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ARE ALL LIVES VALUED? WORTHY ‘US’, UNWORTHY ‘OTHERS’

A Comparative Content Analysis of Global News Agencies’ Pictorial Representation of the Paris Attacks and the Beirut Bombings.

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MSc in Media, Communication and Development

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Dissertation submitted to the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science, August 2016, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc in Media, Communication and Development. Supervised by Professor Nick Couldry

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Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the patterns in the global news agencies’ portrayal of terrorist attacks, from the much perceived incident of the 2015 November Paris attacks to the less recognized 2015 November Beirut bombings, in an attempt to illustrate the existence of hierarchical representation of the two events in relation to the discourse of ‘Othering’ and ‘hierarchy of lives’. Through the content analysis of the images in AP and Reuters’ photographic archives, the research attempt to bring theoretical backgrounds of photographic compositions and narratives, and identify the connotative messages of the recurring patterns in accordance to the literatures of discourse of Othering and visibility/grievability of distant sufferings.

The findings of the research suggest that global news agencies’ photographic representations of two geographically and culturally different terrorist attacks showed distinct patterns in terms of portraying and selecting the types of figures, objects, camera angles, camera shots, emotional tone and narrative action. Based on the observed results, the study first argues that the evident existence of the hierarchical news contents was visible in terms of ‘extraordinary’ news on the one hand, and ‘ordinary’ news on the other. Subsequently, it argues that the hierarchical events encompassed the underlying discourse of hierarchical lives and Othering in the photographic representational practices of the global news agencies, of which the distant sufferers of the Paris attacks were more humanized and grievable than the distant sufferers of the Beirut incident.

INTRODUCTION

'We insist on the highest standards of integrity and ethical behavior when we gather and deliver the news ... we abhor inaccuracies, carelessness, bias or distortions' (AP, 2016).

'We strive to preserve independence, integrity and freedom from bias in the gathering and dissemination of information and news' (Reuters, 2016).

International society has been fighting against terrorism ever prominently following the 2001 September 11 attacks on the United States, with the ever-prevalent metaphor of the 'War on Terror'. The Global Terrorism Database records 741 small-and-large scale terrorist attacks within the year 2015¹. Among them, probably one of the most media spotlighted event were the November 13 *Paris attacks*, for which the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) claimed responsibility. The dreadful incident took 130 innocent lives and left 368 injured and was carried out through multiple mass shootings and suicide bombings. The event shocked the world (as the researcher was in London at that moment, most of the perception was received and set by the Western media), and the expressions of solidarity predominantly narrated through diverse media platforms for weeks after the incident.

The day before the attacks, another severe terrorist attacks took place in the Middle Eastern country of Lebanon, city of Beirut, killing 43 innocents and injuring 240 more. The multiple suicide bombings were carried out in urban areas, responsibility again being claimed by the ISIL. However, unlike the Paris attacks, the *Beirut bombings* was relatively invisible in the Western news media, owing to a lesser degree of attention and sympathy towards Beirut². This left ethical debates regarding media attention and the selections of news. As one article by *The Guardian* explains:

'There have been many voices complaining that the Paris attacks have received more global attention than similar attacks in Lebanon and Iraq, and that the global news agenda is more sensitive about the loss of white western lives than others' (Malik, 2015, November 18).

Regarding such a backdrop, this work endeavours to address global media's fairness in the attention given to certain stories and not others, and their partiality in the representational practices of geographically different terrorist attacks by analysing two leading global news

¹ Retrieved from Global Terrorism Database: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

² See Barnard (2015, November 15), as *The New York Times* article writes: '...for some in Beirut, that solidarity was mixed with anguish over the fact that just one of the stricken cities — Paris — received a global outpouring of sympathy...'

agencies: Associated Press (AP) and Reuters. In details, this research focuses on identifying the existence of a hierarchy of news, and thus, examining the subsequently underlying 'hierarchy of place and human life' (Chouliaraki, 2006) between the discursively different 'West and the Rest' (Hall, 1992).

Principally, this research footholds on the assertion that international news sources are concentrated into a few major transnational news agencies (Boyer 2010; Bui, 2010; Paterson, 2005, 2007). In particular, as the process of globalization progresses, the role of global news agencies have become prominent within the production, distribution and consumption process of news among news suppliers across the globe. However, their role as agents of globalization is often marginalized to the extent that we neglect the underlying influence of these 'major players' in the world news market (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998a: 1-2). What is hidden from our common perception is that, although they are in name of 'global' agencies, they nevertheless tend to produce hierarchized or partisan news contents and that have a profound effect on the decisions of the newsrooms (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998a; Gürsel, 2012; Johnston & Forde, 2011; Paterson, 2005).

Seemingly, Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998a: 6) suggest that, news agencies are considered as the providers of 'wholesale' resources that are targeted to meet the extensive networks of 'retail' news clients of diverse political and cultural backgrounds (see also Boyd-Barrett, 1998). Therefore, they explain that such agencies strive to be as neutral as possible. As stated in AP and Reuters' principles given in the introductory quotations, global news agencies claim to produce objective and unbiased professional news contents. However, such agencies operate in 'global' scope, but still retain substantial associations with particular interests of nations and world-order that are mostly dominated by North American and Western European interests (Boyd-Barrett, 1998: 19-22).

Furthermore, drawing on political economy theory, Johnston and Forde (2011:195) suggest that news agency domination raises issues for news diversity, which tend to homogenize the perspectives in favour of the dominant economic and political players of the Western world. According to Murdock (1989:46), such political economic structure of the primary news suppliers can influence 'discourses and representations in the public domain', where these can be differently framed and categorized between stories of their proximity and of their distance (Boyd-Barrett, 1980; Rauch, 2003).

The above, rather pessimistic role and influence of major news agencies are still being debated, and some scholars maintain neutral or positive positions toward global news agencies (see MacGregor, 2013; Shrivastava, 2007). Notwithstanding, the focus of this

research is not to make claim to whether news agencies are good or evil. It is to understand and examine the possibilities of the subjectivities and the influences of media partiality on the news contents in practice, specifically on the photographic representations, which we digest as being objective and ethical on a daily basis.

In this manner, this research hope to fulfil the lacunas of the much provided scholarships that have focused on the discourses and representations of crisis reporting. Although such works have provided rich findings regarding the matter, little attention has been given to the transnational news agencies' conflicting standards and practices of representing geographically different events of crisis. Identifying that more attention has been paid to one-sided case studies in a qualitative manner, this research is based on a two-sided comparative and quantitative analysis of the two geographically distinct events: the Western home-drawn event of the Paris attacks; and the Beirut bombings which took place in the 'Othered' location from the Western perspective.

In this regard, the work empirically blends Flood's (2016) findings of 'hierarchy of visibility' in the reporting of terrorism in relation to the West/Rest discourse, and Butler's (2009) preconditions of 'grievability' of which 'specific lives cannot be apprehended as injured or lost if they are not first apprehended as living' (Butler, 2009:1). As Flood (2016: 66) also suggests:

... although terrorism functions by rendering its victims interchangeable, random, exposed, and physically vulnerable, not every victim is equally vulnerable and not every victim's death is recognized in the same way

Taking these pieces into consideration, this work addresses the intellections of symbolic elements of photographs touching on the dichotomous discourse of Orientalism and on the hierarchy of lives, by analysing photographs of the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings of AP and Reuters. The present work is delivered in five conceptually lined chapters. First, theoretical backgrounds illustrating notions of photographic representations and the subsequently important discourses of Othering and hierarchy of lives are presented, which will lead to the formation of conceptual framework in the following chapter. In the third, methodology section justifies the rationale behind the selected method, and the methodological procedures are illustrated in details. Then, the main findings are summarized and the consequent interpretative arguments are suggested in regard to the relevant literatures presented. Finally, concluding remarks with introspections of this research and proposal of an outlook for future researchers in the relevant fields are suggested.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Photography: From Objective Evidence to Symbolic Meaning

Our understanding of the world is interlinked with representations. Sturken and Cartwright (2001: 12) define 'representation' as 'the use of language and images to create meaning about the world around us'. As stated, both words and images play a critical role in our observation of the world. However, as Barthes (1972: 110) asserts, 'pictures are more imperative than writing, since they impose meaning at one stroke without anything diluting it'. Furthermore, in news reporting, whether an image is presented or not can add to or break the worthiness of a news story (Wright, 2011: 317). Acknowledging that most scholars on studying news and journalism have focused on texts, Gürsel (2012: 72) asserts that images are more powerful than texts 'because they travel easily... across linguistic and commercial borders'. As Joffe (2008: 84) identifies, another aspect of visual material that ascends over texts is in its emotive impact which adds symbolic meaning for persuasion and interpretation regarding the subject depicted: 'Visuals are thought to send people along emotive pathways where textual/verbal material leaves them in a more rational, logical and linear pathway of thought'. Therefore, in terms of representation provided by camera, its understanding as being an objective image contributed not only to the function of capturing evidential reality, but also to offering deeper evaluation of the world (Sontag, 1977: 88).

Going back in history, the advent of daguerreotype in 1839 showcased a new method of communication that represented the reality in a 'transparent and authentic manner' (Brennen, 2010: 71). Newton (2013: ix) explains that in the 19th and 20th centuries photography enjoyed its objectivity assumed through the camera's technical function as 'mirroring the nature'. Given that a photograph is created from combinations of chemical-and-technical conjunctures within cameras, it was regarded as an authentic representation that is devoid of human agency – 'an authentic representation of things that actually existed' (Brennen, 2010: 72). As Berger (1980: 14) notes, the camera does what human eyes can never do, which is 'fix(ing) the appearance'. In this regard, photographic representation played a powerful role in the field of photojournalism as authenticating evidence, identifying truth, and representing the reality (Brennen, 2010; Newton, 2013; Taylor, 2010; Wright, 2011). Such understandings of the photograph, however, are based on what Barthes (1977) explains as the denotative status.

Roland Barthes (1977), in his essays, '*The Photographic Message*' and '*Rhetoric of the Image*', describes two aspects of an image that create different levels of meanings respectively: denotative and connotative meanings. Echoing his notions, Zelizer (2004a: 159)

further elaborates that, on the one hand, photographs work through denotative force, which is to refer things ‘as they are’, often identified as the ‘indexicality’ or ‘referentiality’. On the other hand, she suggests that images also contain a connotative force which is ‘capable of invoking and repairing to broad symbolic systems that draw on certain meanings for the visual representations that are displayed’ (ibid.).

Thus, Burgin (1982: 144) asserts that the meanings inscribed in the photograph are not simple. Photographs should be read together with the ‘photographic discourse’ which engages beyond the denotative meanings, and is formed by ‘taken for granted’ cultural and historical conjunctures (ibid.). To summarize in Barthes’ notion, even the purely denotative or objective status of the photograph ‘has every chance of being mythical’³. In other words, images bear symbolic meanings of ideals and myths where they are elusively concealed and naturalized under denotations (Adatto, 2008; Barthes, 1977; Burgin, 1982). Therefore, it is important to identify the codes of such photographic discourse that shape the connotative meaning of the photograph.

In this regard, numerous scholars have attuned to study the connoted meanings of press photographs (e.g. Adatto, 2008; Allan, 2014; Greenwood, 2012; Joffe, 2008; Kennedy, 2012; Lehtela, 2007). According to Zelizer (2004b: 130), the iconic and symbolic ‘objects’ of the photograph stimulate the memorability of the news image in the eyes of the viewer in regard to those particular objects. Also, Burgin (1982: 146-53) suggests that the manner in which the denotations are depicted can add a unique ‘point-of-view’ which is prominently determined by the ‘manners of depiction’.

According to Barthes (1977: 18), such manners of depiction are constituted either by a shared ‘symbolic order or by a period rhetoric’, which he describes as ‘a stock of stereotypes’. For Wright (2011: 318), visual rhetoric is ‘a persuasive skill, classically to convince us of a point of view’, which also helps reinforce our existing beliefs. Among many clues of such visual rhetoric that adds symbolic meanings to the image, Joffe (2008: 85), in studying the power of visuals in persuasion, argues that the quality of the *emotional tone* strengthens the vividness of an image, consequently leaving ‘a rich and strong memory trace’ of that particular emotion depicted within the viewers’ minds. Her study suggests that the more identifiable the figure is and the smaller they are portrayed in terms of *numbers*, the higher the image is emotionally evocative and the stronger it becomes persuasive (ibid.: 89). On this matter, as stated by Elias (1991, cited in Wright, 2011: 318), human ‘face is one of the chief

³ Barthes briefly explains the term ‘myth’ as “the characteristics that common sense attributes to the photograph” (1977: 19). See also, Barthes (1972).

instruments for indicating their feelings', therefore the identification of individuals' face becomes a key element that shapes the emotional tone of the image.

In addition, previous studies on the effects of compositional values of the visual materials have proclaimed the relationship between camera works and the corresponding symbolic messages. These studies assert that the photographer controls the manner in which the event is depicted by the choices of angle and shot, which affect the viewer's comprehension and perspective of the pictorial event (Giannetti, 1982; Grabe, 1996; Kraft, 1987; McCain and Repensky, 1972; Tiemens, 1970).

According to Kraft (1987: 291), different *camera angles* have different influences on our evaluation and retention of the image in relation to its aesthetic principles. He identified that camera angle has significant effects on judgments of the characters depicted and on the identification of the 'gist' of the stories and the connotative meaning (1987: 291-2). Giannetti (1982) suggested that the angle of a photograph is like the adjectives of verbal language, and that there are mainly three types of adjectives: low-angle, eye-level, and high-angle. In effect, low-angle makes the viewers to look up the character, which adds characteristics of authority and power to the character; an eye-level offers a psychological relationship of parity between the viewer and the character; finally, high-angle forces the viewer to look down on the character and makes him/her appear diminutive (Giannetti, 1982; Kraft, 1987; Mandell & Shaw, 1973).

