Representation of War: How the Syrian conflict is framed through newswire images.


Thesis by Rim Lucassen
Student number: 1610376
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Supervisor: dr. D. Mustata
Secondary reader: dr. F. Harbers
MA Mediastudies, Specialization: International Journalism.
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Small words of Gratitude

This thesis has taken me longer to write that I would like. But that is nothing new for me. It has been a struggle, but I have learned a lot, and I have been able to study a particularly interesting subject, the conflict of Syria. And photographs. Although not always nice to look at, indeed a fascinating subject which I enjoyed up until I had to write about it... At times I felt like the little boy on the cover, I guess it was for the best but I still don’t like getting water pored over my head. I would like to thank my parents for their extreme patience with me in finishing my studies, my second studies, my thesis, going on holidays even though I hadn’t finished my thesis yet etc. etc. Thank you Jo and Daniëlle. Also I would like to thank Johanna for being supportive despite the mess in the house every time I had to finish a deadline, believing in me and supporting me through the long process. I would like to thank Dana for her endurance with a beta-student, and her successful efforts to convert me to the world of narrative analysis.

Rim
Introduction

This thesis will address the use of war photography as a medium to document the Syrian conflict. In this thesis I will analyze the use of images of the Syrian conflict distributed by AFP/Getty Images, which is the largest stock agency of news photographs in the world. This analysis focuses on the way in which images are framing the Syrian conflict, by using the theory of framing developed by Ervin Goffman (1974), and the methods of narrative analysis by Roland Barthes (1957).

The Syrian conflict is the most recent in this line of uprisings in the Middle East. Like several other earlier conflicts in the Arab world, it started with a number of peaceful protests, which have grown into serious rebellion against the ruling government. Earlier this century, political reform proposed by Syrian intellectuals and notabilities, had been quelled by Syria’s current ruler, Bashar al-Assad. Protests started after the arrest and torture of a group of teenage boys, who had painted anti-governmental graffiti on their school wall (Rodgers et al., 2014) in the beginning of March 2011. Some small protests in Deraa, and later that month, some hundred people took to the streets in the capital of Damascus. Since then, it has escalated in a large civil war between the ruling government and several fractions. The conflict, which I will discuss in more detail later on, has been extensively covered by the media since the first public protests. Due to its inaccessibility to the press, Syria has been a difficult country to cover, and has posed large risk for reporters, which is why a lot of media information has been gathered through the wire services. Wire services such as the AFP, Reuters and AP, have provided images and news from the conflict zone. These services are known for their large, extensive network of images and text from news around the world. The AFP has the largest news images database in the world, and its images are used extensively throughout the globe. Its influence on the news world is significant, and it is this fact that is the starting point of using the AFP for this study. The main research question in this thesis is:

R1: How has the Syrian conflict been framed?
While my secondary research question is:

R2: What mythological meaning is present in the dominant frames of the Syrian conflict?

For this I analyze the images of the AFP related to the conflict. I will answers these questions on both a qualitative as well as a quantitative level. For this my analysis is twofold. I have used the concept of framing as a guideline to organize the images in the AFP database. For this I analyze a number of images from the database on visual aspects taken from previous visual studies related to war photography. With the construction of this overview of the images of the conflict, I was able to select the dominant aspects of the images that construct so-called frames of the Syrian conflict. Then an overview is made of those images so dominant in the imagery of the conflict, and for the analysis of these images I have implemented the semiotic methods of Barthes (from his book Mythologies) to delve deeper into the meaning of these images. With Barthes theory a qualitative analysis of the "myth" (see below for an explanation of this concept) of the images of the conflict is done, which again I reflect against the findings of the quantitative analysis.

In this introductory chapter, I will first give a brief overview of the important terms in this thesis, followed by a research rationale and an introduction to war photography. Following this introduction, there will be several other chapters. First, I will explain more about the Syrian conflict, and give a clear overview of the current studies on war photography. From there follows a theoretical chapter that delves deeper into the concept of myth and the methods of framing analysis. The third chapter consists of an elaborate description of the methodology used in this thesis, which is both quantitative as well as qualitative in nature. After the quantitative chapter, which will focus on the development of a codebook, and the extraction of a sample from the studied database, I will elaborate on how I will implement the concept of myth in this thesis to give context to the results of the quantitative analysis. The fourth chapter contains the quantitative analysis with the help of a codebook and a framing analysis, and the fifth chapter focuses on the qualitative analysis of the images with the help of the theory of Barthes. The sixth and final chapter will
elaborate on the found results, and contain my final conclusions and discussion.

Before the next paragraph in which I will tell more about the research aims of this thesis, I will briefly explain some of the terms and definitions that are crucial to this thesis’ understanding.

**Framing:** When the words *frame* or *framing* are used, I refer to the original definition of framing by Goffman. Goffman used the word frame as coined by Bateson, “I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame” (Goffman, 1974: 10). Via framing, images and text are used to reinstate certain ideological concepts, a controversial idea which is applied by all newspapers (Fahmy, 2004). The choice of a newspaper to speak of either a terrorist or a freedom fighter, or to select certain images to print, newspapers frame an event (Fahmy, 2004; Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013). In the theoretical chapter (chapter 3) I will address framing in much more detail; both as a theoretical concept as well as a method of analysis.

**Myth** is the other key concept in that stands at the base of this thesis, and has much more to do with the theoretical side of this work. When writing about *myth*, I refer to the concept of myth by Roland Barthes, who introduced the term as a description of a layer of semiotics (Barthes, 1957). Barthes argues that in every text or image, there is not only a first layer meaning (e.g. “an apple”), but there is also a secondary layer of meaning, and then a third layer of metalanguage, or *myth*. Hence, the “apple” stands for an apple, but also a tree and fruit (second layer of meaning), and thirdly for example for youth, or religion (i.e. Adam and Eve). For this layer of *myth*, cultural concepts come into play (someone who has never heard of Adam and Eve would not associate the apple with such a story). The interpretation of images, like text, is personal. For example, the word “titmouse” might be gibberish for journalism scholars, but for biologists, it stands for a little passerine bird. I will elaborately write on the concept of myth in much more detail in chapter 2.3. The concept of myth will be used extensively within this thesis to analyze the dominant frames of conflict.
present within the AFP images of Syria, to look at the cultural context and further in-depth analysis of the frames.

This cultural context brings me to another term extensively used within the thesis, namely the concept of *tropes*. When I mention tropes in this thesis, these are in essence culturally established myths, representing concepts of symbolic value. Tropes (like myth) find their origin in the study of semiotics as well, and are used in textual analysis predominantly. I use the concept of trope to coin this dominant myth. Within linguistic studies, the trope is a “cliché”, a reoccurring element that plays a dominant role in text and images. Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) have used the concept of tropes (e.g. conventions such as “a mourning woman, a civilian facing soldiers, a distressed witness to an atrocity” (Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013:1), to identify the elements that construct a winning World Press Photo. I use the term trope in this thesis sparsely, to address the element within the image that is dominant, however a trope *is* essentially a dominant and universally understandable myth, just like Barthes idea of myth. A trope *is* contained within a dominant ideological frame, because it is this frame that creates it. The image of a crying woman is together the cliché, as well as the trope, *because* it is an ideological, framed idea of a crying woman.

Within this thesis I address the term of *representation* without the aim of opening up the discussion on realism. When I use the term representation, I adopt the more practical aspect of representation, what does it mean, and what does it portray. This thesis, focusing on war photography, has close links to documentary film. Like documentary film, the war photograph is a representation of events. In terms of photographic representation, Beattie (2004:13) writes, "The status of a representation as a legitimate depiction of the socio-historical world is informed by certain properties commonly understood to be inherent in the photographic image." The photograph “cannot lie” and the representation of a photograph is considered truthful. Scruton (1982) argues, we should not see the word representation as it is used in discussions of art, it does not stand for a man, it *is* the image of a particular man. The interpretation, which is the second layer within the photograph, comes with Barthes’ theories. The concept of representation, used in this thesis, is in essence based on resemblance of an event, with an impression of truthfulness. However, truthfulness is
subjective, as it is dependent upon the viewer, therefor the argument is made for an impression of truthfulness (and in this thesis, is subject to scrutiny because of the focus on the content; i.e. how the Syrian conflict is represented, through newswire images of the war). Within war photography, the depiction of truthful events is taken to a new level, and this will be discussed in the chapter on the history of war photography.

*Research Aims*

This research aims to see how the Syrian war is portrayed. The intent of this study is to give a meaningful addition to journalistic research, in a field that is still very underrepresented in journalism studies, namely press photography. Photographs are seen as more representative of the truth, and are therefore efficient medium for framing (Greenwood & Jenkins, 2013). With this thesis I hope to assess the representation of the Syrian conflict by the international press, and give an indexation of its photographic 'memory'. This in turn gives insight in the functioning of the AFP, and the way that conflict is perceived. In a time where press freedom is still sometimes at stake and at risk (for example the terroristic attack on the headquarters of the satirical news agency Charlie Hebdo) it seems journalists should be aware of what they write. There, where perception of the written word and image might become vague, there is where journalism studies can lend a hand, with rigorous analysis of what is in fact photographed, and put out there, by looking at framing. Yet also, this thesis aims to delve deeper, by looking at the mythological meaning behind the dominant frameworks that portray our conflict situations. It seems especially important now, to understand what it is that touches us in the images of conflict.

It is the representation of the conflict through the photojournalists and editors of the press agencies eyes. How they perceive, and think the viewer should perceive the conflict. And looking at all those press images combined, what are those reoccurring frames of this war? Would the majority of the images be focusing on homeless children, or major protests? Or would most portray the country’s ruler, Bashar al-Assad? And what would this mean?
This study’s aim to identify the role that the media image can play in the news received quite some scholarly attention before (Parry, 2010b). A recent study by Greenwood & Jenkins (2013) studied the visual framing of the Syrian conflict in the US press. They compared 12 US News magazines and Public Affairs Magazines, and believe that “[...] the content of photographs published in magazines will frame the Syrian civil conflict using patterns recognizable to the publication’s audience, which may vary among magazines of different types” (2013, 6). Questioning the depiction of war versus peace negotiations, they concluded that while News Magazines depicted more war photographs, Public Affairs Magazines depicted more peace negotiations. They believe that this is because “[...] the magazine environment becomes increasingly oriented to niche publications” (2013, 1). Yet, they also conclude that their study is based on national magazines in an international conflict. The photograph has become a tool for news reporters to convey a message, and effectively create a ‘representation’ of fact and events (Silva & Queiroga, 2011). The international news media gather their images through reporters on the ground, but more often, via newswire services. The largest newswire services on the globe are Reuters, the Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) who partnered up with stock bureau Getty Images in 2003 to provide the largest newswire database in the world. Newswire images are available and used worldwide. These images could therefore be seen as a major representative of the global press’ use of images. Whether it is the Indian or the New York Times, the images of the wire services are present. Also, in contrast to the images that are found on social media or those attained via civilian reporters, images of the press agencies are assumed to come from trustworthy sources, for the newswire services are professionals. Next to that, images from the agencies are often high quality images and can attract the attention of the viewer. It is therefore quite likely that a newspaper would opt to publish newswire images. Let me take image 1.1 as an example. The image portrays a rebel Syrian fighter with a cat, in an empty street somewhere in Syria. It is one of the most used images from the AP on Syria in 2013. Is it representative of the conflict? Does the Syrian Free army only consist of peaceful rebels petting cats? Why does it not show a conflict but a passifistic rebel instead? This question, how the conflict is represented
through the images of the newswire services, is key to this study. What meaning is given to it? For this cultural concept of what meaning is found behind the image, Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) argue we could use the concept of tropes. In their research on the World Press Photo contest, tropes are used to identify the reoccurring elements and symbols present in imagery. The origin of tropes as identifying elements finds its origins in literature, but tropes in images have more recently been described as a metaphorical significant to create meaning (Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013). Although the world press photo contest was founded in 1955 to stimulate and develop documentary press photography (worldpressphoto.org, 2014), and its archive is a historically diverse database of the development of press photography, Zarzycka and Kleppe found that the winning images of the contest are in fact very similar in certain aspects. They identified several tropes that are present in the 2009-2011 winning photographs. As mentioned above, Zarzycka and Kleppe’s concept of trope is in fact similar to Barthes idea of myth. So for this thesis, I turn to 20th century semiotician Roland Barthes. He posed that every text, and every image, do not merely display something, in this case a Syrian fighter with a cat, but that there is more to the image (Barthes, 1957). Barthes suggests that all images make meaning at the level of the myth, which is derived from its original, visual meaning. What the viewer perceives is dependent upon the viewers’ cultural, historical and personal background. What mythological meaning is dominant

**Image 1.1**

A Free Syrian Army fighter feeds a cat bread in the old city of Aleppo, Syria, Sunday, Jan. 6, 2013. The revolution against Syrian President Bashar Assad that began in March 2011, started with peaceful protests but morphed into a civil war that has killed more than 60,000 people, according to a recent United Nations recent estimate. (Image and caption: AP Photo/Andoni Lubaki, 2013)
within the AFP/ Getty Images database of the Syrian conflict? In this essay, I have analyzed the photographs of the Syrian conflict distributed by AFP-Getty Images. To analyze the sample of images, I have used Goffman’s concept of framing, and to delve deeper into the meaning of these dominant frames I have used Barthes theory of semiotics. A frame of a corpse will have more than a visual meaning. The corpse does not only resemble a dead person, but in imagery is also addressing the issue of life and death. For the viewer, it could resemble the vulnerability of life and the gravity of death. The man-against-tank image could represent a David versus Goliath so to say, the development of machinery, superiority, or the struggle of the underdog. The myth identified give cultural meaning to the image (Castells, 2008; Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013), with which the public can identify. The value of identifying the myth in the images is twofold. On one hand, it gives an insight into the reoccurring elements within the field of photojournalism, on the other it provides a classification yardstick on which to categorize and document these images.

