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**T.C.
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGY IN PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY
AND ITS CINEMATOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION**

by

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ABSTRACT

In our daily life, we live in a world of signs. We have no way of understanding anything except through signs and the codes into which they are organized, but semiotics help us to understand the world of the signs and their messages. If we look at media texts using semiotics methods, we can see how ideology works. Accordingly, the key concept of this study is how we read the dominant ideology in the media texts. The study is limited to the press photography and its uses in cinema as the visual signs in the area are arranged to transmit specific messages relaying on the sense of reality.

The photographic and cinematographic images which show people suffering have a double edged sword, because there is a tremendous contrast between the moment of real pain and our consumption of it. This thesis has a case study about a dedicated photo journalist James Nachtwey who takes war photographs all around the world. We see the famous photo-journalist looking for the decisive moments in a reflexive documentary film "War Photographer". Part of the iconographic status of the press photographer is to shows things the way they are, and this mythology surrounding the press photographer. Their aura is as much susceptible to mass media infiltration as any other product of the media industrie.

Unless we understand that all these films and photographs are being produced within an ideological system and brought to us, there is not much of an importance what we watch because all these images that reach us in whatever form they are being aesthetised and brought to us at the end it does not help us to change anything in the systems that we live in.

KEY WORDS: Semiotics, ideology, press photography, cinema

ÖZET

Günlük hayatımızda işaretler dünyasında yaşarız. Etrafımızdaki şeyleri anlayabilmek için kodlanmış anlamlar ve gizli işaretlerin çözümünden başka yolumuz yoktur ve bu anlamda göstergebilim bu bütün gizli mesajları yorumlamamızı sağlar. Göstergebilim aracılığıyla medyanın kodlanmış anlamlar bombardımanına baktığımız zaman ideolojinin nasıl çalıştığını gerçek anlamıyla görebiliriz. Bu tezin odak noktası belirleyici ideolojinin günlük hayatımızda kodlanmış mesajlar olarak bize nasıl ulaştırıldığını anlamak üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu çalışma, basın fotoğrafçılığı ve onun sinemada anlam ulaştırmak üzere kodlanmış ve gerçeği algılama hissimize dayanan kullanımlarıyla sınırlıdır.

Fotoğrafik ve sinematografik imajlar, acının gerçekten hissedilmesiyle imajlar aracılığıyla anlaşılmaya çalışılması arasında korkunç bir uçurum olmasından dolayı iki tarafı keskin bir kılıç gibidir. Bu tezde savaş fotoğrafçısı James Nachtwey'in dünyanın her tarafında çektiği savaş fotoğraflarıyla ilgili bir belgesel filmin analizi örnek olarak kullanılmaktadır. Ünlü foto muhabirini, yakın tarihin önemli olaylarının ve sonuçlarının amalgamlaşmış yansıtıcı bir belgesel filmde dünyanın dört köşesinde adım adım izlemekteyiz. Ünlü basın fotoğrafçısının mitleşmiş statüsünün bir parçası da kendisinin olaylara yaklaşımı olduğundan, seçimlerini nasıl yaptığı bu belgesel filmin yönetmeni Christian Frei aracılığıyla irdelenmekete ve seyircilere en duyarlı bir şekilde yansıtılmaktadır. Bu iki sanatçının iletmeye çalıştıkları hisler ve düşünceler kitle medyasının sızımına herhangi bir medya endüstrisi yapımı metası kadar açıktır.

Hangi biçimde estetize edilmiş olurlarsa olsunlar, bütün görsel mesajların, filmlerin ve fotoğrafların bir ideolojik system içerisinde üretilerek bize ulaştırıldığını anlamadığımız ve bu anlamda içinde yaşadığımız sistemleri değiştirmede kullanmadığımız sürece; gördüğümüz şeylerin fazla bir anlamı yoktur.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER: göstergebilim, ideoloji, basın fotoğrafı, sinema

1. INTRODUCTION

Meanings are being made everywhere, through a huge variety of media; even our sense of fashion and hair style transmits sending messages about us to the society we live in. The society whether we live in a big city or in a small village, constantly bombards us with images, sounds and meanings of its socio-economic structure, luring us to buy products, influencing us into being this or that or simply setting the standards of our lives for us even our personal appearance.

The main hypotheses of this study is that if the media images are being brought to our attention, whether it be pornography, or a documentary, art, or mundane photographs and films bring into reality that our own behaviours are not our own then they must have been brought to us by others. The case study of this thesis is specifically designed to show that unless we understand these films and photographs the media are producing within an ideological system, and bringin to us, there is not much of an importance what we watch as all these images that reach us in whatever form they are being aestheticised, in the end it does not help us to change anything in the systems within which we live.

Semiotics is a way of analysing meaning by looking at the study of signs and symbols, especially the relations between written or spoken signs and their referents in the physical world or the world of ideas. If we look at the media texts using semiotics methods, we can see how ideology works. Accordingly, the key concept in this study is, how we read the dominant ideology in media texts. Our limitations are related to press photography and uses in cinema; which I will be discussing further in subsequent chapters of this study as it relates to the study of the media.

If we widen the term “media” to include anything which is used as a channel for communicating meanings, a large part of our experience of the world involves interactions with media. The power of the semiotic approach lies partly in its

applicability to the much wider field of meaning-making e.g. fashion, theatre, dance, literature and architecture. Since media in this broad sense is so important to the experience of living in society it is clearly both useful and interesting to find a way of understanding how these media are meaningful to us.

Like every analytical method, semiotics makes use of some technical language, has drawn on insights, which come from other related disciplines and has evolved changing over time. This often reflects the different emphasis of academic approach to the different media, because the study of media is not a homogenous subject. However there are overlaps between currents of critical thinking, as well as relatively discrete areas. In this study, some semiotics terminology is explained, some ideas which it has borrowed from other disciplines are discussed, and some developments of semiotics in response to new challenges and difficulties are assessed.

This thesis does not aim to give a study of semiotics in depth, but will be concerned with how semiotics can be used in press photography as well as its uses in cinema. Gestures, dress codes, newspapers, magazines and so on are all kinds of media which use visual signs. The same principles underline the semiotic study of visual signs and that of linguistic signs. Visual signs also belong to codes, that are arranged in syntagms and selected from paradigms. A photographic sign would differ from other picture signs, which are mainly grounded in icons, by being based on the one of three elementary sign types, the index. Because the photography is an indexical sign, this would bring the issue of photography very much to the core of sign theory. As French philosopher Roland Barthes points out the connotations used in media texts separate the ideological from literal myths, and function as the naturalisation of dominant cultural and historic values, attitudes and beliefs therefore they are perceived as obvious common. However visual signs such as war evident in war photography can not be denied. Photographs collaborate with our extended interpretations giving more than just documentary evidence of an instance, become signifiers in a more subtle interplay of intertextual drama, from which multi-layered meaning can be extrapolated and read to the depth more than other media text.

Photojournalism, and documentary film making are demonstrated to have rich narrative, textual and aesthetic qualities which need to be decoded, for their ideological construction especially within conventional genre and stereotypes.

Ideology, is historically contingent. In Roland Barthes's work, and in the work of many semiotic critics, the analysis of culture and society is carried out closely tied to Marxist ideas. Especially in media texts, ideology is a way of perceiving reality, and society, which assumes that some ideas are self – evidently true, while other ideas are self evidently biased. The mass media are perform their job by distracting people from realities of our society. Ruling classes are in an effort to avert class conflict and changes in political order, in some cases heroes, who reflect the ideology of philosophical idea, are offered to the media consumers. In this context, Barthes explains myth and from his perspective myth is a type of speech about social realities, which supports ideology, by taking these realities outside of the arena of political debate in media texts. From this perspective, it is important to see how Barthes's analysis of myth is connected to the concept of ideology.

Both verbal and visual signs are used in press photography to generate messages about news and their readers. Semiotics can provide a framework for precise discussion about how these signs work. But it will also become clear that press photographs have a highly ideological role, since 'by nature' they are encouraging their readers to consume cultural products, and consumption is one of the fundamental principles, and part of our dominant ideology contemporary society in.

This study takes six chapters which underline my approach to meanings in media texts with their ideological meanings. The first step involves media semiotics, which includes essential semiotic terms that help us to understand meanings in media texts. This part aims is to understand the signs and codes and their relationship with media texts because the study of the media is not a homogenous subject.

In the second and third parts, I have aimed to explain how ideological meanings works in media texts. What happens when that the multi-accentual potential of meaning of the chosen signs (verbal and visual), and their capacity for connotation and myth, is that they are filled in until the signs are closed, apparently uni-accentual. Then chapter four is about press photography, and the relationship between photography and history, documentary photography, press photography and photojournalism; and its ideological practices which made the habitualising effects of capitalist ideology.

The following chapter is about the cinematographic image. It is an outline of cinematographic image and the relationship between photography and cinematography. Then there is a short explanation about documentary film as an introduction to the case study, which is about a photo-journalist who takes war photographs all around the world. We see the famous photo-journalist looking for the decisive moments in the documentary film. In this case study a shot by shot analysis is made aiming that the deconstruction of the ideologicall meaning about which taken from the documentary film's first 10 minutes.

2. SEMIOTICS IN GENERAL

Semiology, is known as the systematic study of signs, which means, literally, “words about signs.” The “semi” in semiology comes from the Greek term *semeion*: sign. Semiotics is not widely institutionalized as an academic discipline. It is a field of study involving many different theoretical stances and methodological tools. According to semiologists signs both are as “thing in themselves” and as “signs” or indicators of other things. The semiologists have developed an elaborate language to analyze signs; which we can adopt some of the concepts in order to understand signs. Language is the most important system among the “system of writing, the alphabet of deaf-mutes, symbolic rites, polite formulas, military signals, etc.” according to Ferdinand de Saussure (Saussure, 1998, p.46).

Media evolve as a means of accomplishing purposes which usually intended to be incidental, therefore it is not surprising when someone who use a medium typically passes this process unquestioned, unproblematic and neutral manner. The more frequently and fluently a medium is used, the more 'transparent' or 'invisible' it tends to become to its users, whereas awareness of a medium may hamper its effectiveness. Daniel Chandler underlines the fact that “when the medium acquires transparency, its potential to fulfil its primary function is greatest”. (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html>) Within the mass media¹ or the *media of interpersonal communication*² the term 'medium' is used in a variety of ways by different theorists, and may include such broad categories as speech and writing or print and broadcasting or relate to specific technical forms.

¹ Radio, television, newspapers, magazines, books, photographs, films and records.

² Telephone, letter, fax, e-mail, video-conferencing, computer-based chat systems.

Semiotics is important for interpreting media texts because it can help us not to take 'reality' for granted as something having a purely objective existence which is independent of our personal interpretation. Studying semiotics teaches us that reality is a system of signs and it can assist us to become more aware of reality as a construction of the roles played by ourselves and others in constructing it. It can also help us to realize that meaning or information is not 'contained' in the world or in books, computers or audio-visual media. In our daily life, we live in a world of signs and we have no way of understanding anything except through signs and the codes into which they are organized but semiotics teach us to understand the world of the signs and their message. Hence, in defining realities, we see how signs serve for ideological functions. When we look at media texts, we deconstruct and contest the realities of signs and this can reveal whose realities are privileged and whose are suppressed.

When we look thorough the semiotic in general two divergent traditions in semiotics stem from Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce. The work of Louis Hjelmslev, Roland Barthes, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Julia Kristeva, Christian Metz and Jean Baudrillard follows in the 'semiological' tradition of Saussure whilst that of Charles W. Morris, Ivor A. Richards, Charles K. Ogden and Thomas Sebeok are in the 'semiotic' tradition of Peirce.

Ferdinand de Saussure focused on *langue* rather than *parole* and his approach was to study the system 'synchronically' as if it were frozen in time (like a photograph) in terms of its evolution over time (like a film).

“Structuralist cultural theorists subsequently adopted this Saussurean priority, focusing on the functions of social and cultural phenomena within semiotic systems. Theorists differ over whether the system precedes and determines usage (structural determinism) or whether usage precedes and determines the system (social determinism) (although note that most structuralists argue that

the system *constrains* rather than completely *determines* usage)” (Chandler, 2002, p. 15).

2.1 Signs Systems

We make meanings through our creation and interpretation of 'signs' in our daily life. Indeed, according to Peirce, 'we think only in signs' (Peirce 1998, p.58). Signs take the form of words, images, sounds, odours, flavours, acts or objects, but such things have no intrinsic meaning and become signs only when we invest them with meaning. “Nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign”, declares Peirce (Peirce 1998, p.58). Anything can be a sign as long as someone interprets it as 'signifying' something - referring to or *standing for* something other than itself. We interpret things as signs largely unconsciously by relating them to familiar systems of conventions. It is this meaningful use of signs which is at the heart of the concerns of semiotics.

A sign must have both a signifier and a signified. “You cannot have a totally meaningless signifier or a completely formless signified” (Saussure 1998, p. 101). The two-part model of the sign, which was offered by Saussure would define the sign as being composed of:

- “a 'signifier' (*signifiant*) - the *form* which the sign takes;
and
- the 'signified' (*signifié*) - the *concept* it represents.

The sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified” (Saussure 1998, p.105) (see Figure 2.2.1). Saussure believed that we make use of structures of signs which communicate meaning for us. Just as language can be

investigated to discover how language is structured as a system, allowing us to communicate with linguistic signs, the same kind of investigation can be carried out in any medium in which meanings are generated by a system of signs.

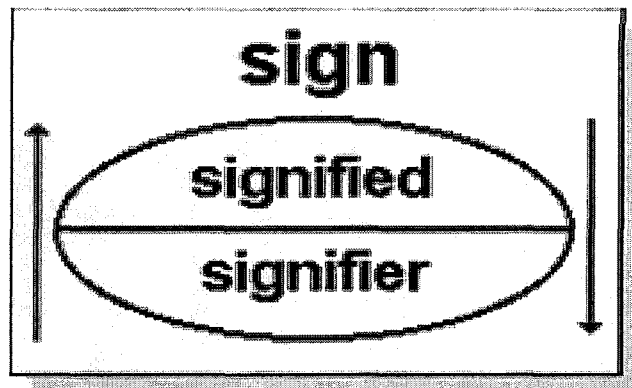


Figure 2.1 Saussure's model of the sign
(Saussure, 1998, p.110)

“Saussure's linguistics shows the way in which semiotics operates by seeking to understand the system of language which underlies all the particular instances of parole in a signifying system. Semioticians search for the systems which underlie the ability of signs like words, images, items of clothing, foods, cars, or whatever to carry certain meanings in society”
(Bignell, 2002b, p.9).

In the most influential terminology, that of Ferdinand de Saussure(1998), the signifier in speech is the sound-image, and the signified is the concept. “They are distinct because the relationship between any one signifier and its signified is arbitrary” (p. 111). The arbitrary nature of the sign explains in turn why the social fact alone can create a linguistic system. The community is necessary if values that owe their existence solely to usage and general acceptance are to be set up (Saussure, 1998). “A given culture displays, in any of its activities, accepted correlations

between representaments (or expressions), each becoming in turn the interpret of the other”(Eco, 1984, p. 197).

According to Hartley (1994), sequences of the signs are like a map. Neither news, photographs, films nor language are transparent windows on the world. All of them are more like maps of the world and this allows us to recognize the terrain through it because a map differs from the terrain it indicates in very obvious ways, without ceasing to maintain a relationship. “While we find our way in order with a map, we have to understand its own distinctive codes, conventions, signs and symbols” (p.15) The arbitrariness of the sign is a radical concept because it proposes the autonomy of language in relation to reality. “We can use language 'to say what isn't in the world, as well as what is” (Chandler, 2002, p.37).

Furthermore, the pragmatist philosopher and logician Charles Sanders Peirce formulated his own model of the sign, of 'semiotic' and of the taxonomies of signs independent from the work of Saussure who was formulating his model of the sign across the Atlantic, of 'semiology' and of a structuralist methodology. Peirce offered a triadic model, in contrast to Saussure's model of the sign in the form of a 'self-contained dyad':

- “The *Representamen*: the form which the sign takes (not necessarily material);
- An *Interpretant*: *not* an interpreter but rather the sense made of the sign;
- An *Object*: to which the sign refers” (Peirce, 1998, p. 89).

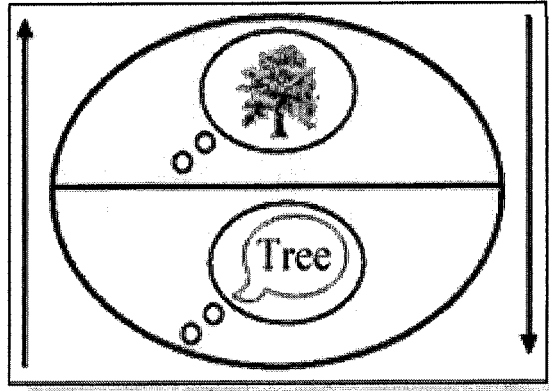


Figure 2.2 Concept and sound pattern

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html>)

2.2 Visual Signs

Most of the account of linguistic signs come directly from Saussure, but some of the principles and terms which we will accommodate in the following chapters derive from the semiotic work of Peirce. In particular, the semiotic analysis of images and other non-verbal signs is made much more effective by some of Peirce's distinctions. Although language is the most striking form of human sign production, our social world is pervaded by messages which contain visual as well as linguistic signs. Newspapers, photographs, films, television programmes and so on are all kind of media which use visual signs. Most semioticians emphasize, the role of convention in relation to signs. Conventions such as in photographs and films are also built in ways which we must learn to 'read' as the same principles underlie the semiotic study of visual signs and linguistic signs.

Peirce (1998) noted that "a photograph is also perceived as resembling which it depicts, although a photograph is not only iconic but also indexical" (p.58). Instantaneous photographs, are very instructive, since it is known that "in certain respects they are exactly like the objects they represent". This occurs because the

photographs have been produced “under such circumstances that they are physically forced to correspond point by point to nature” (p.58).

When we look at film we can see that; film use all three forms: icon³, symbol⁴, and index⁵; at first sight iconic signs seem the dominant form, but some filmic signs are fairly arbitrary, such as dissolves which signify that a scene is someone's memory to follow because it is closely related to perception. (Chandler, 2002) However, images serving such communicative purposes may be more open to interpretation than words. For instance, a photograph is equivalent to arbitrariness 'conventionality' (dependence on social and cultural conventions).

Some media draw on several interacting sign systems: television and film, for example, utilize verbal, visual, auditory and locomotive signs. Eco (1976) notes that, “each medium is already ‘charged with cultural signification’ because the medium is not neutral” (p. 267). For instance, when we look at forms of representation we can see that photographic and audio-visual media are almost invariably regarded as more 'real' than other.

The concept of modality involves reality, representation of it and the medium for interpreters. Modality mainly refers to the reality status accorded to or claimed by a sign, text or genre. In making sense of a text, its interpreters make ‘modality judgement’ about it, drawing on their knowledge of the world and of the medium. Modality judgements involve comparisons of textual representations with models drawn from the everyday world and with models based on the genre; they are

³ Sound and image

⁴ Speech and writing

⁵ As the effect of what is filmed

therefore obviously dependent on relevant experience of both the world and the medium.

The media which are typically judged to be the most 'realistic' are photographic especially film and television. According to James Monaco (1981) in film, the signifier and the signified are almost identical... "The power of language systems is that there is a very great difference between the signifier and the signified; the power of film is that there is not" (pp.127-8). Photography, film and television being less reliant than writing on symbolic signs and have less of an obvious gap between the signifier and its signified, which make them seem to offer reflections of reality. But photography does not reproduce its object: it "abstracts from, and mediates the actual" (Burgin 1982a, p.61). A photograph or a film does not simply record an event, but is only one of an infinite number of possible representations and we do not mistake one for the other we do need to remind ourselves that situation. "All media texts, however 'realistic', are representations rather than simply recordings or reproductions of reality" (Chandler, 2004). The role of signs as members of code groupings means that many signs are heavily loaded with a significance which come from the code in which they are used.

2.3 Codes

Cultures and codification systems that play an important role in our lives because codes are highly complex patterns of associations and we all learn in a given society and culture. These codes, in our minds, affect the way we interpret signs and symbols found in the media and the way we live. "To be socialized and be given a culture means, in essence, to be taught a number of codes, most of which are quite specific to a person's social class, geographical location, ethnic group, and so on, though these subcodings may exist within a more general code, such as 'American

cowboys' in a film for example" (Berger, 1999, p.23). Codes organize signs into meaningful systems which correlate signifiers and signifieds. Codes transcend single texts, linking them together in an interpretative framework.

We usually see the world with our own habitual ways. Mass media uses textual codes which including photographic, televisual, filmic, radio, newspaper and magazine codes, both technical and conventional (including format). Social codes which include verbal codes⁶, bodily codes⁷, *commodity codes*⁸ and interpretative codes which include entional (including format).

Semioticians try to find to identify codes and the tacit rules and constraints which underlie the production and interpretation of meaning within each code. They have found it convenient to divide codes into groups. "Different theorists favour different taxonomies, and whilst structuralists often follow the 'principle of parsimony' - seeking to find the smallest number of groups deemed necessary - 'necessity' is defined by *purposes*. No taxonomy is innocently 'neutral' and devoid of ideological assumptions." (Chandler, 2004) A code depends upon the agreement of its users.

In this context, for example Foucault's works in 3. specific discourses are about systems of representational codes for constructing and maintaining particular forms of reality such as clinic, medicine, government, science. His main work is dominant in specific historical and socio-cultural contexts and regime of truth. Foucault emphasized "The Archeology of Knowledge" on *power relations*, and

⁶ phonological, syntactical, lexical, prosodic and paralinguistic subcodes

⁷ bodily contact, proximity, physical orientation, appearance, facial expression, gaze, head nods, gestures

⁸ fashions, clothing

signifiers of some interpretative communities are privileged and *dominant* whilst others are marginalized. Foreigners from other cultures and marginalized like gays, lesbians within a culture have the non-employment of dominant codes is a mark of those who are 'outsiders'(Foucault, 1974). On the other hand, social conventions ensure that signs cannot mean whatever an individual wants them to mean. Textual codes do not determine the meanings of texts but dominant codes do tend to constrain them. However, in any medium also involve different purposes, pleasures, audiences, modes of interpretation and text-reader relationships.

Codes are variable between different cultures and social groups but at the same time they are historically develop. If we look at a country photograph in a newspaper which was reported in the 1940s, it would be interesting to see how the city architecture or people's dressing were. In historical perspective, many of the codes of a new medium evolve from those of related existing media (for instance, many televisual techniques owe their origins to their use in film and photography). New conventions also develop to match the technical potential of the medium and its uses "Some codes are unique to (or at least characteristic of) a specific medium or to closely-related media (e.g. 'fade to black' in film and television); others are shared by (or similar in) several media; and some are drawn from cultural practices which are not tied to a medium" (Monaco 1981, p.146).

Cinema and photography have codes of composition of the picture and codes of movement in the picture. These codes usually originate in the culture at large, some of them in other media and television but all of them are established by convention. Codes of movement include movement of the subject and the camera. When we compare film with codification in studio news presentation is rigid: lighting is neutral, camera is static, close up framing.

John Hartley, explain us that, television news' codes show a similar characteristic. "It signals by the formal, static 'impersonal' semiotic of the newsreader and the studio that it is serious." Hartley (1994) shows that, the stories are told in entertaining language, and film is used where possible to brighten things up. "There are quite subtle ways in which the serious tone is undermined: certain male newsreaders compensate for the soberness of their dress by the loudness of their ties"(p. 47).

Most semioticians emphasize that photography involves visual codes, and that film and television involve both visual and aural codes. 'The Photographic Message' (1961), Roland Barthes (1977) famously declared that "the photographic image... is a message without a code" (p.17). In contrast to film, Barthes argues that in *Writing Degree Zero* (1968), photographic codes served the purpose of fabricating reality in accord with the bourgeois view of the world covertly propagating bourgeois values as self-evident. Barthes developed his argument in his essay "Rhetoric of the Image" (1964) and this line of argument in relation to the medium of photography arguing that because it appears to record rather than to transform or signify, it serves an ideological function. Photography "seems to find in nature the signs of culture... masking the constructed meaning under the appearance of the given meaning" (Barthes 1977, pp. 45-6).

2.4 Syntagmatic Analysis

Semiotics is as an approach to textual analysis, and in this form it is characterized by a concern with structural analysis. However, Saussure's emphasize that "meaning arises from the differences between signifiers; these differences are of two kinds: the vertical axis of choice or selection, which is called the paradigmatic axis, and there is the horizontal axis of chain, or combination, which is called the

syntagmatic axis” (Saussure 1983, p.121). Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations work at all levels of language.

According to Saussure, syntagmatic relations refer intertextuality to other signifiers *co-present* within the text, whilst paradigmatic relations refer intertextually to signifiers which are *absent* from the text (Saussure 1983, p.122). Syntagms are often defined as 'sequential' (and thus temporal - as in speech and music), but they can represent spatial relationships. Saussure himself (who emphasized 'auditory signifiers' which 'are presented one after another' and 'form a chain') noted that visual signifiers (he instanced nautical flags) 'can exploit more than one dimension simultaneously' (Saussure 1983, p.70).

Photography, painting, and drawing have spatial syntagmatic relations. Cinema, television, world wide web include both spatial and temporal syntagms. “Filmic syntagms are not confined to such temporal syntagms (which are manifested in montage: the sequencing of shots) but include the spatial syntagms found also in still photography (in *mise-en-scène*: the composition of individual frames)” (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem02.html>).