In addition, Giannetti (1982) notes that *camera shot* is the most fundamental unit of a pictorial message that affects the viewers' cognition. Depending on four major shots – close-up, medium-shot, full-shot and long-shot – the photographer decides the social distances and levels of intimacy, where the longer the distance is between the object/person and the photographer, the more it establishes emotional detachment (Berger, 1981; Giannetti, 1982; Grabe, 1996; Tuchman, 1978).

Returning to Burgin's (1982) notion of 'point-of-view', such structures of representation introduced above are intricately related to reproduction of certain ideology and discourse. Therefore, as Kennedy (2012: 269) suggests, 'the illusion of transparency' – the taken-for-granted understanding of photographic representation as objective evidence – should be examined as the bearer of 'ideological conceit' – the discursive container of symbolic meanings. One important field of discussion necessarily relevant to this research is the bipolar oppositions between 'the West' and 'the Rest'.

West and the Rest: Representing the Others

A seminal work in the discourse of ‘Othering’ is the work of Edward Said’s (1978) ‘*Orientalism*’. Said notes that ‘Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and “the Occident”’ (1978: 2). Such distinction of the Occident and the Orient is a man-made concept derived from histories and traditions of thought constructed by and for the West, which involves a play of power and ideological hegemony by the West (Said, 1978: 5).

In the same vein, Hall (1992) asserts that the orientalising discourse is not ideologically innocent. When the idea of ‘the West’ is once produced, it comes to have an effect on enabling ‘people to know or speak of certain things in certain ways’ (Hall, 1992: 278). And when such discourse⁴ becomes a practice as a ‘systems of representation’, for example, photographs, these representations divide the world into a simple dichotomy of the West and the Other (ibid.: 280). The basis of such dichotomy, according to Hall (1992/1997), is the recognition of difference, which becomes the signifiers for ‘othering’ the Others.

Further, taking Foucauldian notion of ‘discourse’ as their reference point, both Hall (1992) and Shohat and Stam (1994) assert that the consequences of such media representation creates a ‘regime of truth’ which is encased as taken-for-granted knowledge about a given theme by the institutional structures, of which such knowledge holds organizing and regulating relations of power between the West and the Rest. According to Fürsich (2010: 115), representations in media not only imply meanings of simple mirroring of reality but also imply implicitly established norms and common-sense about the differentiated subject, therefore, they ‘create reality and normalize specific world-view or ideologies’.

As such, Shohat and Stam (1994: 1-2) argue that contemporary media representations create and hold a naturalized regime of truth, which, in turn, hierarchize meanings attached in the representations dealing with the West and the Others. More specifically, they suggest that Eurocentrism, which originated from colonial history and traditions, engender a ‘fictitious sense of innate superiority’ of the western cultures and peoples, whereas they view the non-Western and the Others as inferior to them (ibid.). As Said (1985: 42) also notes, ‘the essence of Orientalism is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority’. In effect, media representations of these bipolar categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ are portrayed as: the modern and the primitive, the normal and the abnormal, the

⁴ Hall states that ‘discourse’ refers to the “ways of talking, thinking or representing a particular subject or topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject. This knowledge influences social practices, and so has real consequences and effects” (1992: 295).

developed and the underdeveloped, the superior and the inferior, the human and the inhuman, the ordered and the chaotic (Fürsich, 2010; Konstantinidou, 2007; Nandy, 2009; Said, 1978).

Accordingly, Hall (1992: 308) suggests that such symbolically divided world-views are simplified and essentialized for the Others, creating and reinforcing the stereotypes of 'them'. In terms of stereotyping, Hall (1997: 228) argues that the reality is polysemic, however, representational practices of the privileged ones may have an attempt to 'fix' the many potential meanings of an image into a singular and homogenized one. Derrida (1974) also explains that representing the Others are often oversimplified and reduced on account of binary oppositions played by the asymmetrical power relations.

As Rane, et al. (2014: 1) argues, 'media tools have enabled people to articulate their perceptions of the 'other' and potentially shape how 'we' relate to 'them'. Therefore, there have been ample studies dealing with the media representations of the Other – however eclectic they are (Fürsich, 2010). For example, Said's (1981) work of *'Covering Islam'* suggested that the news coverage with orientalist discourse of the Middle East was represented with the dominant stereotype of 'Islamic anger', which is in line with the world-view that connects the Middle East with crisis, chaos, and anger. In Lehtela's (2007) study on photojournalistic reportings of the ethnic minority, she exposed how they were represented with the existing stereotypes. Her work suggested that pictures as representations not only create meanings, but also 'strengthen the oppressed position of the others in relation to the norm' (Lehtela, 2007: 3).

Similar to Said's work, Durrani and Sheikh (2010) identified that the pictorial coverage of Pakistan in news magazines of the West carried representations with strong stereotypic narratives of Islamophobia, terrorism, and religious extremism, which were all connected with pictorial tones of anger and radicalness. Furthermore, Rahman's (2014) work contributed to the idea that women in Islamic culture were represented as 'Others' in favour of western politics to portray them as objects of 'fear'. Also, Steuter and Wills (2009) examined how the Canadian news media coverage of Middle Eastern countries represented 'them' as 'enemies' with dehumanizing and de-individualizing metaphors. Taken together, these studies have shown that the Orientalist discourse of Othering is naturalized – either intentionally or unintentionally – within the western media's perspective and representational practices.

Visibility of Distant Suffering and Hierarchy of Life

When it comes to representing the event of crisis that entails mass casualties such as war, terror and natural disaster, studies imply that such discourse of ‘Othering’ can be recognized in relation to representations of geographically, racially, and culturally distanced or proximate ‘suffering others’ (e.g. Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Chouliaraki, 2008; Flood, 2016; Rose, 2008; Szorenyi, 2009). Such scholars, by moving beyond the simplistic bipolar understandings, foreground their analysis not merely on the above-mentioned Orientalist discourse, but also on ethical dimension of ontological differentiation in the valuing of lives.

Although some critics suggest that it is hardly possible to visually capture the moment of suffering and pain that fulfils the ethical concerns, and cultivates solidarity between the viewer and the other (e.g. Linfield, 2010; Sontag, 2003), scholars such as Boltanski (1999), Chouliaraki (2006/2013), and Linklater (2007) emphasize the prominence of visual materials in arousing emotional connection by rendering witnessing⁵, and thus, cultivating the sense of solidarity and obligation. In line with this latter group, Brennen (2010: 77-8) suggests that contemporary photojournalism focuses more on interpretive role and favours on appealing to the audiences’ emotions, rather than merely emphasizing the physical reality as objective evidence. Especially, in the images dealing with the event of ‘human casualties’, visual materials are more involved with capturing the emotion of, for example, the victims, where they call for the viewers’ attention and engagement (Joffe, 2008). Thus, news agencies and photo banks that compete with each other to sell their photographs produce images appealing to emotion, these being grounded on the idea that it is natural to feel compassionate for the universal suffering of the others in the event of human casualties (Rozario, 2003, in Konstantinidou, 2007: 148).

In this regard, Chouliaraki (2006: 1) suggests that ‘witnessing the event and its disastrous aftermath on screen is important in evoking emotion and, thereby, a sense of care and responsibility for the distant sufferer’. Also, Orgad (2013: 296) points out that communicating vulnerability is believed to speak to the audiences to create solidarity. For this reason, although Chouliaraki (2006/2013) acknowledges the dangers that the ‘distance’ from the sufferers, together with the aestheticized/sensationalized role of images, might turn the situation depicted into a mere spectacle, but when properly presented, she states that the spectacle can activate the latent potential of the spectators to care for the sufferers and activate our obligation to take purposeful action. The question, then, ought to be asked is

⁵ For further discussion of ‘witnessing’ in media: see Frosh (2006), and Peters (2001).

whether such emotional intimacy for caring, solidarity, and the feeling of imperativeness for action aroused by the portrayal of distant sufferers are equally given among different kinds of 'distant sufferers'.

Regarding this matter, there lies a discussion of 'cosmopolitan' and 'communitarian' ethics of care. The former, rather optimistic argument implies the potential of the symbolic power of transnational media in generating a moral agency to act on distant others no matter their 'distance' – generating moral agency of cosmopolitan citizenship (Barnett, 2003; Jonas, 1996; Peters, 1999). However, advocates of the communitarian argument assert that the aestheticized spectacle of suffering leads to generating moral agency of care for the others who are 'like us' (Chouliaraki, 2008; Curran, 2005; Flood, 2016). According to Chouliaraki (2008: 338/2013: 138-146), such a notion of communitarian care arises due to managing the visibility of suffering by transnational institutions in accordance with an already constituted sense of belonging, where it detaches the emotional aspects for the 'irrelevant' sufferers, while being reflexive and empathizing the emotive witnessing for the people 'like us'. Regarding such tendencies, she suggests that the spectacles of suffering are 'inevitably subject to a process of hierarchical particularization that defines whose suffering matters most for Western spectators', and therefore, it becomes 'unable to cultivate a culture of solidarity beyond the West' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 339-40).

When it comes to news report, Chouliaraki (2008) explains this discrepancy by differentiating between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' news of human casualties. For her, 'ordinary' news is a story that we hardly remember, whereas, the 'extraordinary' news is a story that remains in our memory, and by which it includes emotional representations to sustain our engagement with the suffering others (ibid.: 336-8). She continues that representation of 'ordinary' news suppresses emotional quality and minimizes moral agency towards those sufferings. On the contrary, 'extraordinary' news offers 'resources for identification and action that selectively reproduce cross-border publics with exclusively Western affiliations' by humanizing the sufferers of the West, or/and by de-humanizing the non-Westerners (ibid.: 344). In other words, an 'ordinary' news story is one where the sufferers are not worth 'our' attention – not 'grievable' (Butler, 2004/2009) – whereas an 'extraordinary' news story is one with sufferers who deserve 'our' grief and solidarity.

In this regard, Butler (2004, 2009) offers an ontological framework for understanding the hierarchy of life. Her presupposition is that the 'precariousness', or frailties of human life, becomes the foundation for dismantling the boundaries between the insiders and the outsiders (Butler, 2004). However, she notes that for 'a loss of life' to be recognized as

grievable, it must first be apprehended as ‘a life’ according to historical conventions and norms that provide qualification. Also, on the flip side, she states that ‘without grievability, there is no life, or rather, there is something living that is other than life’ (Butler, 2009: 15). In essence, her notion of precariousness, and therefore, ‘grievability’, becomes the key component for assessing which lives are more valued. Butler (2004: 135) further suggests that the visibility of ‘face’ in representing the precariousness is important since face ‘bespeaks an agony, an injurability, at the same time that it bespeaks a divine prohibition against killing’.

As Galtung and Ruge (1965) suggested half a century ago, the idea that there exists hierarchized news selection according to cultural proximity is not debatable. However, there still seems to be a shortage in empirical research that examines the relationship between the ‘news selection’ and the ‘hierarchized human life’ within the photographic practices of – the so-called objective – global news agencies. Among the studies that are concerned with the hierarchy of life, Flood’s (2016) study on audio-visual representations of terrorist attacks suggests that although terrorism renders randomly exposed victims, certain lives or death were more recognized and mourned over others. Also, Rose’s (2009) work identified the necropolitical⁶ coverage of the victims of bombing even within the same geographical site of incident. Taking Chouliaraki’s (2006) work on the practices of media discourse in (re)producing hierarchies of place and human life as a cornerstone, this study hopes to contribute to identifying and concretizing the languages of description for the relationship between visibility/visuality and the hierarchy of life.

⁶ Mbembe’s (2003: 11) terms ‘necropolitics’ as, ‘the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die’.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Following the studies of representing Otherness, in relation to the visibility of distant suffering, this work addresses the ways in which the incidents of the ‘suffering others’ were differently represented within the images of transnational news agencies – AP and Reuters – by conducting comparative content analysis of the two terrorist attacks – the 2015 Paris attacks and Beirut bombings. This work primarily expects to uncover the connection between systems of representation engaged in the images and the implicit discourse of Othering and hierarchized lives.

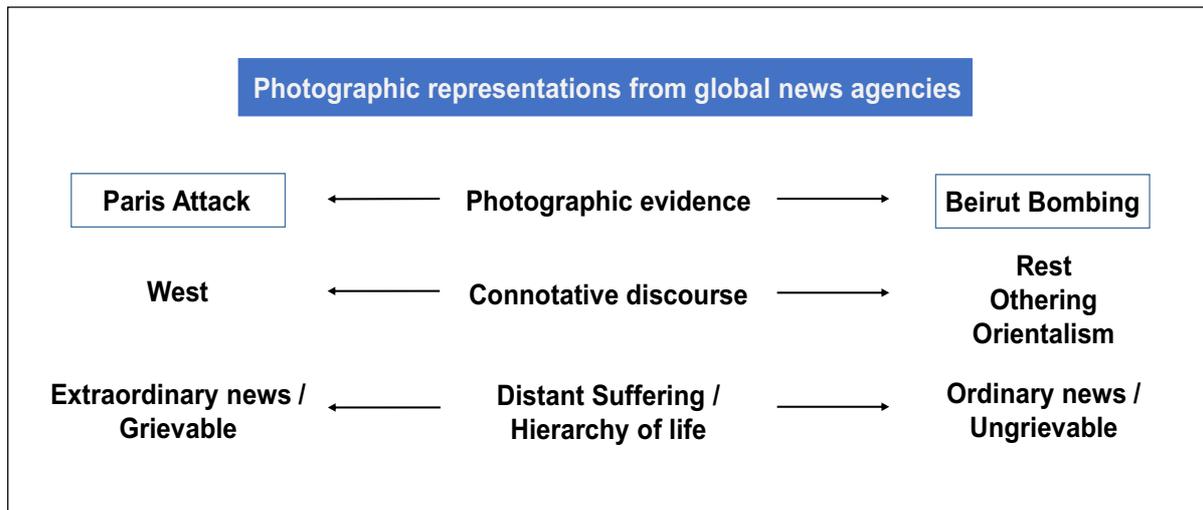
Furthermore, the study is based on the intention to verify a general assumption regarding global news agencies, as Boyd-Barret and Rantanen (1998a) point out, and as stated in AP and Reuters’ mission statements: global news agencies are believed to maintain objectivity, impartiality, and integrity of their position regardless of the cultural and geographical distance. Navigating through this assumption, this research aims to empirically discover whether the two global news agencies hierarchized the events, and whether/how the discourse of Othering and hierarchy of life was put into their photographic practices.