By looking first at framing, I will get an insight in how the AFP hopes to let the viewers understand the news, and what the current images of war look like. “By selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of a topic while downplaying others, communicators frame messages in ways they believe will make them understandable to audiences” (Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013:2 after Goffman, 1974). While news media are intrinsically subject to framing, in war photographs one would expect the mythological elements are where their framing would stand out. I have identified the images on their ‘cosmologic belief system’, such as Goffman describes it (1974). While it might be possible to analysis the photographs on their content alone, with the help of tropes, images are hard to identify without any textual context. The images have therefore been analyzed on their contextual framework as well, for there are several important aspects in their contextual content. The images on the Syrian conflict were found via one particular keyword, namely “Syria”. This study used a sample of randomly selected images from the AFP-Getty Images database, while searching on this sole keyword. While the concept of framing by Goffman usually applies to text, it is applied to photographs as well (Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013; Fahmy, 2004). Central to this framing analysis was the use of a codebook, which gave a
quantifiable basis on which to classify the images. The chief framing analysis has therefore been quantitative, and those dominant frames have then been analyzed further to find the meaning at a mythological meaning with the help of Barthes (1957). In essence this research is both a quantitative as well as a qualitative analysis of the framing of the Syrian conflict. It aims to show both the practical as well as the theoretical analysis of the images and give insight in the type of press photography that is war photography, and in the following chapter I will give an introduction to war photography as a medium and a timeline of the Syrian conflict.
Chapter 1: War photography

Maybe the most intriguing type of news photography is war photography. The shocking images that appear in war and conflict zones are horrid, but almost like a ‘postcard aimed at addressing the western public opinion’, writes Martijn Kleppe (2014), when recently a picture of a lynching in the Central African Republic appeared in the news. The image was spread by Human Rights Watch to address the issues in the Central African Republic. It is from these conflict zones, where newspapers receive the most horrid images to possibly show to the public. It is there also, where the audience will react the most. The topic of death is inescapable when it comes to war reporting. While some newspapers decide not to show images of dead or wounded, others specifically do, and therefore appeal to different audiences (Zelizer, 2005). “While pictures of war combine the cool mechanics of the camera with the hot passions of the battlefield to address the stubborn proximity and inevitability of death, they also force an address to the fundamental question of what news images are for” (Zelizer, 2005). The conscious or subconscious choices that newspapers make, to select particular images for print, will be influenced by an endless number of factors. Not only will these choices affect the newspapers circulation, but because of the power of these images, these choices will have a societal and political effect as well. “The first image of this war will define the conflict.’ On the eve of the US-led invasion into Iraq in March 2003, in which the coalition aimed to bring ‘shock and awe’ to the Iraqi leadership, US Marine spokesman Chris Hughes proclaimed the above words” (Parry, 2010b after Buncombe 2003). In that same article, Buncombe explains that the military will fly in journalists to report on the scene, which explains the importance of this sentence by Hughes. The US government was aware of the power of the image, and wanted to be at the forefront of their creation (Buncombe, 2003).
Despite the severe risk and difficulty acquiring them (Griffin, 1999), images of war and conflict are nothing new in our current media landscape. From the Abu Graib torture photographs to the Rwandan genocides, almost all conflicts are being photographed. The ease with which photographs are made nowadays certainly facilitates this. Social networking has sparked an enormous growth of citizen journalism, and news sharing has become a norm (Hermida, Fletcher, Korell, & Logan, 2012). The development of photojournalism as a medium has been facilitated by war photography (Griffin, 1999). Within around 150 years, from the start of the picturing of the American Civil War by Mathew Brady and others, through the first and Second World War, the Vietnam War and the Gulf Wars, war photography has become a medium for capturing the raw reality of conflict. Throughout the history of war photography, it has framed itself as a realistic and documenting medium. However, Brady and companions did already rearrange corpses to add to the drama of the civil strife (Griffin, 1999). In the Second World War, both axis and allies had numerous trained photo specialists who were expected to capture the war; images of war became important documents for future reference. By the 1950s, newsreaders expected photojournalism in their papers, and to bridge the images of conflict, newspapers published other images (Griffin, 1999). Slowly, war photography became a very serious profession, not just on the face of risk, but also its ethos. The career of many a successful journalist began (or ended) by reporting on a war (e.g. Tim Hetherington, Christiane Amanpour, Dan Eldon, Dickey Chapelle, Kate Webb and many others). Photojournalism started playing a major role in the minds of the viewers. The 1972 picture of a little girl running...
from her burning village in Vietnam had severe influence on the viewers. The picture taken by Nick Ut (image 1.2) is one of the most used examples on the impact of war photography, because it’s appearance sparked public wide anti-war debate in the US (Bresheeth, 2006; Zelizer, 2005; Alper, 2013; Griffin, 1999 and others). It was this serious approach to photojournalism that also sparked debate on where it would lead. Griffin suggests the photographic realism present in the current war photography, “are tied not only to literary themes of violence, courage, sacrifice, heroism and sometimes tragedy but also to long-established conventions of visual depiction” (Griffin, 1999: 129), in which the chaotic maelstrom of war and conflict clashes with the ability of the war photographer to do his job, to deliver spectacular images. A recent example of this struggle was the revelation that some embedded photojournalists used the digital photographic filter hipstamatic to make the photographs more real, and to convey the idea that the photographs were made by the soldiers themselves, instead of these journalists (Alper, 2013). The recent trend of embedding journalists has even more troubled the war photographer, for unlike the reporter, from whom the newspaper reader might accept his lingo of “us against them” (Butler, 2005), the images from a war are expected to show conflict and struggle. War photography has survived the 24-hour news cycle, by producing stunning images of conflict (Griffin, 1999). Recently, the photographing of conflicts has taken another turn, for with the upraise of social media (Hermida et al., 2012), it has become more easy for citizens to share their image, and reach a large audience. The impact of these shared messages have become particularly clear in the civil unrest in the Arab world, also known as the Arab Spring, where social media played a large role in the distribution, organization and communication of protests. (Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Bebawi, 2013). The unhappy public has used Twitter, Facebook and other social media networks to call for reform, and in some countries this has worked (Harlow & Johnson, 2011). This new use of social media in reporting is certainly interesting to current journalism scholars, yet there seems to still be a lot of space for traditional photojournalism in the field, although the advancements in technology certainly have transformed it since the 1950’s. AFP/Getty Images distributes screen grabs of YouTube videos and other images from the Internet in their database, and
since the start of Syrian conflict have been documenting the conflict with both professional and amateur footage alike. The professional war photographer however, is more and more at risk in conflict area’s, being seen as another target for kidnapping, and recently the much more brutal beheading of several journalists by the jihadist movement of the Islamic State. Ever since these incidents, the Middle East, and especially Syria, has become a far more dangerous place to be for journalists, and even more recently, the terrorist attack on French satirical newspaper magazine Charlie Hebdo has shocked the western world once more. The western eye of the news has turned inward, yet scholarly research is slow, and in this thesis I look at the past of journalism, in this case, the journalism in Syria.

1.2 The timeline of the Syrian Conflict through Journalists’ eyes

The Syrian conflict is believed to have found its origin after the torture of a group of teenage boys, who were arrested for painting anti-government protest on the walls of their school in 2011 (Rodgers et al., 2014). This resulted in large-scale protests around the country, for the treatment of these boys. Bashar al-Assad, the country’s ruler responded vigorously and violently, and this again resulted in more protest, and eventually organized military resistance by the population of Syria.

Wyre Davies from BBC writes at the start of the conflict, “The images coming out of Syria are desperate and distressing. A video that we’re pretty sure is from Deraa shows nothing short of a massacre - dozens of people killed in the streets, people shot through the head, others bleeding to death on the ground” (BBC, 2011).”

In May 2011, an estimated 500 Syrians were though to have been killed, and 2500 detained (BBC, 2011). By the end of June, almost 12000 Syrian refugees had fled to Turkey, and international debate became more polarized, as Russia and China supported the Assad regime, while the EU installed sanctions, and a UN-resolution to stop the violence was on the agenda (Andersen, 2011). By July 2011, the unrest in Syria could clearly be called a Civil War. While protests to support Syria were at hand in other countries (Al Hussaini, 2011), in Syria
heavy military intervention, oppression and clashes between civilian and
government meant protest was not enough. Armed conflict was the order of the
day, and the Free Syrian Army (FSA) was formed. The FSA, consisting of military
deflects and civilians, is the largest rebel army operating in Syria up to today.
Meanwhile, access to Syria was very restricted for the international press. Due to
this inaccessibility, photographs and images of the start of the conflict came
mainly from civilians, such as in Hama, where shaky YouTube videos showed
tanks entering the city. Most of the images shown by western newspapers
depicted protesting people.

"Without the presence of professional journalists in Hama, reporting is
reliable on activists and citizen journalists, for whom capturing images and videos
comes with considerable risk. As a result, news is often slow to trickle out" (York,
2011).

A bit earlier that year, Arwa Damon from CNN tweeted: “CNN has
officially been granted access to #syria. am in damascus...off to meet govt minder
who accompanies us on all shoots” (Al Huissani, 2011).

Internationally, the summer of 2011 was characterized by protests for
and against the Assad regime (Rahme, 2011). Defiance against the regime grew
steadily, and reports of organized resistance of among others the FSA became
more eminent (Andersen, 2011). However, the situation is not merely a battle
between government and protesters. The situation in Syria is like in many
countries among others connected to ethnicity and religious beliefs. End of 2011,
the rebel resistance received help from neighborhood country Turkey, and in the
a slideshow from war photographer Tyler Hicks strikingly called “Glimpses of
the Armed Opposition in Syria” (Hicks, 2012). A UN mediated ceasefire failed to
uphold, and fighting continued, with a death toll of over 10.000 in April. By mid-
2012, the war raged heavily in Aleppo and Damascus, while international media
still had no access to Syria.

“Because foreign journalists have been virtually banned from Syria during
the uprising against Bashar al-Assad’s regime, news coverage has relied heavily on
citizen journalists and international reporters working with sources inside the
country. Syrians who communicate with foreign news media run the risk of being threatened, detained, tortured, or even killed" (Galperin, 2012).

In August 2012, the Syrian state TV headquarters were bombed (Reporters Without Borders, 2012). End of 2012, rebel groups gained more and more control of the country, and alongside the FSA other rebellious groups gained ground. January 2013, NATO deployed air defense missiles along the Turkish border, while major fights occurred around the city of Aleppo, however, the international community was still divided on intervention. In the following months, more and more rumors of chemical attacks emerged. However, only a sole special committee from the UN was officially allowed in Syria to investigate the rumors. Chemical weaponry and attacks were confirmed, and although uncertainty still existed around the question if it was the government or rebels that had deployed these, UN intervention was eminent. The UN agreed on a resolution to destroy or remove the Syrian chemical weaponry stockpile (BBC, 2014). Start of 2014, a defected Syrian police officer crossed the border with more than 25,000 photographs documenting systematic torture and murder by the Assad regime (Volkskrant, 2014). Around that time, representatives from 40 countries came together in Geneva to discuss the possibilities of ending the war, yet Russia blocked any possible UN resolution. The BBC correspondent Anna Holligan was still not allowed to witness the collection of the chemical weaponry when on board of Norwegian warship Helge Ingstad.

Anne Holligan writes on twitter: "It's official - journalists have been removed from #Syria chemical collection ship" (Smit, 2014).

During the Geneva talks, the Global Forum for Media Development issued a statement saying that press freedom in Syria should be reinstated. Reporters without Borders stated 27 journalists and 98 citizen journalists were killed since the start of the unrest in 2011. Reporters Without Borders ranked Syria at place 176 of 179 as one of the most risky countries for journalists (Reporters Without Borders, 2014).

At the time of writing, more than 130,000 Syrians were killed (Reporters Without Borders, 2014) since the start of the conflict. A conflict that has started as civil protest and developed into a full civil war, and is still going on. Syria has been quite inaccessible to foreign news media from the start of the conflict, and
Syria's state controlled media does not work independently. The situation has become quite difficult, and after three years of conflict, peace negotiations have not been fruitful. Despite it's inaccessibility the AFP-Getty Images has succeeded in amassing a very large database of photographs concerning the conflict, and at the same time uses amateur footage to compliment their professional photographers work. Although during my writing of this thesis, the focus of international media has already shifted to the Islamic State, which is now the number one topic of conflict, the Syrian conflict is still ongoing, and its development over the past few years has provided with ample material on war photography to study it further.

The next chapter will start with an overview of previous research on war photography and photojournalism in general. I will then follow through with the essential theories used in this thesis, and elaborately explain the different theories I have used to come to my methods for studying the photographs of the Syrian conflict.
Chapter 2: Theoretical Chapter

2.1 War Photography studied

According to Griffin, scholarly attention to photojournalism wasn't quite substantial until the 1960s and 1970s, “[...] just when photography became to fade as a major mode of mass media.” (Griffin, 1999: 126). It was Roland Barthes ‘Camera Lucida’ (1980) and Susan Sontag’s ‘On Photography’ (1977) that played a major role in the direction in which photography studies were heading. Barthes specialized on the semiotic analysis of images, and the idea that the image was highly subjective, both from the photographer as well as the viewer (Parry, 2010a; Zelizer, 2005). Sontag believed those photographing wouldn't intervene with the events at hand, calling the medium one of non-intervention (Griffin, 1999. From the first works on photography, the power of imagery has been a major topic (Domke, Perlmutter, & Spratt, 2002). Photographs were deemed to be highly influential, and their role in news media has received much attention (Zelizer & Allen, 2002; Parry, 2010). Zelizer writes on: “The ambivalence over images in news derives from a long tradition of unrequited expectations regarding how images can be expected to function in journalism, generally, and in war journalism, specifically. Although seeing has long been equated with believing and vision with perspective, the incorporation of images into news challenges many expectations about how images work.” (Zelizer, 2005). Another road less taken by visual study scholars is one Barthes proposed in his earlier work ‘Mythologies’, which focuses on the idea that like text, images can create meaning, and thus collaborate to narrative storytelling. I will write more on the concept of myth in the next subchapter. However, until the 1990's, relatively little research is done in the field of photography studies. Often cited is Goldberg (1993), with her “The Power of Photography”, on the influence of photographs, and especially significant news photographs, and the idea that images play to our emotions (Domke, Perlmutter & Spratt, 2002; Griffin, 1999; Zelizer, 2002). A number of 1990’s studies touched on the narrative theories of Barthes (Baker, 1996; Huff, 1998; Griffin, 1999;White, 1996), yet his theories became less dominant in later studies of journalism. Scholars started writing about the concept of framing in relation to photography (more on that later) (Griffin, 1999)
that became more prominent in research in the late 1990’s, and has continued to play a major role until today. An important part of later studies on war photography focuses on the ethical discussion, whether or not to publish a photo (Campbell & Norfolk, 2011; King & Lester, 2005; Alper, 2013). A number of researchers combine this research with either public reception (King & Lester, 2005; Pfau et al., 2006; Silcock, Schwalbe, & Keith, 2008), or with a framing analysis (Campbell & Norfolk, 2011; Parry, 2010a, Fahmy, 2004). While one would expect news media to make conscious choices on what to display and when, this is simply not always the case (Silcock, Schwalbe & Keith, 2008). However, media often make a conscious choice of realistic representation of the facts versus the respect of public and private, in their image usage (Parry, 2011).

The assumption, that the news image plays an important role in the viewers’ perception on politics and society, is widely shared but hardly systematically studied (Pfau et al., 2008). According to Parry (2010b) the works on visual culture in Journalism Studies could use more knowledge of surrounding areas of research. “It is my contention that the appreciation and critical scrutiny of the visual elements of news reporting is significantly enriched through the borrowings and intersections of theories and methods across disciplinary fields. Yet authors across the spectrum of subjects do not always draw upon valuable expertise from other fields of study” (Parry, 2010b, 417-418).

Griffin, quoted earlier, said in 1999 photography began to fade as a major mode of mass media. He might however not have foreseen the incredible ease with which photographs can now be shared and showed to the whole world. News photographs still play a different role in society than other images. “When considering visual communication and photojournalism, one should distinguish the practice of photojournalism from other areas of photography, recognizing its particular context and accepted uses” (Parry, 2010b). The photograph in the newspaper, is not only a documentation of an event, but can thus be seen in a larger sociological context. Images such as the Abu Ghraib torture photos provoke a large reaction from the audience, and fuel public debate on the depicted actions. Andén-Papadopoulos (2008) suggests, that possibly the exposure of these photographs are merely a part of a political play for those policymakers against the intrusions in the Middle East, and provide a certain
voyeuristic entertainment. Yet, these photographs “reveal a sense of entitlement that strongly suggest that their [these] acts were sanctioned by a larger community, thus inevitably evoking questions about wider responsibility, knowledge and culpability.” (Andén-Papadopoulus, 2008, 15) This means that news photographs not only play a role in the direct construction of narrative, but also have a much larger impact upon society.

### 2.2 Narrativity and Semiotics

As mentioned in the introduction, the qualitative part of this study will focus on the myth that is present within the photographs of the Syrian conflict. For the identification of photographs I have turned to myth, but before this I have looked at the research of Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) before me, who used and defined tropes as their elements of cultural analysis. Because their concept of tropes comes so close to Barthes concept of myth, I believe studying both is valuable for this research. Before I turn to Barthes, I will look at their analysis of tropes, for it gives insight into the angle of my studies, and gives a broader perspective in the use of semiotic methods to analyze these images. For tropes, like myth, find their origin in linguistics, and like myth, focus on the elements of culture and history in our language. The concept of tropes on which Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) based their analysis, was inspired by White and his 1973 book “Metahistory”. White used the concept of tropes to analyze the construction of 19th century historic text. In his book, he explores the idea of tropic analysis by identifying which levels of narrative structure are present in historical texts, and therefore White identifies both the writer as well as the written. White's theoretical approach to tropes is based on the analysis of poetic, or figurative language. The idea of a trope in the perception of language is that it is classified as a figure of speech. He utilized the four basic elements, Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche and Irony for the analysis of historic texts. “While keeping the basic binary distinction between Metaphor and Metonymy, some rhetoricians went on to view Synecdoche as a kind of Methaphorical usage and Irony as a kind of Metonymical one. This permits the distinction between integrative language on the one hand and dispersive language on the other, while still allowing further distinctions regarding degrees of integration or reduction aimed at different
White continues on to connect an earlier theory of Giambattista Vico (1725) that the fourfold distinction is a step by step gradual scale between the poetic and prosaic consciousness, alas, from myth to science. Taking a step back from text to imagery, we can also make a distinction between the metaphorical, or mythological trope, towards the metonymy or scientific and factual image. So where a trope in text is a figure of speech, in relation to photography the trope in an image is also a sort of figure of speech. Next to it's literal depiction of a tree, a photograph of a tree can stand for something else. It can be a metaphor for life, or nature for example. It is an image with a secondary meaning.

Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013), in their analysis of the World Press photographs of 2009-2011 have stepped slightly away from the concept of tropes such as White sees it, for it is the image, instead of the text, that they argue conveys meaning, or heightens an effect, through comparing one thing with another with an association recognizable by the reader. "In our understanding of a photographic trope, things translate as bodies; heightening effect corresponds to affective powers, familiarity to recognizability and meaning to symbolic accessibility." (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013:5). The images analyzed by Zarzycka and Kleppe therefore take human presence, in the form of a body as their starting point in their image analysis. Male corpses, literally the presence of a human body, all be it deceased, are their most recurrent tropes present in their analysis of the world press photo. Bresheeth in 2008 writes on the projection of trauma, “representation becomes the crucial condition of its emergence in the first place. Trauma is a result of meeting the other’s pain and horror through representation, either by those not directly involved or by later generations.” (Bresheet, 2008: 58). It is the representation of people, that is the major mode of association present in the World Press photographs, according to Zarzycka and Kleppe. Not only in the field of art, but also in the field of journalism, the presence of the body is an effective bearer of a deeper meaning. The concept of a trope in that sense does not differ from White’s, for the figurative meaning of a trope, text or image, is inherently connected to its cultural understanding. It is here that White makes a distinction between primitive or mythological tropes, and more scientific, or conceptual tropes. In text, a “person with a heart of gold”
will be a metaphorical trope, saying this is a good person. This is the figurative meaning of the trope. It is through metaphor the trope conveys this message. Yet, inherently connected to this trope, is the requirement of understanding what gold is, and more importantly, the idea that gold is valuable and therefore good. In this, the trope is inherently culturally dependent, which would apply for photographic tropes as well. The original perception that photography is a language that crosses all borders has been disproved, for it is the culture that creates the interpretation of the image (Yung Soo Kim & Kelly, 2008). Zarzycka and Kleppe however argue in favor of the archetype trope, in which the photographic trope itself “tends to increasingly crowd out the politicized and the activist dimension, appealing to a broader cultural consensus of meaning” (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013: 3). The image of a human body is in itself universal, almost like an iconic image. However, as Zarzycka and Kleppe argue, it is the study of icons where a representation of an image has increased to gain a status beyond the depicted. An icon originating “from Greek eikon: picture, honored by early Christians and later by the Eastern Orthodox Church as keeping the true form of the holy images, [is] absolutely unique yet infinitely shareable” (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013: 3). The icon has an almost ideological and substantiated meaning, and is different from what Zarzicka and Kleppe understand to be a trope. The trope is disconnected from meaning and ideology, yet conveys a message through the mutual understanding of the capturer and the viewer. The photograph creates meaning. A photograph containing a trope is an image that can tell a story, not because of the reflection of letters that form sentences; it does not provide the viewer with a message through sound or words. Instead, the trope gives a visual representation of an event, depicting people, objects or anything.

Within journalism, the image has never played an important role, and is regarded as the ‘fluff’ of news (Zelizer, 2005), yet the importance of imagery in the journalistic field is enforced by the appearance of organizations such as the World Press Photo contest (Griffin, 1999). The way, in which the journalistic trope, and therefore the photograph create meaning, is in fact very organic, a very primitive idea of conveying a message. Building on an example presented by Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013), an image that represents a woman crying is in
essence universal, and timeless. The image of the woman is one that is understood by everyone, without borders, and therefore it is very suited to serve as an image with which a certain (journalistic) message can be conveyed. The image is essential to constructing an idea of a grieving woman, a tragic event that conveys a universal \textit{familiarity}. This \textit{familiarity} enables the viewer to understand the \textit{meaning} of the image. It enables the viewer to witness, participate and understand the image, and therefore the situation.

Blair (2010) argues that “[p] artaking equally of authenticity, mimesis, and dissimulation, the photograph is at once trace, mark, artifact, and sign; the very word “photograph”—“light writing”—encodes an oscillation between legibility and visibility, between reading and viewing, between representation and fiction.” The photograph, when deemed authentic, is able to reflect reality in such a way, that it seems authentic, and therefore the photograph is seen as a realistic representation of the truth. It shows the viewer the situation as it is. Yet, and this is the issue which enables me to refer to White (1974) again, the fact is that the photograph itself contains a trope. The trope, as we learned from White, is a \textit{representation} of something. It is a tool to tell a story, to \textit{convey meaning}, and therefore, the tropic photograph fulfills two roles, which essentially represent the Metonym and Metaphor. On one hand, the tropic image provides the reality, the metonym, and on the other, it symbolizes something else, the metaphor. The image of a grieving woman, Zarzycka and Kleppe argue, is often ‘translated’ into a Pieta, when classified in photographic databases, and therefore the image gains a secondary meaning (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013). The photograph, in essence, contains a narrative. The idea that text constructs a sequence of words, which again construct sentences, and that those sentences then can be transferred to the reader or listener via text or sound, to convey a message, summarizes the idea of storytelling, and the concept of narrative (Blair, 2010). This concept of narrative can be applied to photography as well (Barthes, 1981). Within narrative studies, the ideas of semiotics and storytelling play a great role (Van Leeuwen and Lewitt, 2002). Semiotics essentially utilizes the notion that signs are present anywhere, and are able to convey meaning. This is, in raw essence, exactly that what a photograph does, or that what the aim of the photograph possibly is.
Barthes, in his 1957 book Mythologies, delved into the idea that images, like text are not only a representation of objects and visuals, (or in text, words and sentences), but that these are a part of communication that conveys meaning. He connects this idea to cultural development, where each and every word in a story, has meaning. Discourse, according to Barthes, contains different levels of representation, for on the surface text says something, yet has a different meaning on a whole new level. This, as Barthes describes, is the myth. Myth, says Barthes, is “a type of speech” (Barthes, 1957:218), with which he implies everything is a myth. And, briefly turning back to photography, pictures are even more truly myth then text, for “Pictures, to be sure, are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at one stroke, without analyzing or diluting it” (Barthes, 1957:219). The key to the creation of a myth is signification. Barthes, who focuses on text to elaborate on his theory, follows Saussure’s idea of semiology, that that what comes after language is in fact, myth. It is a secondary layer, characterized and constructed through a cultural ethos, in contrast to denotation. The myth is deconstructed by identifying the signifier and the signified, where the key to the construction of a myth is, the notion that there is a secondary layer present (See image 2.1). The ‘apple’ for example, is in the first layer the signifier, where the signified is that it is a fruit from an apple tree. Yet, for the second, mythological layer, the ‘apple’ (becoming the new signifier, Barthes calls this the form) signifies for example the story of Adam and Eve, and this becomes the signified or as Barthes later calls it, the concept, which is what Barthes classifies as a myth, because it is through cultural convention that the apple signifies this story, the apple has become more that just an apple, it has become a vessel that creates a different, deeper, meaning. Myth, which is called the signification as Barthes describes, is therefore a metalanguage. Barthes argues “That is why the semiologist is entitled to treat in the same way writing and pictures: what he retains from them is the fact that they both are signs, that they both reach the threshold of myth endowed with the same signifying
function, that they constitute, one just as much as the other, a language object” (Barthes, 1957: 224). It is especially images that have such a strong tendency to become myth, because the image is a strong container. An image of road cyclists below (image 2.2) depicts just that, a number of road cyclists, cycling very fast. Looking at the image in more detail, we can see the men struggling. We can see tense muscles, and grimaces that would normally be made when one is physically quite exhausted. This, again, is a description from a language point-of-view. Yet, for those who are familiar with the sport, looking at it from a metalanguage point-of-view, the image depicts the battle of men against the road, the elements and each other, gripped by the action and determination of those depicted, could call this an “epic battle between warriors of steel” for example. However this, as Barthes truthfully points out, is highly subjective. It is only for those who are indeed familiar with the sport of cycling, even maybe only for those few that are a fan of the sport of cycling (to whom, I must admit, I belong), that this struggle becomes clear. It is maybe only for those people that this image becomes a form and its concept gains a mythological meaning. The concept however, is indefinite, for it can contain all kinds of meaning. Barthes writes on this, “[...] there is no regular ratio between the volume of the signified and that of the signifier. In language, this ratio is proportional; it hardly exceeds the word, or at least the concrete unit. In myth, on the contrary, the concept can spread over a very large expanse of signifier. For instance, a whole book may be the signifier of a single concept; and controversially, a minute form (a word, a gesture, even incidental, so long as it is noticed) can serve as signifier to a concept filled with a very rich history” (Barthes, 1957: 230). The concept, says Barthes, is constantly present yet never concrete. It therefore stands to reason, that naming and identifying the concept requires a certain strategy. In essence, going back to White, it is by identifying a style of writing (Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche and Irony), that White is able to grasp the true meaning of the written text. White does, what Barthes reasons as truly difficult. Identifying the myth, by classification. However, White has a premeditated insight into the psyche of the writer, by knowing, that exactly what the writer writes, is the description of history. And of course, it is arguable that the classification of the myth is not the same as the identification of it. The well-known later work by
Barthes (Camera Lucida, 1980) connects the arguments of conventional semiotics with the photograph. He argues there, that the image, just as text, can stand for either the depicted itself, the metonym, or instead, can stand for something else entirely, and be a metaphor. Albers and James (1988) saw that the images used in the tourism industry can “contain metaphoric and/or metonymic images. [...] In the domain of postcards, there are innumerable examples of metaphoric imagery [...], where photographic representations are completely at odds with the cultural traditions of the subjects, but consistent with the romanticized and stereotyped attitudes of the viewing public” (Albers and James, 1988: 141). These postcard are then sold next to historically accurate ones, presumably to make those ‘false’ images more credible (Albers and James, 1988). A postcard picture, so they argue, has a ‘level’ within which it is historically acceptable, even if this historic connotation is in fact a falsely portrayed impression of the depicted. It is this notion, that makes clear also these cultural differences that are key to studying photographic narrative, should be defined.

Baetens & Bleyen (2010) however, pose that the capacity of photographs to tell a story must mean they contain a certain index, and is intrinsically truthful. “In order to accept that photography can be a narrative [...] it is necessary to reject the two theses that photography is “essentially” reduced to single-shot snapshot (or single-moment) photography and that the medium has an intrinsic link with
reality” (Baetens & Bleyen, 2010, 166). This idea is even in the case of journalism photography rejected by Albers and James, they call the idea that photography is a ‘window of reality’, an “illusion” (1988: 136). In their opinion the photograph is a result of something that has existed, but is pulled out of context through the fact that it is a representation of something instead of the real thing. It is like the painting “La Trahison des images (Ceci n’est pas une pipe)” by Magritte, a painting of a pipe with the text “Ceci n’est pas une pipe”. It is not a pipe, it is a painting of a pipe. If a photograph were a momentual lapse of reality, it would indeed be a window on reality. If events were indeed playing out in front of a window, the event would be reality. However, it is merely a visual resemblance of a situation, taken out of context by the exact mechanism that also captures it.

Barthes, in his 1981 work Camera Lucida, delved into the idea of the photograph being more than the Metonym, and thus according to Albers and James, a metaphor. Barthes develops the concepts of the punctum and studium, one being the interpretation of the photograph, and the other the key element that ‘tickles’ the viewer. This image, whether it is an event or a person or a landscape, is seen by a photographer, through a camera, and then seen again by a viewer. This process, whether unintentional, planned or serendipity conveys a message. And this is the crux of photography, for while we have certain confinements in our language, which will steer a listener or reader in a certain direction, for photographs these confinements do not exist. Baetens & Bleyen (2010) pose that because of the storytelling capacities of photography, the photograph itself contains more than an image. Therefore, the contents of a photograph encompass a narrative. This narrative however, is dependent upon the viewer, and will be determined by cultural and sociological context, as well as the situation surrounding the display of the photograph. Roberts (2011) illustrates this fact by referring to photographic portraits. The portrait itself resembles the viewer, or relatives, and at the same time, the viewer recalls the situation, circumstances and surroundings in which the photo is taken. The photograph itself is becoming a part of a larger social landscape that is created by the photo, yet not totally through the photo (Blair, 2010). This social landscape, created by a collective memory, is instilling the photograph with meaning (Schwalbe, 2006), which is constantly flexible and changing, yet imbues
the photo with a deeper significance. Domke, Perlmutter & Spratt (2002), “The reality, we suggest, is that individuals of course can be persuaded by images, but that one’s pre-existing values, cognitions and feelings often play a major role in how images are attended to, interpreted and acted upon. Indeed, image content and accompanying news narratives seem likely to interact with individuals’ considerations to shape affective and cognitive reactions.” So, no two people will have the exact same idea when they see a photograph, but there will be similarities that will occur due to cultural parallels. To interpret these similarities to a level that is academically relevant is one of the aims of narrative studies. It is with this knowledge that a photograph can be seen. That is, not only seen as a picture, but as a work of narrative. To be able to discover what type of story a photo tells, we thus have cultural factors to take into account. In essence, these cultural factors are nothing but a framework, a puzzle, as you will, in which we do not know the individual pieces, yet the puzzle that is finished is different for every viewer. In the case of photographs, the intrinsic pieces of the puzzle have to be defined. Where White was able to put his texts-to-be-analyzed into a specific framework of historical context, Zarzycka and Kleppe limited themselves by classifying that what has meaning as a thing, which must be a body, and skip the identification of metaphors entirely. However, as Barthes writes, ideology, which is present everywhere, and according to Barthes, instilled upon by the Bourgeoisie, is the driving conventional mechanic of myth development.

Although Barthes idea of myth is interwoven with intrinsically personal anecdotes, it does point towards the direction of a grand scheme, in which the myth can be denoted and identified. In his later work, Camera Lucida, Barthes argues that the image is in fact a vessel that captures historic information (1982). It is the value that is added, for which he develops the punctum and studium that allows the meaning of the myth behind the image to be channeled into a newly developed framework. The element of studium is what Barthes defines as the field of interest of the viewer, be it the Syrian conflict or pictures of flowers. It is the studium that is representing a more general interest of the photographer. In contract, the element of the punctum is what Barthes sees as the key to the image, although inherently personal, it is the part of the structure that ‘ touches’ the viewer. It is therefore that the approach by Zarzycka and
Kleppe, although, or perhaps by, being limited to the trope, which materializes in the image in the form of a body, provides a much more workable starting point for the analysis in this work. Yet it is arguable, that some of the arguments for defining a trope in such a way as Zarzycka and Kleppe did, can be transformed to encompass a bigger, more complex piece of the puzzle. Steering away from the body as the sole capturer of the metaphor, I believe that it is key to identify the myth before the identification of the trope. In this, the use of a historical context, such as in White's research, would be suitable. As Barthes repeatedly mentioned in *Mythologies* (1957), the ideological frame in which the viewer is placed is of the utmost importance in identifying the myth. More than 50 years later, the most conventional way of identifying an ideology is with the help of framing analysis.