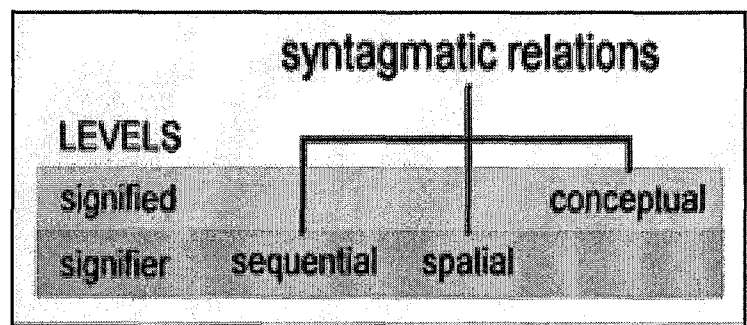


Figure 2.3 Syntagmatic Relations

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem03.html>)

However, this is not to suggest that structural analysis is worthless. Analysts still engage in formal studies of narrative, film and television editing and so on which are based on structuralist principles. Syntagms are often logocentrically defined purely as sequential or temporal 'chains'. Whilst most obviously associated with art and photography, they are no less structurally important alongside temporal syntagms in media such as television, cinema. Unlike sequential syntagmatic relations, which are essentially about before and after, spatial syntagmatic relations include:

- above/below,
- in front/behind,
- close/distant,
- left/right (which can also have sequential significance)
- north/south/east/west, and
- inside/outside (or centre/periphery).

Such structural relationships are not semantically neutral. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have shown how fundamental 'orientational metaphors' are routinely linked to key concepts in a culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.5 Paradigmatic Analysis

A paradigm is a 'vertical' set of units (each unit being a sign or word), from which the required one is selected. "A paradigm itself is defined by a certain similarity between its units – for example, words appropriate to 'a family meal time'. The units are clearly distinguished from each other within the paradigm" (Fiske&Hartley, 2004, p. 34).

The medium itself as a sign that derives meaning from the way it differs from the other media in its paradigm. Fiske&Hartley explain that the very same visual image will mean slightly different things depending on the medium through which that image is channelled. "A sign of two children leaving school could exist in one medium as a 'photograph in a family album'. That same photograph could, however, appear in another medium as a 'poster on a national safety campaign". (Fiske&Hartley, 2004, p. 35-36). Therefore, depending on the medium which same image is channelled, the very same visual image will mean slightly different things or has different kinds of meaning. There is a set or paradigm of different media because there is a set or paradigm of letters from which to choose to make up words.

In the case of film, paradigms include ways of changing shot such as cut, fade, dissolve and wipe. Our interpretation of an individual shot depends on both paradigmatic analysis and syntagmatic analysis. "The same shot used within another sequence of shots could have quite a different preferred reading. Actually, filmic syntagms are not confined to such temporal syntagms (which are manifested in *montage*: the sequencing of shots) but include the spatial syntagms found also in still photography" (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem03.html>).

Paradigmatic analysis needs us to compare the effect of close-up with that of long shot, of dim back lighting with that of bright front. "We have to imagine how the same 'reality' could have been shot differently in order to understand why it was shot as it was" (Fiske&Hartley, 2004, p. 39).

Paradigmatic analysis can applied to popular culture. Umberto Eco analysed the James Bond novels in terms of a series of oppositions: Bond/villain; West/Soviet Union; anglo-saxon/other countries; ideals/cupidity; chance/planning; excess/moderation; perversion/innocence; loyalty/disloyalty (Eco, 1966). John Fiske

makes considerable analytical use of such oppositions in relation to mass media texts (Fiske, 1987)

Hartley emphasized that paradigmatic connotation exploits our expectations of what might have been chosen, in order to compare it with what is there. “A news-photo showing a male cabinet minister in an open-necked check shirt connotes relaxation, informality, and the home life he enjoys away from Westminster, largely because we expect to see him in a suit and tie. This thwarted expectation makes his informal get-up more significant”(Hartley, 1994, p. 26).

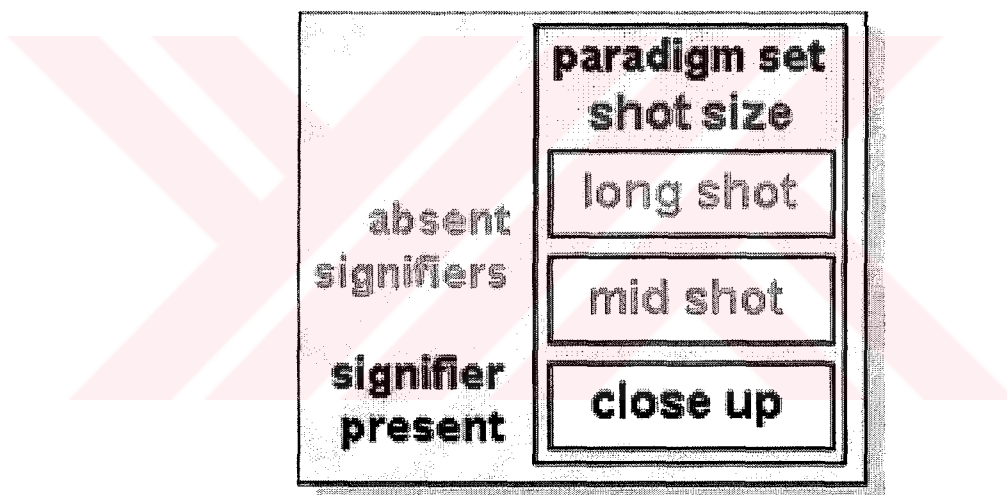


Figure 2.4 Paradigm set

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html>)

Media texts often connect one signified idea with another, or one signifier with another, in order to attach connotations to people and things and endow them with mythic meanings. “There are two ways in which these associations work. One is called ‘metaphor’ and works by making one signified appear similar to another different signified. The other called ‘metonymy’ and works by replacing one signified with another related signified” (Bignell, p.17). Lakoff and Johnson explain that about

metaphor “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p.5).

In semiotic term, a metaphor involves one signified, acting as a signifier referring to a different signified. In daily life, our attention is drawn to an unusual metaphor. Metaphor is a code which relates ostensibly to how things are represented rather than to what is represented. This kind of transparency tends to anaesthetize us to the way in which the culturally available stock of tropes acts as an anchor linking us to the dominant ways of thinking within our society (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Metaphors need not be verbal. “In film, a pair of consecutive shots is metaphorical when there is an implied comparison of the two shots. For instance, a shot of an aeroplane followed by a shot of a bird flying would be metaphorical, implying that the aeroplane is a bird”

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem07.html>).

On the other hand, the formal frame of any visual image (painting, drawing, photograph, film or television frame) functions as a synecdoche in that it suggests that the world outside the frame is carrying on in the same manner as the world depicted within it. Foucault argues that about metaphor’s evaluation in language:

“Originally everything had a name - a proper or peculiar name. Then the name became attached to a single element of the thing, and became applicable to all the other individual things that also contained that element: it is no longer a particular oak that is called tree, but anything that includes at least a trunk and branches. The name also became attached to a conspicuous circumstance:

night came to designate, not the end of this particular day, but the period of darkness separating all sunsets from all dawns. Finally, it attached itself to analogies: everything was called a leaf that was as thin and flexible as the leaf of a tree” (Foucault 1970, pp. 110).



3. MEDIA SEMIOTICS

Meanings in the media are communicated by signs, and semiotics is concerned with the question of how signs work. Semiotic was first developed as a way of understanding how language works, and language is the medium which we use most often. We use language to communicate by speaking and by writing, and much of 'the media' uses language either as the primary medium of communication, or to support other media of communication like photographs, films. In this chapter key ideas from semiotic approach to the media are explained.

3.1 Intertextuality

Saussure stressed the importance of the relationship of signs to each other, one of the weaknesses of structuralist semiotics is the tendency to treat individual texts as discrete, closed-off entities and to focus exclusively on internal structures. Even where texts are studied as a corpus, the overall generic structures tend themselves to be treated as strictly bounded.

However, the semiotic notion of intertextuality, introduced by Julia Kristeva (1980) and associated primarily with poststructuralist theorists. Kristeva refers to texts in terms of two axes: "a horizontal axis connecting the author and reader of a text, and a vertical axis, which connects the text to other texts" (p.69). Intertextuality mainly involves in using in texts of materials from other, previously created texts. After Kristeva the concept has become much more a tool for analysing the every cultural product. "Unconscious intertextuality involves the use of materials of one kind or another that become common currency, that pervade cultures, and find their way, without anyone being aware of it, into texts. Some literary theorists argue, in fact, that all creative work is ultimately, intertextual. That is, all texts are related to other texts, to varying degrees" (Berger, 1991, pp. 20-21).

Each text exists in relation to others and texts owe more to other texts than to their own makers. Barthes (1977) announced 'the death of the author' and 'the birth of the reader', declaring that 'a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination' in 1968 (p.148). He stated that the text is a tissue of quotations. "The writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original. His only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them" (Barthes 1977, p.146). Outlining of texts with another texts has implications not only for their writers but also for their readers.

Foucault (1974) also contributed to the concept of intertextuality and declared that: "The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hands... Its unity is variable and relative" (p.23). He explained that, because "the frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network..." (Foucault 1974, p.23). Form of intertextuality credits its audience with the necessary experience to make sense of such allusions and offers them the pleasure of recognition.

"Within a single code (e.g. a photographic code) syntagmatic relationships would be simple. However, a text may involve several codes: a newspaper photograph, for instance, may have a caption" (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem09.html>). The notion of intertextuality emphasizes that texts have contexts and problematizes the idea of a text having boundaries and questions the dichotomy of 'inside' and 'outside': where does a text 'begin' and 'end'? What is 'text' and what is 'context'? In this respect, Barthes's effort to conceptualize the text image relationship, which are provides the

explanation text/image relationships Barthes (1977) used the term “relay” to describe text/image relationship (p. 41). He did not coin the term for the paradoxical case where the image is constructed according to the text. Awareness of the importance of intertextuality should lead us to examine the functions of images and written or spoken text used in close association within a text not only in terms of their respective codes, but in terms of their overall rhetorical orchestration.

Barthes (1977) introduced us another important concept of “anchorage” (pp.38). Linguistic elements can serve to 'anchor' (or constrain) the preferred readings of an image: “to fix the floating chain of signifieds” (Barthes 1977, pp. 39). Barthes introduced this concept of textual anchorage primarily in relation to advertisements, but it applies of course to other genres such as captioned photographs, maps, narrated television and film documentaries, and cartoons and comics with their speech and thought 'balloons'. Barthes argued that the principal function of anchorage was ideological (Barthes 1977, p. 40). This is perhaps most obvious when photographs are used in contexts such as newspapers. Photograph captions typically present themselves as neutral labels.

3.2 Encoding and Decoding

Contemporary semioticians refer to the creation and interpretation of texts as 'encoding' and 'decoding' respectively. These terms are intended to emphasize the importance of the semiotic codes involved, and thus to social factors. 'Decoding' involves not simply basic recognition and comprehension of what a text 'says' in the context of semiotics, but also the interpretation and its meaning with reference to relevant codes.

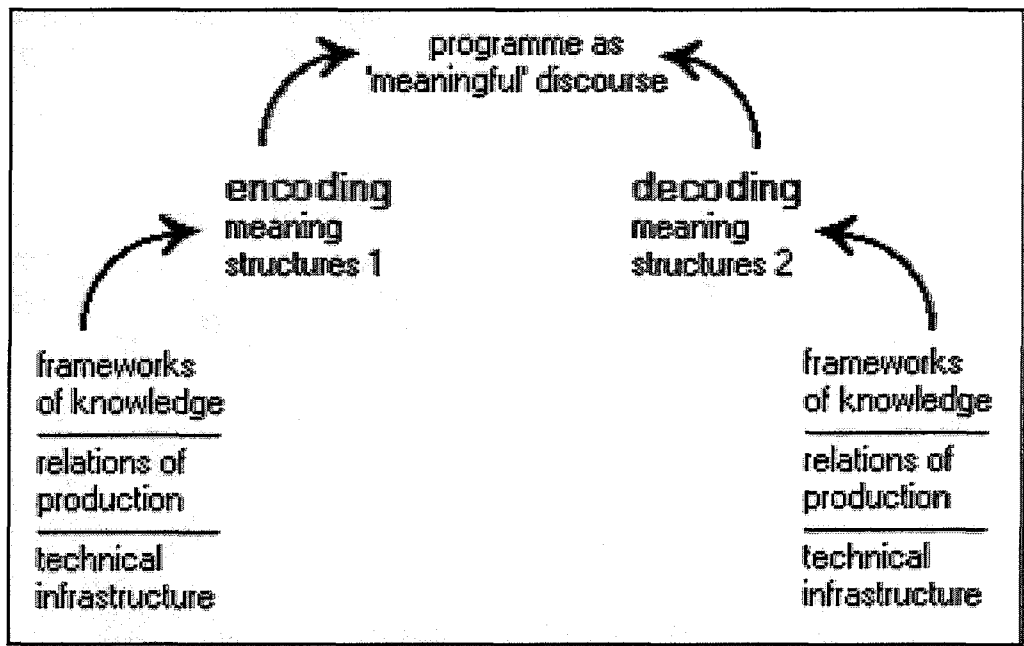


Figure 3.1 Encoding/Decoding

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html>)

British sociologist Stuart Hall proposed a model of mass communication which highlighted the importance of active interpretation within relevant codes in his essay on 'Encoding/Decoding'⁹ (Hall 1996). He rejected textual determinism, "the moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding' though only 'relatively autonomous' in relation to the communicative process as a whole, are determinate moments"(Hall, 1996, p.167). When we compare his model with earlier models, there is a contrast because he gave a significant role to the 'decoder' as well as to the 'encoder'. Hall (1996) referred to various phases in the Encoding/Decoding model of communication as moments.

Hall (1996) stressed that three hypothetical interpretative codes for the reader of a text; dominant (or 'hegemonic') reading which the reader fully shares the text's

⁹ originally published as 'Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse' in 1973.

code and accepts and reproduces the “preferred reading” in such a stance the code seems “natural” and “transparent”. The second one is “negotiated reading” and the reader partly shares the text’s code and broadly accepts the preferred reading, but sometimes resists and modifies it in a way which reflects their own position, and experiences. The third one is “oppositional reading” and the reader, whose social situation places them in a directly oppositional relation to the dominant code, understands the preferred reading but does not share the text's code and rejects this reading, bringing to bear an alternative frame of reference (pp. 174-175).

Hall (1996) argues that messages have a complex structure of dominance’ because at each stage they are ‘imprinted’ by institutional power relations. This analysis allows Hall to insert a semiotic paradigm into a social framework, clearing the way both for further textualist and ethnographic work. The communication circuit is also a circuit which reproduces a pattern of domination. Furthermore, a message can only be received at a particular stage if it is recognizable or appropriate – though there is space for a message to be used or understood at least somewhat against the grain. This means that power relations at the point of production for example, will loosely fit those at the point of consumption.

4. MYTH IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL MEANINGS

How can we explain ideological criticism and why is it important? The matter is complicated by the fact that ideology is a difficult and complex concept. By ideological criticism, we refer to any kind of criticism that bases its evaluation of texts or other phenomena being discussed on issues, generally of a political or socioeconomic nature that are of consuming interest to a particular group of people. Traditionally, the term ideology refers to a systematic and all-inclusive socio political explanation of what goes on society (Berger, 2000).

Semiotics teaches us that what is most obvious and ordinary is where the greatest cultural significance lies: Althusser and Gramsci have both alerted us to the ideological work performed by common sense, a work performed by the phrase itself, for its sense is, of course, not common but class-based, however well disguised its class origin in the ideas of the ruling class.

“Incorporation is a term which used in ideological analysis. This refers to the process by which the dominant classes take elements of resistance from the subordinate and use them to maintain the status quo, rather than to challenge it. They incorporate resistances into the dominant ideology and thus deprive them of their oppositionality. ‘Don’t worry be hippie. The 60s attitude is back in clothes, music, food and social awareness’ is an example of incorporation. The social movements of the 1960s, from the freedom rides against racism in the US South to the worldwide protest against the Vietnam War and the student antigovernment demonstrations that swept Europe and US, have all been reduced to fashion, musical style, and the safe, respectable social awareness of ecology. The political oppositionality of that decade has been defused and incorporated into the dominant ideology” (Fiske, 2002, p.180).

When we examine that, media and popular culture is the ideological content of particular films, photographs, newspapers, magazines, television shows, songs,

advertisements. “People with different ideological positions see different things in a given text, which is why qualitative media research is often so complicated. That is because works of art are enormously complex and rich and often are susceptible to many different modes of analysis and interpretation” (Berger, 2000, p.90).

“All socio-ideological analyses agree on the deceptive nature of literature (which deprives them of a certain pertinence): the work is finally always written by a socially disappointed or powerless group, beyond the battle because of its historical, economic, political situation; literature is the expression of this disappointment” (Barthes, 1999, p. 39).

In sum, when we look at capitalist perspective, we can see that, capitalism is the system that, above all others, produces commodities, so making commodities seem natural is at the heart of much ideological practice. “We learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities produced to meet them; we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them” (Fiske, 2002, p.182).

4.1 Denotation and Connotation

Denotation is the first order of signification: there is a sign consisting of a signifier and a signified. Second-order of signification is connotation which uses the denotative sign as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified. In this framework connotation is a sign which derives from the signifier of a denotative sign.

This tends to suggest that denotation is an underlying and primary meaning a notion which many other commentators have challenged. Barthes gave a priority to connotation, and noted that it was no longer easy to separate the signifier from the signified, the ideological from the 'literal' (Barthes 1977).

On the other hand, Barthes (1974) came to the conclusion that “denotation is not the first meaning, but pretends to be so; under this illusion, it is ultimately no

more than the last of the connotations, the superior myth by which the text pretends to return to the nature of language, to language as nature” (p. 9).

In visual media texts, connotation can work both syntagmatically and paradigmatically; it can result from the cumulative force of a sequence, or from implied comparison with absent alternative choices. Hartley (1994) gives us an extreme example of a syntagmatic connotation is the famous line “the horror, the horror” at the end of both Conrad’s “Heart of Darkness” and Coppola’s film-version of it, “Apocalypse Now”. “In both, the cumulative build-up of the whole story is connoted in Kurtz’s final utterance” (p.27).

When we look at photography we can see similar situation with cinema. Fiske (1982) explain that “denotation is what is photographed, connotation is how it is photographed” (p. 91). However, in photography, denotation is foregrounded at the expense of connotation. “The photographic signifier seems to be virtually identical with its signified, and the photograph appears to be a 'natural sign' produced without the intervention of a code” (Hall 1980, p.132). Barthes (1974) initially argued that only at a level higher than the 'literal' level of denotation, could a code be identified - that of connotation.

4.2 Ideology as a Concept

In the 1840s Karl Marx and Frederic Engels coined the term “ideology” in order to describe the dominant ideas and representations in a given social order. The ruling ideas of the hegemonic aristocratic classes during the feudal period were ‘ideas of piety’, ‘honour’, ‘valour’, and ‘military chivalry’. Whereas during the capitalist era, articulating the ideology of the newly flourishing bourgeois class, which was consolidating its class power, were: ‘values of individualism’, ‘profit’, ‘competition’, and of course ‘the market’ became dominant. As Kellner and Durham point out, in our high tech and global capitalism, conceptions that further the interests of the new

governing elites in the global economy are becoming the prevailing ideas: ideas that promote 'globalization', 'new technologies', and an 'unrestrained market society' (Kellner and Durham, 2003).

It's original meaning, looked at by the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci (2003) "Ideology" is an aspect of "sensationalism", i.e. eighteenth-century French materialism, literally meaning "science of ideas". Since analysis was the only method recognized and applied by science it means "analysis of ideas", that is, "investigation of the origin of ideas". Broken down into their original "elements" ideas could be nothing other than "sensations" and therefore ideas derived from sensations (p.77).

Gramsci's concept of ideology passed from meaning "science of ideas" and "analysis of the origin of ideas" to meaning a specific "system of ideas" needs to be examined historically. From his perspective the meaning which the term "ideology" has assumed in Marxist philosophy, implicitly contains a negative value judgment and excludes the possibility that for its founders the original ideas should be sought in sensations, and therefore, in the last analysis, in psychology. He emphasized that "Ideology" itself must be analysed historically, in the terms of the philosophy of praxis, as a superstructure.

"It seems to me that there is a potential element of error in assessing the value of ideologies, due to the fact that the name ideology is given both to the necessary superstructure of a particular structure and to the arbitrary elucubrations of particular individuals. The bad sense of the word has become widespread, with the effect that the theoretical analysis of the concept of ideology has been modified and denatured" (Gramsci, 2003, p. 45).

The theory of ideology as a practice was developed by Louis Althusser a second generation Marxist who had been influenced by the ideas of Saussure and Freud, and who thus brought theories of structure and of the unconscious to bear upon

Marx's more economic theories. Althusser, who account for the individual as constructed by ideology and by social structures: "one development of semiology no longer deals with systems of signs; it deals with the formation of the subject in language, with the internalization of social contradictions and of their contradiction with the superstructure"(Ellis, 1996, p.186).

As the twentieth century progressed, it became more and more clear that capitalism was not going to be overthrown by internal revolution, and that the socialist revolution in Russia was not going to spread to the rest of Europe and the western world. Yet capitalism still disadvantaged the majority of its members and exploited them for the benefit of a minority.

"Marxist thinkers such as Althusser developed a more sophisticated theory of ideology that freed it from such a close cause-and-effect relationship with the economic base of society, and redefined it as an ongoing and all-pervasive set of practices in which all classes participate, rather than a set of ideas imposed by one class upon the other" (Fiske, 2002, p. 174).

Althusser explain that, all classes participate in these practices does not mean that the practices themselves no longer serve the interests of the dominant, for they most certainly do: it means is that ideology is much more effective than Marx gave it credit. Because ideology works from within rather than without – it is deeply inscribed in the ways of thinking and ways of living of all classes (Althusser, 2000).

Another term from Althusser's perspective is "hailing", which he calls and it is one of the most ubiquitous and insidious ideological practices. "Hailing" means addressing someone in all communication, and in addressing them it places them in a social relationship. "In recognizing ourselves as the addressee and in responding to the communication, we participate in our own social, and therefore ideological, construction" (Althusser, 2000, p. 63).

When we look at how Althusser (2000) interprets Marx's idea, we can recognize that the superstructure is not only determined by the base but by numerous secondary, incidental and contingent factors of a local and external kind. His real concerns lies with Marxist theory, and the need to secure its philosophical foundations. He sees himself carrying on the tradition of Marxist science established by Marx, and trying to resolve theoretical problems left unresolved, such as the absence of a theory of ideology.

Furthermore Althusser (2000) emphasizes that the societies have to be thought of in terms of relations between structures rather than an essence and its expressions. The economic base or mode of production, and the superstructure or politics and ideology, form structures which are related to each other in definite ways. "The political and ideological superstructures are not mere expressions of the essence of the economic base. In the last instance, which is a logical not a chronological concept, the economic base will be determinant due to its effects upon other structures and the dynamics of the society overall" (Strinati, 1998, p.149). According to Strinati, from Althusser's perspective, economic determinism never exist in a pure form in the real world, that is the reason for its existence and effects are always difficult to decide upon and to disentangle from other influences. That is the point how Althusser interprets Marx's idea that the superstructure is not only determined by the base but by numerous secondary, incidental and contingent factors of a local and external kind (Strinati, 1998).

In today's world, is Althusser's theory still important? Fiske explains our question from his own perspective, "Althusser's theory of ideology as practice is a development of Marx's theory of it as false consciousness, but still emphasizes its role of maintaining the power of the minority over the majority by non-coercive means." (Fiske, 2002, p. 176). From this perspective Gramsci's (2003) concept of hegemony has taken major role after Althusser to explain us "hegemony". Hegemony is, which we might like to think of as ideology as struggle. Furthermore, hegemony involves the constant winning and rewinning of the consent of the system that

subordinates them. On the other hand, Gramsci emphasizes resistance and instability in society more than Marx or Althusser.

For Gramsci, the ruling intellectual and cultural forces of the era constitute form of hegemony, or domination by ideas and cultural forms which induce consent to the rule of the leading groups in a society. His famous book *Prison Notebooks* (2003), he was defining his concept of hegemony, as Italian fascism which supplanted the previous liberal bourgeois regime in Italy and its control of the state and multiplied, often repressive, influence the media and other social, cultural and political institutions.

According Gramsci, “hegemony” is never a permanent state of affairs and never unconstested. He distances himself from both the “ruling class/ruling ideas” propositions of “The German Ideology” and the functionalist conception of “dominant ideology” in Althusser’s essay. “Hegemony is always the (temporary) mastery of particular theatre of struggle. It marks a shift in the dispositions of contending forces in a field of struggle and the articulation of that field into a tendency” (Hall, 1996, p.36).

“Hegemony is the means by which their consent to the system that disadvantages them is won, but its victories are never complete or stable: because of the contradictory experiences of everyday life the struggle is never over, and any ground won by the dominant ideology has to be constantly defended and actively held on to” (Fiske, 2002; p. 184).

The ideological theories of Marx and Althusser are useful in revealing how ubiquitous and insidious the working of the dominant ideology are, but this emphasis leads them to ignore or underestimate the extent of its struggle and the resistance it meets. Both theories tend to assume that ideological power is well-nigh irresistible. Ideological analysis, therefore, tends to focus on the coherence of texts, the way that all their elements come together to tell same story, that of white, patriarchal

capitalism. “The theory of hegemony, however, extends this focus on the forces of domination by encouraging us to look for moments of weakness in texts, for contradictions in their ideological smoothness and coherence”(Fiske, 2002, p. 184).

In this point, we should ask that question; how society react the hegemony in their daily life or is there any react in any society? Fiske (2002) emphasizes that hegemony is necessary and has to work, because the dominant ideology, of self and social relations, with social experience of subordinated groups; by class, gender, race, age or any other factors, constantly contradicts it. In other words, the dominant ideology is constantly resisted and has to overcome this resistance in order to win people’s consent to the social order that it is promoting. “These resistances may be overcome, but they are never eliminated. So any hegemonic victory, any consent that it wins, is necessarily unstable; it can never be taken for granted, so it has to be constantly rewon and struggled over” (p. 176).

4.3 Myth and Ideology

Depicting ideology at work, Fiske asks the question of where do the myths and connotations arise? He points out that the meanings are produced in the interactions between text and audience and that reading does not simply equalize with the meaning of the message like a can opener would reveal the content of a tin, but rather is a dynamic act in which both elements contribute equally producing meaning.

