



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

The Photographic Representation of Refugees

A Visual Study

by Victor A. Ukmar



Malmö University, Spring 2017

Master of Arts in Media and Communication Studies

One-year Master - Thesis (15 credits)

Student: Victor A. Ukmar

Supervisor: Anders Høg Hansen

Submitted for academic review: May 24th 2017

Abstract:

This thesis tries to shed light on the visual portrayal of refugees within German and the British newspapers during the European refugee crisis in 2016. Furthermore, a visual autoethnography of my own refugee photography complemented this study.

Through the analysis of 80 newspaper photographs from Germany and Britain (quality press & tabloids), as well as nine of my own pictures, the following research questions had to be answered:

- Q1: How were refugees photographically represented in German newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?**
- Q.2 How were refugees photographically represented in British newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?**
- Q.3 How was I, as an amateur photographer, indirectly influenced in my own photographic portrayal of refugees by contemporary media.**

The analysis was conducted by coding all images into different visual categories, while observing reoccurring patterns and visual styles. Furthermore, the *iconographic-iconologic image framework* was used for an in-depth review of certain newspaper images (each representing a different newspaper) and for two pictures of my own photography in an autoethnographic manner.

The findings suggested that women and children were predominantly featured in both, German and British newspapers. German quality press focused on the representations of state control and on the integration of refugees. Furthermore, German tabloids did not refrain from very graphic imagery.

British press featured a high number of pictures with women and children, while no representation of refugee integration could be found. Furthermore, the most notorious British tabloid seemed to portray a rather negative and partially criminal image of refugees.

My own photography indicated a strong influence of commonly used refugee motifs. Thus, a subconscious reflection of international newspaper photography could be identified.

Keywords: refugee, photography, representation, iconographic-iconologic image framework, autoethnography, Germany, Britain, visual study.

Table of Contents:

	Pages:
I Introduction	3-4
II Context	5
III Theoretical Framework	6-9
1. Theories of Representation	6-7
2. Saussure’s Semiotic Approach	7-9
IV Previous Research	9-17
1. Knowledge and perspective	9-10
2. Visual Frames & Symbols	10-14
3. Refugee Looks	14-15
4. Icons, Art and the Bible	15-16
5. Pain and Suffering.....	16-17
V Method	18-27
1.Step One: Newspaper Coding	18-22
1.1 National newspaper comparison	18-20
1.2 Newspaper image selection.....	20-21
1.3 Coding of visual compositions.....	22
2.Step Two: Iconographic-iconologic image analysis	22-25
2.1 Sample for iconographic-iconologic analysis	22-23
2.2 Iconographic-Iconologic Image Framework – the four-step approach.....	23-25
3.Step Three: Visual Autoethnography	25-27
3.1 Intro to Autoethnographies as a method	25-26
3.2 Context for visual autoethnography.....	26
3.3 Coding of personal photography.....	26
3.4 Autoethnographic sample for iconographic-iconologic image analysis.....	27
VI Analysis	27-49
1.Step One: Visual Patterns	27-33
1.1 Coding Results of 80 Refugee Photographs	27-28
1.2 Interpretation of Table 1 (entire sample)	29-30
1.3 Interpretation of Table 2 and the German picture sample	30-31
1.4 Interpretation of Table 3 and the British sample	31-33
2.Step Two: Image Analysis	33-44
2.1 German Newspapers	33-37
2.2 British Newspapers	38-41
2.3 Answer to Research Questions Q.1 & Q.2 and Hypothesis Result	42-44
3.Step Three: Autoethnographic Analysis	44-49
3.1 Coding Results of Own Photography	44
3.2 Interpretations of Table 4.....	44-45
3.3 Iconographic-Iconologic Image Analysis for Autoethnography	46-48
3.4 Answer to Research Question Q.3.....	49
VII Discussion	50-54
1.1 Effects on society	50-51
1.2 Social Assessment.....	52
1.3 Limitations	52
1.4 Further Knowledge	53
1.5 Ethical Assessment	53-54
VIII Conclusion	55
IX Appendix	56-57
X Visual Sources and Newspaper References	58-59
XI Work Cited	60-61

I Introduction

On September 2nd, 2015, an appalling photograph went viral on the social media. It depicted the corpse of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian toddler. He was part of a group of refugees who drowned in their attempt to reach Kos, a Greek island; his body was washed up on a beach near the town of Bodrum in Turkey. The notorious photograph shows the boy lying face-down into the sand, a policeman stands next to him, Smith (2015).

While pictures of the European refugee crisis oversaturated our newspapers for months, I have wondered how many people took a closer, more critical look at the imagery that was being printed by news corporations. The emotional impact of tragic images often makes us neglect its source, its political context, and the photographic composition itself. Many viewers try to ignore those pictures due to their graphic and painful nature.

Newspapers have a tremendous responsibility to represent world events in clear and transparent context that allows us to form an opinion. Yet, it can be argued that many images appear staged, almost orchestrated to reinforce a public perception, while others are only meant to shock the viewer instead of offering information. Furthermore, photographic art comes into play, a quality that can oversimplify or exaggerate the situation of an image. Finally, editors, often influenced by media politics, are the final decision makers of what we see.

All these factors have led to my decision to investigate the refugee crisis from a photographic perspective. Being an amateur photographer, I have also had the opportunity to photograph refugees myself which deepened my interest in the subject. While I will often refer to Syrian refugees in this thesis, I want to make clear that my focus lies on a general depiction of refugees regardless of their country of origin; this includes Syrians travelling over the notorious Balkan route, as well as Eritreans, Somalians, and all the others who risk the treacherous Mediterranean Sea-crossing from Libya to Sicily.

This thesis analyzes the way in which refugees have been photographed for newspapers in the year 2016. To do so I have looked at both, highly respected newspapers as well as tabloids. Furthermore, an international juxtaposition between Germany and Britain was established. The reason for this comparison is based on the fact that both countries have had a very different political stance towards arriving refugees; while Germany had a welcoming stance, Britain expressed concern and refused to be involved in a quota system that evenly distributes refugees across the EU, (*Harding et al. 2015*). In addition, Britain declined Germany's approach to have a clear distinction between immigrants and asylum seekers (*ibid*).

Therefore, I suppose the hypothesis that the political difference between both nations might have also been reflected in the respective refugee photography of their newspapers.

Furthermore, my research features an autoethnographic section. Living in Munich, Germany I have witnessed the refugee crisis first-hand and captured it through my own photography in September 2015. That eye-opening experience has triggered my interest to analyze my own refugee portrayal in a self-critical way.

Overall, this led me to the following research questions that shall be answered within this thesis:

- Q.1 How were refugees photographically represented in German newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?**
- Q.2 How were refugees photographically represented in British newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?**
- Q.3 How was I, as an amateur photographer, indirectly influenced in my own photographic portrayal of refugees by contemporary media.**

II Context

1. Political Context:

The European refugee crisis escalated in 2015 and has been a gigantic challenge for Europe's politicians and citizens ever since. The ruthless Assad regime in Syria, the terror of ISIS, as well the humanitarian and economic situation in various African countries, have caused uncontrolled migration waves towards Europe. By the end of 2016, an estimated 13,5 million people were in the need of humanitarian support in Syria and the amount of displaced people was expected to rise to 8.7 million within the country, *Amnesty International (2016)*. Still, there was a sharp drop of arriving refugees at Europe's shores in 2016: about 364,000 compared to one million in 2015. However, the death tolls of people who died trying to reach Europe rose by 34%, *Aljazeera (2017)*. The passage over the Mediterranean Sea has become a lethal obstacle for thousands; according to UN refugee agency spokesman William Spindler over 5,000 people died in 2016, trying to reach the European shore by boat, *Quinn (2016)*. For most African migrants, Europe seems to be the "promised land", worth taking the risk of a dangerous journey.

These events have led to human smuggling, overwhelmed coast guards, controversial political proposals and a general state of perplexity.

2. Relevance:

I hope this study to be a useful, first orientation for future research that tries to analyze photographic portrayals of refugees. While a photography sample from a single year cannot represent an entire crisis visually, it shall function as an analytical snapshot of a given period. The methods presented in this paper can be applied to any kind of photography and are thus an adequate tools of image analysis.

