendered tropes help to uphold unequal power relations in humanitarian and war photography. The ethical commitment of photojournalism to spark political action is embedded in the complexities of neo-imperial humanitarianism in which “photographs are a modality of power” that “conform to colonial economies of representation” (Campbell 2003b: 89). There is disagreement over the capacity of such representation to genuinely mobilize the public and drive political action and change. This colonial refrain feeds into a Western emotional regime that is suggestive of a politics of pity (Hutchinson 2014). The capacity for such affective appeals to spark change relies in part on their ability to tap into the compassion of viewers.

3.4 Affect and Emotion

The argument that photographs of humanitarian disasters and war are powerful through the virtue of their capacity to tap into a Western colonial emotional regime assumes that photographs are affective. Affect is perhaps best understood as the emotional constitution of individuals – it helps to situate us within, and provides attachment to, the world around us (Hutchinson 2014: 3). Photographs are particularly suited to appealing to affect and emotion because vision is thought to be “the sense that can propel subjects most forcefully into a state of affective intensity” (Allen 2009: 172).

Violent and graphic images of suffering, like those found in war and humanitarian photography combine the objective fallacy of photojournalism – wherein photographs are presented as unmediated snapshots of an objective ‘reality’ – and emotion through the juxtaposition of “realist photographic images” and “affect-laden narrations and displays of destroyed bodies” (Allen 2009: 172). One of the primary “affective registers” (Lisle 2011: 141) humanitarian and conflict photography attempt to appeal to is compassion, particularly to a collectivized version: a ‘global compassion.’

3.4.1 Compassion

Global compassion as a discourse emerged in the latter half of the 20th century at the junction between politics, media, humanitarianism, and the global public (Hoijer 2004: 513). It is, above all, the notion that collectively we hold a “moral sensibility or concern for [the] remote strangers from different continents, cultures and societies” that we see in photographs (Hoijer 2005: 516). As such, the discourse on global compassion is highly dependent upon visual imagery, such as those found in documentary film and photojournalism (Hoijer 2004: 520). Without seeing these distant victims, or seeing them

in a particular way, a discourse of compassion is unlikely to coalesce around an issue. The photograph of young Aylan Kurdi face down in the water of a Turkish beach that made global headlines in early September 2015, sparking a renewed focus on the Middle East refugee crisis, reveals how compassion is often dependent upon the ‘ideal victim’ (Hoijer 2004: 521).

This harkens back to the above discussion about raced and gendered others. Global compassion as a productive discourse in international politics relies on some victims as being ‘better’ or more ‘worthy’ than others. In particular, adult men in their prime are rarely presented as being worthy of compassion (Hoijer 2004: 521), except maybe as grieving fathers and husbands – again revealing the importance of gender in the political dynamics of photojournalism. So too does this reveal the slippery nature of compassion as a politically mobilizing force; not only is compassion selective in who counts as a worthy victim, it is also problematic in that its existence as a ‘global’ or collective emotion is questionable.

Presenting compassion as the basis for political mobilization is problematic because, like pity, “it is limited to a vicarious experience of suffering between two individuals...and can...only ever deal with the particular rather than the general” (Campbell 2012: 24). So while we have the capacity as individuals to experience compassion and empathy for little Aylan’s father, collective solutions to help the thousands of other ‘Aylans’ who have died and the tens of thousands that continue risking their lives on the Mediterranean, requires something more than compassion. The impact of that image, however, should not be discounted. It has fed into the conditions of possibility for geopolitics – encouraging engagement by millions around the world with the ongoing refugee crisis. Its use has also renewed discussions about journalistic and media practices of using graphic imagery (Waldman 2015).

3.5 Media Practices

All political knowledge is inherently mediated, making media and visual representations of violent events crucial to our understandings of international politics. In effect, the media is a pivotal link between the social field where public interpretations, reactions and responses develop (Hoijer 2004: 514). It is “primarily through the media that...citizens and politicians alike” are confronted with the “suffering of distant strangers” (Hoijer 2004: 515). Through such visual representations, the mainstream news media offers an emotional engagement with the “victims of political conflicts, war and other violence” (Hoijer 2004: 513). Furthermore, as they circulate in mass media, “images are often the main way through which people in stable political contexts derive insight into those” suffering through crises (Bleiker, Campbell and Hutchinson 2014: 192).

Such images, however, do not circulate freely. They are subject to complex media practices and “operate within a political economy of media production skewed to represent the values and interests of dominant western powers” (Kennedy 2012: 307). Essentially, a set of ‘economies of regulation’ has influenced the rise of broadcasting standards that enshrine a system of self-censorship “by and for the media with respect to the depiction of death and violence” (Campbell 2004: 59). There are at least three such economies of regulation working to influence media practices: the economy of indifference, the economy of taste and decency, and the economy of display (Campbell 2004).

3.5.1 Media Economies

The economy of indifference ties into the discussions above around racialized and gendered tropes, as well as the notion of the ‘ideal victim.’ The indifference that drives it is especially toward “others who are culturally, racially, and spatially foreign” (Campbell 2004: 70). Such indifference drives the absence of some conflicts as compared to others in the mass media. The economy of ‘taste and decency’ also centers on exclusion of death from visual representations of war, it is self-regulation of the media by the media around the “representation of death and atrocity” (Campbell 2004: 70).

The economy of taste and decency responds to the perceived public aversion to viewing atrocities by excising images of suffering from the page or screen (Chouliaraki 2009: 6). It is so powerful as to override the paradigm of immediacy – the assumption that direct-access to the battlefield by eyewitness reporters is the best “route to reliable knowledge” about conflict (Campbell 2009: 6). That is, when confronted with the immediacy of violent death the mass media often “abandons its commitment to the value of immediacy and installs ‘taste and decency’ as the criteria for judging which images to use” (Campbell 2009: 21). This fits in well to the military’s aversion the showing images of violent death (Campbell 2003a: 106), resulting in the stereotypically bloodless coverage of western wars.

The exception to the rule of taste and decency is found in the economy of indifference – even print journalist themselves have openly admitted that “if the victims are not one of us...they’re fair game,” explaining, in part, why “its perfectly acceptable, if not mundane, to show piles of skulls in Rwanda” (Zelizer 2005: 30). This informs the economy of display whose dynamics play out in uneven reporting standards (Zelizer 2005: 32) and “wherein the meaning of images is produced by the intertextual relationships of captions, titles, surrounding arguments, and sites of presentation” (Campbell 2004: 70). The way in which images are displayed by the media means that different photographs – or indeed the same photographs – “can be instrumentalized in radically different directions” depending on the discursive frame (Hannula 2013: 60). In this way, images taken outside the boundaries of professional photography offer a distinct challenge to dominant media practices located at “the intersection of [the] three economies” which together have resulted in the “disappearance of the dead in contemporary coverage” and a restriction of the possibility for ethical political engagement (Campbell 2004: 55).

In effect, the blurring of lines between amateur and professional photojournalism has rendered the contemporary visual field unstable (Kennedy 2009: 818). The rise of citizen journalism, wherein news is gathered, analyzed and disseminated by the general public via the internet – particularly through social media – has “caused considerable unease within media industries” (Kennedy 2009: 818), decoupled as they are from “commercial pressures and political tutelage” (Möller 2010: 505). In particular, pluralist photography produced and disseminated outside of mainstream media disrupts “existing hierarchies and power relations...[such as] the ability of western photographers and media representations to frame the suffering of others” (Bleiker and Kay 2007: 158) much in the same way that artistic photography is capable interrupting the narratives of mainstream photojournalism.

3.6 Photojournalism, Art, and Ethics

The primary affective and ethical frame of humanitarian and war photography is the discourse of compassion. This has been shown to be problematic in its structural individualism (Campbell 2012: 8). The issue is that although an individual may be affectively impacted by an image, they can only ever respond to it “as a member of the discursively organized public” (Möller 2009: 783). Images are cultural representations, and their affective impact is very much tied up with the ‘economy of display’ – “selective and differential framing” of humanitarian and war photography have serious implications for ethical political engagement (Hannula 2013: 69).

Essentially, mass mediated war photography follows the dominant narrative of immediacy where violent events are presented as isolated incidents of occurring at a specific place at a particular time. This is in contrast to photographs (perhaps even the same photographs or similar ones, as those on the front pages of newspapers) displayed together at an art gallery, a museum, or in a special collection. By contrast, those images reproduced in mass media “cannot be more than an invitation to pay attention” (Sontag 2003: 91); essentially, a “photograph...on rough newsprint...means something different when displayed in an Agnes B. boutique” (Sontag 2003: 93). Such economies of display may allow for closer contemplation and thus a more ethical engagement.

This suggests that the conditions necessary for an ethical engagement with violent photography are intimately tied to time and space. Equally important to this logic is the perceived special relationship between photography and memory. The act of memory, of remembering, is our only true connection with the dead, making “remembering an ethical act” (Sontag 2003: 99). Furthermore, the single image – the photograph – has been suggested as the basic unit of human memory (Sontag 2003: 20). As such, photographs play the role of the “contemplative moment” (Campbell 2003a: 99). However, they require the time and space, outside the mass media’s dominate narrative of immediacy, to act as windows in which ethical and political responses may be reflected. In particular, experimental and pluralist photography can be a social force pushing us toward thinking and acting non-violently (Hannula 2013).

Conclusion

The explosion in visual media and related technologies over the past several decades has resulted in a more visually connected world. Although images have long been a part of the social fabric of violence and conflict, the rise of the digital age has resulted in the increased importance of visual politics. It has recently been claimed that despite this “obvious importance of visual representations in global politics, little attention has been paid to their analysis in the field of international relations” (Shim and Nebers 2013: 292). I would disagree with this assessment and point out that scholars of international politics from both the mainstream and critical disciplinary wings have been concerned with visual representations for quite some time now.

In 1988, for example, Michael J. Shapiro insisted that photographs are a political practice through which meaning and value are produced. Throughout the 1990s, a collection of scholars – including Steve Livingston and Piers Robinson – pushed forward the CNN-effect thesis, which was highly dependent upon assumptions about the power of visual representation. More recently, since the early 2000s, examples of work engaging with visuality abound – particularly in critical IR. So, it is not so much that there has been a lack of attention paid to analyzing visual politics in IR, rather there has been an absence

of cohesion among scholars working on similar research problems which makes the ground appear much more barren than it really is.

This lack of cohesion stems most certainly from the methodological challenges presented by images. As Roland Bleiker has recently pointed out, although “scholars largely agree that images are increasingly crucial” to understanding international politics there remain “major and largely unaddressed methodological challenges [which] obstruct an adequate understanding of what is at stake” (2014: 75). Visual politics are complex – like the images upon which they rest. This multiplicity requires an array of methodological tools. So while images are increasingly important to IR and the practice of international politics, there are a variety of methodological difficulties when working with them. This necessitates that scholars practice methodological pluralism (Bleiker 2015: 875). Different methods may be used for different types of images, or for different types of visual datasets, the crucial point being that “there is no logical link between certain methods and certain epistemological positions” (Bleiker 2015: 880). The methodology presented in the next chapter, visual discourse analysis, embraces the methodological pluralism suggested by Bleiker, combining as it does computer assisted content analysis with Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis.

Chapter 4: Visual Discourse Analysis

The preceding literature review and theoretical chapters emphasized the value of interpretive and postpositivist methodologies for the study of visual data. The value of these methodological approaches stems from the fact that visual data are more amenable to study through a framework that accepts the power of images as working “indirectly, by performing the political, [and] by setting the conditions of possibility through which politics takes place” (Bleiker 2015: 884). In order to do so, one must adopt a heterogeneous outlook toward research that draws on “multiple, diverse and even incompatible methods” (Bleiker 2015: 877).

In this chapter I present one possible methodological alternative for the study of visual politics: visual discourse analysis. In so doing I draw inspiration from the concept of assemblage; an assemblage “is structured by relations of exteriority: the properties and behaviour of its components neither have to explain the whole, nor fit into its overall logic” (Bleiker 2015: 882). The result of assemblage thinking is the application of “a type of loose network of methodological connections” with “no central regulatory core” (Bleiker 2015: 883). The ultimate decision to embrace assemblage theory principles in the attempt to map the contemporary war photography landscape is justified in this chapter by discussing three issues of importance: 4.1 an emphasis on this project’s methodological pluralism; 4.2 a description of the research design and data sets; and 4.3 an explanation of the mixing of analytical approaches. At the end of this chapter I touch on some ethical considerations when working with visual data.

4.1 Methodological Pluralism

As discussed in the chapter on theoretical considerations, this dissertation flows from a particularly open ontological stance in International Relations research. The consequence of such openness is that everything becomes fair game for research. However, this ontological openness is not without challenges particularly as regards the methodology. Indeed, a variety of methodological challenges appear when working with visual data: images straddle many boundaries, both physical and mental; images are not words, they work differently from language but we as scholars require language for our interpretations and analyses; the meaning of images is context dependent and largely subjective; and finally, and not least challenging, is the affective aspect of imagery – images are emotionally powerful, but emotions are notoriously difficult to study (Bleiker 2015: 873).

A postpositivist research paradigm opens up a wide range of valid topics for the social science researcher. Particularly, this philosophical foundation points us to aspects of the social world that are not always “amenable to quantitative measurement” (Sumner 2006c: 248), or to the application of causal mechanisms. Thus, those working in the postpositivist research paradigm typically employ a qualitative methodology. This type of research usually deals with phenomena that are difficult or impossible to quantify mathematically – such as meanings and beliefs. Qualitative research is not a single strategy or method, rather it encompasses a wide array of approaches that share in common the exploration of “the different ways in which reality is constructed (through language, images and cultural artifacts) in particular contexts” (Sumner 2006c: 249).

However, relying only on qualitative tools is too limiting because there are in fact portions of visual data that can be counted and quantified. In this dissertation I can, and

do, count things in the data. For example, I count how many photographs in the dataset are from each newspaper/magazine, how many are from each particular conflict, how many are black and white, or in colour, and so on. My primary *empirical* focus is on what contemporary war photographs actually show. As such, I am in part preoccupied with studying the photographs themselves and their content.

The methods required to do so are multiple, and do not sit well within a strict separation of quantitative and qualitative methods. Rather, such research requires methodological pluralism, with methods ranging “from semiotics (which explores how images work through symbols and signs) to discourse analyses (which examines the power relations involved) and content analysis (which empirically measures patterns of how images depict the world)” (Bleiker 2015: 878). At times this dissertation draws on tools and insights from all three.

4.2 Research Design

The key take away from the above discussion is a commitment to methodological pluralism that rejects the deeply entrenched antagonism between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research in IR (Bleiker 2015: 874). Indeed, visual politics is “so complex that there is no one method, no matter how thorough or systematic, that can provide us with authentic insight into what images are or how they function” (Bleiker 2015: 877). However, to conduct specific research we must construct pluralistic research designs that allow us to combine a variety of methodological tools that are together capable of providing us with some such insight.

A good research design will justify the methods employed in a research project, and demonstrate how they relate to the research questions being posed (Davies 2006: 265). With this in mind, in this section I first reiterate the research questions driving this dissertation and offer some preliminary thoughts on how they relate to the data sources and methods. Subsequently, I provide a detailed explanation of three key components of the research design: 1) defining the universe of meaning; 2) drawing up a data collection schedule; and 3) creating a coding dictionary. Finally, at the end of this section I describe the physical processes of data collection before moving on to a discussion of the use of the qualitative/mixed methods data analysis software package Nvivo.

4.2.1 Research Questions

The research questions driving this dissertation project can be divided into two groups: empirical and interpretive. The empirical questions guide the portion of the research project that is concerned with investigating the content of war photographs, while the interpretive questions guide the analysis of war photography as a cultural practice and its role in international politics. The questions are presented in table 1 below:

Table 1: Empirical and Interpretive Research Questions

Orientation of Question	Questions	Sub-Questions
Empirical	What do war photographs show?	What are the representational practices of war photography?

Interpretive		How do war photographs construct and perform the state?	How does their performative power work to reproduce the state in international politics? What sorts of conditions of possibility for geopolitics result from this reproduction?
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Table 1: Research Questions

In order to answer these questions, I had to place some parameters and limitations on the potential data sources, and I had to consider what visual research methods would be best suited to the investigation of war photography as a power producing cultural practice in international politics. I discuss these points in much more detail below; at this point I want to simply introduce the guiding logic that fed into the development of the visual discourse analysis methodology.

This dissertation is primarily an investigation into war photography as a cultural and political practice that helps to performatively constitute the state. As such, the sheer volume of possible empirical material was a challenge. This necessitated placing some limits on what I would look at, thus I decided to focus on the contemporary period. This was in order to investigate our society's representational paradigm of war and conflict – the intertextual context of our perceptions of geopolitics – in the age of terror. I discuss the exact temporal parameters of the project below; here it is sufficient to identify the contemporary period under investigation as ranging from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2013. The second challenge was more geographical/spatial in nature – deciding which media outlets to focus on. I decided to construct a dataset that paints a picture of the contemporary war photography landscape from a primarily western standpoint – this is addressed more substantially when I discuss how I defined the project's 'universe of meaning.'

4.2.2 Dataset and Data Collection Schedule

Creating a dataset and drawing up a schedule for collecting the data involves "defining a universe of meaning...[and] sampling that universe" (Grady 2004: 25). The universe of meaning of this project can be defined as mainstream western print media outlets that publish photographic content: newspapers and news magazines. Within this universe of meaning, it is imperative to narrow the field through the identification of particular publications. I have done this by taking a cross-section of some of the most popular and widest circulated western publications. The details of the publications that make up the universe of meaning are presented in table 2 below.

Table 2: Source Publications

Title	Media Type	Location	Language	Political Orientation
New York Times	Newspaper	United States	English	liberal
Globe and Mail	Newspaper	Canada	English	centre
National Post	Newspaper	Canada	English	right
Wall Street Journal	Newspaper	United States	English	right
The Washington Post	Newspaper	United States	English	center
Le Devoir	Newspaper	Canada	French	left and sovereignist
Toronto Star	Newspaper	Canada	English	left

Le Monde	Newspaper	France	French	centre
TIME	News Magazine	United States	English	liberal
Newsweek	News Magazine	United States	English	centre
Maclean's	News Magazine	Canada	English	centre
The Economist	News Magazine	United Kingdom	English	center-right
The Guardian Weekly	Newspaper	United Kingdom	English	centre-left

Table 2: Universe of Meaning - Publications

The second step is establishing the parameters for collecting the war photographs from the selected publications. This is known as sampling, a technique devised in order “to select groups from a wider population...because it is not usually possible to include whole populations in research” (Davidson 2006: 271). The concept of ‘population’ refers to the “unit of analysis which is the focus of the study” (Davidson 2006: 271). In terms of this project, the population being sampled is mainstream western news media. The identification of the publications discussed above is in fact also part of the sampling procedure in that it makes up the ‘sampling frame’ – “defined as the listing of units in the...population...from which the sample will be selected” (Davidson 2006: 271). These ‘sampling units,’ the publications listed in table 2 above, are the ‘unit of study’ and the date specific sources within the publications are collectively known as the ‘sample’ the “segment of the population...selected for research” (Davidson 2006: 271).

I constructed two datasets, one in which the photographs were collected on the exact same dates each year and one in which the photographs were collected from different dates each year. The procedure used to construct the datasets is what I term ‘modified’ random sampling, in that the publications were sampled at random but within a specific set of parameters.

I modified the random selection process to ensure that the sample units came from pre-identified yearly units, in order to collect photographs published throughout each year rather than risk that all the dates come from the same month or season. The photographs collected on all the same dates were sampled triennially (January to April, May to August, September to December). The photographs collected on different dates from newspapers were sampled quarterly (January to March, April to June, July to September, and October to December), each year from 2000-2013, while the photographs collected from different dates from the news magazines were collected once per year. To get the data collection dates schedule (below in tables 3 and 4), I fed particular parameters into the “Random Calendar Date Generator” at www.random.org. For the dataset taken from different dates for each publication and each year I generated 1 random date per quarter for each newspaper each year from 2000-2013, and 1 random date per 12 month period from 2000-2013 for the news magazines. For the dataset taken from all the same dates I simply generated 1 date from each trimester, each year from 2000-2013, including weekdays and excluding weekends, for both the newspapers and the news magazines.

Table 3: ‘Same Dates’ Data Collection Schedule

	2000	9/11	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
The Washington Post	11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar

		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
New Times	York	11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
Globe and Mail		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
National Post		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	27-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
Wall St Journal		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	22-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
Le Devoir		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
Toronto Star		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
Le Monde		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
		26-May	12-Sep-01	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		07-Feb		02-Apr	21-Jan	10-Mar	12-Apr	28-Mar	03-Apr	15-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	08-Mar	18-Apr	30-Jan	18-Mar
Time		22-May	12-Sep	16-Jul	12-Aug	26-May	10-May	13-Jun	01-May	13-Aug	30-Jun	03-Aug	19-Jul	25-Jul	14-May	26-Aug
		27-Nov		17-Sep	18-Nov	01-Sep	06-Sep	19-Dec	18-Dec	06-Sep	14-Oct	14-Dec	11-Oct	17-Oct	29-Oct	04-Nov
		07-Feb		02-Apr	21-Jan	10-Mar	12-Apr	28-Mar	03-Apr	15-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	08-Mar	18-Apr	30-Jan	15-Mar
		22-May	24-Sep	16-Jul	12-Aug	26-May	10-May	13-Jun	01-May	13-Aug	30-Jun	03-Aug	19-Jul	25-Jul	14-May	23-Aug
Newsweek		27-Nov		17-Sep	18-Nov	01-Sep	06-Sep	19-Dec	18-Dec	06-Sep	14-Oct	14-Dec	11-Oct	17-Oct	29-Oct	01-Nov
		07-Feb		02-Apr	21-Jan	10-Mar	12-Apr	28-Mar	03-Apr	15-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	08-Mar	18-Apr	30-Jan	18-Mar
		22-May	24-Sep	16-Jul	12-Aug	26-May	10-May	13-Jun	01-May	13-Aug	30-Jun	03-Aug	19-Jul	25-Jul	14-May	26-Aug
		27-Nov		17-Sep	18-Nov	01-Sep	06-Sep	19-Dec	18-Dec	06-Sep	14-Oct	14-Dec	11-Oct	17-Oct	29-Oct	04-Nov
Macleans		07-Feb		02-Apr	21-Jan	10-Mar	12-Apr	28-Mar	03-Apr	15-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	08-Mar	18-Apr	30-Jan	18-Mar
		22-May	24-Sep	16-Jul	12-Aug	26-May	10-May	13-Jun	01-May	13-Aug	30-Jun	03-Aug	19-Jul	25-Jul	14-May	26-Aug
		27-Nov		17-Sep	18-Nov	01-Sep	06-Sep	19-Dec	18-Dec	06-Sep	14-Oct	14-Dec	11-Oct	17-Oct	29-Oct	04-Nov
		11-Feb		05-Apr	24-Jan	13-Mar	13-Apr	31-Mar	04-Apr	16-Jan	21-Jan	13-Apr	10-Mar	18-Apr	02-Feb	18-Mar
The Guardian Weekly		26-May	12-Sep	18-Jul	13-Aug	29-May	10-May	17-Jun	05-May	15-Aug	02-Jul	06-Aug	19-Jul	27-Jul	18-May	26-Aug
		01-Dec		20-Sep	18-Nov	02-Sep	07-Sep	21-Dec	18-Dec	13-Sep	10-Oct	16-Dec	11-Oct	21-Oct	01-Nov	06-Nov
		12-Feb		07-Apr	19-Jan	15-Mar	10-Apr	26-Mar	01-Apr	13-Jan	19-Jan	11-Apr	13-Mar	16-Apr	Feb 4-10	Mar 16-22
		27-May	15-Sep	21-Jul	10-Aug	31-May	08-May	18-Jun	06-May	18-Aug	05-Jul	08-Aug	17-Jul	30-Jul	May 12-18	Aug 24-30
The Economist		23-Dec		22-Sep	16-Nov	06-Sep	04-Sep	24-Dec	16-Dec	15-Sep	11-Oct	12-Dec	09-Oct	22-Oct	Nov 3-9	Nov 2-8

Table 3: 'Same Dates' Data Collection Schedule

Table 4: 'Different Dates' Data Collection Schedule

2000	9/11	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
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The Washington Post	09-Jan	15-Sep	11-Feb	10-Mar	12-Jan	15-Feb	20-Mar	15-Jan	25-Feb	23-Mar	25-Jan	07-Feb	06-Mar	01-Jan	03-Feb
	16-Apr		24-May	09-Jun	20-Apr	16-May	19-Jun	16-Apr	27-May	22-Jun	26-Apr	02-May	12-Jun	08-Apr	12-May
	23-Jul		26-Aug	08-Sep	27-Jul	15-Aug	18-Sep	16-Jul	26-Aug	21-Sep	26-Jul	01-Aug	18-Sep	15-Jul	18-Aug
	19-Oct		25-Nov	08-Dec	26-Oct	21-Nov	18-Dec	15-Oct	25-Nov	28-Dec	25-Oct	07-Nov	25-Dec	28-Oct	24-Nov
New York Times	16-Jan	16-Sep	18-Feb	17-Mar	19-Jan	22-Feb	27-Mar	22-Jan	18-Feb	30-Mar	18-Jan	14-Feb	13-Mar	08-Jan	10-Feb
	23-Apr		27-May	16-Jun	27-Apr	23-May	26-Jun	23-Apr	20-May	29-Jun	19-Apr	09-May	19-Jun	15-Apr	19-May
	30-Jul		19-Aug	15-Sep	20-Jul	22-Aug	25-Sep	23-Jul	19-Aug	28-Sep	19-Jul	08-Aug	25-Sep	22-Jul	25-Aug
	22-Oct		18-Nov	15-Dec	19-Oct	14-Nov	25-Dec	22-Oct	18-Nov	21-Dec	18-Oct	14-Nov	18-Dec	21-Oct	17-Nov
Globe and Mail	01-Jan	15-Sep	03-Feb	02-Mar	04-Jan	07-Feb	05-Mar	07-Jan	03-Feb	01-Mar	03-Jan	06-Feb	05-Mar	07-Jan	02-Feb
	08-Apr		12-May	08-Jun	12-Apr	08-May	11-Jun	08-Apr	12-May	14-Jun	11-Apr	08-May	11-Jun	14-Apr	11-May
	15-Jul		18-Aug	21-Sep	19-Jul	21-Aug	17-Sep	15-Jul	18-Aug	20-Sep	18-Jul	21-Aug	17-Sep	21-Jul	17-Aug
	21-Oct		24-Nov	28-Dec	25-Oct	27-Nov	24-Dec	21-Oct	24-Nov	27-Dec	24-Oct	27-Nov	24-Dec	27-Oct	23-Nov
National Post	08-Jan	15-Sep	10-Feb	09-Mar	11-Jan	14-Feb	12-Mar	14-Jan	10-Feb	08-Mar	10-Jan	13-Feb		14-Jan	09-Feb
	15-Apr		19-May	15-Jun	19-Apr	15-May	18-Jun	15-Apr	19-May	21-Jun	18-Apr	15-May	18-Jun	21-Apr	18-May
	22-Jul		25-Aug	28-Sep	12-Jul	28-Aug	24-Sep	22-Jul	25-Aug	27-Sep	25-Jul	28-Aug	24-Sep	28-Jul	24-Aug
	28-Oct		17-Nov	21-Dec	18-Oct	20-Nov	31-Dec	28-Oct	17-Nov	20-Dec	31-Oct	20-Nov	13-Dec	20-Oct	30-Nov
Wall St Journal	17-Jan	12-Sep	16-Feb	15-Mar	17-Jan	20-Feb	18-Mar	20-Jan	16-Feb	14-Mar	16-Jan	19-Feb	18-Mar	20-Jan	15-Feb
	21-Apr		21-May	21-Jun	25-Apr	21-May	24-Jun	21-Apr	25-May	27-Jun	24-Apr	21-May	24-Jun	27-Apr	24-May
	28-Jul		13-Aug	13-Sep	24-Jul	13-Aug	09-Sep	28-Jul	10-Aug	12-Sep	10-Jul	13-Aug	09-Sep	13-Jul	30-Aug
	16-Oct		12-Nov	16-Dec	10-Oct	12-Nov	16-Dec	13-Oct	09-Nov	12-Dec	16-Oct	12-Nov	16-Dec	12-Oct	15-Nov
Le Devoir	22-Jan	12-Sep	24-Feb	23-Mar	25-Jan	28-Feb	26-Mar	28-Jan	24-Feb	22-Mar	24-Jan	27-Feb	26-Mar	28-Jan	23-Feb
	29-Apr		05-May	29-Jun	05-Apr	29-May	04-Jun	29-Apr	05-May	07-Jun	04-Apr	29-May	04-Jun	07-Apr	04-May
	08-Jul		04-Aug	07-Sep	05-Jul	07-Aug	03-Sep	08-Jul	04-Aug	06-Sep	04-Jul	07-Aug	03-Sep	07-Jul	10-Aug
	07-Oct		03-Nov	07-Dec	04-Oct	06-Nov	10-Dec	07-Oct	03-Nov	06-Dec	10-Oct	06-Nov	10-Dec	06-Oct	09-Nov
Toronto Star	17-Feb	12-Sep	15-Mar	17-Jan	25-Feb	22-Mar	17-Jan	03-Feb	19-Mar	10-Jan	13-Feb	22-Mar	06-Jan	10-Feb	22-Mar
	09-May		18-Jun	16-Apr	14-May	14-Jun	18-Apr	04-May	01-Jun	09-Apr	11-May	15-Jun	08-Apr	28-May	07-Jun
	23-Aug		25-Sep	16-Jul	08-Aug	15-Sep	05-Jul	28-Aug	03-Sep	08-Jul	12-Aug	08-Sep	04-Jul	09-Aug	23-Sep
	23-Nov		28-Dec	28-Oct	03-Nov	10-Dec	07-Oct	07-Nov	24-Dec	10-Oct	20-Nov	24-Dec	24-Oct	06-Nov	23-Nov
Time	15-May	14-Sep	12-Mar	27-May	20-Jan	22-Nov	28-Mar	27-Nov	18-Jun	06-Oct	07-Sep	15-Nov	28-Feb	23-Jul	15-Apr
Newsweek	13-Mar	13-Sep	16-Jul	23-Sep	27-Oct	29-Nov	15-Aug	22-May	13-Aug	08-Sep	27-Apr	10-May	03-Oct	23-Jul	03-Jun
Macleans	04-Dec	17-Sep	05-Nov	27-May	13-Oct	27-Dec	13-Jun	13-Feb	21-May	28-Jan	03-Mar	23-Aug	28-Nov	11-Jun	14-Oct
Guardian Weekly	May 18-24	Sept 20-26	Apr 18-24	Dec 12-18	Apr 1-7	June 11-17	Aug 12-18	Mar 24-30	May 25-31	Dec 29-Jan 1, 08	May 25-31	Dec 17-30	Aug 5-11	Feb 3-9	Nov 29-Dec 5
The Economist	20-May	15-Sep	15-Dec	25-May	15-Mar	Jan 17	17-Dec	17-Jun	11-Aug	18-Oct	02-May	04-Sep	26-Mar	07-Jan	13-Apr
Le Monde	29-Mar	12-Sep	30-Jan	01-Feb	29-Mar	02-Jan	26-Feb	02-Mar	30-Jan	01-Feb	31-Mar	01-Jan	26-Feb	01-Mar	03-Jan
	20-Jun		02-Apr	02-May	05-Jun	01-Apr	31-May	01-Jun	28-Apr	09-May	30-Jun	02-Apr	31-May	01-Jun	30-Apr
	21-Sep		05-Jul	06-Aug	02-Sep	06-Jul	03-Aug	05-Sep	04-Jul	05-Aug	03-Sep	07-Jul	03-Aug	04-Sep	03-Jul
	18-Dec		11-Oct	07-Nov	05-Dec	08-Oct	10-Nov	08-Dec	11-Oct	06-Nov	15-Dec	05-Oct	10-Nov	05-Dec	04-Oct

Table 4: ‘Different Dates’ Data Collection Schedule

The next step in the research design is coding, below I offer a detailed description of the coding dictionary; here I simply want to provide a brief explanation of what coding

is. The purpose of coding visual data is to make it easier to work with. Essentially, coding is performed in order to categorize and segment the data and involves the application of a theoretically informed coding dictionary to the data. This is discussed in much more detail below in the section on the coding dictionary. Before turning to it, I provide a brief description of how I physically collected and stored the data.