“When the text and the audience are members of a tightly culture or subculture, the interaction is smooth and effortless: the connotations and myths upon which the text draws fit closely, if not exactly, with those of the audience members. The reader and the text together produce the preferred meaning, and in this collaboration the reader is constituted as someone with a particular set of relationship to the dominant value system and to the rest of society” (Fiske, 2002; p. 164).

Any discourse, which seeks to 'close' the potential of signs, which are necessarily multi-accentual and to prefer one evaluative accent over another is ideological. As Hartley puts it:

“...such discourses present *evaluative* differences and differences in *fact*. Signs become an arena for the class struggle, and social forces which represent contending interests fight out their differences in discourse. However, (...) as with most struggles, there is at any one time a winner – certain potentialities within signs are conspicuous by their absence from what counts, or else by their apparent error” (Hartley, 1984, p. 24).

On the one hand the user of the sign, and on the other, the myths and connotations of the sign, constitute a relationship that is ideological. “Usage of sign reinforces the life of its second-order meanings both in the culture and in the user” (Fiske, 2002, p.171). By using the sign the user keeps it in currency, but only by responding to the use in communication maintains the myths and connoted values of the culture.

Through the acceptance of common, shared myths and values, signs enable members of a culture to identify their membership of that culture, thus performing the function of cultural identification. “Signs give myths and values concrete form and in so doing both endorse them and make them public. In using the signs we maintain and give life to the ideology, but we are also formed by that ideology, and by our response to ideological signs” (Fiske, 2002, p.171).

From the point of view of its semantic properties, ideology is not a particular type of message, or a class of social discourses, but it is one of the many levels of organization of the messages. “Ideology is therefore a level of signification, which can be present in any type of message, even in the scientific discourse. Any material

of social communication is susceptible to an ideological reading”(Heck, 1996, p. 122).

We began to replace semantic properties and ideology with a more active conception of the audience of reading and of the relation between how media messages were encoded, the moment of the encoded text and the variation of audience de-codings. “The question of the media and ideologies returned to the agenda a concern with the role, which the media play in the circulation and securing of dominant ideological definitions and representations” (Hall, 1996, p. 118).

Myth, means things used as signs to communicate social and political message about the world as Barthes uses the term. The message always involves the distortion or forgetting of alternative messages, so that myth appears to be simply true, rather than one of a number of different possible messages (Barthes, 1973).

For Barthes (1977), myths serve the ideological function of naturalization. Their function is to naturalize the cultural in other words, to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs seem entirely 'natural', 'normal', self-evident, timeless, obvious 'common-sense' and thus objective and 'true' reflections of 'the way things are'. Contemporary sociologists argue that social groups tend to regard as 'natural' whatever confers privilege and power upon themselves. Barthes saw myth as serving the ideological interests of the bourgeoisie (1974).

Cultural myths involves an attempt to deconstruct the ways in which codes operate within particular popular texts or genres, with the goal of revealing how certain values, attitudes and beliefs are supported whilst others are suppressed in the semiotic analysis.

“The task of 'denaturalizing' such cultural assumptions is problematic when the semiotician is also a product of the same culture, since membership of a culture involves 'taking for granted' many of its dominant ideas. Nevertheless, where we seek to analyze our own cultures in this way it is essential to try to be explicitly reflexive about 'our own' values”.

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem06.html>)

Barthes consisted of in his book *Mythologies* which has short essays in it, previously published in French magazines, which dealt with a wide variety of cultural phenomena, from wrestling matches to food. These essays on aspects of contemporary French culture sought to look beyond the surface appearance of object or practice which they discussed, and to decode its real significance as the bearer of particular meanings. “What Barthes did was to read social life, with the same close attention and critical force that had previous been evident only in the study of ‘high art’, like literature, painting or classical music. *Mythologies* uses semiotics as the predominant means of analyzing aspects of everyday culture”(Bignell 2002, p.18).

On the other hand, the first essay in *Mythologies* is “The World of Wrestling” Barthes discusses the meaning of the wrestling matches which at that time took place in small auditoria around Paris. “Barthes’s conclusion is that wrestling makes our confusing and ambiguous world intelligible, giving clearly readable meanings to the struggle between moral positions represented by the wrestlers. Wrestling is a medium which speaks about our culture in a highly codified form” (Bignell 2002, p. 20).

The work of many semiotic critics like Barthes’s work, the analysis of culture and society is carried out from a left-wing perspective and often closely tied to Marxist ideas. His essay in ‘*Myth Today*’, Barthes (1993) discuss the methods of

semiotic analysis which have been discussed so far, and relate them to a general political analysis of society. In his analysis's key concept is 'ideology'. Reading the messages in myth involves identifying the signs which it uses, and showing how they are built by means of codes into a structure which communicates particular messages and not others. This can be explained by discussing the main example Barthes uses in 'Myth Today'. Barthes imagine himself at the barber's, looking at the cover photograph of an edition of the French glossy magazine Paris-Match (see Figure 4.1). He interprets this photograph with myth and its ideological functions on the photograph:

“On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour. All this is the meaning of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. I am therefore again faced with a greater semiological system: there is a signifier, itself already formed with a previous system (a black soldier is giving the French salute); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally, there is a presence of the signified through the signifier... In myth (and this is the chief peculiarity of the latter), the signifier is already formed by the signs of the language... Myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us...” (Barthes, 1993, p.119).

On the cover is a photograph of a black soldier uniform, who is saluting the French Flag. The signifiers, the shapes and colours in the photograph, can be easily read as meaningful iconic signs, which denote the message 'a black soldier giving the

French salute'. But the picture has a greater signification, which goes beyond what it denotes.



Figure 4.1 Paris Match magazine cover

A black soldier giving the French salute (<http://www.parismatch.com>)

The function of the photograph of the black soldier saluting the flag is to make French imperialism seem like a neutral fact. It discourages us from asking questions or raising objections to colonialism. It serves the interests of a dominant ideology. “Barthes claimed that the image erased the horrors of French imperialism, presenting a sanitized portrait of a French Soldier that made it appear natural that an Africa should salute the French flag and exhibit the proper signs of military behavior and French national allegiance”(Durham and Kellner, 2001, pp. 13-14).

The dominant ideology of a society is subject to change, as the economic and political balance of power changes. Ideology then, is a historically contingent thing. If we look back, two hundred years ago, we can easily recognize that, some features of the dominant ideology have obviously changed. Two hundred years ago, it would be normal situation that black people were inferior to men, that children could be employed to do manual labor. These ideas were made to seem natural, common sense. When we look at today’s world, we met a widespread unease about the media owners and newspaper’s social and political over sometimes wielded for the ‘public good’, sometimes irresponsibly.

This kind of critical attention like Barthes’s “Myth Today” is clear. Firstly we have exposed a problem in the way news is collected, put together, distributed, read or used, secondly is put it right. In here, of course, that our contribution to news-discourse collides with all its other elements. “Putting things right then becomes a process of negotiation, hard work, and struggle against opposing ways of seeing. Most of us have neither the time, nor the accredited social status, to engage in such struggles, or even to win access to the necessary positions of credibility and influence” (Hartley, 1994, p.9). Furthermore, Hartley explain about the habit of explaining a text by appealing to data that cannot be recovered must lead away from analysis and towards the repetition of ideological opinions. “You only succeed in explaining your text away” (Hartley, 1994, p. 16).

4.4 Ideology and Media

According to classical Marxism, the ruling class employ intellectuals and cultural producers, who both produce ideas that glorify the dominant institutions and ways of life, and propagate these governing ideas in cultural forms such as literature, press, or in our day film and television. The concept of ideology thus makes us question the naturalness of media texts and to see that prevailing ideas are not self-evident and obvious but are constructed.

Marx (2004) emphasizes that, the ruling class propagates an ideology that justifies its status and makes it difficult for the ordinary people to recognize that they are being exploited and victimized. In *The German Ideology*, he wrote his ideas about ruling class:

“The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the dominant material force in society, is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it the individuals composing the ruling class rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age. Consequently their ideas are the ruling ideas of the age” (p. 42).

This ideas are important because it brings people into the picture and suggests that though consciousness is socially produced, it always filters through the minds of real, live, active men and women and is not something that works automatically. Marx suggests that the predominant ideas common to a capitalist society are those of the ruling class. “These ideas have to be produced and disseminated by the ruling

class or its intellectual representatives, and they dominate the consciousness and actions of those classes outside the ruling class” (cited in Strinati, 1998, p.131).

Opposing Marx’s writings in the German Ideology, Garnham says that the position which simply states that the mass media are ideological tools of ruling-class domination either through direct ownership or, as in the case of broadcasting, via ruling-class control of the State neglects both the specific effects of subordinating cultural production and reproduction to the general logic of capitalist commodity production and the specificities of the varying and shifting relationships between economic, ideological and political levels within actual concrete historical moments (Garnham, 2003; pp. 225 - 252).

However, Marx, brings us another important term “alienation” and this term is a notion of central importance in understanding Marxism which derives alienation from the capitalist economic system. Marx illustrates his views on alienation thus:

“In what does this alienation of labour consist? First, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not a part of his nature, that consequently he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery, not of wellbeing, does not develop freely a physical and mental energy, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labour. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. Finally, the alienated character of work for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his work but work of someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person...” (Marx, 1993, p. 143).

This concept of alienation can be process of media products. Hartley points out that we would have no independent confirmation that what sounds so credible and natural in the news is actually right, if there was not much of the critical attention given to news organizations concentrating on watching the watchdog.

“The corporations and capitalists who own the means of news production can mount campaigns, of exposure and investigation, or of war-mongering and witch-hunts, which help to alter the political or social direction of a country. Clearly such power leads to a dangerous imbalance between those who control that power and the rest of us”(Hartley, 1994, p. 9).

Hartley (1994) then underlines the fact that “most of us have neither the time, nor the accredited social status, to engage in such struggles, or even to win access to the necessary positions of credibility and influence”, when it comes to “Putting things right’ within the complex procedures of exposing a problem in the way news is collected, put together, distributed, read or used”(p.9). Even if the news doesn’t change, our critical understanding of news-discourse and of the world constructed within it can: We can find out how the news works, what interests it serves, and analyze its meanings, and we can use that understanding every time we see or read the news.

The Media, the State, the Law, the Army, the Government and the family, the education systems are also agencies that characterize the capitalist societies, which, without removing the fundamental causes of potential class antagonism, translate it into other forms. “Unless this aspect of their social function is analyzed none of these agencies could be effective on its own, and equally none of them can be understood adequately” (Hartley, 1994, p. 56).

“Ideology then, becomes the category of illusions and false consciousness by which the ruling class maintains its dominance over the working class. Because the ruling class controls the main means by which ideology is

propagated and spread throughout society, it can then make the working class see its subordination as 'natural' and therefore right. Herein lies the falseness. These ideological media include the educational, political, and legal systems, and the mass media and publishing" (Fiske, 2002, p. 166).

Strinati (1998) points out that the subordinate classes gain most of their knowledge of the world from the mass media, which make inequalities appear natural and inevitable to those who suffer the deprivation and oppression they entail.

"Since control of this flow of knowledge, information and social imagery is concentrated in the hands of those who share in the power, wealth and privilege of the dominant class, this ruling class will ensure that what is socially circulated through the mass media is in its interests and serves to reproduce the system of class inequalities from which it benefits" (Strinati, 1998, p.137).

Strinati is also concerned that "little or no direct evidence is presented to suggest that the ideologies broadcast by the mass media have these desired effects". Although he admits the assumption that "if the power of the dominant ideology is asserted as the theory predicts, then its success in moulding the thoughts and actions of audiences is more or less automatically guaranteed" (Strinati, 1998, p. 145). From the perspective of political economy the mass media convey dominant values and assumptions which derive from and serve the interests of the ruling class, and which reproduce the prevailing structure of class power.

"The relations between news, news photos, cinema and capital take three main forms. First, news media and film industry may be owned by private corporations. Second, news media, whether privately owned or not, operate in a commercial climate. Third, news media interact on a daily basis within the norms of commercial life" (Hartley, 1994, p. 48).

The organizations and groups within the mass media propagate ideas, which underpin the power of the ruling class, and yet act with a certain level of autonomy. Fiske (2002) emphasizes that hegemony is necessary and has to work, because the dominant ideology, of self and social relations, with social experience of subordinated groups; by class, gender, race, age or any other factors, constantly contradicts it. In other words, the dominant ideology is constantly resisted and has to overcome this resistance in order to win people's consent to the social order that it is promoting. "These resistances may be overcome, but they are never eliminated. So any hegemonic victory, any consent that it wins, is necessarily unstable; it can never be taken for granted, so it has to be constantly rewon and struggled over" (p. 176).

One of the key hegemonic strategies is the construction of "common sense". Gramsci, who is the writer to whom we owe much recent theory on the subject outlines the main characteristic of historically-produced common sense:

"The conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man is developed. Common sense is not a single unique conception, identical in time and space. It is the 'folklore' of philosophy, and like folklore, it takes countless different forms. Its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of the mass as whose philosophy it is."(Gramsci, 2003, p.309).

Fiske (2002) explain clearly how common sense works; "In society, if the ideas of the ruling class can be accepted as common sense, then their ideological object is achieved and their ideological work is disguised"(p.177). From this perspective, for example, common sense in our society that criminals are wicked or deficient individuals who need punishment or correction. This kind of common sense disguises the fact that lawbreakers are disproportionately men from disadvantaged or disempowered social groups they are of the wrong race, class, or age.

“The ‘law-abiding citizens’ who ‘happen’, generally, to belong to those classes which have many avenues to socially successful performance, are thus relieved of the responsibility of thinking that criminality may be the product of the system that provides them with so many advantages, and that the solution to the problem may involve them in forgoing some of their privileges. The common sense that criminality is a function of the wicked individual rather than the unfair society is thus part of bourgeois ideology, and, in so far as it is accepted by the subordinate, it is hegemony at work” (Fiske, 2002, p. 177).

Media encourage to construct of common sense for public opinion too. For the major institutions of mass-communication, the press and broadcasting, displaying notable differences of articulation, both at the same time display the close interweaving within concrete institutions and within their specific commodity forms of the economic, the ideological and the political.

“Media studies broke with the models of ‘direct influence’ using a sort of stimulus-response model with heavily behaviourist overtones, media content serving as a trigger into a framework which drew much more on what can broadly be defined as the ‘ideological role of the media’” (Hall, 1996, p. 117).

Ideological theories says that, all communication and all meanings have a socio-political dimension. They cannot be understood outside their social context.

“This ideological work always favours the status quo, for the classes with power dominate the production and distribution not only of goods but also of ideas and meanings. The economic system is organized in their interest, and the ideological system derives from it and works to promote, naturalize, and disguise it. Whatever their differences, all ideological theories agree that ideology works to maintain class domination; their differences lie in the ways

in which this domination is exercised, the degree of its effectiveness, and the extend of the resistances it meets” (Fiske, 2002, p. 177).

According to Kellner and Durham (2003), media culture overwhelmingly supports capitalist values and meanings, but it is also a site of intense conflict between different races, classes, gender and social groups. That is the reason in order to fully grasp the nature and effects of media, one should see contemporary society and culture as contested terrains, and media and cultural forms as spaces in which particular battles over gender, race, sexuality, political ideology, and values are fought. Media forms such as television, film, photography, popular music, magazines, newspapers and advertising provide role and gender models, fashion hints, life-style images, and icons of personality. “The narratives of media culture offer patterns of proper and improper behavior, moral messages, and ideological conditioning, sugar-coating social and political ideas with pleasurable and seductive forms of popular entertainment” (Kellner and Durham, 2003, p. 21).

4.5 The Politics of Representation

Keller and Durham (2003) suggest that, earlier, mass communication approaches to media content ranged from descriptive content analysis to quantitative analysis of references, figures, or images in media texts. “The more sophisticated methods of textual analysis, however, emerged from more advanced understandings of textual narratives, and representation, as well as the contributions of critical concepts such as ideology and hegemony”(p.24).

Hall explains the term of Representation is the production of meaning through language. In representation, constructionist argue, we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Visual signs and images, even when they bear a close resemblance to the things to which they refer, are still signs: they carry meaning and thus have to be interpreted (Hall, 1997).



Figure 4.2 René Magritte painting

“This not a pipe”

([http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES- Yearbook/94_docs/PALERMO.HTM](http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES-Yearbook/94_docs/PALERMO.HTM))

In 1936, the Belgian surrealist René Magritte (1898-1967) painted *La Trahison des Images* (The Treachery of Images). He painted a pipe and wrote the text “Ceci n'est pas une pipe” (“This is not a pipe”). The image is a pipe here representing a pipe, which everybody knows but the text that under the painting is saying different things. This painting and its text, invite us to think about, an object which we easily recognize. What could it mean? Is there a paradox between this text and painting? Our minds try to find a reasonable answer to interpretation these questions. There is no one correct answer for this questions but it gives us a thought about modes of reality. “This is Not a Pipe.”

Foucault (1995) says in his famous book “This Not A Pipe” which he wrote on the Magritte Painting, “Of course, this is an image of a pipe, not a real pipe” is the viewer’s first response. But, he is not satisfied because he is interested in how the contradictory *text* of the imagery and the discourse that “names” it are to be construed. Foucault’s main argument is that Magritte’s meticulous depiction of the

“Pipe” is not representational. Foucault’s argument derives from the contradiction of viewing the “Pipe” and reading its inscription.



5. IDEOLOGY IN PRESS PHOTOGRAPY

“Photography was discovered in 1839 by Fox Talbot. One of the things that immediately strikes one is how quickly the possible uses of this new discovery were taken up and applied by the industrialised countries at that time. Within thirty years it was being used to make postcards of places, it was being used for police records, war reporting, military reconnaissance, pornography, family albums, anthropological records (often, as with the Indians in the US, accompanied by genocide), sentimental moralising, news reporting and formal portraiture. Capitalism needed photography” (Berger, 1997, p. 43).

The period between the two world wars that the press photograph became the dominant and most natural way of referring to appearances. It was then that it replaced the word as immediate testimony. It was the period when photography was thought of as being most transparent, offering direct access to the real—the period of the great witnessing masters of the medium like Paul Strand and Walker Evans. Berger (1997) emphasises that, “It was, in the capitalist countries, the freest moment of photography: it had been liberated from the limitations of fine art, it had become a public medium and so could be used democratically, and had not yet become the febrile production of consuming dreams or nightmares”(p.43).

Today, we see many photographic images in the press with news but we do not read photographs, we consume them: they—and the systems of commodities, media, politics, cultures, within which photographs circulate—whirl about in a vast and meaningless game of meaning. We do not ask these images, or these systems, for knowledge, or for a purchase on reality; we expect nothing of the image but the continuation of that limitlessly productive game. Whether we think this through in terms of style and trends, the loss of authenticity, the spectacle or the code, we are dealing with the same problem: an explosion of signs without escape, without a means of exit. From this perspective we need to explain an important relationship between press photography and caption. In press photography, the caption can have

two main functions: supplying either what might call 'supporting information' or 'extending information':

Supporting information can refer to information and detail that is already contained within the photography by drawing attention to certain features. In this context, it acts as a guide which tells the viewer how to view the image.

“News photos operate under a hidden sign marked 'this really happened, see for yourself. Of course, the choice of this moment of an event as against that, of *this* person rather than that, of this angle rather than any other, indeed, the selection of this photographed incident to represent a whole complex chain of events and meanings is a highly ideological procedure. But by appearing literally to reproduce the event as it really happened news photos suppress their selective/interpretive/ideological function. They seek a warrant in that ever pre-given, neutral structure, which is beyond question, beyond interpretation: the 'real world'. At this level, news photos not only support the credibility of the newspaper as an accurate medium. They also guarantee and underwrite its objectivity (that is, they neutralize its ideological function)” (Hall 1981, pp. 241- 242).

Barthes (1973) noted that at the “level of production”, “the press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional or ideological norms” and at the “level of reception”, the photograph “is not not only perceived, received, it is read, connected by the public that consumes it to a traditional stock of signs” (p. 19). Reading a photograph involved relating it to a “rhetoric” (pp. 18,19). In addition to the photographic techniques already noted, he refers for instance to the signifying functions of: postures, expressions and gestures; the associations evoked by depicted objects and settings; sequences of photographs, e.g. in magazines; and relationships with accompanying text (pp. 21-25). He added that “thanks to the code of connotation the reading of the photograph is... always historical; it depends on the reader's

‘knowledge’ just as though it were a matter of a real language, intelligible only if one has learned the signs” (Barthes, 1973, p. 28).



Independent, 26 August 1987

Figure 5.1 South African miners demonstrating outside the offices of the organisation of South African mine owners. Independent, 26 August 1987.

A capitalist society requires a culture based on images, it needs to furnish vast amounts of entertainment in order to stimulate buying and anaesthetise the injuries of class, race and sex... The camera’s twin capacities, to subjectivise reality and to objectify it, ideally serves these needs and strengthens them. Cameras define reality in the two ways essential to the workings of an advanced industrial society: as a

spectacle (for masses) and as an object of surveillance (for rulers). “The production of images also furnishes a ruling ideology. Social change is replaced by a change in images. The freedom to consume a plurality of images and goods is equated with freedom itself” (Evans1997, p. 16).

Victor Burgin’s early essay “Art, Common Sense and Photography” set out the terms for thinking the photographs as representation. His was an influential argument for the photograph as sign; he showed concisely how the power semiotics lies in its analytical approach to that which appeared self-evident. The relationship between the photograph and the world it depicts. It is precisely in the formal devices of photographic construction that the workings of ideology reside and Burgin pointed out that the activist who believes in the autonomy of form.

“The whole project of Saussurean linguistics, so important to communications theory, aimed to blow apart the assumption embedded in both ‘reflection’ and expression theories that you can have ‘content’ without form and vice versa, as if the image were just a means of gaining access by proxy to the external objective world of reality or the subjective internal world of artist. The project of semiotics was precisely to draw attention to the materiality of the photograph – as – text. The photograph actually works its constituent elements; it produces meaning by routinely ordering the relationship between material forms and concepts/meanings” (Burgin 1997, p.74).

Furthermore press photography can use in all kinds of agitprop ways.

“You can make propaganda with photographs-you can make anti-capitalist propaganda, anti-imperialist propaganda. I wouldn’t deny the usefulness of this, but at the same time I think the answer is incomplete. It’s like taking a cannon and turning it round and firing it in the opposite direction. You haven’t actually changed the practice, you’ve simply changed the aim” (Berger, 1997, p. 45).



Figure 5.2 Picture Post magazine and Signal magazine

“Allied soldiers with cheerful, determined expressions appeared frequently on British picture magazine covers like “Picture Post”, during World War II. At the same time German produced Signal magazine, distributed in several languages. It was full of morale-boosting pictures of their troops” (Langford, 1999, p. 155).

Press photographs need to be put back ‘into the context of experience, social experience, social memory- they need to express the conflicted areas of people’s lives in the concrete conditions in which they actually are.

“The faculty of memory allows us to preserve certain events from oblivion. Because of their experience of this faculty, women and men in nearly all cultures have assumed that there was somewhere an all-seeing eye. They accredited this eye to spirits, ancestors, God or a single God. Such an all-seeing eye recorded all events, and the idea of this eye was connected with the idea of justice, to be remembered was to be redeemed; to be forgotten was to be condemned. The all-seeing eye saw in order to judge. The all-seeing eye recorded all events and in that recording was implicit a kind of judgement” (Berger, 1997, p.45).

Semiological analysis treated films and photographs as texts in order to investigate the components of sign systems through which meaning is structured and encoded within a work. The point of concern was not whether the work adequately revealed or reflected a pre-existing reality.

“It is where it has been able to contain these contradictory tendencies that photography has been most effective as an instrument of ideology. The photograph has appropriated certain elements of the ideology of art, while preserving certain advantages not given to the processes of Fine Art. The most explicitly ‘artistic’ photographers may receive critical acclaim, exhibitions and government grants, but they also do so at the price of quitting the mainland of ideological production. They join that crew of “Fine Artists” whom capitalist economies have been prepared to support only to a limited and temporary extent” (Tagg, 1997, p.70).

In *The German Ideology* Marx gives us a more frankly political version of the same parable. Here he explores the ways in which the ‘common sense’ of particular groups in society is constructed, arguing that it is always the task of any ruling class to establish its own beliefs and values as if they were ‘eternal law’ (Marx, 2004).

“One of his earlier solutions to this problem involved the concept of ‘false consciousness’ a concept which was instantly recognizable within the structures of Romantic thought. Capitalism is seen to create conditions which cloud or mystify our awareness of ourselves and our relations to the world in such a way that we cannot correctly perceive our objective conditions of inequality and exploitation, which are misunderstood as if they were natural and therefore immutable” (Burgin, 1982, p. 157).

Classic Marxist models of artistic production are addressed, critically, in the essay of the book, ‘Making Strange: The Shattered Mirror’, by Simon Waltney (1982). Focusing on seeing, vision and the social nature of perception, Waltney discusses various 1920s/1930s manifestations in Russian aesthetic debates and in Brecht of “the proposal that through alienation, or making strange, new ways of seeing, politically and aesthetically, may be forged”(pp. 157-176).

The subtitle, “The Shattered Mirror”, refers to the rupturing of any notion of the photograph as a mirror or transparent recorder of reality. “The essay situates ideas of defamiliarisation in relation to past practices in order to reflect upon modern European and American work which he exemplifies, briefly, through reference to French photographer Atget; Bauhaus theorist-photographer Moholy-Nagy; and American documentarian Berenice Abbott” (Wells 2001, p.32).



Helen Levitt, *New York*, 1942

Figure 5.3 Helen Levitt, New York, 1942

“Levitt photographed New York as a place of community and neighbourhood as in this wartime shot of children playing cheerfully in a setting of urban squalor” (Price, 2001, p.100).

“The influence of post-Althusserian theories had ensured that the category of experience was sapped of any power. There are two aspects to the sense of experience here; it has a minimal neutral sense of a subjective response to the external world, but also a more loaded meaning, as a lesson that those who live through history learn from it-in other words, accumulated and irreversible knowledge. Both of these problematised together. Ideology could not be combated by experience, according to this critique of humanism, since what could be homeland of ideology if not what we believe to be commonsense, everyday experience?” (Evans 1997, p.29).