### 2.3 Frame Analysis

In stark contrast to the study of semiotics and Barthes stands framing analysis. Like Barthes methods of semiotic analysis, framing analysis has never been predefined as a definite and practically applicable method of analysis. Erving Goffman wrote his book “Frame Analysis”, which he calls the organization of experience, in which he explains his methods. In his book however, Goffman had a similar approach to the explanation of framing analysis, and the way that it is applied is very qualitative in nature. In contrast to Barthes however, frame analysis and it's concept that Goffman suggested, have been widely used in sociology, psychology and journalism studies by developing methods of framing analysis which are quantifiable. Recent scholarly research applies Goffman’s definition of a frame, but does not apply Goffman’s qualitative methods to the research. Recently, Luhtakallio (2013) revisited Goffmans theories and applied Goffmans idea of keyings to her research. *Keyings*, says Goffman, are the specific elements that give “interpretation and focus” (Luhtakallio, 2013:36). It is clear from this definition that Goffman sees frames as elements, which again are constructed of sub elements. The elements that construct this frame are in fact part of a framework in which the subject of study can be portrayed. Framing analysis is not just a theoretical method, but currently a practical method of analysis as well. Therefore I will continue writing on its application in the chapter methodology. Within this thesis, I will use frame analysis to structurally
and quantitatively analyze the images of the Syrian conflict. Barthes’ methods will help me make sense of the ideological and intrinsically semiotical parts. As we have seen in this chapter, the methods for the studying of photographs often are derived from the study of text. However, unlike text, images are less predefined, and therefore more personal (see for example Barthes development of the punctum and studium). However, as I explained earlier, the focus of this thesis will lie on the study of tropes, which are in essence nothing more than dominant mythology. It is after the next chapter on methodology that I will use framing analysis to grasp the dominant frames within the images of the Syrian conflict. After that, I will use Barthes concept of semiotic analysis to identify those culturally and historically predefined ideas of myth that are dominant within the images. These dominant myths are in essence tropes, not equal but similar to the definition of Zarzycka and Kleppe. This idea is key to the next few chapters as well. With the identification of the dominant frames and the dominant myths within those frames therefore these are in essence the tropes present. Essential to the next chapters is then also, when I discuss tropes, I refer to them because of their definition, however these are in fact the same as the dominant ideologies that Barthes semiotic methods define as myth. In the next chapter I will go into more detail into the methodological approach I have used to do both the quantitative frame analysis of the Syrian conflict images, as well as the qualitative semiotic analysis afterwards.
Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter I will discuss the analytical methods that I will use for this research, and their implementation. After a short recap of the previous chapter, I will describe the concept of framing, followed by some background on the usage of framing in visual studies. I will continue to describe the framing analysis applied in this research, followed by the description and selection process of the sample that was used for this study. Then I describe the simple and advanced codebook used for the framing analysis. After the quantitative frame analysis I follow with a qualitative analysis of the tropes, which I describe in the second part of this chapter.

The main question in this study is how through the images of the Syrian conflict, the conflict was framed, and which dominant myths were present in these images. Now, as can be read in the previous chapter, the way by which dominant myth can be identified is not set in stone, for the trope that Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) describe has much in common with the semiotic analysis that Barthes describes in his book Mythologies. As I explained in the previous chapter, Barthes definition of a myth comes very close to the description of a trope that Zarzycka and Kleppe give. Where Zarzycka and Kleppe make the distinction that tropes are being depicted in the World Press images in the form of bodies, in their definition they do not evade far from Barthes idea, that the Myth is a signifying object within text or an image. However, like Barthes poses, every photograph can contain myth.

3.1 What is framing?

As we have seen in the previous chapter, cultural convention is the basis of the creation of myth. History, as Barthes argues, is the most influential factor that creates myth. Myth is the meaning that is associated on a metalanguage level, and is constructed through the viewer’s cultural and historical associations with the text or image. Associating is in essence the second thing we do when seeing an image or reading text, according to Barthes. The images in figure 3.1 illustrate the complexity of this point, for association is dependent upon context. The image that is displayed in a newspaper stands in direct connection to the text accompanying that image. Whether to call the depicted soldier a terrorist or a
freedom fighter is on one hand dependent upon the situation, but on the other hand dependent upon the choices and opinions of the newspaper. The conscious choice of a newspaper for particular words or images to describe a news event is known as framing (Goffman, 1974). Although Goffman did not agree with the metaphor of framing like a photographer frames an image, photographers can always frame a situation in a certain way. A photographer can make a choice selecting the angle at which to take the photograph, to make a close-up or a wide shot, and the most obvious, leaving objects out of the image, or purposefully include others. Also in post-processing the photographer can darken or brighten the image, or use filters for example. Alper (2013) addressed the use of Hipstamatic and Instagram, two smartphone apps that provide the photographer with a variety of filters to apply over the image, by embedded photojournalists in Afghanistan. Although a lot of debate stirred around the fact that these apps were used to create a special filter, Alper argues that a maybe even more interesting and ethically debatable fact is that the professionals taking these pictures tried to frame those as if taken by the soldiers themselves. As mentioned

Fig. 3.1 – Recognizing a Terrorist (Lightborn, 2010)
in the introduction, the aim of this study is to identify the dominant tropes present within news wire images. As we have seen in the previous chapter, for the identification of myth (and therefore automatically tropes, which are in essence dominant myths) the identification of ideological frames is essential. By identifying the dominant frames within the AFP/Getty Images photo database on the Syrian conflict, the images containing those dominant frames will give substantial basis upon which to base my analysis of dominant tropes.

3.2 Identifying Frames

When in 1974 Erving Goffman wrote the book “Frame Analysis”, he called frame analysis “the organization of experience”. Goffman used Bateson’s definition of a frame: “I assume that definitions of a situation are build up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame” (Goffman, 1974: 10). It is clear from this definition that Goffman sees frames as a collection of elements. The elements that construct this frame are in fact part of a framework in which the subject of study can be portrayed. Goffman’s theoretical approach to frame analysis will be used to identify the ideological context that the images display, which is called framing. Entman (1993:34) provides a definition for framing: “Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” So framing consists of highlighting, adding or leaving elements that show a purposefully implied angle in which an image, or text is put. This then adds to a certain worldview that the newspaper (or photographer or press agency) tries to project. For this study and in particular my analysis I will draw upon the studies of among others Greenwood and Jenkins (2013), who studied framing of the Syrian conflict in news and public affairs magazines. They looked at war versus peace framing of the conflict, and found that while the majority of images depicted were indeed war frames, public affairs magazines published a higher percentage of peace
frames. Fahmy (2004), who analyzed the visual framing of Afghan women in the AP newswire during and after the Taliban regime, even after the Taliban regime Afghan women were still majorly depicted wearing burqas. Parry (2010), who studied the British press photography during the Israel-Lebanon conflict, discovered the Lebanese side was greatly underrepresented in coverage in comparison to the impact the conflict had on the Lebanese side. They again all follow Entman’s (1993) definition of framing: “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the condition described” (Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013:2). While recoding the images I have turned to a strategy developed by Luhtakallio (2013), who revisits Goffman’s theory of framing, to adapt this to visual culture studies. “For Goffman, the purpose of framing analysis is twofold: it seeks, first, to identify foundational framing in society that make the understanding of events and situations possible, and second, to analyze their vulnerability and change” (Luhtakallio, 2013:34). Therefore, identifying framing is not easy at a first glance impression. It takes more analysis to identify that dominant frame present in the image, and thus requires an adaptable but specified method of framing analysis. Unlike Greenwood and Jenkins, whose focus on earlier literature concerning war versus peace framing limits their search through a channel of preselected values, Luhtakallio utilizes a method of open coding through which the various frames can be identified and are then again recoded during the process of coding. I have used a similar strategy of coding, by recoding the images with extra and more specifically defined frames after the first round of coding. However, before introducing my methods for the frame analysis I will discuss the choice of relevant data and the sampling method used.

### 3.3 Sample

**Origin of the data**

For this research a sample has been selected from images that are representative for the press agencies. The AFP/Getty Images is the world’s largest stock photo agency, for it has acquired several smaller stock agencies and is one of the most
established in the field of news images (Fahmy and Neumann, 2012). Therefore this thesis focuses on the images distributed by the AFP/Getty Images. The AFP/Getty Images alone has a database consisting of almost 72000 images to this date with the keyword “Syria”. In order to select a suitable sample I have used Bryman’s Social Research Methods (2012) as a starting point.

**Relevant data**

For this study it is appropriate to restrict the selection of data to the relevant timeframe and category of photographs. A search on Syria in the AFP/Getty Images database restricted to the 15th or March 2011 (estimated beginning of the conflict) until the 15th of March 2014, with solely the AFP as source, and selecting only the *news* category photographs provides 36627 images. This search results in all photographs that are available for the subscribers of AFP/Getty Images to use for publishing and classified as News Photographs by the AFP. This gives me a timeframe of exactly 3 years, on which to study the Syrian conflict.

**Sampling method and size**

The dataset that I have studied runs from the 15th of March 2011, at the start of the conflict, until the 15th of March 2014, when the first draft of this piece was written. Although the aim of this study is to look at the portrayal of the Syrian Conflict by the international press, through studying the dominant frames and eventually the *meaning* of the images, it was practically impossible within the given timeframe to analyze the complete database of 37,000 images. However, to draw convincing conclusions from the total dataset it is enough to analyze a *representative* sample (that is, “a sample that reflects the population accurately so that it is a microcosm of the population” (Bryman, 2012: 187)) of the entire dataset.

Previous literature on visual framing analysis construct samples for framing analysis consisting of 193 (Greenwood & Jenkins, 2013) to up to 647 images (Fahmy and Neumann, 2012), however through various methods of sampling and various datasets. To achieve a suitable sample for the quantitative frame analysis I will be using the recommended sampling method by Bryman for social research methods, called systematic probability sampling (Bryman, 2012) on the
database of news category images on Syria from the AFP. This sampling method consists of taking a predefined number of images from the entire database, for example every 10th image (which is not the final sampling rate used in this study, for that look below). This would result in giving a sample constructed of the 10th, 20th, 30th, 40th, 50th and so on image. This sampling method is justifiable only when there is no inherent ordering in the list (for example, every 10th image would only depict a burning house, because the AFP ordered this list in such a way). However, as the images of the AFP are ordered on date, the only thing that will happen when taking such a subsample is that the dates that contain more photographs will be represented by more images in the subsample. This again is valid, exactly because these dates are apparently more important. Whether these dates depict more children, or more politicians, is something I will discover in my analysis. Again, this is important to note, the study tries to get an overview of all the images of the AFP database concerning Syria. If the AFP decides to distribute 2000 images of international politicians talking to the press, than that is important to note because it means that the dominant frames of their database are mainly depicting politicians. With this sampling method, I make sure that these images are depicted accurately.

Therefore, this is a valid sampling method for this study, because it shows the distribution of photographs accurately. To answer how the AFP has framed the Syrian conflict, through the images it distributes, I will need to take into account all the images from the AFP/Getty Images database. The aim of this study is to create a holistic overview of the framing of the Syrian conflict. While some studies have taken into account for example the framing of women in conflict (Fahmy, 2004), or the representation of conflict within the World Press Photo Contest (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013). Any particular subset of the data will however not answer my research question (how did the AFP frame the Syrian conflict), and therefore the entire dataset should be represented in the analysis. Any selection method using criteria such as selecting specific photographers, specific locations in which the images were taken or other predefined criteria such as "best images" (which are to be found in year overviews of the AFP/Getty Images website) or specific timeframes, will create a so called convenience sample (Bryman, 2008:201), which I did not wanted; In
that case, I would have had to pose my research question differently (e.g. how did the AFP frame the Syrian conflict in their “best images selection”, or “how did the AFP frame the Syrian conflict during the first months of Syrian protest”).

However, I did not find any convincing timeframe, or subsample of sorts that would rationally be representative for the AFP’s framing of the conflict. Any such sample risked being more biased because it does not represent the entire population (in this case the AFP/Getty Images database of photographs with the keyword Syria). If I were to pick the images that are taken only in Syria, it would only represent that part of the AFP/Getty Images database. The framing analysis would therefore only say anything about the images coming out of Syria. Although images from Syria might contain a negative connotation towards the ruling party (as an example), images from other locations might counter that effect entirely (take for instance pro-Syrian government rallies around the world). This means my selection would not at all represent the way that the AFP/Getty Images is representing the conflict. Therefore, to get the most accurate sample of the entire database of images, I have selected the sample through systematic sampling (Bryman, 2012: 191; Cozby & Bates, 2008; van der Zee, 2004), which resulted in a much more representative sample of the entire dataset. This method ensured that the sample I used is as much similar to the entire database of the AFP/Getty Images as possible and thus the best sample to answer my research question. In order to get a subsample consisting of solely news images, I will eliminate images that referred to sports or entertainment.

To answer my research question, I consulted Bryman’s Social Research Methods (2012), and selected his suggested systematic probability sampling method. Although sampling by random selection of dates, another option suggested by Bryman for content analysis (Bryman, 2012: 293) would be possible as well, this would create a possible bias as photographs occurring in the database on certain dates can be a multiple of the event on that day. This would therefore not be as representative, for major or minor events would not even out, and this would not be a suitable method to answer my research question.

To calculate a suitable sample size, there are a variety of methods. Bryman argues “The decision about sample size is not a straightforward one: it depends
on a number of considerations, and there is no one definitive answer.” Bryman, 2012:197) “[...] Bryman further argues, that instead of the relative sample size, the absolute sample size is more important. So whether my dataset would consist of 10000 or 50000 images, the sample size would not differ a lot. However, Bryman does not further explain how to calculate a suitable sample size. Therefore, to find a suitable sample size I used a table by Cozby & Bates (2012: 145 table 7.2), who show that a sample size of 381 images would provide accurate results for my dataset of 36627 images (with a confidence level of 95%, and 5% precision estimate, see also below for an explanation). Unfortunately they did not provide calculations for this table, however the methods of calculation are varied, and there is no absolute right answer to selecting sample size (Bryman, 2012; Cozby and Bates, 2012).

Typical to systematic probability sampling, I have picked every 96th image of the search results of the AFP/Getty Images database (36627/96 = 380), starting from the last page of the search results. This because the sorting of the images of the database was chronologically reversed. With the use of excel I created a list of all the image numbers, and copied those images with corresponding numbers. Through this method of sampling, the sample also maintains the consistency of the time-line structure that is present in the AFP database, for the database is based on the date upon which the images have appeared. Also, although the search results contain visuals depicting events that occurred outside of Syria, and most of these events relate to the Syrian conflict indirectly (protesters protesting against the conflict for example), these images are also framing the conflict. Therefore I chose not to eliminate those images from the sample.

The sample was then subjected to a frame analysis, of which I will describe the methodology below. After the frame analysis, I selected the dominant frames within the sample for a semiotic analysis.
Chapter 4: Quantitative Framing Analysis

In this chapter I will explain the strategy I have used to do my framing analysis, as well as show the actual results of the analysis. I started my analysis by creating a basic codebook, which was applied to the material, and then redeveloped to encompass the first results of the analysis. During the redevelopment a number of frames were defined. With the redeveloped codebook and the defined frames, I have identified the dominant frames of the Syrian conflict, which are presented in the last part of this chapter.

4.1 Development of a basic codebook

Conflict framing can occur on the level of war or peace, overemphasizing either war or peace by focusing on particular kinds of violence or civilian casualties for example (Fahmy and Neumann, 2012; Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013). Conflict however often consists of two sides, and in the case of Syria, it is the government versus the rebels (although there were several organizations of rebels in the conflict, in general, this is the case). The Syrian civilians play a third major role. Framing could be occurring when one side is under or over represented (Parry, 2010), or when one side is constantly portrayed negatively and the other positively. Another option that could suggest framing is seeing side solely in particular generalizing behavior (for example, only crying children). However, the preliminary subtlety of visual framing focuses in particular on the angle and the “intonation” of the images, and I have utilized the studies mentioned above to create a coding scheme that help identify those elements of visual framing.

The starting point of this coding scheme are adaptations from the codebook of Fahmy and Neumann (2012:11) coining the difference between war and peace framing, Parry (2010: 73) who studied the Israel-Lebanon conflict, and Fahmy (2004), looking at the portrayal of Afghan women during and after the Taliban regime. I will utilize the elements that are coded for with the help of the codebook, to identify the frames. After the first round of coding, the codebook is revised and extended to further improve the frame analysis. To reach to a conclusion what the dominant frame of the Syrian conflict is within the AFP/Getty Images database or even whether it is possible to speak of one
dominant frame at all, the frames used must be constructed through the analysis of the photographs.