4.2.3 Data Collection Methods

The data (photographs) for this project was collected from the publications listed in table 2, drawn from four different formats: microfilm, digital microfilm, digital hardcopy reproduction, and physical hardcopy. The format drawn from depended upon access to the material. The photographs were collected over an 18 month period, from May 2014 to November 2015, and were collected at five different physical locations: The University of Ottawa (uOttawa), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), the University of Central Florida, Library and Archives Canada, and the Library of Parliament Canada. Sources not available at these physical locations were obtained using the interlibrary loan service RACER at the University of Ottawa, these included: the National Post, the Guardian Weekly, Newsweek, TIME, Maclean's, the Economist, and the Washington Post. Table 5 below provides a description of the data collection process for each format, as well as noting which publications existed in each format, and the geographical location of the collection process.

Table 5: Data Collection Procedures

Format	Publications	Location	Data Collection Process
Microfilm	New York Times	uOttawa	Retrieve pertinent film roll(s) from the library shelves, according to the data collection dates as indicated in tables 2 and 3 above. Load the film roll into the digital scanner (ScanPro2000) at the computer terminal; advance the film to the date specific source. Go through the source page by page, cropping and saving all war photographs encountered, including captions where applicable. In some instances multiple photographs are saved in one digital file due to the layout of the primary source, this is noted in the data-tracking spreadsheet. Track all saved files in the data-tracking spreadsheet, recording the publication name, date, file name, and any important information in the notes section.
	Globe and Mail	uOttawa	
	National Post	uOttawa and MUN	
	Wall Street Journal	uOttawa	
	Le Devoir	uOttawa	
	Toronto Star	uOttawa	
	Le Monde	MUN	
	TIME	uOttawa and MUN	
	Newsweek	uOttawa and MUN	
	Maclean's	uOttawa, MUN and Library and Archives Canada	
	The Guardian Weekly	uOttawa and MUN	
	The Economist	uOttawa and Library of Parliament Canada	
	The Washington Post	University of Central Florida and uOttawa	
Digital Microfilm	New York Times	uOttawa (online)	Log into the Proquest Digital Microform platform using uOttawa library credentials. Select title of publication to review.
	Wall St Journal	uOttawa (online)	

	Toronto Star	uOttawa (online)	Go through the source page by page, saving the pages with war photographs as pdf files. Go through each saved pdf and crop and save the individual photographs. Track all saved files in the data-tracking spreadsheet, recording the publication name, date, page number, file name, and any important information in the notes section.
Digital Reproduction	The Economist	uOttawa	Log into The Economist Historical Digital Archive using uOttawa library credentials. Go through the issue page by page, saving the pages with war photographs as pdf files. Go through each saved pdf and crop and save the individual photographs. Track all saved files in the data-tracking spreadsheet, recording the publication name, date, page number, file name, and any important information in the notes section.
Hardcopy	The Economist	Library of Parliament	Retrieve the hardcopy from the periodical circulation desk (MUN) or from the librarian (Library of Parliament) Go through the issue page by page, scanning each page with a war photograph on it (MUN) or take a digital photo using iPhone Genius Scan app (Library of Parliament) Go through each scanned page and crop and save individual pictures, or change the name of each iPhone file and transfer to computer. Track all saved files in the data-tracking spreadsheet, recording the publication name, date, page number, file name, and any important information in the notes section.
	TIME	MUN	
	Newsweek	MUN	
	Maclean's	MUN	

Table 5: Data Collection Procedures

During the various data collection processes all files were saved either to a USB drive, or to the cloud, and were subsequently moved to individual publication identified files on the hard drive of two computers. Backups were then made of each file and stored on an external network drive, as well as Microsoft OneDrive – thus, all data was saved at four separate locations to protect against loss in the case of equipment failure or theft. Subsequently, the files were imported into the Nvivo software package.

4.3 Analytic Approach

As noted above in section 4.1 on methodological pluralism, this project employs an analytic approach that draws on components of three different theoretical and methodological strategies: quantitative, qualitative, and interpretive. This unique mixture appreciates the value of quantitatively tracking key compositional elements in the data – accomplished through the manual coding of each individual photographic source. It also takes seriously the need for close qualitative reading of well-chosen samples from the data – accomplished through the coding of specific elements in the data. Furthermore, this project augments its qualitative analysis of the data through close, contextual interpretations of the photos, allowing for the identification, tracking, and theoretical exploration of the “subtle rhetorical strategies that are often the engine of the persuasive power of a given discourse” (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 379).

By combining these methodological strategies, this project aims at avoiding the common pitfalls of using any one of these techniques individually. It avoids the risk of selection bias often associated with purely qualitative methods – which is due to their frequent use of smaller datasets. By contrast, this project has a robust dataset of 1919 photographs, collected using a modified random sampling technique drawn from 13 news

sources. As such, the risk of cherry-picking the most representative texts inherent in a purely qualitative project is negated. Furthermore by drawing insight from large-scale quantitative content analysis this project includes systematic tracking of the frequency and weight of various elements in the data – which is accomplished by the coding dictionary, discussed in more detail below and reproduced in its entirety in Appendix A.

Similar to avoiding the risk of selection bias posed by a purely qualitative approach, the mixing of methodologies evades the criticism often leveled at large-scale quantitative content analysis wherein they are thought to be “less able to make judgments about the relative importance” of the rhetorical strategies that give power to discourse (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 379). In short, a mixed methods approach is advantageous because: 1) it allows for the quantitative tracking and tracing of contextual (state and conflict of origin, conflict typology, audience language, place of publication, etc) and compositional (color, point of view, raced and gendered subjectivities, etc) elements in visual data; and 2) it allows for the identification of discursive patterns and rhetorical strategies across the data that are integral to their meaning making and performative power.

4.3.1 Visual Discourse Analysis

The cornerstone of the mixed method Visual Discourse Analysis approach used in this project is the development and application of the theoretically informed coding dictionary which is discussed in detail below in section 4.3.2. The processes involved in the construction and practical use of the coding dictionary marry elements of quantitative, qualitative and interpretive approaches. It employs a close qualitative reading of each photographic source while simultaneously quantitatively tracking and tracing the coded elements across the dataset. In contrast to typical large-scale content analyses of visual data, this project does not rely on technology to automatically count and code the photographs – for example, through facial or form recognition software. Rather, a visual discourse analysis “requires a detailed, holistic, and *manual* qualitative interpretation and coding” (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 26, emphasis added) of each and every photograph.

I intentionally began this project with a theoretically informed knowledge base (see chapter 3) but without any particularly rigid assumptions or hypotheses about what I would find in the data. As noted above, each and every photographic source was coded “separately and individually before undertaking any quantitative macro-analyses” (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 30). Once all the data was coded (these processes are described in detail in section 4.3.3) I then proceeded with the quantitative macro analyses, which allowed me to empirically track the various contextual and compositional elements that make up the coding dictionary. As such, this project “avoids the possibility that any pre-existing assumptions or hypotheses” (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 30) may lead to the over-emphasis of any one particular characteristic or rhetorical strategy.

While such a mixed method approach requires more “up-front research design work than...traditional qualitative interpretation, and significantly more interpretive work than does traditional content analysis” it borrows elements from each to avoid the weaknesses of using only one or the other (Gordon and Saurette 2016: 379). In short, a visual discourse analysis involves: the collection of data, the development of a theoretically informed coding dictionary, the manual coding of the individual photographic sources, a macro quantitative analysis of the coding results, close qualitative reading of pertinent examples from the dataset, and interpretive analysis of the

various rhetorical strategies that give power to the discourse as a whole. In the next section I turn to a detailed discussion of the coding dictionary, followed by an explanation of the use of qualitative data analysis software.

4.3.2 Coding Dictionary

The analysis component of any research design comprises the processes used in “resolving the data into...constituent components, to reveal...characteristic elements” in the dataset (Dey 2005: 31). Analysis is thus the application of rigorous procedures – *analytic tools* – to the data. Through the use of analytic tools, data is broken down and classified. During these processes the concepts that are created and employed, and the connections made, provide the basis for subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data (Dey 2005: 31). The primary analytic tool that undergirds this project is the use of a coding dictionary in conjunction with the software package Nvivo.

The first step in the development of a coding dictionary is gaining familiarity with the genre of visual data under investigation. This allows for the identification of “key themes, which maybe key words, or recurring visual images” (Rose 2001: 50). Once some form of familiarity has been achieved it is then possible to create sets of “categories in relation to...theoretical concerns” (Rose 2001: 59). For this project, I first familiarized myself with the genre of war photography before beginning the data collection by looking at a catalogue of an art show entitled “War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath” curated by Anne Wilkes Tucker. This helped me to identify some general level categories in advance of data collection. Further familiarity resulted from viewing the photographs during the data collection process, which enabled further identification of important categories. The coding dictionary was thus developed in tandem with data collection. Below I describe the details of the various sections and codes that make up the coding dictionary.⁶

The coding dictionary used in this project is comprised of four sections that each contains a number of codes and sub-codes designed to perform a particular organizational or analytic function. The sections are as follows: 1) technical data; 2) content; 3) intertextuality; and 4) visual rhetoric. In this section I provide a brief description of the purpose of each section, in conjunction with tables that explain the constituent codes. The purpose of the ‘technical data’ section is primarily organizational, it aids in segmenting the data along several planes that will facilitate analysis, while simultaneously providing a big picture overview of the dataset. Each of the codes and their purpose/function are listed below in table 5.

Table 5: Technical Data Codes

CODE	DESCRIPTION
Title	This code records the titles of the newspaper or magazine from which the photograph was collected.
Publication Language	This code records the language of the publication from which the photograph was collected, either English or French.
Pallet	This code records whether the photograph is in colour, or black and white.
Publication State	This code records the country in which the newspaper or magazine is published.
Date	This code records the date of the issue of the newspaper or magazine from which the photograph was collected.

Table 5: Technical Data Codes

The purpose of coding for content is in part organizational in that it adds another layer of segmentation to the data in terms of: geography of the content, as opposed to

⁶ The full coding dictionary can be found below in Appendix A

geography of the venue; and the conflict shown. However, the main purpose of the codes in this section is analytical. They deal with the content of war photography, what the war photographs published by mainstream western news media actually *shows*. This contributes directly to answering the research question presented above: what do war photographs show? A description of the codes is found in table 6 below.

Table 6: Content Codes

CODE	DESCRIPTION
Activity	This set of codes records the primary activity that is taking place in the photograph, significant categories include: death, non-military casualties, and troops at work.
Conflict	This category simply records the conflict during which the photograph was taken, the most common being: the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.
Event	This set of codes records the primary event that is taking place in the photograph, distinguishing between combat and non-combat events.
Gender	This set of codes records the number of subjects in each photograph for each gender code.
Race	This set of codes records the number of subjects in each photograph for each racial code.
State	This code simply records the state in which the photograph was taken.
Subject	This set of codes records the primary subject, both human and non-human in the photograph, recording the number of human subjects pictured as well as any notable people.

Table 6: Content Codes

Coding for intertextuality also serves both organizational and analytical ends. Organizationally, it also further segments the data into those photos that are captioned versus those that are not. It also tracks and traces the repetition of photographs within the dataset. Analytically, these codes are important because they aid in the investigation of the intertextuality of the data – that is, the ways in which meanings are accumulated across different texts. Of course, intertextuality does not simply refer to the repetition of the same images, but tracing these repetitions throughout the dataset and comparing the different ways in which these images are anchored by texts in their captions aids in the identification of representational paradigms, a description of the intertextual codes are found in table 7 below.

Table 7: Intertextual Codes

CODE	DESCRIPTION
Caption	This set of codes records whether or not the photograph is captioned, and the text of the caption.
Photo Repetition	This set of codes records which photographs are repeated throughout the data set.
Number of Images	This code records the number of photographs found in a single file.

Table 7: Intertextual Codes

The purpose of this section of the coding dictionary is wholly analytical. The codes that make up this section are primarily concerned with how photographs communicate. Thus, it is this section that is most productive in terms of answering the interpretive research questions concerning the construction and performance of the state. Essentially, visual rhetoric is “a perspective scholars apply that focuses on the symbolic processes by which visual artefacts perform communication” (Foss 2004: 304). In that respect, the ‘symbolic processes’ that are of concern here are the interconnected phenomenon of emotion and metaphor – the primary ways that photographs communicate meaning. To that end, this section of the coding dictionary is made up of two sets of codes: affect and tropes, table 8 provides a brief description of each.

Table 8: Visual Rhetoric Codes

CODE	DESCRIPTION
Affect	This set of codes records the perceived emotional interest of the photograph. It also serves to categorize the affective imagery found in the photograph, thereby tracing its emotional tone.
Tropes	This code categorizes the photographs based on their dominant visual trope.

Table 8: Visual Rhetoric Codes

4.3.3 Coding and Analysis Technology

Proponents of using data analysis software in social science research argue “it serves to facilitate an accurate and transparent data analysis process whilst also providing a quick and simple way of counting” data elements “which in turn, provides a reliable general picture of the data” (Welsh 2002: 4). In effect, the use of software makes the coding of large amounts of data quicker and easier by carrying out “the administrative task of organizing the data more efficiently” than is possible manually (Welsh 2002: 9). However, it should be noted that while software aides in quantitative analysis of the data, it does not automatically code the data; the researcher must do this coding manually. For this dissertation I used the software package Nvivo by QSR International. I chose Nvivo because it allows for the coding of images as well as text. In this section I discuss the role Nvivo plays in my research design, in particular I cover: the steps followed to set up the project in Nvivo, the actual practice of coding, and briefly touch on some of the challenges of working with software.

The inclusion of a software package like Nvivo in the research design involved some preliminary work within the software itself before I could begin coding. This meant setting up an Nvivo project by first creating the node structure, and second by importing the data sources. The node structure is basically the coding dictionary transferred into Nvivo’s format. In the software ‘codes’ are called ‘nodes,’ and nodes can be layered to form the node structure that reflects the coding dictionary as it was originally created in Microsoft word. As outlined above the coding dictionary is made up of four sections: technical data, content, intertextuality, and visual rhetoric. In Nvivo these sections become ‘parent nodes,’ the codes that make up each section become ‘child nodes,’ ‘grand-child nodes,’ and so on. The second step in setting up an Nvivo project is importing the data into folders in Nvivo that are labeled by publication and dataset. Once the node structure has been set up and the data imported it is possible to begin coding.⁷

Even with the aid of software, coding upwards of 1900 images is a time consuming and meticulous task. There are many different approaches that I could have used to break the coding down into manageable units – by the publication venue, by the date that they were published on, or – as I did – by the sections of the coding dictionary. Essential, I broke the coding process into ‘rounds’ based on the sections of the coding dictionary. That is, instead of coding each image file for all nodes at once, one at a time, I coded all of the sources for a particular set of nodes. This way, after each round of coding I had looked at every single photo – gaining more familiarity with each round of coding. Furthermore, the coding rounds move from the most simple/easiest/quickest to code to the most complex.

In the first round of coding, I coded all the data collected up to that point for all the *Technical Information* nodes: *Date*, *Pallet*, *Language*, *State*, and *Title*. In the second round of coding, I coded all the photos for some of the *Intertextuality* nodes: *Caption*, and *Number of Images*. During the third round of coding, I coded all the photos for some the *Content* nodes: *Activity*, *Conflict*, *Event*, *State*, *Gender Interest*, *Gender Relationship*, *Human Subjects*, *Non-Human Subjects*, *Race Interest*, *Race Relationships*; and the remaining *Intertextuality* node: *Photo Repetition*. Finally, in the last round of coding I

⁷ The majority of the manual coding of the data in Nvivo took place in June/July 2015, with further coding taking place in October 2015 due to issues of access during data collection. Secondary coding for race and gender was completed in February 2016.

coded the *Visual Rhetoric* nodes: *Affect* and *Tropes*. Below I describe how I actually coded the data.

When coding in Nvivo there are multiple options for achieving the same result – a coded source. First of all, you can select multiple sources from a list and code them simultaneously, the downside of this being you cannot see the source you are coding. Thus, this method works best for information contained within the source file name, that is part of the *Technical Information* set of nodes: *date*, *publication language*, *publication state*, and *title*. *Pallet* can also be coded in this way by reviewing the photos in an external application, or on a separate device; similarly for the *number of images* node under the *Intertextuality* heading was coded by viewing the files on a separate device, noting the number of images contained in each file, and then coding them in bulk in Nvivo. To code the *Caption* node under the *Intertextuality* section I opened each individual photo file, transcribed each caption – where applicable – and coded it using a similar ‘select and left click’ process as I did during the bulk coding for the *Technical Information* nodes.

The second process of coding applies to all the nodes that I coded under *Content*, in the second round of coding. As during the coding of the captions, I opened each source individually. The opened sources occupy the right-hand pane of the Nvivo workspace. In the left-hand pane the coding dictionary – the project’s ‘nodes’ – are laid out in an expandable/collapsible list. When coding for each set of nodes I expanded the list and drag and dropped the photo into the one node to which it is most applicable. At times there are no applicable nodes in the set, so the photo is not coded at that node. For example, some photos do not contain any human subjects and therefore cannot be coded under that node. Or, it may not be possible in some sources to discern the race or gender of those in the photo.

At such times when coding the sources was challenging, Nvivo is useful because it allows for coding of data ‘in vivo.’ This refers to the practice of creating new nodes in which to code the source. However, coding ‘in vivo’ has some methodological consequences – particularly the risk that the new node created could have been more applicable to the data that has already been coded than the other codes. To mitigate this risk whenever a source was coded ‘in vivo’ in Nvivo a record was kept noting the date and time the new node was added. It should be noted that Nvivo does not allow duplicate nodes, so there is no risk of creating a new node for a node that already exists.

Another important coding challenge to note is that the nodes in the *Visual Rhetoric* section are highly susceptible to the ‘in vivo’ coding trap if not well planned out before hand. I combatted this by reviewing and editing the node structure of this section before the fourth round of coding. Basically, I finalized the list of nodes under *Visual Rhetoric* section prior to that round of coding by returning to the literature and reviewing the results from the first four rounds of coding.

4.4 Ethics

In social science research the category of ethics generally refers to the standards by which the behaviour of researchers is regulated by their institution. Often, “ethical problems in research arise from the tension between” the search for knowledge “and the rights and interests of the individuals and groups which may be affected” (Sumner 2006b: 96). The University of Ottawa only requires ethics approval from a Research Ethics Board in cases of research projects that involve human participants (Office of Research

Ethics and Integrity, University of Ottawa 2015). However, even in research that does not involve the direct participation of human subjects the researcher may still face ethical and legal considerations. When working with visual data one such consideration is best practices as regards copyright law.

4.4.1 Copyright

According to the Copyright Office of the University of Ottawa “copyright comprises a bundle of exclusive rights owned by the copyright holder. Its purpose is to protect content creators and owners, providing them with control over their work and the potential of a financial reward” (2015). All of the photographs used as data in this dissertation are protected by the copyright laws of the country of origin of the copyright holder – which may be the original photographer, or the publication. Through the World Trade Organization TRIPS treaty they are also covered under the Canadian Copyright Act (Canadian Intellectual Property Office, 2015).

The Act allows for the provision of fair dealing, wherein a copyrighted material may be used without the express permission of the copyright holder under a variety of specific conditions (see: Copyright Office, University of Ottawa, “Fair Dealing Guidelines” 2015). This dissertation meets at least two of these conditions. First, fair dealing covers all educational purposes including research, private study, and criticism. Second, fair dealing applies when the amount of copyrighted material taken from a single copyright holder is not ‘substantial,’ including the use of a) an entire artistic work, such as a photograph, from a copyrighted work containing other artistic works; and b) an entire newspaper article or page (Copyright Office, University of Ottawa, “Fair Dealing Guidelines” 2015). Thus, the data used in this dissertation falls under the provision for fair dealing in the Canadian Copyright Act. All of the copyrighted material under investigation may be reproduced for the committee in both physical and digital forms.

Conclusion

Working with visual data necessitates embracing methodological pluralism due to the non-linear, rhizomatic, and elusive nature of the power of images. Visual data work by “entrenching – or challenging – how we view, think of, and thus how we conduct politics” (Bleiker 2015: 885). In order to analyze the power of images to influence and construct the ‘conditions of possibility’ for politics this dissertation draws on, and combines, three methodological approaches: content analysis, discourse analysis, and semiotics. I draw inspiration from content analysis to answer the empirical question ‘what do war photographs show?’ by counting and analyzing the compositional elements that make up the data. I apply Foucauldian discourse analysis – by analyzing the power of meaning making through intertextuality – to address the interpretive research question ‘how do war photographs construct and perform the state?’ Throughout, I draw on semiotics to aid in the reading of signs and symbols in the data. The result is a visual discourse analysis that draws on both quantitative and qualitative tools to map the contemporary war photography landscape.

In the proceeding chapters I put the methodological tools described in this chapter to work. First, in chapter 5, I present a compositional content analysis of the data that combines quantitative descriptions with theoretical insights into the meaning of images’ content. Next, in chapter 6, I delve deeper into the complexities of meaning making and visibility by analyzing the intertextuality of the data. This is in an effort to consider the broader regime of representation upon which war photography rests. Finally in chapter 7,

I explore three common tropes used to construct the enemy other in the War on Terror, and contemplate the consequences of the prevalence of such tropes in contemporary war photography. Thus, in the chapters that follow I attempt to map how contemporary war photography as a genre of imagery both entrenches and challenges our view of war, and contemplate the conditions of possibility this visibility of war allows for geopolitics.

Chapter 5: Compositional Analysis of War Photographs

The compositional analysis of contemporary war photography aims to answer the primary empirical research question driving this dissertation: what do war photographs show? It does so by analyzing the results from the coding dictionary. This analysis is organized around three broad compositional elements: states and conflicts, which investigates how particular states and conflicts are visually represented in the data; activities and events, which discusses the actions and activities the subjects of the photographs are engaged in, as well as the larger context of those actions; and finally the compositional theme of subjectivity, which explores the intersections of masculinity, femininity, and racial otherness in the data.

Through the analysis of these three broad compositional elements, this chapter not only presents a quantitative picture of what contemporary war photography shows in its aggregate, it also demonstrates the representational practices of war photography by offering theoretical justifications and discussions of the sub-categories that make up the three broad compositional themes. In so doing, the below discussion enables the deeper exploration of the performative power of war photography in Chapter 6 on Intertextuality and Chapter 7 on Visual Rhetoric.

5.1 States and Conflicts

In order to map the contemporary war photography landscape it is necessary to numerically track the frequency of two key compositional elements: the states in which the photographs were taken, and the conflicts photographed. Tracking the states in which the photographs were taken gives an indication as to the main sites of contemporary conflict, whilst tracking the conflicts themselves allows for an exploration of which wars are given priority in print media. However, it also accomplishes more than this: tracking not only demonstrates which states and conflicts are given visual priority by Western media, but also how the dominant narrative of the civilized, democratic, West fighting just wars is performed and produced in and by Western media through sheer saturation of the visual culture.

In effect, the quantitative data presented below in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 offers support for the assumption that “throughout history, many of the world’s deadliest conflicts...have been frozen out of the mainstream media” (Harvey 2012). This neglect of visual coverage of some states and conflicts over others has been attributed to several factors including perceived political significance of a conflict to the audience in question, as well as the cultural and geographical proximity of the national identity of the publication providing coverage (Harvey 2012). Essentially, wars in which Western strategic geopolitical interests are not at stake receive far less visual coverage in Western media than other conflicts – thus, the conditions of possibility for geopolitical are narrowed to within the 1 or 2 ‘chosen’ conflicts visually represented by the media.

The concept of a ‘chosen’ state or conflict is linked to the media trend of focusing “attention on just one or two at a time of the twenty or thirty ongoing conflicts in the world” (Hawkins 2008: 51). The unifying characteristic of those 1 or 2 conflicts is the “direct participation of key Western countries,” particularly the United States, “or at the very least...very strong interest by such countries” (Hawkins 2008: 52). Stealth conflicts by contrast “are those whose very existence is absent from the collective consciousness”

(Hawkins 2008: 57). The data presented below reveals which states and conflicts appear as the ‘chosen’ ones in contemporary war photography.

5.1.1 States: Mapping Global Conflict

The introductory chapter of this dissertation offered a definition of the ‘state as ideology,’ and explained that this project is specifically interested in questioning how the social practice of war photography aids in the construction and performance of the liberal, democratic, capitalist state which lies at the heart of the progress narrative dominating international relations/International Relations. Here, in identifying the state as a compositional element in the data it is necessary to take a step back from this definition of the state and offer a narrower conceptualization of ‘states’ as entities *signified* by text. It is necessary, in other words, to accept ‘the state’ as an ideological construct whilst understanding that there exist practical entities called states/countries/nations signified by language.

The *signifiers* are the names of particular states, and through their inclusion in a war photograph caption a whole host of information is communicated: the physical geographical location of the photographed scene; the history of the particular state named; the possible culture and customs of the subjects depicted; and the civilizational level of those subjects – linked to the level of adherence to norms of human rights and cosmopolitan democratic ideals. As such, tracing the ‘state as signified’ in the data is an important facet of mapping the contemporary war photography landscape, particularly in conjunction with the compositional element ‘conflict.’ Indeed, it is not possible to decouple the *signifiers* for particular conflicts from the *signifiers* for the territorial entities wherein those conflicts take place.

Coding the data for which territorial state the photograph was taken in reveals which states are the main sites/sights of contemporary conflict. Unsurprisingly, Iraq and Afghanistan were the most frequently coded states in the data, making up 25.4% (489 images) and 17.3% (332 images) of the total data respectively. The third most frequently depicted state was the United States at 17.1% (328 images) despite there being no open conflict on American soil. This figure is explained by the inclusion of 9/11 as a compositional frame under the theme of conflict: 226 of the 259 images coded as 9/11 was taken in the United States. The fourth, and final, most frequently depicted state is Israel/Palestine with 74/115 images respectively; together they make up 9.8% of the total images. This finding is in line with the frequency of contemporary conflicts as the Arab-Israeli conflict makes up 11.8% of the total images. All of the states represented in the data are listed in table 3 below.

Table 1: Quantitative Analysis of Geographic Location of War Photos

State	# of Images	% of Total Data
Afghanistan	272	14.2%
Algeria	1	0.05%
Angola	1	0.05%
Azerbaijan	1	0.05%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	15	0.78%
Burma	4	0.21%
Cambodia	1	0.05%
Canada	28	1.46%
Central African Republic	1	0.05%
Chad	1	0.05%
Chechnya	15	0.78%
China	4	0.21%
Columbia	4	0.21%
Croatia	1	0.05%

Cuba	15	0.78%
Cyprus	1	0.05%
Democratic Republic of Congo	17	0.89%
Egypt	3	0.16%
France	10	0.52%
Georgia	6	0.31%
Germany	7	0.36%
Haiti	1	0.05%
India	4	0.21%
Iraq	393	20.5%
Israel	60	3.13%
Italy	2	0.1%
Ivory Coast	11	0.57%
Japan	5	0.26%
Jordan	6	0.31%
Kenya	3	0.16%
Korea	12	0.63%
Kosovo	6	0.31%
Kuwait	12	0.63%
Lebanon	45	2.34%
Liberia	8	0.42%
Libya	65	3.39%
Macedonia	3	0.16%
Mali	6	0.31%
Mexico	1	0.05%
Netherlands	2	0.1%
Nigeria	1	0.05%
Pakistan	39	2.03%
Palestine	97	5.05%
Papua New Guinea	1	0.05%
Philippines	1	0.05%
Poland	4	0.21%
Qatar	1	0.05%
Russia	9	0.47%
Rwanda	4	0.21%
Saudi Arabia	1	0.05%
Serbia	1	0.05%
Sierra Leone	7	0.36%
Somalia	15	0.78%
South Korea	3	0.16%
Spain	2	0.1%
Sri Lanka	7	0.36%
Sudan	13	0.68%
Syria	152	7.92%
Thailand	101	5.3%
Turkey	110	5.7%
Uganda	41	2.14%
United Kingdom	4	0.21%
United States	272	14.2%
Vietnam	7	0.36%
Yemen	5	0.26%
Unknown	213	11.1%

Table 1: Quantitative Analysis of Geographic Location of War Photos

The above data adds force to the argument that countries in which Western states have either direct involvement or a strategic interest are more frequently represented than those states where this is not the case. Iraq and Afghanistan are the two states in which the Western world has been the most militarily engaged over the past 15 years; 9/11 occurred on American soil; and since its creation in 1948 the state of Israel has been of paramount strategic importance to the United States. Since “priority coverage is...given to foreign situations in which the home country has a stake” (Hawkins 2008: 57) the fact that the four most frequently depicted states in the data are Iraq, Afghanistan, the United

States, and Israel/Palestine is unsurprising. The quantitative data on conflicts presented below further confirms these assumptions.