The object of photography fell into the latter camp: it makes empirical claims rather than poststructuralist deconstructions. It argues that there has been a shift in the way the photograph is experienced everyday life, in the role it plays, in the relation to

reality we expect it to have. “This shift, crudely, corresponds to a shift from productivist nineteenth-century capitalism to consumerist twentieth-century capitalism” (Slater, 1997, p. 89) (see figure 5.4, 5.5).

One way the merchant classes in the sixteenth century and the industrial bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century maintained their political hegemony was through strictures about bodily control and decorum. “Capitalist society places enormous emphasis on individualism, constructing a strict separation between the ‘private’ and the ‘public’” (Henning, 2001, p.229).

The putative power of the camera to be an unmediated form of communication is here applied to a genre which is now held to be able to transcend the discursive structures of any particular form: imposing rather than creating meaning; disempowering the reader or spectator from any acts of interpretation the text. Documentary, on this definition, becomes a kind of ideologically charged common sense which is inaccessible to critical engagement. It is a fascinating definition because it spells out, forty years after the time, what lies at the heart of 1930s notions of documentary.

“There was an assumption that the world was productive of facts and that those facts could be communicated to others in a transparent way, free of the complex codes through which narratives are structured. Workers and the poor were caught in the documentary gaze; a gaze that transformed them into facts, facts that precisely could not be challenged, but which imposed meaning at a single stroke”(Price, 2001, p. 90).

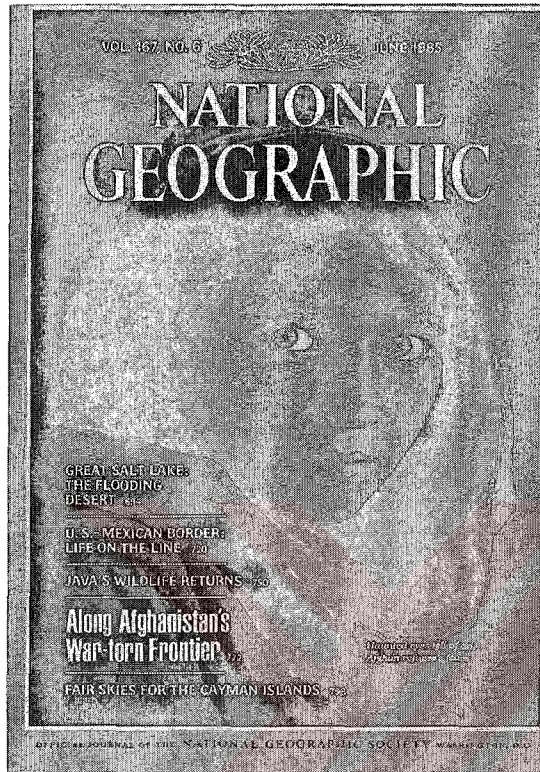


Figure 5.4 1985, National Geographic cover/Afghan Girl

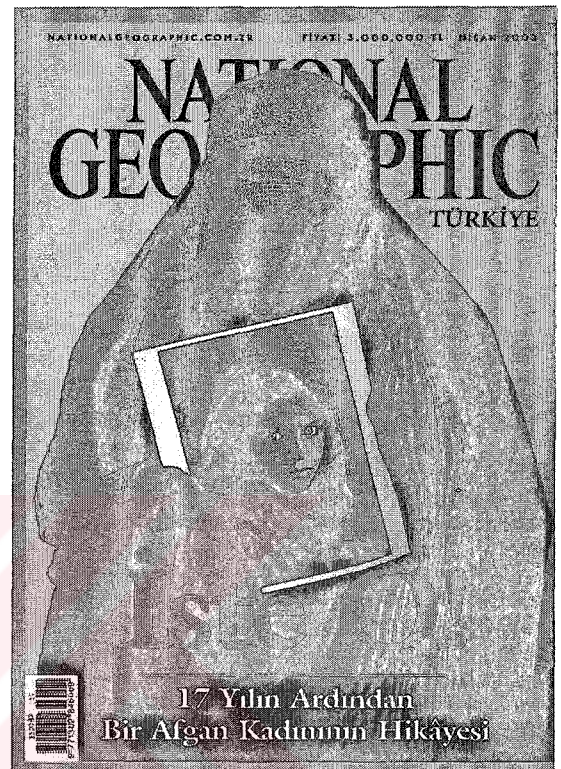


Figure 5.5 2002 National Geographic cover/Afghan Woman

“In the 1985 National Geographic magazine’s story that appeared with “Afghan Girl”’s photograph on the cover. With mysterious, haunting, green-eyed gaze, McCurry’s photo of the “Afghan Girl” was selected as the cover National Geographic 100 Best Pictures and World’s. Not only in cover but also anyone who saw her image in postcards and posters around the world. Her image has been photographed in 2002 at the reunion with McCurry. In relation with capitalism’s cultural logic, girl’s image has turned consumption subject as a retro styles by channels of desire which is media communication. In this article, we try to analyse and comment upon some of the ways in which Barthes’s theory of myths and Baudrillard’s view on today’s consumption society. Moreover, there is a part of image analysis in terms of gender which consist of ‘West’s view on ‘East’ ” (Batu, U.,Tuğla, K. 2004, pp. 15-24).

5.1. Historical Outline of Photograph

Berger's famous book "Ways of Remembering" (1995) offers a methodology for a photographic meaning. In his book, he interprets the photographs as an instance of modernity's 'shock of discontinuity'. "This abyss can be understood in Berger's work as a metaphor for the dislocating processes of capitalist modernity and in particular the historical process during which time and space become increasingly separated and independent of one another" (Evans, 1997, p.38).

The analogy between the eye and the camera was first proposed in 1604 by Johann Kepler. It then came to play a central role in the psychology and philosophy of perception for the next 350 years. Langford summarizes the pre-history and discovery of photography:

- "The invention of photography brought together the camera obscura, and optical novelty and artists' aid, and materials (such as silver compounds) which undergo changes when exposed to light.
- In 1800 Wedgwood managed to record shadows of objects placed in direct contact with silver nitrate treated leather, but unable to fix these results.
- Niepce succeeded in making the first permanent image with the camera obscura in about 1826. Several hours exposure was needed.
- Daguerre devised the first practical process, the daguerreotype. It gave a direct positive image on a silvered metal plate. The process was publicly disclosed in 1839 and created great excitement.
- Fox Talbot was also working on a light – sensitive process – one which formed a negative image, on paper. When printed by sunlight onto a further sheet this gave a positive, permanent picture. Talbot called his result a calotype, and patented it in 1841" (Langford, 1999, p. 8).

The photographic camera was based on the camera obscura, described as early as the tenth century AD, of which the first illustration was published in 1845. “The problem which preoccupied experimentation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was how to fix the image once it had been obtained” (Prize& Wells, 2001b, p. 47).

Early scientific uses of photography give us an idea of its significance for understanding the human body. In the 1880s the French scientist Etienne Jules Marey used photography to explore human and animal physiology. His contemporary, the American artist Eadweard Muybridge, performed similar experiments. “His images of a horse in motion, published in 1878, were sensational because they showed for the first time that horses ran in a different way than way usually pictured” (Henning, 2001, p. 237).

Through their photography Marey and Muybridge opened up to vision things that the human eye could not perceive. This ability of photographic technology to expand the capabilities of the human eye was noted by writers, photographers and film-makers in the early part of the twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s the camera (both the still and the motion camera) was understood as a kind of mechanical eye. As the Soviet film-maker, Dziga Vertov, expressed it:

“I’m an eye. A mechanical eye. I, the machine, show you a world the way only I can see it. I free myself for today and forever from human immobility... My way leads towards the creation of a fresh perception of the world. Thus I explain in a new way the world unknown to you”(cited in Berger, 1995, p. 17).

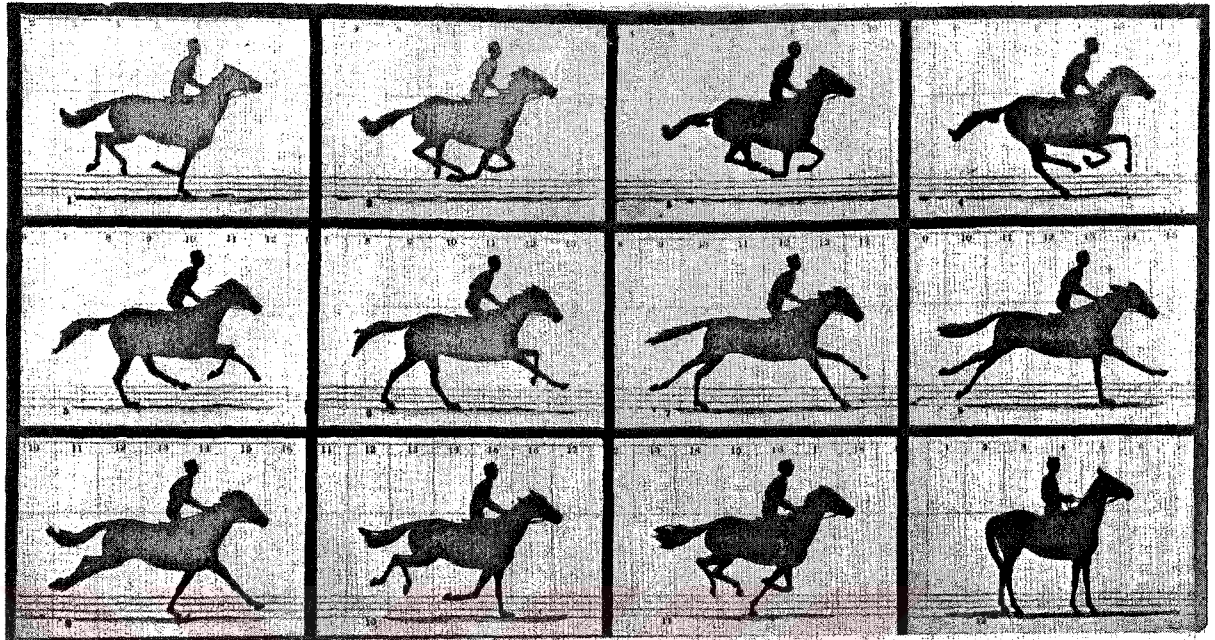


Figure 5.6 Eadweard Muybridge. Galloping Horse. 1978.
Albumen print. George Eastman House,
Rochester, N.Y.

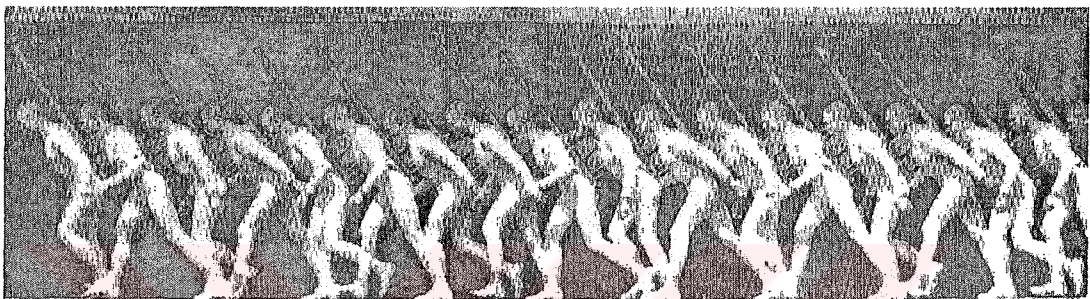


Figure 5.7 Etienne-Jules Marey

Marey's chronographic studies can be understood as part of the drive to increase the efficiency of human motion in the military, in industry and in sport.

As Martin Lister (2001) put it, three features of photographic culture will indicate how the meanings and uses of photographs, in a pre-digital period, have involved issues of convergence and relationship with other media. Mass-produced, mediated and hybrid 'photographic images' have circulated through the twentieth century. This has depended upon a convergence of photography with print, graphic, electronic and telegraphic technologies. John Tagg put it, "the era of throwaway images 'began in the 1880s with the introduction of the half plate. It was this interface of the chemical photograph with print technology which enabled the economical and limitless reproduction of photographs in books, magazines and advertisements, and especially newspapers'"(cited in Lister, 2001, p.321). In 1903 the telegraphic transmission of half-tone images became possible and the Daily Mirror launched a photo-telegraphy service as early as 1907.

- “Photographic images have seldom been met in isolation. They are embedded and contexted in other signifying systems, primarily, those of the written or spoken word, graphic design and institutional connotations of power, authority, neutrality or glamour.
- The sheer number of photographs circulating in the world, and the frequency with which we meet them, is also a basis of their intertextuality. None is free-standing. Each one is a small element in a history of image production and a contemporary ‘image world’. Within this environment, the photographic image gains its meaning by a continual borrowing and cross-referencing of meanings between images. The still photograph quotes a movie, the cinematographer adopts the style of an advertising photographer, the music video mimics an early silent movie” (Lister, 2001, p.324).

The history of photography over the last 160 years traces the emergence of a practice that has revolutionized our understanding of visual communication.

“We can therefore propose that, in contrast to the conventional approach of describing the invention and development of the medium, we should study the medium’s growth in social, cultural and psychological significance to offer an understanding of the photographic phenomenon. This can help us to understand some of the reasons and influences” (Wright, 2000, p. 12).

Today we have seen that much thought about the place of photography in an age of electronic imaging has been based upon ideas of ruptures, breaks and radical change, not only in the means of producing images, but also in culture at large. The remote digital video cameras, sensors and image processors used in modern warfare have taken over and extended an historic role of photography.

5.1.2 Photographic Realism

Over the last 160 years, photographs have acquired a unique range of social functions because photography is a product of its time and history. It reflects the intellectual climate of its origins and at the same time an instrument of social change. Photographs look realistic because the photographic image has been formed through a similar process to the ways we normally see the world. “In semiotic terms, this argument supports the notion of the photograph as an icon: the photograph as ‘looking like’ its referent. C. S. Peirce uses the photograph as an example of the iconic sign in his theory of signs: semiotics” (Wright, 2000, p. 22)

However, the argument for photographic realism depends on appearance for our knowledge of the photographic terms like camera and its mechanism provides sound reasons for believing the photograph records ‘reality’. Wright explain this situation with eye and camera forms. “We think of photographs as ‘looking real’ because they reflect the same light to our eye as the object itself would normally emit” (Wright, 2000, p. 13).

Susan Sontag (1996) opens her account “On Photography” with “In Plato’s Cave”, “this very instability of the photographing eye changes the terms of confinement in the cave, our world” (p.12). The philosopher Walter Benjamin also emphasised the ability of photography and film to expand what could be perceived by the human eye. For Benjamin, photography and cinema offering to people to see the world in new ways and it gives them the possibility of questioning and ultimately changing their everyday lives (Benjamin, 1995).

When we look at from this point, we have a further philosophical problem as, inevitably because we must ask what is reality and which photographic images should be judged? According to Wright, “...the photograph is intended to function as a

record rather than an interpretation in order to represent what an observer-on-the-spot would have seen” (Wright, 2000, p. 40).

There is a relation between the image and the social world. Photography is a fundamental element within photographic language and aesthetics. The authority which emanates from the sense of authenticity or ‘truth to actuality’ conferred by photography is a fundamental element within photographic language and aesthetics. “This authority, founded in realism, has come to be taken for granted in the interpretation of images made through the lens. It is precisely this which sets lens-based imagery apart from other media of visual communication” (Prize&Wells, 2001b, p. 27).

Finally, in the nineteenth century, photography was invented which, in accord with the contemporary views of cultural ascent, provide the mechanical means of faithful representation. Images of the world are focused onto the retina in a similar way that the camera focuses an image onto the surface of the film. “Learning by association overcomes the problems of the image being inverted, reduced in size and flat. According to this theory, we associate the visual input with the tangible: that which we see with that which we know” (Wright, 2000, p. 21).

5.2 Photography and Imperialism

The end of the 19th century, the European powers directly ruled almost half the world’s landmass and half the world population. Thousands of young men and women sailed by steamship from Germany, France, Spain, Britain, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands to colonies that stretched from New Guinea in the South Pacific to Newfoundland and St Pierre et Miquelon in the North Atlantic. In the entire African continent, only Abyssinia and Liberia retained their independence. Most of the Indian sub-continent was under British rule. In the Far East, Laos, Indo-China and

Cambodia belonged to France. Much of Japan and mainland China was under European influence, if not control, as a result of major financial investment. Between 1871 and 1914 the French Empire grew by nearly 4 million square miles and 47 million people, the German Empire by 1 million square miles and 14 million people (Yapp&Hopkinson, 1995).

During this time, the greatest Imperial power of them all was Great Britain. In 1897, Britain had the largest empire in the history of the world; vigorous, fertile, hard-working, ordered and exploited. Europe brought the light of Christianity and civilization to heathen and savage swathes of darkness. “The photographer John Thomson described the Chinese as ‘revolting, diseased and filthy objects’. Less brutally, Mary Fitzgibbon, an engineer’s wife, concluded that the native Icelanders were ‘teachable servants, neat, clean and careful, but have not constitutional strength to endure hard work’” (Yapp&Hopkinson, 1995, pp. 180-181).

Financial gain was the real aim of colonization. The world was sacked by Europe for its foods like fruit and fish, oil, coffee and tea. Not only foods, at the same time wealthy metals gold and diamonds were coming from colonies to Europe. White hunters trekked with gun and camera into the bush of East Africa, or the foothills of the Himalayas, returning with plenty of tales to tell. Colonies produced vast wealth of many sorts, little of which found its way back to its land of origin. Labour was cheap. So African and Burmese, Cuban and Maori toiled for their white masters, accepting harsh discipline and long hours. If they were lucky, they were working – as soldiers, porters, servants and gardeners for white society (Yapp&Hopkinson, 1995).

During this time, despite the physical difficulties of transporting large, unwieldy cameras and portable darkrooms, photographers covered the world in search of images of historic sites, sacred places and curious peoples. In the days of Empire, photography grew up and became an important adjunct of imperialism. Photography returned to the Western spectator images of native peoples which

frequently confirmed prevailing views of them as primitive, bizarre, barbaric picturesque (Price, 2001).

According to Price, these photographs were often regarded as offering amusing or fascinating glimpses of other societies, but they were also thought to be instructive or educative, for, within the evolutionary theories of the day, they were considered to reveal something of people at earlier stage of development. “In consequence, the images were also invested with a certain kind of poignancy, for, at the height of industrialism in the USA and Europe, it seemed clear that many of the communities recorded by the photographers of Empire were doomed to disappear” (Price, 2001, p. 69).

There was a public appetite for images of native peoples in the western world, thus accompanied by a demand for photographs of historic sites. Many of them this photographs were familiar from paintings and engravings, but which were given a new authenticity by the camera.

“Some of the most dominant ideological and photographic construct were developed during the nineteenth century, a period of European imperial expansion. During the nineteenth century, the camera joined the gun in the process of colonisation. The camera was used to record and define those who were colonised according to the interests of the West. There was an unequal relationship of power between the white photographer and the colonised subject.

This history of photography is integrally linked to colonial and economic exploitation. A sense of submission, exoticism and the ‘primitive’ were key feelings, which these photographers documented and catalogued. Through these images, the European photographer and viewer could perceive their own superiority” (Ramamurthy, 2001, pp. 188-189) (see figure 5.8).

Soon there were few places and few people in the world who had not been discovered and subjected to the photo-eye by the camera for new image-makers in this time.



Figure 5.8 William Thomas, Mrs. Lewis Waller with a Kaffir Boy, 1903

5.3 Photography in the Age of Wars

“From the original watchtower through the anchored balloon to the reconnaissance aircraft and remote sensing-satellites, one and the same function has been indefinitely repeated, the eye’s function being the function of a weapon” (Virilio, cited in Lister, 2001, p. 326).

Paul Virilio clearly emphasized that has in mind that an early use of photography was the mounting of a camera in a balloon for the purpose of aerial reconnaissance. As early as the 1850s Fenton was commissioned by the British government to photograph the Crimean War. “Fenton’s Crimean documentary photographs were intended to sell, and incidentally support government actions. Mathew Brady foresaw the historical importance of documenting the American Civil War. Tim O’Sullivan and William Jackson showed the US Government remote, unknown parts of America. Enormous technical difficulties limited these early photographers style and approach” (Langford, 1999, p.105).

By the First World War, photography played a key part in reporting war and providing propaganda for the public at home. Photography was considerably more important as a means of depicting the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). “The many illustrated journals of the day carried photographs and these images were influential in shaping people’s view of the war” (Price, 2001, p. 73).

The single most famous photograph was photo journalist Robert Capa’s Deat of a Loyalist Soldier. This photograph later became the subject of speculation as to its authenticity. Capa was also one of the photographers of the Second World War. His work became very familiar to the public, along with that famous photo journalist W. Eugene Smith, Carl Mydans, Life magazin’ photographer David Douglas Duncan, who went on to take heroic photographs of American soldiers in Korea and Vietnam.

“Following the unprecedented escalation of photographic and newsreel production that accompanied the Second World War and the subsequent expansion of photographic news coverage of warfare and conflict across the globe in the second half of the 20th century, purveyors of journalism have increasingly relied upon the camera to promote news presentations as unproblematic reflections of events occurring beyond viewers’ direct experience” (Griffin, 2004, p. 381).

When we come to 1990s, society start to live satellite broadcasts of such news events as the military suppression of student protest in Tiananmen Square and the ‘Fall of the Berlin Wall’ had prepared viewers to readily accept network promises of a ‘live TV war’ in the Persian Gulf (Griffin, 2004).

In 1991 the Gulf War revealed the scale and depth to which technologies of surveillance and so-called ‘information’ technologies had reached. “Immersed in real-time simulations, pilots attacked by computer and video, functioning ‘as components in the virtual domain of the military technological system’ disembodied and dislocated from material reality. Visual surveillance systems have become simulation systems.” (Lister, 2001, p. 328) The journalist and war correspondents, like the rest of us, saw the war mainly on television. Photo journalists were reduced to taking pictures of military personnel pointing to video monitors at prearranged press briefings.

War plays an important part in the story of photography and today most people’s understanding of the nature of war comes from photographic images rather than literary accounts. “With the contemporary use of satellites, remote sensing technology, digital enhancement of images, and the establishment of global information networks, this early means of lifting a mechanical eye above the enemy has continued to develop” (Lister, 2001, p. 326).

5.4 Documentary Photography

The quality of authenticity implicit in a photograph may give it special values as evidence, or proof. Such a photograph can be called “documentary” by dictionary definition: “an original and official paper relied upon as basis, proof, or support anything else; - in its most extended sense, including any writing, book, or other instrument conveying information”(Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary, cited in Newhall, 1999, p. 235).

The simple beginnings of documentary photography can be found in the record work of Philip Delamotte, also travel pictures by Francis Frith and photographers commissioned by firms such as the London Stereoscope and Photographic Co. “People were extremely interested in detailed pictures of far away places, famous people and important events” (Langford, 1999, pp. 86-87).

Thus any photograph can be considered a document if it is found to contain useful information about the specific subject under study.

The British Journal of Photography in 1889 urged the formation of a vast archive of photographs “containing a record as complete as it can be made... of the present state of the world,” and concluded that such photographs “will be most valuable documents a century hence” (British Journal of Photography, cited in Newhall, 1999, p. 234).

The fund raising “before-and-after” photocard of Dr Bernardo, set piece book illustrations by John Thomson, and Paul Martin’s hidden hand-camera shots of London street life are among the few remaining nineteenth century examples of social documentary pictures of the poor (Langford, 1999).

At this time, Jacob Riis and then Lewis Hine, used photography in personal crusades to expose US social injustice in living and working conditions. Lewis W. Hine took a series of photographs of immigrants arriving in New York. He found the camera a powerful tool for research and for communicating his findings to others. In the years

before World War 1 Hine took his camera to Ellis Island to record the immigrants who were then arriving by the tens of thousands. Hine realized that, his photographs were subjective and, for that very reason, were powerful and readily grasped criticisms of the impact of an economic system on the lives of under privileged and exploited classes.

He described his work as ‘photo-interpretations’. He photographed children working in factories, he showed them at the machines, introducing a sense of scale that enabled the viewer to see that the workers were indeed very young children. “His revelation of the exploitation of children led to the eventual passing of child labor laws”(Newhall, 1999, p. 235).



Figure 5.9 Lewis W. Hine. Carolina Cotton Mill. 1908 Gelatin silver print.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

In 1929 the New York stockmarket crashed. It was the beginning of a depression which was to last throughout the 1930s. Many business came to a stop, banks tightened up on credit. Soon millions were out of work.

When Depression fell upon the world in the 1930s, many artists at once reacted to it. A group of independent filmmakers had already begun to make films that, in contrast to the usual entertainment productions, were rooted in real problems and real situations, with the participants themselves as the actors. They called this type of film documentary.

“John Grierson, spokesman for a British group, recalls that they felt this type of motion picture in the recording and the interpretation of fact was a new instrument of public influence which might increase experience and bring the new world of our citizenship into the imagination. It promised us the power of making drama from our daily lives and poetry from of problems.”(Grierson, cited in Newhall, 1999, p.238).

The paradigmatic form of documentary was produced during the 1930s: “one which casted its subjects within a ‘social problem’ framework, and which argued for a politics of reform, and social education”(Price, 2001, p. 89). As social photographers they shied away from the word artistic, and the voluminous literature of the movement is insistent that documentary film is not art. The producer-director Paul Rotha emphasises that beauty is a dangers for documentary film (Rotha, 2000). “At the same time that filmmakers began to talk about “documentary” here and there photographers were using their cameras in a similar way. In 1935 the United States government turned to these photographers for help in fighting the Depression” (Newhall, 1999, p. 238).

The government agency Farm Security Administration, established in 1935 as part of the Roosevelt administration’s attempt to rebuild the economy of the United States. A young social scientist, Roy Stryker, was appointed to head the photography section of the FSA. His main responsibility was to provide contemporary images to

illustrate and support the written accounts of conditions in agriculture that were published in official reports. “This enterprise became the most important example of a major statefounded documentary project in the world and many of its participants have entered into the pantheon of ‘great photographers’: Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn, Marion Post Walcott” (Price, 2001, pp. 94-95). Reproduction of photographs on the printed page extended the power and influence of documentary photography.