III Theoretical Framework:

1. Theories of Representation:

In his work, Stuart Hall presents three distinct approaches regarding theories of representation. The *reflective approach* claims that, “meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world”, (Hall 2013 [1997] p.176). In other words, language is the reflection tool, mimicking the truth that can be found in objects, persons or events within the real world. What does that approach mean in regards to our visual analysis of photographs? Hall says that,

visual signs do bear some relationship to the shape and texture of the objects which they represent. But [...] a two-dimensional visual image of a rose is a sign – it should not be confused with the real plant with thorns and blooms growing in the garden (*ibid.p.176*).

In the same way, we could argue that refugee photography should not be taken as two-dimensional depiction of reality. Pictures of human tragedy in connections with language - for instance, a caption below a printed image or an audio comment - cannot simply mirror reality for its audience in a way that allows us to relate to the situation. The refugee picture can evoke a reaction but the picture itself is not a true reflection of the actual crisis; it does not give us the whole story but merely opens up one single vantage point.

The second approach of representation Hall introduces is the so called *intentional approach*. It claims that it is, “the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Words mean what the author intends they should mean” (*ibid. p.177*). So here it is implied that the author - not the object itself - adds meaning through language. But this approach is also somewhat flawed, since, “[w]e cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in language, since that would mean that we could express ourselves in entirely private languages”, (*ibid*). Thus, in this case, instead of a common language code of mutual understanding, meaning would be completely fabricated through the author’s words. If we apply this to refugee photography, it would imply that my “personalized” linguistic interpretation would entirely convey the meaning of an image to an audience. However, trying to be as objective as possible, I should refrain from declaring my own “linguistic meaning” as paramount.

This leaves us to the third approach called the *constructionist approach*. It acknowledges language to be a public and social tool by expressing that, “neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language” (*ibid*, p.177). Here it is stressed that, we as actors can only construct meaning by accessing “representational systems” such as concepts and signs (*ibid*). Thus, meaning is also multi-dimensional, as there is no single reality or truth.

Therefore, I believe the *constructionist approach* to be the most valid and useful theoretical frame that could be applied in this thesis. Looking at controversial photographs of refugees, I must take several “realities” and “truths” into consideration; I must make use of language, symbolism and context in order to produce some sort of meaning.

But how should one interpret visual symbols? How can we linguistically extract meaning out of symbols that are hidden within photographs? The next paragraph shall try to give answers.

2. Saussure's Semiotic Approach

Semiotics is generally perceived as the study of signs within culture, “and culture as a sort of language” (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.182*). Hall notes that, “...since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs”, (*ibid*). Here, the word “sign” should be understood as a rather broad term, since meaning can be extracted not only from words and images, but also from objects themselves (*ibid. p.183*). Hall uses clothes as a valid example; while they have the basic function to cover and shelter us, they convey additional meaning to the viewer, such as the concept of elegance or casualness (*ibid*). If we apply this example to my research on refugee photography, we might be able to find important signs within the clothing of refugees. For instance, we could detect visual clues on their clothing that indicate a rough journey or poverty.

However, it is important to be aware that, according to the *constructionist approach*, signs are arbitrary; thus, there is no natural-given connection between a sign and its meaning (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.178*). For example, it is society that assigned colors “Red” and “Green” to “Stop” and “Go” (*ibid*). While our culture adopted this color-coding over time, it could be completely incomprehensible to another culture that hasn't been exposed to our coding (*ibid*).

But while signs are recognized, felt, and experienced, it is language that functions as the researcher's main cultural tool to express them to a broader audience.

Representation is the production of meaning through language. In representation, constructionists argue, we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Languages can use signs to symbolize, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so called 'real' world (Hall 2013 [1997] p.178-179).

Hence, if applied to the representation through photography, we must extract signs out of the images and translate those signs through language into a meaning. Within that process, it is our cultural code that creates a correlation between a conceptual idea and its given word. For instance, our mental concept of a tree is linked to the actual word 'tree' (*ibid*, p175).

In order to shed more light on the concept of signs we shall take a closer look at Saussure's work. Ferdinand de Saussure was a Swiss linguist who influenced the theories of representation in his semiotic analysis (Hall 2013 [1997] p.179). He acknowledged that, "Sounds, images, written words, paintings, photographs, etc. function as signs within language 'only when they serve to express or communicate ideas...'" ¹(*ibid* p.179). To detect those ideas Saussure divides signs into two separate elements called *signifier*, and *signified*. The *signifier* represents the form; it can be a word, an image, or a photograph; the *signified* stands for the corresponding concept or idea about that form that we have in our head. According to Saussure, the union of both, *signifier* and *signified* then creates an actual 'sign', therefore meaning (*ibid*).

Every time you hear or read or see the *signifier* (e.g. the word or image of a *Walkman*, for example), it correlates with the *signified* (the concept of a portable cassette-player in your head). Both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation (*ibid* p.179).

Applied to this thesis, the photograph of a refugee - the individual on the image - is a *signifier* to an audience at first; it then turns into the *signified* as we process the concept of a refugee in our head. However, as noted by Saussure, that relation between *signifier* and *signified* is not permanently fixed and can change over time as words and concepts change their meaning (Hall 2013 [1997] p.180). Thus, a person in the distant future - a future where refugees hopefully no longer exist - might only recognize the *signifier* (the individual on the image) when looking at the same old refugee photograph. However, he would be unable to establish a *signified* concept; hence no real meaning would occur to him. Of course, an educated history teacher would be the exception.

¹ Here Hall refers to Culler, J. (1976) Saussure, London, Fontana.

As we have established, language acts as a cultural tool when expressing meaning. But languages greatly differ through their phonetics, as well as through their written, alphabetic structure. For example, the word *refugee*, that relates to the British photographs within this study, greatly differs from the German word *Flüchtling* in its written structure and pronunciation. Here, both words have the same meaning and are yet part of a different linguistic code. This can be a great challenge to a researcher that must compare data from different countries. Not only do different meanings and translation need to be taken into considerations, cultural context must be applied at all times. Therefore, I decided to limit my visual refugee research to two countries that I know quite well, culturally and linguistically.

IV Previous Research

Reviewing relevant literature about refugees, I found five reoccurring themes that connected several of my sources. While I will present each individually, the focus will be placed on the theme that has the biggest relevance for this study - Visual Frames.

1. Knowledge and perspective

In his work, *Ways Of Seeing*, John Berger addressed the consumption of imagery. His observation, that our visual experience is directly influenced by our knowledge, is crucial for this thesis (*Berger J. 2013 [1972] p.197*). Regarding “refugeness” we can clearly argue that our visual impression of migrants is consciously influenced by the political and historical knowledge we have acquired over time. As Lynda Mannik puts it, “the period following the Second World War marks the beginning of ways to systematically manufacture ideas about refugees”, *Mannik (2012 p.262)*. Berger further stresses the importance of context. He acknowledges that we never look at one thing only, since we always see the relation between the things themselves and us as persons (*Berger J. 2013 [1972] p.197*). That being said, I believe that our own history, as well

as our experiences with tragedy, are somewhat reflected when we encounter refugee images in the media.

As far as photography is concerned, Berger notes that it forces us to see the world through the subjective lens of the photographer (*Berger J. 2013 [1972] p.197-198*). His observation is in accord with the fourth step of the *iconographic-iconologic image framework* which I applied in this thesis. Caroline Lenette described this step as the *iconic interpretation* in her work *Writing With Light*. Here the question is asked, “What socio-cultural and historical understandings of ‘refugees’ was the photographer trying to respond to or influence through his photograph?”, *Lenette (2016, p.4)*.

This was a point I had to ask myself throughout this thesis, when reviewing photography of others. At the same time, I also realize that my own refugee photography might force other viewers to look at the issue from my personal perspective.

2. Visual Frames & Symbols

In their work, *Visual Framing*, Keith Greenwood & Joy Jenkins defined frames as, “perceptual schemes employed by communicators and audiences to organize and make sense of issues and events”, ²(*Greenwood and Jenkins 2015, p.208*). They point out how the selection and presentation of media content is steered by editors to appeal to specific audiences (*ibid*). Through their photographic study of 11 U.S. news magazines covering the Syrian crisis between 2011-2012, Greenwood & Jenkins identified an enhanced presence of so called “war frames”, that depicted subjects, “in the role of victim or belligerent”, (*ibid, p.214*). Overall, within 82/193 cases subjects were presented in a belligerent depiction (*ibid*). The authors noted that,

editors at the magazines with a liberal perspective have selected photographs to visually frame the response of the Assad Government in a negative light by focusing on the impact on civilians and those fighting for change (*ibid p.223*).

