

# The Influence of Dominant Narratives on News Photography – a Quantitative Content Analysis of Images from the War in Afghanistan

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by

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The Influence of Dominant Narratives on News Photography – a  
Quantitative Content Analysis of Images from the War in  
Afghanistan

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## Abstract

### **The Influence of Dominant Narratives on News Photography – a Quantitative Content Analysis of Images from the War in Afghanistan**

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Thesis Supervisor: Murat Germen

**Key Words:** Media, Photography, Framing, Conflict, War in Afghanistan

Photography is never an accurate reflection of reality but an interpretation that contain suggestive narrations. Even more, pictures can frame news items so that certain readings are supported and other suppressed. In conflict research, those promoting escalation or de-escalation are of highest prominence. In addition, studies suggest that picture editors tend to select images that reiterate prevailing narrations such as official and governmental rhetoric.

The present research examines photographs covering the War in Afghanistan. During the course of the war, a change of president office occurred at one of the belligerent powers, the United States: George W. Bush, who started the war and is infamous for his die-hard slogans, was succeeded by Barack Obama, well known for his peaceful rhetoric.

The researcher's hunch is that with the change of office and governmental rhetoric, the picture selection in mainstream media changed accordingly. This supposition was successfully tested by a quantitative analysis of photographs published in The New York Times. The study's results show a clear trend from escalatory image rhetoric during the Presidency of George W. Bush to more de-escalation orientated rhetoric with the inauguration of Barack Obama.

Besides this finding, the present research contributes methodology as a coding framework for the quantitative analysis of photographs on escalatory and de-escalatory image rhetoric had to be developed.

The studies result underline the importance of photography in media and shows how unsatisfying the image selection is in many cases. It urges for a more conscious selection of photographs in media.

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## Özet

### **The Influence of Dominant Narratives on News Photography – a Quantitative Content Analysis of Images from the War in Afghanistan**

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Uyusmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü Programı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2010

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**Key Words:** Medya, Fotoğraf, Çerçeveleme, Çatışma, Savaş Afganistan'da

Fotoğrafçılık hiç bir zaman tam olarak gerçeği yansıtmamakla birlikte manalı anlatımları içerir. Bu bağlamda fotoğraflar haber öğeleri üzerinde destekleme ya da bastırma unsurları ile etkili olurlar. Tırmandırma (Eskalasyon) ve yatıştırma (De-Eskolasyon) olarak da ifade edilebilecek olan bu zıtlık, uyusmazlık araştırmasında yüksek bir öneme sahiptir. Buna ek olarak araştırmalar, foto editörlerin resmi anlatımda baskın olan imajları seçme yatkınlığını desteklemektedir.

Bu çalışmada Afganistan'daki savaş fotoları incelemektedir. Bu savaş sırasında ilgili çatışmanın en önemli güçlerinden birisi olan Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Başkanlık Ofisi'nde bir değişim yaşanmış, savaşı başlatan ve kışkırtıcı mesajları ile kötü bir üne sahip olan George W. Bush yerini barışçıl söylemleri ile ön plana çıkan Barack Obama'ya bırakmıştır.

Çalışmada, araştırmacı Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki yönetimin ve de dolayısı ile resmi anlatımın değişimi sonrasında medyada fotoğraf seçimi konusundaki ortak görüşlerin de değiştiği iddiasındadır. Bu iddia Amerikan 'The New York Times'da ilgili dönemde yayınlanmış fotoğraflarla sayısal olarak test edilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları George W. Bush yönetimi altında tırmandırma ve kışkırtma öğeli görsel anlatımın Barack Obama'nın görevi devralışı sonrasında yatıştırıcı, bastırıcı bir temele oturması trendini açıkça ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu tespitin yanında çalışmada; fotoğrafların tırmandırıcı (eskalatör) ve de yatıştırıcı (de-eskalatör) görsel anlatımlarının sayısal analizi için bir kodlama sistemi metodolojisi içermektedir.

Çalışma, medyada fotoğraf seçiminin öneminin altını çizmekte ve imaj seçiminin bir çok durumda nasıl tatminkar olamadığını göstermektedir. Bu durum medyada fotoğrafların daha bilinçli seçilmesi gerekliliğini göstermektedir.

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## Chapter I: Introduction and Basic Concept

### 1.1 Introduction

The number of pictures surrounding us every day, every minute, every moment is uncountable. Advertisements, media, art, personal reminiscence... We see the everywhere: on billboards, in magazines, on walls, in brochures, on mobile phone displays, and in photo albums. Many of these pictures are orchestrated to create specific feelings or to convince us of certain things. Commercial photography is an example of imagery specifically created to trigger feelings and opinions. However, all pictures bear a message and a meaning and this information can be read consciously or can ‘manipulate’ the viewer covertly. Also in journalism, photographs are not only an illustration to text but are a means of communication on their own. They contain information and can put written articles into context. The power of photographs should not be underestimated – photography “provides a quick way of apprehending something and memorizing it” (Sontag, 2003, p. 22) and often works faster and more enduring than other means of communication.

### 1.2 Scope and Aim of the Study

Previous research suggests that prevailing narrations tend to be reiterated by media and that photography follows this trend. This research will investigate



whether the official and dominant rhetoric of the Barack Obama presidency changed the photographic coverage and its escalatory tendencies to a more de-escalation orientation from the George W. Bush reign with its die-hard slogans and aggressive language.

Vast research was conducted on the effect photography and on messages encoded in imagery. At the same time, several studies looked into the relationship between media coverage and conflicts. The present research's objective is to bring these two fields of study together and to examine escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric embedded in photographs. To achieve this aim, a coding framework is developed for this study and applied on the images used by 'The New York Times' to illustrate reports on the War in Afghanistan before and after the change in office from George W. Bush to Barack Obama.

### **1.3 Outline of the Research**

The present research is organized in five parts. This introduction presents the first part and covers the basic concept and objectives. It will proceed with an explanation of the research question, the methodology used by the research, and the significance of the study.

The next chapter will look at the research's underlying concepts of media, photography, and conflict reporting. This part will ventilate the basic theories of

media and communication and continue with manipulation through framing and cognitive frameworks. The relationship of media and conflict are debated on the subsequent pages. Special focus is given to the concept of peace journalism and escalatory and de-escalatory media intervention. The history of war photography is outlined in the last part of this chapter. Thereby, special attention is being paid to the reading of photographs. To illustrate this discourse, several photographs of the sample are discussed as examples.

Chapter three discusses the ‘war’ policy and official narratives of former U.S. president George W. Bush and now president Barack Obama.

The following chapter four discusses the development of the coding schedule, the data collection, and data analysis. Univariate and bivariate analysis will be conducted in this part of the chapter. Most importantly, the hypothesis of this research will be tested. Chapter four is concluded by the critique of the research.

The last part of this study concludes the finding and answers the research question.

## **1.4 Research Question**

As explained, studies on text-based journalism and conflict coverage as well as qualitative studies on photography are numerous but little quantitative content analysis on photojournalistic work from war has been done. The aim of this study is

to build a bridge between these parallel topics of framing in media and peace journalism on one side, and photography and framing on the other. The scope is to fill the gap by developing a coding schedule and by applying it, to examine the nature of images used by 'The New York Times' to illustrate reports on the War in Afghanistan and whether the predominant pictorial rhetoric is influenced by the dominant domestic war policy and its official narration. This study intends to investigate whether a war-orientated stance of a government is reflected by escalatory rhetoric in the war coverage – and on the opposite whether a peace-orientated stance is reflected by de-escalatory rhetoric in the war coverage.

Wilhelm Kempf (Kempf, Reimann, & Luostarinen, 1996) developed a framework enabling quantitative content analysis of the use of escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric in media. His scheme is adopted for this research to apply it on the analysis of visuals, examining photographs used by *The New York Times* covering the War in Afghanistan.

The Research question that should be answered by the proposed research is:

*Do Changes in the Domestic War Policy and the Predominant Picture Language of Photographs correlate?*

Underlying is the hypothesis that the selection of photographs illustrating news reports about war are – consciously or unconsciously – influenced by the dominant war policy. Thus, a win-lose or conflict orientated war policy will be

followed by more escalatory elements in news photography and on the contrary a win-win or peace orientated war policy creates a more de-escalatory orientated image selection. Accordingly, the degree to which escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric are used for visuals should correlate with the type of war policy which is reflected in the official narration of events. The present research will examine this change in war policy and official narration by having a close look on the effect the transfer of power from former U.S. President George W. Bush to now president Barack Obama had on the selection of news photography. Since the foreign and war policies of these two presidents are remotely different, with George W. Bush being one of the toughest 'hawks' in the history of the United States and Barack Obama representing an exemplary 'dove'<sup>1</sup>, the handover of power is an excellent cut point to be examined in research.

This research's main objective is

- to find out whether concepts (as of Kempf et.al., 1996) to analyze text based conflict reporting can be adapted for the analysis of photography,

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<sup>1</sup> Doves/Hawks: William Safire's Political Dictionary defines doves as "Believers in accommodation as the route to peace, who reject the «appeasement leads to war argument» of the hawks." (Safire, 2009, p. 199) and hawks as "Bellicose political leaders." (Safire, 2009, p. 788)

- to develop such a coding scheme which is able to grasp escalatory and de-escalatory tendencies in images, and
- to test the developed coding framework with an empirical examination of the research question, thus to test whether the visuals used by the New York Times are following escalatory or de-escalatory rhetoric schemes in the time investigated, and
- if the dominant picture language changes according to the change of domestic war policy.

The methodology used will be explained more in detail in the following paragraphs.

## 1.5 Methodology

In this research, quantitative content analysis is used as the methodology. Photographs published by The New York Times are the unit of analysis. Out of the population of all newspapers, issues are randomly selected in a stratified manner until a sample of about 200 photographs on the War in Afghanistan is drawn. This random sampling assures that “the coded material represents the larger extended process within which the sampled material is embedded.” (Druckman, 2005, p. 261)

These pictures are latent coded<sup>2</sup> according to the scheme developed for this research. Underlying basis is Kempf's et.al. (1996) schedule which focused solely on content analysis of text news and did not have the particularities of visual media in mind when it was designed. Accordingly, the adaptation of his coding schedule is an important part of the proposed research and the adapted version is the methodological contribution of this work.

*The New York Times* was chosen for this research since this newspaper is well known for the high attention it pays to photojournalism on the one hand, and because of the fact that it is a leading newspaper of one of the conflict parties, the U.S., on the other hand. Comparison with other newspapers would not increase the reliability of the data since all media use photographs out of the same pool of pictures of photo agencies.

The time frame of the research – the earliest sample is from 21 August 2005 and the last from 18 November 2009 – was selected to not only include sub frames during the presidency of George W. Bush and Barack Obama but also to include data to analyze the primaries as well as the campaigning for the 2008 elections. Underlying is the assumption that even though the change in office is quite sharp

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<sup>2</sup> In content analysis, latent coding describes the coding of information that is not 'on the surface' but has to be extracted by interpretation. *Manifest coding* names the counterpart methodology where existing elements such as words or symbols are 'just counted'.

and can be defined on the day – the inauguration of President Barack Obama on 20 January 2008 –, public opinion will not flip on one specific moment but much more ‘fade’ from one to the other. This gradient is most likely to be the campaigning for the primaries and the actual election period. This is because the coverage of the election process by media grants the contender space to deliver his narration besides the official narration of the incumbent.

The War in Afghanistan is ideal for analysis by this research. It is well documented; the number of photojournalists who reported from this Central Asian country was as high as the media coverage of the conflict in general was.

## 1.6 Significance

The adaptation of Kempf's et.al. (1996) common coding schedule for visual media will be the methodological contribution of the proposed research. It opens space for follow-up research on various aspects of escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric of images.

In addition, the concept of escalatory and de-escalatory media which barely focused on images up to now will gain input. The meaningful but still flimsy discussion about images, conflict, and escalation versus de-escalation will obtain an additional contribution helping it to derive substance. This is important because of the high influence of photographs on news selection, reception and opinion.

Knobloch's et.al. (2003, p. 3) study is very prominent since it concludes that "the incorporation of threatening images fostered more frequent selection of the associated articles and markedly increased reading times of the corresponding texts." At the same time, media researchers (such as Galtung and Kempf) emphasize the power of news on escalatory and de-escalatory effects in conflicts. The proposed research will have high significance in this domain since it is bridge building between the two fields of study.



## Chapter II: The Role of Media in Conflicts and War Photography

### 2.1 The Role of Media in Conflicts

On the following pages the relationship between media and their role in conflict is in focus. As a subset, basic theories of media and communication are to be discussed.

#### 2.1.1 Basic Theories of Media and Communication

In the simplest form, communication is the exchange of meaning between people, hence a sending and receiving of information which can be anything like thoughts, opinions, information, as well as feelings (Katz and Lawyer, 1992).

Peculiar for mass media is that this process does not occur between individuals but between defined media agents on the one hand and a broad audience on the other hand. In this process, language and visuals are the main tools of communication. However, media do not only communicate – thus transmit – but also process and edit information.

*“Media, being in between the segments of the society, have a certain influence in the construction of social reality. Media put issues on the agenda, provide information about facts and events, and offer a cognitive framework for society’s interpretation”*  
(Kempf et.al.ed., 2003:18-19)

The way this evaluation and editing frequently happens is through *framing*, which will be described later.

### 2.1.2 Gatekeeping

In communication and in particular in journalism, gatekeeping is the process which filters information on their way to publication. Important task of media is the selection of newsworthy information out of the pool of available information. Professional journalists choose those stories and aspects that have importance and publish it – gatekeeping is “the process by which countless messages are reduced to the few we are offered in our daily newspapers and television news programs.” (Shoemaker, 1996a, p. 79). Gatekeeping itself takes place at all levels of the media production – from a reporter deciding which sources are chosen to include in a story or a photographer deciding which pictures to take up to editors deciding which stories are printed. Most importantly for the present research is the filtering on the editorial level: The assumption is that the high number of photographers and hence pictures available through wire agencies, staff and freelance photographers cover any information in any possible angle. Hence, picture editors and art directors – both mainly responsible for the final decision which pictures are printed in newspapers – have the full choice how to illustrate articles. This turns the actual photographer into just a cog in the wheel of production and makes the editors solely responsible for the *framing* of news through photography. The understanding of the picture desk as a gatekeeper is vital for this research as it allows an inference from the sum of single

photographs on the general tendencies of news covering. With other words, gatekeeping theory allows the exclusion of the photographer (as the genuine creator of the pictures) from the studies' line of argument. A second importance of the gatekeeping for this study is that "gatekeepers are generally responsible for policy formulation" (Oosthuizen, 2001, p. 190) in news reporting and accordingly the level of editing being responsible for the reiteration of prevailing narratives in the pictures printed.

### 2.1.3 Framing and Media as a Source of Evaluated Reality

Framing is the packaging of an element in such a way that it encourages certain interpretations and discourages others. Facts are not manipulated by framing. However, they are presented in a way that an inevitable process of selective influence over the individual's perception is triggered (Goffman, 1986). Frames have many faces – they can be bold, so that critical media consumers are noticing them immediately or so subtle that only very vigilant media analysis can make them visible.

*"Frames, (...) define problems – determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies – offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects." (Entman, 1993)*

All stylistic tools available in media are also available for framing: Rhetoric techniques on the level of language (the classic example: *guerrilla* versus *soldier*, *freedom fighter* versus *terrorist*), quotes, layout (including the “meaning induction-cut” (Schiffer, 2005), and pictures and photographs, as examined by this study. The last three devices of framing do not touch the coding of the information itself but work through influencing the context through photography, caption, and quotes. The analysis of tendencies in news photography, as done by the present research, can be understood as an analysis of framing, since the illustration of news with photography puts the article into a specific context that triggers a process that influences the consumers overall perception.

According to Entmann (1993), frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture:

*“Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say. The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information. The frames that guide the receiver's thinking and conclusion may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator. The culture is the stock of commonly invoked frames.” (Entman, 1993)*

The groundbreaking experimental study of Zillmann (2004) “*Effects of Lead Framing on Selective Exposure to Internet News Reports*” shows how readers of news prefer a framed version. His methodology was simple as it was effective: the

participants surfed on a prepared website of a newsmagazine. The presented news pieces underwent different kinds of framing: the *factual frame* presented events and issues in a straightforward fashion, the *conflict frame* emphasized the hostile confrontation of individuals in groups, the *misfortune frame* indicated the victimization of people, the *agony frame* reported such victimization in emotional terms, and the *economy frame* gave attention to the economic circumstances and consequences of the reported events. (Zillmann, 2004) In total, 4 out of 9 articles were framed. The computer system automatically logged which articles participants chose for reading and how much time they spent doing so.