5.2.1 Conflicts: Past and Present

The compositional theme of conflict is broken down into two time frames, pre-2000 conflicts: those that both began and ended before the year 2000; and post-2000 conflicts: those that are ongoing or ended after the year 2000 – regardless of when they began. The results were typical, as expected post-2000 conflicts occurred the most frequently in the data. Only 65 images were coded as pre-2000 conflicts (3.38%), while 1651 images (86.03%) were coded as contemporary conflicts. 203 of the images were coded as being from unknown conflicts (10.57%). The logic behind this decision was to allow for the isolation of contemporary (post-2000) conflicts in order to demonstrate which conflicts are the most frequently depicted in Western print media and thus which conflicts are deemed the most important and worthy of coverage. The visualization of past conflicts is of little theoretical value for this dissertation as they make up such a small portion of the data. As such, the result of the pre-2000 conflict coding is provided below in table 2, but the main focus of this section is on the results of the coding for post-2000 conflicts – found below in table 3.

Table 2: Frequency of Pre-2000 Conflicts

pre-2000 Conflicts	# of Images	% of Category	% of Total Data
Armenia-Azerbaijan war (1988-1994)	1	1.5%	0.05%
Gulf War	5	7.7%	0.26%
Iran-Iraq War	3	4.6%	0.15%
Philippine-American War	1	1.5%	0.05%
Russian Civil War (1921-22)	1	1.5%	0.05%
Rwandan Genocide	4	6.2%	0.21%
The Troubles	2	3.1%	0.10%
Vietnam War	9	13.8%	0.47%
WWI	6	9.2%	0.31%
WWII	33	50.1%	1.72%
Category Total	65		

Table 2: Frequency of Past Conflicts

Table 3: Frequency of Post-2000 Conflicts

Post-2000 Conflicts	Number of Images	% of Category	% of Total Data
911	235	17%	12.2%
Afghanistan War	299	21.7%	15.6%
Angolan Civil war	1	0.07%	0.05%
Arab-Israeli Conflict	188	13.6%	9.8%
CAR Conflict	1	0.07%	0.05%
Chechen War	15	1.1%	0.78%
Columbian Conflict	4	0.29%	0.21%
Congo War	17	1.2%	0.89%
Eritrean-Ethiopian War	1	0.07%	0.05%
India-Pakistan	6	0.43%	0.31%
Internal conflict in Burma	4	0.29%	0.21%
Iraq War	425	30.8%	22.1%
Ivorian Civil War	11	0.8%	0.57%
Korean Conflict	16	1.16%	0.83%
Lebanon War	4	0.29%	0.21%
Liberian Civil war	7	0.51%	0.36%
Libyan Civil War	65	4.7%	3.4%
Northern Mali Conflict	6	0.43%	0.31%
Operation Vaksince	1	0.07%	0.05%
Russo-Georgian War	6	0.43%	0.31%
Rwandan Genocide	4	0.29%	0.21%
Sierra Leone Civil war	7	0.51%	0.36%

Somali Civil War	16	1.16%	0.83%
Sri Lankan Civil War	6	0.43%	0.31%
Sudan Civil War	14	1.01%	0.73%
Syrian Civil War	65	4.7%	3.39%
Syrian Occupation of Lebanon	2	0.14%	0.1%
Thai Political Protests (2010)	1	0.07%	0.05%
War on Terror	114	8.3%	5.9%
Yugoslav War(s)	27	1.96%	1.4%
Category Total	1380		

Table 3: Frequency of Post-2000 Conflicts

The most frequently depicted contemporary conflicts were by far the wars in Iraq (547 images, 28.5% of the total) and Afghanistan (365 images, 19.02% of the total) followed by the Arab-Israeli Conflict (228 images, 11.88%) and the War on Terror (134, 6.98%). Interestingly, the one single event of 9/11 comprised 13.5% of all total images (259) – a figure that lends credence to arguments about that particular event’s impact on visual culture. The least frequently depicted contemporary conflicts are as follows: the Angolan Civil War, the CAR conflict, and the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict, with only one image each. The breakdown of the frequency of contemporary conflicts is available above in table 3, which shows both the raw numbers for each conflict and their percentages of the total images.

These figures demonstrate that contemporary war photography in Western print media gives precedence to conflicts in which Western states are involved, particularly to conflicts in which the United States is directly involved.⁸ The result being that “our perception of the state of conflict in the world is distorted such that while we are overly focused on certain conflicts (which are comparatively minor in scale), the majority of conflicts are almost entirely hidden from our view” (Hawkins 2008: 7). Furthermore, these findings demonstrate that conflict intensity and severity (in terms of total deaths and displacements) does not dictate scale of media coverage.

The African continent is the geographical region that has been most affected by conflict in the post-Cold War era, but as the above data shows African conflicts remain barely represented in Western media. The Congo War (alone responsible for an estimated 5.4 million deaths) and the Sudanese Civil War (including the War in Darfur, responsible for an estimated 2 million deaths) are African conflicts post-2000 that stand out as “examples of some of the world’s most deadly conflicts...virtually ignored by...Western media” (Hawkins 2008: 10). This is despite high profile Western-backed United Nations peacekeeping mission in both conflicts, suggesting that the type of Western involvement in a conflict is also an important factor in its photographic coverage. The next section deals with tracing said military involvement, but tracking the compositional theme Events and Activities: the actions captured by war photography.

5.2 Events and Activities

The compositional theme of Events and Activities covers the actual actions depicted in the photographs. The full version of the coding dictionary, found below in Appendix A, includes all the sub-categories that make up these compositional themes – not all of which are included in this analysis due to time and space constraints. Instead of including all the sub-categories, this section focuses on those sub-themes that hold particular symbolic/theoretical/ideological value: Death; POWs/Detainees; Tools of

⁸ Recent conflicts that began near the end of the study’s temporal parameters are likely to have featured prominently in Western print media in the years after this study ended (2013-present). This includes both the Libyan and Syrian civil wars, which began in 2011 and are still ongoing, they make up 4.4% (85 images) and 4.2% (82 images) of the total data respectively.

War/Troops at Work; Humanitarianism; and Non-Military Casualties. Below, each of these sub-themes is theorized, followed by a breakdown of the frequency of their constituent codes and a discussion of the implications of their visibility. Events and Activities are what give war photographs meaning beyond their territorial signifiers discussed above in section 5.1. The frequency of the visualizations of these core sub-categories across the data make up another piece of the puzzle of the dominant regime of representation of war and conflict in Western society.

5.2.1 Death

Death is a fundamental part of war; its occurrence is necessary to say that a war has taken place – that is, “the taking of human life [is] the primary and dominant characteristic of war” (Small and Singer 1982: 205-206). Indeed, some definitions of war rest on the quantification of a particular number of deaths.⁹ The quantification of death in war is of less concern here than is the quantification and analysis of the depiction of death in contemporary war photography. The publishing of photographs of death is subject to the media economy of ‘taste and decency’ discussed above in chapter 3. This economy regulates the visualization of violent death in mainstream media, particularly the violent death of ‘our own’ (Zelizer 2005). Thus, the compositional frame of ‘death’ reveals the representational practices around the showing of death in war photography. It also demonstrates which conflicts are most associated with death images. The purpose of such coding is to explore the assertions that sanitized images of conflict are the norm, that militaries have a strong aversion to the publication of death images, and that taste and decency are two criteria invoked by media when deciding on whether or not to publish death images.

Due to the force of the media economy of taste and decency, the occurrence of death photos in the data was expected to be low, an expectation confirmed through the coding and subsequent analysis presented here. Of the total 1919 images that make up this study only 120 images (6.25%) are death images, which seems to uphold the assertion the mainstream media avoid the publication of death images. Of these images: 26 are from the Iraq War, 19 are from the war in Afghanistan, and 18 are from the Arab-Israeli Conflict. The most frequent representational practices of death images are the transportation of dead bodies (30 images), lone dead bodies (23 images), funeral processions (17 images), gathered dead bodies (17), and finally skeletal or decomposing human remains (15 images). The coding results from this category are reproduced below in *table 4*. The implications of the death category is further discussed below in section 5.3.1 in the section on Race and War Photography, as the media economy of taste and decency that regulates the publication of death images is highly racialized.

Table 4: Quantitative Analysis of Death Images

Death code	# of images	% of category	% of total data
Transporting dead body	21	21%	1.09%
Dead body	20	20%	1.04%
Gathered dead	16	16%	0.83%
Funeral procession	14	14%	0.73%
Human remains	13	13%	0.68%
Death scene	8	8%	0.42%
Mass grave	5	5%	0.26%
Individual grave	2	2%	0.10%
Burial-reburial	1	1%	0.05%

⁹ The Correlates of War project defines war as “sustained combat, involving organized armed forces, resulting in a minimum of 1,000 battle related fatalities...within a twelve month period” (Sarkees 2010: 1).

Category total	100		5.2%
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Table 4: Quantitative Analysis of Death Images

5.2.2 Non-Military Casualties

Like the sub-categories ‘tools of war’ and ‘troops at work’ discussed below, the sub-category of ‘non-military casualties’ (NMC) depict scenes stereotypically associated with war photography – the fallout and consequences of war for civilian populations. It should be noted that NMC is both distinct, yet related, to the ‘death’ and ‘humanitarian’ sub-categories. NMC are separate from death photographs in that the human subjects depicted are frequently (although not always) still alive – this was a strategic choice made while coding the data in order to make identifying and analyzing the prevalence of death images more feasible. As regards the humanitarian sub-category discussed below, what separates those photos from the photos of NMC is their rhetorical framing. While humanitarian framed war photographs employ the liberal humanist rhetoric described above, the photographs coded as NMC are more ambiguous in their affective logic. While some aim to provoke empathy and compassion, many more support a narrative of blame, responsibility, and consequence. A ‘look at what *those* people are capable of’ attitude, or a ‘this is what happens when you mess with us’ narrative.

Of course, these narratives can never be completely separated from the civilizational discourses that underpin all of the sub-categories discussed in this chapter. They still rely on the foundational logic of ‘us’/‘them’ and ‘friend’/‘enemy.’ What is interesting to consider here is how the blame and responsibility for non-military casualties is constructed. There is often an assumption that the media shy away from publishing graphic photographs of the havoc wrecked in war – the so-called ‘taste and decency’ economy discussed above in Chapter 3. But to what extent does this apply to the ‘other side?’ Below, the analysis of NMC considers this question first by describing the prevalence of these types of photographs in the data, and then by cross-referencing the sub-category’s constituent codes with the data coded by combat typology.

Photographs of non-military casualties make up 26.4% of the total data (507 images). This makes it one of the most prominent ‘Event/Activity’ codes in the data, surpassed only by the sub-category ‘troops at work.’ As demonstrated below in table 8, the two most prevalent codes of the NMC sub-category are ‘civilians post-attack’ and ‘destroyed property.’ As with all of the data, this category does suffer from the skewing effect of including the event of 9/11, over 40% of the sub-category (217 images) are from that single event.

Table 5: Frequency of Images of Non-Military Casualties

Non-Military Casualties Codes	# of images	% of category	% of total data
Civilians Post-Attack	257	50.6%	13.4%
Destroyed Monuments	10	1.97%	0.52%
Destroyed Property	216	42.6%	11.3%
Hostages	3	0.59%	0.15%
Injured Child	27	5.32%	1.40%
Category Total	507		26.4%

Table 5: Frequency of Images of Non-Military Casualties

The media economy of taste and decency leads one to assume that editors frequently pass over for publication those photographs that show the graphic consequences of war and conflict. However, this seems to be the case primarily when the photographs show violent death or dismemberment – photographs of shock, grief and

emotional fall out, or the destruction of property such as homes and buildings, do not appear to arouse the same censure. Similarly, the prevalence of photos of NMC in the data may also be attributed to the media economy of indifference, wherein photos of casualties who are not ‘we’ are considered more appropriate for publication. This is reflected in the data: NMC photos, when queried by conflict of origin, are primarily from outside the West (with the noted exception of 9/11). Of course, this is largely due to the fact that Western civilian populations are highly insulated against the violent consequences of the contemporary wars waged on their behalf. Barring the exception of high profile terrorist attacks, Western civilian populations suffer far less than their counterparts who live in the active war zones of the Global War on Terror – particularly the civilian populations of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Israel/Palestine. Together, these three conflict zones account for 184 of the 507 NMC images. Table 9 below lists the top six conflicts in the data by order of the number of NMC images from greatest to least.

Table 6: Number of Non-Military Casualty Images by Conflict

Conflict	Number of NMC Images
9/11	217
Arab-Israeli Conflict	93
Iraq War	62
Afghanistan War	29
Libyan Civil War	17
Syrian Civil War	13

Table 6: Number of Non-Military Casualties by Conflict

Just as cross-referencing the data coded at NMC with those coded by conflict of origin, cross-referencing them by the typology of the combat they depict also yields interesting results. Of the 507 images showing NMC, 432 were also coded according to their combat typology, a brief explanation of these codes is warranted. Six combat typologies are listed in table 10 below: chemical weapons attack, civil unrest, conventional, post-attack, terrorist attack, and WMD attack. The first and last categories are self-explanatory. The category civil unrest includes photos of demonstrations and violent protest – such as stone throwing and rioting. The category conventional includes all those photos that feature damage caused by the use of conventional weapons: tanks, fighter jets, helicopters, artillery, small arms, etc. The category ‘post-attack’ is used to delineate between damages caused through the use of conventional weapons and those caused by the use of improvised weapons such as IEDs, car bombs, suicide bombers, etc. Frequently, these photos are of small-scale insurgent and ‘terrorist’ attacks, and thus they are separated from the category ‘terrorist attack’ which was reserved in the coding for large-scale events such as 9/11.

Table 7: Non-Military Casualty and Combat Typology Matrix

	Combat Typology:	chemical weapons attack	civil unrest	conventional	post-attack	terrorist attack	WMD attack
Non-Military Casualties:	431	4	2	108	22	294	3
civilians post-attack	227	3	0	56	14	156	0
destroyed property	195	0	0	48	5	141	3
hostages	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
injured child	14	1	2	8	3	0	0

Table 7: Non-Military Casualty and Combat Typology Matrix

The two most frequently depicted combat typologies that produced images of NMC are the use of conventional weapons, and terrorist attacks. However, once adjusted for the '9/11 effect' it is clear that conventional weapons produce far more photos of non-military casualties. In this respect, the data is reflective of 'reality' in the sense that there are ample logical reasons to assume that small arms and conventional weapons cause much more devastation in the aggregate than do large scale terrorist attacks. And yet, the rhetoric of the 'terrorist threat' remains popular in national security discourses. Perhaps this is because those who are maimed and killed by conventional weapons, whose homes, schools and cultural materials are destroyed by conventional weapons, are not 'we' but are the enemy 'other.'

5.2.3 POWs/Detainees

The sub-category of POWs/Detainees is dichotomous – on the one hand it traces the depiction of 'prisoners of war,' a category infused with assumed legitimacy. To be a prisoner of war one must first be a soldier in a legitimate, state sanctioned, military. The category of hostage also fits into this discourse – hostages may be members of the media, NGO workers, missionaries, diplomats, or even tourists, but never fighters or soldiers, and rarely local civilians.¹⁰ On the other hand, detainees are 'the enemy,' 'the other,' members of illicit or illegitimate fighting units – what the United States congress legislated as 'unlawful combatants' in 2006. Both sides of the POW/Detainee coin follow their own narrative logics.

Photographs of prisoners of war and western hostages follow the logic of the 'captivity narrative,' which is amongst the oldest myths in American popular culture (Lule 1995: 199). In the captivity narrative, brave and valiant soldiers or pious, self-sacrificing settlers/missionaries fall "into temporary bondage and torment at the hands of the evil one" (Lule 1995: 199). As a narrative, it took hold in the American and European popular imagination through "the New World's portrayal of the Indians' threat" (Lule 1995: 199).¹¹ For anyone who has seen an old Warner Bros. cartoon, or an old black and white Western movie, this narrative is easily recognizable – the (white) damsel in distress tied to the train tracks by 'Indians,' narrowly escaping through the valiant efforts of the (white) hero.

As innocuous as such an example may seem, the captivity narrative has had, and continues to have, real political consequences for millions of Native American Indians and aboriginal and indigenous peoples in Canada. In the United States this took the form of organized campaigns of mass slaughter. In Canada aboriginal peoples were forced onto reserves, while their children were sent to residential schools and forced to abandon their culture, often enduring horrific physical, sexual and emotional abuse. All of this was in an effort to neutralize their perceived threat to the white European settlers. As such, the "captivity narrative [is an] enduring drama" (Lule 1995: 199) – it continues to feed fears of 'the other' that perpetually result in violent efforts to colonize, control, and dominate peoples around the globe in the name of security, democracy, and of course 'freedom.'

The category of detainee, or unlawful combatant, follows a not altogether different narrative logic of that of the POW/hostage captivity narrative. Again, the

¹⁰ However, it should be noted the category of 'hostage' was coded under the sub-category of 'Non-Military Casualties' – comprising a total of only 3 images, all of which feature Western journalists held hostage in the Middle East.

¹¹ Of course, in this quote the name 'Indian' refers to the aboriginal peoples of North America, presently known as 'North American Indians' in the United States and by various individual identifying names in Canada (the most acceptable collective term being 'aboriginal and indigenous' peoples rather than the far more common, and derogatory, name 'natives').

relationship is dichotomous – drawn along the lines of civilized/barbarous, modern/savage, us/them, and self/other. This civilizational narrative, like the progress narrative discussed in chapter 1, rests on the assumption that the “states in the Global North are always inevitably further along on the scale of progress regarding democracy, freedom,” peace, and security than are “states in the Global South” (Patil and Purkayastha 2015). This narrative helps to justify western intervention in other states, and was long used as the rationale for European colonialism. Thus, the detainee is not afforded the same civilized, and thus legitimate status, as the POW or hostage. Lack of affiliation to a properly recognized modern state military apparatus relegates the detainee to a status of something less than human – a body to be restrained, captured, held, hooded, and humiliated. A mind to be broken and picked clean of relevant information – ‘intelligence’ gathered to ensure the security of the properly civilized, and by extension the state which grants proper humanity.

The purpose of tracing the compositional sub-frame of ‘prisoners-detention’ is to reveal how, when and where various categories of prisoners, detainees, unlawful combatants, and POWs are represented in contemporary war photography. Particularly in light of the impact had by several high profile media stories such as that of Private Jessica Lynch, and the Abu Ghraib prisoner ‘abuse’ (torture) scandal. As the discussion below in section 5.3.1 highlights, many of the practices of representation of POWs and detainees intersect with the compositional frames of race. The line between who counts as a POW in western media, and who is a detainee or unlawful combatant rests on the dichotomy of self/other that is at the heart of international relations – in both practice and theory (Walker 1993). In particular these photographs work to uphold and envision colonial relations of power, and influence our understandings of the nature of prisoners of war.

The compositional sub-frame of ‘prisoners-detention’ included the following codes: Abu Ghraib, arrest-detainment, capture-surrender, detainees, escape tunnel, internment camp, prison, prisoners, and war criminality. As a whole, this category made up only 6.4% of the data (123 images). Unsurprisingly, given its high media profile, 31 of those images (25% of the category) were of the torture at Abu Ghraib. The most frequently coded sub-categories were ‘arrest-detainment’ at 26 images and ‘capture-surrender’ at 23 images, together they make up 39.8% of the category. The majority of those images depict young Arab men being arrested by armed troops or police officers. The next most frequently coded sub-categories were that of ‘prisoners’ and ‘detainees’ at 20 images and 8 images respectively (22.7% of the category total).¹² These images mainly feature those who have been arrested/detained or capture/surrendered being held and guarded. The frequency of all of the POW and detainee codes can be found in *table 5* below.

Table 8: Quantitative Analysis of Prisoner-Detention Images

Prisoner-Detention Code	# of images	% of category	% of total data
Abu Ghraib	26	25.7%	1.35%
Arrest-detainment	21	20.7%	1.09%
prisoners (POW) ¹³	18 (4)	17.8%	0.94%
Capture-surrender	15	14.9%	0.78%
Detainees	8	7.9%	0.42%

¹² Upon closer analysis the codes ‘arrest-detainment’ and ‘capture-surrender’; and the codes ‘prisoners’ and ‘detainees’, each should have been merged, not coded separately.

¹³ It must be noted here that an oversight while coding the data resulted in the distinct category of ‘prisoner of war’ not being individually coded, but rather was included in the category of ‘prisoners.’ However, by completing a text query of the terms ‘POW’ and ‘prisoner of war’ it is possible to quantify the number of images of POWs: only 4 images were returned using this query.

prison	8	7.9%	0.42%
Escape tunnel	2	1.98%	0.10%
War criminality	2	1.98%	0.10%
Internment camp	1	0.99%	0.05%
Category total	101		5.3%

Table 8: Quantitative Analysis of Prisoner-Detention Images

5.2.5 Tools of War/Troops at Work

The compositional sub-categories ‘tools of war’ and ‘troops at work’ cover the stuff most stereotypically associated with war photography – the materials used to wage war: machines, weaponry, and people. Past analyses of pictorial coverage of “American military interventions in the Middle East...indicate a highly restricted pattern of depiction limited largely to a discourse of military technological power and response” (Griffin 2004: 383). That is, they focus on depictions of the superiority of Western weapons and logistics technology. This coverage propagates the myth of Western “providential supremacy” whilst simultaneously promoting “an impression of on-the-ground, first-hand recording of events” (Griffin 2004: 383). The expansion of the embedded journalist program throughout the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have helped to make this discourse the most prominent one in studies of media coverage of war.

The first category ‘tools of war’ (166 images) is made up of the following sub-category codes ‘aircraft,’ ‘equipment and kit,’ ‘gas masks,’ ‘helicopters,’ ‘machinery,’ ‘munitions,’ ‘naval vessels,’ ‘tanks,’ and ‘weaponry.’ These photographs primarily focus on the physical materials each category is named for, and rarely include human subjects. The second, ‘troops at work’ (491 images) is made up primarily of groups of soldiers or fighters of three or more. It includes the following sub-categories: ‘awaiting orders,’ ‘breaking camp,’ ‘clearing landmines,’ ‘encampments,’ ‘movement-convoy,’ ‘officer(s),’ ‘on patrol,’ ‘parachuting,’ ‘troops in field,’ ‘troops on guard,’ and ‘troops on parade.’ Together these two compositional frames make up 34.2% of the total 1919 photographs, demonstrating that photographs featuring aspects of active war waging by militaries feature prominently in the genre of war photography. It also demonstrates that despite discourses of technological prowess – discussed in more detail in chapter 6 – photographs that feature human agents engaged in war waging are 2.9 times more prevalent in the data than images that focus mainly on technological machinery and weaponry. The frequency of each of the subcategories listed above is presented in table 6 below.

Table 9: Quantitative Analysis of Tools of War Images

Tools of War Code	# of images	% of category	% of total
Tank	41	27.5%	2.14%
Weaponry	38	25.5%	1.98%
Aircraft	21	14.1%	1.09%
Helicopters	16	10.7%	0.83%
Naval vessels	15	10.1%	0.78%
Munitions	8	5.4%	0.42%
Gas masks	4	2.7%	0.21%
Machinery	4	2.7%	0.21%
Equipment and kit	2	1.34%	0.10%
Category total	149		7.76%

Table 9: Quantitative Analysis of Tools of War Images

The compositional frame of ‘troops at work’ makes up a quarter (25.6%) of all the data coded. This frame traces how troops, including fighters with no legitimate state affiliation, are represented in contemporary war photography focusing primarily on what sorts of activities these subjects are depicted as engaged in. Most of these photographs

(234, 12.1% of total data and 47.6% of the category) show ‘troops in field’ – fighters, of any sort, actively engaged in the processes of war waging such as: combat maneuvers, firefights, and house-to-house searches. The next most frequent categories are ‘troops on patrol’ (63, 12.8% of category), ‘troops on guard’ (52, 10.6%), officer(s) (40, 8.1%) and ‘movement-convoy’ (39, 7.9%). All of this suggests that when soldiers are the subjects of photographs they are likely to be shown in action, and that action is frequently troops engaged in conventional urban warfare, the data is laid out in table 7 below.

Table 10: Quantitative Analysis of Troops at Work

Troops at work codes	# of images	% of category	% of total data
Troops in field	189	48.2%	9.85%
On patrol	52	13.3%	2.71%
Troops on guard	41	10.5%	2.14%
Officer(s) working or touring site	32	8.16%	1.67%
Movement-convoy	31	7.9%	1.62%
Troops on parade	23	5.87%	1.2%
Awaiting orders	8	2.04%	0.42%
Encampments	7	1.79%	0.36%
Clearing landmines	6	1.53%	0.31%
Breaking camp	2	0.51%	0.10%
parachuting	1	0.26%	0.05%
Category total	392		20.43%

Table 10: Quantitative Analysis of Troops at Work

5.2.6 Humanitarian Framing of War Photographs

The sub-category of humanitarianism has already been addressed above in Chapter 2 when reviewing the critical IR literature on visibility, and again below in Chapter 6 in the discussions of intertextuality. Whilst humanitarian photography may be said to stand outside war photography, this dissertation insists that the two genres overlap in many instances. This is particularly so when military interventions are justified through the logic of liberal humanism – employing the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ rhetoric. This occurs when “news framings of liberation and humanitarian ‘rescue’” show encounters between “local people and...military invaders/liberators” (Parry 2011: 1186). Such images are infused with a humanitarian interventionist rhetoric that is “formulated around notions of a shared compassion and empathy for a distant other” (Butler 2009: 11). However, as noted throughout this dissertation, such rhetoric is problematic in the sense that the “universalist message of liberal humanism” that supports them “is undercut...by the fact that powerless subjects (‘them’) are routinely photographed and viewed by the socially powerful (‘us’)” (Rosler 1989: 307). With this in mind, this dissertation takes seriously the concern “that under the premise of invoking compassion and concern” war photographs employing a humanitarian frame “can perform as effective political props” and may even serve “to legitimate the necessity for war” (Parry 2011: 1188). The analysis below explored the prevalence of such photographs in the data.

The humanitarian code is made up of the following sub-category codes: ‘refugee camp,’ ‘refugees,’ ‘food/medical aid,’ ‘hospital,’ ‘evacuation,’ and ‘school.’ Tracing this compositional frame explores how and when war is represented as a humanitarian crisis in contemporary war photography. As mentioned above, humanitarian crisis photography is a genre in its own right, separate and distinct from war photography. There is a rich literature dedicated to exploring the symbiotic relationship between photojournalism and humanitarian disasters – some of which is covered above in chapters 2 and 3. In short,

much of the literature agrees with the position that the rhetoric of humanitarian intervention dovetails “with the ideals of a liberal humanism for which socially concerned photography has been alternately praised and scorned” (Parry 2011: 1188). When such humanitarian visuality is incorporated into war photography the result is a visual discourse with the power to produce particular types of subjects. This production often follows racial and gendered narratives of who counts as a victim of war.

As a compositional frame, humanitarian photography does make up a significant portion of the total data: 240 images, representing one-eighth of all data coded. Unsurprisingly, the most frequently coded sub-categories under humanitarianism were ‘refugee camp’ followed by ‘refugees.’ The third most frequently coded sub-category was that of either food or medical aid, followed by pictures of hospitals, pictures of people being evacuated from their homes, and finally pictures of schools. A quantitative break down of the humanitarian codes is found in *table 11* below.

Table 11: Quantitative Analysis of Humanitarian Images

Humanitarian Codes	# of images	% of category	% of total data
Refugee camp	73	30.4%	3.8%
Refugees	71	29.6%	3.7%
Food or medical aid	39	16.3%	2.03%
Hospitals	25	10.4%	1.3%
Evacuation	22	9.2%	1.15%
Schools	10	4.1%	0.52%
Category total	240		12.5%

Table 11: Quantitative Analysis of Humanitarian Images

5.3 Subjectivity: Race and Gender in War Photography

The compositional theme of subjectivity covers the ways in which the human subjects who appear in war photographs are produced. This production involves the complex interplay of textual signifiers in the photograph caption, visual traces of physical traits in the photographs, and powerful systems of social knowledge behind the photographs. Just as the phenomenon of war requires “the dichotomy of friends and foes, of perpetrators and victims, of those who act and those who suffer” (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 336) so do all social interactions taking place within the discourses of raced and gendered hierarchies.

By tracking and tracing the sub-categories of race and gender in the data it is possible to demonstrate what many gender studies researchers have already established: “that women are most often shown as victims of war and suffering from its consequences, while men have a much more active role in the media’s narratives” (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 339). Similarly, by coding for race and analyzing the results this projects shows how “the justification for...war is given by the rich portrayal of the [raced] ‘other’ against which military action is directed” (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 340). Similarly, the analysis reveals that the ‘self’ this ‘other’ is pitted against is most frequently white and male. These dynamics are explored in more detail below following theoretical engagements with the concepts of race and gender.