Media frames are often directly linked to the political situation within a country. While

² Here *Greenwood and Jenkins* refer to Gitlin 1980; Lyombe 1999; Pan and Kosicki 1993; Reese 2001)

war frames were clearly present in the military turmoil of Syria, visual frames regarding refugee management emerged predominantly in countries that were accepting refugees. In another study published in 2017, Esther Gruessing and Hajo G. Boomgaarden tried to detect dominant frames regarding “refugee and asylum issues” within six Austrian newspapers (three quality / three tabloid) during the year of 2015 (*Gruessing and Boomgaarden 2017, p.6*). Their findings revealed that the four most dominant frames involved the physical settlement of refugees, the political reception/distribution, as well as the issue of security and criminality (*ibid, p.9*). Here, tabloids were more concerned with the criminality frame than the quality press (*ibid, p.10*). This might be explained with general dramatization of crime that is often highlighted within the tabloid world. The authors refer to ³others concluding that,

Media coverage provides an essential backdrop for the formation of public opinion [...] because it employs particular interpretational lenses (i.e. frames) on unfolding events, and thus serves as a cognitive shortcut for audiences in order to make sense of these events (*ibid, p.14*).

Hence, audiences are dependent on media representations in order to form an opinion, while it is the editorial branch of media corporations that makes the actual selection of any given frame.

In a paper on Afghan refugees in 2001, Terence Wright stated that it is never the refugees’ voice that leads their own representation in the media, not even when they are being interviewed, *Terence (2004, p.105)*. Thus, “[t]he ‘wallpaper’ refugee images attempt to provide a general representation, which does not allow the viewer to get close enough to the individual behind them”, (*ibid, p.102*). He further notes that the actual, “voice of the refugee remains at the end of the chain of ‘framings’: contextualized by the anchorperson, reporter [...] and (perhaps) translator”, (*ibid, p.108*). It could certainly be argued that the “refugee-actor” seems to be capitalized by news agencies that create a customized refugee frame in convenience to the story they are trying to sell.

Another example of framing can be found in Pierluigi Musarò’s article *Mare Nostrum*. Musarò describes how refugee search-and-rescue operations conducted by the Italian

³ Here Gruessing and Boomgaarden refer to Gamson, W.A, and A. Modigliani (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (1): 1-37 doi:10.1086/229213.

Navy were orchestrated by Italian soldiers who documented their operations through photography and video. This material would then be forwarded to national media, *Musarò (2016, p.14)*. Musarò states that the photographs created, “sympathy for the soldiers and pity for the migrants” (*ibid, p.18*), thereby causing an, “asymmetrical relationship between heroes and victims...”, (*ibid*). Here, a narrative of hierarchy (saver vs. victim) was constructed; what was not shown was a depiction of solidarity and equality between the military and the victims, (*ibid, p.20-21*). Hence, a human division takes place.

This concept of division is also examined in Anna Szörényi article *The images speaks for themselves?* Here, Szörényi notes a divide between the image-viewing audience and the refugees, describing it as separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, *Szörényi (2006 p.38)*. She claims that, “[t]here are those who examine refugees, define them and manage them, and there are those who are defined as the problem, and must wait patiently for aid...” (*ibid p.28*). What follows is an objectification of the refugee as a media symbol, one that easily neglects human identity: “In other words, it is all too easy for refugees as people to be obliterated in favour of refugees as *symbol* for something else”, (*ibid p.36*). This symbol can then stand for poverty, political failure or any other mediatized issue and - as already suggested above - is a result of editorial influence.

While it can be assumed that news photographers cover a wide range of photographic compositions during any human crisis, it is the editorial staff of newspapers and magazines that control the photographic selection and therefore also the creation of the so-called symbols. At disposal lies a range of photographic styles that can be used for various journalistic purposes. However, within my research of the recent European refugee crisis, two photographic styles stood out: The close-up of individuals and the wide shot/long shot of groups. Roland Bleiker et al. note:

social-psychological studies have revealed that such close-up portraits are the type of images most likely to evoke compassion in viewers. Images of groups, by contrast, tended to create emotional distance between viewers and the subjects being depicted, (*Bleiker et al. 2013 p.399*).

Furthermore, it is worth to note that the visual depictions also impact the language of any given media discourse. This is especially visible for asylum seekers that travel by boat, since these “boat people” are often assigned to specific key words in the press,

including the terms “floods” and “tides”, (*Bleiker et al. 2013 p.400*).

In their study, *Bleiker et al.* analysed the portrayal of refugees on the front pages of two Australian ⁴newspapers during Aug.-Dec. 2001 and Oct. 2009 - Sept. 201. Both time frames were eventful periods of controversial refugee politics in Australia (*Bleiker et al. 2013 p.399*). In total, 87 front pages with depictions of asylum seekers were reviewed (*ibid. p.404*). Their findings revealed that, “66% of images portrayed asylum seekers in either medium or large groups”, (*ibid p.405*). The authors further realised a lack of pictures that depicted “individual asylum seekers with recognisable facial features”, (*ibid p.406*). The overall lack of such pictures (2%) indicates an intentional act of visual dehumanisation, (*ibid p.413*), since “‘a crowd of people in danger is faceless’ and can actually numb viewers, rather than evoke a compassionate emotional reaction”, (*ibid 406*). Summarized, Australia’s political anti-asylum stance was highlighted by its media representation, which selected dehumanising photographs of large groups to block out emotional depictions of the migrants.

A very similar study published by Xu Zhang and Lea Hellmueller in 2017 compared the visual representation of the recent European refugee crisis within the websites of the societal German magazine *Der Spiegel* and *CNN International*. While the German magazine addresses a more “parochial” audience, *CNN* represents a global community (*Zhang and Hellmueller 2017, p.9*). From a pool of 287 pictures published on the websites in 2015, 29 were randomly selected and coded to visual patterns, such as close-ups, medium shots and long-shots (*ibid p.10*). Here we can see that *Der Spiegel* had used imagery in a very similar way as Australian refugee coverage presented in *Bleiker et al. (2013)*’s study: “*Der Spiegel* used more long-shot images to cover different news actors and thus provided viewers with a boarder news context”, (*Zhang and Hellmueller 2017, p.15*). While *Bleiker et al.* pointed to the dehumanizing factor with large crowds of people, a similar effect can be achieved through distance, as noted by Zhang and Hellmueller (2017): “These long shots are less likely to solicit viewers’ emotional response than close-ups and medium shots” (*ibid p.17*). While *Der Spiegel*’s pictures were long-shots 39,3% of the time, *CNN International* featured them 19 % of the time (*ibid p.11*). In addition, *Der Spiegel* had less pictures of individuals (17,3 %) as opposed to *CNN International* (24,8%), (*ibid*

⁴ The newspapers were *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

p.12). Finally, *Der Spiegel* had far more unrecognizable refugee emotions in their imagery than *CNN International* (40,4 % vs. 25,4 %), (*ibid p.13*). The reason *Der Spiegel* in Zhang and Hellmueller's study offered a similar visual framing as Australia's national media in *Bleiker et al.* can be explained with the political situation at stake (while clearly not justified in the Australian case). Especially in 2015, Germany was facing an overwhelming amount of asylum seekers trying to enter the country. Therefore, *Der Spiegel* was more concerned with national border control and the implementation of the law (*Zhang and Hellmueller 2017, p.23*). *CNN International* highlighted visual frames of human interest (60,6 %), (*ibid p.15*), while *Der Spiegel* did so with the presentation of police units/military (51,7 %), (*ibid p.14*). Going back to Greenwood and Jenkins definition of visual frames at the beginning of the section, we must be aware of reinforced editorial perspectives when we review newspaper imagery. Political, as well as societal pressure can often cause distorted media frames that are visually one-sided.