The findings of the study show “that conflict and agony frames of leads displayed in the article overview of internet newsmagazines foster greater selective exposure to their respective articles” (Zillmann, 2004). Zillmann interprets that the explanation for this outcome may either be a preference of readers for danger-conveying signals (as Shoemaker (1996b) describes) or a focus on an empathic sensitivity (as Plutchik (1987) describes). Whatever the underlying mechanism might be, the interesting bottom line is that there is a preference for framed news.

But which impact do frames have on the opinion of the media consumers? Quite some research was done to examine the effects of framing, but exemplarily the study of Nelson and Oxley (1999) will be discussed here. Their experimental layout contained two sets of newspaper articles. In each set, the article was framed in two

different ways. In the first set, the news was about the construction of a hotel complex in an endangered wildlife area. One framing emphasized the positive economical impact of the project by showing a photograph of construction workers with a caption on the great influence of the project, as well as an according quote. The other framing instead paid attention to the impact on the endangered nature with adequate picture, caption and quote. In both cases, the actual news piece had remained identical, only the accompanying photograph with caption and quote had been altered. The second set was about welfare, and either framed on welfare exploitation and “personal responsibility”, or framed as a “threat to children” (Nelson, 1999), using the same changed elements as the first set.

The finding is as expected: “In both experiments, framing influenced belief importance, which in turn influenced opinion.” (Nelson, 1999) While neither the facts nor the basics of the article were touched, but only *illustrative style devices* on which consciousness attention is limited, the manipulative effect was significant. In other words: framing influences the human decision making process. Even though the arguments stay the same, one might appear more important – just by framing.

When *conflict* and *agony frames* are preferred to fact based information by media consumers and if framing at the same time influences the opinion media consumers have, the impact framing might have becomes obvious: besides the actual arguments coined in an article, the context of presentation of an article has high

importance on the overall communication process. This finding underlines the importance of the at hand study since photography is the most common element of illustration and hence subject of framing.

Nelson & Oxley (1999) taught us that this framing has consequences. The favored frames – *agony* and *conflict* – may have a bad impact on the quality of news: If news presentation focuses on the presentation of agony, the facts may become statistics. Even worse are the possible consequences of conflict framing. Not only because it would foil any attempts of *peace journalism*, news may directly make conflicts escalate.

### 2.1.3 Media and Cognitive Frameworks

Framing however, is not the only mechanism in this realm. The second large instrument manipulating news consumption and perception lies in one's personal cognitive characteristics. Each single individual organizes attitudes of any kind in relation to that individual's own cognitive structure (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 160). These attitudes might only be changed if the individual "come[s] into contact with information that differs from his or her present attitudes" (Osgood & Tannenbaum, 1955). This congruity theory is expanded by the cognitive dissonance theory, with one basic idea:

*"People do not like to have dissonant cognitions. In fact, many people argue that the desire to have consonant cognitions is as strong as our basic desires for food and*

*shelter. As a result, when someone does experience two or more dissonant cognitions (or conflicting thoughts), they will attempt to do away with the dissonance” (Barker, 2003).*

Basically, those cognitive theories suggest that dominant attitudes are preferably reconfirmed. As a consequence, news consumers prefer information that is in line with their personal attitude. Even more, journalists – being human, too – also prefer information that confirms the expected and might unconsciously edit news accordingly.

The German communication scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann added with her groundbreaking book “*The spiral of silence. A theory of public opinion – Our social skin*” to this discussion. Noelle-Neumann developed a model which explains why people are unwilling to express their opinions in public when they believe that they are in the minority, giving even more prominence to the majority opinion. Underlying is the assumption that the increasing pressure on people with alternative opinion creates a fear of isolation in them. This fear eventually makes those advancing minority narratives fall silent. On the contrary, “the closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more he is willing to openly disclose that opinion in public.” (Noelle-Neumann, 1984)

Interesting for this research is the deduction that the dominance of official narration is powerful enough to trigger the described cognitive processes resulting in a reiteration of these narrations in the news which is reinforced by the spiral process



described by Noelle-Neumann. The consequential assumption is that war (or escalation) orientated official narrations will lead to more escalatory rhetoric than official narrations that are peace (or de-escalation) orientated, the assumption that is to be tested by this research.

#### 2.1.4 Media and Conflict

In addition, the described is particularly compelling as the relationship of media and conflicts is interwoven. On the one hand, quality journalism can help to overcome conflictual situations, or as Ross words it:

*“A reliable, diverse and independent news media has an almost innate potential for contributing to conflict. It functions as a channel of communication that counteracts misperceptions. It frames and analyzes the conflict, identifies the interests, defuses mistrust, provides safe emotional outlets.” (Ross, 2002)*

Reljics adds that “if reports about tension and conflict are issued in a genuinely free and independent manner and presented in a fair and balanced way, they can indeed help to overcome conflict in that they will serve to educate the public, allowing their readers and listeners to form independent opinions” (Reljic, 2004). On the other hand however, terrifying examples of how media fueled conflicts exist as well. Probably the most infamous one is Rwandan *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, which raised the Hutu against the Tutsi and called for all the barbarous crimes committed in the Rwandan civil war – a memorial that “biased and

manipulative reports can all too easily accelerate and intensify the crisis.” (Reljic, 2004).

### 2.1.5 Peace Journalism vs. War Journalism

Because of this and similar bloody experiences, peace journalism as a promoter of non-violent conflict resolution developed. Peace journalism – in contrast to conventional or war journalism – stresses on conflict analysis and resolution and encourages nonviolence. This branch of *alternative journalism* gives a stage to structural and cultural causes of violence as part of its explanation. Advocates of this branch of journalism call for the support of peace initiatives, no matter whose proposal they are or from which side of conflict they emerge.

It was mainly Galtung who developed the concept. He defines peace journalism as follows:

*“The war focus in war journalism will polarize and escalate, calling for hatred and more violence to avenge and stop ‘them’. (...) Peace journalism tries to depolarize by showing the black and white of all sides and to de-escalate by highlighting peace and conflict resolution as much as violence. (...) Peace*

*journalism stands for truth as opposed to propaganda and lies” (Galtung, 2002, p. 260)<sup>3</sup>*

The central terms *escalatory* and *de-escalatory* follow Deutsch’s (1973) concept of competitive and cooperative conflicts which, in short, characterize situations which are win-lose or – in opposition – win-win orientated. In practice, peace journalism is a linguistic orientation that frames stories to encourage conflict analysis, settlement, and a non-violent response. The great objective is that “with focus on nonviolent outcomes and empathy with all parties, creativity and peace may come.” (Galtung, 2002, p. 260)

Galtung says that negativism, personalization and proximity to elite countries and elite persons are major criteria for the selection of news in mainstream journalism, and criticizes exactly these characteristics for fueling conflicts (1993, p. 7). In addition, the common mono-causality within journalistic descriptions of the causes of conflicts are problematic (Schicha, 1999, p. 12). Also, media in general tend to focus on a particular conflict region only when actual violence is about to occur but not during earlier conflict stages (Jakobsen, 2000, p. 132). From this criticism, Galtung developed since the 1970s his concept of peace journalism that sees two

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<sup>3</sup> Accentuations by author.

opposing methods on how to report from conflict zones: "Peace or Conflict Journalism" and "War or Violence Journalism".

Peace journalism aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence and focuses on the presentation of solutions, orientating the news on people and the grassroots initiatives, searching for common ground, reporting on all sides, and using precise, accurate language (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000). "The peace journalist concentrates on stories that highlight peace initiatives; tone down ethnic and religious differences; prevent further conflict; focus on the structure of society; and promote conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation." (Lee, 2004, p. 1)

'War journalism' and conventional journalism (peace journalism activists barely draw a distinction between the two) is blamed for focusing on violence, propaganda, elite actors, and emphasizing the current conflict while ignoring the causes or outcomes: "The classification of war journalism and peace journalism is based on four broad practice and linguistic orientations: peace/conflict, truth, people, and solutions. In contrast, war journalism is oriented in war/violence, propaganda, elites, and victory" (Lee, 2004, p. 4)

McGoldrick (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, pp. 19-20) defines peace journalism as a "new form of journalism" looking at "how journalists could be part of the solution rather than part of the problem". While activists see peace journalism as a way to turn the negative effect of framing and cognitive mechanics into something

positive, descriptive researchers developed methodologies on how to measure peace and war journalism which is discussed on the subsequent pages.

### 2.1.6 Escalatory and De-Escalatory Media Intervention

The German psychologist Wilhelm Kempf continued the academic discussion on peace journalism and made it empirically testable by introducing the categories ‘escalation orientated rhetoric’ and ‘de-escalation orientated rhetoric’. Since the present research is based exactly on this dichotomy, an introduction into the concept of Wilhelm Kempf is of high interest.

Kempf (2003, p. 3) argues that the framing of news reports covering conflicts can either use escalation orientated rhetoric or de-escalation orientated rhetoric. He explains:

*“an escalation orientated framework is guided by the questions: “Who is the aggressor?” and “How can he be stopped?” It tends to take sides and to polarize conflict. A de-escalation orientated framework, on the other hand, is guided by the questions: “What are the issues?” and “How can they be resolved?” It tends to take an impartial stance and tries to depolarize conflict.” (Kempf, 2005, p. 3)*

From this point, Kempf developed complex coding schedules for both quantitative as well as qualitative studies which are designed to examine news in detail to assess the character of a news item. The quantitative version was the basis

for the coding schedule developed for this research. An in-depth discussion of his coding scheme follows in Chapter IV when discussing the adaptation of it.

## 2.2. Photography

### 2.2.1 History of War Photography

The grim reality of war might not be comprehended as rapidly by reading a news article as they are by viewing graphic pictures of war – it is characteristic of photography that it “provides a quick way of apprehending something and memorizing it.” (Sonntag, 2003, p. 22) From the earliest pictures from the battlefields, photography of war shocked the public, who were used to seeing war portrayed as a romantic, noble endeavor in colossal paintings. Ever since, war photography has been controversial, both in terms of the explicit nature of combat photography and the potential manipulation of it by the military. In addition, "images of war are with only a few exceptions nothing but the attempt to humanize war and if not blot out war death totally so aestheticise respectively disembody it." (Paul, 2004). A short history of war photography including its most prominent controversies will be told on the following pages.

During the course of the twentieth century, photography established itself as a discipline and “concomitantly, photojournalism asserted itself as an increasingly legitimate, even indispensable, part of the popular press.” (Griffin, 1999, p. 123) While combat photography had been around long time before World War I – the

first war photographs existing are of the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the American Civil War (1861-1865) –, the Great War marks a cutting point. On the one hand “great numbers of amateur photographers carried cameras with them as they embarked on their service as soldiers and sailors” (ibid.) while at the same time not many pictures of actual battlefields exist as they were “routinely forbidden or censored” (ibid.). Still, WWI with its “anonymous mass of cameramen” (Lewinski, 1978, p. 67) brought the photographic coverage far beyond any known conception. Almost two decades later, the Spanish Civil War took photography to the next level as the warring parties used imagery for the first time in history for their propaganda purpose (Woolf, 2006). Virginia Woolf was probably the first who discussed the connection between photography, pacifism and militarism in her 1938 essay *Three Guineas*. In her writing, she analyzed photographs distributed by the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War for their purposes (Woolf, 2006). The combats also produced the first iconic war photograph: The Spanish Civil War is famous for the iconic photographs of Robert Capa – most prominently ‘The Falling Soldier’, depicting the death of a Republican service man<sup>4</sup> –, as it is for Picasso’s painting *Guernica*, probably the last iconical war painting.

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<sup>4</sup> Controversy whether the picture was staged continues. Recent research shows that the picture was most likely taken at a different location than the caption suggests. Also, it seems more likely than not that the picture was staged (cf. Pingree, 2009).



**Photo 1:** Robert Capa, Loyalist Militiaman at the Moment of Death, Cerro Muriano, September 5, 1936

This particular conflict can be seen as the watershed between the old school of visual reporting from the battlefield through paintings to the modern way of fast and immediate photography. From the Spanish Civil War on, conflict parties also tried to manipulate the emotions, opinions, and reactions through the use of photographs as propaganda (Brothers, 1997, p. 35). The development of photography as a medium reporting from war continued with World War II – the number of photographers covering battlegrounds skyrocketed as did the number of photographs produced. In fact, “many millions of photographs from the war (...) still survive in museums, archives, and private collections.” (Griffin, 1999, p. 124) In particular, the offence on the Polish city Gdynia by the advancing German army is legendary: “The attack is said to have been delayed so that cameramen could take



positions ahead of the assault troops, so as to document their full impact.” (Barnouw, 1983, p. 139) The photography prompted both patriotism and public outrage and culminated in the horrific pictures of the Nazi concentration camps. The Vietnam War of the 1960s and 70s marks the provisional climax in photojournalism and war photography. By now, photographers were routinely sent to “international hot spots” around the globe (Chapnick, 1994). Even more, the photographs of the Vietnam War showed the influential power of photography on the public opinion that evolved from the gritty reality depicted in the imagery wired from the battlefields. Iconic photographs such as of the then nine year old girl Kim Phuc running naked to escape napalm fire (taken by AP photographer Nick Ut) or Eddie Adam’s picture of the execution of a Vietcong out in the open by a South Vietnamese police chief, taken exactly at the moment the bullet hits his head, drove the anti-war movement on to the streets.



Photo 2: Nick Ut/AP: 9-year-old Phan Thị Kim Phúc fleeing a napalm attack, 8 June, 1972



Photo 3: Eddie Adams, General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan executing the Viet Cong prisoner Nguyễn Văn Lém in Saigon, 1 February 1968

A steady stream of images of war atrocities and the American dead in Vietnam slowly turned popular sentiment against the war. Right wing politicians argued that the war was not lost in the jungle of South-East Asia but at the home front (cf. Paul, 2005; p. 17). Even President Richard Nixon followed: images “showed the terrible human suffering and sacrifice of war. (...) The result was a serious demoralization of the home front.” (as quoted in Cumings, 1992; p.84)

War photographers cover a wide range of subjects, both on and off the battlefield. Combat photography may show the heat of the battle but can also depict the aftermath of conflict with devastated landscape and buildings, as well as casualties. Combat photography has been accused of desensitizing the public to scenes of violence and death: “Flooded with images of the sort that once used to shock and arouse indignation, we are losing our capacity to react.” (Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 2003, p. 108). Many war photographers however produce work that goes beyond combat situations and include substantial photo reportages on the civil situation on the ground.

The relationship between war photography and the war it covers is bi-directional:

- (1) It became a trait of modern warfare that due to the wide visual observation by war photographers “no war lord and no state can rely

anymore that the practiced martial violence will remain invisible.” (Paul, 2004, p. 470)

- (2) At the same time, photography became a “medial-propagandistic weapon in modern warfare” (Paul, 2004, p. 476) as conflict parties try to benefit from the immediate communicative advantages of visuals.

Visuals are mediums of communication and have as such mostly unconscious effects. The research examining these functions is voluminous; the most important contributions coping with news photography are Goldman and Becker’s (1985) research about ideological values embedded in pictures as well as Wyne’s (1986) which looked into the effects of photographs on agenda setting.

Also, numerous researches suggest that photography reinforces prevailing news narratives instead of creating alternative descriptions. Studies of various researchers (Lichty 1973; Braestrup, 1977; Hallin, 1995; Ericson 1987, Eldridge, 1995) came to the conclusion that photography is almost entirely used as a confirming illustration of news text. Even more, “the construction of news presentations within routine news formats rarely utilizes pictorial material in a manner that adds independently specific details or informational substance to news reports.” (Griffin, 2004, p. 399) These hegemonic narratives are heavily influenced by the “established discourse of government leaders” (ibid.). Even though exact details on the mechanism behind the shortcoming of photography remain unclear,

prominent and promising explanation is the earlier explained cognitive dissonance theory. Griffin's (2004) deflating study concludes that photography reiterates the official declarations rather than developing their own narrative stance. He concludes that "photographs primarily serve established narrative themes within official discourse: that published photographs most often offer prompts for prevailing government versions of events and rarely contribute independent, new or unique visual information." (Griffin, 2004, p. 1) From this point the hypothesis of the present study is being developed: if the photographic narrative follows the official one, the governmental conception of conflict (as escalatory or de-escalatory) will be reflected in the selection of photography published in newspapers since the "representational legitimacy remains inextricably tied to power" (Hall, 1973).