5.3.1 Race and War Photography

This analysis follows a discursive definition of race, wherein real physical racial “differences exist in the world” – skin colour, bone structure, and hair texture – “but what matter are the systems of thought and language we use to make sense of these differences” (Jhally 1996). This involves a rejection of two fundamental, and opposing,

positions on race. On the one hand, the poststructuralist/discursive positions on race outlined above rejects the *realist* position on race, which insists that there are “real *genetic* differences [that] are the basis for racial classification” (Jhally 1996, emphasis added) – while accepting that *outward* physical differences do exist. On the other hand, the discursive approach also rejects the purely *textual* position, which insists that “there are no real differences between ‘races’” – even though there are clear and obvious physical differences between humans – and that the only differences are those “created by humans in language and culture” (Jhally 1996). In short, the discursive position on race insists that it functions as a commonsense code in society, categorizing individuals on the basis of their outward appearance.

This classification and categorizing is a fundamental human impulse. Classification serves to produce meaning. It is not until something is “classified...in different ways” that “meaning is generated” (Jhally 1996). Racism and issues of racial domination occur when these “systems of classification become the objects of the disposition of power” (Jhally 1996). Thus, race is a classification based on real physical differences, as realists insist – although the genetic component of those differences are inconsequential – and, as textual adherents insist, racial differences are created by culture and language, which are tied to the power and exclusion produced by racial classification (Jhally 1996). Therefore, the discursive position is one that accepts, if only partially, the claims of both the realist and textual positions on race. According to the discursive position, the power and exclusion of racism and racial privilege/domination results from the constitution of a “system of equivalences” between the realist and textual positions – “a system of equivalences between nature and culture” which is “the function of race as a signifier” (Jhally 1996). As such, one can judge from a person’s outward physical sign (race) what that person will feel, how they think, the aesthetic value of their art, and their intelligence level (culture). Which, of course, is erroneous and wherefore racism arises (Jhally 1996).

The race codes used in the content analysis rely on the reading of both physical and textual signs. The physical signs upon which the codes depend include skin color, hair texture, bone structure, and clothing. Textually, the race codes rely on photograph captions that name the race, ethnicity, or nationality of the subjects. Of course, this coding is problematic – one is not always able to read the physical signs of race from a black and white photo. Some racial classifications that wield great exclusionary power in society – such as classifications of indigenous people in North and South America, and the classification of Latino people as a multi-racial cultural category based on language in the United States, are not always readable from physical or textual signs. These complexities necessarily lead to a simplification in the data coding. However, as evinced by the quantitative breakdown below, contemporary war photography is not particularly racially diverse.

As stated, the coding of race in the data relied on both physical signs such as skin colour, and textual signs such as caption descriptions. This resulted in seven racial codes: ‘Arab,’ ‘White’ (with separate sub-categories for Latino people from North and South America, and Israeli people),¹⁴ ‘Central Asian’ (including Turkish, Kurdish, Iranian,

¹⁴ In the context of this coding it is necessary here to recognize the problematic nature of coding Latino peoples from North and South America as ‘white.’ This is particularly important given the current anti-immigration political climate in the United States. As an ethnic identity ‘Latino’ covers multiple racial categories and is only discernible in the data through the analysis of linguistic signifiers

Afghani, and Pakistani people), ‘Black’ (including African and African American sub-codes), and ‘Asian’ (including Indian and other South Asian people). Not all of the photographs were clear enough to read physical racial signs 237 images included human subjects but were not coded at race (12.4% of the total data), and 161 of the images included no human subject (8.34%) – thus, over 20% of the data (398 images) were not coded for race. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the two most prevalent racial codes are Arab (563 images, 29.3% of the data) and white, including white Israeli (572 images, 29.8% of the data) – the two raced ‘civilizational’ categories supposedly pitted against each other in the War on Terror (Huntington 1993: 72). Of course, the civilizational discourse is highly problematic, as is the discursive politics of racial categorization itself.

Table 12: Quantitative Analysis of Race

Race Code	Number of Images	% of Total Data
Arab	563	29.3%
White	515	26.8%
Central Asian	206	10.7%
Black (African)	104	5.4%
White (Israeli/Latino)	57	3%
Asian	42	2.2%
Black (African American)	34	1.8%
Total Coded at Race	1521	79.3%
Human subjects not coded at race	237	12.4%
Absent human subjects	161	8.34%

Table 12: Quantitative Analysis of Race

In order to consider how race is performed in war photography, it is necessary to unpack the data supplied above in table 11. This involves not only considering the raw numbers of differently raced subject, as done above, but also involves the breaking down of different subject categories by their coding for race. Exploring the coding frequency of the two sub-categories Death, and POWs/Detainees in terms of their coding for race gives an indication of how contemporary war photography in Western media positions differently raced subjects.

Race and Death in War Photography

As discussed above, two opposing forces govern the photographic representation of death in news media: ‘taste and decency’ and ‘indifference.’ The media economy of taste and decency is self-regulatory – news editors may choose to exclude graphic representations of death in order to spare viewers the trauma of seeing such images. As a mode of self-regulation, the economy of taste and decency may also be deployed strategically to protect the state. That is, media may avoid publishing photographs of dead soldiers so as not to erode support for a foreign intervention. This self-censorship is often traced back to the Vietnam era, when it was believed that media reports showing the repatriation of dead soldiers eroded public support for the war.

Indeed, since that time “governments have gone to considerable lengths to make [death] images, and the reactions they provoke, difficult to come by” (Campbell 2004: 59). As discussed above in section 5.2.1, this explains the relative lack of death images in the dataset. It also helps to explain the distribution of racial codes in the death image sub-category, as found in table 12 below.

Table 13: Race and Death Matrix

Racial Category	Number of Death Images
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such as first and last names, state identifiers, etc. Thus, the coding for the Latino sub-category may not truly reflect the real data. This difficulty echoes the theoretical position on race put forward in his dissertation – namely that race is a ‘floating signifier.’

African	5
African-American	0
Arab	44
Asian	1
Central Asian	11
White (Israeli/Latino)	39 (4/11)

Table 13: Race and Death Matrix

There are over 50% more death images involving ‘non-white’ subjects than White subjects. In the 39 photos depicting death that include white subjects, the dead are not generally shown – rather, they are represented by flag-draped coffins, or they are the mourners and not the dead themselves which are largely hidden from view. In the rare instances where white dead bodies are shown (particularly soldiers), their faces are not visible.

On the other hand, “the economy of indifference to others...especially others who are culturally, racially, and spatially foreign...” can work to override the economy of taste and decency in some respects. This means that when it comes to people who are not “one of us...[who] live far away or have no names or cultural commonalities” (Zelizer 2005: 30) it is much more acceptable to publish graphic images of their death, or the aftermath of their death (particularly when ‘we’ are not responsible for it) – a prime example being the publication of graphic images of skeletal remains from Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, when the faces of the dead are shown they are much more likely to be of racial others, such as those coded as ‘Arab’ or ‘Central Asian.’

However, despite the influence of the economy of indifference, the economy of taste and decency still reigns supreme. Thus, no matter the racial code of the subjects’ depicted, certain types of war photographs tend not to be shown by the media as frequently as other types. Photographs such as those depicting “human devastation...military casualties, battles gone badly, [and] wounded or captured soldiers” are often eschewed in favor of those that depict “one’s own war...as clean, heroic, and just, with images limited to those that are consonant with prevailing sentiments about the war” (Zelizer 2005: 31). Such images “tend to reflect themes of patriotism, civic responsibility, and the good of the nation-state” (Zelizer 2005: 31). Thus, while death images are not completely excised from the photographic record, images of ‘their’ (the racial, spatial, cultural other) deaths are more frequent than images of ‘our’ death.

Race and The Prisoner Motif

The prisoner motif in war photography, like the sub-category of death, is drawn largely along lines of racial otherness. As mentioned briefly in section 5.2.2 above, the majority of the images in the dataset that involve prisoners and detention depict young Arab men. Table 13 gives a fuller breakdown to the racial distribution of the POWs/detainee sub-category.

Table 14: Race and Prisoner-Detention Matrix

	Prisoners-Detention	Abu Ghraib	arrest-detainment	capture-surrender	detainees	escape tunnel	internment camp	interrogation	prison	prisoners	war criminality
Race	109	29	23	23	7	1	2	0	2	19	3
African	8	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
African-American	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Arab	80	25	21	11	7	1	2	0	0	13	0
Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Central	11	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0

Asian											
Israeli	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
White	29	7	9	3	0	0	2	0	2	5	1

Table 14: Race and Prisoner Matrix

As indicated in the table above, over 70% of the photos in the dataset showing prisoners are made up of human subjects coded as ‘Arab.’ Indeed, ‘non-Western’ racial codes combined makes up a full 83% of the images showing prisoners or detainees.

To contextualize the quantitative data above further, of the 41 images that do include subjects coded as ‘white/Israeli’ and ‘African-American’ (Western) in the POWs/detainee sub-category only 6 show Western subjects as those being detained or held prisoner – this includes 2 of Jewish people being arrested by Nazis in WWII. All of the other images show Western subjects (primarily ‘white’ people) as guards, soldiers, and/or police officers. By contrast, 2 of the ‘African’ photos show those subjects as guards, along with 6 coded as ‘Central Asian’ and 8 coded as ‘Arab.’ Taken in their aggregate, it is clear that in this dataset racial others are overwhelmingly constructed as ‘prisoners’ or ‘detainees,’ while those coded as Western (white/Israeli/African-American) appear as guards and other authority figures.

5.3.2 Masculinity and Femininity in War Photography

This analysis understands gender in the same way that it understands race – as a socio-historical, discursive construct. While second-wave feminism in the mid-to-late twentieth century was marked by the radical distinction between biological sex and the social sex roles that make up gender, poststructuralist positions in third-wave feminism reject the sex/gender distinction (Carter 2011: 365). The sex/gender distinction becomes increasingly problematic when faced with the empirical reality of transgender, intersex, and non-binary individuals – people who’s outward biological sex does not match their gender identity, people who are born with part or all of both male and female biological sex organs, and people whose identity and physical outward appearance does not conform to either male or female gender performances. Such people are not as rare as one may assume.

An estimated 1-2 babies in every 1000 live births receive surgery to ‘normalize’ the appearance of their genitals (Intersex Society of North America, 2008) and it is estimated that 1 out of every 750 people are transgendered (Kaplan 2012). These cases contest “the immutable character of [biological] sex” suggesting that “perhaps... ‘sex’ is as culturally constructed as gender” (Butler 1999 10-11), and that sex “was always already gender,” and that “the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all” (Butler 1999, 10-11). Like race, gender is a form of social classification and categorization that serves to impose and produce meaning. The physical signs of gender are not denied – outward sex organs, body shape, clothing, and cosmetic adornment can all be read as gender signs. However, these signs are subject to manipulation, thus the suggestion that sex/gender is a performance. Humans “engage in activities that make it seem as if...being male or female is an objective feature of the world, rather than...a consequence of certain constitutive acts...rather than being performative” (Mikkola 2016). Performativity rests on the understanding of gender as *practice*, as something men and women, girls and boys, *do*. In this view, gender is an ongoing negotiation by people “in relation to both their physical embodiment and [the]

social structures [in] which they live” (Duncanson 2009: 69). These practices are visualized in photographs, and like race they can be read as a discourse.

The gender categories used to code the data are as follows: ‘male’ (men, either alone or in the company of other men); ‘male and female’ (men and women together, with no children pictured); ‘female’ (women alone, or in the company of other women); ‘male and child’ (adult men in the company of a child or children, with no adult women pictured); ‘male, female and child’ (adult men and women photographed with a child or children – sometimes, but not always, a family); ‘boy’ (male child alone or pictured with other boys); ‘female and child’ (adult women in the company of a child or children, with no adult men pictured); and ‘girl’ (female child alone or with other female children). Like the coding for race, the gender coding relied on the reading of physical signs of gender – body features, clothing – and textual signs in the captions. Once again, due to a lack of clarity in some photographs, and an absence of human subjects in 161 photographs, over 18% of the images (363) were not coded for gender at all.

Over 60% of the data (1155 images) were coded ‘male’ meaning that they only included adult male subjects, and when all categories involving males, including boys, are added together over 75% of the data (1451 images) depict men or boys in some way. While the gendered nature of war photography was expected – war waging and soldiery are stereotypically male dominate activities – it is still surprising that fully three-quarters of the data involve men or boys.

Table 15: Quantitative Analysis of Gender

Gender Code	Number of Images	% of Total Data
Male	1155	60.2%
Male and Female	150	7.8%
Female	64	3.3%
Male and Child	59	3.1%
Male, Female, and Child	51	2.7%
Boy	36	1.9%
Female and Child	23	1.2%
Girl	18	0.9%
Total coded at gender	1556	81.1%
With human subjects but not coded at gender	202	10.5%
Absent human subjects	161	8.34%

Table 15: Quantitative Analysis of Gender

Just as the poststructuralist position on race does not deny the existence of real physical differences of skin colour, hair texture, and bone structure that result in racial classification, neither does it deny the physical difference of primary and secondary sex/gender characteristics. However, it posits that our understandings of the existence of such physical sexual characteristics are socio-historical, cultural: *discursive*. In short, “social conditioning makes the existence of physical bodies intelligible to us by discursively constructing sexed [and raced] bodies through certain constitutive acts” (Mikkola 2016). Just as race as a signifier creates a system of equivalences between nature and culture that result in racial stereotypes, racism, and racial privilege/domination so too exists a system of equivalences between physical sexual characteristics (nature) and gender roles (culture) result in archetypal notions about masculinity and femininity.

The dichotomy of masculine/feminine stems from the relational nature of gender – that which is male is defined by that which is female, this means “patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradiction from some model...whether real or imaginary of femininity” (Connell 2005: 848). Thus, masculinity and femininity

represent two poles of human subjectivity – on the one hand that which is constructed as masculine is cold, calculating, and rational – requiring physical, emotional and mental strength and fitness. Masculine activities are those that require such characteristics: athletics, police work, firefighting, politics, and not least, war and conflict.

On the other hand that which is constructed as feminine is warm, nurturing, sensitive, and emotional. Properly feminine activities are mainly caregiver roles: nursing, education, childcare, and of course heterosexual marriage and traditional motherhood. These poles of masculinity and femininity are archetypes – simplified ideals that rarely correspond to the practicality of lived experiences. However, the various “binary structures of thought and culture” that categorize objects, activities, behaviour, and qualities as “corresponding to the poles of masculinity and femininity” (Gamble 2006: 245) are not created equal. Those practices that are gendered as masculine are “generally culturally privileged over the feminine” (Gamble 2006: 245). This inequality is quite stark in the data – male subjects appear in over 75% of the photographs. A comparative exploration of the gendered nature of two coding categories, ‘troops at work’ and ‘troops at rest’ demonstrates how this masculine/feminine binary works in the data.

The Gendered Nature of War Photography

The two sub-categories ‘troops at work’ and ‘troops at rest’ are those that, as mentioned above in section 5.2.4 (along with the sub-category ‘tools of war’) depict scenes most stereotypically associated with war photography. In addition, these two sub-categories deal with the primary human subject associated with war – the soldier. A detailed exploration of the soldier is provided below in chapter 6, while this section offers a quantitative breakdown of the gendered nature of the data in its aggregate. The matrices below show how each code for each of the sub-categories is coded for gender.

Table 16: Gender and Troops at Work Matrix

	Troops at Work	awaiting orders	breaking camp	clearing landmines	encampments	movement-convoy	officer(s) working or touring site	on patrol	parachuting	troops in field	troops on guard	troops on parade
Gender	440	11	2	11	7	29	40	60	0	210	48	22
Boy	5	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Female	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Female and Child	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Girl	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Male	407	7	2	11	7	24	35	52	0	204	44	21
Male and Child	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	0
Male and Female	12	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	3	2	0
Male, Female and Child	6	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0

Table 16: Gender and Troops at Work Matrix

Table 17: Gender and Troops at Rest Matrix

	Troops at Rest	barracks or on base	homecoming	posing for group photo	recruitment	soldiers shipping out
Gender	85	31	8	19	8	19
Boy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	10	3	2	3	0	2
Female and Child	0	0	0	0	0	0
Girl	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	52	22	0	11	7	12
Male and Child	5	0	0	3	0	2
Male and Female	14	6	2	2	1	3

Male, Female and Child	4	0	4	0	0	0
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Table 17: Gender and Troops at Rest Matrix

While it is clear from the above discussion that the data is incredibly gendered, with over 75% of all of the images including males in some capacity, the photographs that depict troops are even more gendered than the data as a whole. For the sub-category troops at work, found above in table 15, over 99% of the data (437 images) were coded as including male subjects, while just over 7% (34 images) included females. However, when turning to the troops at rest category a greater gender balance is apparent – 88.2% of those photos (75 images) include males, while 32.9% (28 images) include females. This difference may be attributed to the gendered nature of the activities featured therein, and indeed the simple fact that ‘masculine’ action photos are five times more frequent than passive ‘feminine’ photos is reflective of the gendered nature of war photography.

The sub-category ‘troops at work’ is made up of codes that seek to capture a record of the prevalence of active war waging in contemporary war photography, while the sub-category ‘troops at rest’ records activities that are more akin to the domestic side of war waging. That is, photographs of soldiers follow a particular gender logic – those that involve action and movement, such as being in the field taking part in battle are more likely to include males, while those that involve passive activities such as resting in barracks are more likely to include females. Thus, the gender logic of the masculine/feminine binary discussed above “influences the choice of...news photographs. Most pictures of women are used as symbols for the purpose of illustration...whereas pictures of men are more often used for [the] documentation” (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 347) of the active processes of war waging.

In effect, the dominant gender narratives in society about “armed conflict encourages expectations that men will fight and women will support them on the ‘homefront’...[and] the popular perception is that men are soldiers or aggressors, not women” (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 347). Clearly this is born out in the data by the sheer deficit of photos that show women as soldiers engaging in battle. This exclusion mimics the historic exclusion of women from the public and political sphere. Throughout the rise of the modern state, addressed above in section 1.2.1, the ideal form of “state subject...[is/was] an individual male – citizen, soldier, worker” (Pettman 2006: 175). The gendered nature of contemporary war photography, as revealed by the above quantitative analysis, shows how despite advances toward gender equality in domestic politics, “the state is still largely masculinist” (Pettman 2006: 176) on the international stage.

Liberal interventions use the movement for gender equality at home to justify violent conflict abroad – ironically sending men to ‘liberate’ and save women from the hyper-masculine pre-modern/modern states they inhabit. By intervening in an attempt to ‘properly civilize’ other states, the Western Liberal democratic state proves its superior rational/reasonable masculinity. The construction of the ‘racial other’ as “hypermale – aggressive, irrational, and violent” toward women, helps to construct ‘the self’ as more controlled, civilized and intelligent” (Duncanson 2009: 73). Indeed, the two wars most frequently depicted in the dataset – Iraq and Afghanistan – “were as much attacks on Muslim masculinity as on the military capabilities of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein” (Bresheeth 2006: 64). In the identity struggle between the liberal democratic world of ‘civilized’ states and the ‘barbaric/backward’ Muslim world, notions of proper masculinity and femininity were as much at stake as geopolitics.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to demonstrate what war photographs show through a theoretically informed quantitative, compositional, analysis. As such, it was organized around three broad compositional themes: States and Conflicts, Events and Activities, and Race and Gender. This was in an effort to not only present a quantitative picture of the data in its aggregate, but also to reveal the representational practices of war photography. In so doing, it offered some thoughts on the performative power of war photography – namely that: the perceived civilizational struggle between liberal democracy and alternate forms of political organization is the dominant regime of representation in Western print media; this argument holds throughout the analyses of each compositional theme, and their constituent sub-categories, as summarized below.

The analysis of the compositional theme States and Conflicts involved the quantitative tracking of which territorial states, and which wars, are depicted in the data. By counting which states/conflicts the photographs were taken in/during it was possible to discern which sites/sights of contemporary conflict are most valued by Western print media. Unsurprisingly, Iraq, Afghanistan and the United States were the most frequently coded states and the Iraq War, War in Afghanistan, and 9/11 the most frequently coded conflicts. This is despite the following statistics on the current situation as regards currently occurring conflicts around the globe:

- Africa: conflicts involving 29 states, and over 200 different armed groups
- Asia: 16 states currently experiencing conflict; over 160 armed groups involved
- Europe: 10 states embroiled in violent conflict, involving 80 armed groups
- Middle East: only 7 states currently at war, with over 230 different armed groups involved
- Americas: 5 states – 4 in South America, and 1 (Mexico) in North America – currently at conflict with 25 different drug cartels

The total estimated number of states currently involved in some form of armed conflict is 67, with over 700 different armed groups (both legitimate and illegitimate) believed to be involved (warsintheworld.com). Thus, it is clear when comparing the data that makes up this dissertation with the statistics outlined above, that Western print media privilege depictions of conflict that directly involve Western states.

The second compositional sub-theme of this chapter, Events and Activities, tracks and traces the actual actions depicted in war photography. The above analyses focused on five particularly interesting sub-categories in the data: Death, POWs/detainees, Tools of War/Troops at Work, Humanitarianism, and Non-Military Casualties. Tracking these core sub-themes reveals even more about the civilizational discourse that is the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography in Western society. This is particularly so when these sub-categories are further put into perspective by the raced and gendered dynamics as addressed in section 5.3 above. As such, the findings of section 5.2 and 5.3 are summarized in concert below.

As regards the compositional sub-categories Death and Non-Military Casualties, the media economy of ‘taste and decency’ that regulates the publication of graphic violent images is drawn along civilizational lines. The aversion to depicting the violent consequences of war does not necessarily extend to people outside the society of Western states. Similarly, the sub-category of POWs/Detainees is also highly racialized – both in

the primary discussion in section 5.2.3 and the secondary discussion in 5.3.1. Both analyses suggest that such images visualized colonial relations of power and uphold distinctions of proper legitimacy and humanity by depicting raced others as prisoners and perpetrators, while depicting Western troops as guards and protectors.

The compositional sub-category Tools of War/Troops at Work dealt with the types of images most stereotypically associated with war photography: those showing the people and machines used to wage war. The above analysis demonstrated how despite the assumption that contemporary war photography is infused with a discourse of technological prowess and superiority on behalf of Western troops, that the majority of the photographs depict human agents and not machines or technology. This is significant in that, for all the talk of the sanitization of war photography, the public is actually very much exposed to the human side of war waging. However, soldiers are constructed as particular types of agents and are visualized in a largely heroic and positive light – this discussion is continued below in chapter 6.

The final sub-category considered above that makes up the compositional theme Events and Activities is Humanitarianism. The above analysis shows that although humanitarian photography and war photography are distinct genres they do overlap in important ways. In particular, the humanitarian framing of war photography works to produce raced and gendered subjects as primarily being victims of war. Just as in the prisoner motif discussed above, differently raced and gendered subjects are disproportionately represented as refugees than are Westerners, particularly Western males. The consequences being that raced men and women are relegated to the status of passive agents, while (mainly white) males are elevated to the status of active agents. This mirrors the dominant gender narrative in society, where men are active aggressors in the public realm while women are passive participants responsible for domestic affairs – a false dichotomy, but one that is nevertheless integral to the foundation of the modern state.

The final compositional theme making up this chapter is that of Race and Gender. While these dynamics are discussed above in this conclusion, this portion offers some thoughts on the raced and gendered nature of the dataset as a whole, and thus on war photography in general. As pointed out in section 5.3, this dissertation understands race and gender from a poststructuralist perspective – that is, both race and gender are social constructs, discourses, and performances. Neither is an objective or ‘factual’ category, and both are malleable.

In this view, race functions as a commonsense code in society, which ensures the categorization of individuals into groups based on their outward appearance. This categorization is responsible for the exclusionary power of racism and racial privilege. The racial distribution of the data is shared almost equally between the codes ‘white/Israeli’ and ‘Arab’ – the two raced ‘civilizations’ supposedly being pitted against each other in the War on Terror. This demonstrates the co-constitutive nature of media and politics – on the one hand, the media seems to be confirming the civilizational rhetoric discussed throughout this dissertation, on the other hand their continued use of this frame produces it as a visual ‘fact.’

The analysis above takes a similar view to gender as it does to race, accepting that while there are external physical signs that can be read as ‘male’ or ‘female,’ gender is largely a result of performances. Like race, it is a form of social organization that

produces meaning. Essentially, gender is a practice – and ongoing negotiation by human agents that are visualized in the data. The gender binary of masculinity/femininity is mirrored in the data – over 75% of the images include males, while over 60% exclusively show male subjects. Thus, the data in its aggregate is incredibly gendered – with ‘masculine’ action photographs of active war waging five times more frequent than passive ‘feminine’ activities.

The next chapter of this dissertation turns toward a deeper exploration of war photography through the analysis of intertextuality. This involves a drilling down into the data with a nuanced reading of some particularly interesting photographs. Three categories of intertextuality are explored: within images, across images, and between images and their captions. Critically, a deeper analysis of individual examples from the data further demonstrates how the civilizational discourse presented above is the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography.

Chapter 6: Intertextuality – Meaning Making in War Photography

Intertextuality lies at the intersection of the empirical and interpretive research questions that drive this dissertation. Specifically, at the point where the representational practices of war photography meets their performative power. The various representational practices comprising the content of photojournalistic images, and their captions, work to communicate meaning through intertextuality – how “texts, whether written or visual, are interpreted one in light of the other” (Werner 2004, 64-65). This meaning making power is performative, in the sense that the meanings produced by war photographs do not simply pass along information about war and conflict, but are also involved in processes of subject formation and identity performance that are integral to the reproduction of state power.

In this chapter I consider the intertextuality of the visual data that makes up this dissertation in order to consider the broader regime of representation of war photography in Western society. Tracing intertextuality within, across, and between image and text reveals – in part – how war photography fits into social processes of reproduction that performatively constitute the state (Campbell 2007b). Particularly, the state is continually reproduced through our collective attitude toward war and conflict, which can be revealed through interpreting the intertextuality of war photography (Brothers 1997). I begin this chapter with a brief theoretical exploration of intertextuality in general, before moving on to a more specific discussion of intertextuality and photography. Following this, I address the three categories of intertextuality that are the focus of this chapter: intertextuality within images; intertextuality across images; and intertextuality between image and text. These categories correspond to the three sections that then makeup the remainder of the chapter.

6.1 Theory of Intertextuality

Long practiced by both the ancients and biblical scholars, the term ‘intertextuality’ was coined by philosopher Julia Kristeva during her drive to bring the work of Mikhail Bakhtin to bear on the rise of semiotics in France in the late 1960s. Her original definition of the term insisted that intertextuality is “a mosaic of quotations” and that “any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (Martin 2011, 148). Like scholars throughout history, Kristeva was concerned not only with how texts are co-constitutive of each other – borrowing turns of phrase, quotations, metaphors and imagery – but also how socio-historic elements are themselves co-constitutive of texts. That is, “there occurs the insertion of history into a text, in the sense that the text absorbs and is built from the past” and also “the insertion of the text into history in the sense that the text responds to, accentuates, [and] reworks past texts” thus contributing “to wider processes of change” (Fairclough 1992, 270) in society.

The focus in Kristeva’s original formulation is quite clearly texts. However, as with other theoretical concepts born out of French poststructuralism, Kristeva’s intertextuality “has been appropriated and adapted...so that it is not...exclusively related to works of literature or other written texts” (Martin 2011, 149). Indeed, much as discourse has been expanded to include non-linguistic forms of communication, intertextuality now refers to “the way that meanings of any one discursive *image* or text depends not only on that one text or *image*, but also on the meanings carried by other *images* and texts” (Rose 2001, 136 emphasis added). The critical theoretical value of

intertextuality then is not on the focus what constitutes a *text*, but on the productive power of the intertext.

In contemplating the meaning making and productive power of intertextuality it is imperative that we return to Roland Barthes theorization of the Death of the Author. This is because the ‘general thesis’ of intertextuality – that texts, whether literary or visual, lack “any kind of independent meaning” (Allen 2000, 1) – necessitates a critical displacement of the Author (Haberer 2008, 57). The Author here is capitalized, as it is clear that Barthes was speaking metaphorically, referring to the Author-God and not the writer or *scriptor*. The metaphorical death of the Author simply means “nobody has authority over the meaning of the text, and that there is no hidden, ultimate, stable meaning to be deciphered” (Haberer 2008, 58). The consequence being that intertextuality is rhizomatic, functioning as “a network that spreads and sprawls” with “no origin, no end, [and] no hierarchical organization” (Haberer 2008, 57).

As such the meaning making and productive power of texts and images is tied to their capacity to “transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough 1992, 270). However, it is crucial to bear in mind that this “productivity is not in practice available to people as a limitless space;” rather, it is “limited and constrained” (Fairclough 1992, 270). Ultimately, the productive power of intertextuality is conditional upon power relations in society (Fairclough 1992, 270), such as the economies of media discussed at length in Chapter 3, section 5 of this dissertation. Intertextuality can, and has, been applied to the study of a variety of texts such as literature, poetry, fine arts, popular culture, and archival material – to name but a few – below I consider the specific conceptual and theoretical utility of intertextuality for the study of photographs and photography.

6.1.2 Intertextuality and Photography

Journalistic photographs occupy a unique space in society as compared to other types of visual images. I point out in my discussion of mainstream IR literature how photographs are typically understood as unmediated snapshots of an external reality that record events and provide evidence they happened. This is the *doxa* of photography, that is, it is the dominant and taken for granted understanding of photojournalism in modern society. Pierre Bourdieu describes *doxa* as arising from a situation wherein there is a near perfect correspondence between an objective order, in this case the practice of photojournalism, and “the subjective principles of organization” (1972, 164): the *photojournalists’ dream*, wherein “the end product of these practices is...deemed to be ‘truth’ in the form of ‘comprehensive, factual, impartial, and objective’ knowledge” (Campbell 2009, 7). When an objective structure like the practice of photojournalism becomes embedded and stabilized in society, reproducing itself in “agent’s dispositions” then the greater the “field of doxa...[of] that which is taken for granted,” becomes (Bourdieu 1972, 166).