Figure 5.10 Ben Shahn. Rehabilitasyon Client, Boone Country, Arkansas, 1935. Gelatin silver print. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Documentary, in the sense in which we have described it, has been accepted as the definition of a style. Since World War 2, the movement has lost impetus in the organizational sense.

“Its tenets have been absorbed and have become essential to the fabric of photojournalism and especially, to the style of factual reporting developed by television. Substitutes have been suggested for the word “documentary”: historical, factual, realistic. While each of these qualities is contained within “documentary”, none conveys the deep respect for fact coupled with the desire to create the basically subjective interpretation of the world in which we live that marks documentary photography at its best” (Price, 2001, p. 74).

Photographs by travellers and scenes of war became photographic genres in their own right. “Since documentary has been described as a form, a genre, a tradition, a style, a movement and a practice, it is not useful to try to offer a single definition of the word. Some nineteenth-century photographers had regarded their work as ‘documents’, but many more were innocent of the fact that they were documentary photographers” (Price, 2001, p. 88).

The development of documentary photography in the 1930s also owed much to the fact that there were many outlets through which such work could be shown. These magazines, which were based on the extensive use of photographs to tell stories have constituted the start of the modern movement of photojournalism. They include “Look” and “Life” in the USA, “Vu” in France, and “Illustrated and Picture Post” in Britain. In 1936 a new kind of illustrated magazine began in the USA. Life spread large format pictures over several pages, condoned flash, but would not at first allow the use of the newly developed 35 mm cameras. Life was important for its size, technical slickness and for the fact that it routinised the production of photo-essays in a sophisticated way.



Figure 5.11 Picture Post magazine cover

Picture Post continued to exercise an influence after its demise in 1958. Its characteristic layout was imitated by many later magazines (Price, 2001, p. 103).

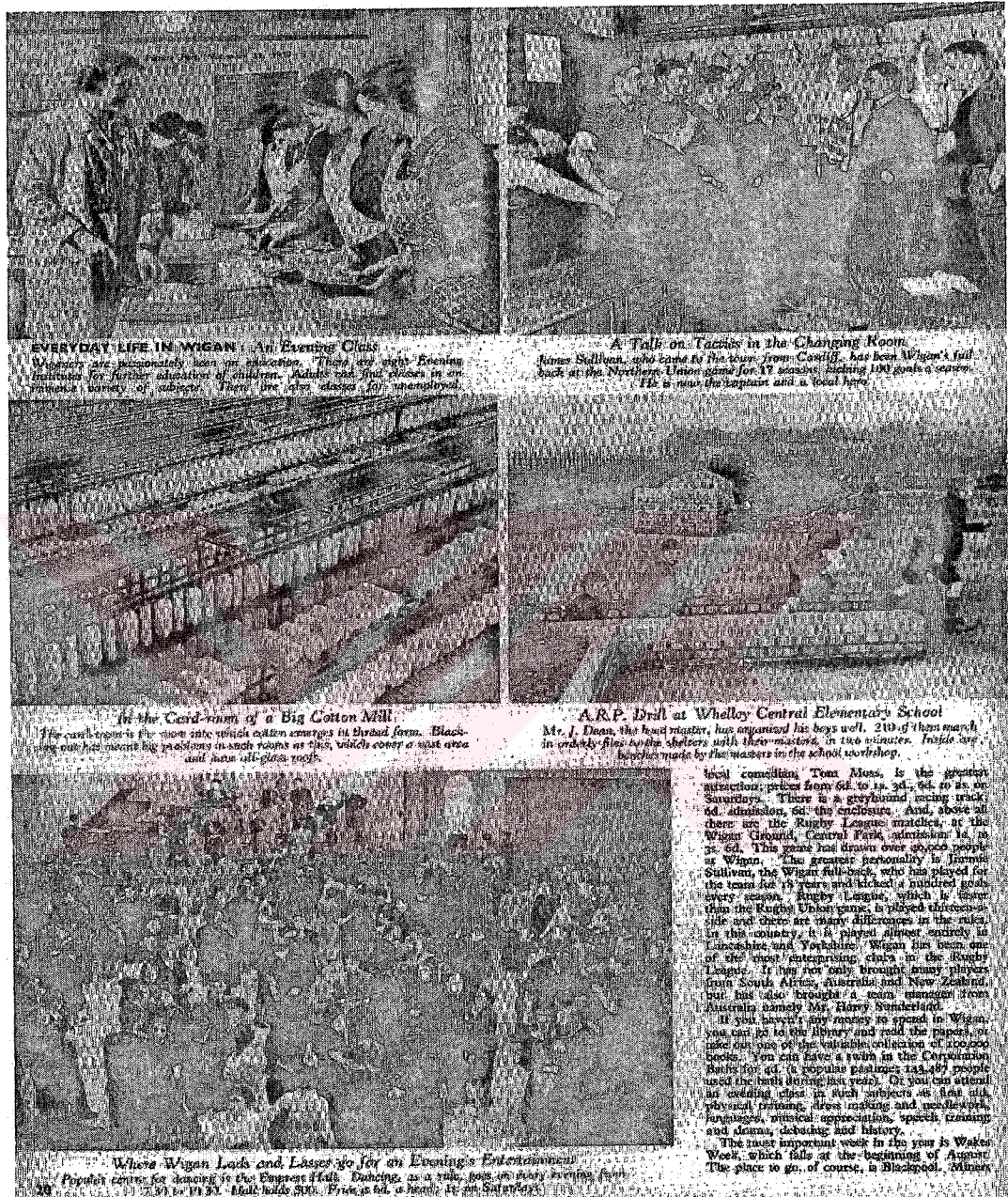


Figure 5.12 Picture Post magazine

But the days of the photo-essay were numbered, and in the 1960s/70s realist photographers broke free of the constraints of this kind of organised narrative (Price, 2001, p. 104).

The magazines were determinedly populist. According to Price, they provided readers with a conspectus of the everyday, inviting them to treat routine and common place aspects of life as worthy of attention. “This celebration of ordinary life was intermingled with news stories set in other countries and an attempt to show the extraordinary diversity of human existence” (Price, 2001, p. 89).

Documentary photographers, took considerable pains to control the nature of a scene without making any obvious change to it. Thus, the celebrated French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson lay in wait for all the messy contingency of the world to compose itself into an image which he judged to be both productive of visual information and aesthetically pleasing (Price, 2001, p.102)

5.4.1 The Critique of Documentary

Semiological analysis treated films and photographs as texts in order to investigate the components of sign system through which meaning is structured and encoded within a work. The point of concern was not whether the work adequately revealed or reflected a pre-existing reality, but the way particular signifying systems imposed order and created particular sets of meaning. When we look at documentary photography, the denoted image appears dominant. “We believe the photograph to be ‘fact’, it is impossible to have a simple ‘denoted’ message – all messages are constructed”(Tagg, cited in Ramamurthy, 2001, p. 178).

“Using theoretical tools which often derived from Film Studies or Literary Studies, critics began to explore the way in which photography functioned as a signifying system. One of the characteristics of photography is, as we have seen, the fact that it appears to have a special relationship to reality” (Price, 2001, p.102).

In Britain, as elsewhere, the idea of documentary has underpinned most photographic practices since the 1930s. As equipment and materials have improved. The photographer had greater freedom to decide what and when pictures were to be taken. Photographs could appear in publications and the photographer's choice of moment was followed up by decisions on which photograph were or were not be used the ways captions were written, and how pictures were related one to another across the page.

“Half-tone reproduction gave documentary photography a huge audience and made it influential. People soon wanted to manipulate such a powerful medium. Photographers began doing this by posing their subjects, and choosing the viewpoint, lighting and moment in time; editors by selection and presentation of their results. As can be seen, the more strongly the photographer or editor feels about a powerful way. Strictly objective recording is almost impossible in any case it often gives cluttered pictures which confuse what is being shown”(Langford,1999, pp. 104-105).

According to Price, photographic image allows us to explore the connections between documentary, social investigation, modes of representation and forms of reportage at particular times. Today, photography continued to be ascribed the task of ‘realistically’ reproducing impressions of actuality in the twentieth century. The photograph, technically and aesthetically, has a unique and distinctive relation with that which is/was in front of the camera. “In recent years, developments in computer-based image production and the possibilities of digitalization and reworking of the photographic image have increasingly called into question the idea of documentary realism” (Price&Wells, 2001, p. 18).

5.5 Press Photography

The invention of photography was the birth and phenomenal growth of the pictorial press. The first weekly magazine to give preference to pictures over text was *The Illustrated London News*, founded in 1842. It was quickly followed by *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (Milan), *Gleason's Pictural Drawing – Room Companion* (Boston), *Harper's Weekly* (New York), *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), *Revista Universal* (Mexico), *A Ilustração* (Rio de Janeiro), *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), and others. Indeed, practically every country had its lavishly illustrated magazines: printed on high – speed rotary web presses, their circulations reaching at times well over 100.000 per issue.

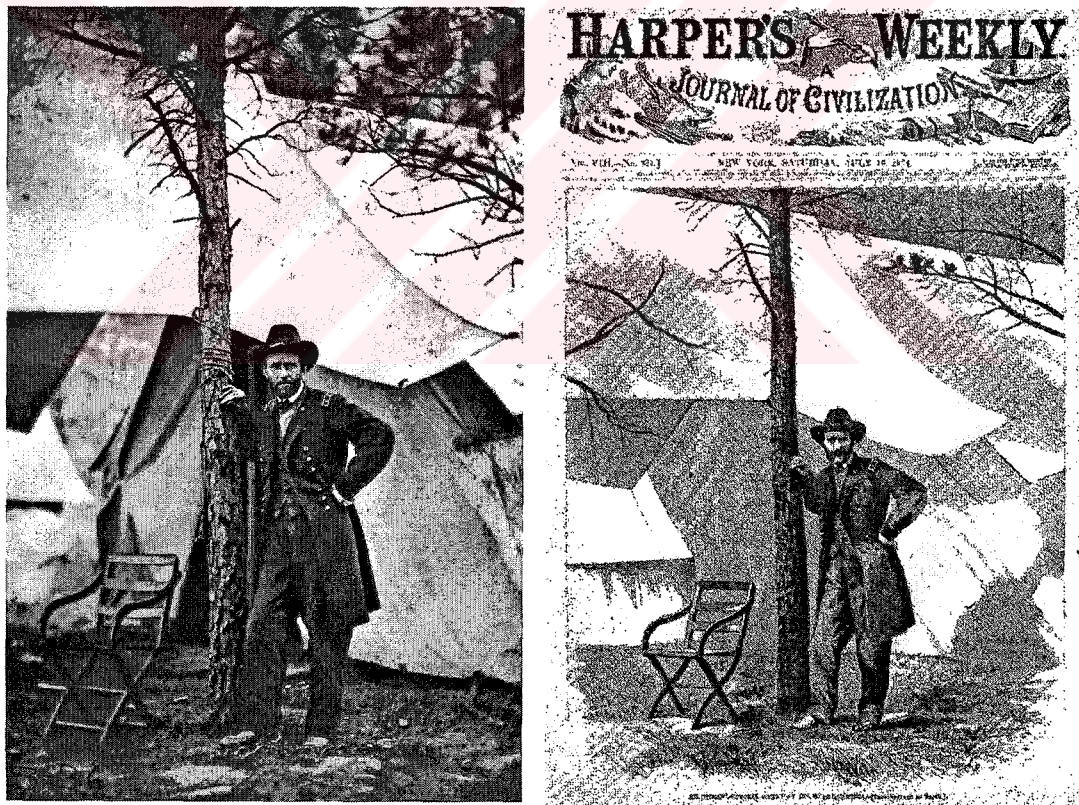


Figure 5.13 Harper's Weekly magazine

Photographer unknown. General U.S. Grant. 1864. Gelatin-silver print from original negative. Wood engraving in *Harper's Weekly*, July 16, 1864

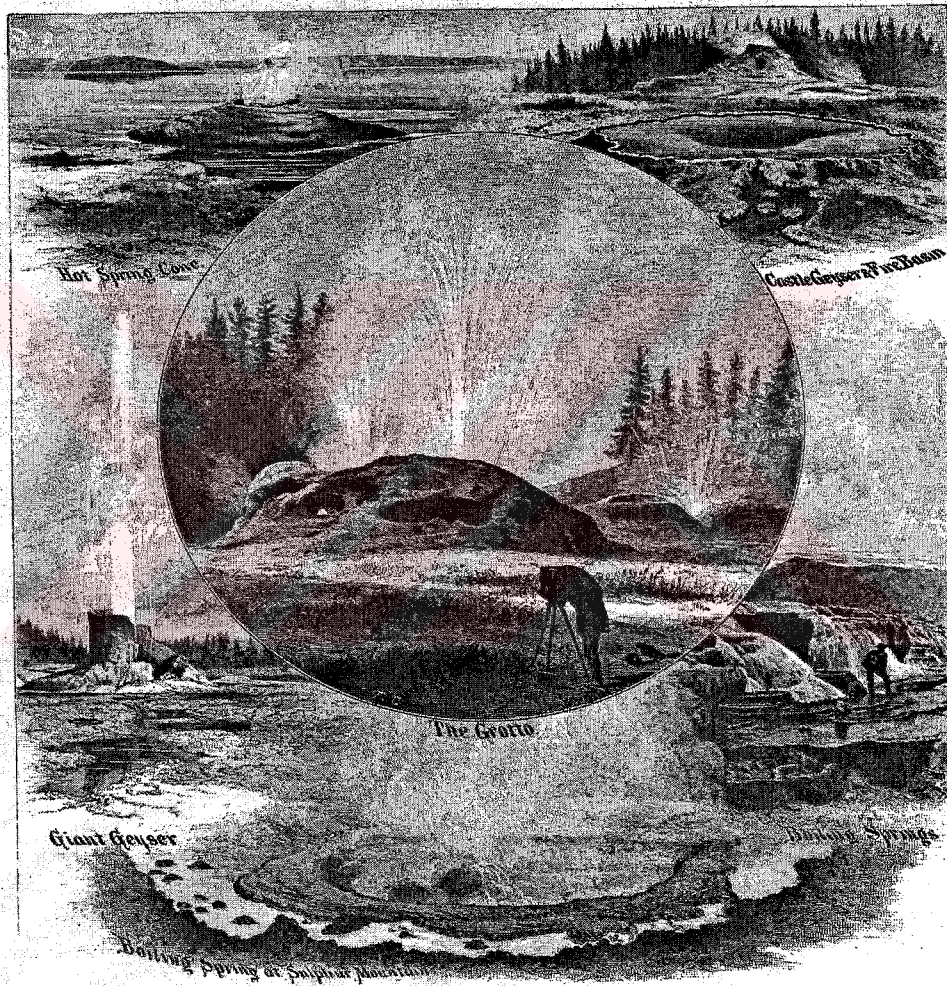
THE ILLUSTRATED CHRISTIAN WEEKLY.

VOL. II. NO. 48.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1872.

PRICE SIX CENTS.

REGISTERED ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS IN THE YEAR 1871, BY THE AMERICAN TRUST COMPANY, IN THE OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, AT WASHINGTON.



GEYSERS ON THE YELLOWSTONE RESERVATION. DRAWN BY H. BISHOP. SEE PAGE 173.

Figure 5.14 Christian Weekly magazine

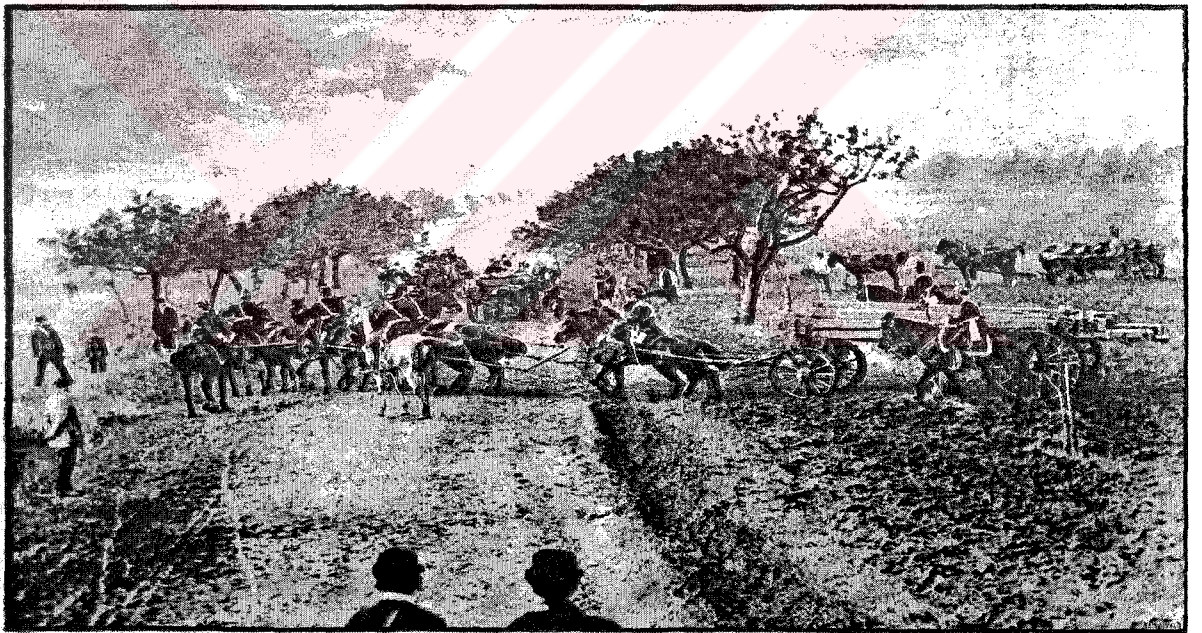
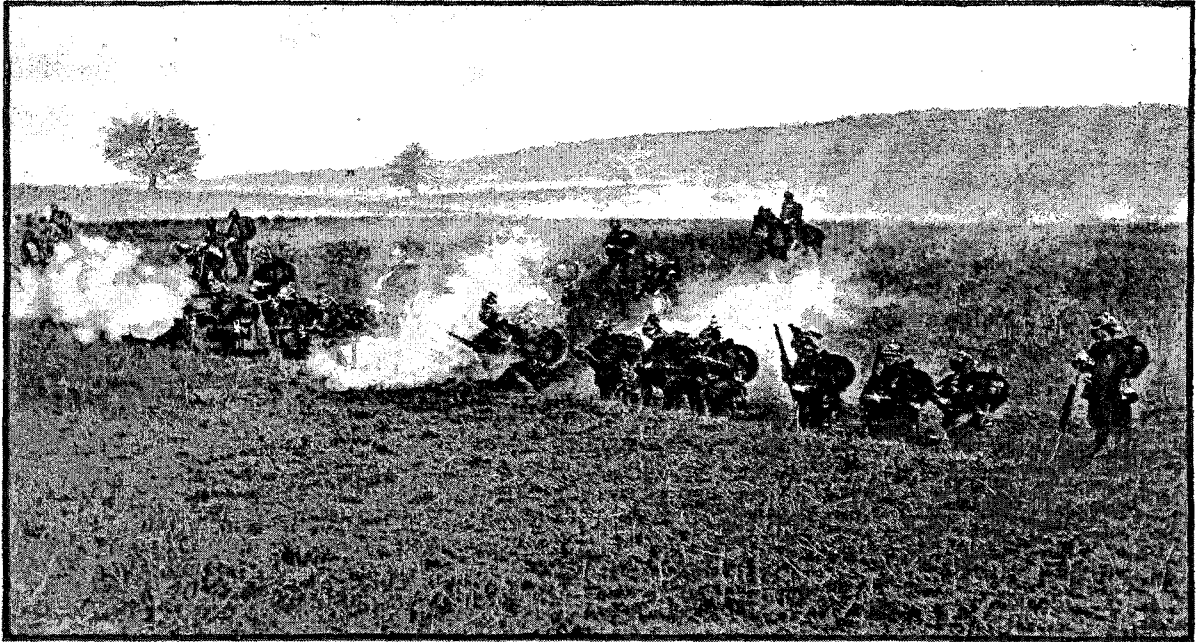
Geysers on the Yellowstone Reservation. Drawn from photography by William Henry Jackson. From the Illustratea Christian Weekly, November 30, 1872

Press photography originated with the development of the printing process known as half-toning in 1882, when it became possible to reproduce photographs in printed matter. The Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung* (“Illustrated Newspaper”) published two instantaneous photographs taken by Ottomar Anschütz of German army war maneuvers (see figure 5.15) in its March 15, 1884 edition and the editor noted:

“For the first time we see two instantaneous photographs printed at the same time as the letterpress... Photography has opened new paths. Its motto is now ‘speed’ in every respect, both in picture taking and reproduction. The old techniques are surpassed as much by today’s as the stagecoach by the railroad.” (Newhall, 1999, p. 252).

The British and American daily newspapers, such as the *New York Tribune* in 1887 and the *Daily Graphic* in 1891, were the first to use this new technology, and they were followed in 1902 by *Der Tag* in Germany. “Photographs soon became a standard component of journalism for newspapers in the USA and England, and special photo-editing departments and archives were set up” (Palmer& Neubauer, 2000, p. 14).

The illustrated newspaper supplements were created by the daily newspapers in response to the competition from the illustrated weekly magazines. These were targeted at a mass audience in the major towns and cities. The magazines used photography to catch the eye of readers, who were lured by lavish fulllength photos and numerous double spreads as they leafed through them at the news stands (Palmer& Neubauer, 2000, p. 14).



OTTOMAR ANSCHUTZ. *Army Maneuvers near Hamburg*. Half-tone photomechanical reproductions by the Meisenbach Relief Printing Process in the *Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung*, March 15, 1884.

Figure 5.15 Ottomar Anschutz. *Army Maneuvers near Hamburg*.
Half-tone photomechanical reproductions by the Meisenbach Relief
Printing Process in the *Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung*, March 15, 1884



Figure 5.16 Daily Mirror front page.

Photographs plus short, easily digested stories attracted millions of new readers.

In some ways picture magazines of the 1930s and 1940s were the modern equivalent of the stereoscope cards of the nineteenth century. They offered the ordinary person a window on the world coverage of great events, a peep behind the scenes, a day sharing lives of famous people in greater detail than newspaper press photographs could ever provide. “They could also make readers more aware of the gap between what life is, might be” (Langford, 1999, p. 103). The magazine’s big pages were formatted to display the full frame of 35 mm photographs. “Under Lorant and especially his successor Tom Hopkinson, who edited Picture Post from 1940 to 1950, those pages promoted a new visual literacy through which ordinary readers might understand their own nation” (Hartley&Rennie, 2004, p. 463).

The indexicality of the photographs has long been a metaphor for, and a key component of, journalism’s claims to professional objectivity. Yet over the years, the press has become adept at creating codes and conventions that go beyond the referential, projecting connotative and symbolic meanings that interact with, underpin or contradict the photograph’s indexical features, even while journalism continues to deny, for the most part, anything beyond denotative meaning. “The popular press especially (although by no means exclusively) has long had an instinct to show as well as tell, to provide visual evidence that allows readers to ‘see for themselves’” (Huxford, 2001, p.45) The way in which our concepts of temporality intersect with meaning in the news photograph has received little attention, despite the fact that the casual narratives that structure news, in which the photograph often plays a pivotal role, are grounded in our understanding of temporal order.

In practice, it is clear that every image is subjective to selection, interpretation and, often, alteration as it works its way through the news process. The news photograph reflects the perspective of the photographer who selects a particular camera angle; the sub-editor or page designer who will often choose one photograph from a number taken of an event and who may then be combined with, and interpreted through, text. “At each stage the image is made to conform to a certain

narrative structure (a news angle), while simultaneously being bounded within the newspaper's policy on how photograph may be deployed" (Huxford, 2001, p. 48).

Despite the many arguments which suggest its fallibility, there is a tendency to treat the photographic still as a reliable witness and the reputation of the press image is dependent on this. "There has been a widespread integration of computer technology into newspaper production over the last 10 years and this has led to the production of images which look like the old photographs we have known but which are qualitatively different" (Tirohl, 2000, p.335).

The practices of journalism, documentary and aligned methods for topical information dissemination are heavily dependent on a belief in image rectitude for their own credibility. "People believe in news photography. They have more inherent trust in what they see than in what they read" (Lasica, 1989, cited in Tirohl, 2000, p.335). Journalism has been one of the most prolific users of photography; certainly one of the first institutions, after the scientific establishment, to exploit the notion of photo-credibility.

"News journalism produces, maintains and transforms our perception of the world. Photography is employed to this end then: to act as witness to the comments made in news reporting and, as photography has traditionally been seen as linked explicitly to objectivity, it presumes to be a tool ideally suited to purpose of news reporting" (Tirohl, 2000, p.338).



Figure 5.17 Daily Express

Sightseers line railings of a Brussels park as President Nixon signals:

"Shake hands if you're quick." He was counting every second on his way to lunch with King Baudouin...

"Photographs are given new meanings by the words written around them. This picture of President Nixon would not normally have rated newspaper reproduction, but due to strong anti Nixon feelings over the Watergate scandal it was presented this way" (Langford, 1999, p. 104)

5.5.1 Photo-journalism

The twenty century was first and foremost the age of the image. Whatever ghastly events were occurring, people were subjected to a flood of photographs and filmed footage that brought current events to the attention of a mass audience. “The daily flood of images which we perceive consciously and subconsciously started with the development of the mass media in the 1920s” (Palmer&Neubauer, 2000, p.4).

The birth of photojournalism in western cultures at the beginning of the 20th century marks the turn to the predominance of the picture in the public discourse of society and the beginning of an age in which the visible becomes a ruling feature of the emerging journalistic narrative.

In the late 1920s there were more illustrated magazines in Germany than anywhere else in the world. By 1930 their combined circulation was five million copies per week, and it is estimated, reached at least twenty million readers. “...the popularity of these magazines was the way that photographs and text were integrated into a new form of communication which came to be called photojournalism” (Newhall, 1999, p. 259).

Photo journalists needed to work in ways similar to a journalist, aiming for picture sets with an interesting story line and a strong beginning and end. This sort of work differs from straight documentary photography in that events are more openly interpreted by the photographer, newspaper or magazine. Their jobs were essentially to sum up a situation or a person in one picture, then rush this through ready for the next edition. Speed was more important than technical quality.