### 2.2.2 Reading Photographs

Understanding photographs has never been straightforward. Many photographs were taken without a defined idea in mind. Even if they were, it is not said that the idea is actually present in the picture – as it can never be read as it can be in text. That is because the 'grammar' of communication through visuals is entirely different than the logical and structural rules of language. More specifically, visuals do not have linear structural and semantic elements. The borders between subunits in images are blurry; pictures may contain logical arguments on different levels – in one image – in opposition to texts, where clearly defined units like words,

sentences, paragraphs, and chapters exist. Clive Scott (1999) and Terry Barret (1990) give good introduction into these aspects of images.

Important for the ability to read the messages, imbedded without linear grammar, is the concept of *dual-coding*. Paivio (1986) developed this all underlying theory which describes the human as a unique since it is "specialized for dealing simultaneously with language and with nonverbal objects and events." (Paivio, 1986, p. 53) The competence of processing several information simultaneously enables the human to grasp a visual in a blink of the eye – an ability very important for the human: "It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it." (Berger, 1977, p. 7)

Some theoreticians argue that visuals and text are abstractions from each other. For example the German-Jewish philosopher Vilém Flusser developed a five step model in which the 'technical image' e.g. photography supersedes linear text (Flusser, 1989). The idea behind this theory is that paintings are an abstraction of the 'real world', text describes these paintings. Technical images – thus images produced by any kind of 'machine' – however are constructed upon the written interpretations. Accordingly Flusser describes painting as 'pre-historical' and photography as 'post-historical'. He presents the strong example of the difference between a painting of a woman in a cave, church, or museum and a technical image of a woman on a toilet

door. While the first is just an abstraction and description of a woman, the latter contains text-based information – that the room is for women only.

Reading photographs also relates to the expectations and assumptions that one has to the photographic object itself. Following Flusser's classification of photography as an abstraction of text, photographs should be read as a text and not as an image. The meaning in photographs is created through what is called 'photographic discourse': "a language of codes which involves its own grammar and syntax. It is, in its own way, as complex and as rich as any written language." (Clarke, 1997)

Particular of photography is that even though it may appear neutral and objective, it never is. It is not a reflection of a 'real' world but an interpretation of that world. The apparent extremely precise technical depiction of reality and the 'real world' is suggestive that photography is actually a window on the world. However, the opposite is the case: photography is "not even a mirror of it [the real world]. (...) Rather, like all media, photography is a symbolic system, a game of signification." (Kingwell, 2009) The technical accuracy of photography gives it a touch of 'truth' which however remains an illusion.

In addition to the subjective interpretation of reality by photography, a second layer of subjectivity exists in the interpretation of a picture by its viewer. Photographs are never "independent subjects but always depending on their specific

historic political-cultural interpretation and action context as well as of the humans producing and consuming them.” (Paul 2004, p.12) It is important to understand that the pictures can be read differently in different times or by people of different cultural background and may “lead to totally different reactions.” (ibid.)

The importance of context is intensified by the fact that many pictures reference fine arts, journalism, or pop culture. This contextualizing also involves a *quoting* or *referencing* to existing work – both in photography as well as in other disciplines of fine arts. War visuals however do not only refer to earlier images but also favour “pictures that are consonant with already existing notions of what wartime is” (Stuart & Zelizer, 2004, p. 124), hence referencing to stereotypes. Since war and all war related destruction, death, and horror are beyond the intellectual and emotional human capabilities and differ only marginally between wars, “it’s as though all wars become, at some level, the same war; all reaction that of a common humanity.” (Leroux 2003)

### **2.2.3 Analysis of War Photographs (from the sample)**

Even though this research is a quantitative study, some images from the sample are discussed on the following pages. This analysis serves to objectives: firstly it helps understanding the specifics of photography from conflict zones and in particular from Afghanistan. Secondly, it helps understanding the design of the coding framework (which is described in detail later).



### *2.2.3.1 The Landscape*

A very common characteristic of the visual war coverage from Afghanistan is the space given to the landscape. Here, not only famous landscape paintings were quoted but also old war photography was recycled: “pastoral landscapes, seen in early shots during the Spanish American War of the 1890s, re-emerged in areas known for breathtaking physical terrain, like the war in Afghanistan in 2001.” (Stuart & Zelizer, 2004, p. 122)



Photo 4: Case 23, published on September 2 2009. © Eros Hoagland / The New York Times



Photo 5: Case 90 published on August 12 2009. © Tyler Hicks / The New York Times

Breathtaking landscapes as shown in the two photographs by Eros Hoagland and Tyler Hicks distract the ugliness of war to the beauty of nature. In the first example, the soldiers' actions are reduced to being only a small part of what makes the picture – with magnificent mountains and lush valleys dominating the impression. While other photographers such as Paul Graham or Simon Norfolk (who also produced a story in Afghanistan) push the landscape completely to the foreground, in this case there are still war scenes in the image's (literal) foreground. War photographs as Tyler Hicks' example of villagers get their strength completely from the aesthetics of beautiful landscape in a way that it gains ultimately the emotional dominance.

*2.2.3.2 The Action Movie*



Photo 6: Case 154, published on 20 May 2009. © David Guttenfelder / AP / The New York Times



Photo 7: Case 141 published on 19 April 2009. © Tyler Hicks / The New York Times

The copying of the visual style coined by war movies is not only typical for the visuals from Afghanistan but a general quality of contemporary war



photography. This kind of pictures frequently shows action in close up and depicts the soldiers as heroes. In film theory, heroes are described as protagonists “performing masculinity” (Creed 1980, p. 65) with images of power, suffering, and survival “lovingly dwelt on” (Tasker 1993, p. 230). Accordingly, many war photographs emphasize this depiction of soldiers as action movie heroes. Here, “war is presented as often heroic and reflective of broader aims associated with nationhood, clean and at times antiseptic, and involving human sacrifice for a greater good.” (Stuart & Zelizer, 2004, p. 116) These pictures depict the technological superiority of the U.S. forces: “US troops, weapons, and military hardware dominate the depictions, providing an image of a powerful and determined nation ready and able to vanquish its enemies.” (Griffin, 2004, p. 399) It is needless to say that the underlying suggestion of the U.S. troops’ ability to orchestrate a ‘clean’ war is fatal as war reality falls short of ‘cleanness’ of any kind.

### *2.2.3.3 Negotiations?*

Only one article in the sample discusses options for talks with the Taliban. It was published on October 29 2008 and titled: “Afghanistan Tests Waters for Overture to Taliban”. At the end of October 2008, George W. Bush was still president of the United States, though Barack Obama was nominated as the candidate of the Democratic Party and was leading all opinion polling (Nationwide opinion polling for the United States presidential election, 2009). News items referring to talks with the opponent are clearly de-escalatory and so is the written

article. The text is, however, accompanied by the following picture, depicting soldiers in a battle against Taliban fighters. The caption reads: “An Afghan National Army soldier fought near Kamu. Gen. David H. Petraeus has spoken about the need for a regional approach to resolving the Afghan conflict.”



Photo 8: Case 214 published on October 29, 2008. © Tyler Hicks / The New York Times

According to the coding schedule, this photograph contains the following elements:

- Zero-Sum or at least Win-Lose orientation (War as competitive process: Only one survives/succeeds) - Depicting aggression e.g. pointing of weapons, shooting, killing (Variable E 1.1)
- Emphasis on Antagonity - e.g. depicting violent confrontations, military action, or situations confirming adversity (Variable E 1.4)

This article is an obvious example of escalatory framing: the article itself evaluates non-violent options; the context however is dominated by violent action in the picture, depicting the appropriateness of military intervention. Costs of war are masked as are benefits of the non-violent options discussed in the article.

## Chapter III: The 'War' Policy of George W. Bush and Barack Obama

### 3.1 George W. Bush

George W. Bush is infamous for his violent language and escalation orientated actions. His die hard slogans described in the best case a win-lose tactic, but mostly his war policy can be characterized as being zero-sum. His language in the post-9/11 time was referred to as “steel and eloquence” (Chronicle, 2001). In speeches held after the events of 9/11, George W. Bush not only declared the ‘war on terror’ but “even promised to rid the world of evil.” (Meyer, 2009, p. 11)

There are two important pillars to the Bush doctrine:

- A highly binary diction. No shades of gray existed in the national security strategy of George W. Bush. An “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” (Bush, 2001) policy formed the grounding for the whole Bush doctrine.
- In addition, his national security strategy emphasized proactive efforts, stretching the boundaries of the U.S. policies articulated in the two centuries before. “In essence, this Bush Doctrine allowed that the United States would take military action, even unilateral

action, against a state or regime that might eventually become threatening.” (Meyer, 2009, p. 21)

George W. Bush is the president that started two wars – first in Afghanistan as an immediate reaction on the terror of 9/11 and a bit later in Iraq. While the bombardment of Taliban and al Qaida emplacement is still analyzable as a counter-attack in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the world trade center and the pentagon, the invasion of Iraq in March 2003 accomplishes the Bush doctrine: a war was provoked with nothing but an abstract thread (the possession of weapons of mass destruction). In many cases, this strategy of ‘passive defense’ – dating back at least to the US-Mexican War of 1846 (Cumings, 2007) – involved maneuvering the other side into ‘firing the first shot’ but retained the moral and legal legitimacy for America, “an asset which is especially important in a democratic political system” (ibid.). The Iraq War represents the fundamental shift away from this conception.

The unilateralism of the Bush doctrine was applied to action as to speech. The official and diplomatic language of the United States was frequently violent and drastic (the return of the term ‘rogue state’ instead of ‘states of concern’ or the infamous ‘axis of evil’ are only two examples among many). The military tactic in Iraq and Afghanistan has frequently been described as being ‘brute force’ (Cumings, 2007) and with little sensibility for cultural issues. The perpetration of at least some of the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by U.S. soldiers in Iraq



(such as in Falluja, Abu-Ghraib, and elsewhere) could even be explained by this rough and ready doctrine. Torture by proxy and harsh interrogation techniques that was applied to many terror suspects during the Bush era has its grounding in the 'good against evil'-doctrine

In particular the 'die hard slogans' that blamed everybody not supporting the war for being "with the terrorists" (Bush, 2001) are of importance for the present study. The hypothesis of the research anticipates a more escalatory orientated selection of photograph originating in the black-and-white rhetoric and strong rejection of plurality against the official language.

### **3.2 Barack Obama**

In contrast to his precursor in office, Barack Obama's foreign policy is much more peace orientated. He focuses on negotiation and collaboration rather than confrontation and unilateralism – this is an about-face from the more interventionist Bush Doctrine (Chollet & Goldgeier, 2008). In an interview, given to the Associated Press on July 21 2008, Obama stated that "the United States cannot use its military to solve humanitarian problems" and that "preventing a potential genocide in Iraq isn't a good enough reason to keep U.S. forces there." (Kirchick, 2007) The foreign policy of Barack Obama can be understood as "a doctrine that first ends the politics of fear and then moves beyond a hollow, sloganeering 'democracy promotion' agenda in

favor of 'dignity promotion,'" that would target the conditions that promoted anti-Americanism and prevented democracy (Ackerman, 2008)

Soon after Obama's inauguration on January 20, 2009, he started to put his win-win orientated policy into power: The announcement of the closure of Guantanamo Bay and release of the majority of detainees, the rejection of the phrase "Global War on Terror", and the reconciliation with Russia through the abandonment of the anti-ballistic missile program in Poland and the Czech Republic were first clear steps taken in favor of a peace orientated agenda and a clear sign of a reversal of the principles of the Bush administration. He later elaborated on his foreign policy views, particularly relating to Muslim countries, in a high-profile speech given at Cairo University in June, where he called for reform of undemocratic countries from within (Corbin, 2009).

Even though Barack Obama's policy is much more orientated towards negotiation, win-win situations, and peace, he is still a 'war-president' with U.S. troops deployed in two wars. One of the very central documents on Barack Obama's stance towards war is his acceptance speech at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo in December 2009. The Norwegian Nobel Committee announced the award referring to Obama's promotion of a "new climate" in international relations, in particular his reaching out to the Muslim world; the award was given to him "for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between

peoples" (BBC, 2009). In his speech, Barack Obama on the one hand praised peace as the noblest objectives of all, but referred to violence as necessary too:

*“There will be times when nations – acting individually or in concert – will find the use of force not only necessary but morally justified. (...) I know there’s nothing weak – nothing passive – nothing naïve – in the creed and lives of Gandhi and King. But as a head of state sworn to protect and defend my nation, I cannot be guided by their examples alone. I face the world as it is, and cannot stand idle in the face of threats to the American people.” (as quoted in Piegsa, 2009)*

Barack Obama’s war policy can be described as orientated towards negotiation, win-win situations, and the resolution of conflicts. The at hand research anticipates much stronger prominence of de-escalatory elements in news photography during his period in office, that reflects the win-win orientation of the official language. He is, however, the Commander-in-Chief of the military of a nation in the midst of two wars, leaving traces of antagonism in his language as well as in the selection of illustrating photography.

## Chapter IV: Development of a Coding Schedule, Data Collection, and Data Analysis

### 4.1 Developing the Coding Schedule

As mentioned before, the German social psychologist Wilhelm Kempf developed a groundbreaking coding schedule that operationalizes the concept of peace journalism and makes it empirically testable. The number of researches he conducted with his framework are numerous and he refined it constantly. Remarkable in his coding scheme is that it identifies escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric and makes it possible to be analyzed by quantitative methodology<sup>5</sup>.

Two coding schemes were used as a basis for the adaptation of this research. Kempf developed a initial version in 1999 with 24 variables. Later, he refined this framework and added 17 variables (Bläsi, Jaeger, Kempf, & Möckel, 2004). The development of the coding framework of the present study was accomplished in two steps. First, variables not applicable for the examination of visuals and those not applicable for the conflict examined were removed. Several variables deal with

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<sup>5</sup> For the sake of completeness, Wilhelm Kempf also developed frameworks for qualitative research on the topic of peace journalism. Since the present research uses quantitative methodology, the focus is on Kempf's framework for quantitative research, too.

aspects that are not readable from photographs and are hence emitted from the adapted scheme. For example, Kemp's framework includes variables that examine the motivational and argumentational logic behind conflicts. While these are aspects that can be analyzed in text, they cannot be in imagery. In the same step, several variables designed to record fine nuances of identical tendencies were merged to simplify the coding scheme. For example, several variables dealing with civil society and peace-movements were combined. In a second step, instructions and explanations for the assignation of the variables to photographs were added. The final coding schedule contains 14 variables that cover

- (1) Conceptualization of the (conflict)-situation
- (2) Evaluation of the war parties' rights and intentions
- (3) Evaluation of the war parties' action
- (4) Emotional involvement in the conflict
- (5) Social identification and personal entanglement

Both the original framework and the adaptation including coding instructions and explanations are included in the appendix.

### 4.1.1 Coding Unit

The formal coding units are the sampled photographs since no smaller structural elements can be defined, due to the peculiarities of the grammar of images (as explained above). The rather large size of the formal coding units, which in fact contain subunits which elude themselves of a generalizable definition, require special attention: the coding schedule has to be designed to allow several codes to be assigned to a single picture. This requirement does not create problems since the categories of the used framework are designed as *not exclusive*.

To accommodate the specifics of visuals as described above, the schedule has to allow assigning several codes to a single picture. Since the categories of the underlying framework of Kempf et.al. are designed as *not exclusive* (Kempf, Wilhelm ; Reimann, Michael ; Luostarinen, Heikki, 1996, p. 13) no adaptation has to be done at this point. However, special attention has to be paid to the explained characteristics of visuals when analyzing the gained information. To create usable data the codes are aggregated on the level of the picture and the picture is then classified in one of the categories *strict escalatory*, *strict de-escalatory*, or *hybrid (elements of both)*; in the latter case, a classification of escalatory or de-escalatory will not be done as a final statement on the overall escalatory or de-escalatory effect of

the image is impossible<sup>6</sup>. This trinomial – escalatory, de-escalatory, hybrid – categorization irons out the obstacles of coding visuals and the problems created by the lack of linear logical structures in images.