For conceptual framework, this research fundamentally grounds on Said’s Orientalism and the discourse of Othering. As Said (1978:5) notes, ‘the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West’. He also points out that the commonly circulated representations are not ‘natural’ depictions of the Orient, but are ‘representations as representations’ (ibid.: 21). Building on such theoretical framework, this research narrates through Kraft (1987) and Gianetti’s (1982) analysis of photographic compositions on social distance and meaning. Lastly, echoing Butler’s (2004/2009) notion of ‘grievability’ in association with hierarchy of life, Chouliaraki’s (2006/2008) work on representing distant suffering is taken to analyse the differences and similarities in photographic portrayals of the two incidents, focusing on her conceptual terms of: ‘hierarchies of place and human life’ (Chouliaraki, 2006: 9-10).

Table 1: Core readings for conceptual framework

Literature Review Categories	Photographic Representation	Brennen (2010), Gianetti (1982), Joffe (2008), Kraft (1987), Sontag (1977), Zelizer (2004b)
	Discourse of Othering	Said (1978, 1985), Hall (1992, 1997), Shohat and Stam (1994)
	Distant Suffering / Grievability	Butler (2004, 2009), Chouliaraki (2006, 2008, 2013), Flood (2016), Linklater (2010)

Figure 1: Illustration of conceptual framework



Hypothesis and Research Questions

This research endeavours to examine whether the hierarchy of life is visible within the already hierarchized two news events (so far, assumed through the witnessed differences of news attention between the two events). Paterson’s (2005: 152) statement that ‘news agencies set the agenda for what international stories other media choose to carry’ signalled to develop the underlying hypothesis. Also, strengthened by a preceded pilot study, the grounding hypothesis for the study was confirmed that:

- **H1:** There exists hierarchy of events – in terms of the amount of the resources available – between the 2015 Paris attack and Beirut bombing within the transnational news agencies.

Building on this hypothesis, this work further attempts to address, if the H1 is true, whether the hierarchy of news affects the actual representational practices in depicting the events. Therefore, the second hypothesis was posed as:

- **H2:** The hierarchy of Western life over non-Western life is assumed within the patterns of photographic representations of the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings by AP and Reuters' photographs.

Following the hypotheses, research questions are addressed and operationalized in three steps. Based on the two paradoxical understandings of, on the one hand, the existing common-sense assumption that transnational news agencies maintain impartiality, and, on the other hand, of the existing researches that have identified the partiality of various transnational media, the research first inquires:

- **RQ1.** Was there any partiality of attention in terms of visibility offered by the two transnational news agencies comparing the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings?

After the question is examined, this research aims to answer:

- **RQ2.** Was there partiality in the patterns of representing the distant sufferers of the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings, with the assumed hierarchy of Western life over non-Western life within AP and Reuters' photographs?
- **RQ3.** If there was, in what ways were they hierarchized in terms of photographic narratives?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Content Analysis

In order to examine the research questions, this research conducted a quantitative content analysis of the images in the archives of AP and Reuters. A general definition of content analysis given by Holsti (1969: 14) is a 'technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages'. It was originally designed to interpret verbal texts, however, it is broadly used to study visual materials (Rose, 2016). Considering its applicability in visual messages, Bell (2001: 14) notes that content analysis is a systematic and observational method directed for 'testing hypotheses about the ways in which the media represent people, events, [and] situations'. In the same vein, Deacon, et al. (1999: 116) suggest that the purpose of such methodology is in identifying salient features within large samples to quantify them and to make inferences about the ways media are engaged in the politics of representation.

Content analysis is typically suitable for conducting a research that deals with large amounts of data. As Rose (2016: 102) notes, content analysis offers a systematic application with

analyzing copious amounts of images. Due to its applicability with large samples, it is regarded as a useful method for obtaining a ‘big picture’ – patterns or trends –of media representations (Gerbner, in Deacon, et al. 1998: 117). As such, Lutz and Collins (1993: 89) have identified that content analysis allows researchers to identify and compare the patterns of representation that are regularly unnoticed and elusive to detect. In doing so, it enables the researchers to systematically construct and identify the indicators of values and attitudes within the images, rendering a suitable resource for making comparison across the contents of different institutions, places and news events (Bauer, 2000). Regarding its practicality in identifying the general patterns, content analysis has been widely employed in media representation studies (An and Gower, 2009; Nikolaev, 2009; Papacharissi and Oliveira, 2008; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

However, the method exists not without its limitations. One of the criticisms is with its methodological objectivity. Although it is regarded as a quantitative method, and thus, as a non-biased research method (Rose, 2016; Bock, et al., 2011), there still exists certain levels of uncertainty in regard to containing subjectivity, due to the fact that the content analysts delineate certain dimensions or aspects that are deemed irrelevant for their study (Hansen, et al., 1998: 95). In other words, the researcher still has to make a subjective choice for designing the analytic criteria, which may yield personal bias or prejudice on the matter. Therefore, in order to minimize such possibility, considerable attention and theoretical reflection should be guided for designing the codes before any quantification takes place (Bauer, 2000: 132; Hansen et al. 1998: 95). When a theoretical framework is thoroughly calculated, Krippendorff (2012) insists that, content analysis can be used not only to examine the patterns of representation, but also to understand the symbolic qualities of them.

Another drawback of the method is that it is hard to reveal the cause-and-effect of the analyzed images. As Rose (2016: 88) suggests, content analysis struggles to reveal the influence on the sites of production, circulation and audience of the message, since it almost utterly focuses on the site of an image itself. Therefore, researchers need to be cautious for making causal statements or effectual comments on the audiences.

Taken together, when appropriately operationalized, content analysis can render strengths in dealing with large samples, identifying patterns that are otherwise illusive to detect, and examining possibly-embedded symbolic meanings within those identified patterns. In this regard, content analysis is deemed best suitable for this research, despite the existence of qualitative visual analysis which selectively analyzes a smaller number of images. With the intention to deduct a conclusion that is as generalizable as possible from a sizable sample,

and the intention to compare the patterns between the two events, content analysis was suitably chosen for this study.

Methodological Design

This research has chosen AP and Reuters – headquartered in the U.S. and U.K. respectively – among the ‘Big Three’⁷ transnational news agencies which include the Agence France-Presse (AFP). Such selections were made to prevent any possible bias of the AFP for the incident of Paris attacks, since AFP is a France based news agency. The photographs from the AP and Reuters were retrieved from their online image archives: www.apimages.com/ (AP), and <http://pictures.reuters.com/> (Reuters).

Sampling

Due to the high volume of images produced by the archive search (e.g. 6,463 results for keyword search of ‘Paris attacks’ – searched on July 1st 2016), the sampling time-period was set to ‘two days’ including the date of the incidents. The decision was also taken in order to focus on the photographs that portray the ‘immediate’ moments and responses. In addition, the decision also considered the observation that the photographs of the Beirut bombings uploaded in the archives significantly decreased after the 13th of November (see [Appendix A]), while the images of the Paris attacks are visible to this date. Furthermore, focusing on those ‘immediate’ dates has guaranteed to level off the different characteristics of the photographs between Paris and Beirut incidents’ images, since the narratives of the photograph tend to alter over time. Therefore, the sampling time-period for the Paris attacks was set from 13th November, 2015 to 14th November, 2015; and for the Beirut bombing was set from 12th November, 2015 to 13th November, 2015. For the aforementioned purposes, the sampling of the photographs was also limited to the ones that were taken within those targeted countries (for instance, the photographs of U.S. president Barack Obama responding to the attacks in the White House were excluded).

A total of 186 images were collected. Determined in relation to the two news agencies and the incidents, then, the photographs were categorized into four data sets: (1) AP-Paris; (2) AP-Beirut; (3) Reuters-Paris; and (4) Reuters-Beirut. This research conducted a keyword search

⁷ See Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998b).

in the archives to collect the units. Keywords of 'Paris' and 'Beirut' were searched respectively. The researcher has not specified the keywords such as 'Paris attacks' or 'Beirut bombings', since there was a portion of images that was described under other keywords, such as 'Paris shootings' or 'Beirut terror'. Therefore, among the results of the keywords searches of 'Paris' and 'Beirut', unrelated photographs, such as '*climate conference in Paris*' and '*fashion show in Beirut*', were sorted out. Also, the researcher has excluded the replicated photographs and has randomly selected one among them.

Following the procedure, the samples were first narrowed down to 303, 35, 224, and 58 images for each set (see [Image 2]). Due to the timeliness of the research, this work could not apply a census research for all sets, therefore, the number of samples for sets (1) and (3) were reduced to the census size of sets (2) and (4) respectively, which were taken as reference points for sampling amount. To make equivalent for comparison, the number of samples based on different dates were also followed by the reference points accordingly.

Consequently, 35 images (11 images from day-1 and 24 images from day-2) were collected from sets (1) and (2), and 58 images (23 images from day-1 and 35 images from day-2) were collected from sets (3) and (4). A random sampling strategy⁸ was taken for sets (1) and (3), which is a strategy known for its assurance in representativeness (Krippendorff, 2012; Riffe et al. 2005).

Figure 2: Sampling Procedures

⁸ The researcher used the number-randomizing software, and selected the images according to the appeared numbers.

Coding

The coding framework was initially developed, following an *open viewing* (an analytical step offered by Collier, 2001) process of the images to discover the recurring patterns, based on the theoretical clues of the conceptual framework. The codebook was constructed and grounded on a social semiotics approach to photographic compositions, and the semantic content analysis offered by Janis (1943/1965, in Krippendorff, 2012: 50) which focuses on analyzing the classified signs in accordance to their meanings – that includes, *designations*, *attribution* and *assertions* analysis.

The coding categories and variables were designed to identify the frequency/ratio of the subject-matter (*designations*), the attributed characteristics (*attribution*), and the particular ways of characterization (*assertions*). The initial codebook was then piloted by two different coders with a sub-sample of 40 images (10 from each set). The process revealed several flaws in a few codes for achieving satisfactory ICR-scores, and in some variables failing in reaching their mutual exclusiveness. Engaging with the highlighted weaknesses offered by a pilot study, the codebook was refined and modified to comprehensively narrate the research. The followings were the several main modifications made for the final codebook:

- Unclear/unnecessary variables were removed or specified for describing the actions and emotions of the human figures (cf. ‘Concerned/Shocked’ category was separated).
- Further explanations were added for variable descriptions of camera shots to clarify the differences.
- Refinements were made for those variables that are potentially prone to subjectivity and bias of the coder.

The modified codebook has shown visible improvements, and was able to achieve satisfactory ICR-scores⁹ of higher than 80% for all variables (see [Appendix B]), as Neuendorf (2002) notes, the ICR-score of ‘0.80 or greater would be acceptable in most situations’.

Eventually, a total of 23 codes were designed (see [Appendix C]), divided into four groups of variables: *unit identification*; *compositional*; *object/actor classification*; and *narrative classification*. Coding principles for each are described below:

⁹ The second coder (a Bachelor’s degree in Journalism Studies) was thoroughly informed and trained before the coding took place.

- The classification of units was based on the brand of news agency, portrayed incident and the date of release in the archives.
- Compositional variables were set to examine the *assertions* of the portrayal. The codes of camera-shot and camera angle were the two main analytic categories, echoing Kraft's (1987) and Gianetti's (1982) work on the influence of camera-angle/shot on persuasion, social distance and perspective.
- Object/actor classification variables were designed to examine the *designations*. These are the analytical categories based on Zelizer's (2004b) and Chouliaraki's (2006) notion on types of individuals or objects guiding spectators' orientation and memorability towards sufferers. For the coding process, the identification of objects or human figures was primarily based on the focus of the photograph. If they were not clearly identifiable, the coder referred to the descriptions in the captions. Types of objects or actors were labelled after numerous open viewing processes of the whole corpus before sampling.
- Narrative classification variables were intended to identify the *attributions* of the photograph. *Emotional tone* and *action narrative* were the two key variables. Emotional tone was set to examine whether/how the subjects were emotionally captured by the photographers for reporting purposes. This analytical category is based on Joffe's (2008), Chouliaraki's (2006), and Butler's (2004) emphasis on recognition of emotional aspect – and the importance of facial recognition – of a visual message explained in the above theoretical chapter. Both variables are analytical categories to examine the value of 'grievability', and how human subjects are portrayed with particular attributes.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

By conducting the proposed methodological framework, the quantitative content analysis of the archives' images enabled the exploration of how AP and Reuters detailed the representations of the two incidents. Also, it offered preconditions for further analytic discussions in relation to the hierarchy of life. This section explains the results of the study's findings in two parts. First, the findings and the discovered patterns of the analysis are summarized. Then, the interpretations of these results are detailed in relation to the theoretical frameworks. The selections of results are reported primarily based on their relevance to the RQs, but also based on the limitations of ungeneralizable amount of data witnessed in some secondary variables (i.e. number of images that portrayed 'rescue/emergency force(s)' was only one for AP-Beirut sample. Therefore, the comparison of

distributions of camera-angles, shots, emotional tone and action narrative were insignificant, and thus impossible).