For the preliminary coding, a codebook was created (See appendix) using the variables by Greenwood and Jenkins (2013) on their study on war and peace framing as a foothold. Greenwood and Jenkins base their codebook on a study by Fahmy and Neumann (2012), who studied war and peace framing as well, however within the context of the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict. This codebook, although focused on the Syrian conflict, will contain many similar elements, for it is focused as well on conflict framing.

With the help of the basic codebook, the categories of frames are constructed through combining the elements of the images. When certain frequently used elements are occurring simultaneously, this can be called a dominant frame. For some elements this works better then for others. Negative Emotions (10) and protesters (3) for example could result in a *Angry Protesting* frame. Or children (5) and (9) injury, describes an *Injured Children* frame.

This ensured that I did not only focused on the general context, but I developed a system that also reflects on the dominant frames of the photographs on the Syrian conflict. Through this, the dominant frames will eventually emerge within the photographs.

**4.2 Intermediate step: Redeveloping the codebook**

After the first round of coding I have looked which coding elements are often occurring simultaneously. With the help of those simultaneous occurrences I have constructed what I would call “frames of the Syrian conflict”. The definition of those frames is captured in the extended codebook, which I have developed on the basis of the preliminary codebook. This extended codebook can be found below.

After I coded the sample of images from the AFP-Getty database, I have looked at the frequency at which codes occurred, and at frequently simultaneously occurring codes. From these frequencies I have constructed the following frames, and below I will describe how these frames came into existence. I identified the following primary dominant frames: *Frame of conflict, Frame of victims, Frame of peacekeeping, Artistic Frame and Frame of protest*. To
explain the rationale behind the definition of the frames of the Syrian conflict, let me first define a conflict.

In a conflict, there are always two (or more) conflicting parties. There are those against the conflict, those that are merely victims of the conflict, and those that are not influenced by the conflict. The Syrian conflict is a civil strife of the people against the government. We have pro-government protesters, and anti-government protesters, but protesting is non-violent, and is aimed at resolving issues without fighting. In that sense, both pro and anti-government protesters are on the same page. There are the victims, which have to flee their homes, have to shelter in half-broken houses, or simply try to get on their feet again. These are neutral, but different from the parties that try to resolve the conflict by diplomacy, such as the UN, for the diplomats are actively intermingling in the conflict.

**Identifying roles**

People represent the parties involved within the conflict. Parties are represented by a number of people in different roles, and this is part of the complexity of the frame. What is key to the identification of the frames of the Syrian conflict is identifying those types of depictions that fall in essentially the same 'type' of frame. Therefore, as I mentioned earlier, the first and most essential part of the classification are the actors in the image. Within the sample, there are just a few images without people. While some images show rebels, and others show soldiers, for most of the images the role is less clear. The coding scheme is used for this classification.

Another part of the frame consists of the attitude towards the depicted, and the way the depicted is displayed. While images of fugitives in a camp can be seen as negative and sad, when those people are smiling and look happy, the image can still convey a positive vibe. I would argue that especially with news images, the first impression is the most important, and the fact that there are smiling people on an image will influence a first impression to be a positive one.

Essentially, a frame can consist of an attitude towards the conflict. A positive image of rebels conveys a message of support to the rebel cause, versus a negative image of the Syrian government. Yet, an image of a neutral party, such
as of the Kofi Annan as member of the UN–Arab League Joint Special Representative for Syria, can convey a message in support of the neutral party, but can hardly be classified as a support for either side of the conflict. The same goes for images of victims. Following Fahmy and Neuman, I also consider their contingency for war and peace framing. The concept that some images are in fact focusing on the conflict, while others are focusing on conflict resolution, reflects a different level of framing than that of ‘picking sides’.

4.3 Defining dominant frames: Secondary codebook

Within the sample, I have discerned differences between those groups mentioned above. With the help of those groups I have defined these frames. Together with the codebook analysis, where I have coded the emotions of people, and the general mood of the image, I created an overview of the positive and negative emotions.

The secondary codebook uses a number of features found in the preliminary codebook. Certain features such as the roles that people play in the image are key to determining the frame of the image. However, next to those features a number of other conditions must be met, which are secondary to the determination of the frame.

1. Date: Date upon which the image was created.

2. Caption: The caption accompanying the image in the database. If, in any case, the caption is needed for the analysis of the image, it will be included.

3. Frame of Conflict:
   - A frame of Conflict depicts people in the role of belligerents, as defined above (after Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11). The wearing or holding of weapons generally identified a subject as a belligerent, regardless of specifically being depicted in fighting activity.
   - A frame of Conflict shows the belligerents actively fighting. It is not a frame where belligerents are posing or otherwise not actively engaged in
conflict, and neither is it a frame where belligerents are artistically positioned.

- A frame of conflict can, but does not necessarily show injury.

4. Artistic frame:
   - An artistic frame consists of an image that is shot in such a way that its aim is to achieve an artistic effect. Clues to this are use of lighting, angle and positioning. For this frame, the image is made to look this way, instead of a simple documentation of events. Although the Artistic Frame is not per se an image deliberately taken in such a way that it achieves an artistic effect, nonetheless its existence and distribution it is effectively deliberate, and thus still conveying an artistic message.
   - If a frame is taken from a deliberate low perspective, empowering the depicted, it is an artistic frame (after Fahmy, 2004; Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013).
   - If a frame is taken in specific, arranged lighting (Zarzycka and Kleppe, 2013), it is also an artistic frame.
   - If the people or objects depicted on the photograph are clearly arranged or positioned as such, to achieve a specific effect, it is also classified as an artistic frame. This applies to a man posing in front of a tank, as well as a microphone put exactly in front of someone's mouth when this person speaks an “o”-syllable (see examples for clarification).

5. Frame of Peacekeeping:
   - A frame of peacekeeping depicts more than one negotiator, that is, someone in a peacekeeping role, from either party, or a neutral party, after Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11. Depicted NATO or Arab League officials for example, or diplomats or politicians of either party occupied in peacetalks.
   - A frame of peacekeeping depicts the negotiator(s) talking to each other, with either a handshake, or multiple negotiators. A single negotiator is mostly insufficient to represent a peacekeeping frame, for the image could also represent someone talking to the press.
6. Frame of Victimization
- A frame of victimization depicts one or more victims *(suffering civilians or refugees, people fleeing or brought to a shelter)*. Key is the element of suffering, in contrast to Fahmy and Neumann, who also would frame a destroyed building as a frame of victimization (2012:11), however, for this analysis I focus on human suffering. Victims able to carry on with daily life, or who engage in talk are not subject to a frame of victimization.
- Especially the role of women and children is important in this frame, for they are likely more often depicted in this role. It is not required however.

7. Frame of Protest:
- The frame of protest depicts protesters, or demonstrators. These are people brandishing signs for or against the conflict, intervention or otherwise (peacefully) protesting and demonstrating (after Fahmy & Neumann, 2012:11).

8. Frame of Politics:
- A frame of politics depicts negotiators not involved in peace talks.
- A frame of politics depicts people in a suit or similar neat clothing. This could also represent businessmen, however journalists do often not follow them. Captions provide explanation in doubt.
- A politician or someone involved in politics often depicts the person speaking in a microphone, or in front of a microphone, so the presence of a microphone or someone being interviewed is a sign of a frame of politics.

9. Frame of Destruction:
- A frame of destruction depicts destruction or damage, in non-human form. It shows damage to buildings, property or otherwise.
- People can be depicted on the image, but are not the focus of the image.

10. Frame of Gore:
- A frame of gore shows casualties of the conflict, or severe injury. This can also be in the form of blood, corpses, body parts or otherwise heavily graphic display of hurt. Fahmy and Neumann (2012) categorize hurt into different categories, and in this analysis the hurt depicted would fall into the most severe category.

11. Frame of Daily Routine:
- A frame of daily routine shows people going about their daily routine (after Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11), whether these are soldiers or civilians are unimportant. An exception to this is politicians, who likely will fall into either the Peacekeeping or Politics frame.

4.4 **Quantitative analysis: Results**

As can be seen from the results of the analysis (table 4.1), the Artistic, Victimization, Politics and Peacekeeping dominate the images of the conflict, and do not differ that much from each other in frequency. However, within the overall sample, the most likely images to play a major role in the framing of the Syrian conflict are those reoccurring images. For those four dominant frames I have created a number of graphs, showing the distribution of among others age and gender, but also the role and affiliations of those people within the images to give an overview of the images in the database. I show only those categories that are clearly distinguishable from the different categories in the codebook.

Graph 4.1 shows the roles of those depicted. In this graph it becomes clear that the role of those depicted is quite distinct for the different frames. As expected, most of the images framing victimization, depicted victims, while most of the frames of politics and peacekeeping framed negotiators. Also, as expected,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Frame</th>
<th>Occurrence (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artistic Frame</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Politics</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Victimization</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Peacekeeping</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Protest</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Daily Routine</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Destruction</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Conflict</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.1 Number of frames in analysis.*
the artistic frame depicted all groups with comparative distribution. Belligerents were most dominant in the artistic images, but overall distribution was much more equal.

**Graph 4.1: Roles of depicted**

In graph 4.2, we see the different types of activity displayed on the images. Again, the frames of politics and peacekeeping depicted mostly negotiations, and in contrast the frame of victimization and artistic frame have a more equal distribution of activity. Nonetheless, also there daily routine dominated after negotiations, and fighting played an important role as well.

**Graph 4.2: Activity**

Graph 4.3 shows the distribution of adults, Children and Adolescents within the images. It shows that only in the images that frame victimization, children play a major role.
In graph 4.4, the distribution of gender is depicted. We see here that males make up for most of the population within all images, within the frames of peacekeeping, there are never only women occupied with the peacekeeping process, while women are quite often the victim of this conflict, so it seems to the distribution of the frame of victimization. However, when it comes to artistic images, most depict males.

Graph 4.5 shows how many of the images depict mainly negative emotions, and how many depict mainly positive emotions. As expected, the images framing victimization depict mainly negative emotions, but contrastingly, all other frames depict mainly positive emotions. Especially peacekeeping and politics seem positive activities.
For graph 4.6, I have chosen to show the affiliation of all of the different frames, for this gives some more insight into the distribution of the images. As can be seen, the majority of the images depict neutral parties, except for those people protesting, for they are counted as pro or anti-government, and therefore have a clear standpoint, and there are hardly any protesters that do not represent a side. Even so, within the frame of conflict, the rebel side is vastly represented, and so is it on the artistic side. Another interesting thing to note is the pro-government representation is smaller that the anti-government representation in all frames.

4.5 Dominant frames explained

Frame of Victimization

Victims in the conflict are fugitives, people who (try to) go about their daily life, but cannot through this conflict. Being a victim is a negative thing. These
people are put in a photograph so that one can empathize with them. Singled out individuals with sad expression, people that are standing in line for food, or traveling to other locations because of the conflict (see also Greenwood and Jenkins, 2013:9). The frame of victims is one that triggers compassion. Again, photographs with a clear composed feel, specific unconventional lighting or otherwise ‘made’, will not be framed as frames of victims, however, this distinction is a difficult one, for the victim often needs to be up close and personal to see their expression and 'feel' with them, which often brings a composed and created feel. What I do consider a frame of victims is someone photographed from behind some sort of bars or fence. This is often a natural thing, but adds an extra dimension to the victimization. A sole person (without a rifle, or camouflage clothing) standing in between rubble and demolished buildings is another example of what can consist of a frame of victims. People going about their daily lives is not, unless clearly singled out, isolated and with negative emotion.

Image 4.1 is a typical frame of victimization. It is clear from the image that there is damage to the building the woman is standing in. She is pointing at something, most likely the rubble. In this case, it seems she is in her own house, and it has been damaged though the conflict. Therefore she is a victim, and is portrayed as such. Most of the images (16.3 percent) that are a frame of victimization contain women, and although this is not by definition so, it seems the Syrian women are more likely to be portrayed as victims. In this case, also through her bent back, dark clothing and the fact that she is not looking at the camera, she clearly seems the victim here.
Frame of Peacekeeping

The frames of peacekeeping are depicting those that promote reasoning and talk. These are politicians who are not directly involved in the conflict, or representatives of both sides of the conflict, who meet for peace talks. The frame of peacekeeping depicts those people, in a manner that they are actively discussing and talking, shaking hands or meet in a conference room. Like Fahmy and Neumann (2012), I identified political leaders and negotiators as key figures in determining if images where framed as “peacekeeping”. “A peace journalism frame, however, would show the two antagonists together engaging in peace talks; undoubtedly, such an image would have a strong symbolic value” (Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:12). Those politicians talking to the press are however not frames of peacekeeping, but solely those images that depicted more than one negotiator, or negotiators that were clearly talking to a council or similar. Again, negotiators depicted in an idolizing way, with impressive flags on their sides, from a frogs eye perspective, did not depict a frame of peacekeeping.

Image 4.2 is a typical Frame of Peacekeeping. It is through the handshake that the first part of the peacekeeping definition is applied, and secondly through the fact that one of the gentlemen depicted is not directly associated with the conflict at all. Granted, a viewer might not know this, however, after reading the possible headlines of the newspaper, one discovers that the man standing in the middle of the image is in fact Kofi Annan, the appointed Arab League Envoy, and former Secretary of the United Nations. This man is in fact appointed as peacekeeper. However, it is not only that what makes the frame a peacekeeping frame. The people in the room seem in a meeting, the room and its furniture look quite luxurious, and there is even a little flag in the room.
Artistic Frame

The artistic frame is somewhat abstract. These are images that overuse the power of that depicted. In these images, the conflict and people in it are romanticized; these images step away from documenting a conflict to creating works of art. Images that are composed instead of taken, are most likely artistic frames. These frames go beyond the conflict and focus on composition. Although these images can be powerful, they focus more on visual style than content. A good example is the US secretary of state, photographed from below, with two American flags on both sides. Although he might be engaged in peace talks, the main message thundering through this image is the might and power of this person. Another image that is mainly artistic depicts a Syrian rebel in a sleeveless shirt, brandishing a gun and standing in front of a burning Syrian army tank. Key features of an artistic frame are an overuse of the frogeye perspective, exaggerated lighting or isolation of the subject in sunlight.

Image 4.3 is quite a unique artistic frame. Although it seems at first the man in front of the burning tank might be in a conflict, the way he is standing it doesn’t seem that he has anything to fear for. Therefore, he is most likely posing in front of this tank. This alone makes the image an artistic frame, however, the photographer even chose to isolate him against the background, which is the burning tank, and in that sense idealize the man standing there. It creates a sort of Rambo-hollywood like look, which is typical for Artistic frame.

Frame of Politics
Although a frame of politics is quite similar to a frame of peacekeeping at first sight, there are some subtle differences that make them very distinct. In essence a frame of politics is a frame of peacekeeping where no peacekeeping is shown happening, or an image of a politician that is photographed because he or she is a politician. Often, a frame of politics shows the politicians surrounded by press, and it seems clear from the image that the politician is indeed a politician instead of a celebrity by the way the depicted is dressed. In essence, a frame of politics is a picture that says nothing without the caption, and depicts politicians.

Image 2.5 is a typical frame of politics. Press surrounds the two men, so for those who do not know who they are, it is quite obvious they are important people. The grey suits suggest politicians. Furthermore a microphone is present, suggesting the people depicted might have interesting things to say. Only from reading the caption we learn that the two are important politicians from France, and that they are attending an event that is connected to Syria. We however do not see them connecting with another party, which would be the least requirement for a frame of peacekeeping.
Chapter 5: Qualitative Analysis: Barthes revisited

For the quantitative analysis, I have selected a large number of photographs, representing the AFP-Getty Images database of photos on Syria. This resulted in a number of frames of the Syrian conflict. With this, I came closer to defining the dominant frames within the selection of photographs. In the second part of this thesis I have used the theory of Barthes to explore a select number of images taken from the sample studied. Below I will give a brief introduction into the way I have used Barthes’ theory of semiotic analysis. As Barthes explains, text and images create meaning, which he calls the first order of signification. After this, there follows a second order of signification, in which the sign (the image), represents a meaning, there comes a third order of signification, where the “[...] range of cultural meanings that are generated in this second order cohere in the third order of signification into a comprehensive, cultural picture of the world, a coherent and organized view of the reality with which we are faced” (Fiske and Hartley, 2004:25). Barthes definition of mythical meaning in text and images, which is dependent upon cultural interpretation, helped me to define the tropes present in these images. More on this process I will explain below.