WILLIAM WARNECKE. *Shooting of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York*. 1910. Gelatin-silver print. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 5.18 Shooting of Mayor

William Warnecke. Shooting of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York, 1910. Gelatin-silver print. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Newspaper owners saw that news expressed in pictures, with easy-to-read captions and short paragraphs would capture a vast new market for readers. The newspapers employed their own photographers, and also bought photographs from press photo agencies which sent out cameramen covering most main news events. “Most of the first press photographs were portraits but as lenses and photographic materials improved more action pictures became possible” (Langford, 1999, p. 98).

Photojournalism and the new photograph-taking possibilities opened by the introduction of miniature cameras. This cameras fitted with high-speed lenses and loaded with fast film were taken advantage of to bring, as it were, the reader to the scene, rather than providing a visual report. As in the case of “Famous photo journalist Erich Salomon’s striking “candid” photographs of diplomats were featured” (Newhall, 1999, p. 259). Alfred Eisenstaedt covered the Ethiopian war. Photojournalist Felix H. Man took a series of photographs of ‘A Day with Mussolini’.



FELIX H. MAN. *Mussolini*. Photo essay in *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*, March 1, 1931.

Figure 5.19 Photo essay in *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*

Felix H. Man, *Mussolini*, Photo essay in *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*, March 1, 1931.

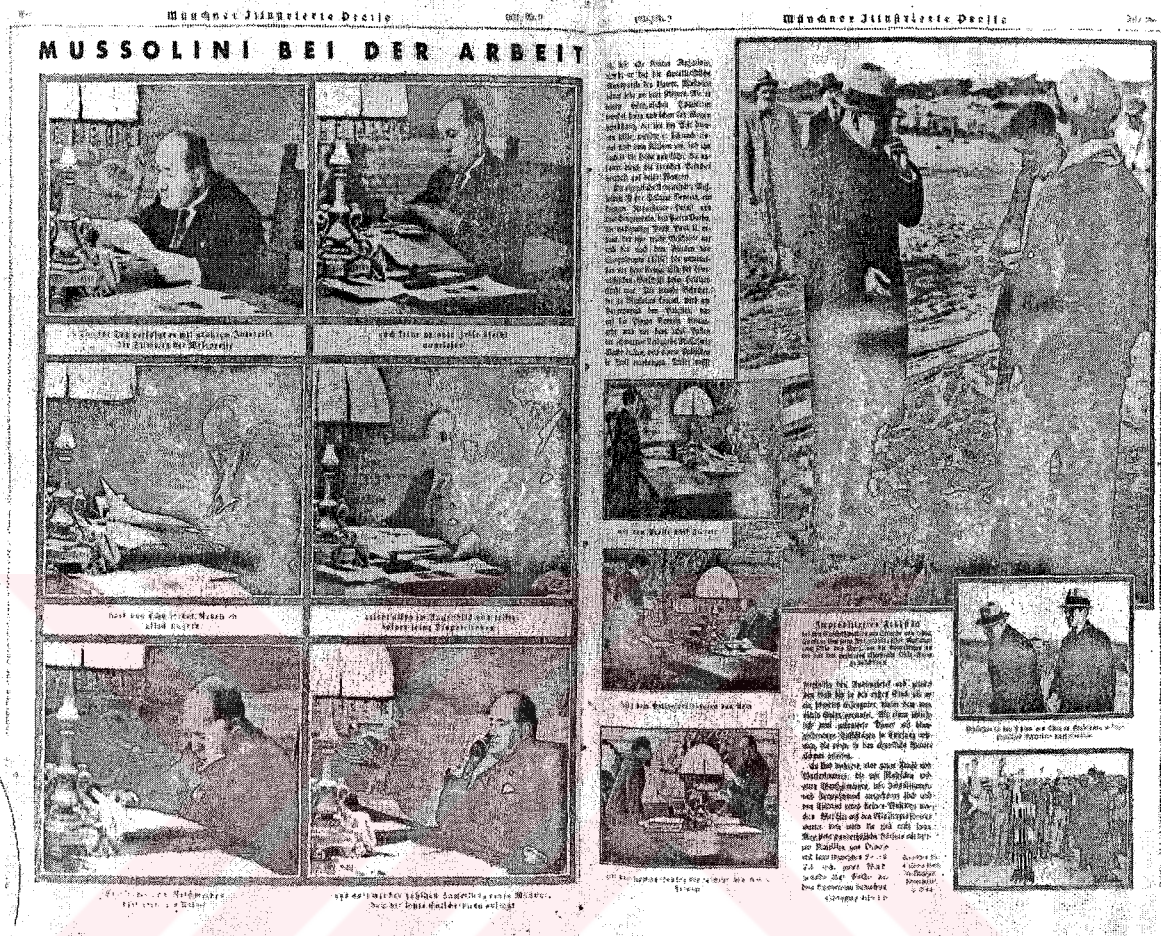


Figure 5.20 Photo essay in *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*

Felix H. Man, Mussolini, Photo essay in *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*, March 1, 1931.

Photo-journalists such as Erich Salomon and Henri Cartier-Bresson, using new small format cameras and photographing by existing light, were able to take candid actually pictures. Cartier-Bresson’s work is renowned for his use of ‘the decisive moment’.

“To see life, to see the world, to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and gestures of the proud; to see strange things machines,

armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work his paintings, towers, and discoveries; to see things a thousand miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women that men love and many children: to see and take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed" (Newhall, 1999, p. 260).

Incredible photographs have been made on magazine and newspapers. Photo-journalist W. Eugene Smith took a series photographs, while he was a photographer for Life magazine. He produced a series photographs of life in a Spanish village that will be remembered long after the photo essay is forgotten. Seventeen pictures were published in the issue of April 9, 1951. They were presented without text. Smith photographed the very atmosphere of the village and the very personality of its people. He photographed the culture of the Mediterranean. "It has been said that "The Thread Maker" is at once a village woman at work and an image haunting and eternal as a drawing by Michelangelo of one of the Three Fates" (Newhall, 1999, p. 263).

Almost a century later, today, under the increasing weight of a visual bombing, it is difficult to understand the initial impact of these developments on the reader as well as on the practice of journalism itself. Hart (2004) emphasizes that, when the notion of 'globalization' occupies social and political conversations about the future, there seems no time to reflect not only on the much earlier, world-wide reception of cultural and professional practices, like photojournalism during the 1920s, but also on the rise of nationalism which coincides with the prominence of the image, beginning with photography and including the moving picture.

"The reputation of photo-journalism has depended on an audience believing that the photograph reflects experience unambiguously and this view has been widely and actively encouraged by professional photographers" (Trohl, 2000, p. 335). The technical, cultural and intellectual ties between photography, film and television are obvious, but communication research has concentrated less on the still image and the

work of photojournalism. “The latter remains marginalized in its historical and contemporary roles as suggested by the modest amount of analytical literature addressing the actual contributions of photo-journalists to the narratives of their respective societies and the place of the documentary photograph as a cultural and political phenomenon” (Hardt, 2004, p. 379). Susan Sontag (1996) is concerned to point out the ethics of the relationship between the photographer as reporter and the person, place or circumstances recorded. The photographer, especially the photo-journalist, is relatively powerful within this relationship, and thus may be seen as predatory.

5.6 Reading the photograph

Photography is not confined to simply on optics and chemistry or the binary mathematical systems which underpin digital imaging. Photographic practices, a twofold problem emerges: first, to analyse ways in which clusters of theoretical discourses intersect, or acquire priority, in particular fields of practice; and second, to define and analyse that which is peculiar to photograph.

“Photographers responded criticism of this kind in two main ways: either they accepted that photography was something different from Art and sought to discover what the intrinsic properties of the medium were; or they pointed out that photography was more than a mechanical form of image-making that it could be worked on and contrived so as to produce pictures which in some ways resembled paintings”

(Price&Wells, 2001, p.14)

Italian semiotician Umberto Eco specially discusses the condification of the photograph as text (Eco, 1982). He argues that, despite the appearance of resemblance between the image and its referent, the iconic sign is, nonetheless, like other sign systems, “completely arbitrary, conventional and unmotivated”. Thus he focuses on the conventions of perception and the cultural understandings which

inform interpretation. He offers a ten-point summary of the range of codes implicated in photographic communication. The codes are presented with relatively little elaboration, and with no ascription of hierarchy within the overall model. This thus stands as a starting point for exploring the potential of complex semiotics as a mode of analysis of the photographic. (pp. 36-37) The key limitation of semiology as first proposed, with its focus upon systems of signification, was that it failed to address how particular readers of signs interpreted communications, made them meaningful to themselves within their specific context of experience.

Images became viewed as complexly coded artefacts to be read as cultural, psychoanalytic and ideological signs during the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a shift in photography theory. Barthes (1996) suggests in his book *Camera Lucida*, the photograph signifies reality, rather than reflecting or representing it. The emphasis is upon what the viewer as 'reader' of the image takes as the principal cues and clues for use as the basis of interpretation. When we look at the photographs, we are invited to consider not only the text, its production and its reading, but also to take account of the social relations within which meaning is production and its reading and at the same time to take account of the social relations within which meaning is produced and operates. "Here, the semblance of the real underpins processes of interpretation." (Price&Wells, 2001, p. 35)

Photographer is always able to bring something new and revolutionary both to the subject and to the medium of photography; that the image may have the effect of jolting or shocking the people. They can have a sudden change of opinion or of causing them to challenge their own preconceptions. "In reading photographs we may choose to concentrate on the formal qualities of the image; for example, its arrangement within the frame, or the dispositions, stances and gestures of its subjects" (Price&Wells, 2001, p. 43).

In unravelling meanings of images, Roland Barthes and others have tried to find systems which could be applied to help decode any photographic message. In his

essay 'The Photographic Message', Barthes (1977) described photographs as containing both a denoted and a connoted message. By the denoted message Barthes meant the literal reality which photograph portrayed. The second message, the connoted message, is one which he described as making use of social and cultural references. The connoted message is the inferred message. It is a message with a code.

Our relationship and understanding of various forms of photography are part of those signs and symbols. Hall points to the fact that messages are not always read as they were intended, because our various cultural backgrounds lead to different interpretations. He suggests that there are three possible readings of an image: a dominant or preferred reading, a negotiated reading, and an oppositional reading. "The dominant reading would comply with the meaning intended by the producer of the image" (cited in Ramamurthy, 2001, p. 175).

Barthes (1996) proposes that "photographs arrest attention when they encompass a duality of elements two (or more) discontinuous, and not logically connected, elements which form the part of the image" In this stage, Barthes distinguishes between studium, general enthusiasm for images and, indeed, the polite interest which may be expressed when confronted with any particular photograph, and the punctum which arrests attention (p. 34). He emphasises that, motivated by an ontological desire to understand the nature of the photograph in itself. In semiotic terms, the photograph is disorderly because its ubiquity renders it unclassifiable; "photography evades us" (p.17).

6. CINEMATOGRAPHIC IMAGE

In the popular imagination, the photography may be considered less real than a video sequence which presents the continuity of events, has the added quality of movement and contains much more information. Sontag places the still photograph in relation to movie film, offering the viewer the opportunity to linger over a single moments as long as one likes (Sontag, 1996, p. 78).

Since Edison believed that movies were a passing fad, he did not develop a system to project films to onto a screen. This was left to the Lumiere brothers, Louis and Auguste. They invented their own camera independently; it also served as a contact printer and projector. On December 28, 1895, the Lumiere brothers held the first public showing of motion pictures projected on a screen at the Grand Cafe in Paris. Thus although the Lumieres did not invent cinema they largely helped to determine the specific form the new medium was to take. "Although there is little psychological research on the subject, empirical evidence suggests that despite the lack of relative technical advancements of film and television it is the still image that becomes the memorable image" (Wright, 2000, p.77).

In films, an image of an object, person or landscape have a denotative dimension. As shown in the second part, all images are also culturally charged by the connotation procedures available to cinema, like camera position angle, position of objects or people within the frame, use of lighting, colour process and sound.

"The codes of cinema are particular ways of using signs, the photographic signs, dialogue signs, musical sound effect and graphic signs which are the resources from which particular film sequence, and the way that signs from different signifying systems (image, sound) are combined together by means of codes to generate meanings" (Bignell, 2002, p. 191).

The meanings of films are generated as much by the connotations constructed by the use of cinematic codes as by the cultural meanings of what the camera sees. Cinema uses codes and conventions of representation which are shared by both film makers and audiences, so that the audience actively constructs meaning by reference to codes which structure mythic meanings in the social world in which film is going to exist. The most fundamental contemporary genre distinction is between fiction and non-fiction. The textual features typically listed by theorists include:

“narrative - similar (sometimes formulaic) plots and structures, predictable situations, sequences, episodes, obstacles, conflicts and resolutions;

characterization - similar types of characters (sometimes stereotypes), roles, personal qualities, motivations, goals, behaviour;

basic themes, topics, subject matter (social, cultural, psychological, professional, political, sexual, moral) and values;

setting - geographical and historical;

iconography (echoing the narrative, characterization, themes and setting) - a familiar stock of images or motifs, the connotations of which have become fixed; primarily but not necessarily visual, including décor, costume and objects, certain 'typecast' performers (some of whom may have become 'icons'), familiar patterns of dialogue, characteristic music and sounds, and appropriate physical topography; and filmic techniques - stylistic or formal conventions of camerawork, lighting, sound-recording, use of colour, editing etc. (viewers are often less conscious of such conventions than of those relating to content)” (Chandler, 2002, p.p. 159-160).

The beginning of the cinema, the first films were extremely simple in form and style. They usually consisted of a single shot with a fixed frame. A single action would occur, usually at long shot distance. In the first film studio, Edison's Black Maria vaudeville entertainers, famous sports figures, and celebrities, performed for the camera. A hinged portion of the roof opened to admit a patch of sunlight, and the entire building turned on a circular rail to follow the sun's motion. "The Lumieres, on the other hand, took their cameras out to parks, gardens, beaches, and other public places to film everyday activities or news events, as in their Workers Leaving the Factory, filmed on the street outside their own factory" (Bordwell&Thompson, 1990, p.374).

After the initial success of the new medium, film makers had to find to more complex or interesting formal properties to keep the public interests. "Like photography before it, the cinema was a revelation. People had never seen images that possessed such extraordinary fidelity to their subject, and they had never witnessed apparent motion that had imparted such a convincing sense of motion itself" (Nichols, 2001, p. 83). The Lumieres sent camera operators all over the world to show films and to photograph important events and exotic locales. But after making a huge number of films in their first years; the Lumieres diminished their output, and they ceased filmmaking altogether in 1905.

When we look at this short sum in about the beginning of cinema, we see that, cinema history begins documentary films. Accordign to Nichols we have two story about the mytic origin in early cinema,

"(1) the uncanny capacity of film images and photographs to bear the physical imprint of what they record with photo mechanical precisian thanks to the passage of light energy through lenses and onto a photographic emulsion, combined with (2) the compulsion that was ignited in early film pioneers to explore this capacity, form, for some, the foundation for the rise of

documentary film. The combination of a passion for recording the real and an instrument capable of great fidelity attained a purity of expression in the act of documentary filming” (Nichols, 2001, p.82).

What makes a film a documentary? We can begin to answer this question by identifying some of the basic premises film spectators normally hold about documentaries:

- “Firstly, the events filmed must be unstaged; that is, the events must exist above and beyond the activity of filming them. In fiction films, by contrast, events are staged for the express purpose of being filmed. The unstaged nature of the events in documentaries therefore suggest that the events have an existence independent of the cinema. This is what gives them their authenticity.
- Secondly, documentaries are conventionally understood to distinguished from fiction films. The world depicted in the documentary is real, imaginary.
- Thirdly, it is often assumed that the documentary film maker simply observes and makes an objective record of real events” (Buckland, W., 1998, p.103).

“The position of the documentary film movement can be identified with centre progressive pressure groups of the 1930s. The middle-class bias is particularly evident in the way the movement represented the working classes” (Buckland, W., 1998, p. 108). It is often assumed that the documentary film maker simply observes and makes an objective record of real events. But documentary film makers do not simply point the camera towards their subject and let the camera roll; they employ a wide variety of techniques in putting their films together.

Bill Nichols (1991) identifies the five categories in documentary film and these are: the expository, observationall, interactive, reflexive and the performative documentary (p. 104).

- Bill Nichols's definition of expository documentary emphasises its typical characteristics: a disembodied and authoritative voiceover commentary combined with a series of images that aim to be descriptive and informative. The voiceover addresses the spectator directly, offering a series of facts or arguments that are illustrated by the image track. The voiceover either provides abstract information that the image cannot carry, or comments on those actions and events in the image that are unfamiliar or presumably unintelligible to the target audience. The aim of the expository documentary is to be descriptive and informative, or to provide a particular argument (Nichols, 1991).
- The observational documentary tries to present a 'slice of life', or a direct representation of the filmed events. The film maker attempts to be completely invisible, that is, an uninvolved bystander." (Buckland, 1998, p. 109)
- The interactive documentary makes the film maker's presence prominent, as he or she interacts with people or events being filmed. These interactions primarily take the form of interviews, which draw out specific comments and responses from those who are filmed (Buckland, W., 1998, p. 122).
- The performative documentary evokes the mood or atmosphere additionally found in fiction films. It aims to present its subject pattern a subjective, expressive, stylised, evocative and visceral manner. The result is that the subject matter is rendered in a vivid way that encourages the spectator to experience and feel them. But at the same time, we have to ask ourselves whether the events become distorted as a result of the way they are represented." (Buckland, 1998, p. 117)
- "In reflexive documentary, the film maker goes one step further than interactive documentary, attempting to expose to the spectator the

conventions of documentary representation, with the effect of challenging the documentary's apparent ability to reveal the truth. Rather than focus on the events and people filmed, the reflexive documentary focuses on how they are filmed. In the reflexive documentary, the properties of the film and the film making process become the main focus of attention." (Buckland, 1998, p. 115)

The reflexive documentary does not pretend to simply present a slice of reality, since it also tries to demonstrate to the spectator how film images are constructed. Whereas the interactive mode makes the film maker's presence known to the spectator, the reflexive documentary makes the whole process of film making known to the spectator.

"The reflexive documentary attempts to expose to the spectator the conventions of documentary representation. Rather than focus on the events and people filmed, the reflexive documentary focuses on how they are filmed. The effect is that the reflexive documentary challenges the documentary's apparent ability to reveal the truth" (Buckland, 1998, p. 122).

CASE STUDY: “WAR PHOTOGRAPHER”

The ascendance of visual culture in the United States during the early decades of the 20th century is aligned with tremendous technological changes that encourage the dissemination of communication messages on a scale not previously available. Millions of individuals have access to popular films, photography, a daily newspaper, telephone, radio and automobiles. While many of these inventions appear as advancements that enhance the communication process, critics question the impact of these technologies on American society and voice concern about the loss of community and interpersonal communication in favour of a modern and mechanized society. During this era, millions of Americans flocked to movie houses each week. Offering cheap entertainment to large and diverse audiences, thousands of movie houses opened in the USA during the 1920s and by 1930 ninety million people attend the movies each week. “Newsreels offering a mix of news, documentary, and propaganda were extremely popular with the public, and were frequently shown in movie houses before or in between feature films” (cited in Brennen, B. S., 2004).

“By the late 1920s, technological advances in the half-tone process enhance the reproduction quality of images and newspapers regularly run photographs in their news sections. In 1929, Editor&Publisher notes a 533 percent increase in the use of half-tone images in newspapers over the past five years” (cited in Brennen, B. S., 2004, p. 424). As images begin to dominate communication, visual culture challenges the established print culture and in newspapers concerns over the relevance of photographs as appropriate news venues are debated (Brennen, 2004, p. 424).

The image of photo-journalists constructed in American films between 1928 and 1939 was like this:

“Cultural materialists see films as explicit forms of practical communication that articulate an observation of lived experience and can actively shape that experience, along with connections between individuals and the social, political, and economic structures of history. It uses American films about photo-journalists as primary sources of historical evidence to help understand the construction of photographers and newsreel cameramen between 1928 and 1939” (Brennen, 2004, p. 425).

Hardt (2004) explains, photographs encourage a reliance on facts, ‘reinforcing the professional ideology of objectivity and becoming the site of reality’. Initially hostile to photojournalism, by the late 1920s journalist envisioned photographs as objective representations that provided credible and reliable evidence and they begin “a period of professional adjustment to a new interdependence between words and images in the reporting of events”. (cited in Brennen, B. S., 2004, p. 424).

Having examined the theory of semiotics, ideology and the practice of photo-journalism and documentary film production I will now turn my attention to a case study of Christian Frei film about James Nachtwey’s career as a photo-journalist.¹⁰ In this single media text, all the topics I have so far explored are synthesized as James Nachtwey has covered the most troubled vises worldwide this. Fictions war films often show the hardships a war photographer must live and work with. While this documentary does not focus on the personal side, it does, however focus on the subject of war, and the objects which James Nachtwey photographs.

His photographs have been published in numerous publications around the world. Christian Frei’s reflective documentary “War Photographer”, for which he has followed in James Nachtwey’s footsteps for two years, has won several awards, including an Oscar nomination in 2002. Troubled areas worldwide and his photographs have been published in numerous magazines such as Life, Stern etc. This

¹⁰ See appendix for biography of James Nachtwey.

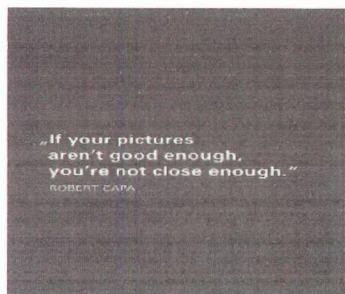
case study has a shot by shot analysis which is taken from the documentary film's first 10 minutes. The reason why only the first ten minutes were analysed, is that they are the most powerful images relevant to this thesis, and serve as a summary of how ideology works in the mass media. Most of the images seen were taken in the aftermath of the Kosovo¹¹ war in the Balkans; and in Germany, Hamburg's Stern magazine editor offices. During the first ten minutes of the film we can recognise the editors of the press wield their power over these images. Part of the iconographic status of the press photographer is to show things the way they are, and this mythology surrounding the press photographer. Their aura is as much susceptible to mass media infiltration as any other product of the media industries.

During the Vietnam War, while US government was telling the Americans and the world at large different story, the reality and the horror of this was uncovered by the work of photo-journalists a ruthless war of the biggest imperialist country against defenceless, peasants of Vietnam, which in turn made a strong impression on James Nachtway and as a result choose a difficult path for himself by becoming a photo-journalist himself.

¹¹ "The term **Kosovo War** or **Kosovo Conflict** is often used to describe two sequential and at times parallel armed conflicts (a civil war followed by an international war) in the southern Serbian province called Kosovo (officially Kosovo and Metohia), part of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These conflicts were:

1996–99: Guerrilla conflict between Albanian separatists and the Serbian and Yugoslav security forces, which Albanians characterised as a national liberation struggle and Serbs saw as terrorism.

1999: War between Yugoslavia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation between March 24 and June 10, 1999, during which NATO heavily bombed Yugoslav targets, both military and civilian including several bridges, hospitals and schools, Albanian guerrillas continued to attack Serbian forces and Kosovo Serb civilians, and Serbian/Yugoslav forces continued to fight Albanian guerrillas, amidst a massive displacement of the population of Kosovo". (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_War - 101k - 7 August 2005).



Fade in - 1" shot is a quote, white on black *sans serif*:

"If your pictures aren't good enough, you are not close enough"

R. Capa

Slow sombre music on strings underscores the entire opening sequence.



What we see in the first image, over the camera's body is smoke. We are in fact seeing burning haystacks but this is not immediately apparent. The image is filled with grey smoke and black charred hay. The image might well be a black and white photo itself. The only colour, the only life is the photographer's finger. The sound of the fire makes the image more vivid, more real. The camera pans (insofar as it is of necessity a handheld shot)

from right to left, following the eye of the camera. The photographer is taking us with him, he is the experienced leader in this exploration. As stated by Chandler, however realistic the images we are seeing, they are chosen representations of reality. The first image is from a minicam mounted on James Nachtwey's photocamera. This minicam is used repeatedly throughout the film and is always in two positions: mounted over the right side of the camera and seeing the view that the camera is looking towards; or mounted beneath the camera, also on the right hand side but looking back towards the camera's lense and capturing the face of the photographer as he works: the signifier and the signified are almost identical as James Monaco stated.

The significance of the positioning of the minicam is not only to show what the camera is seeing, because it does not exactly show the camera's point of view. Rather the minicam is showing the scene as the photographer would view and decide what to photograph. We are privileged to assess the scene with the photographer (the minicam gives quite a wideangle view) but he does not share with us his artistic experience or practice. We are close to the photographer but just how close? The aesthetic province of the photograph is kept at a distance and as is often the case in documentary filmmaking the rule of fact and informative directness of communication prevails over

artistic expression; how good are the images we see through the minicam? Are they good enough and for what? The photographer does indeed get close and we are permitted to observe this but we do not get so close to him. These pictures are not good enough then; at least, they are not as good as his photographs. This distinction is made at the very beginning, and hence the quote, because before any other content or consequence of the ideological framework of the filmmakers, the validation of the photographer's art, its importance and role in allowing James Nachtwey to get close to his subjects, to move freely among them and interact with them, is clearly delineated from the outset. The film does not directly examine the filmmakers' interaction with the subject, although this is obliquely referred to. It is explicitly about the photographer's art and thus the filmmakers keep their distance throughout the film. There are no interview questions, there is no interviewer, the filmmaker stays out of the film and there is a respectful physical distance when James Nachtwey is filmed going about his business. The camera only gets close to him whilst he is in the seclusion of his home or hotel rooms. The minicam is valuable in that it lets us share the photographer's perspective without interfering.



The next shot is still from the minicam but the photographer has moved further back and we see more clearly what he is photographing. Closer for him is not necessarily better for us! There is flame and trees and the shape of the haystacks clarify what was the cause of smoke, and from where the crackling sound originated.