3. Refugee Looks

Reading various sources about refugee representations in the western world, I have come across a reoccurring "ideal" that many believe to be the way refugees ought to look like. In her article, *Public and private photographs of refugees*, Lynda Mannik notes that the media has been depicting refugees as voiceless and helpless victims that potentially constitute a threat to statue security, *Mannik (2012, p.262)*. She adds that, "refugee's bodies must visually be marked as 'wounded' in order to legitimise their refugee status..." (*ibid p.263*). Worn clothes, worried faces and skinny bodies have indeed been preferred motifs used in the past; they seem to express the need for humanitarian action towards refugees. Any deviation from this preconceived notion seems to cause scepticism. When Mannik would publicly present a photographic collection of Estonian refugees from 1948, viewer reactions included little sympathy (*ibid p.263*). Those images showed migrants that were smiling, posing and celebrating in front of the camera. Viewers were missing visualized suffering; thus, their compassion was not triggered (*ibid*). We find this dominant visual expectation also in a text by Marta Szczepanik in which it is mentioned that, "Refugee were expected to behave in a certain way [...] and to display characteristics that would

justify the provision of aid, some of them being: poverty and passivity”, *Szczepanik (2016 p.30)*. A further division introduced by Szczepanik is the “gender narrative” which seems to limit compassion to women and children only, while men travelling alone are usually conceived as cowards that have deserted their families, hence, not “genuine refugees”, (*ibid p.25*). This is a point also mentioned in an article by Jil Walker Rettberg & Radhika Gajjala. Both point to the explicit verbal attacks on social media against unaccompanied Middle Eastern men (*Walker and Gajjala 2016, p.180*). An exemplary comment said: “ ‘2200 immigrants arrive in Munich. No women no children. Apparently only men flee ‘war zones’?”, (*ibid*). Besides “coward”, other preferred online labels for migrant men, in particular for the ones coming from the Middle East, seemed to be “terrorist” and “rapist”, (*ibid*).

Overall, I do believe that these “expected”, visual stereotypes can cause tremendous difficulties within any refugee crisis. While women are reduced to passivity and helplessness, men must constantly prove their genuine intentions to avoid negative labels, such as “terrorist” or “rapist”.

4. Icons, Art and the Bible

In today’s society of viral online sharing the phenomenon of the “instant news icons” has emerged. Mette Mortensen defines these icons as, “selected images, which through rapid and wide dissemination across media platforms become frames of reference for a large, sometimes even global, public”, *Mortensen (2016 p.411)*. The best example would be the image of Alan Kurdi mentioned in my introduction. Getting into the dynamics of viral sharing on social media would be beyond the scope of this paper, but the influence of blogs, *Facebook* and *YouTube* etc. for dissemination purposes is undeniable (*ibid p.412*). While these instant news icons might neither endure over long periods of times nor become historic, they are “references within a matter of hours” and serve as “agenda setters and game changers” (*ibid p.413*); News coverage of these images is not necessarily interpreting their meaning. So called “metacoverage” prevails, where the media outlet is not trying to analyze the context of a particular photograph but is, “dwelling on how famous the images have become in how short of a time, and how much and widely they have been dispersed via social media”, (*ibid p.417*). That being said, it seems

that media expects instant news icons to be somewhat self-explanatory due to their striking photographic quality (*ibid*). Thus, a symbolic image projects “values, emotions, and opinions” while not expressing “a fixed message” (*ibid p.420*).

But where do these striking images come from? Is the typical refugee woman with a child in her arms a composition established by the art of photography? Or do we have to dig deeper in history to unveil these “classic” motifs? Terence Wright introduces a connection to biblical paintings which seems to mirror photographic refugee depictions in a remarkable way. In his work *Moving Images* he says,

I shall propose that refugee images not only have their roots in Christian iconography, but that images perpetuating this visual tradition are reproduced and broadcast instinctively – possibly having a subliminal effect on the viewer, *Wright (2002 p.54)*.



Figure 1.
Masaccio,
“The Expulsion from Paradise”
(Source: italianrenaissance.org)

Wright compares contemporary refugee images to biblical representations, including famous depictions of the old testament. For instance, he refers to Adam and Eve’s banishment from the Garden of Eden, as illustrated in Masaccio’s Renaissance painting *The Expulsion from Paradise*, *Wright (2002 p.57)*. Here, Wright compares the theme of the painting - expulsion of Adam and Eve through the authority of an angel - to familiar refugee photographs that show how migrants are forced to move under military surveillance. (*ibid. p58*). Further biblical examples that might mirror refugee depictions are the *Exodus* (similar to today’s mass migration) and the typical “*Madonna and Child*” image (*ibid p.57*). These Christian motifs, that have strongly influenced Renaissance art, often seem to be revisited by news photographers (consciously or subconsciously) who capture migration, poverty and persecution.

5. Pain and Suffering

Within my research, very few photographs represented a positive or light hearted depiction of refugees. Overall, pain and suffering were dominant themes; hence, it is important to acknowledge the human reaction to suffering.

In her book, *Regarding The Pain Of Others*, Susan Sontag reflects on photographic illustrations of pain. She questions the purpose of looking at such photographs, wondering what they should evoke: “To make us feel ‘bad’; that is, to appall and sadden?”, *Sontag (2003 p.72)*. She notes how the human interest in pain and suffering can easily be compared to a car accident that causes cars to slow down as people try to witness the tragedy (*ibid p.75*).

I certainly agree with Sontag’s point that we are unable to witness the pain of individuals close to us (*ibid p.78*); on the other hand, a, “voyeuristic lure and the possible satisfaction of knowing, This is not happening to *me*, I’m not ill, I’m not dying, I’m not trapped in a war...” (*ibid*), seems to be felt regarding the pain of people faraway. Furthermore, the floods of shocking images in the media seems to oversaturate our minds to the point where we become numb and lose “our capacity to react”, (*ibid p.84*). Indeed, I have experienced this myself during this thesis; after having reviewed countless refugee depictions, my initial compassion had declined proportionally to the amount of pictures I had analyzed.

Going back to the concept of symbols, visuals of pain and suffering can also be positively utilized for humanitarian causes. As addressed by Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno in their article *A horrific photo of a drowned Syrian child*, humanitarian photography tries to trigger emotions, empathy and dismay among its viewers in order to raise awareness and/or generate funding (*Fehrenbach and Rodogno 2015, p.1125*). Depictions of “mother and child” and “child alone” were preferred motifs for humanitarian photography (*ibid p.1143*). Over the years however, very graphic representations of pain and suffering have been replaced by more positive visuals that, “respect the individual subjectivity, dignity, identity, culture and volition of those portrayed”, (*ibid p.1152*).

While international help organizations may justify the public display of poverty, migration, and humanitarian crises, it is important to keep in mind that those motifs are also largely capitalized by news corporations. This is especially true when *instant news icons* are dispatched through meaningless *metacoverage*. We should therefore ask ourselves, which benefits refugees can draw from the public display of their suffering.

V Method

Intro to Visual Methods:

Overall, my research method can be seen as a **three-step approach**. In **Step One** 80 images were searched and selected on the official websites of national newspapers; they then were coded according to their general photographic composition. For **Step Two** a specific sample of 10 pictures was extracted for a more detailed iconographic-
iconologic image analysis. By combining these two steps I could do both, reveal photographic patterns on a larger scale, while still dissecting provocative images that required further attention to detail. Finally, **Step Three** complemented my study through my amateur photography; it allowed me to create a **visual autoethnography** that triggered self-reflection and questioned external media influences.

1. Step One: Newspaper Coding

1.1 National newspaper comparison:

For this thesis, it was important to evaluate a wide spectrum of German and British newspaper sources to establish a valid comparison about their refugee portrayals. While my hypothesis supposes a different photographic representation of refugees on a national level, I also made sure to compare papers that had the same journalistic quality. Therefore, I compared tabloid photographs in Germany with tabloid photographs in Britain, as well quality press images in both states. The reason for this is obvious: Comparing a photograph of a highly respected online publication from Germany with a picture from a British tabloid paper would falsify the result, since one medium tries to inform people while the other focuses sensationalism.

This study included eight newspapers - four from Germany and four from Britain. Among each of the four papers, there is at least one well-known tabloid, while the remaining papers are mostly considered high quality press. The Newspapers were selected according to their large print circulation, their popularity and their cultural

relevance in 2016.

The newspaper rankings can be found in the **Appendix on Table 5 & 6**.