Interruption of this doxa requires a critical questioning of the role of photojournalism as an objective reflection of a reality that engenders action. That is, through the presentation of an alternative understanding of photography wherein photographs are not just a reflection of reality, but are also believed to embody practices of representation that gives meaning to, and perform, political phenomena (Bleiker and Kay 2007, 140). It requires that we recast images as always existing in “an intertextual setting...[and] read within an historical, political and social context” (Campbell 2004, 62-

63). This necessitates reflection on the ways that images produce meaning through their intertextual relationships; rejecting a view of photographs as pure representations of reality, and recasting them as constructed texts whose meaning depends upon strategies of deployment, and the established codes and conventions that underlie the image (Allen 2000, 177). This “intertextual codedness” is integral to the “dissemination of ideology within modern media” (Allen 2000, 178), to the reproduction and performance of the state in contemporary war photography, and thereby to the conditions of possibility for politics.

Photojournalistic images are not closed texts; they stand for many things, despite their *doxa* as being representative of the ‘true’ nature of reality (Ilan 2014: 2880). The task here is to unpack the intertextuality of the war photographs under consideration, in order to make explicit their functioning as more than just reflections of reality, or proof of events. I attempt to do so below by breaking the intertextuality of visual images into the three broad categories: intertextuality within images, across images, and between image and text. When discussing the intertextuality within individual images, I focus on two core strategies: binary juxtaposing and parodic allusion. In the section on intertextuality across spatially proximate images I look at the three strategies of clustering, pairing and sequencing. Finally, when analyzing the intertextuality between image and text, the main focus is on Barthes concept of *anchorage*, through the strategies of anchoring and prompting reflexivity.

6.2 Intertextuality Within Individual Images

Above I focus on the definition of intertextuality as being preoccupied with how an image is read in, through, or against other images or words, it is not strictly necessary that the image being so read appear simultaneously with its intertext. Rather, by virtue of the unique brain structures of humans, we are highly visual creatures that hold a vast repertoire of images in both our conscious and subconscious. People hold mental images in their minds, to varying degrees, and this affective viscosity provides an intertext even when viewing standalone images. Therefore, when considering the intertextuality within a single image, I am referring to the relationship between different parts of the image and the ways in which they work with each other to produce meaning (Werner 2004, 66). This category of intertextuality can be broken down into two constituent categories: binary juxtaposing, and parodic allusion.

6.2.1 Binary Juxtaposing

Although intertextuality has been adapted for use beyond the exploration of literary texts, many of the concepts employed in an intertextual analysis of visual images have their roots in literary devices. In art and literature, juxtaposition – the act of placing things close together or side-by-side – is a technique employed to develop contrasts and enable comparison. Here the concept of binary juxtaposing suggests a juxtaposition of two contrasting ideas, subjects, or actions. It occurs in the bringing “together of two disparate ideas, values, [and] conditions, to events within a single picture, where the effect of the contrast is to provoke and nudge [an] evaluative interpretation” (Werner 2004, 67).

Children and Soldiers, Soldiers and Children

To fully grasp the performative potential of war photographs that feature both



Image 1: Canadian troops surrounded by children in Afghanistan. Published in Maclean's magazine on Oct 13, 2003.

soldiers and children it is first necessary to theorize the unique visuality of each group of subjects: children and soldiers. Children feature routinely in the visual politics of humanitarian aid. Think of the ubiquitous television campaigns of groups like World Vision, Unicef, and Save the Children, with their cameras panning over destitute, starving, (and more often than not) black children with a voice over from, and the eventual appearance of, a nice (usually old or famous,

or both) white man. Children are used in such campaigns to solicit donations because

they represent “the most ideal victim in the perspective of compassion” (Hoijer 2004, 521). The doxa behind such campaigns is that “images of children ‘cut across cultural and political difference’ and ‘address the very heart of humanity’” (Hutchinson 2014, 9-10) thus making more people from more backgrounds more likely to donate to the cause in question. When a “child stares into the photographer’s camera she or he may be perceived as looking directly at you as an audience, reminding you of her or his vulnerability and innocence” (Hoijer 2004, 521-522). A vulnerability and innocence your donation (or in the case of war photography, your political support for a foreign conflict) may be able to protect, preserve, or restore.

The question remains, however, what sort of work such archetypal visual representations of children do outside of the humanitarian genre? What meaning making capacity does this intertextuality serve for war photography? I argue that such visual representations



Image 2: “Les militaires distribuent régulièrement des livres, des crayons et d’autres fournitures scolaires aux enfants.” Published in Le Devoir on Aug 7-8, 2004

‘humanitarianize’ Western wars, serving to reinforce certain state identities – to reproduce the state – thereby contributing to the conditions of possibility for geopolitics. Consider for instance how an “archetypal situation of developing world calamity” such as famine, natural disaster, or conflict, is frequently depicted by “a

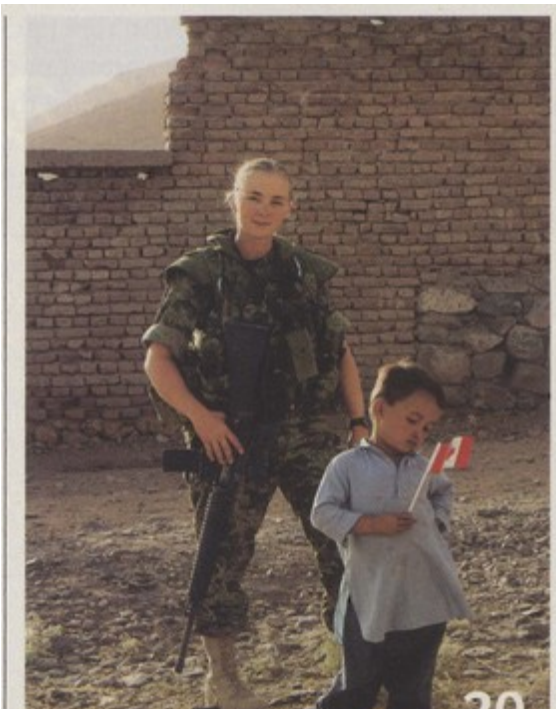


Image 3: A female Canadian soldier poses with a young boy in

child who needs saving and the foreign aid worker who fearlessly came to her aid” (Hutchinson 2014, 14). In war photography the aid worker is replaced by the soldier, clouding the line between war waging and humanitarianism, and becoming the ultimate signifier of neo-colonialism: the benevolent white warrior.

Humanitarian aid as an industry is not tarnished by this visual association to war waging rather war waging is softened by its association to humanitarianism. This is particularly intriguing in the Canadian case as such images serve to perform and reproduce the Canadian military and state identity of the ‘peacekeeper’ despite the combat role played by Canadian troops in Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in NATO’s war against the Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda. One Canadian veteran of the Afghan mission intimated that he had joined the Canadian military, before 9/11 and the rise of the war on terror, ‘because I wanted to help people.’ Arguably this helper identity was, and still is, the identity constructed of, for, and by the military in Canadian society. This discussion segues into the other group of subjects featured in these photographs: soldiers.

Two theories of combat soldiers’ subjectivity warrant discussion here: contractarianism and structural determinism. Contractarianism arises out of international law, and claims that all combatants, whether backed by a legitimate state or not, are soldiers and voluntarily enter combat of their own free will, thus freely accepting “that they may permissibly be killed in the course of war” (Benbaji 2011, 3). In this view soldiering is a contract entered into by rational free willed individuals. It makes no provision for coercive political and economic structures and also does not take into account race, gender or age. In this view all soldiers and combatants “are morally equal...because of the contractual relations between them” (Benbaji 2011, 3). Contractarianism, however, faces challenges on two fronts: first, from within international law itself when “philosophers argue that unjust combatants cannot have the same moral permissions as combatants who fight for a just cause” (Benbaji 2011, 2), and secondly, contractarianism is challenged by the second theory of soldier subjectivity proposed here: structural determinism.

In the Marxist thought of Louis Althusser, structural determinism posits that the pre-given structure of a signifying system – such as language or discourse – helps to determine the subjectivity of individuals and groups under it. People are interpellated by a variety of repressive and ideological state apparatuses including the state, the military, cultural life, and the media (Althusser 1970). Those individuals who become soldiers are not immune to interpellation – the process of being hailed or called into being by the overwhelming social and political force of both repressive and ideological state apparatuses. Thus, the structural determinant theory of soldiery insists that because combat “is connected to real risks to one’s life” one does not, and cannot “enter it out of choice;” becoming a soldier “is always linked to the interest of the state” and its “significance is always beyond the individual” (Sasson-Levy 2008, 313). Indeed, “states generate nationalist feelings in their subjects by constructing collective identities...and develop militarized patterns of socialization that prepare their youth to join the military” (Sasson-Levy 2008, 297). In the Canadian context this is partially achieved through military sponsored youth groups, and a national valorization of past military campaigns – particularly the First and Second World War and the various peacekeeping missions of the 1990s. Simultaneously, states “produce (or maintain) a perception of existential

threat” – such as in the American case post-9/11 and allusions to the attacks on Pearl Harbor. Either way, individuals “enlist into the army in response to the call of the state” (Sasson-Levy 2005, 297).

The images featured in the text above juxtaposed *children and soldiers* and served to performatively recast the soldier as humanitarian aid worker, and war waging as a humanitarian endeavour. Those images inserted in the text in this section juxtapose *soldiers and children*, and perform other meaning making work. Here, children’s vulnerability and “innocence [are] contrasted with the malevolence (or perhaps banal



Members of the 720th Military Police Battalion usher out a child during a raid on the house of a prominent member of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party.

Image 4: “Members of the 720th Military Police Battalion usher out a child during a raid on the house of a prominent member of Saddam Hussein’s Baath Party.” Published in the Washington Post on Oct 26, 2003.

a small girl is being ushered out of her home by armed American troops. Her young innocence stirs in the viewer their “own memory of being open and vulnerable” (Hoijer 2004, 521-522); there is no doubt that she must feel afraid and confused by the armed men entering her home. Similarly, the boy in image 5 stares wide eyed into the camera as heavily armed US Marines search homes door to door in Fallujah; his gaze is

intent and unsettling.

Unlike the small boy in image 3 above posing with a Canadian flag, or the young boys in image 1 happily crowded around Canadian troops, and the children in image 3 receiving gifts of school supplies, the boy and girl above are not depicted as humanitarian aid clients and the soldiers are not benevolent warriors-cum-humanitarian aid workers. Rather, images 4 and 5 reaffirm a more classical view of the soldier as primarily an agent of killing and war waging – performing a difficult, yet patriotic, duty. It is essential to note that the soldiers featured in both photos are Americans serving in Iraq, providing an interesting contrast between them and their Canadian allies featured in images 1, 2 and 3 from the War in Afghanistan.

hostility) of adults in authority” (Moeller 2002, 39). They are juxtaposed against soldiers in action. Whereas the above images presented soldiers as humanitarian agents, the soldiers in these photos are performing more ‘war waging’ type actions and the children serve more as innocent bystanders, or as the soldiers’ victims, than they do as humanitarian aid clients in the above discussion. In image 4



Marines on Patrol in Fallujah

Members of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment conduct a search of homes and streets in the center of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city about 35 miles west of Baghdad where a tenuous cease-fire between insurgents and U.S. troops remained in effect. The Marines found some weapons and came under occasional sniper and mortar fire during the operation, which took more than four hours. Above, a young Iraqi watches the search. Below, an Iraqi man is questioned by a platoon of Marines about whether he has any weapons in his possession.

Image 5: “Members of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment conduct a search of homes and streets in the center of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city about 35 miles west of Baghdad where a tenuous cease-fire between insurgents and U.S. troops remained in effect. The Marines found some weapons and came under occasional sniper fire and mortar fire during the operation which took more than four hours. Above, a young Iraqi watches the search.” Published in The Washington Post on April 13, 2004.

In both cases the images are reflective of wider social trends around militarism in Canadian and American society, Canadian's are encouraged to envision their military efforts are responding to a cosmopolitan "sense of precarious urgency" (Newman 2013, 4) in foreign lands where they are desperately needed by the local population to fight for justice, make a difference, help civilians, defend global peace (Newman 2013, 4), and uphold human rights. However, their American counterparts are encouraged to view their military endeavours through an affective lens of "emotional patriotism" (Newman 2013, 4) where protecting American freedom and values is dependent upon taking the fight directly into the streets and homes of the foreign enemy – even if this means scaring and traumatizing young, innocent, vulnerable children.

6.2.2 Parodic Allusion

In literary terms, a parody often refers to an imitation of another work for comedic effect, or to an imitation that is weakly or poorly executed. However, in this instance the term parodic is used simply to indicate that the image in question is an imitation of a famous or iconic photograph or event, without any comedic intent. Allusion is a device employed in art or literature to make brief or passing reference to something of historical, political, or cultural significance. Allusion works on the assumption that the audience or viewer possesses enough knowledge of the original referent to grasp the importance of the allusion to the text, without a detailed discussion or explanation. In this intertextual analysis, the concept of parodic allusion refers to a "stylistic device in which one text incorporates a caricature of another, most often popular cultural text" (Ott and Walter 2000, 435), this includes the phenomenon of visual quoting which involves the borrowing of "themes, symbols, or [other] compositional elements from famous images" (Werner 2004, 70).

Three poignant examples of parodic allusion are addressed below. The first contrasts the photo of firefighters raising the American flag over Ground Zero during 9/11 with the famous flag rising by Marines on Iwo Jima during the Second World War. The second, a photo of raised hands facing down a tank in the West Bank town of Beit Jala harkens to the iconic protest photo of the 'Tank Man' at Tiananmen Square. Finally, the third example alludes to Holocaust imagery, the photo of a group of people huddled in a pit in Chechnya with a machine gun barrel in the foreground brings to mind the atrocities committed by the Nazi Einstazgruppen on the Eastern front. Below, I take a detailed look at these photos and the iconic events they allude to.

9/11 and Allusions to WWII

In this photo, three firefighters are in the process of raising the American flag over the ruins of the Twin Towers. All of the activity in the photo takes place in the foreground against the backdrop of the harsh grey ruins of the hulk of twisted metal. Unlike the other examples in this section, discussed below, this photo is iconic in its own right. It is nearly as ubiquitous in the American imaginary now as the iconic photo of the flag rising on Iwo Jima, to which it alludes. Indeed, in one version of the photo published by *People* magazine it was captioned as "an echo of Iwo Jima" (Hairmain and Lucaites 2002, 369). In both of these cases, the image works as a metonym, a symbol surpassing the scene itself, epitomizing a larger idea – in this



Image 6: Firefighters raising the American flag in New York City after 9/11. Published in the Economist on September 15, 2001.

case the American struggle for freedom. Metonyms are used to exemplify a general condition and thus are reliant upon historically and culturally constructed beliefs (Vos 2005, 159).

Both the firefighter photo and the original Iwo Jima photo exalt communal physical labour. The soldiers/firefighters in the foreground putting their backs into the physical effort of raising the American flag appear as “the ideal work group: the leader directing the task while labouring no less than the others; those directly behind him in perfect concert...attentive and disciplined,” visually alluding to other manual tasks like a community barn raising (Hariman and Lucaites 2002, 368-369). Like the raising of a barn, the structure the soldiers help to raise – the state – holds communal value, benefits and obligations. The labour here is “on behalf of a flag, [and] of nation building” (Hariman and Lucaites 2002, 369). The images become a symbol of communal and democratic values, and they show Americans’ efforts as “essentially egalitarian” with the soldiers/firefighters appearing simply as “ordinary men in common labor for a common goal” (Hariman and Lucaites 2002, 370). The photos perform “civic virtues manifested within intersecting transcriptions of egalitarianism, nationalism, and civic republicanism” (Hariman and Lucaites 2002, 385). Thus, even in the face of terrifying violence – Pearl Harbour or 9/11 – the brave patriotic labour of Americans will ensure ‘liberty and justice for all’ as the Star-Spangled Banner yet waves over the barren lands of the Pacific and the smoking ruins of the World Trade Center.

Tiananmen Square as Icon of Liberal Ideology

In this photo a pair of raised hands face outward toward a tank. The camera lens is in the position that the person’s head would occupy, thus giving the viewer a first person



Image 7: Marines raising the flag over Iwo Jima.



Image 8: “Members of foreign NGOs raise their hands in protest as Israeli tanks occupy Beit Jala.” Published in The Guardian Weekly on September 12, 2001.

point of view, literally putting the audience of the photo in the place of the subject by giving the impression that the viewer themselves are facing down a tank. This is in contrast to the iconic Tank Man photo, which is taken at a wide angle providing the audience with a panoramic view of the entire scene. Despite this difference in camera angle, the photo of the protestor facing down an Israeli tank in image 7 is an allusion to the iconic Tank Man in the sense that it “borrows the original structural format” of the Tank Man by featuring an individual facing down a tank, “but modif[ies] its content and conceptual implications” (Hubbert 2014, 115). Those implications being that “heroism is located in the individual” and that “the ideal form of state-society relations is one in which the individual citizen is the source of legitimacy and power” (Hubbert 2014, 116). In the original photo the Tank Man was facing down the tyranny of Chinese communism, however in the photo from Israel the protestor is identified as a member of a foreign NGO. Israel is a liberal democracy, but its controversial occupation of Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has inspired a global backlash against the Israeli state. Through its allusion to Tank Man, image 7 works to place democratic Israel on equal ideological footing with Chinese communism.



Image 9: A lone protestor facing down tanks in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

In early June 1989 a series of student led rallies for reform took place in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, China. The protests occurred following the death of popular liberal reformer Hu Yaobang, and were largely a call for reforms to the repressive Chinese state – including calls for basic human rights like freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and increased government accountability around the rule of law. The students were also rallying against the poverty and limited career prospects that were viewed as resulting from the authoritarian political regime enforced by the Chinese Communist Party. In this context the photo of Tank Man, a lone protestor facing down the Chinese military who had been sent in under marshal law to shut down the protests, played a significant role in global reactions to the student protest movement and the subsequent massacre of the protestors by the Chinese military.

Tank Man “emerged as one of the most iconic photographs of the 20th century” (Hubbert 2014, 114). Its global dissemination, particularly in the West, served to reassure citizens of liberal democracies of the “inherent, non-ideological, value of” their political systems “and the political practices in which the individual has the rightful and tangible capacity to act, reinforcing perceptions about the presumed superiority of civil society in the West” (Hubbert 2014, 114). By alluding to Tank Man in the context of Israel as an occupying force, this visualization in image 7 undercuts the liberal-democratic legitimacy of the Israeli state while reinforcing the ideological legitimacy of the foreign protest movements against the Israeli occupation of Palestine. In effect, Tank Man and parodic allusions to it like that in image 7 “corroborates Western narratives of the nature of good and evil, of human rights, and how democracy works” (Hubbert 2014, 123).

Parodic Allusions to Holocaust Images

War and conflict are some of the most traumatic situations human beings can experience. The communication of such “trauma is often reliant on material formats” such as photographs to “translate both its occurrence and its burden on the human condition” (Ibrahim 2009, 94). In terms of the Holocaust, visualizations of trauma waiver between the tension of universalism and particularity (Ibrahim 2009, 94), on the one hand the Nazi atrocities committee during the Second World War gave rise to universal notions about crimes against humanity and human rights. Leading to an international rejection of mass murder as an unfortunate, yet acceptable, consequence of war. On the other hand, the unique biopolitical and industrialized management of mass killing by the Nazi’s makes the Holocaust stand out as a particular historical example. Photographs from contemporary conflicts that allude to the Holocaust embody this dialectical tension: they remind the viewer of the universality of human rights and the failure to live up to international efforts to avoid a repetition of genocide. However, the Holocaust maintains its particularism even when alluded to in contemporary photographs because the actual events stand out as unique and particular crimes, which remain unmatched by contemporary conflicts.

The “iconographic status of the Holocaust was established between the 1960s and 1980s” when several high profile events like the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem and the Auschwitz trials in Frankfurt “played the memory of the Holocaust in vivid detail...reaching a broad transnational audience” (Ibrahim 2009, 103). Furthermore, a variety of film documentaries and dramatizations like *Night and Fog* (1956), *Holocaust* (1978), *Escape from Sobibor* (1987), and *Schindler’s List* (1993) along with the use of Holocaust biographies like *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1947) and Elie Wiesel’s *Night* (1960) as core curricular in schools across North America, helped to cement Holocaust imagery in the popular consciousness. The Nazi’s themselves visually documented the atrocities they committed, particularly the massacres on the Eastern Front by the Einsatzgruppen. The allies added to this visual record in their photographing of the concentration camps during liberation. Yet, despite the ““over two million photos [that] exist in the public archives of more than twenty nations” there is a notable “repetition of the same few images” in popular and scholarly works (Hirsch 2001, 8).

In particular, photos of mass graves and mass executions are frequently associated with the Holocaust. The photo to the right, image 10, could easily be mistaken for such a photograph if the caption and publication information were removed. In it approximately 15 people sit huddled in a dirt pit, while a disembodied



Image 11: “...Ukrainian workers on the floor of the ravine sorted piles of victims’

machine
gun barrel
floats
prominentl
y in the
foreground
. The
French
caption



Image 10: “Les violations des droits fondamentaux sont nombreuses en Tchétchénie.” Published in *Le Devoir* on May 29, 2003.

explains that violations of fundamental human rights are numerous in Chechnya. However, the caption offers no hints toward who the people in the pit are, why they are there, or who is holding the machine gun. Without the intertext of the Holocaust the denotative meaning of this image would be significantly more fluid. Thinking of imagery from the First World War as an intertextual marker, the people in this photo could be soldiers in a trench taking a break between fighting. However, the caption, and the particular placement of the machine gun barrel push the audience instead toward the intertext of the Eastern Front, represented here by images 11 and 12.

The photograph to the left was taken during the massacre at a ravine called Babi Yar in Lithuania. This atrocity was one of the most well known, and horrific, Einstazgruppen massacres of the Holocaust. It was also extremely well documented by the SS. In the photo members of auxiliary Ukrainian forces stand in a pit, sorting through the belongings of murdered Jews. At the top of the ravine in the distance stand three figures, possibly supervising the looting and ongoing murders. This photo serves as a reverse perspective of image 10, in which the camera looks down into the pit placing the audience in the position of the machine gunner. In the photo from Babi Yar the camera faces the side of the ravine putting the audience in an approximated position of the victim. Similarly, image 12 documents another Einstazgruppen massacre from the Eastern Front, providing yet another perspective.

These Holocaust images are “ruled by...a murderous National Socialist gaze that violates the viewing relations under which we normally operate” (Hirsch 2001, 26). This gaze has a “lethal power” creating “a visual field in which the look can no longer be returned” (Hirsch 2001, 26). By alluding to the mass killings, image 10 from the contemporary conflict in Chechnya produces a possibility that such a gaze may return if we do not remain vigilant of violations of fundamental human rights in foreign conflicts. Here the particularity of the mass murder on the Eastern Front meets the universal commitment to ensure such

horrors will not be repeated – a commitment that has no doubt failed. Images 11 and 12 show specific and unique events, and image 10 undoubtedly shows living people in a pit as is clear from their body posture: their impending life and death is left to the imagination of the viewer. The allusion to mass murder in image 10 requires the intertext of the Holocaust imagery to remind the viewer that evil is an “ontological construct” and can “no longer [be] narrated through polarities of protagonist against antagonist” but rather is a force against which we must remain vigilant that lies “dormant in the whole of humanity” (Ibrahim 2009, 100).



In a final massacre in the western Ukrainian town of Vinnitsa in April 1942, an Einsatzkommando murdered the last of the region's Jews to secure the area around Adolf Hitler's forward bunker Werwolf.

Image 12 (Rhodes 2002, 149)

6.2.3 Prevalence of Intertextuality within Images

When exploring intertextuality within images, it was necessary to code the photographs much in the same way they had been coded using the coding dictionary as described in chapter 4, section 3 of this dissertation. To do so, a separate round of coding – extraneous to the rounds of coding involved in the application of the coding dictionary – was performed. This coding involved operationalizing of each intertextual concept discussed in this chapter, reviewing of each of the 1919 photographs that make up the data, and coding the data accordingly.

The concept binary juxtaposing was operationalized as such: code all sources made up of only one image, where the content brings together two disparate values or ideas, wherein this contrast provokes an evaluative interpretation. By all accounts, this is a relatively broad operationalization. However, while coding I kept the caveat that the contrast must provoke an evaluative interpretation in mind. That is, while images often employ juxtaposition as an aesthetic technique, I focused on coding those images that were particularly provocative, juxtaposing symbolically significant forms. This strategy resulted in 54 images out of 1919 being coded as exhibiting the intertextual strategy of binary juxtaposing. The photographs discussed in detail in section 6.2.1 above are particularly pertinent examples of binary juxtaposing because of the provocative contrasting of two disparate groups – children and soldiers.

The second category exploring intertextuality within images is parodic allusion, the practice of alluding to iconic photographs or events. When identifying this practice in the data, I operationalize the concept as: code all sources made up of only one image that incorporates a caricature of, or obviously borrows from, an iconic image. In the two datasets combined, 14 images out of the total 1919 were identified as exemplifying the characteristics of parodic allusion. This dearth of material may be attributed to the prior knowledge required for allusion to function. That is, in order for parodic allusion to carry productive force, the audience or viewer must easily be able to recognize the iconic image alluded to in the photograph. The photographs discussed in section 6.2.2 above stand out as excellent examples of parodic allusion due to the universality of the events to which they allude.

6.3 Intertextuality Across Spatially Proximate Images



Image 13: "A PAUSE IN THE BATTLE Marines with Company B, First Battalion, Eighth Marines, taking a break yesterday in Falluja. Clockwise from top: Lance Cpl. Michael Pristavec; Cpl. Joel Chaverri, a combat photographer also known as Kodak; Cpl. William Johnson; Lance Cpl. Hector Orrantia; and Lance Cpl. Michael Oliver Ray." Published in the New York Times on November 14, 2004.

Intertextuality across images can refer to visual intertextuality in general, but here I use it more specifically to refer to those photographs that are published in the newspaper in such a close spatial proximity that it made no sense to collect them as individual images (which I did whenever possible), but to collect them together as one source made up of multiple photographs. When two or more images are presented in such close spatial proximity interpretation of one is necessarily caught up with its perceived relationship to the others in the group (Werner 2004, 70). This category is made up of three constitutive concepts: clustering, pairing, and sequencing.

6.3.1 Clustering

When contemplating intertextuality across spatially proximate images the utility of literary devices wanes and it

become necessary to draw insights from strategies employed for displaying visual imagery. Clustering is often used as an aesthetic device to group images for display – on a wall at home, in a gallery, or in the pages of a newspaper or magazine – in an effort to tell a story. As such, pictures or photographs are usually clustered together in light of a unifying theme or feature. Here the intertextual, or intervocal, concept of clustering occurs when “images [are] closely clustered together” so as to “produce a montage effect” where “no temporal sequencing is implied, and each part of the mosaic contributes a point of view or piece of information to the overall implied theme of the grouping” (Werner 2004, 72).

Humanizing the Modern Soldier

Image 13, below, is a cluster of five photographs of soldiers faces taken on November 13, 2004 on day 6 of the Second Battle of Fallujah, one of the most infamous battles of the Iraq War. The battle began on November 7, 2004 when American forces cordoned off the city of Fallujah, located approximately 70km to the west of Baghdad. Once the Americans had surrounded the city with tanks and artillery they launched a strategic invasion of the city in an effort to drive out insurgents and capture al-Qaeda in Iraq leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. On November 9, six assault battalions made up of both US Marines and Army soldiers entered Fallujah from the north, strategically moving south through the city pushing enemy forces into a ‘kill zone’ at the southern edge of the city (Second Battle of Fallujah (documentary) – Operation Phantom Fury, 2014). The battle was primarily a search and destroy mission, with American troops fighting house to house in search of insurgents. It was a traditional battle in the sense that the fighting was primarily with small arms in close combat. The battle lasted for 46 days, from November 7 to December 23, 2004.

The photos that make up image 13 were likely taken while this particular fire team of Marines rested in an area secured and guarded by the rest of their squad. During the battle it was common practice for American forces to rest, slept, eat and fight in shifts (Second Battle of Fallujah (documentary) – Operation Phantom Fury, 2014). The Marines in this photo were members of Company B, First Battalion, 8th Marines. They had pushed directly through the centre of Fallujah with the goal of taking the main governmental buildings at the Mayor’s complex. Taken by embedded photojournalist Ashley Gilbertson, the photos are clustered together to show the faces of the United States forces in Iraq. Their looks of quite contemplation, exhaustion, and particularly in the final photo the ‘thousand yard stare,’ serve to represent the soldiers of the Battle of Fallujah as *human soldiers*, standing in stark contrast to discourses of technological prowess that often accompany discussions of the Iraq War.

These close up visuals of soldiers’ faces serve to humanize war waging, flying in the face of theorizations about post-human soldiery. Such “post-human subjectivity is represented through the cyborg” wherein “human reasoning and thinking” is transferred from “human subjects onto technology” (Masters 2005, 114). The cyborg-soldier is epitomized by images of American troops in full combat gear: comprised of a helmet with communications devices, night vision goggles and camera, along with body armour, water pack and weaponry. Through the cyborg-soldier “technology is infused with the ability to reason and think without being interrupted by emotions such as guilt or bodily limitations such as fatigue” (Masters 2005, 114). However, post-human subjectivity is

incomplete, like all subjectivities, and under the helmet of the cyborg soldier are faces like those of the Marines in image 13 above.