The production credit title fades in as the quotation from Capra fades out, the producers names are presented in capitals. The documentary is clarifying itself, and putting us in the picture; they are giving us this smoke; they are presenting us with this destruction.

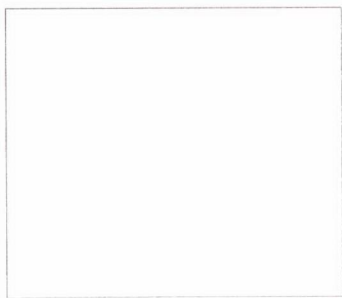
Linguistic elements can serve to 'anchor' (or constrain) the preferred readings of an image: 'to fix the floating chain of signifieds'.



The following shot is direct and blatant in its expression: what they present is James Nachtwey photographing the images we have just witnessed. The shot is a long shot of the haystacks with James Naschtwey to the left we have moved to the right of him, detaching ourselves from the shoulder of his camera to take in more the scene. It is not only his art that will be examined but the photographer himself.



The film cuts to a handheld over the shoulder shot of James Nachtwey photographing the haystacks. He walks to the right and the cameraman follows him, observing the difficulty he fire presents him at such close quarters whether it is the heat or the fumes, something causes James Nachtwey to look at his lense and the cameraman pulls back as the photographer, having got as close as he can to the destruction, turns away from the smoke and ashes and towards us before walking out of the shot. This insight to the reality reminds us that the photographer is really there, which creates an alienation effect. We are going out from film and seeing photographer's position. He is really there and he is a witness. The entire film corresponds to Bazin's theory of realistic cinema and the objective nature of the camera.



The next shot puts the photographer in a different perspective. He is now on the right of the frame and is filmed from within a barn where bales of hay are barely visible as a wall being stored to the left of the image. A roof covers us and posts on the right of the image create a perspective away from us looking very much like a strip of film in one frame of which James Nachtwey is perfectly captured framing the burning haystack, which is itself captured by the filmmaker at the entrance of the barn, a rectangular picture, a photographic image. At such a distance from the photographer the filmmakers can start to assert their own art, showing us with clever contrivance the photographer and his object as a picture in itself. The filmmaker demonstrates the superiority of his technique over that of the subordinate minicam.



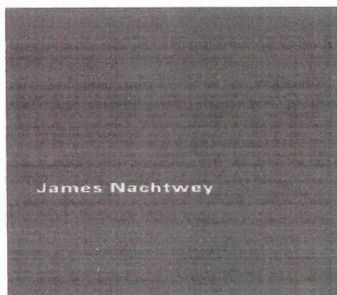
A reverse angle shot extemporises this freedom and we are shown images without the photographer's assistance of the building from which we have been seeing James Nachtwey. The building itself is aflame, maybe the more that the hay was the source of the crackling sound. Maybe the safety of our position, we are all after all seeing this film from within buildings is being threatened by the filmmaker. We are no longer observing the photographer of destruction, safe behind his experience, in the open, on land that is far from us; we are directly confronted with destruction of structures, of edifices that we hold dear, that we depend on. The wall of the building is propped up, flames pour out of windows what holds our homes, our businesses, our theatres, the screen is a window what flames do the images pour out to us?



A further shot how a courtyard, a tree in the centre, a table in the foreground. Apart from the buildings themselves, abandoned to their fate, this table is the first sign of humanity. It is not on fire, simply bare, no longer serving its purpose, it has been destroyed without even the need of flame.



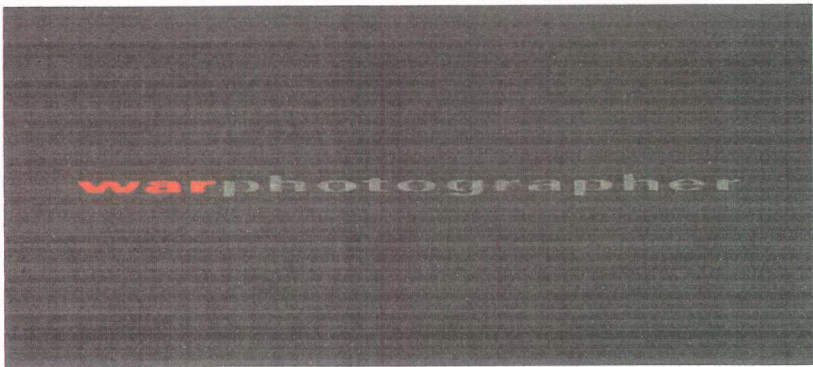
The next shot returns to James Nachtwey's account of this tragedy. He is seen photographing graffiti on a white wall. The graffiti is perhaps a clue to the destruction, a violation, an expression of anger. The cameraman pans to the left and James Nachtwey follows, tiles collapse. As Berger points out all texts are related to other texts to varying degrees and intertextuality involves the use of materials that become common currency, pervade cultures and find their way without anyone being aware of it into texts.



A list of names follows, the participants in the making of the documentary.



This is followed by a shot of the building, its roof entirely ablaze. Those named are collaborators in these images of destruction. They are not guilty of setting the building alight but they have helped us to see these pictures, they contribute something to our realisation of these pictures, and without this realisation there would be no knowledge there would be no burning building (like the question does a tree falling in a forest make a sound if no one is there to hear it do buildings burn if no one is there to see it it is not just the photographer seeing the destruction, it is these people who are part of his life, of bringing his art to life into the world making the burning building real for us in the theatre, or in our living rooms do we thank them for this revelation or do we accuse them for creating this destruction for us?



Next comes the title: a fade in, red on black of the word “war” then joined by “photographer” in white. An obvious artifice but high-lighting that the colour has been drained of the images we have been watching, it has all been greys, white or black with the exception of the red and orange of the flames.



To summarise the title we return to a minicam shot, similar to the opening, and we see the photographer's finger operate the shutter twice. The participants, the collaborators have been 'framed' and 'shot'.



The technical credits follow in uninterrupted sequence (the collaborators who stay behind the scenes, out of the frame) and we cut to a new scene, similar to the one we have just left but perhaps the village near the farm, a building is burning and the camera pans left and down to find James Nachtwey crouching to photograph a painting or old photograph lying on the ground in a frame, the glass of which has been broken.



There is a close up profile (head and shoulder) of James Nachtwey taking the photograph, the object is out of shot until we pull back to reveal the picture on the floor, a closer image this time. This evidently poignant image is resonant, the photographer photographing a ruined, abandoned picture, seeing the destruction of his art form, and what other title could follow such a personal moment, a moment when we can only empathise with the photographer exclusively as an artist, than “photography by James Nachtwey”.

Photographing the painting renders the unique cultural object of tradition into an object of reproduction but then by bringing the reproduction into the context of reproduced media it reactivates the object reproduced. The broken glass of the picture symbolises how these two processes lead to a tremendous shattering of tradition which and the renewal of mankind. (Benjamin, 1995)

photographs by
James Nachtwey

To bring us closer again to the photographer, to share that experience that he is willing for us to participate in we return to a minicam shot, seeing the picture which is of a girl (beautiful?), the broken glass effecting a veil over her face, telling us of the power of images, how they live beyond the frame, beyond the moment captured, how they transport themselves into the world and continue to evolve and make meaning. There is no design to this process it is accidentally deliberate, from a wall to a floor, from beauty and life to destruction and sorrow, from timelessness to mortality, from antique to document, from village to magazine, the transient fame of celebrity, as consuming as the flames, seeing us with our quiz shows and reality TV, fashion addicts why not hide behind a veil, shy away from this superficial new world.

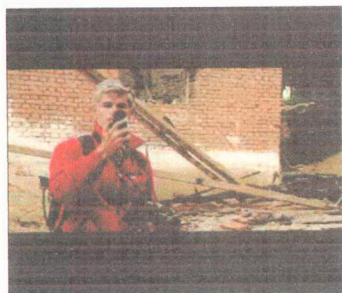


A closer take on the same image and we hear James Nachtwey's breathing, his life not an image but an animate being, there will be no such pictures of James Nachtwey we struggle against this fate, against death or such a life after death.



This disturbingly personal message, perhaps a glimpse inside the photographer's head is given sharp contrast by a cut to a live woman; the CNN foreign correspondent Christine Amanpour (not acknowledged as such at this point, for now it is just a woman) seated in what might be the lounge of a hotel, modern, functional, not luxurious but pleasant, lots of wooden design (but not antique in effect) giving warmth to the ambience. It is a conventional interview posture, she is to the left of the frame, summarising James Nachtwey's character, along the lines of "He's a mystery."

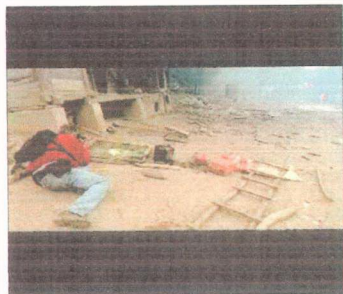
The codification is clear as delineated by Hartley, this is an interview situation and a strand of similar interview postures, which particular variations runs throughout the film, variations being of location (home, office, hotel, studio) and position (right centre or left of frame).



There is a cut to James Nachtwey, presumably the same location as before, it is a close up of his profile, he is checking the light levels, more professional than mysterious, unless there is a mystery to the magic of light and photography. We cut back to Christine Amanpour who goes on to say "You have to be single minded." And we see James Nachtwey single mindedly setting the exposure on his camera, the mysterious understanding of light levels transformed into the single minded pursuit of a

properly exposed photograph. We have been shaken out of the reverie of the images we have been pursuing with the photographer, into the world of commentary, explanation, understanding, analysis, the realm of the documentary, the unaesthetic mundane story of the 'real world', where a photograph requires careful measurement, a balance of light and shade, a measurement of time, it requires preparation, training, expertise. At the outset of the film we describe the first stage of taking a photograph, and the film will take us through the process of photography, not a simple click but a long and technical process that begins with what we see with our eyes and becomes transformed into a journey of visual communication. This is "a film by Christian Frei", it is his statement about the art of photography, not as abstract technique but as living experience through the talent and expertise of James Nachtwey.

a film by
Christian Frei



This sequence ends with a wideangle shot of James Nachtwey taking a low angle photograph of the picture, to his right is a ladder, again resembling a strip of film pointing towards the debris scattered all around, the photographer, the art making sense of the destruction, taking us towards it. The music stops and the sound of wind replaces it.

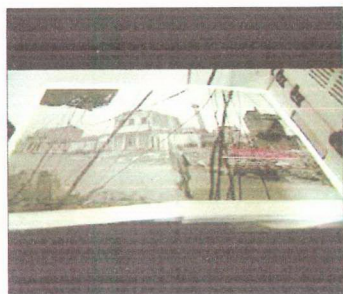
According to Chandler's concept paradigm-syntagm, there is a potential sequential significance in the left-hand and right-hand elements of a visual image - a sense of 'before' and 'after'. The picture is the beginning of the story and the 'film' (photographic or cinematographic) comes after, the narrating follows the instigation.



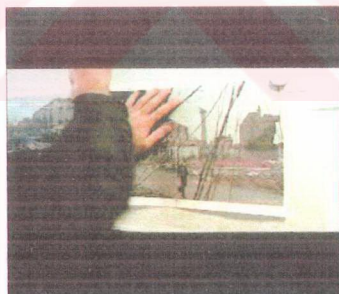
The next sequence begins without the presence of the photographer. We are in a more built up area, and consequently more destroyed. The scene is of ruined buildings, the foreground is dominated by a mess of cable, steel reinforcement, stripped of concrete which has become rubble, no longer functional, like a curtain but unable even to hide the mess. A woman walks from left to right down the street, the only function remaining, to go from one area of ruin to another, she appears to walk into the tangle, into the photographer's arena, the first living subject to do so. A caption announces KOSOVO, After War and the camera follows the woman's progress until she disappears behind a building, a man passes in the opposite direction. The concept of textual anchorage as introduced by Barthes with its ideological principle function is seen in this image in which a video caption present itself as neutral label.



We cut to another corner of a building in the left of the frame this time, from which James Nachtwey emerges to photograph a charred beam on the right of the image. The photographer is placed in the same context as the people we have just seen, moving through the same mess. An equality of sorts is established although of course his focus is on the forms he encounters rather than the day to day business of life even in this chaos. We return to the minicam, revisiting the curtain of cables, this time a man passes from right to left. A mosque is visible in the background. This three shots offer a brief symmetry to the opening sequence where the montage progressed from minicam to viewing the photographer to independently viewing the scene, and we are brought back to our original frame of reference, sharing the photographers experience.

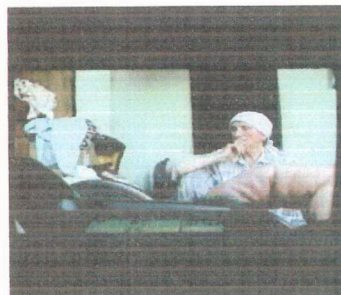


From this we cut to images being printed. Long shot through the door to the printing room allows us to see the technician taking the images into a corridor and through a door where we are informed that we are now in Hamburg, at the residence of STERN magazine. The next four shots show in detail the images being taken out of a portfolio and displayed on a wall, ending with a medium close of the last image we saw James Nachtwey photographing being scrutinized by the technician. This new perspective, all of interiors is of a world we are more familiar with. An indoors environment, purpose built workspace, things documented and put into folders, things scrutinized in a controlled environment, the chaos we have just departed digested and spewed out by machines. Movement is through corridors,



not rubble, we can see through glass doors, not tangles of wires. The images of destruction are now in a wholly new context, no longer out of doors, wild and free yet safe, in an office where someone can take care of them, deal with them for us. The ideological implications of this image according to a Marxian analysis is the control of images by the ruling class as represented by the intellectual representatives in a capitalist society for the domination of the consciousness of the other classes.

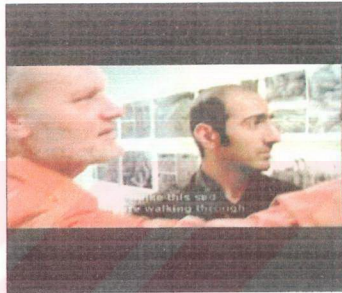
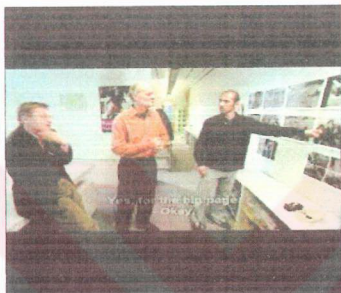
The minicam shows us a dirty windscreen. This glass is not transparent like STERN's, it does not let you watch process, things are obscure out here, interiors shut you off, close the world to you. The minicam shows us some women emerging from the back of a covered lorry, crying to see the destruction of their homes. Stepping out into the open is a shattering experience. The photo camera runs out of film, as it perhaps has for the people, their lives all stored in memory, nothing left to cherish but their personal recorded images. The camera is held down for refilling and looks dejectedly at a woman's feet.





The first photograph we see is of a woman in front of the shell of a building. The minicam carries on the the story which the photo implies, of her going into the building, her home, we follow her and see her bewilderment, watch her put her hand to her chin and looks up the camera clicks unabashed at the woman's emotion, greedily devouring her sorrow as her home has been devoured, as we are devouring with our gaze, witnessing distress in comfort.

The editor of STERN nods in agreement. We are again looking at the technician's display, along with a designer. They are all seen in profile, no direct look at their faces, as they look directly to the images. The editor informs us that what we are seeing "is too graphic and unemotional." Their discussion of the layout of the pictures, presumably a supplement or feature is a chilling contrast to the scene we have just witnessed. There is no emotion here.



The editors of the press wield their power over these images. They have the possibility of misrepresenting the world, deforming the reality or using their judgement as Hartley puts it, engaging in the struggle to 'put things right'. Part of the iconographic status of the press photographer is to show things the way they are and this film unmasks some of this mythology surrounding the press photographer. Their aura is as much susceptible to mass media infiltration as any other product of the media industries.



Their conversation is intercut with photographs, the first of the earlier image of the cables, at least we see it as a photographic image, the editor discusses piles of corpses: “that looks fantastic”, they fold the pictures to improve placement, like doctors, surgeons, clinical and detached, the scientific gaze,

and then we see a sequence of harrowing photographs, we are being invited to examine these images with clinical detachment, bodies in a lorry, grief and mourning, gravesites, screams of despairs, faces behind hands.

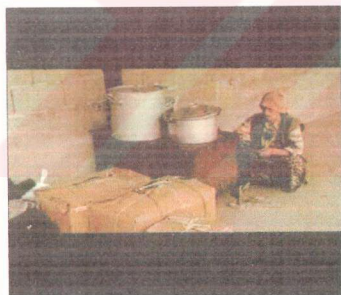


The editor needs to know “can you tell the corpses weren't in Africa” dealing with readership trends, current sympathies, newsworthiness. The editor tells us “his idea is worldwide horror.” Like a sensational headline or a slogan. A big close up on the designer, panning to capture the face of the editor as they look at these images of worldwide horror paints a sinister tableaux, their gaze consuming this worldwide horror by watching their gaze we look at a part of ourselves, and a part of the process that brings these images to our attention - through the media we call for this vision.



Because the mass media are ideological tools of ruling-class domination either through direct ownership or, as in the case of broadcasting, via ruling-class control of the State. Such a position neglects both the specific effects of subordinating cultural production and reproduction to the general logic of capitalist commodity production and the specificities of the varying and shifting relationships between economic, ideological and political levels within actual concrete historical moments

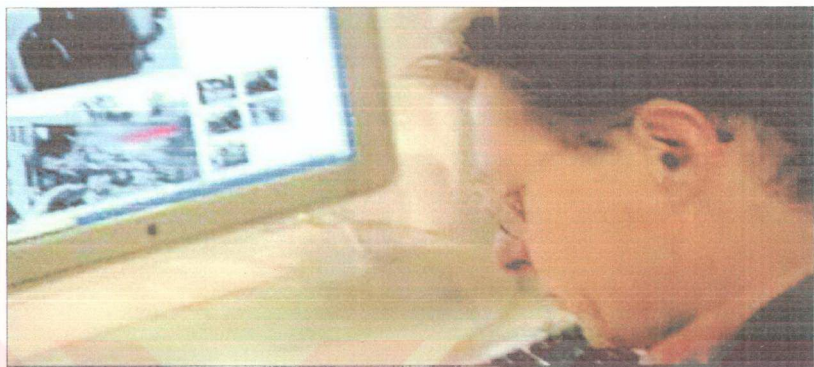




Cut to James Nachtwey photographing people passing in the street, a child crying through a smashed and smoked scoured window pane. Do these images smash through our complacency, our consumerism. How do we get on with our lives after these revelations?

As Bartes points out the connotations used in media texts separate the ideological from the literal myths, therefore, function as the naturalisation of dominant cultural and historic values, attitudes and beliefs become obvious common sense, thus objective and true reflection, but the denotive meaning of war cannot be denied. Instead they collaborate with our extended interpretations to give more than just documentary evidence of an instance, but become signifiers in a more subtle interplay of intertextual drama, from which multi layered meaning can be extrapolated and read to the depth and complexity of any other media text. Photojournalism, and documentary filmmaking are demonstrated to have rich narrative, textual and aesthetic qualities which need to be decoded, even with conventional genre formulas and stereotypes.

The following images, not photographs but film, show us the village or town changed by the destruction. Dead animals by the road. Goods packaged, salvaged, tied with string, abandoned vehicles, teenagers looking out through the glassless, frameless window of a roofless building, looking at a very different world.



What sort of different world do we see after witnessing these events?

7. CONCLUSION

In the works of Saussure and Peirce's semiology does not concern itself directly with communication, but with the production of meaning and the exchanges of meanings. The main emphasis here is not on the processes of manifestations but in the relationship between the culture that absorbs the meaning and the producer of the meaning, and the subsequent interactions between the two. It is concentrated on the point of making meaning and continuing the communication, and the role that places the produced meanings, and on how the communication is made meaningful. Saussure and Peirce engage themselves not on how the meaning has been transferred or communicated, but with the nature of what the meaning shows.

This school does not have a concept of disruption in communication. It does not engage itself with the truth, effectiveness or influence of the communication. By an act of encoding a meaning into a system of symbols and signs and the subsequent decoding of those symbols and signs, it is considered that communication takes place. It is not perceived as a failure of communication if the decoded meaning is different from the encoded one because this only shows the cultural, social and individual differences between the encoder and decoder.

- The patterns and structures of signs in media texts condition the meanings which can be communicated and understood.
- The signs in media texts are understood in relation to other signs and other texts in a social and cultural context.
- Each medium has features specific to it and features, which are shared with other media.
- Written and visual texts and media position their audiences in particular ways and they understand and enjoy the media in different and diverse ways.
- It is by studying the ideology and meanings between media and audiences in particular ways that we think about ourselves and our culture.

The metamorphosis in meanings are not condemned as negative phenomena, indeed they can be seen as a result of cultural and subcultural richness. According to this school if we want to minimise the differentiation of meanings, we should not try to achieve that by trying to make better production within the communication system, what needs to be done is to bring the social differences to a minimum. In other words what constitutes communication is not in itself a producing system but societies and the worlds understanding of it.

In capitalist societies everything that has been directly lived, is replaced by a substitute representation of reality encoded within the parametres of the predominant ideology, thus the life in those societies is an enormous summary of fabricated illusions.

These images, that have been cut off from the reality of life, interact and move and make a state of affairs in which it is no longer possible to bring together, or to establish, the connection between life and these false representations any more.

The reality has been taken and transformed into a false reflection of itself by the prevailing ideology. The fictions created from these nuggets or ingots of the material world moulded by the media serve to delineate the ideological apparatus that cast them. This transformation finds itself in an autonomous world of its own in which the falsity does everything not to face the reality.

This transformed projection presents itself as the society, as well as a part of society, and also as the unifying tool of these two roles.

By the process of juxtaposing the unpitying fabrications of the daily news, which highlights catastrophe and disaster, deaths, murders, rapes, revolutions, with the everyday phenomenon of ordinary uneventful life, the latter is glorified.

The gulf between perceiving the world and real understanding of it increases with the development of technology to today's world-embracing point. We become increasingly spectators of, and alienated from, reality. Media insinuates its own

interpretation of reality into this context, creating another level of truth in which the news of war effects advertisement campaigns and advertisements reflects back on the news.

The real role of the mass media by overproducing all these meanings neutralises the masses in order to ensure the perpetuation of the system. What TV mediates is an editable and visualisable ideology and propaganda. Television mediates therefore to the dominant ideology of a system.

Everything that constitutes the world turns into a commodity that has been prepared industrially, and becomes something which is being treated as visual meaning therefore its real cultural political values are being lost. Instead of going through the image to an understanding of the world it turns back on itself.

From a communication that focuses itself on the thing that is being shown, it develops into a communication that focuses itself onto the power that it shows. For instance in the Television the happening that are being shown, through images, take place as a consumption of images. Because of the nature of TV and the news, which is being edited and shown within an ideological construction, although the images have clear messages they become alienated from their meaning. Therefore the onlooker is alienated through their own unconscious participation, through the process from the object that has been watched.

The onlooker lives less, while watching more. As long as they accept the images that are being given as their own needs they will understand themselves and their own wishes. This clarifies that the images that are being brought to our attention, whether it be pornography or a documentary, art or mundane photographs and films; brings into reality that our behaviour is not our own but has been brought to us by others. Unless we understand that all these films and photographs are being produced within an ideological system and brought to us there is not much of an importance what we watch, because all these images that reach us in whatever form they are

being aestheticised, in the end it does not help us to change anything in the systems that we live in. Therefore we are only spectators which only look onto the images which are being brought to our attention divorced from their real meaning and perhaps, as John Berger says, we will either watch them with a bad conscience or just ignore them. In this instant a war photographer like James Nachtwey's photographs that show us wars, famines, deaths, poverty framed, or a documentary film director like Christian Frei powerfully makes us remember that behind death statistics, wars and news bulletins there is a reality. Furthermore these photographs and films have been printed upon the black drapes with which we endeavored to forget the realities we denied to learn.

These photographs and films have taken upon themselves a role like an eye which would enable us to see what is happening in the world but what we need to ask in this instant is what these really make us see. All these images gives us a feeling of impotence while we look at these photographs and films which shows us the pain that somebody else has lived and drowns us within it. We are filled with sadness, pain and anger. Sadness takes on its shoulders a part of somebody else's suffering without a concrete consequence. Anger needs action. We try to get away from the moment of pain in the image and turn into our own lives.

The photographic and cinematographic images which show suffering have a double edged sword like terror within them. Because there is a tremendous contrast between the moment of real pain and our consumption of it. That is why, trying to return to our lives after consuming such images we feel that we are responsible for the discontinuity, therefore our reactions to this would be to have a feeling of impotence. The ones that we have just witnessed that were mourning their dead, the ones that helped to the wounded, the ones who have been forced to return to their destroyed and burning houses with the unbearable loss of their loved ones, they do not live these moments the way we watch them and their reaction are not like ours. Nobody can expect us to witness these catastrophic images as cool headed as the war photographer James Nachtwey, because by documenting these horrible events and

shame of mankind he is contributing something which gives him a moral high ground. Professionals like James Nachtwey and Christian Frei, with aesthetic and technical expertise, bring us those images in order to get the maximum impact from the onlookers. These moments of catastrophe, either photographed or not, are in discontinuity with other moments; they are independent of our voyeurism. These wars, poverty and inflicted pains are now only as powerful as the onlookers own sense of impotence.

In order to get rid of this feeling they may either try to return to their mundane rituals, or go into a mood of proactive dispersal of the burden of privilege. People who suffer under this pressure may start organising committees and organising aid, perhaps having their lives really affected by the tragedies they encounter, or they may anonymously donate to charity to clear their conscience and go about their daily lives, or grumble to their colleagues at the regular watering hole and do nothing. But the absolute majority is totally saturated and dismissive of the tragedy, directing their passions and energy to cheap numbing sounds, humdrum drama and heavily sponsored sporting events.