➤ *The German Newspapers:*

Bild: The paper can be described as the German equivalent of the SUN. It is Germany's most notorious daily tabloid newspaper as well as the paper with the highest circulation in the country. Founded in 1952, it focuses on sensationalism and is popular for its gossip sections. (Sources: bild.de, Ver.di b+b)

Süddeutsche Zeitung: The moderately left-wing, daily newspaper was founded in 1945. It ranks on the second place of national circulation and is highly respected throughout Germany. It mainly focuses on political themes (national and international), as well as culture and lifestyle to a lower extent.

(Source: sueddeutsche.de, Historische Lexikon Bayerns, Ver.di b+b, Cultura21)

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: Published in 1949 this daily paper holds the third-highest circulation in Germany. It offers high quality journalism and is considered to keep a moderately right-wing stance in its publications. The newspaper also has its focus on political issues and has a large number of foreign correspondents.

(Sources: faz.net, Cultura21, doyousspeakdeutsch?, Ver.di b+b)

Die Welt: This daily newspaper was published in 1946 and is considered right-wing journalism. The paper focuses on politics, economics and finance and is an advocate of economic liberalism. It has the fourth-largest circulation in Germany.

(Sources: welt.de, Cultura21, Vistawide, Ver.di b+b)

➤ *The British Newspapers:*

Daily Mail: Together, *The Daily Mail*, including the *Mail on Sunday* and their respective websites, have the highest reach of people in Britain. While established as tabloid style newspaper in 1896 the paper has a somewhat conservative stance and carries an anti-European attitude.

(Sources: dailymail.co.uk; The Anglotopia Magazine)

The Sun: The Sun is a notorious daily tabloid newspaper founded in 1964. Standing alone it has the highest circulation in the U.K. It is well known for its sensationalism and celebrity gossip. Further additions of nudity and some political content make it the most controversial newspaper publication in Britain.

(Sources: thesun.co.uk, The Anglotopia Magazine, worldatlas)

The Daily Telegraph: The daily paper was founded in 1855 and can be considered as one of the last quality broadsheet papers in Britain. It is highly respected nationally and internationally while having a rather conservative, middle class stance.

(Sources: telegraph.co.uk; The Anglotopia Magazine, Encyclopaedia Britannica)

The Guardian: This is another daily quality press paper founded in 1821. It has gained great recognition for its investigative journalism. In 2003 Whistleblower Edward Snowden chose the *Guardian* to publish highly confidential information about the NSA. Politically, the paper is located within the left-wing and intellectual mainstream.

(Sources: theguardian.com; The Anglotopia Magazine, Encyclopaedia Britannica)

1.2 Newspaper image selection:

All photographs that were examined for this thesis - besides my own photography included in the autoethnographic section - have been selected from the official websites of the eight newspapers. Unlike their print versions, the official websites offered vast content libraries dating back several years; furthermore, website material could be reviewed faster and more efficiently than print sources would have allowed. Thus, this thesis is limited to official online publications of the said newspapers.

Furthermore, only newspaper photographs that were published in the year 2016 have been considered. Since visual perceptions change over time according to their political and societal context, it is important to set a confined time frame. The year 2016 was a highly eventful year for the European refugee crisis. While the numbers of the refugees entering Europe dropped, the death rate on the Mediterranean rose to a record level, *Alfred (2016)*; furthermore, the EU-Turkey Deal, as well as the closing of the *Balkan route* added additional tension (*ibid*). Thus, my search benefited from a great visual variety.

The online search procedure was both, random yet consistent for all newspapers. To make an unbiased selection I used the *Google's* search engine and entered:

The name of the newspaper, the year “2016”, and either the word “refugee” or “refugee crisis” into the search tab (for the search of German papers the respective words were “Flüchtling” or “Flüchtlingskrise”).

On average, *Google's* first three result pages were relevant, since those usually lead me directly to the official newspaper websites. I randomly clicked on the displayed *Google-*results in order to reach my data in a more coincidental, unbiased way. Thus, whenever I did not directly land on an official newspaper website, or when I would find text without images, I would go back to the results page and start over. Captions below all pictures were always considered and recorded for the analysis section.

In Addition, pictures found on one of the official newspaper websites had to pass the following criteria in order to be selected into the samples:

- a) The refugee photograph was clearly published in the year 2016 as confirmed by a caption next to the image.
- b) The photograph had to feature at least one person that could clearly be identified as a refugee; this had to be confirmed through the caption of the picture, or through context of an article. Pictures showing politicians, police, military, landscapes, or infrastructure without any refugees were dismissed.
- c) The picture had to be a photograph. Refugees depicted on drawings, caricatures or animations were dismissed.

For each of the eight newspapers I selected 10 pictures, thus my collected data set included a total of 80 pictures. I believe this number to be an adequate amount, considering the limited scope of this thesis. Furthermore, I think that the inclusion of more photographs would have merely revealed repetitive patterns and interpretations.

1.3 Coding of visual compositions:

The entire sample of 80 photographs was then coded according to the following criteria:

- ⁵Pictures of women and children
- ⁶Pictures of single men
- Close-Ups (waist upwards or closer) of women, children and men
- Long Shots of large refugee groups without distinguishable features
- Pictures of refugees depicted with state authorities (military/police)
- Refugees being rescued
- Refugees in camps and housing units

The above stated categories were based on reoccurring photographic themes that frequently appear in newspaper coverage of human crises. While women and children are stereotypically framed together, it was important to consider the depiction of men considering *Walker and Gajjala* claims stated above in my section *Refugee Looks*. Furthermore, I followed up on *Bleiker et al.* and *Zhang and Hellmueller's* observations regarding close-ups, large groups and distance. Finally, state authority, rescue and housing situations were repeatedly present in my sample, hence they deserved further analysis.

2. Step Two: Iconographic-iconologic image analysis

2.1 Sample for iconographic-iconologic analysis:

While this first part of my method merely focused on visual coding to create an overview of the frequency of certain photographic compositions, my second step applied the *iconographic-iconologic image framework* to a small, pre-selected image sample. This qualitative method was completely exploratory and therefore underscored the constructionism applied in this research.

⁵ Here, women were depicted alone or in female groups, with or without children; furthermore, children that were depicted alone or with a male person were also counted to this group.

⁶ Here "single men" means men depicted alone in a photograph or as a group of max. two men. They can be depicted with or without children.

A sample of eight pictures was selected from the pool of 80 photographs. Here, each of the eight pictures was representative for one specific newspaper. The final selection was based on the following criteria:

- a) Each photograph had to come from a different newspaper; thus, all newspapers were represented with one image.
- b) Each photograph had to be photographically provoking; this means it had to be visually expressive and have a unique symbolic quality.
- c) Each photograph had to present a unique scene; this means that there were never two pictures depicting the exact same situation (e.g. not having two pictures that both show a large group of refugees inside a boat).

The four-step approach of the *iconographic-iconologic image analysis* was then applied to each of the eight photographs as described in the following section.

2.2 Iconographic-Iconologic Image Framework – the four-step approach:

The *Iconographic-Iconologic Image Analysis* is a method used for visual interpretation that was first introduced by art historian Erwin Panofsky. He introduced the first three steps (here a-c) while the fourth step, the iconic interpretation (here d), is an addition by historian Max Imdahl, *Lenette (2016 p.4)*.

a.) Pre-Iconic Description

Erwin Panofsky describes the pre-iconic description as the detection of pure forms, lines and colors; thus, a classification of, “human beings, animals, plants...”, can be established, *Panofsky, (1955, p.33)*. He further points out that everybody is able to recognize and describe such shapes (*ibid p.33*). In her work, Caroline Lenette explains that, “Step 1 involves describing the content of the photograph in as much detail as possible, to ensure that all possible aspects are considered” *Lenette (2016, p.4)*; Hence, pre-iconic phase is a purely descriptive evaluation that requires no further interpretation.