For each of the dominant frames, I selected one image that represents the archetype of this frame. These images were either typical for the frame, or contained elements that were overrepresented in the frames. For each image I will give a short explanation to the selection of those images. In this next chapter I will analyze those images. The dominant frames in the Syrian conflict are the “Artistic Frame”, “Frame of Peacekeeping and Politics” and “Frame of victimization”. While each image within these frames is unique, I will explore the uniqueness as well as the mundane and repeatable features of these images, because those features are what define the frame in which those images have been placed. I have analyzed the images on their visual characteristics as well as their mythological meaning.
5.1 Applying Barthes:

Barthes’ semiotic analysis follows through on several ideas of semiotics (see chapter theory for more detail). The practical application of his theory is one that is not easily explained, and is not universally standardized. As can be seen in image 5.1, Barthes defined Myth as the sum of the second level of signification, and signified. What that means in practice, is looking at an image as if looking through a mirror. The signifier (1) is the object or text that is present, creating the meaning. The signified (2) is this meaning. This meaning is superficial, a summation of that what is shown or written. It is this view that is simply the first order of signification. To discover the second order of signification, it is important that the meaning is defined. With this definition of a meaning, the image is then raised to the second level of signification. With this second level of signification, it is no longer the literal meaning of the image that is important, but the meaning it creates. It’s meaning creates an idea in the viewers’ mind, which is related to the viewers’ cultural and historical background. This is the myth, as Barthes argues. For the images below, I will do the same thing. I will describe the meaning, identifying the myth through the elements that are present within the meaning of the image. To clarify and support my analysis, I will use some images that have no direct relation to the conflict, which in essence activate a same myth. The myth is a sort of cliché that is present in the image, lying below the surface, and therefore ever present without clearly being visible without looking for it consciously.

As I explained earlier, the trope is nothing more than a cliché as well, yet one that maintains a symbolic accessibility, by which I mean it’s a form of myth that is not necessarily only perceived by people with a western upbringing, or a specific cultural background; instead, a trope is a more widely understood universal symbol of sorts, that is related to more primitive concepts of life, such as “the mother and child", or the “innocence of children”.

To identify these myths, I will rhetorically link the image’s meaning with what is underneath the image. The myth is the sum of Barthes elements, and I will show the sum below in both text as well as a short table.
5.2   **Artistic Frame**

The following image (image 5.1) is a typical artistic frame, it is showing a rebel soldier, standing alone, shot from below so the image is made to look more powerful. It falls under this category especially because it is taken from a lower perspective. The image of the lone rebel is dominant within the artistic frames. Shots of rebel soldiers within the sample are often make up 24 percent of the artistic frames, and are therefore the most dominant group of actors within the sample. Combines with the fact that 54 percent of the images portray a single person, the frame above is a typical representation of the artistic frame.

On the picture (the *signifier*) is an armed man walking in the street, with destroyed buildings behind him. The man is centered in the image, and there are destroyed buildings in the background. He seems to be carrying a gun, and is smoking what appears to be a cigarette. These are *signifiers*, and together they form the literal signified (see table 5.1, column 1). What we derive from this depiction, its literal meaning, is the *signified* (table 5.1, column 2). The man is carrying a gun, so he must be a fighter of some sort. The destroyed buildings indicate a war or conflict zone. The signified forms the literal meaning of the image. Together these form the *sign*, an image depicting an armed man on the street. Taken together, they form the signifier on a second level, or the *form* in
which the myth will reveal itself, “The signifier of myth presents itself in an ambiguous way: it is at the same time meaning and form, full on one side, and empty on the other”, (Barthes, 1973:226).

On the second level of signification, the armed man on the street signifies something more. The man shows defiance, is portrayed as a secure and confident person. He seems to be a civilian, and because he is not wearing any army clothes, it is peculiar that he is carrying a gun. Meanwhile, from the caption, we know this man is a rebel, which again has a meaning in our culture. A rebel can be something negative, but often has a connotation of the underdog as well. This man seems determined to defend his house and family. So the form is an image of an armed middle-age man walking in a street full of destroyed buildings, and the concept is that he defends his house and home and is willing to walk in a warzone for that, which makes him, in essence, a heroic figure. This in turn activates the myth, in which the man in the photograph plays the role of the hero.

For a concrete idea of what a hero is, and the role he/she plays in a story, I would refer to Vladimir Propp’s structural analysis of the hero. Propp analyzed Russian fairytales (Vos, 2004) and discovered the recurrent structure of these stories, and within these tales actors that have a predefined role within the story. One of these actors is the hero. That Propp’s theory is also applicable to other narrative structures is shown by among others Fiske and Woolen, who analyzed science fiction and Hitchcock respectively (Vos, 2004).
The Hero. It is this cultural meaning that is associated with this image. Like in a great spaghetti-western movie, in which he seems to fit perfectly with his rifle and cigarette, he defends house and home against the terror that is bestowed upon it. The only thing missing is a cowboy hat, but that doesn’t make the image representation less similar. When placing the image of this man back in reality, we see where it has gotten us. It is the ideological idea of fighting for one’s family or freedom, and it is defined in the person depicted. The reality of this image is that this man is a civilian that took up arms.

As I mentioned earlier, the image looks like it could be a shot from a western movie. When searching for a comparable image, the first hit from the search-term western was enough.

Image 5.2 above is a movie poster for the western High Noon, known as a classical western movie. Also here, the subject is isolated in the middle of the image, and around him is a desolate, empty village. In fact, the two men seem to wear a similar vest and shirt, even though the hat is missing in the Syrian image. It is clear to me what sort of myth this man is portraying, for he is the hero in the story. He is the protagonist in a story about freedom and valor. The image with artistic framing above, with it’s desolate buildings and lone wolf of a man standing in the middle, is one of a number of images with a similar form and construction within the sample of images. With form and construction I mean in this case the choice of lighting, positioning of the subject and the background, as well as the positioning of the sole character in the image. The image could be a strong contender for a photographic prize, just through its construction, and
coupled with the story behind the image. Just as other images of artistic framing, it makes the subject significant and important. It is not a mere documentation shot.

When looking at the trope, the metaphor that is activated through this image, is one of a **valiant fighter**, a **lone wolf**, somewhat comparable to Zarzycka and Kleppe their definition of “Soldier in Action” trope (2013:7), however not entirely, because most of the soldiers depicted are not really ‘in action’, they just strike a pose that is quite intriguing, yet the action is not present. The man above is the archetype rebel, the underdog, and the freedom fighter, put in the reality of the Syrian conflict. With the trope of a freedom fighter, we again reach the point where the trope represents the image, and therefore it is a circular representation of the myth.

### 5.3 Frame of Peacekeeping and Politics

This image of peacekeeping (image 5.3) is showing Kofi Annan, shaking hands with a member of the Syrian opposition. I have selected this image, because it represents the frame of peacekeeping very clearly. There is the key element of shaking hands, and human contact that is also a prime requisite of a politics and peacekeeping frame. Then there is the obvious, the politicians. They are present and play the main roles in this image, like all frames of politics.

For the semiotic analysis, there are a number of elements that meet the eye first, and some that play a different role when looking at the image in more detail. There is a table, with a number of people sitting around in, and in the back, there are two men shaking hands. All of these signify a meeting of sorts. Then there are some less obvious elements, such as the water bottles, and the little white flag standing on the table. All of the people are wearing suits as well.

The main event in this image is the two men shaking hands in the middle of the image. However, the people sitting around the table seem of importance too. These are all signifiers of the first level (see table 5.2). The signified is a meeting of sorts, as we can see by the handshake and the structure in which the people are seated indicates a council. On the second level of signification, it is an image of two men shaking hands at a council (the form), while these two men seem of importance to the image. The way the smaller white male shakes the hand of the larger black male; it signifies a form of dominance and superiority of the larger black man. The shaking of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.2</th>
<th>Signifier</th>
<th>Signified</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of language</td>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Council/meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People sitting</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two people standing</td>
<td>Friendship or partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shaking hands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White Flag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bottles of water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Council/meeting</td>
<td>Peacekeeping,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Governing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friendship or partnership</td>
<td>wisdom,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council or meeting</td>
<td>dominance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centered black and white men shaking hands in the middle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council/meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friendship or partnership</td>
<td></td>
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Wise man meets to give council; Propp’s character of the Donor and Helper.
hands and the council surrounding them, suggest a peacekeeping meeting (the concept), where peace is made. It is this concept that again together with the form creates the myth.

These two, the form and concept of the image, have quite a complex mythological meaning. The mythological meaning is much depending on the interpretation of the sum. It seems the men are important, for they are standing in the middle, but the rest of the table is sitting down, so they are not that important that those sitting down should stand up. The table is not round, but there are two sides, and no head, showing a two-sided divided front. The little flag on the table symbolizes national identity, for although the flag seems white (which it isn’t, if you look closely you can see the UN contours on the flag), the whole idea of a flag is to show that you represent a side, a country or a movement. It is a symbol that can be seen from a distance, and has developed an enormous cultural impact.

Interestingly, the flag’s colors are washed out, and therefore it looks white, which would suggest that the photographer did not take a great picture. However, it could also be that the photographer chose to use this flag in its white form as a symbol of peace, representing the peacekeeping process he is trying to depict. Another distinct feature of the image is the fact that Kofi Annan is dark-skinned while none of the other people depicted are. While this is likely coincidence, it does isolate him in comparison to the other people. While this could have a negative influence to the negotiations in the case of cultural and racial sensitivity (for there might be people present in this image that are racist, and thus have trouble negotiating with a black man), this provides Annan in this case also a sense of isolation, and thus neutrality. Also the stance of the two men shaking hands is different, it is clear from their posture that Annan is superior and has more stature.

The mythological meaning of this image signifies to me a wise external power that will provide council to the desperate, a man that is received to provide help for those who need help. Yet, it also signifies the futility of politics, with yet another meeting of yet another council, while conflict is raging, and politicians are seeking a solution that might never be implemented.
For this image of peacekeeping, I found an image that in some ways closely resembles the image of Annan meeting the Syrian council (figure 5.4). Its caption: “Eastern Orthodox Christian icon depicting the Harrowing of Hell or Descent into Hades (cf. Resurrection of Jesus in Christian art)”. Although the image at first sight is quite different, I will describe a number of similarities. The stretched hand of Christ for example, shows a similar dominant presence as that of Annan. Also, like Christ, Annan takes up a very special place in the middle of this image, and although Christ is dressed in white, and Annan is dressed in a dark blue suit, through his appearance he takes up a similar unique position. Like Christ, Annan is a messiah trying to help the needy, in this case the opposition of the Syrian government, and like the image of Christ, he is not seen as the savior to everyone.

Like in the image of the Harrowing, some council members don’t look too convinced that Annan would help them with their problem, looking away or looking at each other in doubt. Body language is quite convincing in this image, and provides with ample clues to what is going on (when familiar with the context, and therefore the caption is required). However, even without the caption, the basic, fundamentally the trope is deciphered. Here, he is a herald of peace, a bearer of solutions, help in difficult times.

Like Annan, a lot of the images of peacekeeping and politics show politicians in this role, as a harbinger of good fortune and peace. As those who give council to the needy, and are above the misery and dread that is going on. And yet, at the same time, they are often put upon a pedestal to be the receiver of good and bad remarks. It is this trope that I would call Annan the
“beneficent savior”, or “the diplomat”. Again, when turning to Propp, Annan would be either the character of the helper, who gives the hero aid, or the donor. The donor might not be so willing as the simply help the hero unconditionally, and might ask for something in return (Vos, 2004). In the case of Annan, making peace is the condition. Most of the tropes within this subgroup of images are indeed images of politicians, talking, peacekeeping, for it is exactly the requirement of the peacekeeping frame. The most fitting trope would be “politicians talking”, representing that it is mainly talking what seems to go on there.

5.4 Frame of Victimization

Image 5.5 LEBANON, Wadi Khaled: A Syrian refugee child looks out a window in Wadi Khaled, Lebanon’s impoverished mountain area near its northern border with Syria, on September 21, 2011. (Image & caption: AFP Photo / Anwar Amro, 2011)

The image of victimization I picked is shown above (image 5.5). It shows a lone child, which is not per se the archetype image of a frame of victimization, yet it does depict one of the most crucial dominant features of a frame of victimization: a child. 42 percent of the images of victimization depict a child, in comparison to 11 percent of the images of artistic framing, and 0 percent in the case of the
frames of politics. The images of protest are the only framing of children that comes slightly closer, where 23 percent of the frames depict children. This does show the importance of children in frames of victimization, and that has to do mainly with the effect that children have on the viewer. Also, we can say that a child can neither be a rebel nor a soldier, and neither would it be a politician. Yet children are a key symbol of this victimization, exactly because of this.

This image shows a boy with his teddy bear, standing on a window till behind bars. The image and depiction are the form, the concept shows a little innocent child that is locked inside, that has toys to play with yet no space to play in. It seems as if the boy has no opportunity to leave, and this makes it a typical frame of victimization. The child, representing innocence, shows the viewer the perspective of the neutral victim.

Although the image itself is colorful, the bars are a clear symbol that the child is not free, and they represent oppression and involuntary lockup (for it is through the fact that the person locked up is a child, itself innocent and therefore involuntary). Would the depicted behind bars be a grown man, a viewer would hesitant to think an adult man was innocent, yet a child, it embodies innocence. This exemplifies the use of children in images, showing that children are in a way used to create a strong image. Although in certain situations children might just be present, in this case it seems the image is partly manipulated, so that the child, or at least his toys are standing next to him, for his teddy bear is stuck quite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.3</th>
<th>Signifier</th>
<th>Signified</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level of language</strong></td>
<td>Child/boy</td>
<td>Locked up/Behind bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stuffed animals</td>
<td>Childishness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shot from below</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Form</strong></th>
<th><strong>Concept</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level of Myth</strong></td>
<td>Absence of freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innocence of youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More powerful</td>
</tr>
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**Myth**

- Innocent children should not suffer on behalf of a conflict.
- Myth of the innocent Child.
- Propp’s character of the princess.

- This image shows a boy with his teddy bear, standing on a window till behind bars. The image and depiction are the form, the concept shows a little innocent child that is locked inside, that has toys to play with yet no space to play in. It seems as if the boy has no opportunity to leave, and this makes it a typical frame of victimization. The child, representing innocence, shows the viewer the perspective of the neutral victim.

- Although the image itself is colorful, the bars are a clear symbol that the child is not free, and they represent oppression and involuntary lockup (for it is through the fact that the person locked up is a child, itself innocent and therefore involuntary). Would the depicted behind bars be a grown man, a viewer would hesitant to think an adult man was innocent, yet a child, it embodies innocence. This exemplifies the use of children in images, showing that children are in a way used to create a strong image. Although in certain situations children might just be present, in this case it seems the image is partly manipulated, so that the child, or at least his toys are standing next to him, for his teddy bear is stuck quite
peculiar under one of the bars, supported by the two other stuffed animals underneath it. Here, we see that the child embodies the ultimate myth of victimization, for the boy embodies not only the present, in which he is stuck and cannot get out of, and his helplessness, for he is but a child, but also the future, and the fact that this boy will have to live with the consequences of the conflict for the rest of his life. He symbolizes the youth that should be and remain free from the conflict yet is put behind bars; unable to play the way the boy wants to.