#### 4.1.2 Pretesting the Coding Scheme

As a pre-test, a sample consisting of 54 pictures published during the first week of the Iraq war in March 2003 on New York Times online was coded with the adapted scheme. In total, 282 codes were assigned with an average of 5.22 codes per image. Of these codes, 210 were escalatory and 72 were de-escalatory (respectively 76 and 24 percent). The aggregation on the level of the photographs showed a clear orientation towards the single sided categories (images which were coded either only with escalatory or de-escalatory elements) with in total 44 pictures – this is 81% – belonging to one of the categories *strict escalatory* or *strict de-escalatory*. In detail, 40 photographs were classified as *strict escalatory* and 4 pictures – respectively 74 % and 7% – as *strict de-escalatory*. Only 10 photographs – the remaining 19% – were coded with both escalatory and de-escalatory elements and were hence categorized in the hybrid *both* and had to be dismissed for the final data analysis.

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<sup>6</sup> In case three escalatory and two de-escalatory codes were assigned to one picture, the escalatory codes dominate in mathematical terms. However, it might be the case that one of the de-escalatory elements is so strong that the picture will have a de-escalatory effect in total. Hence, a resilient argument towards the one or other cannot be done.

Valid and clear data was produced with the adapted version of Kempf's et.al. (1996) framework and an analysis of data was possible with this tool. Also, intercoder reliability scores about 70 percent which is an acceptable result. Commonly, .80 is understood as the general accepted lower limit. The percentage agreement of .70 obtained by the intercoder reliability test can be accepted nevertheless because of the methodology used for the test. The percentage agreement was calculated on all variables and not on the aggregation of the ED<sub>xy</sub> variables. That means that the adding or skipping of variables that did not change anything about the classification of an image as escalatory or de-escalatory was still counted as a disagreement between the coders. This calculation hence produced lower intercoder reliability than it would have if the aggregated index would have been used. It can be noted as a result that the coding scheme can be used for the research.

### 4.1.3 The Sample

The sample for this research consists of in total 218 cases that were stratified sampled. Here, the following strata were created: First, the sample consisted of both articles being published in the printed newspaper as well as online only. Since nytimes.com is the largest news site on the internet and an integral part of 'The New York Times' as a whole, including the website is only logical. In 2009, the printed



newspaper had a circulation of about 0.9 million on weekdays and 1.4 million on Sundays with a monthly gross circulation of 38 million. The website nytimes.com registered about 20 million unique visitors a month.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the online to print circulation stands in a ration of 1:1.8; the ratio between the online and print strata was selected accordingly with in total 74 samples that appeared only online and 134 samples that appeared in the printed newspaper.

Additional strata were created to ensure that samples of the presidency periods of George W. Bush and of Barack Obama were represented evenly. More specifically, the strata where designed in a manner that the median of all samples – the moment exactly half of the cases are before and half are after – falls closely behind the moment Barack Obama won the primaries as this is the date that his foreign policy turned central in the public discussion. Hillary Clinton endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama on 7 June 2008 and it is estimated that Barack Obama surpassed the 2,208 delegate votes needed for a nomination on June 3<sup>rd</sup>. The actual median in the sample is June 12 and hence few days after Barack Obama won the primaries. The frequency of cases increases dramatically after the inauguration of Barack Obama on 20 January 2009, since a high number of cases had to be collected

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<sup>7</sup> The numbers for the printed circulation were taken from a self statement of The New York Times retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/27/business/media/27audit.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/27/business/media/27audit.html?_r=1) on 5 January 2010

during the short timeframe of approximately 11 month to result in a sufficient amount of data.

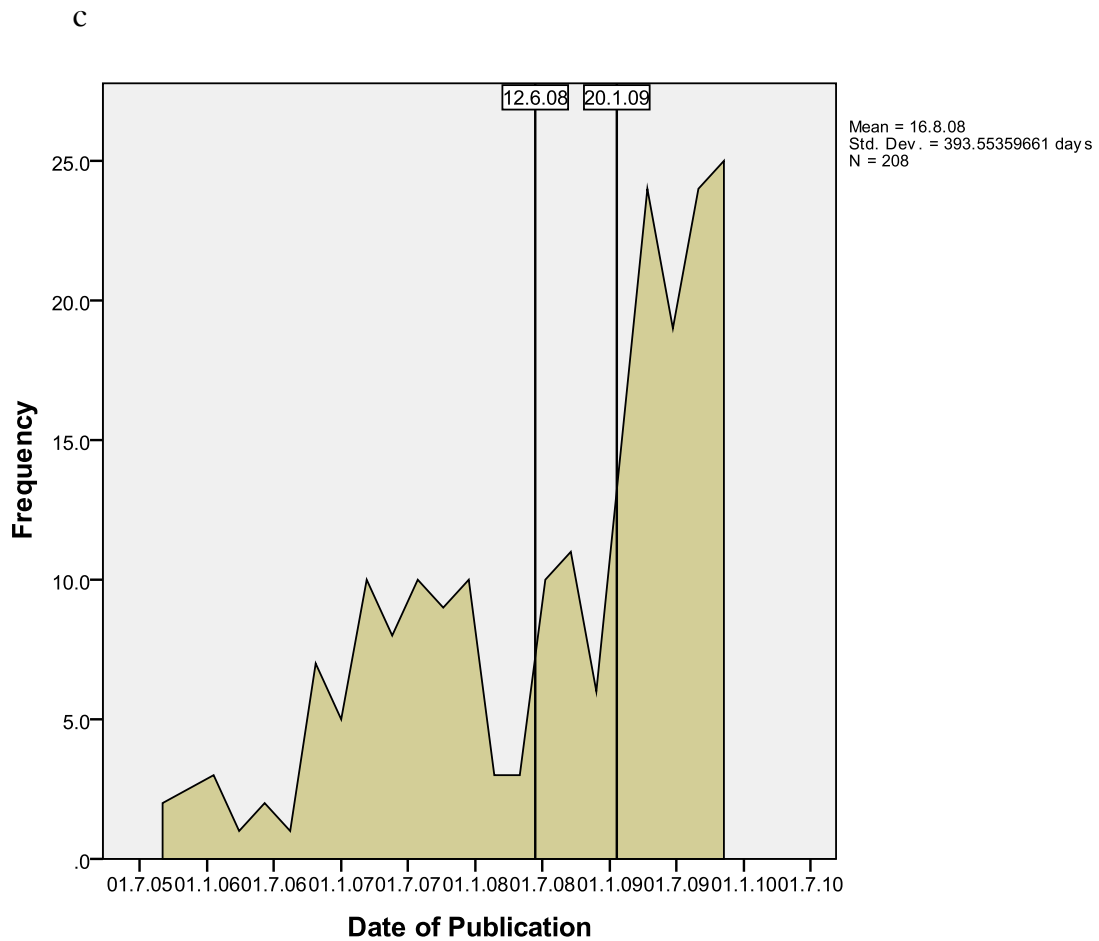


Figure 1: The frequency of samples on the time of research with the median of data and the change in office indicated

Several articles were illustrated with more than one photograph. In those cases, the main image – that means the picture most prominent in size – was coded. Articles that were featured on the front page and continued inside often had more than one picture with one being printed on the front page and one inside. In these cases, only the item on the front page was analyzed. Collages of similar sized photos

were treated as one picture as they constitute one coherent illustration. Usually, those collages also shared one caption. The limitation on the coding of one picture is a consequence of a shortcoming of the operationalization that does not allow the coding of more than one photograph per case.

#### 4.1.4 Data Analysis, Variables, their Operationalization, and Coding

The two central variables of the present research are the date and more specifically the presidential situation at a given date as an independent variable and secondly the tendency of a picture – escalatory or de-escalatory. Their operationalization as well as processing and recoding into analyzable variables will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The software used for the analysis of the data is IBM PASW / SPSS in the Version 18. SPSS is among the most widely used programs for statistical analysis in social science. It is very powerful in its function but still straightforward to use with an easy to learn command line language. This software was used for data collection, data processing, and data analysis.

The coding of every sample consisted of two parts:

- The collection of descriptive facts for each sample such as the date the article was published, on which page and in which category it

was published, the author of the article, the agency providing the analyzed photograph, headline of the article and caption of the photograph.

- The coding of the escalatory or de-escalatory tendency a photograph has.

Both shall be discussed more in detail in the following paragraphs

#### 4.1.5 Descriptive Facts

All of the descriptive facts are merely a collection of hard data and copied one-to-one from the newspaper tearsheets into the database. Big parts of this data are collected for *post hoc* analysis, but some such as title, author and page number also serve for the identification of the cases. The publication date however is of bigger importance since this is the independent variable of the present research. The publication date of each case was transcribed into the variable *date*. However, to test the hypothesis of the research, it had to be recoded. Most importantly, the scale-measured variable date has to be visual binned into an ordinal-scale variable indicating the status of presidency. This processing is done using the following code:

```
RECODE date (MISSING=COPY) (LO THRU 13431830400=1)
(LO THRU 13439001600=2) (LO THRU 13445136000=3) (LO
THRU 13451788800=4) (LO THRU HI=5) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO
daterec.
```

```
FORMATS  daterec (F5.0).
```

```
VALUE LABELS  daterec 1 'George W. Bush president' 2  
'primaries' 3 'Barack Obama nominated' 4 'Barack Obama  
president elect' 5 'Barack Obama president'.
```

```
VARIABLE LEVEL daterec (ORDINAL).
```

In addition, a simplified version was computed, too. Here, only two values were assigned, 1 for the time George W. Bush was president, and 2 for the presidency Barack Obama's. This variable is used for simple charting and cross-tabulation. The straightforward line serves this purpose:

```
RECODE daterec (5=2) (1 thru 4=1) INTO datesimpl.
```

#### 4.1.6 Escalatory and De-escalatory Tendencies

The more complicated data processing is necessary to compute the escalatory and de-escalatory tendency of each picture. Here, each of the rows of the coding schedule was assigned one variable named ED<sub>x</sub>Y with E abbreviating 'escalatory' and D abbreviating 'de-escalatory' and x being replaced by the according paragraph

number of the coding schedule<sup>8</sup> and  $y$  with the actual attribute number. Four possible values were defined for all ED-variables:

*0 for not applicable* – this value was assigned if the characteristic of the according row in the coding schedule was not represented in the picture at all and thus not applicable at all. As expected, this is the value assigned most often

*1 for escalatory tendencies* – this value was assigned if the image showed the characteristics of the according row in the coding schedule with escalatory tendencies thus the specifications of the column containing the escalatory attributes.

*2 for de-escalatory tendencies* – this value was assigned if the image showed the characteristics of the according row in the coding schedule with de-escalatory tendencies thus the specifications of the column containing the de-escalatory attributes.

---

<sup>8</sup> That is (1) Conceptualization of the (conflict)-situation, (2) Evaluation of the war parties' rights and intentions, (3) Evaluation of the war parties' action, (4) Emotional involvement in the conflict, (5) Social identification and personal entanglement

*3 for both* – this value was reserved for the case that both escalatory and de-escalatory attributes were applicable for the same row. This value however was never assigned.

As described above, only the overall tendency of a picture was of interest. Hence, the fourteen variables describing each one row of the coding schedule have to be recoded and computed into a new variable, actually classifying the sample as being *escalatory*, *de-escalatory*, or a *hybrid*. This data processing happens in three steps. First, the number of occurrences of the values 1 and 2 throughout all ED<sub>x</sub>y-variables is counted and written into the variable *count*. This is done with the command

```
COUNT count=ED11 ED12 ED13 ED14 ED21 ED22 ED23 ED31  
ED32 ED41 ED42 ED43 ED51 ED52 (1) ED11 ED12 ED13 ED14  
ED21 ED22 ED23 ED31 ED32 ED41 ED42 ED43 ED51 ED52 (2) .
```

In a subsequent step, all ED<sub>x</sub>y-variables are summed up and divided by *count*. The result is written into the new variable ED. The following code is used for this computing:

```
COMPUTE ED=( ED11 + ED12 + ED13 + ED14 + ED21 + ED22 +  
ED23 + ED31 + ED32 + ED41 + ED42 + ED43 + ED51 + ED52  
) / count .
```

This new variable ED can have 1, 2, and any rational number in between those two as a value. The variable ED has the value 1 if only escalatory attributes were coded, as the count of assigned values for all ED<sub>xy</sub> variables is the same as the sum of all ED<sub>xy</sub> variables. ED has value 2 if only de-escalatory attributes were coded as the sum of all ED<sub>xy</sub> variables is double as big as the count of assigned values for all ED<sub>xy</sub> variables. In case both escalatory and de-escalatory attributes were assigned ED has values in between 1 and 2 as the sum of values divided by the count is bigger 1 but smaller 2. The variable ED got the value “system missing” in those cases in which not a single attribute was applicable for a case and all ED<sub>xy</sub> variables had the value 0. This is because dividing through 0 is impossible. Since no ED<sub>xy</sub> variable was assigned the value 3, no recoding procedure had to be designed to filter these cases.

## 4.2 Statistical Analysis

In total, 208 samples were coded. However, for 9 cases out of 208 no code was assigned, because these pictures were portraits of politicians and had neither escalatory nor de-escalatory quality. Of the remaining 199 cases, 100 are in the strata of the presidency of George W. Bush and 99 in the strata of the presidency of Barack Obama.



### 4.2.1 The ED-variables

All variables were coded several times but as the following table and graph shows, the distribution is very uneven. Most variables have quite a good count but some don't – several are other under twenty and a few remain even less than ten coded items. In addition, rarely any variables show an even distribution between their escalatory and de-escalatory side.

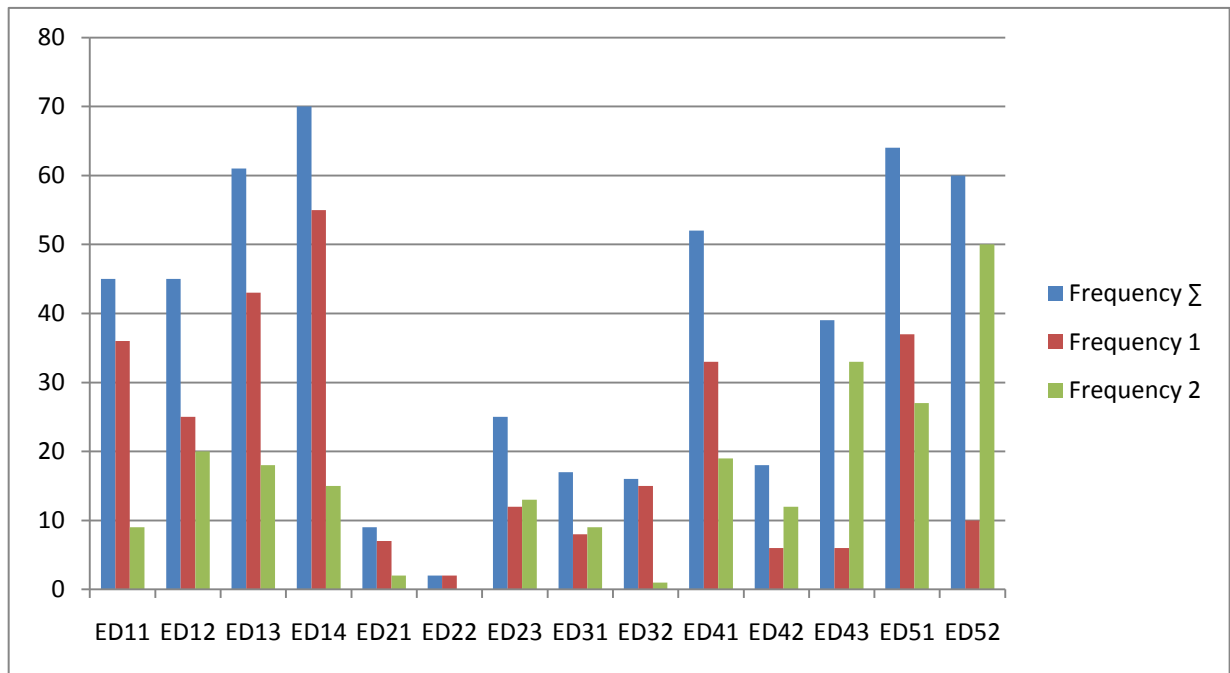


Figure 2: The frequency of variables

	ED11	ED12	ED13	ED14	ED21	ED22	ED23	ED31	ED32	ED41	ED42	ED43	ED51	ED52
Frequency 1	36	25	43	55	7	2	12	8	15	33	6	6	37	10
Frequency 2	9	20	18	15	2	0	13	9	1	19	12	33	27	50
Frequency Σ (sum 1 and 2)	45	45	61	70	9	2	25	17	16	52	18	39	64	60

Figure 3: The frequency of variables

The Variables ED21 and ED22 show particularly bad results. The variable group 2 further analysis ‘antagonism’ (escalatory) and ‘balance’ (de-escalatory). Variable 2.1 deals with the opponents rights and intentions, 2.2 with the own war parties rights and intentions.