Findings

News agencies' attention: more on Paris over Beirut.

The answer to the first research question was easily obtained by the number of photographs offered by the results of the archive searches. As explained above, the research question was derived from the hypothesis that media attentions were more given to the Paris attacks than the Beirut bombings.

The total amount of photographs observed for the initial keyword searches for the Paris attacks were evidently larger for both AP and Reuters than the amount given for the Beirut bombing. In the AP image archive, 331 images were observed for the Paris attacks and 37 images were observed for the Beirut bombings. Likewise, in the Reuters image archive, 242 photographs were visible for the Paris attacks, whereas only 59 images were visible for the Beirut bombings.

Camera angle: lower for Paris, higher for Beirut.

As for the camera angle in *Figure 3*, 77.1% of the AP-Paris images were photographed with the usage of eye-level portrayal, which has an effect of maintaining visual neutrality between the viewer and the figures. In the same sample, 14.3% of the photographs were identified with the usage of high-angle, and 8.6% with low-angle depiction. However, for AP-Beirut, comparatively lower proportion of eye-leveled photographs was observed (48.6%), while significantly higher proportion (45.7%) of high-angle was used. The low-angled photographs for AP-Beirut were amounted to 5.7%, which was slightly lower than the AP-Paris's proportion.

Such patterns of distribution were similar for Reuters images, where over 70% of the images used an eye-level angle for the Paris attack images. Also, as in the case of AP-Beirut, Reuters-Beirut (RTS-Beirut) images have shown proportions of over 40% for both high-angle and eye-levels. The ratio of low-angled images for RTS-Beirut was almost half the ratio in the RTS-Paris sample.

As identified in *Table 2*, overall, it was observed that a significantly higher proportion of photographs were captured from high-angles for Beirut compared to Paris, while a lower proportion of photographs were taken from low-angle for the Beirut bombings. This pattern

of camera angle distributions hinted that the representations of the Paris attacks contained more attributions of authority, power, and dignity compared to the representations of Beirut, which was more attributed with diminutiveness and belittlement with more usage of high-angles. Also, such an association between the incidents and the camera angle was supported by Chi-square test statistics with a p-value lower than any conventional significance level ($p < .001$)¹⁰.

Figure 3: Distribution of camera angles used within each set (scale: %, n = 35, 35, 58, 58).

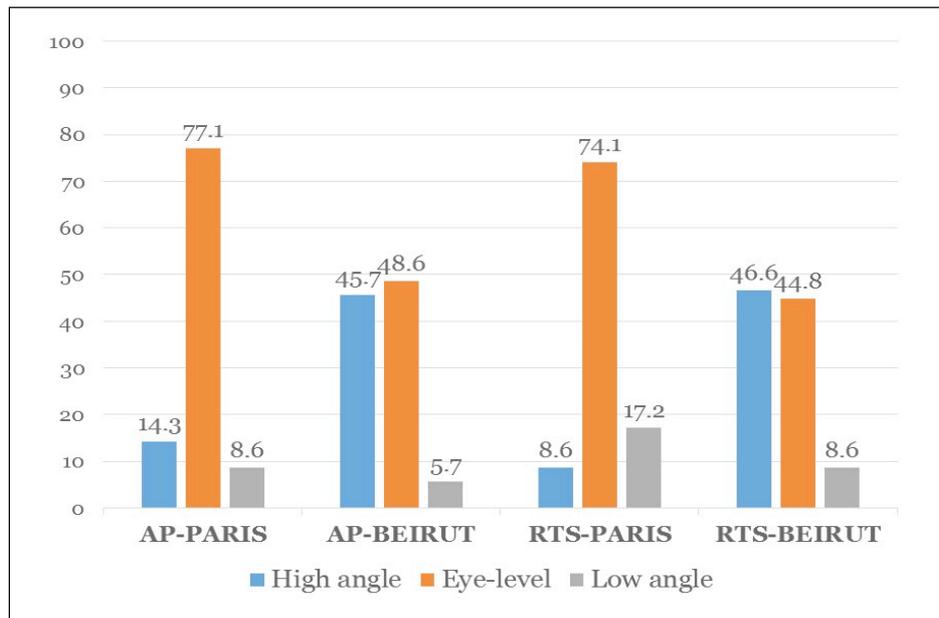


Table 2: Portrayed incident * Camera angle, Crosstabulation

		Camera angle			Total	
		High angle	Eye-level	Low angle		
Portrayed incident	Paris attack	Count	10	70	13	93
	% within Portrayed incident		10.8%	75.3%	14.0%	100.0%
Portrayed incident	Beirut bombing	Count	43	43	7	93
	% within Portrayed incident		46.2%	46.2%	7.5%	100.0%

¹⁰ See [Appendix D] for SPSS output.

	Count	53	113	20	186
Total	% within Portrayed incident	28.5%	60.8%	10.8%	100.0%

Camera shot: closer for Paris, longer for Beirut.

In terms of camera shots, there was also a stark contrast in the patterns between the portrayals of the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings (see *Figure 4*). Overall, both AP and Reuters’ images of the Paris attacks contained a higher ratio of close-ups and medium-shots over the images of the Beirut bombings, therefore, having a lower proportion of images with full and long-shots compared to the Beirut incident (see *Table 3*). Hence, the null-hypothesis that there is no association between the incidents and the camera shots in the population can be rejected with p-value reaching near the lowest significance level (p-value= .001 in the SPSS output; p-value<.01).

Figure 4: Distribution of camera shots taken within each set (scale: %, n = 35, 35, 58, 58).

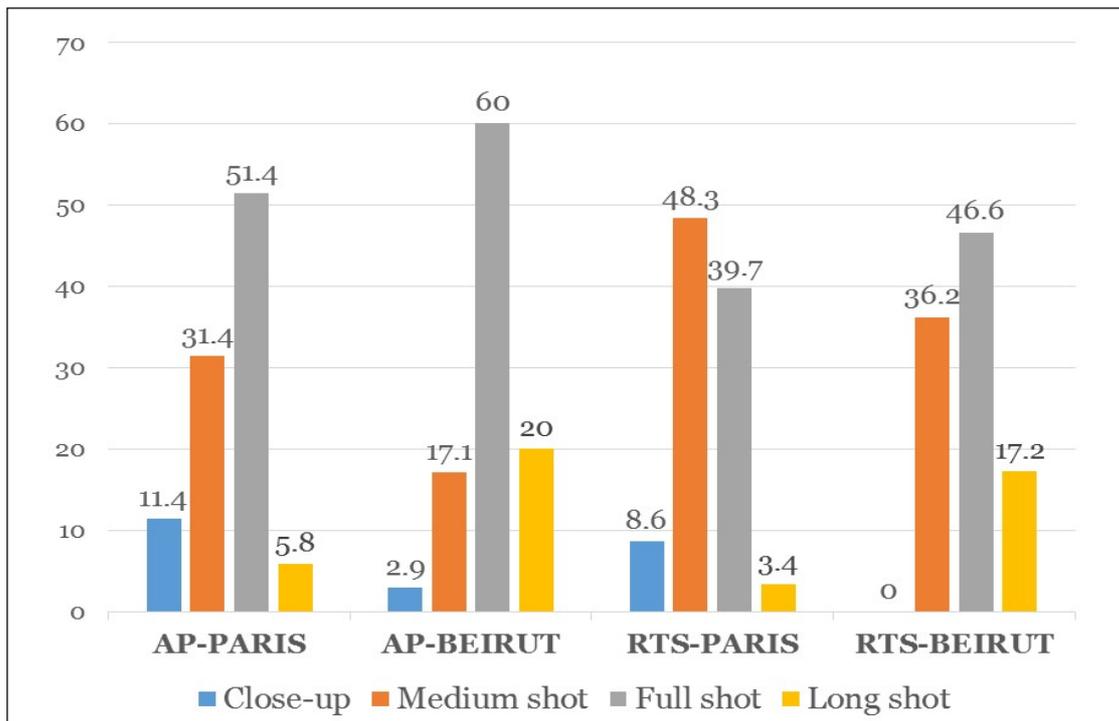


Table 3: Portrayed incident * Camera shot, Crosstabulation

		Camera shot				Total	
		Close-up	Medium Shot	Full shot	Long shot		
Portrayed incident	Paris attack	Count	9	39	41	4	93
		% within Portrayed incident	9.7%	41.9%	44.1%	4.3%	100.0%
	Beirut bombing	Count	1	27	48	17	93
		% within Portrayed incident	1.1%	29.0%	51.6%	18.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	66	89	21	186
		% within Portrayed incident	5.4%	35.5%	47.8%	11.3%	100.0%

The identified pattern of camera shots explains that the figures represented in the Paris attacks were photographed with closer distance of intimacy and emotional attachment, while the figures of the Beirut incident were represented with less intimacy and farther emotional detachment. As presented later in this chapter, the distanced portrayal of the figures represented in the Beirut bombings incident seemed to have caused a higher ratio for 'large group' portrayal and as a result caused difficulty in identifying the emotions of the figures.

Dominant non-human figures: security/solidarity for Paris, damage for Beirut.

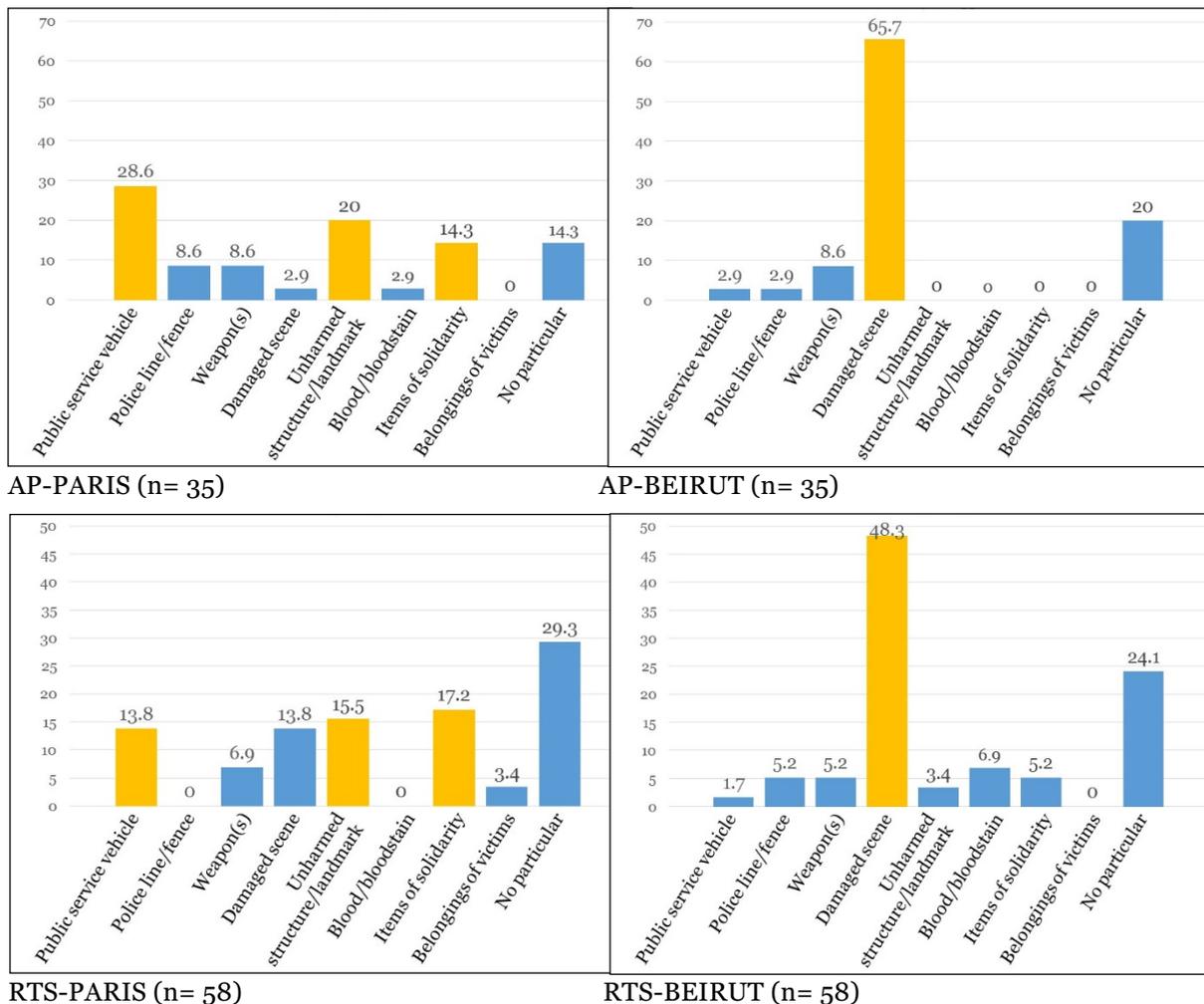
With regard to the portrayal of dominant objects or non-human figures in the images (see *Figure 5*), 'public service vehicle', 'unharmful structure/landmark' and 'items of solidarity' were the most frequent figures identified within the AP-Paris images, all reaching higher than 14%, excluding the 'no particular object' variable. This pattern was also relatively concordant with the images of RTS-Paris, although the AP-Paris contained over 10% points more of the images portraying 'public service vehicle' (AP-Paris: 28.6%, RTS-Paris: 13.8%).

However, compared to the patterns identified in the Paris attack image samples, the

distributions identified in the images of the Beirut incident in both news agencies were significantly of a different shape. ‘Public service vehicle’, ‘unharmed structure/landmark’ and ‘items of solidarity’ all reached below 5% with the only exception of ‘items of solidarity’ in RTS-Beirut (5.2%).