Our frame of victimization is a child, the way that few people like it to see. The emotional connection with children is quite universal. Moeller (2002) names a number of reasons for this journalistic move into using children in storytelling, for its a strong unifying theme to address, and media are focusing more on attracting women for news. But, she writes, “Stories about children are sentimental. They employ the same emotional hooks that “tearjerker” movies do.” (2002:39). The image above, showing a locked child, is universal, and is meant to victimize the child, to show the consequences of the Syrian conflict through the child's eyes. In Propp's analysis, the child would play the role of the princess, an innocent person who has to be saved from evil (Vos, 2004). Although it doesn't fit perfectly, the child in the image does show a certain need for rescue and at the same time innocence, corresponding to Propp's character typology. The image below, which accompanied an article interestingly named “Explaining Inpatient Psychiatric Treatment to Mentally Ill Child” explains the exact association of children and bars. It is wrong to lock a child; it does not rime with our intuitive feelings. It shows unwilling involvement, and that is what is the dominant trope in this portraits. The absence of freedom, and the presence of bars, be it physical or psychological, is dominant in the tropes of victimization. Dominant in the frames of victimization are tropes of innocent children and innocent women, and the absence of freedom.

Image 5.6: “Explaining Inpatient Psychiatric Treatment to Mentally Ill Child” (healthyplace.com, 2012)
The images of the Syrian conflict contain a number of different frames, and the most dominant ones I analyzed. With the help of Barthes, I named the mythological context in which these images could be put, and with the assistance of that context, I defined the tropes within those images. Primarily I have written about the three images analyzed; yet there is also a hint of repetition to be found within those images. In the next chapter I will discuss that repetition and re-use of these repetitive elements we would call tropes. Dominant in the images above were the tropes of a valiant fighter, talking politicians and innocent children. These are, as such, tropes fitting for a conflict situation, and reinstate the myth of conflict. Conflict being the sign, the form the images that show the Syrian conflict, and with that idea of conflict, we as viewers expect these images with tropes that reinstate our idea of a conflict. We expect to see a valiant fighter, talking politicians and innocent children.
Conclusion

In the last few chapters I have explained how I would analyze the AFP-Getty Images database, and which theory I would use to examine the images on a quantitative and qualitative basis. I have turned to the theory of framing, semiotics by Barthes, and finally distilled myth from the most dominant images of the conflict. For this thesis, I have analyzed the content of the images, from a platonic level, delving into the meaning, and the underlying semiotic significance. This gave some interesting results that I will briefly summarize in this chapter, following this with reflections on the research in the last chapter.

The goal of this essay was to address in what way the Syrian conflict was framed by the AFP/Getty Images pictures of the conflict, and what dominant mythologies were present in these images. Prior research showed the dominant depiction of War versus Peace framing in for example the Syrian conflict (Greenwood & Jenkins, 2013) and the Gaza conflict (Fahmy & Neumann, 2012), or the framing of Afghan women during and after the Taliban regime (Fahmy, 2004). This research focused on the framing of AFP/Getty Images, similar to what Fahmy and Neumann did in 2012, however this research is unique in that sense that it combines a quantitative framing analysis with a qualitative analysis of the reoccurring myth in the conflict. I have found reoccurring myth within the images of the conflict, indeed. Yet these reoccurring myths are but a mere representation of reality, through the eyes of one researcher. The definition of myth is not set in stone, as I have shown by the contrast between White (1973) and Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013) for example. The essential idea of a trope meets Barthes concept of myth on several layers. The trope is like the quintessential myth, it is meaning indefinite, for it is the clearest signifier of this myth.

These findings are qualitative results, and verge on the side of philosophy. They however give a foothold to organize the “effect of the image” on the viewer, and it raises questions on the idea of image distribution within such an international exposure. I will turn back to the qualitative part later, first I want to concentrate on the quantitative analysis, in which I have looked at the framing of the conflict, showed that frames of peacekeeping and politics were most dominant in the AFP/Getty Images database. In fact, 27 percent of the images
depicted politicians, talking to the press, to each other, or some talking to victims, while being photographed by the press. All in a days work, for the politicians that were somehow related to the conflict. Indeed, of these images, only 17 percent was taken in Syria, while for both the frames of Victimization as well as the Artistic frames, this was around 50 percent. This shows the stark contract between the images of politics, and the other images, in terms of actually showing what is happening on the ground in Syria.

The quantitative analysis showed that the three most dominant frames within the conflict were the frame of Politics and Peacekeeping, the Artistic frame and the frame of Victimization. It shows these frames are the AFP’s major representation of the Syrian conflict. Frames of Politics and Peacekeeping show politicians and leader like figures that are often not directly associated with the conflict (60 to 90 percent, see graph 4.6). It is also quite noteworthy that those images often depict people with positive emotions; there seems hardly any anger or verbal conflict in the images (see figure 4.5). However, as the majority of those depicted are not directly associated with the conflict, it seems quite appropriate.

Images of victimization show a stark contrast, with 92 percent of the images (graph 4.5) depicting negative emotions or portraying a negative feeling, yet this one of the demands for the frame of victimization. Yet when looking at merely the role of the victim, 108 out of 141 images depicting people in this role showed negative emotions. It is clear from these results that victims are people that suffer, while politicians are not.

For my primary research question, “How does the AFP frame the Syrian conflict in the images in its database?” we see that the Syrian conflict is framed through politicians, victims and rebels. The conflict in Syria has, according to the AFP/Getty Images, become one of political debate. It is surprising to see such a reoccurrence of familiar faces in a conflict that affects millions. Victims consist of women and children; they won’t be rebels or soldiers. Indeed, there are but a number of people that are important for the resolve of the conflict, but at the same time international media textually frame the conflict as a civil strife. So why does the AFP/Getty Images database provide so much images of politicians in contrast to the photographs from the field. Recently, the AFP/Getty Images
announced it would not take any work from freelance journalists in Syria anymore:

“Since August 2013, we have stopped sending any journalists into rebel-held parts of Syria. The situation there is out of control, and far too dangerous. A foreign reporter venturing into those lawless areas runs a serious risk of being kidnapped or killed, as tragically happened to James Foley, a regular AFP contributor murdered by IS militants in August. [...] That is also why we no longer accept work from freelance journalists who travel to places where we ourselves would not venture. It is a strong decision, and one that may not have been made clear enough, so I will repeat it here: if someone travels to Syria and offers us images or information when they return, we will not use it. Freelancers have paid a high price in the Syrian conflict. High enough. We will not encourage people to take that kind of risk.” (Léridon, 2014)

It is another signal of the risks of war journalism that I described in chapter 2, the difficulty of accessing Syria and the risks involved for foreign (and national) journalists. It is in a way not surprising that there are much more images of politicians, mainly shot outside Syria, then from the country itself, simply because it is much easier and much safer to shoot photographs of the Syrian opposition discussing terms of a truce in Geneva, for example. However, if we follow up on the notion that journalism claims to be objective, or tries to be (Kim and Kelly, 2008), we would expect an equal distribution of frames concerning political and social issues. We would not expect this overrepresentation of the political side of the country. In fact, Greenwood and Jenkins (2013) found just one image that depicted a politician involved in peacetalk in their analysis of the coverage of the Syrian conflict by News and Public affairs magazines. Of course, we are talking about other media outlets here, we expect the AFP/Getty Images to provide us with details on every single event that concerns Syria, while a public affairs magazine might not have the same goal. Nonetheless, we could question the reasoning behind providing so much material of politicians talking to each other and the press, especially considering the fact that these images are thereby over representing one side of the conflict.
However, let us take a step back, and consider the other dominant frames of the conflict. The frame of victimization and the artistic frame, which are two very different types of framing. The frame of victimization is one that victimizes and in essence is very connected to the conflict. It is one of people, innocent people that suffer. To define the frame I stepped away from Fahmy and Neumann (2012) who argued that destroyed buildings are in a way also a frame of victimization. With this, I disagree, for it is exactly this human suffering that draws the viewer to this image, and makes the victim real. The victim of conflict is an image that 'breaks' a viewer (Zelizer, 1999: Picturing the Past). As we have seen with the World Press Photographs of Zarzycka and Kleppe (2013), it is the universally understandable image of children or a mourning woman for example, that have the most impact upon the viewer. But then, when we turn to the artistic frame, the photographer seems to aim to create art. These images depict rebels, soldiers, politicians and victims in a similar artistic. It is this (supposed) aim to create the image in such a way that puts these images in the same class of artistic framing. Artistically framed images are in a way all contenders to a photographic prize, or at least try to give their image a twist that makes the viewer more drawn to the image. Yet these images take time to construct, and are they still representative of reality? AFP photoeditor Marina Passos said in an interview, "You can't hide hell, our job is to show the world the way it is. Sometimes a violent image can also carry huge aesthetic power [...]" (de Courson, 2014). An interview with South Korean photojournalists revealed that they believed artistically expression in photographs could enhance their quality, however due to fear of degrading their objective viewpoint, the consensus was against it (Kim & Kelly, 2008). This in contrast to American photojournalists, who believed creative and self-expression was more important in photographs. Again this leads to the question of objectivity, whether or not the photographer should decide to create an objective image or a more artistic constructed one, it is the choice of the press agency to distribute it further or not. The AP fired a photographer because he had cloned (a photographic technique done with photomaneipulative software) his shadow out of an image (Myers, 2011) showing that wire services take the manipulation and untruthful representation of events
very seriously. Yet the question remains, if artistically framed images are indeed a truthful representation of the situation (see image 6.1).

Turning back to the bigger picture, we see the images of the Syrian conflict frame it as a mainly political event. The rest of the images show us that the conflict is impacting victims, who leave their house and have a hard time doing groceries in a destroyed city, and the rebels and soldiers that are indeed fighting are in fact mainly occupied by looking good on the picture. I exaggerate here of course, but we do see hardly anything of the actual suffering going on in Syria. Whether this is due to the inaccessibility of the area, or conscious choice of the AFP, remains questionable when finding images in the database like image 6.1. Does this image appeal to the customers of AFP/Getty Images? Is it a representation of reality?

As I have shown in the previous chapter, the Syrian conflict can be defined in forms of images, and categories are defined with the help of the concept of framing. Framed images of the conflict happen to have easily, and not so easily distinguishable features that allowed me to classify and order them. The sample studied showed a dominance of politicians within the database, as well as a majority of photos of victims and photos with artistic intent. After defining the frames of peacekeeping and politics, I decided to take those together because these images often represent a similar frame. This made those images the most dominant group (27 percent). This ratio shows us that the political side is vastly represented, and possibly overrepresented within the AFP-Getty Images database. Future studies could point out if this is also the case for the actual newspapers that write about the Syrian conflict. Zarzycka and Kleppe have not shown any politicians in their study of the world press photo, which is notable.
because of the large amount of images of politics and peacekeeping that are present within the sample. However, this confirms the myth (or the cliché) of a politician, as there is a lot of talking to the press, and talking to each other, but it often does not directly represent any situation. This, in stark contrast to the world press photos, that often single out a specific news event that is visually interesting. The question remains why the editors of the AFP decide to show so many images of politicians. Fahmy and Neumann (2012) argue the increased depiction of peace negotiations might relate to the news wires’ support for peace and conflict resolve, however it might just as well be that conflict photographs are much harder to acquire and bring much more risk to the photographers.

**Discussion**

However way we look at it, the discrepancy between the events and images in the AFP/Getty Images database is crooked. When looking in the research of images of wire services, it is clear that the amount of images that represent an event will never match the significance of that event, if it is even possible to measure such a thing. The connection between the amount of images and the events covered is non-linear. Instead, it is more suitable to look at the representation of the events, through the study of the image content. Like Fahmy who showed that the representation of Afghan women before and after the fall of the Taliban regime had shifted (2004), I have selected the images of the Syrian conflict to analyze on their content. With the help of the concept of framing, I have found a number of frames that I found dominantly present in these images. Yet, here is where the crux of this research lies, for it is through a dominant and personal interest (al be it fundamentally supported by theory), that I have developed these so-called frames of the Syrian conflict. This, as I have written before, is inherently dependent upon my cultural background and western ideology. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind, that these images are analyzed from a westerner’s perspective. Aram wrote in 2011 “I am trying to forget Michel Foucault, a great name in London School of Economics (LSE) scholarship as I am now in the Indian backyard, but I will not forget what he has to say: the dominant group describes what knowledge is and it sometimes
discards knowledge of others that does not suit the group interests.” (Aram, 2011:2). It is this western perspective that is currently dominant within research, and it is therefore very difficult to take a different perspective (Aram, 2011).

To take a different perspective, I used Barthes concept of myth. As I mentioned the reflections of the qualitative research are inherently western, yet the concept of myth elevates beyond that. For just as Barthes believes the mythology of an image is essentially a product of bourgeoisie dominance, it does not render his theory useless. Instead, the essential handholds that Barthes introduces strengthen the idea of dominant ideology and of the identification of one. Just as the theory of Propp, first developed to analyze fairytales, was successfully applied to film by both Fiske and Wollen (Vos, 2004), and can also be applied to the myths of the images in this research, it is not a question of whether it is possible to use a western theory to analyze images of western ideology; it is a question of how to do so.

From a theoretical standpoint, this research has shown the presence of dominant myths within the images of a conflict. Essentially the form of these images, through their myth, is universal. Although some argue the language of a photograph is not universal, the symbolism of a child behind bars is. Although we are capable of conscious individual though and opinion, we share structural universal values. When we see an image we feel the need to look (Van Leeuwen and Lewitt, 2001). Seeing an image of a child behind bars calls upon our social consciousness, we feel compassion because we can relate (Domke et al., 2002). Susan Sontag argues photographs cannot convey moral knowledge (Ross, 1982), that the photograph is a medium. “Photographs are, by their very nature, less suited than paintings to bear moral messages because photographs do not convey a sense of events unfolding in time and therefore do not yield the understanding necessary for moral evaluation”, Ross (1982) suggests. Yet it cannot be denied that photography has an impact on the viewer, Ross argues, “Photographs do, however, express emotion and they are especially effective here because we know they present the appearances of people, events, situations, that really existed. Perhaps a Humean interest in other people (together with the knowledge that photographs show us real people in real
situations) acts to engage our emotions.” Especially Ross’ argument on the realistic representation is important here. Barthes came to the same conclusions in his work “Camera Lucida” (Barthes, 1980). “For the photograph has this power – which it is increasingly losing, the frontal pose being most often considered archaic nowadays – of looking me straight in the eye.”(Barthes, 1980:111). The studies on the human brain suggest images can illicit a direct, emotional response (Domke et al., 2002). When consider this part of photography as a universal language to be correct, we suddenly discover like Barthes, that all image have strong symbolic values attached. And this again, makes the idea of framing again much stronger; for our subconscious registration of the myth attached to images is inherently present in all the images newspapers use. It is present in all images of the AFP/Getty Images on the Syrian conflict. Yet, is it then still a representation of the event, if we see images of such a conflict, through suffering victims and talking politicians? It stands to reason that this consciousness is inherently important when taking, sorting and distributing images of conflict. Fahmy (2004) argues it might be necessary to exaggerate certain aspects of the news to reach the audience. Domke et al. (2002) don’t believe the ‘power’ of visual images can persuade action, but can ‘trigger’ people’s activated consideration.

Another key issue to point out in this research is the representation of this study. It will not represent the entire database of the AFP, and looking at the images of the AFP’s “Editors Choice” selection, I as a viewer get a different impression now then when I looked at the selection with the same name a year ago. Events, images and research change. They change individually, and they change personally. Images that come out of Syria now seem to be much harsher, yet that is another first glance impression. On a primary level we might see that representation of a conflict is not truly possible, for the image is just an image (Scruton, 1981), on a secondary level we know that images have an impact on the viewer (Domke et al. 2002), and that the viewer’s association with the image is vital for it’s interpretation. While frame analysis showed the AFP framed the Syrian conflict from one perspective, Greenwood and Jenkins (2013) showed that US News and Public Affairs Magazines framed the conflict quite differently,
with essentially the same images to choose from. What truthful representation actually is, is then both on a primary and secondary level debatable.