The low turnout might have two reasons:

- few pictures deal with rights and intention or
- the operationalization and development of the coding framework does not describe the depiction of rights and intention properly thus it misses actual cases where these qualities are depicted.

#### 4.2.2 The Photo Agencies

The majority of pictures in the sample were taken by photographers of seven agencies. Picture agencies that had a less than one percent share in the sample (that is two pictures) were categorized as ‘other’. The by far biggest share of photographs – 46 percent or 95 images – were either commissioned by ‘The New York Times’ or taken by their staff photographers. Of those pictures, 16 percent were taken by ‘The New York Times’ staff photographer Tyler Hicks, who works in Afghanistan since the beginning of the war in 2001.

Another 19 percent of the pictures commissioned by ‘The New York Times’ were taken by freelance photographers on assignment for the newspaper. Few but

some agency photographers were commissioned with about 2 percent for photographers of the 'Polaris' and 'Getty' agencies each.

Besides commissioned photography, the big wire agencies dominate the distribution with 17 percent share for the 'Associated Press' (AP), and 9 percent for 'Reuters', 8 percent for both 'AFP' and 'Getty'. The big share 'AP' holds is not surprising as 'The New York Times' is contributing member of the agency that is organized as a not-for-profit cooperative. Contributing members collectively own the 'AP' and can access its material free of charge.

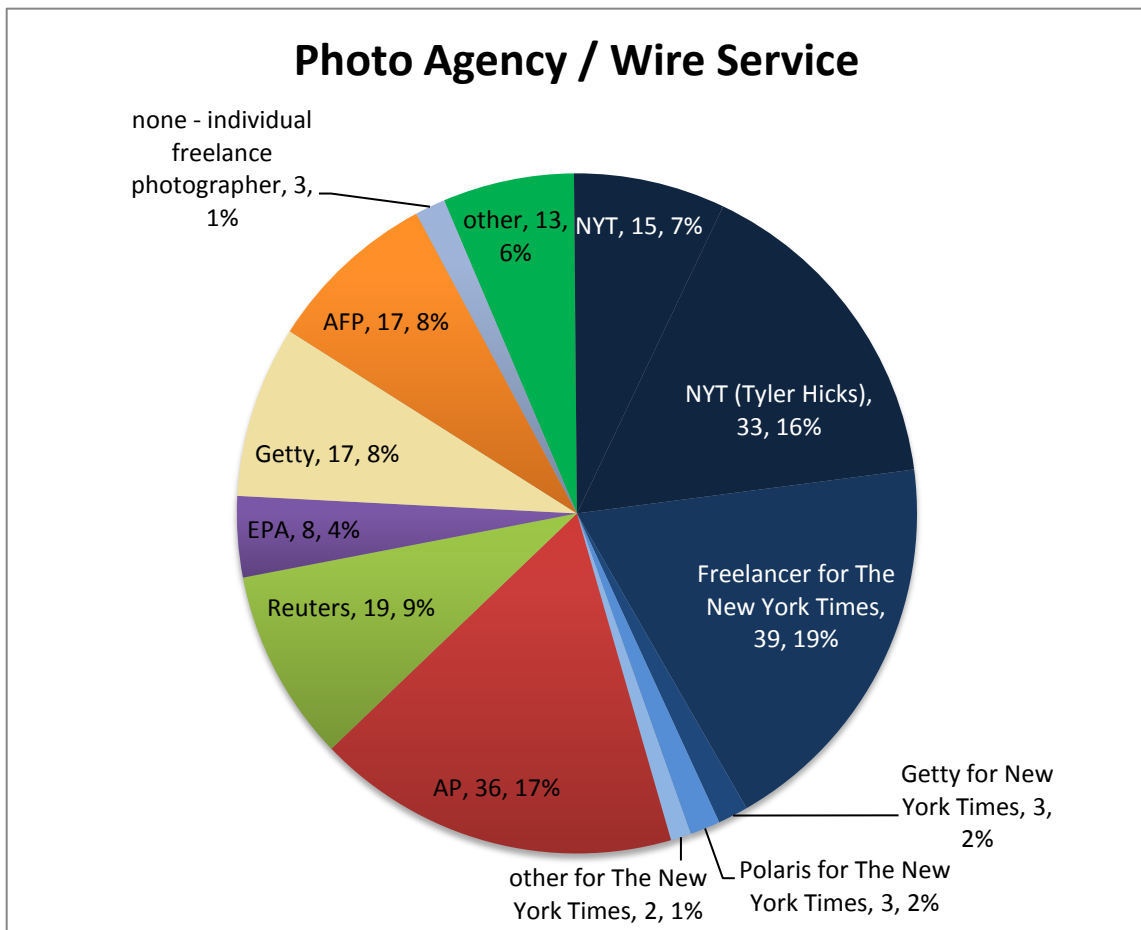


Figure 4: Wire Agencies

The case numbers are unfortunately far too low for a bivariate analysis. It would have been very interesting to see if certain wire agency are more frequently used by 'The New York Times' picture desk if escalatory (or de-escalatory) picture language is dominant. Only 'the Associate Press' and 'the New York Times' freelance and staff photographers run enough pictures to leave more than ten cases in both the escalatory and de-escalatory category.

#### 4.2.3 Sections, Categories, and Page Numbers

The page with the highest number of articles in the sample is the front page – overall, 41 pictures or 20 percent were published on page one. 47 articles or 23 percent appeared on the subsequent ten pages and another 22 or 11 percent on the last ten pages of the first section. Only 13 pictures or 6 percent were published in sections other than the first, but of these 13 images, 8 – that is 62 percent of the samples not published in the first section or 4 percent of all samples – were published on the first page of the particular section. Of the whole sample, 85 cases were published (only) online. Unfortunately, the online archive of 'nytimes.com' does not give any information on the place the article appeared first – whether it was promoted on the homepage, or the first page of the website sections and whether it was promoted with or without picture.

The high number of front page articles underlines the high importance ‘the New York Times’ attributes to international reporting and in particular the war in Afghanistan. It is not surprisingly that the newspaper won a ‘Pulitzer Prize’ for its covering of the war in 2009. ‘The New York Times’ staff was awarded for “its masterful, groundbreaking coverage of America’s deepening military and political challenges in Afghanistan and Pakistan, reporting frequently done under perilous conditions.” (The 2009 Pulitzer Prize Winners - International Reporting, 2009).

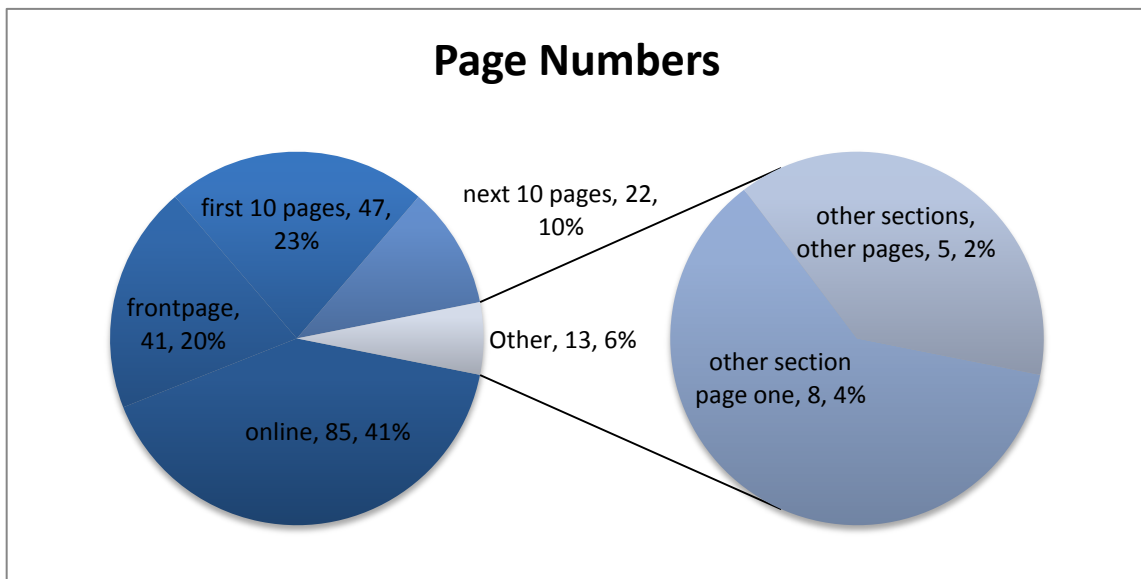


Figure 5: Page numbers

On 6 October 2008 ‘The New York Times’ changed the organization of its sections and categories, complicating the analysis of the sections and categories. The reason for this change was cost savings and streamlining of the production process. The number of pages remained the same but the categories and sections were rearranged in the Newspaper. To create usable data over the whole sample period and to simplify information, the categories had to be recoded and aggregated. The

categories ‘Politics’, ‘National’, ‘Washington’, ‘U.S.’ and ‘Americas’ were merged, as was ‘International’ and ‘World’. Furthermore, ‘Asia Pacific’ and ‘Middle East’, ‘Movies’, ‘Television’ and ‘Books’, and ‘Business’ and ‘Money’ were combined.

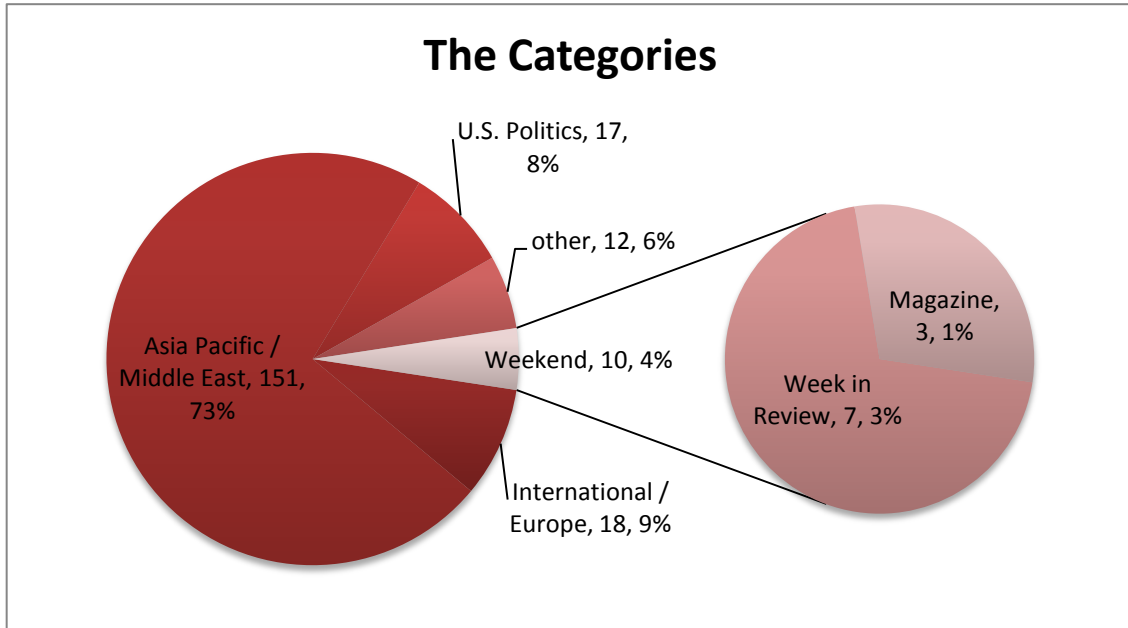


Figure 6: The newspaper categories in the sample

Those articles that weren’t published in any of the larger categories were printed on the ‘Health’, ‘Business’, or ‘Media’ pages, in the ‘Sports’ or ‘New York’<sup>9</sup> section or in special supplements like ‘Giving’

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<sup>9</sup> The ‘New York’ section is titled ‘Metro’ in copies circulated in the New York City metropolitan area / the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Tri-State region

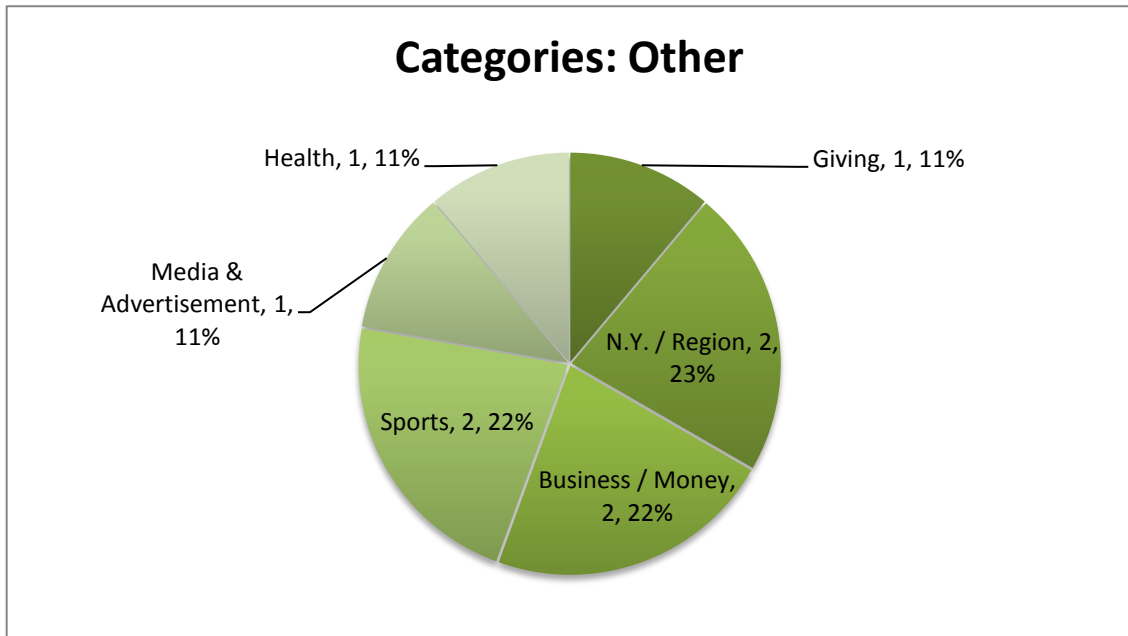


Figure 7: Other categories

#### 4.2.4 Independency of Variables

A quality of a good coding framework is that its variables are independent from each other. Independency means that variables do not change together so that one is not a duplication of another. In the following, the independency of the variables measuring the escalatory and de-escalatory tendency is examined.

A table is therefore created that shows row-by-row the number of cases that have not only the variable indicated on the left assigned but also the variables indicated in the columns. A dependency between two variables might exist if difference in value between the bold printed total count of the variable and the count of cases that coincides with another variable is low. For better visibility, those cases

have been marked red (very small difference) and yellow (small difference) in the following table.

		ED11	ED12	ED13	ED14	ED21	ED22	ED23	ED31	ED32	ED41	ED42	ED43	ED51	ED52
ED11	N	45	16	15	39	6	0	6	5	10	18	6	9	7	6
ED12	N	16	45	18	21	1	1	7	3	0	5	7	11	12	14
ED13	N	15	18	61	31	0	1	4	8	0	24	0	8	21	6
ED14	N	39	21	31	70	6	0	7	5	12	26	6	8	12	10
ED21	N	6	1	0	6	9	0	5	1	6	4	3	3	0	1
ED22	N	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
ED23	N	6	7	4	7	5	0	25	4	4	2	7	7	1	9
ED31	N	5	3	8	5	1	0	4	17	1	7	2	8	9	2
ED32	N	10	0	0	12	6	0	4	1	16	9	3	1	3	3
ED41	N	18	5	24	26	4	0	2	7	9	52	5	12	20	8
ED42	N	6	7	0	6	3	0	7	2	3	5	18	8	2	8
ED43	N	9	11	8	8	3	0	7	8	1	12	8	39	9	18
ED51	N	7	12	21	12	0	1	1	9	3	20	2	9	64	12
ED52	N	6	14	6	10	1	0	9	2	3	8	8	18	12	60

Figure 8: Table indicating the count of variables

All four cases with small differences in the count marked above indicate a one sided dependency. That means that those variables do not substitute each other but that one of the two changes with the other. To further examine the dependencies between the variables in question, the correlation will be tested.