Likewise, the three photos that make up image 14 show the complexities of theorizing the modern soldier as post-human. The first two photos show soldiers resting in the Republican Palace, while the third shows soldiers in full combat gear guarding the outside of the Palace. It is important to note the skewed timeline of this example cluster. The three images here were published together in the *Toronto Star* in May 2006, at a time when Iraq was experiencing a surge in sectarian violence, and the American administration was under immense public pressure following a second round of photo leaks of the 2004 Abu Ghraib torture scandal earlier in 2006. The photos in image 14 are credited to Getty Images and a search of their online archive reveals the original dates that the photos were taken.

The first photo of soldiers sitting around a table in the Republican Palace was taken on July 14, 2003 (*The Best of 2003 – News*, 2003) around the time that US forces began facing renewed low intensity combat throughout the country (*BBC Iraq Profile –*



Image 14: "At Saddam Hussein's former Republican Palace in Baghdad, U.S. soldiers relax inside and stand on guard outside in 2003. It's now the lavish headquarters for U.S. diplomats in the city's Green Zone." Published in the *Toronto Star* on May 5, 2006

Timeline, 2015). The second photo, showing a US soldier sleeping on a couch inside the Republican Palace was originally taken on April 14, 2003 (*Gallery*, 2003) not long after the Battle of Baghdad, which took place from March 20 to April 9, 2003, that lead to American control of the capital. The final photo, of American soldiers in full combat gear guarding the outside of the Palace was originally taken on May 3, 2003 (*Bucket Event ID* May 27, 2003, 2003) a mere two days after President Bush spoke under the 'Mission Accomplished' banner on the USS Abraham Lincoln.

Together these three images show different points of view of American soldiers in the weeks and months following the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Published alongside each other in this way the cluster gives the impression of simultaneity – as if they had been taken on the same day showing different areas of the Palace: here a group of soldiers sitting around Saddam Hussein's table, there in the other room a soldier taking a nap on Saddam Hussein's couch, outside others standing guard so their friends inside can relax, take advantage of their spoils and have a break from war waging. They also show frontline soldiers relaxing and enjoying their conquest before the rear troops – with the higher up officers and bureaucrats in tow – move in to occupy the spoils of war, a point made explicit in the caption when it claims that the Palace is now the 'lavish headquarters for U.S. diplomats.'

Together, the clustered photographs of images 13 and 14 are united around the theme of 'the grunt' – the low ranking infantry soldier that is the backbone of any military invasion. In discussions of modern warfare technological superiority of machines, powerful artillery and aircraft often take pride of place. Photographs like those

above play the strategic ideological role of rehumanizing the modern soldier. As in the juxtaposition of soldiers and children in images of 3 and 5 above, the affective lens is one of ‘emotional patriotism’ where the viewer is encouraged to empathize with the exhausted warrior who is valiantly taking the fight for American freedom directly into the home and heart of enemy territory.

6.3.2 Pairing

The display strategy of pairing can also be referred to as the publishing of picture against picture, or pictures printed in the newspaper side-by-side. It is a strategy infrequently employed by editors because the “adjoining [of] pictures suggests a relationship” and if this relationship is not obvious “confusion will develop in the reader’s mind” as they struggle “to find a link” (Aggarwal 2006, 69). For the purpose of this analysis, pairing involves “the placement of two images side-by-side or one after...encouraging viewers to notice similarities and differences, and thereby to interpret each image in expanded ways...encourage[ing] a surplus of meaning...” and facilitating “...mutual reinforcement” (Werner 2004, 70-71).

The Vulnerability of Capitalism

The best example of pairing from the data is a classic before and after shot. In the first photo the New York City skyline is shown with smoke billowing from the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, which had just been hit by two large airliners on



Image 15: “BEFORE THEY FELL: Looking south toward the tip of Manhattan: the Twin Towers both struck by airliners, burn darkly in the clear morning sky.” “TERRIFYING VOID: The New York skyline’s proudest icon, the gleaming World Trade Center buildings are suddenly, terribly gone.” Published in Newsweek on September 24, 2001.

September 11, 2001. The second photo shows a near identical shot of the New York skyline now absent the iconic Towers with a large cloud of dust in their place. Construction of the World Trade Center towers began in 1966 with the aim of building “the world’s tallest buildings” (History of the Twin Towers, 2016), completed in 1973, at 1362 and 1368 feet each, they remained so until the completion of Chicago’s Sears Tower, now the Willis Tower, in 1974 at 1451 feet. As such, the Twin Towers belonged to the socially and politically significant class of buildings known as skyscrapers.

Before 9/11, only three buildings in the world came close to the height of the Towers: the Petronas Tower in Kuala Lumpur, the Sears Tower, and the Jin Mao Tower in Shanghai. In New York City itself before 9/11, the Towers were two of just four buildings over 1000 feet high the other two being the Empire State Building and the Chrysler Building. Skyscrapers like these epitomized the progress and technological

advancements of the 20th century, “for better or worse” skyscrapers are the “measure, parameter, or apotheosis of our consumer and corporate culture” (McNeill 2005, 41). They are in effect physical embodiments of the elite culture of advanced consumer capitalism – “selectively connect[ing] together the most favoured users and places, both within and between cities” (McNeill 2005, 44). This symbolic status of the skyscraper no doubt contributed to the Twin Tower’s selection as a target, particularly when this broader symbolism is fused with the liberal capitalist ideology of “world peace through trade” (History of the Twin Towers, 2016) that was the impetus for their construction.

In conjunction with their symbolic significance, skyscrapers play an important visual role in the city as such “buildings give cities identity through ‘skyline’” (McNeill 2005, 46). The paired photos of image 15 make use of the skyline – “an identifiable array of icons” – to show the shocking absence of the Twin Towers. Skyscrapers, unlike other very tall buildings, are socially and politically distinct. Very tall buildings are “just vertical objects” while “true skyscrapers...are charged with representational responsibilities to act...as sculptors of the city silhouette and as conveyors of public image” (McNeill 2005, 46). The relationship between the paired photos in image 15 is thus obvious, showing the effects of the 9/11 attacks. In so doing, they work to reveal the terrorist attacks not just as a crime of mass murder, but also a crime against the city itself; a wound to the very soul of the city – its skyline – and to the symbolic heart of advanced consumer capitalism. The photos reveal the unlikely vulnerability of such phenomenally large man made structures, and thus of the societies that enabled their construction.

6.3.3 Sequencing

The final aesthetic strategy drawn on in the analysis of intertextuality across spatially proximate images is that of sequencing. This technique is used in newspapers when “a sequence of pictures” is able to “show a story unfolding, and therefore tell that story better than a single image” could (Henshall and Ingram 2012). Here, the concept of sequencing refers to those images shown together in sequence so as to imply a “temporal relationship [that] invoke[s] a storyline around linear change, progress, fulfilment or causation” (Werner 2004, 71). In order to code the data for sequencing, I operationalized the concept to be used for those sources made up of two or more image where the images are shown together so as to suggest a temporal relationship or timeline.

Questioning the War in Iraq

The first example of sequencing tells the story of a high profile video purporting to show the killing of Iraqi men by US Forces shooting from an Apache helicopter. The video was originally aired on ABC news, and was “first shown as an object lesson as to what happens to Iraqi insurgents who dare show weapons before US forces” (The Apache Killing Video, 2004). In the first frame of image 16, two figures walk toward a large vehicle, in the next they appear to be walking past the vehicle, the third frame is obscured with one person visible but not the vehicle, in the fourth frame the vehicle is again visible now with a cloud of dust to the right rear, in the final frame all that is visible is a cloud of dust where the people and vehicle had once stood. The video that the images have been pulled from

Image 16:
“ABOVE:
IMAGES OF
THREE IRAQIS
WHO WERE
KILLED BY A
U.S. APACHE
HELICOPTER.”
Published in
Newsweek on May
10, 2010.

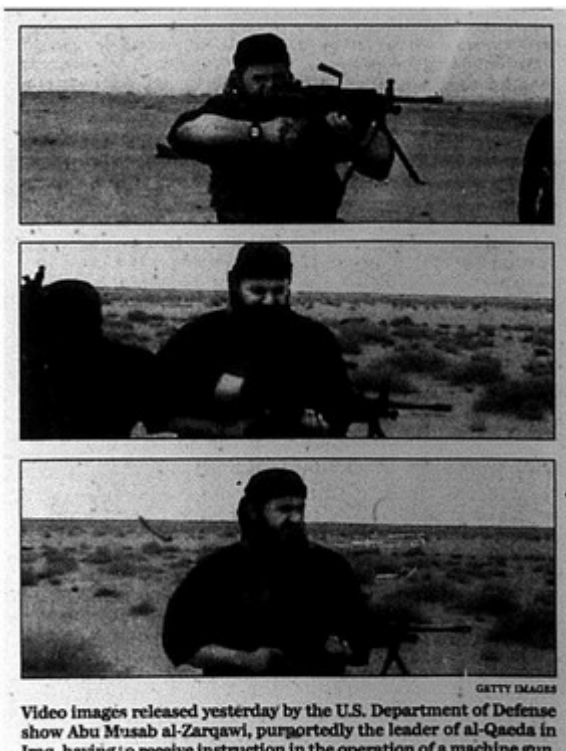


is available in its entirety for download online (Execution by Apache Helicopter in Iraq – Video/avi 12M, 2016). By looking at the full video it is clear that the frames reproduced in Newsweek are in order, however with long gaps in between. Despite their appearance, the images were not taken using night vision, but rather using a thermographic camera: “the time of day appears to be mid-morning, based on the time seen on the heads-up display” (Apache Killing Video, 2004), but this is not clear in the Newsweek images. As mentioned, the video first appeared on ABC news but there is no indication of when or where it was filmed. The online link to the video and the analysis by indymedia.org were published in January 2004, suggesting that the video likely dates from some time in 2003 during the initial invasion of Iraq by US Forces.

The video frames shown here in image 16 were published in May 2010, approximately 7 years after the original video was recorded and broadcast. In that intervening period, the US administration had been under scrutiny for a variety of abuses and potential war crimes during the wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan. These include reports of illegal detention at Guantanamo Bay, allegations of prisoner abused and torture at Abu Ghraib, the controversial use of white phosphorous in Fallujah, and other accusations of illegal killings of Iraqis by US helicopters. Indeed, in April 2010 wikileaks release a video of such killings, now entitled ‘Collateral Murder,’ that allegedly took place in Baghdad in July 2007 (Collateral Murder - Wikileaks – Iraq, 2010). In this video a US aircrew falsely claims to have encountered a firefight in Baghdad, and then launched an “airstrike that killed a dozen people, including two Iraqis working for Reuters news agency” (McGeal, 2010). In this context the reproduction of image 16 by Newsweek in 2010 serves to recast the original video as yet another example of misbehavior by US forces in Iraq. It forms part of a larger discourse in American society at that time about the role of the United States in Iraq. A 2010 Gallup Poll taken in July and August show 54% and 55% of respondents believed the United States had made a mistake in sending troops into Iraq (In Depth: Topics A to Z. Iraq, 2016). This contrasts significantly to the 72% of respondents in 2003 who supported the War in Iraq (Newport, 2003). The publishing of visuals like those in image 16 critically question the role of American troops in Iraq.

Mocking the Enemy

The second example of sequencing is also a group of frames pulled from a video, this time from a reposting of an al-Qaeda propaganda video (*YouTube Abu Musab Al Zarqawi Video Bloopers*, 2011). By watching this online video it is clear that the still frames from image 17 may not be in their original order. Here the first frame shows Abu Musab al-Zarqawi with a machine gun raised to his shoulder, looking through the weapons mounted scope. In the second frame of image 17 a man appears to be reaching over the machine gun while al-Zarqawi holds the weapon at waist height. In the final frame above, al-Zarqawi appears to



be firing the weapon from waist height. In the online video these frames are reversed, frame 3 above is at 29 seconds, frame 2 above is at 41 seconds, and frame 1 above is at 1 minute 23 seconds.

The caption on image 17 above indicates that al-Zarqawi is receiving instructions on how to operate a machine gun in the video. The order of the frames makes it appear as though al-Zarqawi raised the weapon to his shoulder first and looked through the scope to fire, but the weapon would not work so he lowers it and calls for assistance. Then in the last frame after getting help he continues to fire the weapon from the hip – an unlikely and inaccurate method of firing such a weapon. This gives the impression that not only does the top al-Qaeda operative in Iraq not know how to fire a basic weapon – the American made M249 SAW (Latham, 2006) – but neither do those closest to him.

The M249 Squad Automatic Weapon is a light machine gun that replaced the older M16, and has been used by the United States Armed Forces since the invasion of Panama in 1989 (Fabrique Nationale M249 SAW, 2016). It has been used in nearly every American involved conflict from Panama in 1989 to Iraq in 2003 (Fabrique Nationale M249 SAW, 2016), and thus is a very well known weapon by American troops and other gun enthusiasts. The idea that a high-ranking Islamist extremist like al-Zarqawi and those closest to him are unable to correctly operate such a weapon would highly discredit the enemy in the eyes of coalition forces. The publishing of frames of such a video by the mass media serves to call the general public's attention to the supposed incompetence of al-Qaeda and its leaders.

Furthermore, comparing the sequence of the frames published by the National Post to the video posted online reveals how images can be manipulated by editors to tell a particular version of a story; a version that explicitly shows al-Zarqawi's inability to perform the basic duty that all US and coalition forces who make it through basic training are expected to be able to do: fire an automatic rifle. The effect is to make al-Zarqawi appear foolish and an ineffectual leader surrounded by equally incompetent subordinates. By mocking the other, the sequence of al-Zarqawi in image 17 bolsters the viewers' confidence in their own professionally trained military.

6.3.4 Prevalence of Intertextuality Across Images

As noted above, and in Chapter 4 section 2.3, when collecting the data for this dissertation the images were generally collected individually. Out of the total 1919 images coded, only 45 were made up of two or more photographs. This in itself explains the quantitative profile of the three intertextual concepts discussed above: clustering, pairing, and sequencing. As with the other concepts discussed in this chapter, these three were operationalized and the data was then coded. In coding the data for clustering, I operationalized the term as such: code any image of three or more photographs that are grouped together with no implied temporal sequence. In total 21 images were so coded. The two examples singled out for discussion above are particularly pertinent examples of how photographs can be clustered together by a publication in order to construct a particular view of the subjects and events represented.

The concept of pairing was operationalized as such: code those sources made up of just two images – of which there were only 17 in total – where the images encourage mutual reinforcement through the recognition of similarities and differences. Out of the 17 images made up of two photos, 11 were coded as exhibiting pairing. Before and after

shots are the quintessential exemplar of pairing, which is why the photo of the New York City skyline on and immediately after 9/11 was singled out for deeper analysis above.

The final intertextual strategy involving multiple photographs is the phenomenon of sequencing. It was operationalized as follows: code those sources made up of three or more images where they are shown together in such a way as to suggest a temporal relationship or timeline. Of the 1919 total images, only 28 were made up of three or more photographs and of those only 9 exhibited the temporal characteristic necessary to be coded as sequencing. The two images singled out for deeper analysis above are frames from video footage reproduced as still images. The way the still frames in the examples were reproduced on the one hand with long gaps missing from the original video, and on the other hand out of their original order, exemplify the performative implications of sequencing as an intertextual strategy.

6.4 Intertextuality Between Image and Text

Intertextuality between image and text “arises when written and visual texts are placed together, thereby providing context for and implying comment upon each other” (Werner 2004, 74). In the context of this project, the text in question is the caption of the images under study. That is to say, although these images were originally published in conjunction with newspaper articles, the text of those articles do not feature in this study. For insight into how intertextuality functions between image and text it is imperative to return full circle to the marriage between literary criticism and semiotics – that is, to return to the work of Roland Barthes. According to Barthes, text and other “linguistic elements can serve to ‘anchor’ (or constrain) the preferred readings of an image” (Chandler 2002). That is, the text captioning an image fixes “the floating chain of signifieds” (Chandler 2002, 75). The words do so through *anchorage*, whose principal function is ideological as it can serve to either constrain the multiplicity of meanings contained in a photograph (anchoring) or to call into question the message implied in the image (prompting reflexivity). In both instances the anchorage of the caption “allows the reader to choose between what could be a confusing number of possible denotive meanings” (Rose 2001, 81).

6.4.1 Anchoring

Anchoring refers to the ways in which images are anchored by their caption in an effort to “control the indeterminacy and multiplicity of meanings” in the image and to thereby “encourage a desired reading” (Werner 2004, 74). The critical ethos behind this concept is the suggestion that “it is worth questioning the caption’s authority to present meaning as unitary, unambiguous, stable and fixed” (Werner 2004, 74). As discussed further below, this is the most prevalent intertextual strategy in the dataset, due to the widespread practice of captioning news photographs. The examples of anchoring discussed below are broken into two categories: Anchoring the Self, and Anchoring the Other.

Anchoring the Self

The first example of how captions work to anchor the self in war photography is image 18. In this photograph an American soldier is shown in silhouette with the American flag waving backwards over the soldier’s head. While this symbolism may be lost on the casual observer, it is



Image 18: Published in The Economist on March 15

interesting to note that American military personnel wear the reversed flag on the right arm of their uniform. This is in order to ensure that the flag always appears to be advancing, and never retreating (Flag Rules and Regulations, 2016). The flag so appearing in image 18 thus indicates the forward movement of the soldier manning the weapon. The caption states ‘Very well, alone,’ anchoring the image as one of valour and bravery. The strategic placement of a comma after the words ‘very well’ ensure the reading of the caption as ‘very well, if we must we will go on alone’ whereas if the comma were not so placed, the meaning would be more along the lines of ‘we’re doing very well on our own.’ Taken in mid-March 2003, during the beginning stages of the invasion of Iraq, the caption so written with the comma works to emphasize the American administrations ‘willingness to go it alone,’ in Iraq, a discourse that had been playing out in the months prior to the invasion as the United Nations refused to sanction the American-led invasion.

The second example here is also of American soldiers in Iraq, this time in the fall of 2003, 7 months after the start of the initial invasion and 5 months after President Bush famously hung the Mission Accomplished banner on the USS Lincoln in May 2003. Image 19 shows two American soldiers in full combat kit in the foreground with a Humvee – one soldier is standing on the vehicle while the other is standing in front of it, both are facing the camera. In the background there is smoke from an explosion. Without



Image 19: “Terrorist bombings like the one shown above that killed six people near a central Baghdad hotel last Sunday, have become a major threat against American troops in Iraq. Military officials say the continuing attacks indicate that allied occupation forces face a difficult and prolonged struggle.” Published in the New York Times on October 19, 2003.

the caption the viewer may attribute responsibility for the violence to the two American soldiers. However, the caption clearly identifies the explosion in the background as a terrorist bombing that had killed six people. Furthermore, the caption goes on to identify such explosions as a ‘major threat against American troops’ – working to create empathy for the soldiers in the photo. As such, the multiplicity of possible meanings of image 19 are controlled by the caption, and a desired reading of American troops as potential victims of Iraqi terrorists – rather than as a hostile conquering force – is encouraged. The intertextual implications of

such anchoring as evinced in image 18, is to construct American forces as an invulnerable conquering force at the start of the war; unafraid to go it alone against the tyranny of Saddam Hussein in order to make Iraq and the world safe for democracy. However, in image 19, months after the mission was supposedly accomplished the intertextual implication is to anchor American forces as the valiant underdog, unappreciated by Iraqis, whose mission far from being accomplished has evolved into a ‘difficult and prolonged struggle’ thanks to ‘terrorist bombings.’ The captions echo wider societal

discourses taking place at the time, and help to construct the ‘self’ of the American public (and their allies) in contemporary war photography.

Anchoring the Other

The face plays a key role in the three photographs whose captions serve to anchor, and thus construct, the enemy other. In the first two examples, the subjects’ faces are



Image 20: “Entrainement hier de membres des Brigades des martyres d’al-Asqa qui ont revendiqué un nouvel attentat.” Published in *Le Devoir* on March 23-24, 2002.

masked

while in the final example the faces are unmasked but friend and enemy are indistinguishable. The first example, image 20, shows a group of armed and masked fighters running toward the camera. The French caption reads: ‘The as-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, shown

here training yesterday, have claimed responsibility for another

Image 21: “THE RESISTANCE U.S. troops met Fedayeen Saddam guerrillas, seen here marching last year in the northern town of Kirkuk. Most have since thrown away their masks.” Published in *TIME* on April 7, 2003.



An alliance fighter, left, stands near a truck in Bangi full of Taliban troops who surrendered.

attack.’ The caption

works to anchor the image by naming the masked group. Similarly the caption of image 21 identifies the masked subjects as members of the Fedayeen Saddam – the feared un-uniformed Iraqi guerrilla army loyal only to Saddam Hussein. In both examples the masked face serves to mystify the fighters, and give the impression that these men could easily blend into a crowd once they remove their masks – they could be anyone, anywhere. The implication being that the enemy other is mysterious, shadowy and unidentifiable.

The final example, image 22 reaffirms this suggestion, although the faces therein are unmasked and visible. The caption identifies the man to the extreme left in the photo as an ally of NATO troops, a member of the Northern Alliance. Without this caption the man’s group identity is indistinguishable from the men to his right, who according to the caption are members of the Taliban – the enemy. The intertextual implications of the captions here is to construct the enemy other as an unknown and hard to identify entity. Discourses following such logic have been used throughout the global war on terror to justify erosions of fundamental rights to privacy in order to unmask the enemy.

6.4.2 Prompting Reflexivity

The other type of intertextuality between image and text occurs when the caption rather than controlling the



Image 22: “An alliance fighter, left, stands near a truck in Bangi full of Taliban troops who surrendered.” Published in the *Washington Post* on November 25, 2001.

photo’s meaning instead encourages dissonance and works to “provoke questions and motivate inquiry” that is, the caption “counter[s] the implied values within an image by putting them into specific relief” (Werner 2004, 74). Captions that promote critical reflection on the content of photographs are often framed as a question.

Captions that Ask Questions

The two images below are examples of photographs published at points of controversy during conflicts, that is they were published at times where the media, politicians, and the public were asking critical questions about ongoing international events. In the first example, image 23, a group of American soldiers in full battle kit are shown in the background on an urban street in Iraq with two ducks in the foreground. Published on Jan 13, 2007 the caption cheekily asks ‘who are the sitting ducks?’ At the time of publication, US President Bush had just announced a new strategy to send thousands more American troops in to shore up security in Baghdad (Iraq Profile – timeline, 2015). The caption suggests American troops in Iraq are sitting ducks – easy targets for their enemies. A caption appearing in a major global publication around the same time that politicians were making decisions to send more troops into an



Image 23: Published in The Economist on January 13, 2007.

already prolonged conflict encourages the reader/viewer to critically reflect on the soundness of such a plan.

Similarly, the caption of image 24 encourages the reader/viewer to question the soundness of a plan of action proposed by politicians – or lack thereof. Published in August 2013 at the time of the Ghouta Gas attack in Syria, the caption asks ‘If this isn’t a red line, what is?’ This is in reference to President Obama’s threats to intervene militarily in the ongoing Syrian civil war. The civil war began in 2011 as part of the wider popular democratic movement in the Middle East known as the Arab Spring. The administration of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad moved quickly to suppress the popular uprisings, using the Syrian military against the civilian population. In 2012, US President Barack Obama responded to allegations that Assad had even used chemical weapons against civilians by saying “that a redline for us is...chemical weapons...being utilized” the crossing of which would lead to “enormous consequences” (Obama warns Syria, 2012). Yet one short year later, the Assad’s forces used chemical weapons again when they fired rockets armed with sarin gas into the opposition-controlled suburb of Damascus. Thus, the question begged by this caption serves to remind the reader of Obama’s redline speech, and prompts them to



Image 24: Published in The Economist on August 24, 2013.

question what the enormous consequences will be and when Assad will have to face them.

6.4.3 Prevalence of Intertextuality between Images and Texts

Of the three broad intertextual categories discussed in this chapter intertextuality between image and text was by far the most prevalent. This is due to the near ubiquitous use of captions throughout the data: 1757 of the total 1919 images employ the use of captions. Of these 1757, 1618 images were coded as examples of anchoring, which was operationalized as: code those sources made up of only one photograph wherein the caption is used to anchor the image by controlling the multiplicity of possible meanings. The five examples singled out above for deeper analysis reveal the ways in which editors use captions to control the possible meanings of a photograph. They also speak to the wider performative implications of the use of anchoring.

Captions can also prompt reflexivity while simultaneously exhibiting anchorage – the constraints placed on the reading of an image by its caption. For coding, prompting reflexivity was operationalized as: use for those sources made up of one image, where the caption encourages dissonance and counters the values implied by the photo's content. Of the 1757 captioned images, 39 were coded as exhibiting a prompt to reflective thought; often those captions were posed as questions. The two examples discussed above demonstrate how some captions pick up on wider critical discourses and encourage viewers to engage with the wider politics surrounding the photograph.

Conclusion

As a mode of analysis, intertextuality has a long history in the humanities and social sciences. However, the term itself did not appear until Julia Kristeva's translations and analyses of Mikhail Bakhtin in France during the 1960s. Kristeva's principle argument was that history and texts are co-constitutive of each other. The critical theoretical value of intertextuality as a mode of analysis is its focus on the productive power – the meaning making potential – of the intertext. This requires attention to wider power relations and discourses in society, because the general thesis of intertextuality is that texts, both literary and visual, lack independent meaning. Although all texts are intertextual, different texts embody different productive capacities. Fictional texts and works of art, while occupying powerful cultural positions in society, do not occupy the same space as so called factual texts like journalistic reports or scientific data.

In this way, photojournalistic images are unique when compared to other types of visual texts – including other types of photographs. The doxa of photojournalism is that these images are unmediated snapshots of an external objective reality. However, this doxa is challenged through alternative view of photography that informs this dissertation: photographs embody practices of representation that construct and perform political phenomenon. This alternative understanding is attentive to the social, political and historical context of photographs, and requires reflection on the intertextual relationships of images. The above chapter has focused on three such intertextual relationships: intertextuality within images, intertextuality across images, and intertextuality between images and words.

Intertextuality within individual images involves the relationship between different parts of the same image. This type of intertextuality includes the categories of binary juxtaposing and parodic allusion. When an image brings together two contrasting or disparate forms binary juxtaposing takes place – particularly when the inclusion of

those two forms provokes and evaluative interpretation of the events in the photographs. The example images discussed above analyzed the different interpretations provoked when children and soldiers are photographed together. At times such juxtapositions serve to turn western soldiers into agents of humanitarian aid, while at other times they uphold a more traditional view of soldiers as war wagers tasked with a distasteful, yet necessary duty. These examples also revealed interesting contrasts between Canadian and American military identities. Canadians are encouraged to embrace a carefully constructed peacekeeper identity for their military – despite over a decade of intense combat duty in Afghanistan. Americans on the other hand are encouraged to attach an emotional patriotism to their military, feelings that are linked to the protection of American freedom despite years of intense, and largely ineffectual, combat far from American soil.

Parodic allusion is the other mode of intertextuality analyzed under intertextuality within images. It involves the incorporation of popular culture or iconic events into a photograph. The three examples all reveal the productive power of their respective intertexts. The image of firefighters raising the American flag over ground zero mimics the iconic Iwo Jima image. Both are symbolic of communal and democratic values, and assure the viewer that the brave and patriotic labor of such American heroes will ensure enduring American liberty. The second alludes to Tiananmen Square reinforces the ideological legitimacy of foreign protest movements against Israel by placing them on ideological footing with the iconic Tank Man. The final example uses visual quoting to allude to events on the Eastern Front during the Holocaust, and encourages the viewer to remain vigilant against the possible resurgence of genocidal fascism. Essentially, parodic allusion draws lessons from the past forward into the present.

Intertextuality across spatially proximate images involves the analysis of the meaning making power of images published together as a group. Three categories were included in the above analysis: clustering, pairing, and sequencing. Clustering describes photos published together as a mosaic. The examples presented in this chapter are unified around the theme of the humanization and valorization of ‘the grunt.’ They also play the strategic ideological role of rehumanizing the modern soldier. Pairing happens when two photos are published side by side to highlight contrasts. The above example presents the 9/11 attacks as attacks on the symbolic heart of advanced consumer capitalism. It also reveals the vulnerability of the societies that enable the construction of such massive buildings. Finally, sequencing is when photos are published together to create a temporal relationship. In the above discussion the first example, the Apache killing video, forms part of a larger discourse in American society about that country’s military role in Iraq. The second example mocks al-Qaeda in Iraq leader al-Zarqawi and is published out of order to magnify his ineptitude with common automatic weapon. By doing so it bolsters the viewers confidence in their own professionally trained military.

Intertextuality between images and texts refers here to the relationship between photographs and their captions. The two categories – anchoring and prompting reflexivity – are both forms of ‘anchorage’: the way that words constrain the reading of an image. Anchoring reveals how captions control the multiplicity of meanings of an image and thus encourages a particular reading of the image. The first example singled out for analysis above shows how captions echo wider societal discourses at the start of the Iraq War versus 7 years after the initial invasion. The second example works to construct the

enemy other as fluid and unknown, and similarly work in conjunction with wider discourses about security and freedom in the war on terror. Captions that prompt reflexivity encourage dissonance in the viewer, provoke inquiry and are often phrased as a question. These captions often appear at points of time when a conflict is under public scrutiny. The next chapter in this dissertation takes a deeper look at the social and political context of contemporary war photography through an exploration of Visual Rhetoric.

Chapter 7: Visual Rhetoric

Like intertextuality, visual rhetoric is one of the many ways that images communicate and produce meaning. Indeed, visual rhetoric is perhaps best understood as a sort of ‘meta’ level intertextuality – it involves the production of meaning through reference to routinized visual conventions. These conventions are known as tropes, and are briefly discussed above in section 3.3.1. Tropes travel freely across the visual sphere of popular culture, unlike iconic images they refer to conceptual form rather than specific photographs. This makes tropes both more easily recognizable and generalizable in comparison to the categories of intertextuality discussed above in chapter 6.