Another noteworthy observation that appeared commonly between the two ‘Beirut’ corpuses was that the ‘damaged scene’ appeared in over-and-almost half of the images (65.7% in AP-Beirut, and 48.3% in RTS-Beirut). This was partly due to the differences in the nature of the type of terrorist attacks, where the Paris attacks case was more of mass shooting while the Beirut’s case was a massive bomb explosions which draw attention of the photographers to depict the scale of the damage. Such findings of the differences in the patterns were reinforced with the Chi-squared test statistics that rejected the null hypothesis of no association between incidents and the distribution of dominant objects in the population ($p\text{-value} < .001$).

Figure 5: Distributions of dominant non-human figure(s) (%).

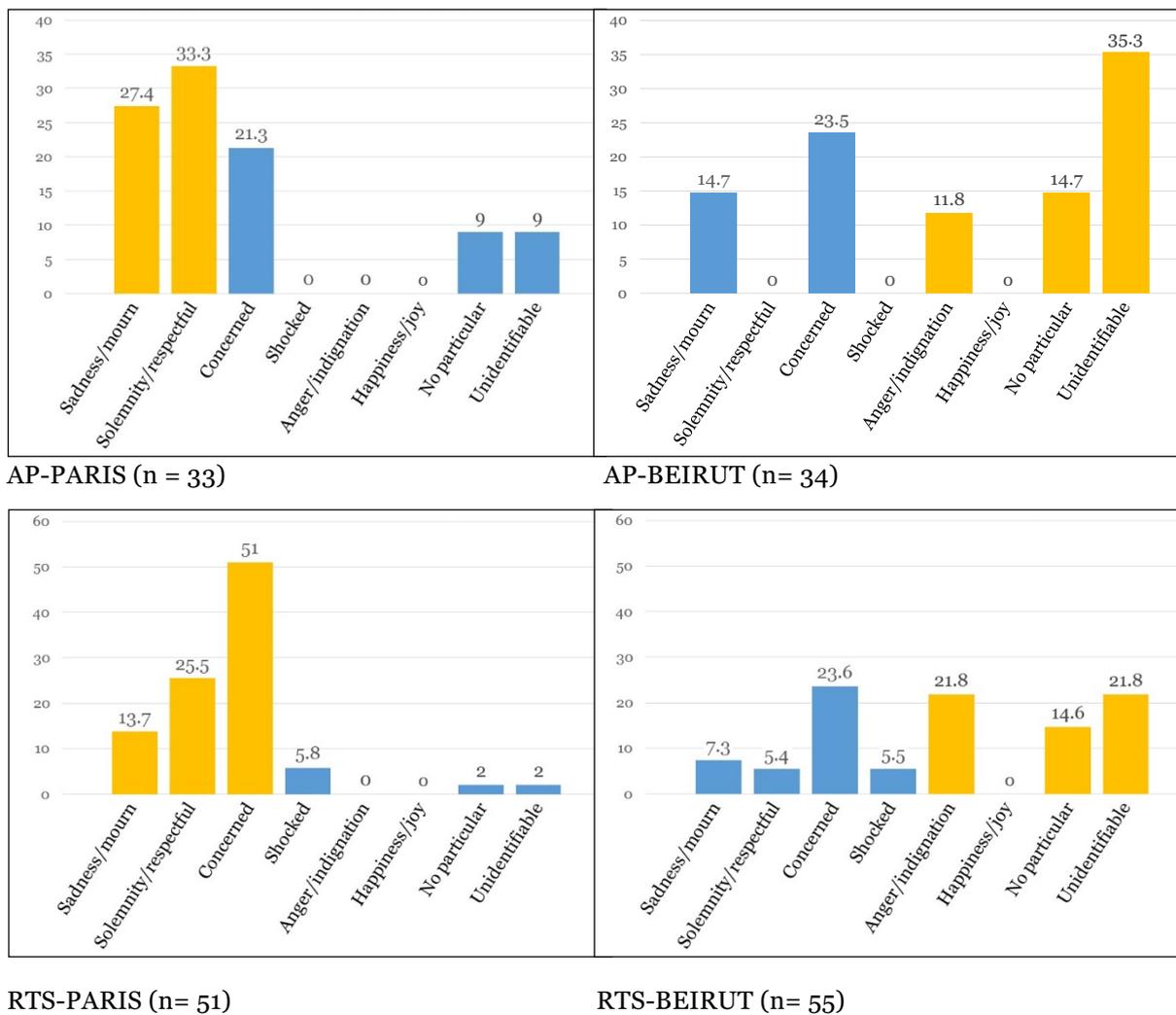


Emotional tone: grief for Paris, anger/unidentified for Beirut.

As for the photographs’ emotional tone analysis, rather similar patterns were observed between the two news agencies. In the case of AP’s portrayal of the two incidents, AP-Paris provided more images with ‘sadness/mourn’ (27.4%) and ‘solemnity/respectful’ (33.3%) tones over AP-Beirut images (14.7% and 0%, respectively).

Although the ‘concerned’ tone was similarly captured between the two (21.3% for Paris, 23.5% for Beirut), significant differences were observed in the ratio of ‘anger/indignation’, ‘no particular emotion’ and ‘unidentifiable’ compared to the AP-Beirut’s ratio distributions (0%, 9% and 9% for AP-Paris; 11.8%, 14.7% and 35.5% respectively for AP-Beirut).

Figure 6: Distributions of emotional tone (%).



In Reuters' case, 'sadness/mourn', 'solemnity/respectful' and 'concerned' categories all outnumbered in the representations of the Paris attacks (13.7%, 25.5% and 51%, respectively) over the Beirut bombings (7.3%, 5.4% and 23.6%, respectively). Also, similar to the AP's patterns, RTS-Beirut images offered considerably more images with 'anger/indignation', 'no particular emotion' and 'unidentifiable' categories.

In sum, the two news agencies have shown similar distributions in that they both presented higher proportions of photographs with sad and respectful emotional tones for Paris than Beirut, whereas higher proportions were visible for 'anger/indignation', 'no particular emotion', and 'unidentifiable' categories in the photographs of Beirut incident over the Paris incident. The reason for a larger ratio of images that troubled the identification of emotional tone was mainly due to their longer social distance between the actors and the viewer.

The aggregate patterns of the two news agencies were similarly identifiable. The Chi-squared test was also conducted, which has statistically rejected the null hypothesis of no association in the population between the incidents and the distributions of emotional tones ($p\text{-value} < .001$).

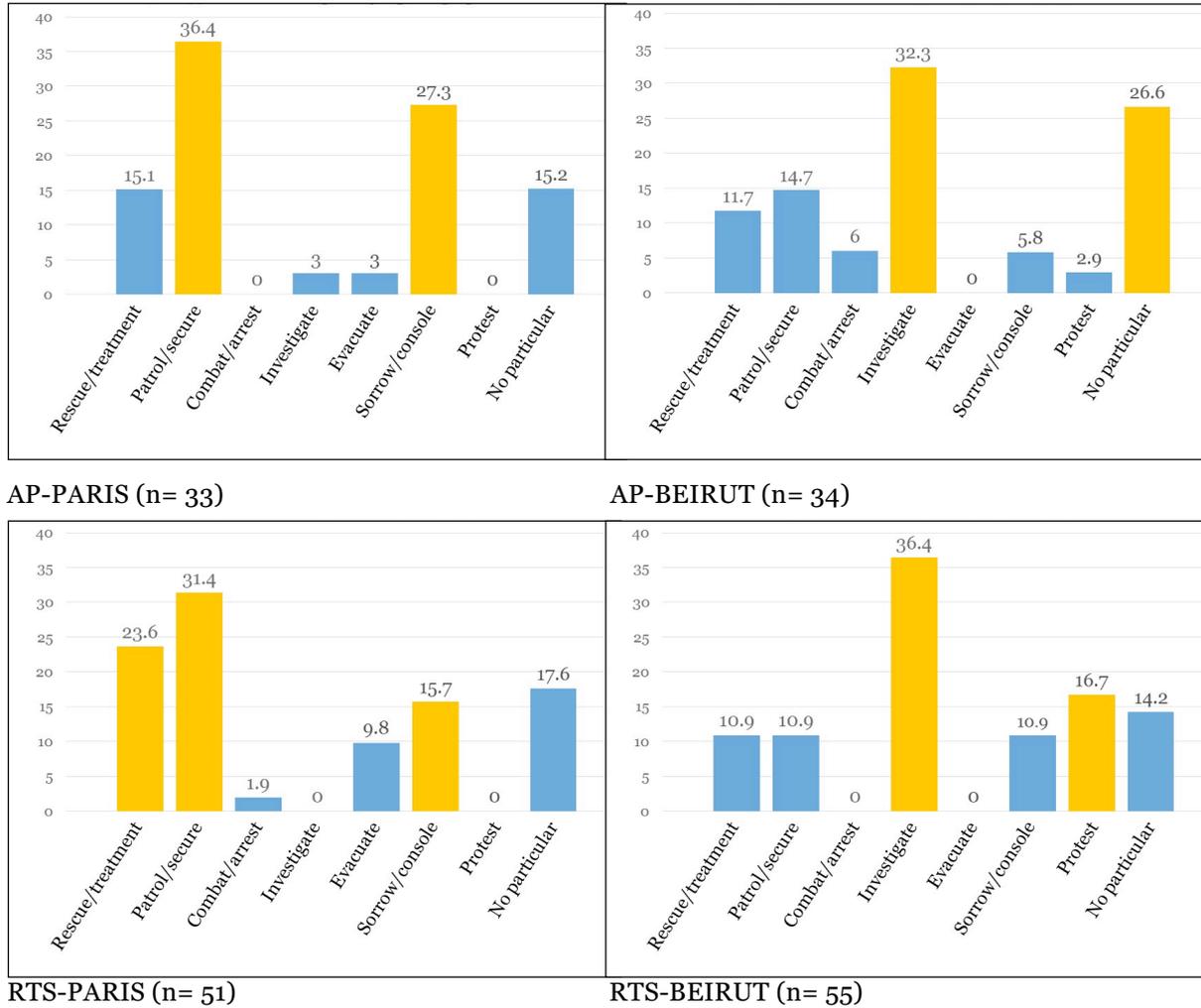
Action narrative: security, safety and sorrow for Paris, neutrality and anger for Beirut.

As it was implied in the case of the portrayal of dominant non-human figures, which showed more images with items of security and solidarity for the Paris incident over the Beirut bombing, the analysis of the action narratives portrayed in the images followed a similar attributional inclination. *Figure 7* graphs the distributions of action narratives among four sets.

For the action narrative, an interesting finding was that both AP and Reuters portrayed a higher ratio of images that captured moments of rescuing, patrolling or securing, and sorrowing for the Paris attacks than the Beirut bombings. The most frequently observed narrative for both AP and Reuters' Paris attack portrayals was the act of 'Patrolling/securing' (36.4% and 31.4%, respectively), whereas the same type of action was visible in only 11.7% of the AP-Beirut images, and 10.9% of the RTS-Beirut images.

Another frequently observed narrative from the Paris attacks images was 'sorrow/console', where 27.3% of AP-Paris photographs showed actors who were mourning or praying, and 15.7% of RTS-Paris images showed the same action type. The ratio observed in the two Beirut samples were comparatively lower as AP-Beirut's proportion reaching up to only 5.8%, and RTS-Beirut reaching up to 10.9%.

Figure 7: Distributions of action narrative (%).



While the images of the Paris incident contained a higher ratio of images that captured moments of ‘rescue/treatment’, ‘patrol/secure’ and ‘sorrow/console’ over the images of the Beirut incident, the most dominant narrative action identified in the Beirut images was the act of investigation (32.3% in AP-Beirut; 36.4% in RTS-Beirut). However, the researcher identified that the majority of the agents of investigation portrayed in the Beirut images were not necessarily the official investigators or the security forces. Rather, as implied in the large frequency of images that showed ‘civilian(s)’ in *Figure 8* below, the majority of the agents of investigation were the citizens of Beirut who were coded as ‘civilian(s)’.

In addition, an important finding to be pointed out is that, unlike the images of the Paris attacks in both news agencies, the images of the Beirut have portrayed actions of aggressiveness (‘protest’) (2.9% for AP-Beirut, and 16.7% for RTS-Beirut).

Overall, both news agencies presented a higher ratio of images that portray actions of

rescuing, securing, evacuating, and sorrowing for the Paris attack, while significant proportions were more visible with actions of investigation and protest for the Beirut bombings (see *Table 4*). The Chi-squared result has also solidified the identified trend with p-value lower than any conventional significance level (p-value<.001).