		ED14
ED11	Pearson Correlation	.439**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	208

Figure 9: testing the dependency of the variables ED11 and ED14



The variables ED11 and ED14 correlate clearly and highly significant (1% level). Indeed, variable ED11 is a refinement of ED14: The latter variable checks whether an item depicts antagonism or openness to all sides. ED11, however, describes the orientation towards win-lose (escalatory value) or win-win (de-escalatory value) solutions. A win-lose credo follows a conception of antagonism and a win-win credo needs a departure from antagonism and a certain level on openness towards the other sides of a conflict. Accordingly, it is not surprising that ED11 is not independent of variable ED14. However, this finding does not render variable ED11 useless as it is a refinement of variable ED14.

	ED11	ED14	ED32
ED21 Pearson Correlation	.213**	.132	.508**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.057	.000
N	208	208	208

Figure 10: testing the dependency of the variables ED 21 and ED11, ED14, ED32

The variable ED21 correlates clearly and highly significant (1% level) with the variables ED11 and ED32. Thereby, the correlation between ED21 and ED32 is more pronounced (correlation coefficient 0.51) than with variable ED11 (correlation coefficient 0.21). Even though variable ED21 correlates with variable ED14 no sufficient level of significance is reached. Hence, no relationship can be ascertained between the two.

ED21 describes the demonization of the opponent or his intention (escalatory value) or the respecting of the opponent and his intention (de-escalatory value).

ED32 describes the condemnation of the opponent's action (escalatory value) or the

evaluation of the opponent’s actions (de-escalatory). The selectivity between the two variables could indeed be better – even though the variables try to describe different aspects, the language defining the variables does not emboss the particularities precise enough. Most likely, mistakes in understanding the two variables by the coder are the reason for the dependency of the two variables.

The dependent relationship between the variables ED21 and ED11 has most likely its seed in the high frequency of the variable ED11. No variable has been coded more frequently than ED11 – that just raises the probability that it coincides with another variable. The number of cases of variable ED21 is very low (only nine samples were coded with this value) increasing the possibility of errors even if the level of significance is high.

		ED14
ED32	Pearson Correlation	.134
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.053
	N	208

Figure 11: testing the dependency of the variables ED32 and ED14

Even though variable ED32 correlates with variable ED14 no sufficient level of significance is reached. Hence, no relationship can be ascertained between the two. A further analysis is thus not necessary.

After all, the big majority of variables are independent. Those few exceptions are acceptable, in particular since all variables are recoded into a single one in a later

step. Thereby, it does not matter if a case was coded with one or several values as the measure of the aggregated variable is only nominal.

### 4.3 Empirical Testing of the Hypothesis

The empirical testing of the hypothesis comes to positive results; As the following frequency chart shows, the number of cases being classified as escalatory – thus images with escalatory but no de-escalatory features – is on the spot double as high as those cases classified as de-escalatory. Of the in total 100 valid cases in the strata of George W. Bush, 60 showed only an escalatory and 30 only a de-escalatory tendency. 10 featured characteristics of both and were assigned to the category ‘hybrid’. Since no final statement is possible whether these cases have an escalatory, a de-escalatory, or no effect at all, all hybrid cases were dismissed and counted as invalid. During the presidency of Obama, the case numbers are almost even with 44 escalatory classified items and 45 de-escalatory classified items. Again, 10 cases showed both escalatory and de-escalatory elements and were dismissed.

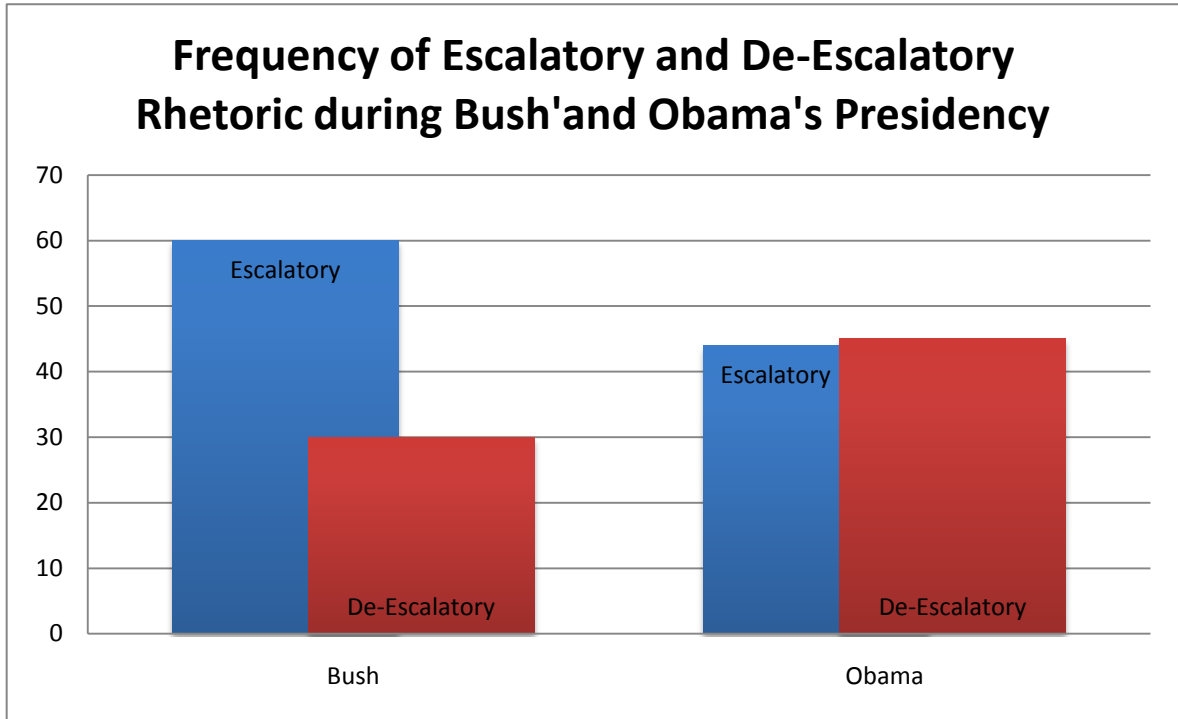


Figure 12: Frequency of Escalatory and De-Escalatory Rhetoric during Bush's and Obama's Presidency

		Escalatory, De-Escalatory, Hybrid		
		Escalatory	Hybrid	De-Escalatory
		Count	Count	Count
Presidency	Bush	60	10	30
	Obama	44	10	45

Figure 13: Frequency of Escalatory and De-Escalatory Rhetoric during Bush's and Obama's Presidency

The more detailed graph below shows how the percentage of escalatory and de-escalatory elements are approximating after Barack Obama won the primaries and match since Barack Obama is inaugurated as president of the United States of America.

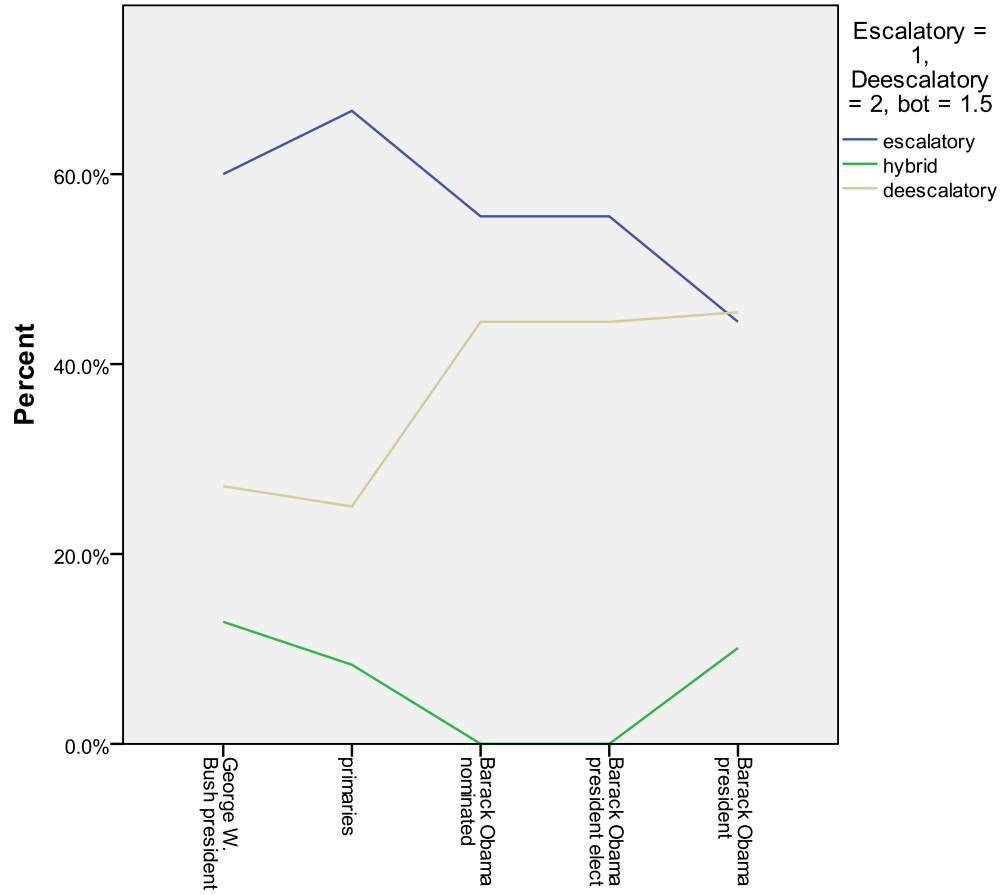


Figure 14: Frequency of Escalatory and De-Escalatory Rhetoric over time

Even though this chart analysis shows promising results, the success of the study depends on whether the trends noticed in the charts will be backed up by bivariate correlation. In particular the low case numbers might challenge the significance of the results. However, as the following table shows, the variables EDsimpl and datesimpl correlate:

		esc or de-esc	Presidency
esc or de-esc	Pearson Correlation	1	.175*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.019
	N	179	179
Presidency	Pearson Correlation	.175*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.019	
	N	179	208

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 15: testing the correlation between tendency and presidency

Even though the correlation coefficient is only moderate (.175), the result is two-tailed significant at the .05 level. The data analysis shows that the predominant pictorial language of news photography depends on the hegemonic war policy. A win-lose orientated war policy results in a higher percentage of pictures showing escalatory elements. On the contrary a war policy that is win-win orientated leads to a higher percentage of photographs with de-escalatory effect.

## 4.4 Critique

Even though the research produced clear and significant results that support the hypotheses, several matters are still subject to some critique. This latter will be laid out in the following paragraphs.

### 4.4.1 Objectivity of Photography

As explained before, a characteristic of photography is its high level of subjectivity. Even though present in any means of communication, pictures particular rely on a high degree of subjectivity. This is because photographs carry culture, history, and any other kind of possible reference in them. Even though the

adaptation of the coding scheme was done so that a high degree of objective coding could be achieved and a test of inter-coder reliability proved sufficiency, doubts remain that all findings of the present research can be generalized for all kinds of news consumers. The reason for this is because people with different culture-political or historical background (among others) might read and interpret pictures completely differently. However, this constraint has its limitations as all crucial steps that might be vulnerable to subjectivity – the development of the initial coding scheme by Kempf (1996), adaptation of the scheme, the coding, and the test of inter-coder reliability – are conducted by people belonging to the same major socio-cultural background (that is western) as the readers of the The New York Times<sup>10</sup>.

#### 4.4.2 Intercoder reliability

The test on intercoder reliability showed consistency. However, the result of 70 percent congruency is not outstandingly good and just acceptable. Commonly, .80 is understood as the general accepted limit with lower results acceptable for exploratory research. Nevertheless, the percentage agreement obtained by the intercoder reliability test of .70 can be accepted because of the methodology used for

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<sup>10</sup> This matter cannot be validated for the internationally distributed version of The New York Times – the International Herald Tribune – and its readers. But since this news product is published under a different name in a different editorial department in a different city (Paris vs. New York) and with partly different content, it has to be seen as a different organ. Hence, the readership of The New York Times can be assumed as predominantly “western”

the test. The percentage agreement was calculated on all variables and not on the aggregation of the ED<sub>x</sub>y variables. That means that the adding or skipping of variables which did not change anything about the classification of an image as escalatory or de-escalatory was still counted as a disagreement between the coders. The applied calculation hence produced lower intercoder reliability than it would have if the aggregated index had been used.

#### 4.4.3 False Hybrids

There are cases where the coding of an item with the coding scheme produces data that differ from qualitative evaluation. Two kinds deviance of expected and coded tendency were noticed. The first includes cases where no variable was applicable at all. That applied for example for portrait pictures of politicians. In the second and more important category are images that show a discrepancy between coded variables and the overall effect an image has. Those pictures were coded as hybrids but indeed had either escalatory or de-escalatory rhetoric embedded. This phenomenon has its origin in the fact that pictures produce meaning on many different levels and by different means. The variety of constituent parts of the logical structure of visuals raises the problem that the subtle but important meaning of photographs is not caught by the coding schedule, but triggers several categories that are related but are not dead-on. As an example, the depiction of flag-draped coffins of fallen soldiers will be discussed more in detail.



The borderline between depictions of heroism and cost of war is thin and mostly depends on small details. Even more complicated are images showing the flag-draped coffins of soldiers – see example below:



Photo 9: Case 212, published on October 29 2009. © The New York Times

This picture was classified as a hybrid, containing both escalatory and de-escalatory elements. The following codes were assigned:

E 1.2: Emphasis on military values (Order, Discipline, Comradeship)

E 3.2: Condemnation of the opponent's actions

D 4.1: Emphasis on the price of victory

D 5.1: Humanizes or at least respects victims of the war on all sides

Most interestingly is the discrepancy between the escalatory code E1.2 – emphasis on military values (order, discipline, camaraderie) – and the de-escalatory

code D5.1 – Humanizes victims of war – since all fallen soldiers receive honors when transferred home. Basically, all pictures showing the arrival of flag-draped coffins in the U.S. will have those two codes assigned. However, these pictures showing coffins are generally referred to as to having a ‘demoralizing effects’ on public opinion. These pictures were never released by the military until President Barack Obama lifted the ban in February 2009.

Examples as this one show that the categorization of photographs as ‘hybrid’ is a tool, that though it is necessary to guarantee valid data, rejects cases as not-classifiable even though a categorization in escalatory or de-escalatory would be possible. In the next paragraphs the general shortcomings of the coding schedule will be laid out more in detail.

#### **4.4.4 Shortcomings of the Coding Scheme**

Besides operationalizing the research question, creating high consistency of data in face of the high subjectivity of images is a task of the coding framework. Some shortcomings of the schedule were noticed in the process of conducting the research.

As discussed before, some pictures could not be coded correctly and were categorized as ‘hybrid’. This category is nothing more than a crutch to keep data valid through the exclusion of cases that cannot be correctly classified by the used coding schedule. Solution to the problem could be a coding scheme that uses variables with scale or nominal values instead of the ordinal escalatory/de-escalatory

dichotomy. Unsolved problems regarding subjectivity of imagery and for a quantitative research expected level of consistency forced the use of the dichotomic values in this study. Further research could refine the coding framework at this point.

A development of the coding schedules with more than one step of refinement and several cycles of pretesting could have decreased the problem. However the effort necessary to run several cohorts of pretests was outside the realms of possibility within the scope of this research. Nevertheless, improving the coding scheme is the agenda of a possible follow-up research.

#### **4.4.5 Size of the Sample**

Some 200 cases were collected for this research, a volume that proved sufficient to test the hypothesis successfully and obtain significant results. However, some tests such as the bivariate analysis of photo agencies and the escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric in their pictures could not be done due to a lack of cases. By projection, the sample would have had to be about five times as big to have sufficiently enough cases in all subcategories. The limitation on few hundred cases is a compromise since a population of over a thousand cases would have exceeded the available capacities.

## Chapter V: Conclusion

The present research successfully joined the two fields of study – the effect photography has and can have – consciously or unconsciously – and the relationship between media coverage and conflicts. The examination of escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric hidden in photographs showed a high dependency to official narratives. The pictorial language of photographs is influenced by the dominant domestic war policy and independent narrations, differing from the prevailing ones, rarely occurs. An escalation-orientated official narrative of a government is reflected by escalatory rhetoric in the war coverage – and on the opposite a peace-orientated stance is reflected by de-escalatory rhetoric in the war coverage. This finding challenges the self-understanding of journalists that they would be the investigative and critical ‘spearhead’ of democracy. These results are actually in line with previous research on the topic such as Griffin’s which looked into the visual depiction of America's 'War on Terrorism' (Griffin, 2004).