b.) Iconographic-Analysis

Panofsky defines iconography as, “branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form” *Panofsky (1955, p.26)*. The suffix “graphy” that comes from the Greek word *graphein* means “to

write”, thereby implying a descriptive visual character. Thus, *iconography* is a sort of classification of visual content, allowing us to detect specific themes and motifs by creating a general basis for interpretation (*ibid p.31*). Furthermore, historical context and common knowledge about the image also fall into the realm of *iconographic* analysis. As noted by Caroline Lenette, we ask ourselves the question: “What can be observed in the photograph?” *Lenette (2016 p.4)*. Nora Ruck & Thomas Slunecko describe the *iconographic* phase as step in which, “the elements of the image are classified into types of actors or types of actions, thereby depending on the prevailing generalizations – and more broadly speaking: on the knowledge base – of a certain community” (*Ruck & Slunecko 2008, p.270*). The *iconographic* description therefore goes beyond the visual information provided by the picture; it tries to assign meaning to the image, while it does not ask us to, “investigate the genesis and significance of this evidence”, *Panofsky (1955, p.31)*. Thus, our focus solely remains on the content and the information we can observe through the photograph and its caption.

c.) **Iconologic-Analysis**

While *iconography* does not move beyond the content of the image, “iconological analysis, however, seeks to transcend the content in order to grasp the particular mentality (*Ruck & Slunecko 2008, p. 271*). Here, Panofsky notes that the suffix “logy”, coming from the Greek word *logos*, implies reason and thought; hence, iconology is asking us for some sort of interpretation and seeks for a certain significance within the visual depiction, *Panofsky (1955, p. 32)*. Panofsky further adds *iconology* to be, “iconography turned interpretative” (*ibid*). We now go a step further and distance ourselves from a merely descriptive, content based analysis and move to our own interpretation that is focused on perspective *Lenette (2016, p.4)*. Here Lenette asks the question:” What is the meaning of the photograph?” (*ibid*).

Panofsky describes this process as, “Intrinsic meaning or content, constituting the world of ‘symbolical values”, *Panofsky (1955, p.40)*. That intrinsic part invites us to continue the visual story by assuming things that cannot be seen directly in the picture and by interpreting the overall meaning within a given context.

d.) **Iconic Interpretation**

The iconic interpretation takes into account the intent, logic and composition of the photographer (*Lenette 2016, p.4*). This additional step of analysis was introduced by art

historian Max Imdahl (*ibid*). We are therefore encouraged to evaluate the professional and socio-cultural influence the photographer was experiencing during his composition, *Lenette (2016, p.4)*. In any given situation, the photographer has an unlimited amount of visual choices when framing the world around him.

Photographers are indeed agents of knowledge production and dissemination processes [...] They work within particular professional and socio-cultural parameters that define when, where, why, and how they photograph,⁷*Lenette (2016, p.4)*.

The photographer therefore always has a certain subjective intention when capturing a moment. He can make use of the background and foreground in different ways; he can highlight certain elements in the picture or neglect them by blurring them out of focus; he can position the persons and objects that wants to photograph in a certain way; and he can even stage an entire situation in order to create a suggestive scene.

3. Step Three: Visual Autoethnography

3.1 Intro to Autoethnographies as a method:

The third part of my research will revolve around my own refugee photography. In order to critically evaluate my own experience as a photographer, as well as my self-produced content, I will apply a visual autoethnography.

Autoethnography can be defined as, “(a) a researcher’s first-person account (story or narrative) of an event or process and (b) the researcher’s reflective and reflexive analysis of that experience”,⁸(*Borders & Giordano 2016 p.455*).

⁷ Here Lenette is partially quoting from: Subedi, B. (2013). Photographic images of refugees spatial encounters: Pedagogy of displacement and referring to: Wright, T. (2002). Moving images: The media representation of refugees.

⁸ Here Borders & Giordano quote from Anderson, L. (2006). Analytic autoethnography; Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview; Hays, D. G., & Singh, A. A. (2012). Qualitative inquiry in clinical and educational settings.

Hence, the researcher is the actual subject of the given research, as well as subjective narrator, *Chaplin (2012, p.2)*. Elizabeth Chaplin further explains the autoethnography approach in her work *The Photo Diary as an Autoethnographic Method* by saying that it is,

...a narrative that closely documents the researcher's 'personal thoughts, feelings, and actions and relates them to the wider social world will give the reader a richer and more intimate experience of that world than they would get from the generalized results of a conventional social scientific research project' (*ibid*).

Here, it is important to underscore the fact that my autoethnography was purely based on my own, personal experience as amateur photographer. This is important to point out, as - unlike my preceding newspaper analysis - I did not have any kind of additional text, captions, articles or other sources complementary to the pictures I took.

3.2 Context for visual autoethnography:

Overall, I took nine pictures at the refugee camp in Munich during September 2015. I was present as amateur photographer and documented the arrival of refugees by train. Most of them were temporarily placed around a tent camp that was located right outside of the train station. While I didn't have direct access to the camp, I could freely photograph from outside, while standing next to mainstream media photographers and television reporters. It should be mentioned, that not even mainstream media was granted direct access to the camp.

3.3 Coding of personal photography:

Since my personal photographic collection only consisted of nine images, the coding applied for the large newspaper sample was not applicable. Hence, I coded my nine images into the two most common categories:

- Photographs of women and/or children
- Photographs of authorities (police/medical staff/administrators)

3.4 Autoethnographic sample for iconographic-iconologic image analysis:

As mentioned earlier in my literature review, Robert Bleiker et al. suggest that close-ups cause compassion while group pictures foster emotional distance (*Bleiker et al. 2013 p.399*). To analyze these two occurrences in my visual autoethnography as well, I selected **one close-up and one group shot** out of my nine photographs for the *iconographic-iconologic image analysis*.

During the four-step approach, I specifically placed a greater focus on the fourth step, the *iconic interpretation* that examines the photographer's perspective. Being the photographer myself, I could provide an intimate insight on my visual choices, as well as explain how my content production was influenced by outside factors.

Lastly, following *Borders & Giordano's*, and *Chaplin's* definition of an autoethnography, I used the *iconic interpretation* to reveal my personal thoughts and feelings about my refugee photography.

Overall, these steps helped me to identify whether contemporary media had an influence on my photography.

VI Analysis

1. Step One: Visual Patterns

1.1 Coding Results of 80 Refugee Photographs:

The first step of my analysis, as shown on **Table 1.**, represents the coding of the entire photographic pool of German and British newspaper images. As noted above the category *Pictures of women and children* includes women depicted alone or in female groups, with or without children. Furthermore, that category also includes children depicted alone or with a male person.

The category *Pictures of single men* includes men shown alone in a photograph or with the max. of one other man. Men could be shown with or without children. All photographs were coded several times to eliminate mistakes as much as possible.

While **Table 2.** shows us the same coding of Table 1 applied to the German pool (40 photographs), **Table 3.** singles out the British sample.

Please note that one picture could be placed into more than one category (e.g. close-up of single man).

Table 1: Coding of the entire German & British 80-picture sample combined. (percentage calc. towards 80 sample)

Pictures of women and children	Pictures of single men	Close-Ups (waist upwards or closer) of women, children and men	Long Shots of large refugee groups without distinguishable features	Pictures of refugees depicted with state authorities (military /police)	Refugees being rescued	Refugees in camps and housing units
27 (34%)	7 (9%)	18 (23%)	11 (14%)	6 (8%)	16 (20%)	22 (28%)

Table 2: Coding of the 40-picture sample of German newspapers. (percentage calc. towards 40 sample)

Pictures of women and children	Pictures of single men	Close-Ups (waist upwards or closer) of women, children and men	Long Shots of large refugee groups without distinguishable features	Pictures of refugees depicted with state authorities (military /police)	Refugees being rescued	Refugees in camps and housing units
10 (25%)	4 (10%)	7 (18%)	7 (18%)	5 (13%)	6 (15%)	8 (20%)
Tabloid 3		Tabloid 3		Tabloid 1		
Quality 7		Quality 4		Quality 4		

Table 3: Coding of the 40-picture sample of British newspapers. (percentage calc. towards 40 sample)

Pictures of women and children	Pictures of single men	Close-Ups (waist upwards or closer) of women, children and men	Long Shots of large refugee groups without distinguishable features	Pictures of refugees depicted with state authorities (military /police)	Refugees being rescued	Refugees in camps and housing units
17 (43%)	3 (8%)	11 (28%)	4 (10%)	1 (3%)	10 (25%)	14 (35%)
Tabloid 6		Tabloid 3		Tabloid 1		
Quality 11		Quality 8		Quality 0		

1.2 Interpretation of **Table 1** (entire sample):

The depiction of women and children dominated the entire sample of 80 photographs with 27 images (34%). Most women were depicted holding their children or in a passive state (sitting, waiting). Only two pictures suggested the opposite: One woman was shown studying German in a course, while the other was attached to a child in the water while trying to grab a rope to be saved. Children were often idealized as attractive motifs for emotionalized photographic compositions. This occurrence reflects *Greenwood and Jenkin's* (2015 p.208) definition of “frames”; all newspapers used children to create “frames of sympathy” that showed them smiling, crying or as victims; hence, those images were triggering compassion among their audiences. Furthermore, the high number of women and children had a symbolic nature. Following Saussure’s semiotic approach as displayed in *Hall* (2013 [1997] p.179), a “sign” was created. Here, the physical images of victimized females and young children (signifier) are combined with our understanding of their suffering and desperate situation (signified); taken together this creates the meaning/sign of compassion.