Table 4: Portrayed incident * Narrative of action, Crosstabulation

		Narrative of action								Total	
		Rescue/ treatment	Patrol/ secure	Combat /arrest	Investig ate	Evac uate	Sorrow/ console	Protest	No particular		
Portrayed incident	Paris attack	Count	17	28	1	1	6	17	0	14	84
		%	20.2%	33.3%	1.2%	1.2%	7.1%	20.2%	0.0%	16.7%	100.0%
t	Beirut bombing	Count	10	11	2	31	0	8	10	17	89
		%	11.2%	12.4%	2.2%	34.8%	0.0%	9.0%	11.2%	19.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	27	39	3	32	6	25	10	31	173
		%	15.6%	22.5%	1.7%	18.5%	3.5%	14.5%	5.8%	17.9%	100.0%

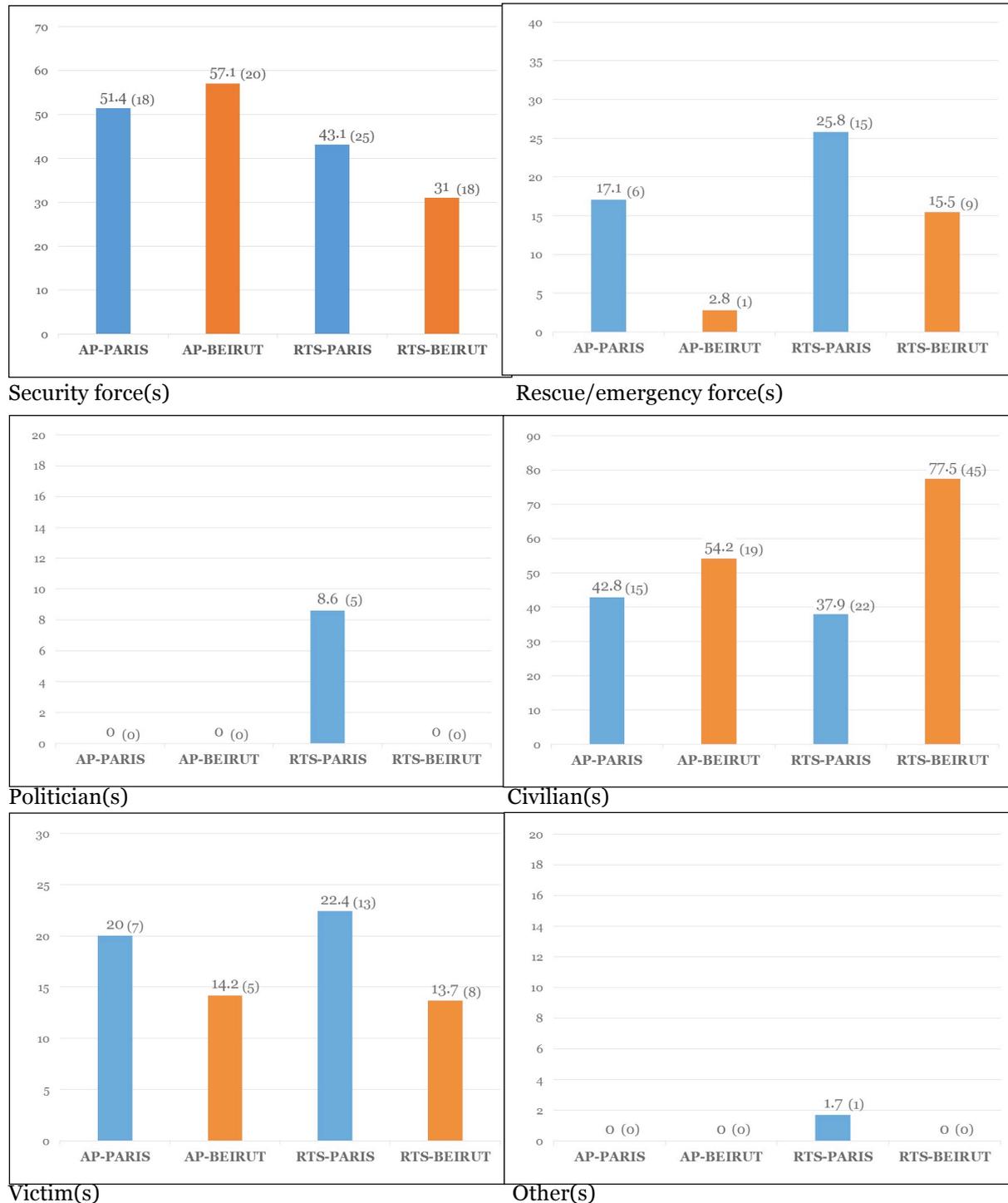
Human figures: more visibility of rescue forces and victims for the Paris attack.

As for the portrayal of human figures, first, there was no particular common pattern between the two news agencies in the number of images containing security forces. Such an analysis was against the assumption that the photographs of the Paris incident would have a higher ratio of security force(s) portrayed due to the assumed higher worthiness of life of the Western victims. The two news agencies also differed in the pattern of ratio distributed for the Paris and Beirut incidents. Although slightly higher proportions of images showed security force(s) in AP-Beirut (57.1%) over AP-Paris (51.4%), the case of Reuters showed the opposite pattern with higher proportion in RTS-Paris (43.1%) than RTS-Beirut (31%) for security force(s) portrayal.

However, for the categories of ‘rescue/emergency force(s)’, ‘civilian(s)’ and ‘victim(s)’, a concordant pattern was identified between the two news agencies: higher proportions of

images portraying ‘rescue/emergency force(s)’ and ‘victim(s)’ were observed in both AP and Reuters for Paris, on the one hand, whereas a larger proportion visible civilians was observed for Beirut. No specific pattern was identified for the portrayal of ‘politician(s)’ and ‘other(s)’ categories, but it is worthy of mention that politicians and others (they were later identified as journalists) were only visible in the Reuters’ images of the Paris attacks.

Figure 8: Proportion (frequency) of photographs portraying human figures by types (%)



In order to analyze the particular ways the above designations (frequencies) were characterized (assertions analysis), specified crosstabulations were conducted to identify the ratio of different camera angles, shots, and the group sizes. The analysis regarding human figures have excluded the 'rescue/emergency force(s)', 'politician(s)' and 'other(s)' categories due to the lack of generalizability considering the observation of small amounts of images. (i.e. single image was observed for the portrayed 'rescue/emergency force(s)' in the AP-Beirut sample; also no images were observed for 'politician(s)' and 'other(s)' categories in AP-Paris, AP-Beirut, and RTS-Beirut).

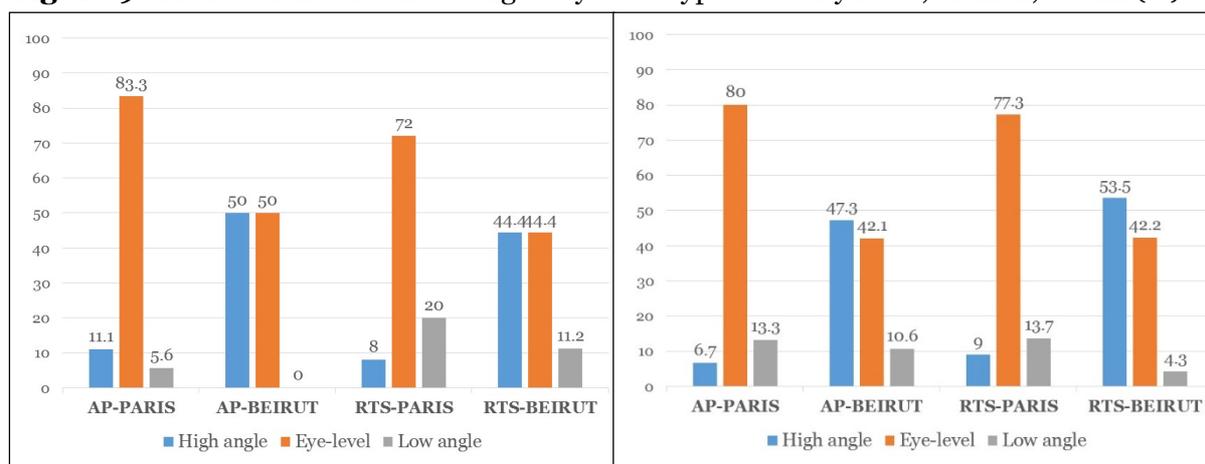
Human figures and camera angle: lower for Paris, higher for Beirut.

Although the ratio of images that showed security force(s) among four sets have shown a random pattern, the distributions of camera angles for the portrayal of security force(s) showed a matching pattern with the overall distributions of camera angles identified in *Figure 3*.

Both AP and Reuters used high-angles significantly more for the portrayal of security force(s) in the Beirut incident (AP: 50%, RTS: 44.4%) over the Paris incident (AP: 11.1%, RTS: 8%), while the two news agencies presented less low-angles for the same actor type in the Beirut bombing (AP: 0%, RTS: 11.2%) than the Paris attack (AP: 5.6%, RTS: 20%). This pattern of camera angle usage observed for the portrayal of security force(s) was also analogous to the portrayal of civilian(s) and victim(s): generally higher angles were used for representing civilians and victims in the Beirut samples, whereas more low and neutral angles were used in the Paris samples. However, there lies a limitation in presenting a general statement for the patterns of victim(s)'s portrayal due to relatively small counts of frequency observed for the distribution.

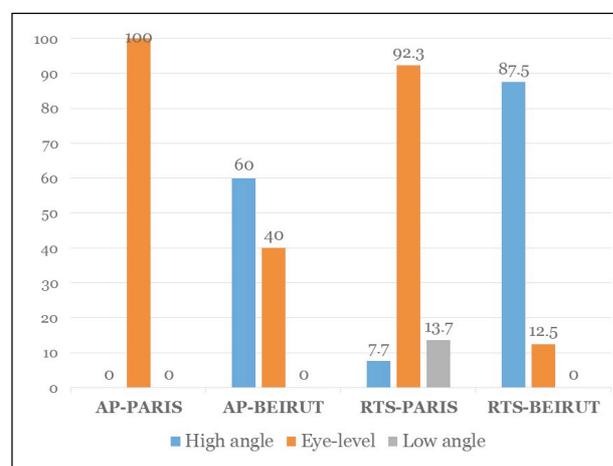
Therefore, regardless of the differences in the ratio of portraying different types of actors among the four sets (designations), noticeable differentiations in the way they were portrayed (assertions) were witnessed. The three major actor types were equally more asserted with characteristics of dignity and neutrality in the visual representations of the Paris incident than the images of the Beirut incident.

Figure 9: Distributions of camera angles by actor type: Security force, civilian, victim (%).



Security force(s)

Civilian(s)



Victim(s)

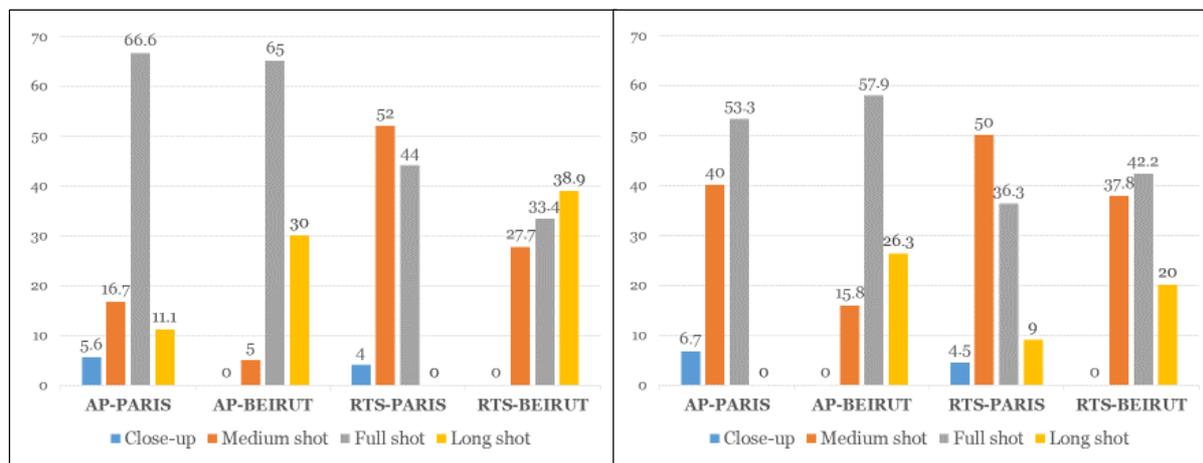
Human figures and camera shot: closer security forces and civilians for Paris, distanced for Beirut.

In terms of the assertions given by camera shots (see *Figure 10*), both the portrayal of security force(s) and civilian(s) followed the general pattern identified in *Figure 4*: security forces and civilians represented in the Paris incident were taken with closer camera shots compared to the Beirut bombing.

Specifically, significantly higher proportions of long-shot portrayal of the Beirut incident's security force(s) in two news agencies were identified compared to the case of the Paris attacks. 30% of the security forces presented in the archive images were captured by long-shot in AP-Beirut, and 38.9% were observed for RTS-Beirut over AP-Paris's 11.3% and RTS-Paris's 0%. For the portrayal of civilians, a similar pattern was identified with both Beirut

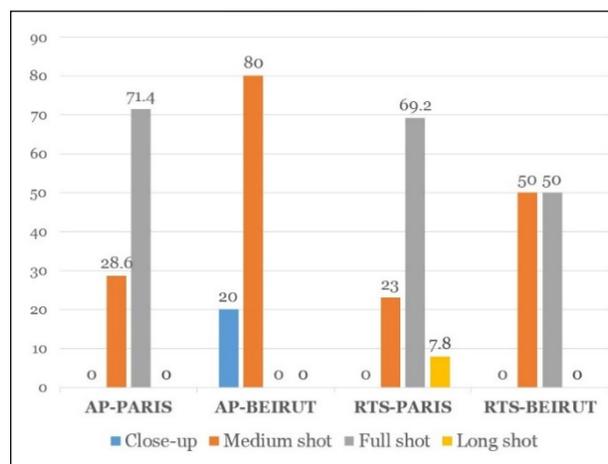
samples containing a higher ratio of full and long-shot than the Paris samples. Interestingly, close-ups were visible for both security forces and civilian portrayals within the Paris photographs only. In other words, no close-ups were used for depicting the two actor types in the images of Beirut.

Figure 10: Distributions of camera shots by actor type: Security force, civilian, victim (%).