The underlying principles that make media follow official narration are unknown. Conceptions as the cognitive dissonance theory suggest that every human prefers information and attitudes that reconfirm expectations and are in line with one’s personal opinion. Journalists – being human, too – also prefer information that confirms the expected and because of that, they might unconsciously edit news accordingly. Basically official narrations are powerful enough to become dominant

and prevailing, and to trigger the described cognitive processes resulting in a constant reiteration of these narrations. As a consequence, war (or escalation) orientated official narrations lead to more escalatory rhetoric than official narrations that are peace (or de-escalation) orientated.

The strongly win-lose and conflict orientated narrative of the George W. Bush's government was reflected by a significantly higher number of escalatory elements in news photography as the openly win-win and peace orientated narrative of Barack Obama that created a more de-escalatory orientated image selection. The degree to which escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric are used in visuals, correlates with the type of war (or peace) policy and the official narration of events.

Besides that, the research's objectives

- (1) to find out whether concepts (as of Kempf et.al.) created to analyze text based conflict reporting can be adapted for photography,
- (2) to develop such a coding scheme which is able to grasp an escalatory and a de-escalatory tendency in images, and
- (3) to test the developed coding framework in a research

were all reached. The adaptation and development of the coding framework was successful. Even though some parts of the scheme leave room for refinement to

improve the level of significance and to sharpen up the results, the overall results of this part of the study are positive.

Further research could compare mainstream journalism with alternative journalism such as blogs and citizen journalism to examine whether the same tendencies are applicable for different and new forms of media, too. Also, the research's result could be strongly refined by pairing the content analysis of published news with linguistic analysis of the rhetoric of opinion leaders. Comparing the actual frequency of escalatory and de-escalatory rhetoric in the language of e.g. George W. Bush and Barack Obama with the respective pictorial rhetoric could create additional insight into the process editing in journalism.

Considering the number of pictures surrounding us every day, the research examining and illustrating the power that visuals have (or can have) is rather important. Some pictures are orchestrated to create specific feelings or opinions, but in many cases this process happens unconsciously on the side of both news producers and consumers. Raising awareness on the sensibility of the topic and increasing visual literacy are essential to improve visual media production and consumption. As the number of pictures circulating is increasing, the ability to read the messages and meaning of photographs is increasingly important. The present research contributed by examining the clandestine manipulative power that prevailing narrations have, influencing the image selection to reconfirm itself.

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## Appendix

### Examples



Photo 10: Case 24, published on December 2, 2008. © The New York Times

D 4.3: Empathy for "their" situation creates a new perspective: we can find solutions together that take all sides' needs into account

D 5.2: Humanizes or at least respects members of civil society and/or refrains from identification with supporters of the war on all sides



Photo 11: Case 118, published on April 16, 2009. © The New York Times

E 4.1: Accentuation of "our" strength

E 5.1: Humanizes "our" soldiers and /or dehumanizes "their" soldiers



Photo 12: Case 187, published on June 26, 2007. © The New York Times

D 3.1: Self-Critical evaluation of one's own side's action



D 4.1: emphasis on the price of victory

D 5.2: Humanizes or at least respects members of civil society and/or refrains  
from identification with supporters of the war on all sides



Photo 13: Case 216, published on October 1, 2006. © The New York Times

Claudius Schulze

## The Coding Frameworks

		<b>Escalation Orientated Aspects</b>	<i>Adaptation for Visuals</i>		<b>De-escalation Orientated Aspects</b>	<i>Adaptation for Visuals</i>
<b>1. Conceptualization of the (conflict)-situation</b>						
	<b>E1</b>	Polarization (or respectively support of war) & confrontationist (or respectively) military logic		<b>D1</b>	Query of Polarization(or respectively warfare) & confrontationist (or respectively military logic)	
ED11	<b>E1.1</b>	Zero-Sum or at least Win-Lose orientation (War as competitive process: Only one survives/succeeds)	<i>Depicting aggression e.g. pointing of weapons, shooting, killing</i>	<b>D1.1</b>	Win-Win orientation (or at least questioning win-lose) and/or presentation of structures for possible cooperation	<i>e.g. cooperation / communication between the war parties</i>
ED12	<b>E1.2</b>	Emphasis on military values (Order, Discipline, Camaraderie)	<i>Depicting military qualities and symbols e.g. muster or emblems in positive ways</i>	<b>D1.2</b>	Cooperative values and/or questioning militarism and military values	
ED13	<b>E1.3</b>	Designation of (military) force as an appropriate means or downgrading of doubt in its appropriateness	<i>Showing success of military action e.g. depicting cross hairs, impact of 'smart bombs', etc</i>	<b>D1.3</b>	Emphasis on negative effects of (military) force and/or questioning its appropriateness	<i>e.g. showing (civil) victims of war regardless of side</i>
ED14	<b>E1.4</b>	Emphasis on Antagony	<i>e.g. depicting violent confrontations, military action, or situations confirming adversity</i>	<b>D1.4</b>	Emphasis on openness to all sides or at least abandonment of dividing the protagonists into two camps	

2. Evaluation of the war parties 'rights and intentions						
	E 2	Antagonism		D 2	Balance	
ED21	E 2.1	Demonization of the opponent, denial of his rights, and/or demonization of his intentions	<i>e.g. showing other's turpitudes</i>	D 2.1	Respecting of opponent's rights and/or unbiased description of his intentions	<i>e.g. medics caring for members of the other side</i>
ED22	E 2.2	Idealization of one's own rights and intentions	<i>e.g. depicting freeing people suppressed by opponent</i>	D 2.2	Realistic and self-critical evaluation of one's own rights and intentions	<i>e.g. showing one owns impact in the war</i>
ED23	E 2.3	Denial of common interests or emphasis on incompatibility of interests, culture, etc.	<i>e.g. presenting conflicts between war parties</i>	D 2.3	Emphasis on common interests	<i>e.g. depicting joint operations to improve the civil situation on the ground</i>
3. Evaluation of the war parties' action						
	E 3	Confrontation		D 3	Cooperation	
ED31	E 3.1	Justification of one's own side's action and underlining of one owns rightness	<i>showing alleged military success</i>	D 3.1	Self-Critical evaluation of one's own side's action	<i>showing destruction and victims caused by own party</i>
ED32	E 3.2	Condemnation of the opponent's actions	<i>showing destruction and victims caused by opponent</i>	D 3.2	unconfrontative or unbiased evaluation of the opponent's actions	



4. Emotional involvement in the conflict						
	E 4	Destructive emotions		D 4	constructive emotions	
ED41	<b>E 4.1</b>	A focus on "their" viciousness and dangerousness & accentuation of "our" strength	<i>e.g. Symbols of Strength and Determination (Large Military Formations, etc.)</i>	<b>D 4.1</b>	emphasis on the price of victory	<i>showing destruction and victims caused by any party</i>
ED42	<b>E 4.2</b>	Depicting the other party as untrustworthy	<i>e.g. Ambush attacks</i>	<b>D 4.2</b>	Evaluations reasons to reduce mistrust	<i>e.g. Acts of Generosity of the Other Side</i>
ED43	<b>E 4.3</b>	Jeopardizing empathy through demonizing "their" intentions and/or justifying our behavior: if they behave well they have nothing to fear	<i>e.g. Tit for Tat Situations, Revenges</i>	<b>D 4.3</b>	Empathy for "their" situation creates a new perspective: we can find solutions together that takes all sides' needs into account	<i>e.g. Members of both sides take care of each other.</i>
5. Social identification and personal entanglement						
	E 5	Confrontative social commitment		D 5	Cooperative social commitment	
ED51	<b>E 5.1</b>	Humanizes "our" soldiers and /or dehumanizes "their" soldiers	<i>e.g. Showing Human Daily Life of Own Soldiers,</i>	<b>D 5.1</b>	Humanizes or at least respects victims of the war an all sides	<i>e.g. Showing the suffering of civilians regardless which side</i>
ED52	<b>E 5.2</b>	Humanizes "our" civil population for its loyalty and/or ignores or dehumanize "their" civil population for its nationalism, etc	<i>e.g. showing families of soldiers, hate demonstrations on opponents side, etc.</i>	<b>D 5.2</b>	Humanizes or at least respects members of civil society and/or refrains from identification with supporters of the war on all sides	<i>e.g. reporting from anti-war demonstrations</i>

ED11-52	0	not applicable	date		
	1	escalatory (E)			
	2	deescalatory (D)	color	0	color
	3	both		1	b/w
pg (Photographer)	0	any	headline of the article		string
	1	Tyler Hicks	caption of the picture		string
agency	1	NYT	category of the paper	1	Asia/Pacific
	2	AP		2	Week in Review
	3	Reuters			
	4	EPA	print	0	online
	5	Getty		1	print
	6	AFP			
author	1	C.J. Chivers			
	2	<b>Sabrina Tavernise</b>			
	3	<b>Tom Shanker</b>			
	4	<b>Richard A. oppel, Jr</b>			
	5	<b>Carlotta Gall</b>			
	6	<b>Stephen Farrell</b>			
	7	<b>David Rohde</b>			
	8	Abdul Waheed Wafa			
	9	Dexter Filkins			

**Checklist for escalation- and de-escalation-oriented aspects of conflict coverage**

<b>Escalation-oriented aspects:</b>	<b>De-escalation-oriented aspects:</b>
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**1. Conceptualization of the (conflict-) situation**

E 1	Polarization (or respectively support of war) & confrontationalist (or respectively military) logic	D 1	Query of polarization (or respectively warfare) & confrontationalist (or respectively military) logic
E 1.1	Zero-sum or at least win-lose orientation (construction of conflict as a competitive process); conflict resolution is regarded as impossible; agreements are interpreted as "giving in"; compromise is devalored	D 1.1	Win-win orientation (or at least questioning win-lose) and/ or presentation of structures for possible cooperation (construction of the conflict as a cooperative process)
E 1.2	Emphasis on military values	D 1.2	Cooperative values and/or questioning militarism and military values
E 1.3	Designation of (military) force as an appropriate means of conflict resolution and/or downgrading of doubt in its appropriateness	D 1.3	Emphasis on negative effects of (military) force and/or questioning its appropriateness
E 1.4	Refutation, questioning or downgrading peaceful alternatives; focus on violence reduces the prospect of peace and/or obstacles to peace are emphasized or portrayed as overwhelming	D 1.4	Perspectives on, demands for and/or agreement with peaceful alternatives
E 1.5	Emphasis on antagonism	D 1.5	Emphasis on openness to all sides or at least abandonment of dividing the protagonists into two camps

**2. Evaluation of the war parties' rights and intentions**

E 2	Antagonism	D 2	Balance
E 2.1	Demonization of the opponent, denial of his rights and/or demonization of his intentions	D 2.1	Respecting of opponent's rights and/or unbiased description of his intentions
E 2.2	Idealization of one's own rights and intentions	D 2.2	Realistic and self-critical evaluation of one's own rights and intentions
E 2.3	Denial of common interests or emphasis on incompatibility of interests, culture etc.	D 2.3	Emphasis on common interests and/or description of the (concrete) benefits that both sides could gain from ending the war

**3. Evaluation of the war parties' actions**

E 3	Confrontation	D 3	Cooperation
E 3.1	Justification of one's own side's actions and underlining of one's own rightness ----- demonstration of uniformity and /or downgrading differences within one's own party	D 3.1	Self-critical evaluation of one's own side's actions ----- focus on plurality of behavioral options within one's own party
E 3.2	Condemnation of the opponent's actions ----- disregarding plurality on "their" side	D 3.2	Less confrontative or unbiased evaluation of the opponent's actions ----- focus on plurality of "their" behavioral options
E 3.3	Antagonistic behavior is emphasized, possibilities for cooperation or common gain from ending the war are denied, cooperation between conflict parties is not taken serious and/or ----- the role of third parties is interpreted more as exerting (moral, economic or military) pressure (win-lose) than as mediating (win-win)	D 3.3	(Supporting) description of cooperative behavior, of possibilities for cooperation or common gain from ending the war and/or ----- the role of third parties is interpreted as mediating (win-win) rather than exerting (moral, economic or military) pressure (win-lose)

<b>Escalation-oriented aspects:</b>	<b>De-escalation-oriented aspects:</b>
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<b>4. Emotional involvement in the conflict</b>
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E 4	Destructive emotions	D 4	Constructive emotions
E 4.1	A focus on "their" viciousness and dangerousness & accentuation of "our" strength create a balance between threat and confidence which promotes willingness to engage in struggle (or war)	D 4.1	Unbiased assessment of "their" intentions & behavior and emphasis on the price of victory deconstruct threat and confidence and promote "our" willingness for peace
E 4.2	Mistrust of the opponent and/or neutral third parties who try to mediate in the conflict is encouraged (e.g. by depicting the party as untrustworthy, prone to violating treaties, etc.)	D 4.2	Respect for "their" rights and unbiased assessment of "their" behavior reduce mistrust
E 4.3	A focus on "their" atrocities and "our" justness transforms outrage at war into outrage at the enemy	D 4.3	Empathy with both sides victims, emphasis on both sides casualties and unbiased evaluation of both sides behavior redirects outrage at the war
E 4.4	Interpunctuation of the conflict, demonization of "their" intentions and/or justification of "our" behavior jeopardize empathy with "their" situation: if they behave well, they have nothing to fear	D 4.4	Empathy for "their" situation opens up a new perspective: if we can find a solution (together) that takes all sides' needs into account, reconciliation will become possible
E 4.5	Denial of possibilities for cooperation and/or blaming the opponent for the failure of cooperation jeopardizes rebuilding of trust	D 4.5	Emphasis on cooperative experiences (also in the past) rebuilds trust

<b>5. Social identification and personal entanglement (Distance / dehumanization vs. social identification)</b>
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E 5	Confrontative social commitment	D 5	Cooperative social commitment
E 5.1	Humanizes "our" political or military leaders and/or dehumanizes "their" leaders	D 5.1	Refrains from identification with escalation-oriented political or military leaders on all sides
E 5.2	Humanizes "our" soldiers and/or dehumanizes "their" soldiers	D 5.2	Refrains from identification with military personnel on all sides
E 5.3	Humanizes "our" victims and/or ignores or dehumanizes "their" victims	D 5.3	Humanizes or at least respects victims of the war on all sides
E 5.4	Humanizes "our" civil population for its loyalty and sacrifice and/or ignores or dehumanizes "their" civil population for its nationalism etc	D 5.4	Humanizes or at least respects members of civil society and/or refrains from identification with supporters of the war on all sides
E 5.5	Humanizes "their" anti-war opposition and/or ignores or dehumanizes "our" anti-war opposition	D 5.5	Humanizes or at least respects those who strive for a peaceful conflict resolution on all sides
E 5.6	Devalorizes positive (emotional) reactions to the prospect of peace	D 5.6	Emphasizes positive (emotional) reactions to the prospect of peace

<b>6. Motivational logic</b>
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E 6	Motivation for war	D 6	Motivation for peace
E 6.1	War as a bulwark against destruction and/or peace as a risk	D 6.1	Peace as an alternative to destruction and/or war as a risk
E 6.2	War as a bridge to a brighter future and/or peace as a risk	D 6.2	Peace as a bridge to a brighter future and/or war as a risk

<b>Manipulative propaganda techniques</b>	
<b>Harmonization of referential levels</b>	
1	Repetition of the same content on different referential levels
2	Circularity of the "proof"
<b>Double-bind communication</b>	
1	Inherent contradictions
2	Emotional involvement with both contradictory messages
<b>Two-sided messages</b>	
1	Anticipation of criticism
2	Rejection of the anticipated information