The entire sample only included 7 pictures of single men (9%). Three male close-ups were present, one of which depicted a man holding a child. Besides that, there was only one other picture including men and children. Against the masculine stereotype, single men were also depicted in a rather passive state. One man was photographed while praying in a tent, while another was stopped by authorities in a subway passage. The overall low amount of men in the entire sample triggers the assumption that it’s hard to use them as emotional signifiers, thus they do not serve as signs of compassion, which the woman-child constellation seems to accomplish very easily. A negative or threatening depiction of Middle Eastern Men, as one might have assumed through the social media findings of *Walker and Gajjala* (2016), could only be found twice in my sample; I will further examine those findings below.

Photographically, the overall number of total close-ups was seven pictures higher than the number of long shots without distinguishable features (23% vs. 14%). Unlike *Bleiker et al.'s* (2013) findings about the Australian newspapers, where dehumanizing shots of medium and large groups with unrecognizable features prevailed, my sample featured various close-up images with distinguishable human features. However, this

result needs to be placed into perspective according to the national division between German and British newspapers.

While the number of pictures with state authorities remained low with 6 pictures (8%), there 16 images (20%) that displayed rescue scenes on the Mediterranean and 22 pictures (28%) showed refugee camps. Taken together, these two frames represent the themes of humanitarian aid responsibility; at the same time the presence of tent camps can stand for confinement, state control or even chaos. Interestingly, many of the close-ups of children featured the tent camps as blurred backgrounds. Here, still considering Ferdinand Saussure's theory in *Hall (2013 [1997] p.179)*, the tent acts as *signifier* in its shape and structure. At the same time our concept of what a tent stands for - a temporary, rudimentary housing - acts as the *signified*. Combined with the faces of innocent children in the foreground (additional signifiers) a sign/meaning is constructed for the photographer and hence for the audience: Child poverty, uncomfortable living conditions and an uncertain future (the tents representing non-permanent housing).

1.3 Interpretation of **Table 2** and the German picture sample:

The sample of German newspaper images was also led by the category featuring women and children (10 pictures 25%) as seen in **Table 2**. Considering Germany's political stance of being accepting towards refugees, this high amount suffering women and children could have been used to sensitize German audiences/citizens for the need of governmental action. Here, the tabloid *Bild* had three images of women and children while quality press led with seven pictures. One could assume that *Bild* only used images of women and children when the symbolic nature matched the paper's evident sensationalism: all photographs in that category appear to be overly dramatic (See Appendix: **Table 7**. Full *Bild* Sample). *Bild* focused on emotional and shocking imagery. Most striking were two close-ups of crying little girls - one of them being rescued out of the water - and the graphic depiction of two corpses on a beach.

Regarding men, two out of the four photographs showing males were close-ups; here one is particularly important as it shows how German chancellor Angela Merkel is taking a ⁹selfie with a refugee. This image might best describe Germany's refugee

⁹ Self-portrait taken with a cell phone.

ambitions from a political standpoint; it is a symbol of political compassion and solidarity at the highest level, while offering encouragement to refugee audiences.

The seven close-ups in German newspapers were present in both, the tabloid (three pictures) and quality press (four pictures). Furthermore, the total number of close-ups was equal with the depiction of long shots of large refugee groups; both categories had 7 pictures (18%) each. This balanced ratio could underscore Germany's focus on both, the emotional framing of the crisis that justifies help and support (close-ups), as well as the warning regarding logistical challenges that lie ahead (masses of people/ large groups). Interestingly, refugees being rescued and refugees in camps amounted to only 14 pictures counted together. This could be explained with a greater focus on depictions of integration. These images did not focus on rescue scenes or suffering, but showed refugees being integrated into German society. One close-up mentioned above showed a young woman studying German in a language course, while another image depicted a young black girl sitting together with other children at a German day care center. A third image with the headline *Hardly any refugees come to Germany* (my translation) depicted two refugee children playing with a ball; next to them two male refugee men, one of them smiling while handing the ball to the child. Looking ahead to the British image pool, no such imagery could be found. This shows that German papers also tried to include positive refugee photography that illustrated how Syrian and African individuals could be part of everyday life in Germany. Still, it should not be ignored that five out of the six photographs displaying state authority (military/police) came from German newspapers. This could indicate that Germany's surveillance- and control-frames were still important to its media. This was further highlighted, since three out of the five images demonstrated police control on German territory. Again, applying Saussure's semiotic approach in *Hall (2013 [1997] p.179)*, we could declare policemen as authoritarian *signifiers* that create the *signified* of order and control, therefore a sign of security is established for German newspaper audiences.

1.4 Interpretation of Table 3 and the British pictures sample:

Surprisingly, the image sample of the British newspapers had seven more pictures of women and children than the German newspapers. This result was somewhat unexpected, considering Britain's political stance against a large refugee influx.

Taken together, the British tabloids *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* had six pictures in that category; the entire quality press papers on the other hand, had 11 pictures showing women and children. A similar pattern could also be observed in the close-up category. Here, both tabloids had only three out of the 11 close-ups from the British pool; thus, quality papers were left with eight close-ups.

Taking both categories together, we could assume that British tabloids might have tried to minimize the amount of emotional illustrations. Women and children and close-ups trigger sympathy, hence tabloids might have tried to steer their audiences to a more dehumanizing vantage point.

While pictures women and children are often used to trigger compassion, long shots of large migrant groups would have seemed reasonable for Britain's rhetoric of threat and danger coming from refugees. However, the German sample had three more pictures of large groups without distinguishable features than the British.

Furthermore, the number of total close-ups was four pictures higher in British newspaper sample than in the German one. How do we explain such findings? Shouldn't British quality press have focused on imagery depicting "floods" and "tides" of migrants, like Australia did in *Bleiker et al.'s study (2013)*? Taking a closer look at the entire British image pool, the first thing I noticed was a great picture variety. However, the big difference to the German sample was the complete absence of refugee integration into European society. While the British papers showed many close-ups and emotional imagery of children, it did not depict one single example of refugees becoming part of British or European society. Furthermore, there was not one single "positive" illustration of the refugee community.

The second highest category in the British sample was refugee housing with 14 photographs. Considering negative image of Calais in France, it is possible to assume that such images of tent camps are also used to evoke negative feelings. The vast, chaotic camp situation in Calais might be an exemplary sight Britain would want to avoid in its own backyard. Hence, tent camp photography could also act as powerful deterrent to British audiences.

Comparing the two tabloids, I noticed the German *Bild* sample had not one image depicting refugee disturbance or inappropriate behaviour. Within the British *Sun* however, I found two images that showed refugee violence; one depicted refugees rioting on the streets of Paris, while the other illustrated refugees fighting French

police forces in Calais. Furthermore, *The Sun* combined non-violent image of refugees with a negative headline that said, “*SYRIA CRIME WAVE Hundreds of Syrians in UK arrested over string of offense including rape and child abuse*”, *Sun Headline* (2016). The image below that headline showed a group of refugee families standing in line in front of a tent. The caption of the image said, “*Almost 900 Syrians were arrested in England and Wales over the past year (file picture)*” (*ibid*). Thus, the Sun clearly contributed to the creation of a negative refugee portrayal within the British landscape of journalism.

2. Step Two: Image Analysis

As mentioned in the method section a pool of eight pictures was selected for further analysis through the *Iconographic-Iconologic Image Analysis*. Besides the pictures themselves, only captions and headlines were considered.

2.1 German Newspapers:

- ***Bild*** (*Tabloid*)

This image was published by *BILD* on 22.01.2016.