Security force(s)

Civilian(s)



Victim(s)

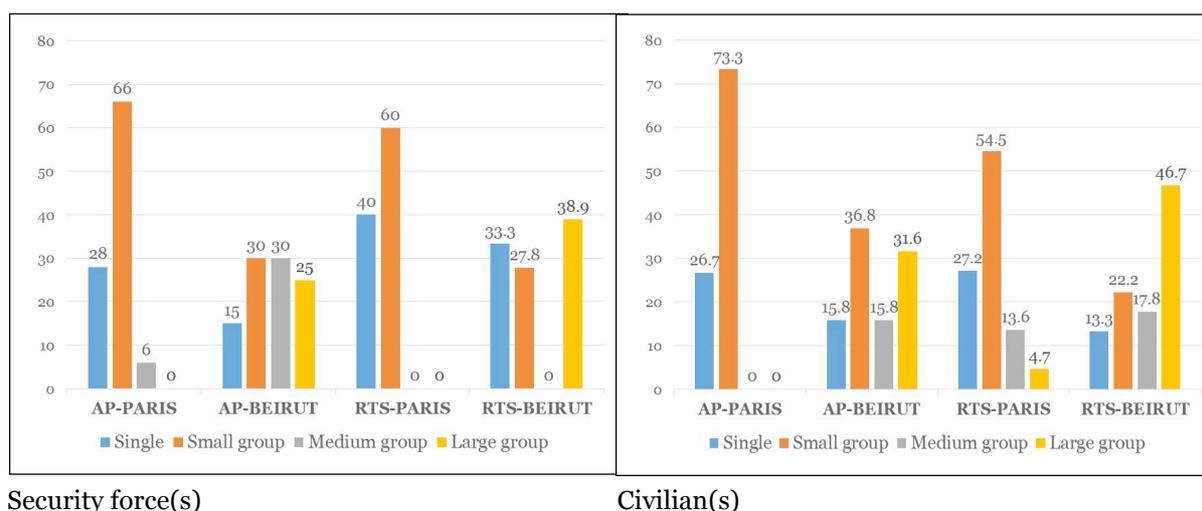
However, such patterns became ambiguous for the portrayal of victims among four sets. Paradoxically, it seemed that the victims of the Beirut incident were portrayed from a closer distance than the victims of the Paris incident, although the two Beirut samples showed relatively different distributions. This is partly because of the fact that all of the images presenting victim(s) from AP-Beirut were taken in the hospital, and the majority of the images from RTS-Beirut were taken in indoors. Again, due to the small sample obtained for analysis, it is best to avoid making any generalized statements regarding the victim(s)'s assertions analysis.

Overall, the specified crosstabulation of camera shots and the actor types have identified that security forces and civilians portrayed in the Paris attacks were asserted with more social intimacy than the Beirut bombings, while the two actor types portrayed in the Beirut bombings were more emotionally distanced from the viewers compared to the Paris attacks.

Human figures in group size: individualized for Paris, disarranged for Beirut.

Following Joffe’s (2008) notion that the number of individuals depicted in a photograph has an influence on ‘identifiability’, and thus, on emotional evocativeness and persuasion, portrayals of the three actor types were further analyzed in relation to group sizes. In general, it was evident that the representations of the Beirut bombings contained more images of larger group sizes compared to the images of the Paris incident (here, the ‘victim(s)’ category was removed due to un-generalizability).

Figure 11: Distributions of group sizes by actor type: Security force, civilian (%).



Specifically, 28% of security forces portrayed in the AP-Paris and 40% in the RTS-Paris were captured as single individuals, whereas 15% and 33.3% were individually portrayed in AP-Beirut and RTS-Beirut, respectively. Also, the majority of the security forces were portrayed in ‘small groups’ for both samples of the Paris attacks, reaching up to 66% for AP and 60% for Reuters. For both brands, no images contained ‘large group’ of security forces for Paris. On the other hand, a sizable ratio was distributed to the portrayal of security forces in ‘large group’ within the two news agencies’ images of the Beirut bombings (25% for AP; 38.9% for Reuters).

The observed pattern of distributions was also reasonably concordant in the depiction of civilian(s). Both news agencies contained more than 10% the individually captured images in

representations of the Paris attacks than the Beirut bombings. Also, over half of the images that dealt with civilian(s) were presented in 'small group' for the Paris incident. On the contrary, each Beirut samples contained a larger ratio of 'medium group' of civilians over the Paris samples, additionally showing significantly higher ratio of civilians in 'large group' (31.6% for AP-Beirut, 46.7% for RTS-Beirut; 0% for AP-Paris, 4.7% for RTS-Paris).

Such patterns observed for portraying security force(s) and civilian(s) within the four sets were reinforced by the Chi-squared test, which identified that there are associations between the incidents and the portrayal of security force(s)/civilian(s), respectively, in the population (p-value for 'security force(s)' <.001; p-value for 'civilian(s)' <.001).

Interpretations and Discussions

The above findings of the content analysis provided necessary prerequisites for supporting previous studies that have criticized the spectatorship and visibility of media crisis reporting directed with a bias of the West/Rest distinctions (Chouliaraki, 2006; Chouliaraki, 2008; Flood, 2016; Rose, 2008; Szorenyi, 2009). This following section provides further interpretive discussions of the findings in relation to the hypotheses and the research questions.

Extraordinary Paris vs. Ordinary Beirut

As 'Finding 1' suggests, it has been identified that the two global news agencies that are claimed to maintain objectivity and impartiality across borders have evidently provided more focus to the Western home-drawn terrorist attacks than the event which took place in the Middle Eastern country. The reasons for such disparity can vary and are out of the scope of this study. However, the researcher can only assume that there already existed a hierarchized political economic structures in terms of commercial, political, and cultural attentions between the two geographically distinct territories. It is not hard to understand the fact that, media do not always have the same level of access to different sites of crisis, nor that they are able to report them with equality in importance (Chouliaraki, 2008: 335). What this finding further confirmed was the actuality that the Paris attacks was dealt as 'extraordinary' news while the Beirut bombings was regarded as 'ordinary' news.

Humanized Paris vs. Dehumanized Beirut

The findings for composition analysis and group sizes were differently captured between the two incidents by the two Western global news agencies. As many scholarships have pointed out, compositions of a photograph, especially camera angle and shot can act as strong adjectives of the photograph that imbue significant symbolic meanings to the process of interpretations (Gianetti, 1982; Kraft, 1987; Mandell & Shaw, 1973). What is interesting in these findings is that not only the hierarchy of the events was observed, but also hierarchized patterns of representations were observed in the actual practices of the two news agencies. The exemplary images below have been selected to help visualize the interpretations of the frequently observed patterns of representation.

Figure 12: Some Examples of photographic images



AP-Paris: Civilians



AP-Beirut: Security forces and Civilians



RTS-Paris: Security force



RTS-Beirut: Civilians

The observed distributions of camera angles (cf. *Figure 3* and *Figure 11*) have identified that significantly higher proportions of high-angles were used for portraying the incident of the Beirut bombings in both news agencies, while a higher ratio of eye-level and low-angle photographs were visible in the Paris attacks images.

As Kraft (1987: 292) argues, camera angles modify the content by adding connotative meanings to the depicted figures. His analysis of low-angles as connoting strength and superiority; eye-levels as parity; and high-angles as weakness and insignificance suggests that the general pattern of the identified representations visualize the concordant connotative meanings. Consequently, the study identified the evidences to argue that the represented figures (security forces and civilians in particular) of the Paris attacks were more dignified and powered over the figures of the Beirut bombings, where they were more belittled.

This argument further calls attention to the discourse of Orientalism. As Shohat and Stam (1994: 15) suggests, contemporary Orientalizing and Eurocentric discourses are the residues of colonialism, where the Western powers were deemed superior to the non-Western powers in all aspects of economic, political, military and cultural spheres. Such traditions of thought, according to Said (1978), prevails in the practices of representation, of which the evidences of this study have arguably confirmed.

Moreover, as the exposed patterns identified in the findings representatively shown in the above four images, the images of the Paris attacks portrayed figures with closer social distance and a smaller number of subjects than the images of the Beirut bombings. In effect, such practices of representations contained connotative meanings of intimacy and individualization for the figures of the Paris attacks, whereas, the figures of the Beirut bombings were more distanced and disarranged. Further, such differences meant that emotional recognitions and humanization were offered to the sufferers (not necessarily the victims) of the Paris incident, while the opposite, suppressed emotional engagement and dehumanization were based for the sufferers of the Beirut incident. This interpretation agrees with Chouliaraki's assertion in regard to her notions of 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' news:

'extraordinary news provides resources for identification and action that selectively reproduce cross-border publics with exclusively Western affiliations; they do so, either by fully humanizing the distant sufferers of the West, as if they were 'us', or by dehumanizing non-Westerners, as if their pain or death were not relevant to our moral consciousness' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 344).

Grievable Paris vs. un-grievable Beirut

In line with the above argument, this study also confirmed that attributions analysis of emotional tone and narrative action advocate the existence of a hierarchy of lives. The possible identification of faces, emotions and actions adds the identified emotional message to the image, where it appealingly speaks the embedded meanings to the viewers (Joffe, 2008). The study demonstrated that the images of the Paris attacks generally contained more themes of sorrow, solidarity, security and safety. On the other hand, the images of the Beirut bombings were observed with having more unidentifiable, outraged, and neutral emotions and narratives¹¹

The identified themes of both the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings all recalled the notion of Butler's 'grievability'. For a life to be regarded as meaningful, it preconditions the recognition of precariousness, which in turn, preconditions the view that the loss of that particular life is worth and valued to grieve for (Butler, 2004). The identified patterns of the Paris attacks supported the particular view of a valued life. The dominant emotions and actions portrayed in the images connoted to the message that the suffering/suffered others were worthy of sorrow, expressing solidarity, and being protected – thus, grievable. However, the majority of images of the Beirut bombings were not even given a chance to express or identify the emotional tone – thus, suppressing the opportunity to even judge the grievability of the suffering others. Instead, the high visibility of the outraged emotion and action within the Beirut images further contributed to the Othering stereotypes of Islamic 'anger', 'disorder' and 'exoticness' (Said, 1981; Rane et al. 2014).

The measures of 'grievability' was also examined by the analysis of dominant objects (cf. *Figure 5*). The images that contain iconic objects and the symbolic meanings have an impact on retaining the possessed meanings in perception (Zelizer, 2004b), where such a relationship in representation comes to have an effect on reinforcing the abstract and ideological realism. In other words, the depiction of iconic objects in the images – often as stereotypes – give rise to an abstract world-view of reality that is already familiarized through conventional knowledge and values (Hall, 1997; Choulirarki, 2006). In this regard, the dominantly observed symbolic objects and scenes – public service vehicles, intact landmarks and items of solidarity, such as flowers and candles – within the images of the Paris attacks can be argued to bespeak the abstract realism that the citizens of Paris are: valued for security, capable of withstanding the aftermath, and are valued to be mourned or

¹¹ See Appendices [E] and [F] for distributed emotional tone specified for security force(s) and civilian(s). Both distributions shows similar pattern observed in *[Figure 4]*.

prayed for. On the other hand, the dominant pattern of representing scenes of damage and rubbles in the Beirut images can be argued to support the ideological reality of the Middle Eastern ‘ordinary’ place and people as being incompetent under such a chaotic situation, and this suggests that the lives of the people in Beirut were relatively devalued compared to Paris.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation empirically explored the representations in transnational news agencies, taking as its point of departure the assumption that the should-be objective transnational news agencies not only hierarchize news events in terms of geographical and cultural proximity, but also depict them in accordance to the hierarchy of lives with embedded discourse of Othering through photographic representations. The findings of the study and the discussions conclude that the hierarchical news events – as parted in terms of ‘extraordinary’ and ‘ordinary’ news – contained the implications of hierarchical lives in relation to the West/Rest dichotomy, through manners of representations, within the photographs of AP and Reuters. The present research offers three main conclusions:

- The hierarchical attention given to the Paris attacks over the Beirut bombings was evident, allowing the categorization of extraordinary news on the one hand, and ordinary news on the other.
- The subsequently assumed hierarchy of lives of the suffering others was existent in regard to the discourse of Othering, identified by the dominant use of high-angles; distanced portrayals; and disarranged depictions of the figures of the Beirut bombings – the other way for the Paris attacks – which, humanized the people of Paris and de-humanized the people of Beirut.
- In particular, the lives of the Paris attacks were more grievable over the lives of the Beirut bombings with the observed themes of, on the one hand, sorrow, grief, solidarity, security and safety for Paris, and on the other, anger, unidentified, and chaos for Beirut.

The content analysis of the study focused on identifying the patterns of representations through designations, attribution, and assertions analysis. As a result, it observed that the major differences of the representations were diverse in combinations of variables, but evident. Essentially, the two transnational news agencies portrayed the incidents differently

in terms of the selections of people, compositions, group size, and of emotions and narratives on camera. The crosstabulations of such dispositions quantitatively contributed to supporting previous studies tackling the media representation of crisis in relation to the issue of 'Otherness' and 'hierarchy of place and lives'. The research mainly argued that within the images of AP and Reuters, the lives of the sufferers of the Paris were both implicitly and explicitly represented as being more valued and humanized over the lives of the Beirut bombings incident.

Nonetheless, due to restrictions in the given time period, the analytic scope of the research was not exhaustive (n=186). Therefore, the study has its limitation in examining whether the identified manners of representation are persistent overtime, as Collins (2004) suggests that rituals of solidarity after conflict gradually change after certain period. In addition, although the methodological strategy here offered an insightful discovery of the comparative patterns of representation, it was nonetheless impossible for the researcher to examine the site of production and the site of audience for the identified manners.

For these reasons, the obtained findings obviously invite for thorough researches that can further validate the conclusion and provide reinforcement to the outlined shortcomings. A possible contribution in this regard could be, for instance, to conduct a research covering a longer period of samples or comparing different incidents, and proceed qualitative interviews or visual analysis to examine whether, on the one hand, the above-identified patterns and the underlying discourse of representations have cultural-political intentions on the site of production, since most of the work dealing with visual materials are often indifferent in the intentionality of the producer (Rose, 2016). Also, on the other hand, the researcher hopes that through a more qualitative and in-depth examination of the audience effect, the expected researches could finalize the circulatory links between the site of production, image, and audience.