This chapter uses tropes as the foundation for an analysis of the power of visual rhetoric in contemporary war photography. Before describing and discussing the occurrence of some particularly powerful tropes, this chapter first provides a theorization of visual rhetoric. It then proceeds to demonstrate the performative power of raced and gendered tropes in war photography. Illustrating in the process – as do the chapters above – how the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography is the ‘civilizational’ progress narrative. This narrative has already been identified in the introduction and throughout this work as the ideological basis of the postmodern state. By investigating visual rhetoric, this chapter aims to touch on how the state as ideology is performed and reproduced in war photography.

7.1 Visual Rhetoric

The concept of visual rhetoric is “concerned with understanding how images communicate, how they function in a social and cultural environment, and how they embody meaning” (Wright 2011: 1) Two key concepts make up visual rhetoric: metaphor and metonymy. The first, metaphor, refers to the transferring of qualities from one sign to another. For example, a photo of a lone man in a war ravaged landscape, like image 25 below may act as a metaphor for the devastation wrecked by war on the human condition.



Image 25

The second, metonymy, is the use of one signified to stand in for another that is directly or closely related to it. For example, a photo of a grieving mother like that in image 26 below may stand in for an entire category of humanity – adult women and the main subject position they stereotypically occupy in war: grieving wives/mothers.



Image 26

Together these concepts help build a theory of visual rhetoric wherein “pictures are not merely analogous to visual perception but symbolic artifacts constructed from the conventions of a particular culture” (Scott 1994: 252). As regards this dissertation, one rhetorical device is of particular concern: the trope.

7.1.1 Tropes

As discussed above in section 3.3.1, tropes are simplifications and patterns that conform to existing social frames. They combine metaphors and metonyms to play a complex “role in the formation of community, identity, and [in] reinforcing our beliefs” about the world around us (Wright 2011: 1). The performative and persuasive power of tropes is thus “communicated by the implicit selection” of a variety of elements (Scott 1994: 253) such as point of view, camera angle, form, and subject. Our response to such “selective communication would necessarily draw on a shared visual vocabulary and a learned system of pictorial conventions” (Scott 1994: 253) like those discussed above in section 3.3.1. As such, the tropes coded for during the analysis phase of this project were included in the coding dictionary due to their prevalence in visual culture – a list of all the coded tropes can be found in Appendix A.

This chapter focuses on three particularly interesting raced and gendered tropes that occur in the data: the Islamic Protest, the Oppressed Muslim Woman, and the Terrorist. Together these tropes work to construct and perform the Muslim Other. Since the end of the Cold War – particularly since 9/11 – “‘Islam’ and ‘the West’ have taken on powerful...urgency” (Said 2008: 10). These are the two principle identity constructs at play in the civilizational struggle that forms the dominant regime of representation of contemporary war photography. In contemplating these identity constructs, it is worth quoting Said at length:

At present, “Islam” and “the West” have taken on a powerful new urgency everywhere. And we must note immediately that it is always the West, and not Christianity, its principle religion, the world of Islam – its varied societies, histories, and languages notwithstanding – is still mired in religion, primitivity, and backwardness. Therefore, the West is modern, greater than the sum of its parts, full of enriching contradictions and yet always “Western” in its cultural identity; the world of Islam on the other hand, is no more than “Islam,”

reducible to a small number of unchanging characteristics despite the appearance of contradictions and experiences of variety that seem on the surface to be as plentiful as those of the West. (Said 2008: 9-10)

Islam and the Muslim Other are thus frequently reduced to “caricatures of Muslims as oil suppliers, as terrorists, and...as bloodthirsty mobs” (Said 2008: 6). The discussion below delves deeper into how common tropes found throughout the visual culture work to perform the Muslim Other.

7.2 Tropes and Performance of the (Muslim) Other

As with the other theoretical and conceptual categories that drive this dissertation, tropes must be understood as forming part of a wider discursive frame. Thus, it is imperative to recognize that, as such, certain tropes produce “through different practices of representation (scholarships, exhibition, literature, painting, etc), a form of racialized knowledge of the other [that is]...deeply implicated in the operations of power” (Hall 1997: 260) that make up international politics. This racialized knowledge is known as *orientalism* – “a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinctions made between ‘the Orient’” (Said 1979: 5) and the West. At its core, orientalist discourse is founded on “the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, ‘mind,’ [and] destiny” (Said 1979: 5). The ‘truth’ or ‘reality’ of this East/West distinction is superfluous, as it is the operation of orientalism as a mode of thought and understanding – a discursive logic – that is of concern here.

As discussed above, tropes serve to render the strange familiar through caricature. Often, they serve as “an anchor linking us to the dominant ways of thinking in our society” (Chandler 2002, 124) – particularly our thinking and understanding of geographically, culturally, and racially different ‘others.’ Once a trope is deployed in the visual sphere and recognized as such the image “becomes part of a much larger system of associations beyond our control” (Chandler 2002, 124). Different tropes follow different discursive logics; the tropes covered in this section are undergirded by the orientalist mode of thought outlined above. They are: the Islamic Protest, the Oppressed Muslim Woman, and the Terrorist. As they travel across the visual sphere, these tropes work together to construct and perform the West’s vision of the Muslim other and the Islamic world – simultaneously impacting the construction of the self, and the state, in international politics.

7.2.1 The Islamic Protest

The Islamic Protest trope can be traced back to the televised coverage of the anti-American protests during the 1979-1981 Iranian hostage crises. Throughout those 444 days, Western news media “showed mobs of fanatical-looking Iranians...besieging the embassy, chanting anti-American epithets, shaking their fists, burning the American flag, and otherwise reviling the hostages and the country they represented” (Deaville 2012). The Iranian hostage crisis was post-WWII America’s “first important contact with the Islamic world” (Deaville 2012) – unlike Europe, particularly Britain and France, the United States did not have a long colonial history in the region. Thus, although influenced by the existence of a long-standing tradition of orientalist thought, the events in Iran in 1979-1981 were extremely influential on the American public.

Those events “helped to stamp a stereotype of the Middle East” onto the collective American (Western) sub-conscious that recurs over and over again “from the hostage crisis to the Intifada, 9/11, and the War on Terror” (Deaville 2012). This is the Islamic Protest trope, characterized by images of a “nameless mob of Islamic people (overwhelmingly males) vehemently chanting in an incomprehensible language” (Deaville 2012). This trope represents Muslims, and the Islamic world generally, as irrational, crazed, and driven by a blind hatred of America. It erases the complexities of the specific events photographed, and undercuts and possibly discussion that the protestors pictured may have any form of legitimate grievance.

The Islamic Protest trope was found in 86 of the 1919 images that make up both datasets in this project, and was coded for 169 times.¹⁵ While these numbers may seem somewhat low, when taking into consideration that protest pictures, of any kind, are uncommon in the data (140 total) then 86 images containing the Islamic Protest trope becomes significant; the matrix below in table 1 shows which event/activity codes in the data overlap with the Islamic Protest trope.

Event/Activity Code	Islamic Protest
demonstration	14
resistance-protest-defiance	37
commemoration	1
flag raising or lowering	1
victory celebration	8
funeral procession	6
transporting dead body	8
civilians post-attack	16
Abu Ghraib	2
arrest-detainment	1
prisoners	1
awaiting orders	1
troops in field	1
troops on guard	1
troops on parade	1
civil unrest	4
conventional	6
post-attack	6
terrorist attack	10
funeral procession	8
parade	1
protest	38
food or medical aid	1
hospital	2
refugee camps	1
refugees	1
election	1
occupation	1
prison	1

Table 1: Quantitative Analysis of Islamic Protest Trope

¹⁵ This is explained by the fact that some image files contain more than one photograph, similarly in table 17 the numbers in the Islamic protest column exceed 169 because the same image may be coded under more than one of the Event/Activity categories.

7.2.2 *The Oppressed Muslim Woman*

The Oppressed Muslim Woman (OMW) trope has evolved out of the orientalist popular culture representations of ‘Arab’ and ‘Muslim’ women. In this trope, as in the other two tropes discussed in this section, Muslim and Arab subjectivities are often conflated. As such, a particular racial othering takes place wherein “the inherent – and enormous – variety of the world’s Muslim population” is reduced to one “type: fanatical, misogynistic, [and] anti-American” (Alsultany 2012). By reducing the complexities of both Arab peoples (who are not all Muslims) and Muslims (who are not all Arab) to a single barbaric/uncivilized/inhuman other it becomes easier to hold the West (the Self) up as everything Arabs/Muslims are *not*: “equal and democratic, culturally diverse and civilized, a land of progressive men and liberated women” (Alsultany 2012). Indeed, the plight of Arab/Muslim women is a driving narrative in the Global War on Terror.

The OMW trope is a caricature of all the Western fears and anxieties projected onto Muslim and Arab women. As mentioned above, as a trope it arose out of orientalist popular culture – particularly Hollywood representations of the Islamic world. Before decolonization after the Second World War Arab/Muslim women were represented as harem girls and belly dancers. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, a period of intense conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, Muslim women emerged as “sexy but deadly terrorists” (Alsultany 2012). Then in the 1980s, as the Cold War heated up on the ground in Afghanistan, the dominant representation of Muslim women shifted to the “veiled and oppressed” (Alsultany 2012). In the new millennium all of these representations have in some way melded together to form the OMW trope – the harem girl is now the child bride, the sexy terrorists is the misguided ISIS recruit, and the (un)veiling of Muslim women is causing political fallout in non-Muslim majority countries.

As far as war photography, and the news media in general are concerned, although the OMW is an easily recognizable trope it is not frequently made explicitly visible. Muslim women “are made invisible by the...media in two ways: they are either not represented” or represented infrequently as compared to other subject positions; “or when they are [represented] it is to accentuate their invisibility” (Alsultany 2012) by focusing on their lack of active agency. This trope thus effectively gives the Western liberal world a valiant justification for violent intervention in the Islamic world. By claiming to be concerned with liberating Muslim women, the patriarchal societies of the Global North can further oppress all women and disguise this oppression as the liberation of some women. This double move occurs when Muslim women are constructed and represented as worse off than their counterparts in the Western world, and therefore the legitimate concerns of Western feminists – equal pay for equal work, affordable child care, the dismantling of rape culture, etc – are deemed insignificant in the face of honor killings, female genital mutilation, and forced marriage. Thus, the Oppressed Muslim Woman trope also serves as a silencing tactic in wider global discourses on gender, helping to reinforce the traditional gender binary upon which the modern state rests.

The Oppressed Muslim Woman trope is one of the least frequently coded tropes in the dataset – it only occurs in 14 of the 1919 images. This does not, however, diminish its significance. This lack of representation is actually in line with the underlying narrative of the OMW trope – that Muslim women are invisible, veiled, oppressed, and lack agency. The proportion of their representation in contemporary war photography –

which as a genre is highly focused on the Islamic world – mirrors their subordinate status in the Western imagination. Also, when one takes into consideration that photos of Arab/Muslim women makes up only 0.02% of the data (40 images), then the significance of the OMW trope becomes clear – 45% of the time that Arab/Muslim women are represented in the data they fall into the Oppressed Muslim Woman trope.

7.2.3 *The Terrorist*

The Terrorist trope is perhaps the most prevalent and recognizable representation of Muslims, particularly Muslim men, in Western society. Just as in the case of the Oppressed Muslim Woman trope discussed above, the Terrorist trope relies on the conflagration of Arab-ness and Islam. In this melding of Arab/Islamic identities there is little room for nuance. In much of Western media “Arab/Islamic culture is usually portrayed as primitive and barbaric and contrasted with European and American culture, which is portrayed as civilized and enlightened” (Alsultany 2012). The roots of this regime of representation lie in European escapades in the Islamic world – including the crusades of the 11th-15th centuries and the more recent history of European colonialism in the Middle East. This contact between ‘Occident’ and ‘Orient’ gave rise to the system of knowledge that is orientalism – a racial othering rife with “narratives of patriarchal societies and oppressed women, of Muslim fundamentalism and anti-Semitism, of irrational violence and suicide bombings” (Alsultany 2012). This construction of Arabs/Muslims as irrational and barbaric goes a long way in undermining any just or righteous cause for violent dissent against Western power by the Islamic world. This delegitimization is made particularly effective by constructing any angry or dissatisfied Muslim man as ‘the Terrorist.’

Like the Oppressed Muslim Woman, the Terrorist is a racialized trope linked to the stereotyping of individual subjects based on their outward physical appearance – see section 5.3.1 for a full discussion on the role of race in war photography. As noted above, tropes that work to construct and perform the Muslim other rest on the equivocation of Islam with a raced body – the stereotyping of “‘brown-skinned men with beards and women with headscarves...as ‘Muslims’” (Gotanda 2011: 186). Like the OMW trope, the Terrorist trope involves a double move of both racialization and gendering. While Muslim women may be categorized as terrorists in their own right it is more often that they are constructed as coerced participants in the terrorist activities of Muslim men.

The Terrorist trope is just the latest iteration of orientalist stereotyping of Arab/Muslim men. Indeed, “over the last century Arab/Muslim men have most often been represented” in popular culture and the media “as romantic shaykhs, rich oil shaykhs and, most notably, terrorists” (Alsultany 2012). As with the evolution of the OMW trope from harem girl to veiled-and-invisible subject, the ascendancy of the Arab/Muslim man-as-terrorist trope can be linked to the rise of the United States as a global cultural and political powerhouse. In effect, the geopolitical rise of the United States after WWII relied on representations of the raced and gendered foreign other to help solidify American identity. As such, “the projection of erotic fantasies onto the Middle East began to shift to more ominous representations of violence and terrorism” (Alsultany 2012). This began shortly after the creation of Israel in 1948, gained more ground throughout the 1960s-1980s with the rise of the Palestinian resistance movement, and culminated as *doxa* in the 21st century following the tragic events of September 11, 2001.

The raced and gendered nature of the Terrorist trope is born out in the data. Of the 149 times the Terrorist trope was coded for in the data 119 times was as Arab, 28 times was as Central Asian, 2 times was as African, and 2 times was as White. It should be noted that the only time a white subject was coded as 'Terrorist' was an image of John Walker Lindh – a white American man captured while fighting alongside the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001. Thus, the subjects coded as Terrorist in the data are exclusively identified as followers of Islam.

As regards gender, the Terrorist trope aligns with two codes: 'Male' (images containing only adult male subjects) and 'Male and Female' (images of adult men and women together with no children present). 145 of the 149 instances of coding for the Terrorist were at the node 'male,' while only 4 were at the node 'male and female.' Thus, when subjects are represented as the Terrorist in the data they are uniquely raced/gendered as Muslim men. As terrorism is constructed as an illegitimate use of violence in international relations, the alignment of Muslim men with terrorist violence serves to uphold the hierarchical narrative of the West as civilized, just, and correct in its use of force against foreign populations.

Conclusion

Visual rhetoric refers to the ways that meaning is constructed, produced, and performed by visual imagery as it travels through popular culture and common-sense knowledge (*doxa*). Western visual culture is rife with multiple routinized visual conventions that help people make sense of the wider world. In particular, tropes – simplified caricatures of complex subject positions – act as co-constitutive elements in the visual field. They conform to already existing knowledge patterns and narratives of raced and gendered others while simultaneously working to extend such discourses throughout society. The raced and gendered tropes discussed in this chapter – the Islamic Protest, the Oppressed Muslim Woman, and the Terrorist – serve to uphold and reinforce unequal power relations in geopolitics.

As discussed above, the tropes identified in this chapter as having a particularly potent impact on Western conceptions of the Islamic world are mired in a history of orientalist thought which conflates the identities of 'Arabs' and 'Muslims.' This conflation was shown to enable a particular form of racial and gendered othering that reduces the complex lives of hundreds of millions of people to a monolithic identity category: the Muslim Other. Which is thus (re)presented as barbaric/uncivilized and ultimately inhuman.

The Islamic protest trope does so by representing the Islamic world as crazed, irrational, and driven by a hatred of Western society and values. It works to close down open and honest discussion about the possibility that people's living in the Islamic world (Muslim and otherwise) may indeed have legitimate grievances against both outside sources of intervention in their lives, as well as their own governments. The Oppressed Muslim Woman and the Terrorist tropes are the two gender poles of this Arab-as-Muslim narrative. They work to uphold each other – Muslim women and oppressed by irrational Muslim men who engage in terrorist activities because they are not 'real men.'

In this fiction, 'real men' are backed by legitimate, state-sanctioned militaries, and they fight legitimate and just wars in the name of equality, human rights, freedom and democracy. Thus, the "oppressed Muslim woman" offers an explanation as to "why terrorism occurs: Muslim men oppress their women and regard the West with contempt

for its equal gender relations, as a result, they want to subjugate the rest of the world and impose their way of upon it” (Alsultany 2012). This narrative runs deep in contemporary war photography and plays an important role in the conditions of possibility for geopolitics.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Photography, the State, and War embodies an aesthetic approach to the study of International Relations that explores “how representative practices themselves have come to constitute and shape political practices” (Bleiker 2001: 509). This is in an effort to investigate ““how reality is seen, framed, read, and generated in the conceptualization and actualization of the global event”” (Bleiker 2001: 531). The representative artefacts in question are contemporary war photographs, which as a genre conceptualize and actualize violent global events. To this end, the above dissertation asks a series of interrelated research questions of both an empirical and interpretive nature.

Empirically it asks: what do war photographs show? This is in an effort to give a broad overview of the representational practices of contemporary war photography as a genre. As argued by Bleiker (2001: 509), unpacking such representative practices is crucial as they are productive of political practices. Thus, in order to answer this dissertation’s main interpretive research question – how do war photographs construct and perform the state? – it must first clarify the genre’s representational practices. After so doing, it is possible to delve more deeply into the interpretive realm by answering: how the performative power of these representational practices work to reproduce the state in international politics, and, furthermore the conditions of possibility for geopolitics that result.

The main argument put forward in answering these questions is that visual imagery plays a key role in the production and maintenance of the state. In so doing it begins with a conceptualization of the state as ideology – a practice of governance reliant upon various systems of meaning, which make the world intelligible. This position asserts that the state lacks any fixed ontological status outside of the myriad social practices that continually bring it into being. One such social practice is war photography – both in the sense of the performative power of actual photographs; and in the sense of the productive power of media institutions that disseminate war photographs. War photography is a particularly interesting practice because of the intimate relationship between war and the state. Wars both manipulate state development through the social and economic resources they require, as well as instigate intense changes in society through the disruption of normal life. Furthermore, wars contribute to the maintenance of particular identity constructs by drawing violent lines between Self and Other.

War photography was thus chosen for study in the above dissertation for the ways it communicates and represents warfare in the mass media. The principle argument being that contemporary war photography helps produce the conditions of possibility for geopolitics. It does so by shaping what people do and do not see when it comes to contemporary warfare. Due to the widely held assumption that ‘seeing is believing’ and the doxa that photojournalism provides an objective record of global events, war photography not only shapes what is seen by the public but also what can be thought and legitimately debated in the public realm.

The assertion that visual culture in general, and photojournalistic images in particular, “are central to contemporary geopolitics” (Campbell 2011: 1) has more or less been accepted by critical scholars in the field of International Relations – and indeed by many in the discipline’s mainstream. This is evinced by the relatively rich and diverse literature reviewed above in chapter 2, and summarized again below. However, despite

the breadth and depth of work taking up the challenge of researching visuality, photography, and media in IR there remains room for new research that puts into practice the various insights from the existing literature while making a unique contribution to the growing body of knowledge in the sub-field of visual politics – this is where I see this dissertation being situated.

Thus, the challenge taken up above is the need for studies of visual politics to expose, as much as possible, the various “frames involved in the production of the field of perceptible reality” (Campbell 2011: 8). It does so through the careful construction of a methodologically rigorous “aesthetic strategy that draws history into view” (Campbell 2011: 8). As such, the following points are amongst its principle contributions to the study of visual politics: a survey of the state of the art of research on visuality in IR; an assessment of useful philosophical and theoretical insights on the same from outside the discipline of IR; a meticulously constructed research design and methodology that can be applied by future scholars; and a digital database/pictorial archive of thousands of contemporary war photographs.

Furthermore, the analyses presented above in chapters 5 through 7 offer an engagement with visual culture that aims to bring its significance to the foreground, something that studies of international politics have at times failed to do (Campbell 2007: 358). These analyses make a significant contribution to knowledge in that they reveal how the genre of war photography works to establish “visibilities (and...invisibilities), stereotypes, power relations, [and] the ability to know and to verify” (Campbell 2007: 358) the field of perceptible reality.

In effect, the visualization of contemporary war enabled by war photography and the mass media shapes the very nature of global politics by establishing a field of perceptible and permissible reality upon which actual political strategies are based. As argued throughout the above dissertation, contemporary war photography reifies a view of the world that pits the West against the Islamic world in a ‘civilizational’ struggle. The civilized versus the barbarous is thus the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography – working to constrict the conditions of possibility for geopolitics, and performing the liberal democratic state as the pinnacle of human progress. In the sections below I conclude by summarizing the key arguments and findings of this dissertation, while simultaneously reflecting on the implications of these findings for studies of visual politics in International Relations.

8.1 Visuality and International Relations

This dissertation begins by considering what the discipline of International Relations has made of visuality, photography, and media. This survey of work is intended to help the reader situate the current research in relation to others in the field, and to demonstrate the following gap in knowledge: a lack of studies that simultaneously engage with imagery both at the level of genre (enable here by a mixed-method analysis of a large dataset of over 1900 images), and at the level of particularity (enabled here by attention to the intertextuality of specific images). Considering a plurality of images in this way enables engagement with the broader regimes of representation at play in photojournalistic documentation of warfare. In so doing, the above project helps to unpack the performative dynamics of war photography in the 21st century, exposing deeply engrained assumptions about Self and Other that infuse international politics.

This gap in knowledge is identified as existing within the IR literature, as the above review focused solely on that discipline. While said focus may be considered narrow, it is justified by the fact that although IR has come relatively late to the taking up of an aesthetic approach to scholarship, it nonetheless offers a rich source of theorizations on the causes, consequences, and dynamics of warfare. The above study seeks to add to this legacy through a methodologically rigorous investigation into the visual politics of contemporary war photography.

In the literature review provided above in chapter 2 I offer an assessment of the state of the literature in IR that deals with visuality, photography, and the media. The chapter is broken down into two sections – the mainstream IR literature and the research from critical theorists of International Relations. The mainstream literature was found to mainly focus upon questions of cause and effect – primarily how media coverage of war and conflict influences foreign policy decision-making. In conjunction with this the mainstream strategic studies literature is devoted to improving the visual literacy of the security and military establishments in the West in order to increase their strategic capacity in the global war on terror.

Conversely, the critical IR literature largely rejects the cause and effect mandate of mainstream IR – instead focusing on questions of meaning production, construction, and performance. As the review in chapter 2 highlights, this body of scholarship appears as the most productive space in IR for engaging with the politics of visuality. The visual securitization literature is located closest to the mainstream due to its focus on exploring the relationship between visual imagery and decision making in IR. This is in contrast to poststructural approaches that primarily engage with the discourses enabled or denied by visual imagery. However, both the securitization and poststructuralist literature take specific visual images as their empirical focus – rejecting the large datasets favored by the mainstream literature.

Thus, both the mainstream and critical IR literatures were found to be lacking in some respects. First of all, the narrow epistemological focus of the mainstream on issues of causality was found to be restrictive and offer little insight into the social and political power relations constitutive of international politics – neglecting as they do to question the how and why of the current geopolitical status quo, its existence and its endurance. On the other hand, most critical IR research on visuality offers a very narrow focus on a small selection of images. This narrow focus can be very useful for exploring the power of specific images and their intertexts. However, an expanded view at the level of genre – as found in this dissertation – helps to unpack the imagery. After all, the images consumed by a society are constitutive of the collective attitudes therein. Thus, a mixed methods approach that analyses a large number of photographs gives a view of the broader regimes of representation at play in international politics. Such an approach incorporates insights from interpretivist research as the foundation of its theoretical framework. The next section provides a summary of that framework, before turning to a discussion of the project's research design and methodological contributions.

8.2 Theoretical Framework Revisited

The above study is situated within the interpretivist and postpositivist research tradition of critical International Relations theory. It takes seriously the assertion that “representation is always a form of power” and that “this power is at its peak if a form of representation is able to disguise its subjective origins and values” (Bleiker 2001: 515)

and present itself as an objective, factual record of events. In order to contemplate the productive and performative nature of this power it is necessary to approach the study of representation from the position that there is ‘no view from no where’ and that although objective reality exists our knowledge of political events is always filtered through the subjective experience of the human condition.

Our knowledges of the world are always partial and bound by experience. “Political reality does not exist in an a priori way. It comes into being only through the process of representation” (Bleiker 2001: 512). One such process of representation is war photography, the contemplation of which requires that (political) reality be understood as intersubjectively constructed through socially developed meanings. Thus, the above dissertation resets on a theoretical framework that incorporates a subjectivist epistemology wherein knowledge and reality are inseparable, and a relativist ontology that stresses the intersubjective construction of social meanings. Such an approach expands the list of permissible objects of inquiry in the discipline of IR from cause and effect studies, to interrogations into the shaping of the conditions of possibility for geopolitics.

The abandonment of a cause and effect framework in favour of an aesthetic approach that engages “the gap that inevitably opens between a form of representation” – war photography – “and the object it seeks to represent” (Bleiker 2001: 512) – political violence – is a key theoretical move made by this dissertation. It rests on the assertion that war photographs are not politically impactful in a directly causal sense, but by the ways they contribute to the conditions of possibility for geopolitics. They do so by contributing to the establishment of a field of perceptible reality. The “abstractions about war” that make up the lived reality of the West “are intertwined with representational practices that are...shaped by the dictates of the ...media industry” (Bleiker 2001: 525). Particularly in the way the media industry controls the representable, and mediates representations of Self and Other in their publication of war photographs. Both of these dictates rely on raced and gendered tropes and stereotypes, affective strategies, and long standing journalistic practices that are skewed to privilege Western values and interests.

The serious attention paid to the theoretical insights offered by feminist scholarship, critical race theory, and cultural studies throughout this dissertation is a key contribution to the study of visual politics in IR. Despite accusations that IR has paid little attention to visual representations, this dissertation maintains that visual politics is an emergent, growing, and vibrant sub-field in the discipline. Indeed, the perceived dearth of work on visual politics in IR is more or less attributable to the heterogeneity of the sub-field, and the methodological challenges pose by working with visual imagery. Visual images are hard to work with in that they straddle physical and mental boundaries between subject and object. Similarly, they are challenging in that they are not language per se, but can function as such – further complicated by the necessity of language for scholarly interpretation and analysis. Finally, images are subjective, contextual, and overflowing with affective energy. The next section summarizes how the above research rose to meet these methodological challenges through the development of a visual discourse analysis methodology.

8.3 Methodological Contribution: Visual Discourse Analysis

The above dissertation employs the methodology of Visual Discourse Analysis – a mixed method approach incorporating insights from content analysis, semiotics, and

discourse analysis. It is underpinned by the research paradigm of postpositivism, which employs an in depth analysis of empirical data with an eye to understanding the power dynamics of political phenomena – particularly the constitutive elements that help to produce the international. This paradigm is founded upon a subjectivist epistemology wherein the researcher can never separate themselves from their object of inquiry. It is also built upon a relativist ontology that accepts reality as socially and intersubjectively constructed at both the micro and macro political levels. This theoretical orientation flows from an understanding of the data under consideration – photographs – as politically impactful due to their performative and productive power. Thus, Visual Discourse Analysis eschews concerns with causality in favor of trying to unpack how visual imagery contributes to the conditions of possibility for geopolitics.

Chapter 4 is devoted to a detailed explanation of the Visual Discourse Analysis methodology that forms the backbone of this dissertation. It begins with a justification for methodological pluralism – a stance, which mixes somewhat disparate methodological tools in an effort to address the unique methodological challenges posed by visual data. These challenges include: the physical and mental boundary straddling nature of imagery; the constrictions of language; the context dependency of visual imagery; and the affective aspects of visuality. To address these challenges the Visual Discourse Analysis methodology laid out in Chapter 4 mixes methodological tools from content analysis (counting and analysing various elements in the data); semiotics (analyzing symbols and signs); and discourse analysis (focusing on power relations within and between images and other agents/structures). This methodological pluralism thus rejects the deeply entrenched antagonisms between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research.

The impetus behind constructing a unique research design and methodological approach from a mixture of such disparate tools was the drive to make a significant contribution to the emergent sub-field of visual politics. Essentially, visual politics operates at three different sites: production (the actual taking and subsequent publication of photographs); content (understanding the representational practices of images); and reception (the reaction of an audience to images) (Bleiker 2014: 76). Ideally, the study of visual politics incorporates analyses of all three sites. Employing mixed methods such as interviews with photojournalists and editors to understand the dynamics of production; following up with audience observation surveys and lab experiments to gauge the impact and reception of imagery; and using insights from semiotics, discourse analysis, and content analysis (Bleiker 2014: 76) to unpack the broader regimes of representation within, between, and across images. In practice incorporating all three sites at once offers significant challenges for the researcher.

Although “a comprehensive understanding of visual politics can only be reached across” the three sites of production, reception, and content (Bleiker 2014: 76) executing such a project faces serious practical challenges. These include gaining access to photojournalists and editors in order to conduct interviews, and constructing audience response surveys to distribute to a pre-selected sample population. It would further require interdisciplinary collaboration with political psychologists in order to conduct lab experiments that – for example – measure the affective impact of viewing the images. All of these efforts would no doubt add immensely to our understandings of visual politics, but they were not possible in the execution of the research presented in this dissertation.

The site of visual politics of particular concern to this dissertation is primarily “the challenge of understanding the content of images” (Bleiker 2014: 76) – that is, unpacking their representational practices. Despite this unitary focus, I argue that by offering a detailed investigation into one site of visual politics – the content and representational practices of contemporary war photography – this dissertation makes a significant contribution to the study of visual politics. This is due to the fact that the above research design, coding dictionary, pictorial archive, and resultant analyses help lay the groundwork for future research into the other two sites of visual politics: production and reception.