## Die erweiterte Fassung des quantitativen Kodierschemas

<b>I.1. Konzeptualisierung der (Konflikt-)Situation<sup>i</sup></b>	
<b>I.1.1 a) Konfrontatives Verhalten</b> Bericht über - Druckausübung (z.B. Boykott, Widerstand) - Unnachgiebigkeit (z.B. Verweigerung von Verhandlungen, Ablehnung von Kompromissen) - militärische Schläge - Eskalation - Erpressung (z.B. Abhängigmachen friedlicher bzw. kooperativer Schritte von Vorleistungen des Gegners) oder über - Beendigung kooperativen Verhaltens (z.B. sich von jemandem abwenden) auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.1.1 b) Kooperatives Verhalten</b> Bericht über - kooperative Schritte (z.B. Verhandlungsbereitschaft, Verhandlungs-angebot, Rückzug, konkrete Unterstützungsmaßnahmen) - Entgegenkommen (z.B. Kompromisse, bedingungslose Vorleistungen, diplomatische Anerkennung) - Deeskalation (z.B. Verzicht auf militärische Schritte zugunsten ökonomischer Maßnahmen) oder über - Beendigung konfrontativen Verhaltens auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei
<b>I.1.2 a) Konfrontative Verhaltensbereitschaft</b> Ankündigen/Wollen konfrontativen Verhaltens	<b>I.1.2 b) Kooperative Verhaltensbereitschaft</b> Ankündigung/Wollen kooperativen Verhaltens
<b>I.1.3 a) Konkurrenzlogik</b> Win-lose Modell: <u>Forderung</u> nach und/oder Zustimmung zu - Druckausübung - Verweigerung von Verhandlungen oder Ablehnung von Kompromissen - militärischen Schritte - Eskalation - Erpressung sowie Argumentation <u>für</u> die - Notwendigkeit - Effektivität - Moralität - Angemessenheit dieser Dinge auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.1.3 b) Infragestellung von Konkurrenzlogik</b> Infragestellung oder Zurückweisung des Win-lose Modells: <u>Ablehnung</u> von - Druckausübung - Verweigerung von Verhandlungen oder Ablehnung von Kompromissen - militärischen Schritten - Eskalation - Erpressung sowie Argumentation <u>gegen</u> die - Notwendigkeit - Effektivität - Moralität und - Angemessenheit dieser Dinge auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei
<b>I.1.4 a) Infragestellung von Friedenslogik</b> Infragestellung oder Zurückweisung des Win-win Modells: <u>Ablehnung</u> von - friedlichen Schritten (z.B. Verhandlung, Vermittlung, diplomatische oder politische Schritte) - Deeskalation (z.B. Verzicht auf militärische Schritte zugunsten ökonomischer Maßnahmen) - Entgegenkommen (z.B. Kompromisse, bedingungslose Vorleistungen) sowie Argumentation <u>gegen</u> die - Notwendigkeit - Effektivität - Moralität - Angemessenheit dieser Dinge auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.1.4 b) Friedenslogik</b> Win-win Model: <u>Forderung</u> nach - friedlichen Schritten (z.B. Verhandlung, Vermittlung, diplomatische oder politische Schritte) - Deeskalation (z.B. Verzicht auf militärische Schritte zugunsten ökonomischer Maßnahmen) - Entgegenkommen (z.B. Kompromisse, bedingungslose Vorleistungen) sowie Argumentation <u>für</u> die - Notwendigkeit - Effektivität - Moralität - Angemessenheit dieser Dinge auf Seite der jeweiligen Partei
<b>I.1.5 a) Infragestellung von Demokratie</b> Infragestellung, Zurückweisung oder Argumentation gegen - Prozesse und Grundsätze der Demokratie (z.B. Infragestellen demokratischer Mehrheitsentscheidungen) - Verfassungsprinzipien - Rechtsstaatlichkeit auf Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.1.5 b) Demokratie</b> Forderung, Betonung oder Argumentation für - Prozesse und Grundsätze der Demokratie (z.B. Forderung einer Orientierung an der bestehenden Verfassung) - Verfassungsprinzipien - Rechtsstaatlichkeit - Aufarbeitung von Menschenrechtsverbrechen bzw. Kriegsverbrechen auf Seite der jeweiligen Partei

<b>I.2. Rechte, Intentionen, Absichten<sup>ii</sup></b>	
<b>I.2.1 a) Infragestellen von Rechten und/oder Unterstellung "böser" Absichten</b>	<b>I.2.1 b) Anerkennung von Rechten und/oder Glaube an "gute Absichten"</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bestreiten der Rechte und/oder "guter Absichten"</li> <li>- Unterstellung "böser Absichten" (Dämonisierung der Absichten)</li> <li>- Kritische Beurteilung der Absichten</li> <li>- Skepsis gegenüber tatsächlichen Absichten (z.B. aus Eigennutz, Eitelkeit o.ä.)</li> <li>- Unterstellung mangelnder Ernsthaftigkeit der Absichten der jeweiligen Partei</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Erwähnung, unverzerrte Darstellung, Anerkennung der Rechte und/oder "guter Absichten"</li> <li>- Leugnung "böser Absichten"</li> <li>- Gutheißen der Absichten</li> <li>- Betonung der Ernsthaftigkeit der Absichten der jeweiligen Partei</li> </ul>
<b>I.2.2 a) Infragestellen übergeordneter Ziele</b>	<b>I.2.2 b) Anerkennen übergeordneter Ziele</b>
<p>Bestreiten oder Leugnen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- gemeinsamer Rechte</li> <li>- gemeinsamer Intentionen</li> <li>- von übergeordneten Zielen</li> <li>- Kooperationsmöglichkeiten</li> </ul> <p>der verschiedenen Parteien (plural) oder deren Geltung für die jeweilige Partei (singular)</p>	<p>Unverzerrte Darstellung, Erwähnung, Betonung von</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- gemeinsamen Rechten</li> <li>- gemeinsamen Intentionen</li> <li>- übergeordneten Zielen</li> <li>- Kooperationsmöglichkeiten</li> </ul> <p>der verschiedenen Parteien (plural)</p>
<b>I.2.3 a) Infragestellen der Bereitschaft der jeweiligen Partei zu demokratischem Wandel in Serbien und Montenegro</b>	<b>I.2.3 b) Anerkennen oder Darstellung der Bereitschaft der jeweiligen Partei zu demokratischem Wandel in Serbien und Montenegro</b>
<p>Bestreiten oder Leugnen der Bereitschaft oder Planung oder Entschlossenheit, im Sinne demokratischer Prinzipien zu handeln (siehe I.3.4 a)); auch:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- zur Überwindung des Milosevic-Regimes</li> <li>- zum Aufbau einer unabhängigen Gerichtsbarkeit</li> <li>- zum Aufbau einer demokratischen Verwaltung</li> <li>- zur Pressefreiheit</li> <li>- zur Aufarbeitung von Menschenrechtsverbrechen bzw. Kriegsverbrechen</li> <li>- zur Verfolgung von (Regierungs-)Kriminalität</li> </ul>	<p>Erwähnung oder Betonung der Bereitschaft oder Planung oder Entschlossenheit, im Sinne demokratischer Prinzipien zu handeln (siehe I.3.4 b)); auch:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- zur Überwindung des Milosevic-Regimes</li> <li>- zum Aufbau einer unabhängigen Gerichtsbarkeit</li> <li>- zum Aufbau einer demokratischen Verwaltung</li> <li>- zur Pressefreiheit</li> <li>- zur Aufarbeitung von Menschenrechtsverbrechen bzw. Kriegsverbrechen</li> <li>- zur Verfolgung von (Regierungs-)Kriminalität</li> </ul>
<b>I.2.4 a) Forderung nach Unnachgiebigkeit</b>	<b>I.2.4 b) Forderung nach Nachgiebigkeit</b>
<p>Forderung nach Unnachgiebigkeit der jeweiligen Partei zugunsten von</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wiederaufbau</li> <li>- Demokratisierung</li> <li>- Versöhnung</li> </ul>	<p>Forderung nach Nachgiebigkeit der jeweiligen Partei zugunsten von</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wiederaufbau</li> <li>- Demokratisierung</li> <li>- Versöhnung</li> </ul>
<b>I.3. Handlungen, Handlungszustände<sup>iii</sup></b>	
<b>I.3.1 a) Rechtfertigung, unvoreingenommene Beurteilung</b>	<b>I.3.1 b) Kritische Beurteilung, Verurteilung</b>
<p>Gutheißen, Begrüßen, Rechtfertigung, oder zumindest unvoreingenommene Beurteilung von Handlungen der jeweiligen Partei</p> <p>Herausstellen der Korrektheit ihres Handelns</p>	<p>Kritische Beurteilung, Verurteilung, Dämonisierung von Handlungen der jeweiligen Partei</p> <p>Schuldzuschreibungen</p>
<b>I.3.2 a) Einseitige Viktimisierung</b>	<b>I.3.2 b) Allseitige Viktimisierung</b>
<p>Darstellung von Leid allein auf Seiten der jeweiligen Partei (singular)</p>	<p>Darstellung von Leid auf <u>allen</u> Seiten mehrerer gegnerischer Parteien (plural)</p>
<b>I.3.3 a) Bestreiten eines gemeinsamen Nutzens aus der Beendigung der Streitigkeiten</b>	<b>I.3.3 b) Gemeinsamer Nutzen aus der Beendigung der Streitigkeiten</b>
<p>Bestreitung, Leugnung, Abwerten des (möglicherweise) aus der Beendigung der Streitigkeiten resultierenden (gemeinsamen) Nutzens für die jeweilige (singular) oder für beide Parteien (plural).</p>	<p>Darstellung, Erwähnung, Betonung des (gemeinsamen) Nutzens, den die Parteien (plural) aus der Beendigung der Streitigkeiten ziehen könnten.</p>

<b>I.3.4 a) Handlungen gegen demokratische Prinzipien</b> <b>Verletzungen/Handlungen der jeweiligen Partei gegen</b> - Prozesse und Grundsätze der Demokratie (z.B. Nichtanerkennen demokratischer Mehrheitsentscheidungen, Wahlen) - Verfassungsprinzipien - Rechtsstaatlichkeit	<b>I.3.4 b) Handeln im Sinne demokratischer Prinzipien</b> <b>Handlungen der jeweiligen Partei im Sinne der Unterwerfung der</b> - Prozesse und Grundsätze der Demokratie (z.B. Anerkennen demokratischer Mehrheitsentscheidungen, Wahlen) - Verfassungsprinzipien - Rechtsstaatlichkeit
<b>I.3.5 a) Verletzung von Menschenrechten/Begehen von Kriegsverbrechen</b> Verletzung von Menschenrechten/Begehen von Kriegsverbrechen	<b>I.3.5 b) Verteidigung von Menschenrechten/Verfolgung von Kriegsverbrechen</b> Verteidigung von Menschenrechten/Verfolgung von Kriegsverbrechen

#### **I.4. Interpunktion des Konfliktes<sup>iv</sup>**

<b>I.4.1 a) Verteidigung</b> Interpunktion des Konfliktes bzw. der Konfrontation so, dass die jeweilige Partei selbst nur auf Handlungen des Gegners reagiert, d.h. in einer <u>Verteidigungsposition</u> dargestellt wird. (z.B. auch "Androhung von Vergeltungsmaßnahmen" oder "Gegenoffensive")	<b>I.4.1 b) Angriff</b> Interpunktion des Konfliktes bzw. der Konfrontation so, dass die gegnerische Seite nur auf Handlungen der jeweiligen Partei reagiert, d.h. in einer <u>Verteidigungsposition</u> dargestellt wird. (z.B. auch "Androhung von Vergeltungsmaßnahmen" oder "Gegenoffensive")
<b>I.4.2 a) Betonung der Stärke</b> Betonung der Stärke Zuversicht in die Siegchancen der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.4.2 b) Preis für konfrontativen Konfliktaustrag</b> Betonung des Preises, der von der jeweiligen Partei für einen konfrontativen Konfliktaustrag zu zahlen ist.
<b>I.4.3 a) Bedrohungsgefühle</b> Bericht, wie sehr die jeweilige Partei durch eine gegnerische Partei bedroht wird Betonung der Gefährlichkeit des Gegners für die jeweilige Partei	<b>I.4.3 b) Abbau von Bedrohungsgefühlen</b> Ausweisen der Bedrohungsgefühle der jeweiligen Partei als unberechtigt Relativierung der Gefährlichkeit des Gegners
<b>I.4.4 a) Misstrauen</b> Bericht, der Misstrauen gegen die jeweilige Partei erzeugt Darstellung der Partei als vertragsbrüchig, unglaubwürdig, etc.	<b>I.4.4 b) Aufbau von Vertrauen</b> Bericht, der Misstrauen gegen die jeweilige Partei abbaut Bericht über vertrauensbildende Maßnahmen seitens der jeweiligen Partei Perspektiven der Versöhnung werden geschaffen Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich

#### **I.5. Distanzierung bzw. Dehumanisierung vs. soziale Identifikation<sup>v</sup>**

<b>I.5.1 a) Distanzierung von Opfern</b> Abwertung, Ironisierung, Delegitimierung von Opfern auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.5.1 b) Soziale Identifikation mit Opfern</b> Anreize zu sozialer Identifikation mit Opfern auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei (z.B. "Opfer des Feindes")
<b>I.5.2 a) Distanzierung von Eliten</b> Abwertung, Ironisierung, Delegitimierung der Elite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.5.2 b) Soziale Identifikation mit Eliten</b> Anreize zur sozialen Identifikation mit der Elite der jeweiligen Partei
<b>I.5.3 a) Distanzierung von sonstigen Akteuren</b> Abwertung, Ironisierung, Delegitimierung von Akteuren auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei	<b>I.5.3 b) Soziale Identifikation mit sonstigen Akteuren</b> Anreize zur sozialen Identifikation mit Akteuren auf der Seite der jeweiligen Partei



<b>II.1 Bewertung der gegenwärtigen allgemeinen Situation in der jeweiligen Region<sup>vi</sup></b>	
<b>II.1.1 a) Negative Bewertung</b> , die <b>materielle</b> Situation (Wiederaufbau) betreffend	<b>II.1.1 b) Positive Bewertung</b> , die <b>materielle</b> Situation (Wiederaufbau) betreffend
<b>II.1.2 a) Negative Bewertung</b> , die <b>ideelle</b> Situation (Versöhnung und Demokratisierung) betreffend	<b>II.1.2.b) Positive Bewertung</b> , die <b>ideelle</b> Situation (Versöhnung und Demokratisierung) betreffend

<b>II.2 Bewertung der allgemeinen Entwicklungsperspektive in der jeweiligen Region</b>	
<b>II.2.1 a) Negative Bewertung</b> , die <b>materielle</b> Entwicklungsperspektive (Wiederaufbau) betreffend	<b>II.2.1 b) Positive Bewertung</b> , die <b>materielle</b> Entwicklungsperspektive (Wiederaufbau) betreffend
<b>II.2.2.a) Negative Bewertung</b> , die <b>ideelle</b> Entwicklungsperspektive (Versöhnung und Demokratisierung) betreffend	<b>II.2.2.b) Positive Bewertung</b> , die <b>ideelle</b> Entwicklungsperspektive (Versöhnung und Demokratisierung) betreffend

**Anmerkungen:**

<sup>i</sup> In Variable I.1 geht es darum, wer aus der Sicht des Autors wie dargestellt wird: **I.1.1** Beschreibung von Verhalten. **I.1.1 a)** Hierunter fällt nicht: auf etwas drängen oder beharren o.ä., auch nicht der Bericht darüber, dass kein unterstützendes Verhalten stattfindet. **I.1.1 b)** Hierunter fällt nicht, der Bericht darüber, dass unterstützendes Verhalten stattfindet. **I.1.3/I.1.4/I.1.5** Argumentationen und Forderungen.

<sup>ii</sup> In Variable I.2 wird darüber berichtet, was jemand zu erreichen versucht oder plant. Dies wird auf einer eher generellen bzw. abstrakten Ebene beschrieben. Es spielt keine Rolle, ob es sich um die Aussage des Autors, Selbstaussage oder Fremdaussage handelt.

<sup>iii</sup> Variable I.3 betrifft konkrete Beschreibungen von Handlungen, die Mittel zum Ziel sein können (auch aus der Sicht des Autors). **I.3.3 a)** Wird auch codiert, wenn nur eine Partei von der Beendigung der Streitigkeiten profitiert.

<sup>iv</sup> Mit **I.4.2 a)** t ist die Betonung in die eigene Stärke gemeint. **I.4.4 b)** Mit „vertrauensbildende Maßnahmen“ sind konkrete Projekte (in Theorie und/oder Praxis) gemeint.

<sup>v</sup> **Variable I.5:** Z.B. fällt ein Vertausch der Täter-Opfer-Rollen auch in diese Variable. **I.5.2 a)** Hierzu gehört beispielsweise auch der Begriff „Regime“

<sup>vi</sup> Die Variablen **II.1** und **II.2** können nur für B.0 Kosovo, C.0 Montenegro und D.0 Serbien codiert werden