This research has shown two different approaches to tackling this issue of representation, yet it is by far sufficient to draw honest conclusions on this subject. Further research could point out the effects of representation and framing. Experimental studies can be conducted on the effectiveness and trustworthiness of the “artistic” versus the “realistic” photographs, and whether cultural cliché’s like “talking politicians” are truly interpreted as such. This study however gives an insight into the angle of approach of the AFP’s photographic vision, and shows that it’s photographs indeed are not free from under and overrepresentation, and strengthen cultural dominant myth. Although the AFP photo editor aims for journalistic objectivity (de Courson, 2014), and the war photography claim to be a documentary medium, this might not be as close to the truth as it wishes to be. Whether it should be is another discussion entirely, and not one to for or against in this thesis. Yet, what is clear from this research is that the perspective of the journalistic world forms opinions and constructs ideas. That this construction is not always fair and balanced, and representing the world as such is not as easy as it looks.

Whether journalists show their audience images of politicians, victims or injured children, they should realize the audience constructs an image of the conflict through these images. My audience is reading this thesis, the audience of ‘the wire’ are newspaper editors, and they should know if what they see is a representative depiction of the truth. This truth, we have seen, is harsh and acts to our innermost understanding of what is humane. And whether a war is humane or not, the work of a war journalists is to document it, and show it to the world. It is the aim of this study to give an insight in what images are essentially symbolic to the Syrian conflict. The images of the conflict are, instantaneous, history, and therefore should be treated as such. Whether these will be framed as such, only time can tell.
References:


car-ansichtkaart-is-voor-het-westen/


## Appendix

**Preliminary codebook:**

1. Date: Date upon which the image was created.
2. Caption: The caption accompanying the image in the database.
3. Role of people depicted (Adapted from Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11): The roles that the people in the image play. These can consist of “victim” (suffering civilians or refugees, people fleeing or brought to a shelter), “belligerent” (combatants as well as hostile political leaders, people actively involved in violence, no protesters), “negotiator” (those involved in peace talks or negotiations), “demonstrator” (participants in peaceful protests) or “protester” (participant in non-peaceful protest). The wearing or holding of weapons generally identified a subject as a combatant, regardless of specifically being depicted in fighting activity.
4. Type of activity depicted (Adapted from Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11): The main activity that is depicted in the photograph. Options are “fighting”, “medical treatment”, “burial”, “negotiations or speeches”, “daily routine”, “demonstrations”, “civilian reaction” or “other activities”.
5. Age (Adapted from Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11): Coded in four categories, “children”, “adolescents”, “adults” or “elderly”. Images of children/adolescents could have a different impact on the viewer; however, in case of hurt or injury (see below) have extra effect. Children, estimated to approximately 10-12 years, adolescents from 10-12 to 18-20 and adults 20 up to 60-70, whereas elderly (60+) required features like wrinkles, grey/white/no hair and/or a crooked back.
6. Gender depicted:Photographs were coded to record whether they depicted “men”, “women” or “both”, or whether it was possible to determine the gender of the subjects (After Greenwood & Jenkins, 2013:8).
7. Masks/incognito subjects: “Covered”, ”Both” or “None”. Whether an image contains either, or both. Rebels are expected to frequent covered faces, soldiers and civilians are not. The coverage of mouth or more is seen as a mask, sunglasses are not.
8. Graphic Nature: (After Parry, 2010: 73), when the image contains casualties, whether there is blood, hurt, or other injury or bodyparts in the images. In case of no casualties, N.A.
9. Injury/harm depicted (Adapted from Fahmy and Neumann, 2012:11): How much injury or harm was depicted on the image. The person with the highest injury score was counted. The images were coded with the use of the three categories from Fahmy and Neumann, from “not severe” (no visual damage to the people depicted), “severe” (bleeding, damage, cuts and/or bruises or worse), “most severe” (dead or apparently dead, also judged from reaction of possible bystanders).
10. Emotions: The emotions of the people depicted. Fahmy and Neumann (2012) coded for negative and positive emotions, the images in this analysis will be coded for “anger” (e.g. shouting, raising fists), “happiness” (e.g. smiling) and “sadness” (e.g. mourning).
11. Soldiers or Rebels: Whether “soldiers” or “rebels” are depicted. Weapons and clothing provide clues. When unclear, caption can provide extra information. Civilians are coded for as neutral, protesters supporting either side are coded as “pro-government protester” and “anti-government protester”.
12. Number of people depicted: The amount of people depicted in the image. In case of large numbers (100+ or hard to determine), an estimate is given.
EGYPT, 'Cairo': 'Sudanese' foreign minister Ali Kerti attends an emergency meeting with Arab League foreign ministers, at the deployment of UN observers in Syria to monitor the ceasefire that is increasingly under threat. AFP PHOTO/KHALED DESOUKI

SYRIA, 'Bab'al SHawa': Syrian rebels pose after seizing control of the Bab'al SHawa border post with Turkey on July 20, 2012. AFP PHOTO / BULENT KILIC

SYRIA, 'ALEPPO': Syrian children ride a merry-go-round in a street in the northern city of Aleppo on October 26, 2012. Outbreaks of violence are rekindling in Syria's restive north despite a truce announced by President Bashar al-Assad's regime and the main rebel force agreed to down arms for a four-day Muslim holiday. AFP PHOTO / PHILIPPE DESMAZES

SYRIA, 'AZAZ': Syrians harvest olives near the northern Syrian town of Azaz on October 29, 2012. Syria's conflict is going nowhere, leaving the international community with no clear path on finding a solution, expressing disappointment that his four-day truce plan had failed. AFP PHOTO / PHILIPPE DESMAZES
Turkish missionaries to protect Turkish borders from any spillover of the conflict in neighboring Syria. AFP PHOTO/IHLAS NEWS AGENCY

FALSE

A woman holds a portrait of Bashar al-Assad and a Syrian flag as people take part in a demonstration in support of Syria's president on February 2, 2013 in Paris. AFP PHOTO/KENZO TRIBOUILLARD

FALSE

Syrians living in Australia shouting slogans in support of their country's president. AFP PHOTO/Saeed KHAN

FALSE

This picture taken with a mobile handset shows Syrians living in Australia 'screaming slogans' in support of Bashar al-Assad and opposition to Western powers and their allies' allegedly unfriendly conduct and fueling the civil war inside Syria. AFP PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

FALSE

A United Nations arms expert collects samples on August 29, 2013 as they inspect the site where the use of chemical weapons in Syria as embattled President Bashar al-Assad vowed to resist any US strike. AFP PHOTO/AMMAR ALSARBINI

FALSE

Syrian Ambassador to the United Nations Bashar Ja'afari speaks to reporters opposed to a resolution following a suspected chemical weapons attack in Syria by the Assad regime. Mario Tama/Getty Images/AFP

FALSE

A United Nations arms expert collects an allegedly contaminated soil sample as they inspect the site where the use of chemical weapons in Syria as embattled President Bashar al-Assad vowed to resist any US strike. AFP PHOTO/AMMAR ALSARBINI

FALSE

Syrians in Damascus shout slogans against President Bashar al-Assad in August 2013. AFP PHOTO/AMMAR ALSARBINI

FALSE

A United Nations arms expert collects samples as they inspect the site where the use of chemical weapons in Syria as embattled President Bashar al-Assad vowed to resist any US strike. AFP PHOTO/AMMAR ALSARBINI

FALSE

A rebel fighter is pictured in the town of Ain Tarma, Syria, on July 26, 2013. AFP PHOTO/REUTERS/STRINGER

FALSE

US Secretary of State John Kerry (L) shares a laugh with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at their meeting in Geneva on September 10, 2013. Kerry said he and Lavrov have agreed a deal to eliminate Syria's chemical weapons. AFP PHOTO/PHILIPPE DESMAZES

FALSE

US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Wendy Sherman gestures upon her arrival on November 6, 2013 in Geneva. Kerry said he and Lavrov have agreed a deal to eliminate Syria's chemical weapons. AFP PHOTO/FABRICE COFFRINI

FALSE

A rebel fighter is pictured in the town of Ain Tarma, Syria, on July 26, 2013. AFP PHOTO/REUTERS/STRINGER

FALSE

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FALSE

A rebel fighter is pictured in the town of Ain Tarma, Syria, on July 26, 2013. AFP PHOTO/REUTERS/STRINGER

FALSE
SYRIA, DAMASCUS: Syrian children throw snowballs at each other along a street in a residential district of the Syrian capital, in the first United Nations airlift of aid items from Iraq to Syria for a second day, a spokesman said. AFP PHOTO/LOUAI BESHARA.

SWITZERLAND, Geneva: Russian Foreign Affairs minister Sergey Lavrov (R) is welcomed by the ambassador of the Permanent Representative of the U.N. Security Council during his visit to Switzerland to take part in the Geneva II summit focused on Syria. POOL AFP PHOTO SALVATORE DI NOLFI.


SYRIA, Aleppo: An injured man holds his leg following a reported air strike by Syrian government forces on February 17, 2014 in the opposition-held city of Aleppo, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said last week. AFP PHOTO/AMC/KHALED KHATIB.

SWITZERLAND, Geneva: "The International Syria Support Group (ISSG) will meet on February 24, 2014 to discuss strategy for the political and military situation in Syria," the U.N. Special Envoy for Syria Staffan de Mistura said in Geneva on February 20, 2014. AFP PHOTO/SALVATORE DI NOLFI.

SWITZERLAND, Geneva: "We are ready to commit to the principles of a Geneva II agreement, but we need a positive response from the Syrian regime," Syrian opposition leader Ahmad al-Jarba said in Geneva on February 20, 2014. AFP PHOTO/SALVATORE DI NOLFI.
## Preliminary Calculations

### Keyings:

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<th>Role of people</th>
<th>Type of activity</th>
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<th>Gender depicted</th>
<th>Gender children</th>
<th>Graphic nature</th>
<th>Emotions</th>
<th>amount of people</th>
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### Types of players:

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<tr>
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</table>
Role

Victim

Male

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**Artistic Frame**

- **Gender depicted**: M, F, Both
- **Type of such**: Artistic Frame
- **Artistic Frame**: Depicted as masculine, dominant, and positive
- **Emotions**: Positivity
- **Number of people depicted**: 62
- **Protector total**: 12
- **Role of people**: Victim, Background, Puppeteer
- **Theatrical**: 9 Nighting, 9 Children, 57 Female, 47 Male
- **Number of people depicted**: 62
- **Number of social relations**: 62

**Number of people depicted**: 62

**Role of people**: Victim, Background, Puppeteer

**Theatrical**: 9 Nighting, 9 Children, 57 Female, 47 Male

**Number of people depicted**: 62

**Number of social relations**: 62

**Role of people**: Victim, Background, Puppeteer

**Theatrical**: 9 Nighting, 9 Children, 57 Female, 47 Male

**Number of people depicted**: 62

**Number of social relations**: 62
### Frame of Conflict

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<td>05/06/2011</td>
<td>MAJDAL SHAMS</td>
<td>Demonstrators flee from Israeli army tear gas as they gather along Syria's border with Israel while attempting to cross into the occupied Golan Heights, killing some 14 demonstrators, according to Syrian television.</td>
<td>Picture 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>26/02/2012</td>
<td>TURKEY, Istanbul</td>
<td>Turkish riot policemen spray tear gas on Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad's supporters in front of the Istanbul courthouse. Turkey has sent observers to monitor Syrian peace talks.</td>
<td>Picture 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>01/04/2012</td>
<td>TURKEY, Istanbul</td>
<td>Turkish riot policemen spray tear gas on Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad's supporters in front of the Istanbul courthouse. Turkey has sent observers to monitor Syrian peace talks.</td>
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<td>09/07/2012</td>
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<td>Turkish riot policemen spray tear gas on Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad's supporters in front of the Istanbul courthouse. Turkey has sent observers to monitor Syrian peace talks.</td>
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<td>Turkish riot policemen spray tear gas on Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad's supporters in front of the Istanbul courthouse. Turkey has sent observers to monitor Syrian peace talks.</td>
<td>Picture 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>31/07/2012</td>
<td>SYRIA, ALEPPO</td>
<td>An opposition fighter shouts for help after bringing the body of a civilian, who was wounded during shelling. The fighting in Aleppo has been the hardest hit.</td>
<td>Picture 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>14/09/2012</td>
<td>SYRIA, ALEPPO</td>
<td>An opposition fighter shouts for help after bringing the body of a civilian, who was wounded during shelling. The fighting in Aleppo has been the hardest hit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17/11/2012</td>
<td>SYRIA, Maarat Al-Numan</td>
<td>Rebels line a dirt escarpment as they look towards Syrian army positions south of the highway towards Damascus. The Free Syrian Army controls the town, but the Syrian army is free to bombard it at will.</td>
<td>Picture 8</td>
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<td>TURKEY, Adana</td>
<td>A leftist group member is arrested by Turkish riot policemen during a protest against the deployment of Turkish troops to protect Turkish borders from any spillover of the conflict in neighboring Syria.</td>
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<td>26/06/2013</td>
<td>GOLAN HEIGHTS</td>
<td>Israeli soldiers from the Golani Brigade take part in a military exercise in the Israeli-annexed Golan Heights. The Golan Heights was seized by Israel from Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War.</td>
<td>Picture 10</td>
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<td>08/03/2014</td>
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<td>Fighting 16: Old men 21: Male 34 Dead 17: Dying 3: Adults 1: Female 3: Unknown 3: Demonstrators 3: Dead or Dying 3: Total 30: Male 30: Female</td>
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### Role of People

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### Role of People

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**Medical**

- 18
- 19

**Civilian**

- 1
- 2
- 3

**Belligerent**

- 4
- 5
- 6

**Victim**

- 7
- 8
- 9

**Remaining**

- 10
- 11
- 12

**Other**

- 13
- 14
- 15

**Total**

- 33
## Role of People

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## Description of the Document

**Frame of Destruction**

**Total**

The document contains a table listing various incidents with details such as the date, incident description, and associated roles of people involved. The table includes columns for the type of art, gender, marks of injury, graphic role, and number of people depicted. The incidents are related to Syria and involve military and civilian roles, with a focus on the impact on the Syrian people.

**Incidents Overview**

- Date: Various dates ranging from 12/09/2011 to 25/01/2014
- Description: The incidents involve bomb explosions, demonstrations, and other forms of violence.
- Roles: The roles include protesters, demonstrators, soldiers, and rebels, among others.

**Analysis**

The incidents indicate a significant impact on civilians, with a focus on the deaths and injuries sustained. The document highlights the toll on the Syrian population and the ongoing conflict and violence in the region.
### Frame of Gore

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#### Role of people

- **Victim**: 6 Fighting, 6 Boys, 6 Male, 3
- **Belligerent**: 3 Daily Routine, 3 Adults, 3 Female, 3
- **Negotiator**: 0 Demonstrations, 0 Soldiers, 0 Boys, 0
- **Demonstrators**: 1 Child, 1 Girl, 1
- **Protester**: 0

#### Type of activity/age

- **Daily Routine**: 6 Fighting, 6 Boys, 6 Male, 3
- **Medical**: 1
- **Civilian**: 0
- **Burial**: 1
- **Other**: 0
- **Total**: 6
Role of peacemakers

Victim 1  Fighting Team 1  Draft 47  Male 56
Belligerent 2  Draft 47  Female 0
Negotiator 45  Regulations 45  Administrators 0  Boy 0
Protester 0  Demonstrators 0  Both 10
Role of people

Victim 1  Fighting Team 1  Draft 47  Male 56
Belligerent 2  Draft 47  Female 0
Negotiator 45  Regulations 45  Administrators 0  Boy 0
Protester 0  Demonstrators 0  Both 10
Gender depicted: Male

Role of people

Victims 4
Fighting 0
Religious 0

Belonging

Religious 0

Protest

1

Total 56

4
### Frame of Protest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>People depicted</th>
<th>Gesture depicted</th>
<th>Type of activity</th>
<th>Number of people depicted</th>
<th>Protestor</th>
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**Role of people:**
- **Adults:** 1
- **Children:** 1
- **Female:** 0
- **Male:** 4
- **Negotiator:** 0
- **Soldier or Rebel:** 1
- **Protester:** 1

**Gender depicted:**
- **Male:** 36
- **Female:** 6

**Role and location:**
- **Adults:** 1
- **Children:** 1
- **Female:** 1
- **Male:** 36
- **Negotiator:** 0
- **Soldier or Rebel:** 1
- **Protester:** 1

**Number of people:**
- **Total:** 36