The ineffectiveness of those closely involved in these distant tragedies to mobilise genuine concern and global effort to effect change is a symptom of how thoroughly saturated and alienated the society at large is by the media's explosive coverage of war and disaster. Progressively since the sixties and seventies, when Nachtwey himself was persuaded to change the course of his life with what can only be described as missionary zeal, by seeing the power of images to show the truth in sharp relief to the truth broadcast by those in authority, the very same powerful images have been stripped of their wool shearing abilities. First, the power base of the nations shifted heavily from the working class to the middle class, comfort secured complacency and whilst poverty has remained as prolific as ever, even in economically powerful countries, it is no longer the poverty of an essential labour force, rather, that of a redundant surplus population, whose anger is not supported

with political power and whose frustration is either self destructive or spent on football and lottery tickets.

The biggest tragedies to strike the media since internal industrial conflicts have been about famine, the Live Aid phenomenon in the eighties brought to the world's attention the most horrifying images of human suffering and tragedy possible, raised phenomenal amounts of money, spawned a whole phenomenon of regular inter-nationwide charity events, and created the largest feeling of hopelessness and impotence in the face of continental disaster, possibly since the world wars. Globalisation has pushed the attention of exploitation and economic control from military and colonial imperialism to capitalist imperialism, where the enemy, those guilty of perpetrating or providing the conditions for subjugating labour forces and wielding power are masked behind ideology and posturing, whilst the continuing saga of human suffering, of political injustice, of bloodthirsty rage leaves in its wake an increasingly numb and politically sterile populace, whether educated and informed or uneducated and bigoted.

APPENDIX A

PRESS FILE ABOUT “WAR PHOTOGRAPHER”



INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTARY FILMFESTIVAL AMSTERDAM 2001 IN COMPETITION NOMINATED BEST DOCUMENTARY SWISS FILM PRIZE 2002

A M E S N A C H T W E Y



OSCAR NOMINATION 2002
BEST DOCUMENTARY

War photographer

A FILM BY CHRISTIAN FREI

W Every minute I was there,
I wanted to flee.
I did not want to see this.
Would I cut and run, or would I deal
with the responsibility of being
there with a camera? **//**



CHRISTIAN FREI FILMPRODUCTIONS IN ASSOCIATION WITH SWISS NATIONAL TELEVISION AND SUISSIMAGE PRESENT WAR PHOTOGRAPHER WITH JAMES NACHTWEY
CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, HANS-HERMANN KLARE, CHRISTIANE BREUSTEDT, DES WRIGHT, DENIS O'NEILL DIGITAL BETACAM CINEMATOGRAPHY PETER INDERGAND SCS PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES NACHTWEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR/ ASSISTANT EDITOR BARBARA MÜLLER MICROCAM CINEMATOGRAPHY JAMES NACHTWEY MICROCAMS BUILT BY SWISS EFFECTS SOUND FLORIAN EIDENBENZ, INGRID STÄDELI, MARTIN WITZ
MUSIC BY ELENI KARANDROU, ARVO PÄRT, DAVID DARLING MUSIC PRODUCER MANFRED EICHER PRODUCED, DIRECTED AND EDITED BY CHRISTIAN FREI **LOOK NOW!**





Synopsis

In one of the world's countless crisis areas, surrounded by suffering, death, violence and chaos, photographer James Nachtwey searches for the picture he thinks he can publish.

A film about a committed, shy man, who is considered one of the bravest and most important war photographers of our time - but hardly fits the cliché of the hard-boiled war veteran.

Quotes



„I don't know what makes him tick to the extend that he ticks.“

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR
Chief International Correspondent CNN



„He needs that kick, that flow of adrenaline and the fear of dying, in order to feel alive. He is at his best in the most extreme situations.“

HANS-HERMANN KLARE
Foreign Editor STERN Magazine



„He has his own library of suffering in his head.“

CHRISTIANE BREUSTEDT
Editor in Chief GEO SAISON Magazine



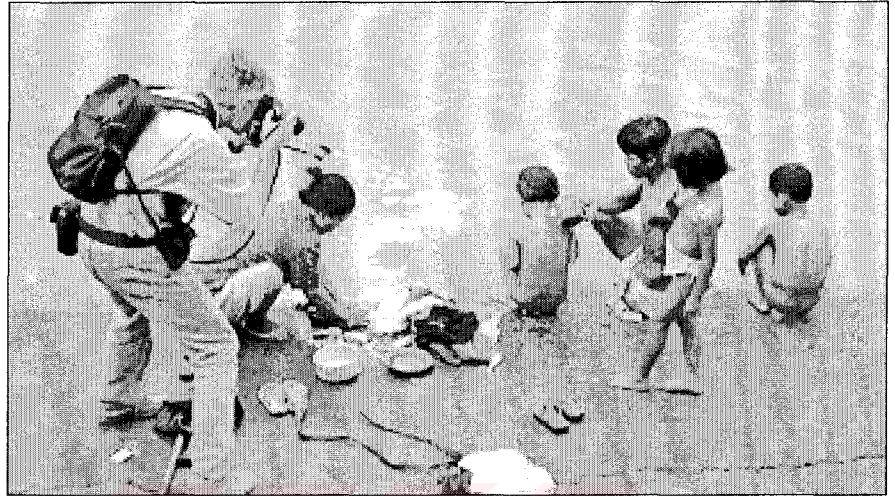
„He is always right in the middle of it. He is always part of it. He always has been and he always will be.“

DES WRIGHT
Cameraman REUTERS



„The possibility of a normal life, that's the main conflict... and what he's had to sacrifice to live the life that he leads... He has given everything to the job.“

DENIS O'NEILL
Screenwriter / Jim's best friend



The Film

A film about the American photographer James Nachtwey, about his motivation, his fears and his daily routine as a war photographer. If we believe Hollywood pictures, war photographers are all hard-boiled and cynical old troopers. How can they think about 'exposure time' in the very moment of dread?

James Nachtwey is no rumbling swaggerer, but an unobtrusive man with gray hair and the deliberation of a lecturer in philosophy. A thoughtful, rather shy person. But many people think of him as the bravest and best war photographer ever. Without a doubt he is the busiest. In the past twenty years he has not missed a single war. And he probably has seen more suffering and dying than anyone else of our time.

After the world-wide success of the documentary „Ricardo, Miriam y Fidel“, Swiss author, director and producer Christian Frei followed James Nachtwey for two years into the wars in Indonesia, Kosovo, Palestine... Christian Frei used special micro-cameras attached to James Nachtwey's photo-camera.

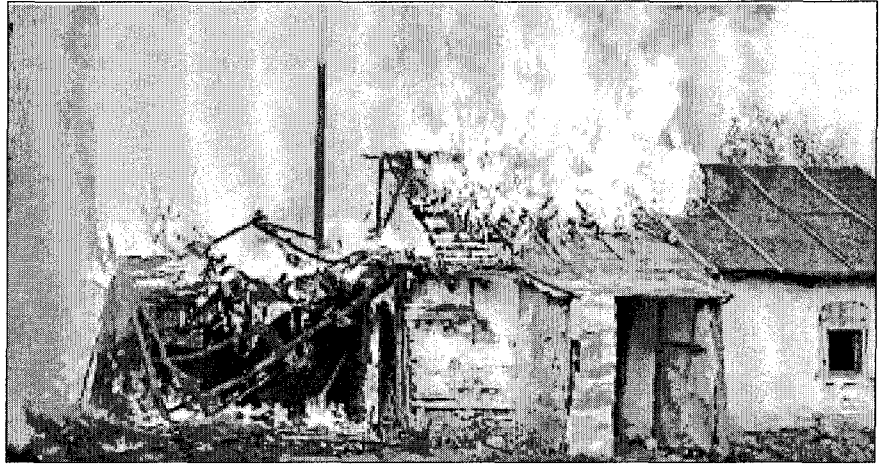
We see a famous photographer looking for the decisive moment. We hear every breath of the photographer. For the first time in the history of movies about photographers, this technique allowed an authentic insight into the work of a concerned photo-journalist.

JAMES NACHTWEY

war

photographer

A FILM BY CHRISTIAN FREI



JAMES NACHTWEY

war photographer

A FILM BY CHRISTIAN FREI



139

Protagonists...

JAMES NACHTWEY

Photographer

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR

Chief International Correspondent CNN

HANS-HERMANN KLARE

Foreign Editor STERN Magazine

CHRISTIANE BREUSTEDT

Editor in Chief GEO SAISON Magazine

DES WRIGHT

Cameraman REUTERS

DENIS O'NEILL

Screenwriter / Jim's best friend

...and Locations

„War Photographer“ was shot in **Kosovo, The Balkans**
(June 1999)

Jakarta, Indonesia
(May/June 1999)

Ramallah, Palestine
(October/November 2000)

Kawah Ijen, A Sulfur Mine in East Java, Indonesia
(October 1999)

and in **New York City**
and **Hamburg**

Produced, Directed
and Edited by

CHRISTIAN FREI

Photographs by

JAMES NACHTWEY

Additional Photographs
Vietnam
Vietnam
South Africa
South Africa

DON McCULLIN
HUYNH CONG „NICK“ UT
JUDA NGWENYA
DAVID TURNLEY

The Crew

Digital Betacam
Cinematography

PETER INDERGAND scs

Microcam
Cinematography

JAMES NACHTWEY

Microcams built by

SWISS EFFECTS
PATRICK LINDENMAIER
GERALD MÜCKE
WALTER NÄF

Assistant Director
Assistant Editor

BARBARA MÜLLER

Sound Editing
Sound Mix

FLORIAN EIDENBENZ
Magnetix Sound Studios Zurich

Music by

ELENI KARAINDROU
ARVO PÄRT
DAVID DARLING

Music Producer

MANFRED EICHER
ECM Records München

Photo Reproductions
and Video to Film Transfer

SWISS EFFECTS

James Nachtwey

American, b. 1948



James Nachtwey grew up in Massachusetts and graduated from Dartmouth College, where he studied Art History and Political Science (1966-70).

Images from the Vietnam War and the American Civil Rights movement had a powerful effect on him and were instrumental in his decision to become a photographer. He has worked aboard ships in the Merchant Marine, and while teaching himself photography, he was an apprentice news film editor and a truck driver. In 1976 he started work as a newspaper photographer in New Mexico, and in 1980, he moved

to New York to begin a career as a freelance magazine photographer. His first foreign assignment was to cover civil strife in Northern Ireland in 1981 during the IRA hunger strike. Since then, Nachtwey has devoted himself to documenting wars, conflicts and critical social issues. He has worked on extensive photographic essays in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza, Israel, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, South Africa, Russia, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo, Romania, Brazil and the United States.

Nachtwey has been a contract photographer with Time Magazine since 1984. He was associated with Black Star from 1980 - 1985 and was a member of Magnum from 1986 until 2001. He has had solo exhibitions at the International Center of Photography in New York, the Palazzo Esposizione in Rome, El Circulo de Bellas Artes in Madrid, the Carolinum in Prague, the Hasselblad Center in Sweden, the Canon Gallery and the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, and the Hood Museum of Art at Dartmouth College, among others.

He has received numerous honours such as the Robert Capa Gold Medal (five times), the World Press Photo Award (twice), Magazine Photographer of the Year (six times), the International Center of Photography Infinity Award (three times), the Leica Award (twice), the Bayeaux Award for War Correspondents (twice), the Alfred Eisenstaedt Award, the Canon Photo essayist Award and the W. Eugene Smith Memorial Grant in Humanistic Photography. He is a fellow of the Royal Photographic Society and has an Honorary Doctorate of Fine Arts from the Massachusetts College of Arts.

Christian Frei

Swiss, b. 1959



Christian Frei was born in Schönenwerd, Switzerland in 1959. He studied Visual Media at the Department of Journalism and Communication at the University of Fribourg and has been working as an independent director and producer since 1984. He works regularly for Swiss National Television SF DRS. His last documentary „Ricardo, Miriam y Fidel“ has been shown in over 30 Film festivals all over the world.

1981	Die Stellvertreterin	(50') (Documentary)
1982	Fortfahren (co-director)	(40') (Documentary)
1984	Der Radwechsel	(24') (Documentary)
1997	Ricardo, Miriam y Fidel	(90') (Feature length Documentary)
1998	Ricardo, Miriam und Fidel	(56') (TV-Documentary)
1998	Kluge Köpfe	(53') (TV-Documentary)
2000	„Bollywood“ im Alpenrausch	(52') (TV-Documentary)
2001	War Photographer	(96') (Feature length Documentary)

In 1985, shortly before becoming a member of the world famous photo agency Magnum, the then 36 year old James Nachtwey wrote the following text, a credo about the relevance of his work as a war photographer.

There has always been war. War is raging throughout the world at the present moment. And there is little reason to believe that war will cease to exist in the future. As man has become increasingly civilized, his means of destroying his fellow man have become ever more efficient, cruel and devastating.

Is it possible to put an end to a form of human behavior which has existed throughout history by means of photography? The proportions of that notion seem ridiculously out of balance. Yet, that very idea has motivated me.

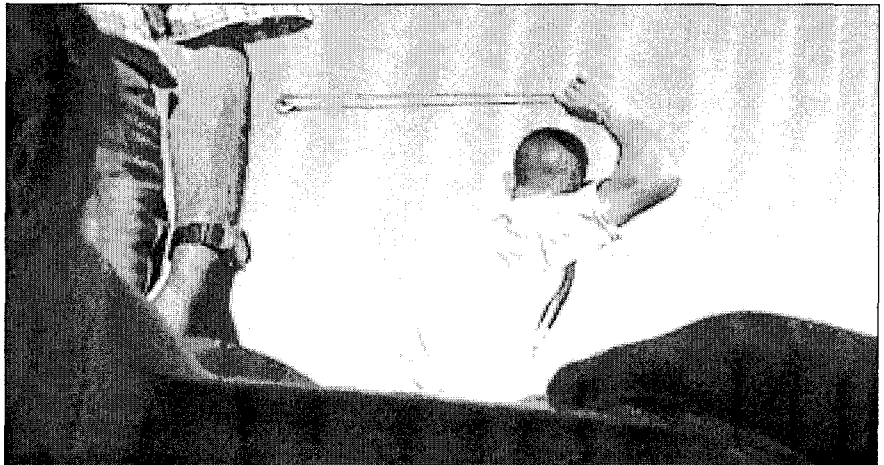
Why photograph war?

By James Nachtwey

For me, the strength of photography lies in its ability to evoke a sense of humanity. If war is an attempt to negate humanity, then photography can be perceived as the opposite of war and if it is used well it can be a powerful ingredient in the antidote to war.

In a way, if an individual assumes the risk of placing himself in the middle of a war in order to communicate to the rest of the world what is happening, he is trying to negotiate for peace. Perhaps that is the reason why those in charge of perpetuating a war do not like to have photographers around.

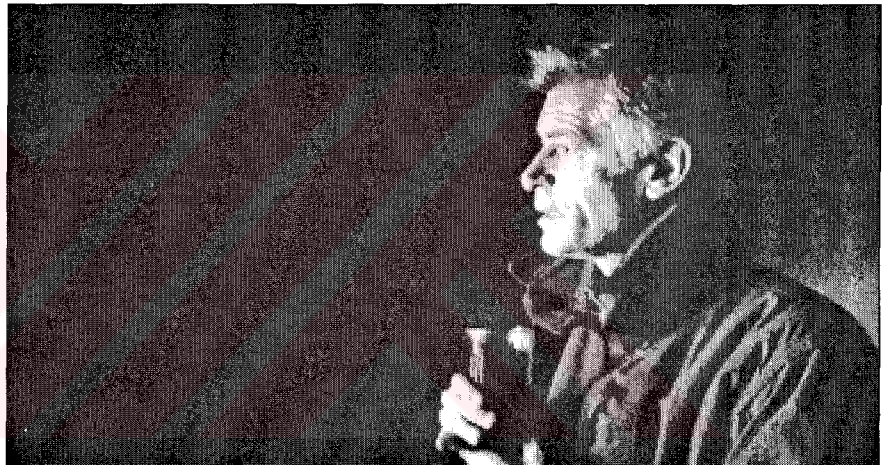
It has occurred to me that if everyone could be there just once to see for themselves what white phosphorous does to the face of a child or what



unspeakable pain is caused by the impact of a single bullet or how a jagged piece of shrapnel can rip someone's leg off - if everyone could be there to see for themselves the fear and the grief, just one time, then they would understand that nothing is worth letting things get to the point where that happens to even one person, let alone thousands.

But everyone cannot be there, and that is why photographers go there - to show them, to reach out and grab them and make them stop what they are doing and pay attention to what is going on - to create pictures powerful enough to overcome the diluting effects of the mass media and shake people out of their indifference - to protest and by the strength of that protest to make others protest.

The worst thing is to feel that as a photographer I am benefiting from someone else's tragedy. This idea haunts me. It is something I have to reckon with every day because I know that if I ever allow genuine compassion to be overtaken by personal ambition I will have sold my soul. The stakes are simply too high for me to believe otherwise.



I attempt to become as totally responsible to the subject as I possibly can. The act of being an outsider aiming a camera can be a violation of humanity. The only way I can justify my role is to have respect for the other person's predicament. The extent to which I do that is the extent to which I become accepted by the other, and to that extent I can accept myself.

James Nachtwey (1985)

WAR PHOTOGRAPHER

A film by CHRISTIAN FREI
With JAMES NACHTWEY

Theatrical Version:

35mm - color - 1:1,66 - 96' - DOLBY SR

TV Versions:

Digital Betacam - 4:3 - 96'

Digital Betacam - 16:9 - 96'

Short TV Version:

Digital Betacam - 4:3 - 52'

(available by March 2002)

Switzerland 2001

English and German spoken

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WORLD RIGHTS

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APPENDIX B

PRESS OPINION ABOUT WAR PHOTOGRAPHER



New York Magazine

Sep 26.2004 16:32

"A great photo-journalist and a genuine hero!"

Variety

Sep 26.2004 16:13

"An instant classic."

Time Out NY

Sep 26.2004 16:09

"This is as close to being inside a photo-journalist's mind as it gets."

NEW YORK TIMES

Sep 26.2004 15:11

"A quiet, engrossing film."

Armenian News Service

Nov 17.2003 07:06

Natchwey documents the wars through the eyes of those suffering it...
Respect and Admiration.

Janet Pang

May 14.2003 10:32



I'm touched by his professionalism.

Chung Yuen Yan

May 09.2003 18:40

Thank you for giving me the chance to watch this documentary. It's indeed very educational in telling the world of the issue that people forgot.

Highly recommended for educational purpose.

May Peace on Earth and Justice be done.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Feb 23.2003 14:16

A worthy tribute to a man and his colleagues who risk their lives to bring us the true story of the world.

Jeffrey M. Anderson

FILM FREAK CENTRAL

Feb 23.2003 14:13

Uplifting as only a document of the worst possibilities of mankind can be, and among the best films of the year.

Walter Chaw

TV GUIDE'S MOVIE GUIDE

Feb 23.2003 14:11

Frei assembles a fascinating profile of a deeply humanistic artist who, in spite of all that he's witnessed, remains surprisingly idealistic, and retains an extraordinary faith in the ability of images to communicate the truth of the world around him.

Ken Fox

ONE GUY'S OPINION

Feb 23.2003 14:08

A film at once depressing and uplifting--depressing in terms of the sad, often horrifying subjects of Nachtwey's photographs but uplifting in terms of his commitment and integrity.

Frank Swietek

Dallas Morning News

Feb 23.2003 14:04

It's as close as we'll ever come to looking through a photographers's viewfinder as he works.

William Snyder

Chicago Sun-Times

Sep 23.2002 18:01

By Bill Stamets

The most powerful scene in Frei's film was shot in an above-ground sulfur mine in East Java by one of his micro cameras attached to a short rod on Nachtwey's camera. Frei's camera aims back and shows Nachtwey. Billowing white clouds of blinding, choking smoke envelope him and the miners. In this toxic hell, they keep working and he keeps shooting. It's a testament to a martyr for truth.

M Movies

Sep 23.2002 17:57

By Michael Wilmington

Watching "War Photographer," you come to believe that Nachtwey hates the wars he shows and empathizes with the victims he reveals. That's what makes him such a valuable witness -- and what makes Frei's film such disturbing and often damning testimony.

AL JADID

Jul 18.2002 11:54

Chasing Peace through Horrors*By Judith Gabriel*

"War Photographer" portrays a committed, almost shy man, who moves with agility and care through the scenarios he is recording. The musical score emphasizes the dignified yet urgent nature of the subject matter, and despite the images of horror and tragedy, the film is a work of somber beauty.

TV GUIDE'S MOVIE GUIDE

Jun 22.2002 15:29

Frei assembles a fascinating profile of a deeply humanistic artist who, in spite of all that he's witnessed, remains surprisingly idealistic, and retains an extraordinary faith in the ability of images to communicate the truth of the world around him.

Ken Fox

FILM THREAT

Jun 22.2002 15:25

Intriguing Oscar-nominated documentary.

Phil Hall

HOLLYWOOD REPORTER

Jun 22.2002 15:23

Frei provides a keenly observed, amply illustrated portrait of the man and his not exactly comfy chosen profession.

Michael Rechtshaffen

VILLAGE VOICE

Jun 20.2002 20:06

Nachtwey is a one-man human rights watch!

Jessica Winter

New York Times

Jun 19.2002 22:32

Witnessing the Witness

Looking Over a Shoulder at War's Deprivation

In some ways Mr. Frei's portrait is exceptionally intimate, allowing us almost literally to see the world through Mr. Nachtwey's eyes.

Mr. Nachtwey has, for most of his working life, exposed himself to the very worst of humanity and at the same time retained an almost idealistic sense of purpose, based on his faith that documenting war is a small, partial but indispensable step toward its eventual eradication.

Mr. Frei's quiet, engrossing film is a sad and stirring testimony to this vision and to the quiet, self-effacing heroism with which Mr. Nachtwey has pursued it.

A.O. Scott

TIME OUT New York

Jun 19.2002 18:23

Made you look

Through his graphic, heartwrenching images, photographer James Nachtwey opens our eyes to the horrors of war.

Photo-journalist James Nachtwey shoots violence as if the telephoto lens were never invented.

He steps gingerly into war zones, often getting within spitting distance of some of recent history's most horrifying atrocities. Then he slowly composes his shot and waits for the perfect moment to click the shutter. It's as if he were photographing a rose bush.

Peter Indergand, a cinematographer with as much nerve and intuition as Nachtwey, follows the lensman into scenes of devastation in the Ramallah, Kosovo and Indonesia.

This is as close to being inside a photo-journalist's mind as it gets.

Elizabeth Barr / Steven Boone

New York DAILY NEWS

Jun 19.2002 18:10

Frei's you-are-there approach gives the photos startling immediacy!

Many journalists risk their lives in an uphill battle to record - and wake people up to - the crueller aspects of human events.

In fact, "War Photographer" makes a case for the combat journalist as soldier.

Jami Bernard

NEW YORK MAGAZINE

Jun 19.2002 18:07

Terrible Beauty

A tiny videocam strapped to James Nachtwey's camera gives "War Photographer" an astonishing intimacy with an artist determined to show the world hell's many faces.

Instead of the cynical, chain-smoking buccaneers we're accustomed to from fiction films like *Under Fire*, Nachtwey has a cool, almost Zen-like deliberateness. He regards his photographs as an antidote to war, and himself as an antiwar photographer.

What's remarkable is how often the photographer's subjects allow themselves to be caught on film; it's as if they understood implicitly that Nachtwey was there not only to agitate for reform but to memorialize their agony.

His thoughts about how photography has the power to abolish war may provoke our sweet condescension, but how can you condescend to a man who has seen all that he has and *still* feels this way? Nachtwey clears the cynicism right out of you.

He makes you realize that deep inside righteousness can be found a tough beauty.

Peter Rainer

LA WEEKLY

Jun 19.2002 17:53

A gripping portrait!

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Jun 19.2002 17:51

Documenting the Fallout of Battle

Swiss documentarian Chistian Frei's acclaimed "War Photographer" is a remarkable portrait of a remarkable man, James Nachtwey, who has been hailed as the world's greatest war photographer.

A slim, silver-haired man of 52 with the looks and presence of a movie star, Nachtwey has been determined to serve the victims of battle and poverty the world over. A man of quiet dignity and compassion, he does not exploit

his subjects but rather expresses their plight through his pictures, which are astonishing documents of terrible events and deeds.

THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY (London)

Jun 19.2002 17:45

A unique insight! We see what he sees as he presses his shutter button as bullets fly around him!

Variety

May 30.2002 15:06

Frei's masterstroke is immediately apparent, as he has a micro-camera attached to Nachtwey's 35 mm camera body. It allows us to see Nachtwey from a bug's p.o.v., if that bug were clinging to his camera and watching the lenser's every subtle move. More than a mere device, this is a completely fresh way of capturing a photographer going about his work.

An instant classic of its kind, docu, which opens Stateside in June, should find ready buyers for prestige docu-friendly slots internationally.

Robert Koehler

Synopsis IDFA

Nov 19.2001 14:27

International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam
WAR PHOTOGRAPHER
Christian Frei

The motto is by war photographer Robert Capa: 'If your pictures aren't good enough, you're not close enough.' War photographer James Nachtwey has been close enough for twenty years. Director Christian Frei followed him for two years on the job. Nachtwey is in Kosovo when the houses are still ablaze; in Indonesia, where a family of beggars lives among the railway lines; and in Palestine, between the teargas and the young stone throwers.

The spectator gets a unique perspective of Nachtwey's work thanks to the miniature film camera Frei attached to Nachtwey's photo camera. Now, the spectator can watch and think along as the shutter clicks, while Nachtwey's breathing can be heard. The spectator becomes the camera. The difference from the angle of Frei's camera, a few meters behind Nachtwey, is one of the ways in which film and photography are compared.

Apart from shots of Nachtwey's activities, Frei extensively shows the heart-

rending pictures that are the result. In interviews, colleagues describe Nachtwey's remarkable personality. CNN's Christiane Amanpour calls him a single-minded loner. Nachtwey's calmness and circumspection, rather unusual for a war photographer, reflect the inner confidence and conviction that allow him to persevere with this tough job. He speaks softly and without any cynicism and does not drink with colleagues. At home, his grey hair gives him the appearance of a retired professor, but the next moment he is biting the dust again, in the middle of a war zone.

His photographs are not a purpose, but a means. In the end, the war photographer is an anti-war photographer.



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