To provide a food for thought for the next step: Terrorism feeds on attention. If the leading news providers continue to value the incidents and lives of 'us' over 'them', they might just be stimulating another attack among 'us'.

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APPENDICES

*some appendices were removed from the original copy for the publication purpose.

[A] Number of images related to *Beirut Bombing* presented in the archives for seven days after the incident.

	Nov. 12 th	Nov. 13 th	Nov. 14 th	Nov. 15 th	Nov. 16 th	Nov. 17 th	Nov. 18 th
AP	11	26	0	3	4	0	1
Reuters	23	36	0	0	0	0	4

[B] Inter-coder Reliability scores

Measurement based on Krippendorff's Alpha score.

Variables	Unit identification variables (ID, NEWS_AGN, INCIDENT, SET, DATE)			
ICR score	1.			
Variable	COM_SHOT	COM_ANGLE	OBJECT	ACTOR
ICR score	.837	1.	.901	1.
Variable	ACTOR_SF	ACTOR_REF	ACTOR_POL	ACTOR_CIV
ICR score	.904	.952	1.	.920
Variable	ACTOR_VIC	ACTOR_ETC	NUM_SF	NUM_REF
ICR score	1.	.950	.849	.917
Variable	NUM_POL	NUM_CIV	NUM_VIC	NUM_ETC
ICR score	1.	.804	.837	1.
Variable	EMOTION	NA_ACTION		
ICR score	.816	.847		

[C] Codebook

Code #	Variable	Variable label	Code value / Variable scale	Value label	Value descriptions
Unit identification variables					
C1	ID	Unit identification #	From 1 and onwards	Unit identification #	
C2	NEWS_AGN	News agency	1 = AP 2 = Reuters / Nominal	Published news agency	
C3	INCIDENT	Portrayed incident	1 = Paris attack 2 = Beirut bombing / Nominal	Portrayed incident	
C4	SET	Sample set	1 = AP-PARIS 2 = AP-BEIRUT 3 = RTS-PARIS 4 = RTS-BEIRUT / Nominal	Sample set	
C5	DATE	Date of release	1 = 1st day of the incident 2 = 2nd day of the incident / Nominal	Date of the photograph released in the archive	1 = Nov. 12 for Beirut / Nov. 13 for Paris. 2 = Nov. 13 for Beirut / Nov. 14 for Paris.
Compositional variables					
C6	COM_SHOT	Camera shot	1 = Close-up 2 = Medium shot 3 = Full shot 4 = Long shot / Ordinal	Type of camera shot	1 = Main figure(s) or object(s) taking over 50% of the whole frame. For human, camera focusing on head and shoulders. 2 = Main figure(s) or object(s) taking 20~30% of the whole frame. For human, visible from higher than knee level. 3 = Main figure(s) or object(s) taking less than 10% of the whole frame. For human, full body is visible / facial expression is unclearly visible. 4 = Main figure(s) or object(s) in far distance. Facial expressions or objects unrecognizable.
C7	COM_ANGLE	Camera angle	1 = High angle 2 = Eye-level 3 = Low angle / Ordinal	Type of camera angle	1 = Looking downwards onto the scene. 2 = Parallel with the eye-level. 3 = Looking up at the scene.
Object/actor classification variables					
C8	OBJECT	Dominant non-human figure or object(s)	1 = Public service vehicle 2 = Police line or fence 3 = Weapon(s) 4 = Damaged scene 5 = Unharmed landscape 6 = Blood / Bloodstain 7 = Items of solidarity 8 = Belongings of the victim 9 = Others / Nominal	Dominant non-human figure(s) or object(s) visible in the photograph	* If there are more than one type of object, coding process is primarily based on the focusing of the photograph, and on the descriptions in the caption/cutline. 1 = Police car, ambulance, or military vehicles. 2 = Police line or fence for scene security or inspection. 4 = Rubbles, bullet holes, etc. 5 = Streets, buildings,

					landmarks or other structures that are intact. 7 = Flowers, candles, letters, national flag, or lighting.
C9	ACTOR	Portrayal of human figure	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of human figure(s) in the photograph	
C10	ACTOR_SF	Portrayal of security force(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of security force(s) in the photograph	<p>* Identification of the type of actors is primarily based on the description in caption.</p> <p>* For C10, security force includes: police and army. * For C11, rescue or emergency force includes: firefighter, doctor, nurse, and investigator. * For C13 and C14, civilians refer to the unwounded, whereas, victims are visible with wounds or injuries.</p>
C11	ACTOR_REF	Portrayal of rescue/emergency force(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of rescue/emergency force(s) in the photograph	
C12	ACTOR_POL	Portrayal of politician(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of politician(s) in the photograph	
C13	ACTOR_CIV	Portrayal of civilian(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of civilian(s) in the photograph	
C14	ACTOR_VIC	Portrayal of victim(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of victim(s) in the photograph	
C15	ACTOR_ETC	Portrayal of other actor(s)	0 = No 1 = Yes / Nominal	Portrayal of other actor(s) in the photograph	
C16	NUM_SF	Number of security force(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of security force(s) portrayed in the photograph	<p>* Identification of the type of actors is primarily based on the description in caption. * If the actors are differently distanced, the figures who are out of focus in far distance is excluded for count.</p> <p>1 = Single individual visible. 2 = Approximately ranging from 2~5 individuals. 3 = Approximately 6~10 individuals. Countable in initial observation. 4 = Over 10 visible. Hard to count in initial observation, or uncountable.</p>
C17	NUM_REF	Number of rescue/emergency force(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of rescue/emergency force(s) in the photograph	
C18	NUM_POL	Number of politician(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of politician(s) portrayed in the photograph	
C19	NUM_CIV	Number of civilian(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of civilian(s) portrayed in the photograph	
C20	NUM_VIC	Number of victim(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of victim(s) portrayed in the photograph	

C21	NUM_ETC	Number of other actor(s) portrayed	0 = None 1 = Single 2 = Small group 3 = Medium group 4 = Large group / Ordinal	Number of other actor(s) portrayed in the photograph	
Narrative classification variables					
C22	EMOTION	Emotional tone	1. Sadness/mourn 2. Solemnity/respectful 3. Concerned 4. Shocked 5. Anger/indignation 6. Happiness/Joy 7. No particular emotion 8. Unidentifiable / Nominal	Emotional tone of the photograph recognized by the portrayed actors	*If C9 = 0, code 999 for not applicable. * Emotional tone primarily identified by facial expression. If unclear, narrated by the descriptions in caption and gestures of the figures.
C23	NA_ACTION	Narrative of action	1. Rescue/treatment 2. Patrol/Secure 3. Combat/arrest 4. Investigate 5. Evacuate 6. Sorrow/Console 7. Protest 8. No particular narrative / Nominal	Dominant narrative action recognized in the photograph	*If C9 = 0, code 999 for not applicable. * Narrative of action primarily identified by the descriptions in caption.

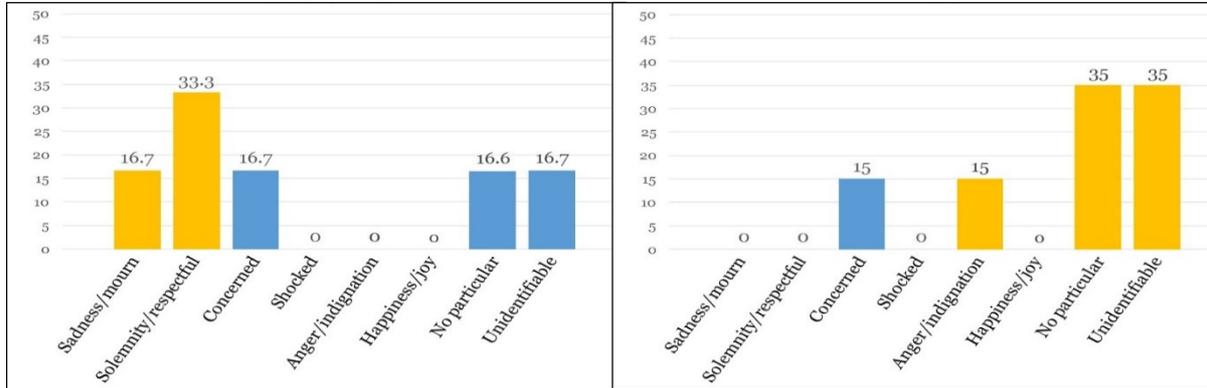
[D] SPSS output of the *Chi-squared* test of independence (here labelled “Pearson Chi-square”) between *incident* and *camera angle*.

Chi-Square Tests

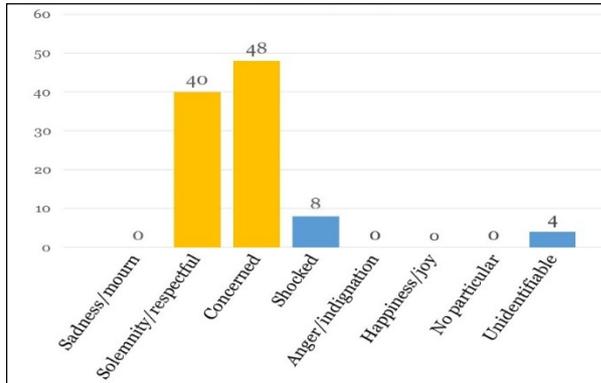
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.798 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	30.480	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.531	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	186		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.00.

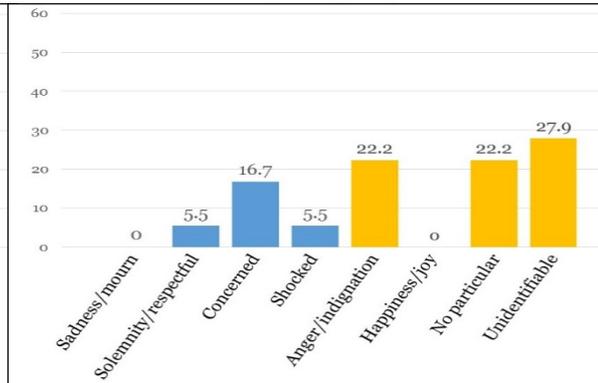
[E] Distribution of emotional tone attributed to portrayal of security force(s).



AP-PARIS



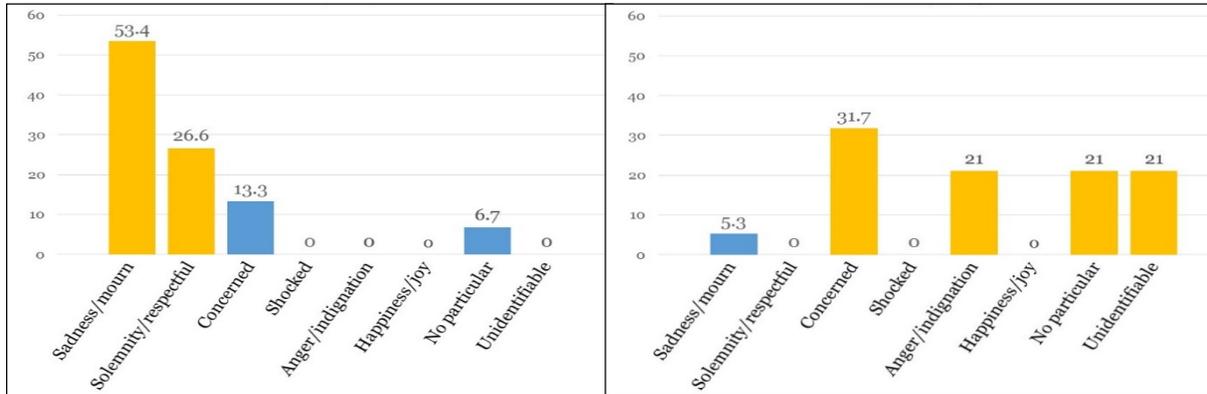
AP-BEIRUT



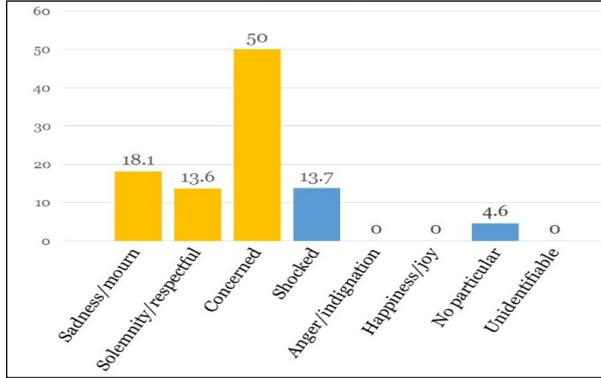
RTS-PARIS

RTS-BEIRUT

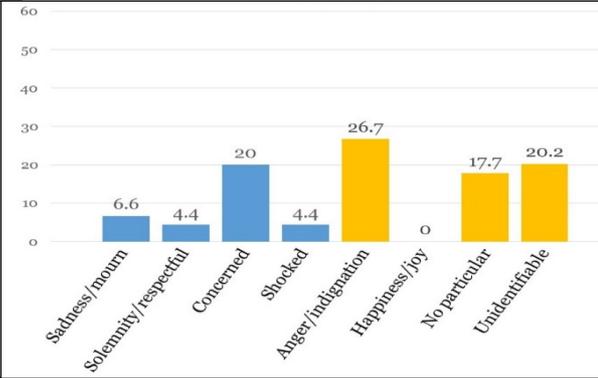
[F] Distribution of emotional tone attributed to portrayal of civilian(s).



AP-PARIS



AP-BEIRUT



RTS-PARIS

RTS-BEIRUT

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