This project adds a systematically coded and organized digital visual archive, as well as an elaborate exploration into the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography, to the academic record. In so doing, it acts as a building block for future research into how the images in the archive were produced, as well as provide material from which experiments on audience impact can be constructed. Indeed, taking up the challenge of systematically investigating the content of hundreds of images is a labour intensive task, without which research into the other two sites of visual politics would not be able to take place. The core components of the visual discourse analysis methodology presented in this dissertation are summarized in detail below, after which the remainder of this chapter is devoted to discussing the implications of the key findings laid out in the three main analytical chapters.

The construction of the Visual Discourse Analysis method that makes up the foundation of this dissertation flows from a commitment to methodological pluralism; the practical needs of a through, yet workable research design; and the drawing together of quantitative and qualitative research strategies into one cohesive analytical approach. The need for methodological pluralism stems from the challenges enumerated above. Visual politics is far too complex to rely on insights from only one theoretical tradition. However, a cogent research design – even when embracing methodological pluralism – is still required.

The research design of the visual discourse analysis mapping the contemporary war photography landscape is based on three core components: defining a universe of meaning; data collection procedures; and the creation and exploration of a theoretically informed coding dictionary. The first component defines where (from which media outlets) and when (during which historical periods, and indeed which exact dates) the data was collected. As this dissertation is primarily concerned with the intertextual context of western perceptions of geopolitics in the age of terror the universe of meaning was defined as war photographs appearing in major Western print publications published between 2000 and 2013. The data was then collected using a modified random sampling technique – found above in chapter 4, tables 3 and 4. Finally, the data was coded using a theoretically informed coding dictionary in the software package Nvivo. The use of the coding dictionary allowed for the identification, tracking, and theoretical exploration of the elements that give meaning making power to visual images. The coding is thus the driving force behind the three analytical chapters: compositional analysis, intertextuality, and visual rhetoric.

In terms of its analytical approach this dissertation blends together elements from both quantitative and qualitative research methods. It draws inspiration from quantitative work, particularly from quantitative content analyses, and recognizes the necessity of

numerically tracking key compositional elements in the data. This is in order to gain an overall picture of the representational practices of war photography as a genre. Simultaneously, it does not discount the value of close qualitative readings of individual images – particularly in the building of the quantitative dataset. That is, the quantitative tracking of various elements in the data required a close qualitative evaluation of each and every individual image making up the digital archive in Nvivo.

This combination of quantitative and qualitative inspired methods helps this project avoid the pitfalls common to each. Often purely qualitative approaches run the risk of selection bias due to their relatively small datasets. This is avoided here by the collection and coding of over 1900 photographs. On the other hand, the above project also aims to evade the criticism that large dataset projects that incorporate a quantitative element are unable to evaluate the importance of the various rhetorical strategies that give power to discourse. In sum, the methodological plurality inherent in a Visual Discourse Analysis allows for both the tracking and tracing of contextual and compositional elements in the data, as well as for the identification of rhetorical strategies and discursive patterns that give war photographs their productive and performative power. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to summarizing the key findings that result from the application of this unique analytical approach.

The three analytical chapters that make up the body of this dissertation are designed to employ the Visual Discourse Analysis method summarized above to answer the project's empirical and interpretive research questions. To that end, Chapter 5 Compositional Analysis of War Photographs aims to answer the empirical research questions using a mixed methods approach. Meanwhile, the interpretive research questions are mainly answered through the analyses in Chapter 6 Intertextuality – Meaning Making in War Photography, and Chapter 7 Visual Rhetoric using more qualitative and interpretive inspired methods while still drawing forward insights from the quantitative coding of the data. The key findings of each chapter, and their implications for the study of visual politics in IR are presented below.

8.4 Tracing the Representational Practices of War Photography

The empirical questions that drive the analysis presented in Chapter 5 warrant repeating here, they are: what do war photographs show? What are the representational practices of war photography? As mentioned above, answering these empirical questions is essential for further interpretive analysis of the data in chapters 6 and 7. The compositional analysis of war photographs in chapter 5 answers these questions by analyzing and interpreting the computer assisted coding completed using the Nvivo software. The coding is analyzed along three broad compositional themes: states and conflicts; events and activities; and subjectivity. The key findings and implications of each theme are summarized below.

The analysis of the compositional theme states and conflicts investigates how particular states and conflicts are visually represented in the data. This is the mapping of the contemporary war photography landscape mentioned in the sub-title of this dissertation. Such a mapping is based on numerically tracking the frequency of 1) which states the photographs were taken in, and 2) which conflicts appear in the photographs. As the discussions in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 above highlight, the states most frequently coded in the data are Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel/Palestine and the United States. Similarly, the conflicts most frequently coded the Iraq War, the War in Afghanistan, the Arab-

Israeli conflict, and the War on Terror. These findings demonstrate how contemporary war photography in Western media is highly focused on wars directly involving Western states and their interests. This is despite the fact that conflicts happening closer to home – such as conflicts in Eastern Europe and the Americas (particularly Mexico) – are hardly represented in the data at all. Similarly, more costly wars – both in terms of total loss of life and production of refugees – in sub-Saharan Africa are noticeably absent in the data.

The main conclusion drawn from this analysis is that the so-called civilizational struggle between Western liberal democracies and the Islamic world is the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography. These findings support claims made in the literature that Western photojournalism “bears a complex relationship to the visual production of national identity and of liberal empire” (Kennedy 2008: 291). The over-representation of Western wars ostentatiously fought to ‘make the world safe for democracy’ help to reproduce the familiar storyline of contemporary geopolitics. The saturation of the visual field with images of the West at war in the Islamic world reaffirms the popular geopolitical imagination that the world is divided into “two unequal parts, the larger, ‘different’ one called the Orient, [and]... ‘our’ world, called the Occident or the West” (Said 1997: 4). The argument that the media – particularly in the United States, but indeed throughout the West – continually constructs the Islamic world as the barbarous other against which we measure out civility and construct our identity is not unique to this project.

Nevertheless, the empirical analysis offered in chapter 5 provides further justification for this position. For the study of visual politics this implies that future studies can focus less on the question of how mass media images reproduce a world split between the West and Islam, and focus more on why this is. The literature suggests that this Western and “American-centered viewpoint [is]...due to a complex mix of political, editorial and practical considerations” (Kennedy 2008: 286) – the production site of visual politics. Thus the empirical analysis presented in this dissertation confirms the literature’s suspicion that pictures bring the reality they purport to objectively reflect into being (Campbell 2007: 379-380). That is, the reality that the liberal West is in a state of perpetual violent struggle within and against the Islamic world is continually brought into being through a visual culture that over-represents and saturates the visual field with images of Western wars in the Islamic world. Future studies can draw on this empirical work in designing investigations into the media and journalistic practices that operate at the production site of visual politics.

Indications that the overarching regime of representation in contemporary war photography is that of civilizational struggle between the West and Islam continues throughout the analysis of the compositional theme Events and Activities. This analysis focuses on five key sub-themes: death, POWs/detainees, tools of war/troops at work, humanitarianism, and non-military casualties. Together these sub-categories provide an overarching picture of the actual actions that make up war photography as a genre. These actions are the representational practices that give war photographs their meaning beyond the simple territorial signifiers traced by the compositional theme states and conflicts summarized above. The finds from the analysis of each of the five sub-categories are summarized below.

Death is a fundamental part of warfare; indeed it is in effect war’s defining characteristic (Small and Singer 1982). Despite this, contemporary war photography is

marked by a restriction on the publication of death images, which is linked to the media economy of taste and decency wherein the media responds to the perceived public aversion to viewing images of violent death by simply not publishing them. The taste and decency argument is a compelling one, however without a systematically designed study that tracks death image publication over time it remains simply a convincing logical assertion.

The quantitative tracking of death images in this project helps to confirm that mass print media relatively rarely publishes death images. However, as this analysis focused solely on tracing content it is not possible to know why so few death images make it into the visual field. It could be that less death images are produced by photojournalists working in the state controlled embedded reporting system in effect in Iraq and Afghanistan (Campbell 2011) – the two most frequently depicted conflicts in the data set. Or it could equally be the case that the audience is averse to consuming such images. This project has no way to distinguish why so few death images are part of the dataset. However, it can confirm 1) that such images are rare, and 2) when death images are published they are twice as likely to be racial ‘others’ than they are to be Westerners. The significance of the raced and gendered nature of war photography continues throughout the analysis of the other four sub-categories that make up the compositional theme Events and Activities.

The sub-category POW/detainee is racially, spatially, and culturally dichotomous. On the one hand is the category ‘prisoner of war’ – a category infused with the legitimacy that come with being a soldier in a state sanctioned military. On the other hand, the category detainee is not afforded the same legitimacy as the POW. Detainees are captured fighters lacking any affiliation to a legitimate state military apparatus. Like the death image, the data coded under the sub-theme POWs/detainees is highly raced with only 6 out of 109 coded images showing Western subjects as prisoners. These findings reaffirm the regime of representation of contemporary war photography as one wherein the raced other is presented as infused with less political legitimacy than Western soldiers.

By far the most infamous contemporary images of detainees emerged out of the Abu Ghraib torture scandal. Those images are an example of one strategy of the broader regime of representation infusing contemporary war photography – that of belittling the other through representations of humiliation. These present the other as weak, vulnerable, and pathetic. This strategy thus presents the Muslim other as “someone to be laughed at rather than...feared” (Hansen 2011: 59) rendering them a manageable threat. By the same token, the representational practices found in the photographs in the troops at work/tools of war category presents Western soldiers as strong heroic agents – a subjectivity more often drawn along gendered rather than racial lines.

The analysis of the sub-themes troops at work/tools of war first reveals that, unlike some hypotheses suggest, technological superiority is not necessarily the dominant narrative of contemporary war photography. Rather, photos featuring human agents of war waging (soldiers) are nearly three times as prevalent than images showing machinery and weaponry. This is despite the insistence in the literature that photographs from the two most frequently coded conflicts in the data – Iraq and Afghanistan – are marked by a “‘highly restricted pattern of depiction limited largely to a discourse of military technological power and response’” (Kennedy 2008: 283; and Campbell 2011: 3). The implication of these findings for the study of visual politics is the insistence that future

studies not accept the assertion that images of technological superiority are necessarily the dominant discursive frame of war photography. Rather, the human-face of war waging is far more prevalent than images focused mainly on machines and weaponry. This leads me to conclude that while Western military superiority is a dominant discourse in the data, that superiority is represented as coming not just from technological advantages but also from the dedication and heroism of Western troops. The crucial role played by 'the soldier' in contemporary war photography is explored further below in the summary of Chapter 6.

Just as the data analyzed under the sub-categories of 'death' and 'POW/detainees' were skewed along racial lines, so too are images that depict soldiers drawn along gendered lines. When coupled with a gender analysis, those photos featuring soldiers were shown to be highly gendered both in the sense that photos of men as active war wagers occurred in over 99% of the data coded under 'troops at work,' and in the sense that war photographs follow a gender binary even when showing soldiers. That is, the more feminine category of 'troops at rest' contained nearly 5 times as many photos of women as soldiers (proportionately) than the 'masculine' action sub-theme 'troops at work.' These statistics lend credence to feminist arguments about the gendered nature of media reports of war and conflict such as arguments (Klaus and Kessel 2005: 347) that women are mainly used as placeholders and illustrations in war photography.

Women are often relegated to the position of domesticity when pictured in barracks, or to the victim role when shown being rescued by their male counterparts. The sheer deficit of images showing women as active agents of war waging imply that contemporary war photography uphold popular assumptions about the proper role of men and women in warfare. Critical IR theory has fruitfully engaged with and challenged this framing of women as passive victims, or valiant cheerleaders (Enloe 2010) for their men that go to war. Studies of visual politics can continue this work by demonstrating how these stereotypes are continually reproduced in the visual culture. Future research would benefit from engagement with the stunning gendered narrative exposed by this research wherein over 75% of the data featured uniquely male subjects, and less than 1% of active war waging is shown to be performed by women. An analysis that combines the findings from this analysis with a survey of the numbers and roles of active female military members could prove insightful.

The final sub-themes considered in chapter 5 are non-military casualties and humanitarianism, which like the sub-theme of death both cover the 'human costs' of war and conflict. Those photos coded under the heading non-military casualties are imbued with the affective logics of blame and responsibility, with the subjects pictured are more often than not racial, cultural and spatial others who if they would just conform to Western notions of civilization would be spared their suffering. The other end of the human-cost-of-war spectrum, are humanitarian framed war photographs. In such images the liberal interventionist logic of humanitarianism is incorporated into war photography. In effect, contemporary war photography functions to "support a geopolitical way of seeing that 'sees' no contradiction between...humanitarianism and the violent treatment of others" (Kennedy 2008: 291). The result is a visual discourse that lends credibility to the war waging done in the name of Western ideals, whilst simultaneously denying this motivation – pointing toward universalist values rather than strategic geopolitical motivations for war waging.

Ultimately, chapter 5 answers the research question what do war photographs show by revealing that by and large contemporary war photography is principally focused on active war waging as the ‘troops at work’ category is by and far the most frequently coded sub-theme in the data. Furthermore, it reveals that the representational practices of contemporary war photography are highly raced and gendered. This constructs war as a primarily masculine activity, as well as contemporary war being primarily a struggle between two civilizational masculinities: rational/logical Westerners and crazed/irrational Muslims. Tracing these dynamics and representational practices enables a deeper engagement with the data, and ultimately assists in answering the interpretive research questions.

8.5 Meaning Making in War Photography: Intertextuality and Visual Rhetoric

The interpretive set of research questions begins by asking how do war photographs construct and perform the state? The simple answer to this question is that they do so through their intertextuality. Both at the mesa-level: the intertextuality of individual photographs; and the meta-level: the visual rhetoric communicated by various tropes found in a genre of imagery. Chapter 6 above corresponds to the mesa-level of intertextuality, while chapter 7 addresses the meta-level of visual rhetoric. The overarching conclusion that can be drawn from both is that contemporary war photography works to construct and perform the state by reinforcing the dominant identity categories upon which international politics is based. The findings of each chapter are summarized below.

The impetus behind performing an intertextual analysis of pertinent example images from the data was to drill further down into the representational practices traced during the coding and analysis of the compositional themes in chapter 5. As highlighted in the above discussion, photographs are often suggested as being unmediated snapshots of an external reality that record events and provide evidence they occurred. This is the peak power of representation – immediate, the masking of the subjective nature of all representation – which only an aesthetic approach can unpack. Such an approach requires an alternative understanding of photography wherein photographs embody practices of representation that give meaning to, and perform political phenomena (Bleiker and Kay 2007: 140). Intertextuality does so by recasting photographs as constructed texts dependent upon their interactions with the wider visual field.

Chapter 6 focuses on the mesa-level intertextual meaning making potential of war photographs – the way they do more than simply pass along information, but also how they construct and perform identity and subjectivity. Three categories of intertextuality are considered: within images, across images, and between images and their captions. Intertextuality within images considers how different elements within individual images interact to produce meaning. Intertextuality across spatially proximate images comes into play when images are published next to each other with the intention they be read together. The final category of intertextuality involves the interaction between photographs and their captions. The findings of each category are summarized below, along with notes on their implications for the study of visual politics.

Intertextuality within images rests on the assumption that people hold mental images in their minds and this cognitive repertoire provides an intertext even when viewing standalone images. Two phenomena are at play in this category of intertextuality: binary juxtaposing and parodic allusion. Binary juxtaposing involves the

bringing together of two contrasting ideas, actions, or subject positions into a single image while parodic allusion involves the borrowing of compositional elements from famous and iconic images. Both categories offer interesting insights into the meaning making power of visual imagery. Binary juxtaposing does so in the above examples by showing how children are often juxtaposed against soldiers to produce Western military activities as either cloaked in a robe of humanitarian benevolence, or as a difficult and traumatic patriotic duty. Meanwhile, parodic allusion reveals how contemporary war photographs sometimes draw on the form of particular iconic images like to draw past experiences forward into the present.

The discussion of binary juxtaposing in Chapter 6 focuses on the abutment of two disparate subject positions: soldiers and children. The inclusion of children in war photographs at times follows a humanitarian logic. When soldiers in full battle kit are photographed delivering aid to vulnerable, racially marked, children the effect is the 'humanitarianization' of Western wars. The line between war waging and aid work is blurred. In the Canadian context this blurring serves to reinforce Canadian state identity of 'peacekeeper' even in cases where its troops are engaged in combat – such as during the War in Afghanistan. These findings demonstrate how power relations are produced by seemingly innocuous images of soldiers and children.

Other examples from the data do not make use of the humanitarian frame when including children and soldiers in the same photograph. Whereas Canadian troops are often framed as humanitarian agents, their American counterparts are shown engaging in active war waging in the presence of young children. These images are imbued with an emotional patriotism that puts the protection of American interests above the rights of foreign children. These findings imply that even where images contain similar compositional elements, the meanings produced emerge from the images' intertext. Thus those engaged in the study of visual politics must bear in mind that genre level content analyses must always be augmented by close qualitative and interpretive readings from the data; the analyses in chapter 6 of this dissertation provides a model for doing so.

The intertextuality of parodic allusion demonstrates how iconic images get carried forward into the visual culture. Three examples are discussed in Chapter 6: the 9/11 flag raising (Iwo Jima), an aid worker facing down a tank in the West Bank (Tiananmen 'tank man'), and a group of people huddled in a pit in Chechnya (the Nazi massacres on the Eastern Front). In each case the alluded events provide intertextual cues as to how to read the contemporary images. The firefighters on 9/11 are American patriots, the NGO worker in the West Bank embodies the power of the individual in liberal society, and the allusion to mass murder in Eastern Europe prompts vigilance against the return of fascism.

While intertextuality within images was broken into two forms, intertextuality across spatially proximate images occurs in three ways: clustering, sequencing, and pairing. Clustering occurs when multiple images are shown together. It is an aesthetic strategy used for the display of images. Usually images that are clustered together are unified around a particular theme or work together to tell a story and compel a narrative. The examples from the data selected for deeper analysis have the effect of humanizing the modern soldier. As discussed in the summary of chapter 5, the soldier as an agent of war waging is a frequent representational practice in contemporary war photography. The analysis in 6.3.1 serves to further contextualize those findings.

Like clustering, sequencing is a technique used for displaying multiple images together. However, unlike clustering where the images are unified around a theme the intertextual strategy of sequencing gives the images a temporal frame. The examples discussed in chapter 6 show how this technique can be used to manipulate a narrative, as do the examples of pairing. These forms of intertextuality show how photographs are not simple reflections of reality but rather serve to produce and construct a particular version of reality. The strategy of pairing similarly demonstrates the performative power of photography. When used strategically the aesthetic arrangement of paired photographs encourages the viewer to make comparisons and draw conclusions from the side-by-side placement of images.

Intertextuality between image and text is split into anchorage and prompting reflexivity. A caption that serves to anchor a photo and control its meaning-making potential, captions that prompt reflexivity are often posed as questions. They serve to promote critical reflection by the audience on the content of the image. Thus, the principle function of anchorage is to constrain the possible multiple meanings contained within an image. Conversely, captions that prompt reflexivity call into question the message implied by an image.

The examples of anchoring captions discussed in chapter 6 show the different ways images and texts work together to produce the self and other in war photographs. The dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography identified by this dissertation is the civilizational struggle between the liberal democratic West and the Islamic world. The images and their captions discussed in 6.4.1 provide poignant examples of how Self and Other are so constructed. This augments what the compositional analysis in chapter 5 revealed at the level of genre. These three types of intertextuality – within, across, and between images and texts – work to produce meaning at the mesa-level of intertextuality: the level of individual images. These thick descriptions of particular examples from the data augment the compositional analysis offered in chapter 5. However, a move to the meta-level of intertextuality – how images interact with the wider visual culture – completes the Visual Discourse Analysis. The help to answer the interpretive research question how do war photographs construct and perform the state by demonstrating how they interact with other images in the visual culture to reproduce longstanding identity constructions of self and other.

Thus, the final analytical chapter of this dissertation deals with intertextuality at that meta-level. It does so by analyzing three common tropes that act as rhetorical strategies in contemporary war photography. Tropes are simplifications and patterns that help to confirm and continue existing social frames. The form part of the wider discursive frame of war photography and as shown above in chapter 7 they often fall along raced and gendered lines. The tropes selected for deeper analysis above are the Islamic Protest, the Oppressed Muslim Woman, and the Terrorist. All three serve to uphold and reinforce unequal power relations in geopolitics. In particular these tropes are mired in a history of orientalist thought that reduces the complex lives of millions to a monolithic identity category: the Muslim other. This identity category is required by and constitutive of the dominant regime of representation in contemporary war photography.

Essentially, visual rhetoric involves the production of meaning through references to routinized visual conventions – tropes that reinforce established stereotypes, especially around race and gender. Insights from cultural studies are useful in drawing out the

significance of tropes in mass media. Through racist and gendered tropes, mass media makes “Islam cover everything that one most disapproves of from the stand point of civilized and Western rationality” (Said 1997: 8). The Islamic protest, oppressed Muslim woman, and Terrorist tropes discussed in chapter 7 combine different practices of representation to construct a racialized knowledge of the other that is deeply imbricated in the operations of power. As they travel across the visual sphere these tropes work together to perform Western vision of the Islamic world. These tropes conform to already existing knowledge patterns and narratives, whilst simultaneously extending those discourses throughout society.

Conclusion

This dissertation is based on a visual discourse analysis of over 1900 war photographs published in Western print media between 2000 and 2013. It argues that contemporary war photography constructs and performs the state as ideology through an overarching dominant regime of representation. This regime involves the reinforcement and maintenance of a civilization narrative that locks the liberal democratic west in a just, life or death, struggle with the Islamic world.

Given the advancements in digital and communications technology, future research on the performative power of war photography must move beyond the universe of meaning drawn on in this dissertation. Some suggestions for avenues of future research include the application of the visual discourse analysis laid out in chapter 4 to photographs collected from new media sources such as online news sites and social media. The current study serves as a useful benchmark for comparing possible narrative shifts between traditional and new media. Furthermore, the coding dictionary reproduced below in Appendix A could serve as a template for future researchers.

Appendix A: Coding Dictionary

Section 1: Technical Information

<i>Date</i>	October 22
	October 28
	October 29
2000	October 7
April 15	September 21
April 16	
April 21	2001
April 23	April 18-24
April 29	April 2
April 8	April 3
August 23	April 5
December 1	April 7
December 18	August 13
December 23	August 18
December 4	August 19
February 11	August 25
February 12	August 26
February 17	August 4
February 7	December 15
January 1	December 28
January 16	February 10
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July 8	July 5
June 20	June 18
March 13	March 12
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May 18-24	May 19
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2013

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January 3	Le Monde
January 7	Maclean's
July 3	National Post
June 3	New York Times
June 7	Newsweek
March 15	The Economist
March 16	The Guardian Weekly
March 18	Time
March 22	Toronto Star
May 11	Wall Street Journal
May 12	Washington Post
May 18	
May 19	
May 24	
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May 4	
November 15	
November 17	
November 2	
November 23	
November 24	
November 29-December 5	
November 30	
November 4	
November 6	
November 9	
October 14	
October 4	
September 23	
<i>Pallet</i>	
Black and White	
Color	
<i>Publication Language</i>	
English	
French	
<i>Publication State</i>	
Canada	
France	
United Kingdom	
United States	
<i>Title</i>	
Globe and Mail	
Le Devoir	
	Section 2: Content
	<i>Activity</i>
	<i>Civil Action</i>
	barricades
	demonstration
	flag burning
	infrastructure
	looting
	patrolling-policing
	resistance-protest-defiance
	commemoration-celebration
	commemoration
	flag raising or lowering
	metal ceremony
	monuments
	religious ceremony other than
	funeral
	victory celebration
	death
	burial-reburial
	dead body
	death scene
	execution
	funeral procession
	gathered dead
	human remains
	individual grave
	mass grave
	transporting dead body
	<i>Lone Soldier</i>
	child soldier
	on guard
	posing for photo

under fire
 with civilian
 with weapon
Military Casualties
 destitute veteran
 destroyed machinery
 fallen soldier portrait
 medical-medicine
 prostheses
 wounded soldier
Non-Military Casualties
 children of rape
 civilians post-attack
 destroyed monuments
 destroyed property
 hostages
 injured child
 refugee camp
 refugees
Prisoners-Detention
 Abu Ghraib
 arrest-detainment
 capture-surrender
 detainees
 escape tunnel
 internment camp
 interrogation
 prison
 prisoners
 war criminality
Tools of War
 aircraft
 equipment and kit
 gas masks
 helicopters
 machinery
 munitions
 naval vessels
 tank
 weaponry
Torture
 humiliation
 person or people being tortured
 tool used to torture
Troops at Rest
 barracks or on base

homecoming
 posing for group photo
 recruitment
 soldiers shipping out
Troops at Work
 awaiting orders
 breaking camp
 clearing landmines
 encampments
 movement-convoy
 officer(s) working or touring site
 on patrol
 parachuting
 troops in field
 troops on guard
 troops on parade

Conflict
 911
 Afghanistan War
 Angolan civil war
 Arab-Israeli Conflict
 Armenia-Azerbaijan war (1988- 1994)
 CAR Conflict
 Chechen War
 Columbian conflict
 Congo War
 Eritrean-Ethiopian War
 Gulf War
 India-Pakistan
 Internal conflict in Burma
 Iran-Iraq War
 Iraq War
 Ivorian Civil War
 Korean conflict
 Lebanon War
 Liberian civil war
 Libyan Civil War
 Northern Mali Conflict
 Operation Vaksince
 Philippine-American War
 Russian Civil War (1921-22)
 Russo-Georgian War
 Rwandan Genocide
 Sierra Leone civil war
 Somali Civil War
 Sri Lankan Civil War
 Sudan Civil War

Syrian Civil War
Syrian occupation of Lebanon
Thai political protests (2010)
The Troubles
Unknown
Vietnam War
War on Terror
WWI
WWII
Yugoslav War(s)

Event

Combat Typology

chemical weapons attack
civil unrest
conventional
coup
friendly fire
post-attack
terrorist attack
WMD attack

Homefront

cemetery
ceremony
funeral procession
memorial
parade
protest
repatriation

Humanitarian

disaster relief
evacuation
food or medical aid
hospital
refugee camps
schools

Non-Combat Activities

crowd control
election
grave excavation
guarding border
guarding prison or prisoner
hearts and minds campaign
mine or IED clearing
occupation

patrols
policing
prison
R&R
reconstruction
surveillance
training-preparation
war crime trial
war games

Peacekeeping

African Union
European Union
unilateral
United Nations

Gender

Male
Male and Female
Female
Male and Child
Male, Female, and Child
Boy
Girl
Female and Child

Race

White
White Israeli
Arab
Central Asian
Black African
Black African-American
Asian

State

Afghanistan
Algeria
Angola
Azerbaijan
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Burma
Cambodia
Canada
CAR
Chad
Chechnya

China
 Columbia
 Croatia
 Cuba
 Cyprus
 DRC
 Egypt
 France
 Georgia
 Germany
 Haiti
 India
 Iraq
 Israel
 Italy
 Ivory Coast
 Japan
 Jordan
 Kenya
 Korea
 Kosovo
 Kuwait
 Lebanon
 Liberia
 Libya
 Macedonia
 Mali
 Mexico
 Nepal
 Netherlands
 Nigeria
 Pakistan
 Palestine
 Papua New Guinea
 Philippines
 Poland
 Qatar
 Russia
 Rwanda
 Saudi Arabia
 Serbia
 Sierra Leone
 Somalia
 South Korea
 Spain
 Sri Lanka

Sudan
 Syria
 Thailand
 Turkey
 United Kingdom and Northern
 Ireland
 United States
 Unknown
 Vietnam
 Yemen

Subject

Human Subjects

Notable People

Bashir al Assad
 Donald Rumsfeld
 George W Bush
 Hillary Clinton
 Jessica Lynch
 Jon Stewart
 Maher Arar
 Muammar Gaddafi
 Osama bin Laden
 Prince Harry
 Qusay Hussein
 Romeo Dallaire
 Saddam Hussein
 Slobodan Milosevic
 Stephen Harper
 Tony Blair
 Uday Hussein

Number of People

1
 11+
 2-5
 6-10

Non-Human Subjects

airplane
 animal(s)
 books or documents
 civilian vehicle
 flag
 food
 forest
 graves
 helicopter
 landscape

machinery
 map
 military vehicle
 monument
 Mosque
 multiple buildings
 noose
 prison
 rural life
 ship
 single building
 underground tunnel
 urban life
 weaponry

innocence
 intimacy
 love
 'nine eleven'
 rage
 recreation
 shrine
 the body
 the face
 vision
 vulnerability
 worship

Section 3: Intertextuality

Caption

caption cut off
 no caption

Number of Images

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6

Photo Repetition

No
 Possibly
 Yes

Section 4: Visual Rhetoric

Affect

affect interest

high
 low

Affective Imagery

banal
 celebration
 death
 dominance
 emblematic
 exhaustion
 grief
 heroic
 humiliation

Tropes

Badass Army
 Biohazard
 Child
 Child Soldier
 Damsel in Distress
 David and Goliath
 Death From Above
 Frontline General
 Grieving Woman
 Hordes from the East
 Islamic Protest
 Join the Army
 Lone Wolf
 Lynching
 Malevolent Masked Men
 Naval Gazing
 Oppressed Muslim Woman
 Plane Spotting
 PoW
 Reverent Kiss
 Riding the Bomb
 Sinister Silhouette
 Soldier Tourist
 Storming the Beaches
 Tactical Withdrawal
 Tanks, but no Tanks
 Team Photo
 The Bomb
 The Falling Man
 The Great Wall
 'The Hooded Man'
 The Squad
 The Tank
 The Terrorist

'Third World' Rebel
To The Barricades
Urban Warfare
War Crimes
War Memorial
War Refugees
Waving Signs Around

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