Headline: “They just want a life without war. Yet 20 children drowned by the Greek coast” (My translation).



Figure 2.
Rescue Scene
(Source bild.de)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: A girl is being pulled out of the water by a man. Behind her we see a woman that is still floating in the water. All three wear life jackets. The girl is looking directly at the photographer while the woman in the water looks sideways. The caption reads, “Refugee girl barely escaped death. She is being pulled out of the sea and brought to safety”, (My translation).

b) Iconographic-Analysis: The headline lets us assume that the girl was rescued near the Greek coast. She was probably part of a group of refugees who tried to reach Greek territory. The woman in the water is possibly the sister or mother of the child. Furthermore, the facial expression of the little girl clearly displays extreme fear. Politically, the context of this picture can be linked to masses of Syrian and African refugees who chose to reach Europe over the Mediterranean Sea during the crisis between 2015-2016. Over 5,000 people died trying to reach the shore by boat in 2016, *Quinn (2016)*.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: Judging the facial expression of the little girl we can clearly see the dramatic impact this crisis had on refugee children who had to experience such a tragic journey. However, the photograph does not tell us more details about how long the victims have been floating in the water, nor under what circumstances their boat sank. Overall, the image conveys the need for instant political measures in order to stop such tragic scenes.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer was present during the rescue scene and documented the sight by choosing a medium close-up framing. The close access to the scene creates a very intimate vantage point for the viewer; it allows us to clearly experience the emotions of the girl. Hence, the photographer's intention was likely to express the dramatic impact this crisis had on innocent refugee children.

- ***Süddeutsche Zeitung*** (*Quality Press*)

This image was published by *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on 12.07.2016.
Headline: “The refugee crisis is taking a break” (My translation).



Figure 3.
Police Escort
(Source sueddeutsche.de)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: The photograph shows a large group of refugees following a German police vehicle through a green rural landscape. Some of the refugees carry bags. The policemen lead the refugees up a steep hill. There is no caption.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: Considering the headline and date of the publication, we can assume that it was taken during a period where the refugee influx was decreasing in Germany. The theme we are being presented can be described as “state control”. It lets viewers know that German police is in charge of the situation, since all refugees are following the vehicle in a straight line.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: This image conveys a more hopeful outlook on the crisis, since we don’t see an overwhelming number of refugees anymore (probably about 100). Furthermore, the entire setting seems rather peaceful and controlled.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer was located far away from the refugees and chose an extreme wide shot to capture the scene. According to *Zhang and Hellmueller (2017, p.17)*, distance creates less emotional response from the viewer; thus, the photographer might have wanted to focus more on the governmental handling of refugees within German territory, instead of giving us an emotional depiction.

- **Frankfurter Allgemeine** (*Quality Press*)

This image was published by *Frankfurter Allgemeine* on 01.12.2016.
Headline: Migrants criticize German refugee politics (My translation).



Figure 4.
Studying
Refugees
(Source: faz.net)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: A young woman that sits with a group of four men in a room. The men behind her are blurred. She is wearing a head scarf and rests her head on her arm. Nobody is looking at the camera. The caption below the image reads, “German lessons

for refugees at the University in Vechte of Lower Saxony”, (My translation).

b) Iconographic-Analysis: The caption indicates that the woman is a refugee student taking part in a German language course at the university of Vechte in Lower Saxony. The image signifies Germany’s efforts to integrate refugees into society by providing language courses. The facial expressions of all participants seem to be very focused.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: While the headline suggests certain disagreements between refugees and German policies, the photograph can still be seen as a positive example of integration. The woman’s facial expression signifies her interest in the language course. Furthermore, her headscarf indicates that she continues to express her culture and is free to do so. The presence of men is a further example of equal rights between male and female refugees reinforced in Germany.

d.) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer chose a close-up to share this educational moment. By doing so, he intends to create a connection between German audiences and refugees. He might also have tried to depict the woman in a concentrated and motivated state to express her wish to be part of German society.

- **Die Welt** (*Quality Press*)

This image was published by *Die Welt* on 06.09.2016

Headline: “The richest countries accept the fewest refugees” (My translation).



Figure 5.
Merkel Selfie
(Source: welt.de)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: We see a man with a cell phone, next to him German chancellor Angela Merkel. Both are smiling while the man is trying to take a picture. Two bodyguards seem to stand behind

them, as well as another man with a cell phone. The caption reads, “Instead of a comparatively low acceptance rate, Angela Merkel is being massively attacked for her refugee politics”, (My translation).

b) Iconographic-Analysis: Again, acknowledging Saussure’s semiotic theory as presented in (Hall 2013 [1997] p.179), Merkel and the refugee both act as signified representations of the crisis and the politics that try to solve it. Together they both create a symbol of solidarity between Germans and refugees. The man’s facial expression lets us assume that he is excited to be able to photograph himself with the German chancellor.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: According to the caption, Merkel was being attacked for her welcoming approach towards migrants and refugees. This indicates how difficult it must have been for her to politically justify her refugee policies within Germany. At the same time, the depiction of the man next to her might also be interpreted as encouragement for the refugee community; it indicates that the highest political level does not shy away from interpersonal contact and engagement with refugees.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer was trying to symbolize a bridge between German politics and refugees by framing this composition as a close-up. He probably intended to create a sense of harmony during a time of political controversy.

2.2 British Newspapers:

- **Daily Mail** (Tabloid)

This image was published by *Daily Mail* on 23.12.2016
Headline: “Mediterranean migrant deaths in 2016 pass 5,000: UN”



Figure 6.
Dinghy
(Source:dailymail.co.uk)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: The photograph depicts a dinghy filled with a large group of dark-skinned individuals. They are surrounded by water and about 100 meters away from an assembly of life jackets that are placed on the right side of the frame. The caption reads, “Migrants wait to be rescued off the coast of Libya on November 5, 2016”.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: Libya has been another hotspot of the refugee crisis in 2015-2016. Many African refugees fled political turmoil and poverty by boarding unseaworthy vessels towards Sicily. According to the caption, this image depicts the rescue of refugees after a failed sea passage.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: While this image can be interpreted as a rescue mission through the presence of life jackets, it also is another depiction of large “floods” and “tides” of migrants as described earlier by *Bleiker et al. 2013 (p.400)*. The distance does not allow us to see the faces of the refugees so we are somewhat desensitized from their painful situation.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer used an extreme wide shot to show that the boat is surrounded by water; this creates a feeling of helplessness. Furthermore, he tried to incorporate the life jackets to indicate that help is near.

- **The Sun** (Tabloid)

This image was published by *The Sun* on 01.10.2016

Headline: “JUNGLE FEVER Union Jack-waving migrants and hard-left activists clash with French cops as tensions escalate in Calais refugee camp”.



Figure 7.
Riot
 Source: thesun.co.uk)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: We see a man in a red jacket standing in front of a group of 14 policemen. The man waves the Union Jack flag in front of the police while other 10 black men are standing behind him cheering. Four of those men are holding up

their arms. The policemen stand in a defensive position with their shields placed in front of their bodies. The caption reads, “Demonstrators face off with French riot police”.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: According to the headline migrants were supported by activists during a riot at the refugee camp in Calais. Many refugees hoped to reach Britain illegally as their living conditions in the Calais camp became increasingly inhumane. It is unclear, whether the man with the flag was a refugee, migrant or protester.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: This image signifies the political tension that was going on between refugees, authorities and the population in France. Here, the Union Jack could symbolize a better life in the U.K. or be a demand towards British politicians to accept more refugees.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer divides the frame by placing the authorities on the left and the protesters on the right; by doing so, he might have tried to represent the societal divide in Europe in regards to the refugee crisis.

- **The Daily Telegraph** (*Quality Press*):

This image was published by *The Daily Telegraph* on 14.04.2016

Headline: “What the refugee crisis looks like across Europe over four weeks in six charts”.



Figure 8.
Camp Prayer Source:
telegraph.co.uk

“Many migrants have been stuck near the Greek-Macedonia border after the Balkans route was closed off”. Credit: VALDRIN XHEMAJ/EPA.

a) Pre-Iconic Description:

This image shows a man praying inside a tent while looking downwards. He is kneeling on one of several colourful carpets and doesn't seem to notice the camera. The tent is part of a well-lit camp. The caption reads,

b) Iconographic-Analysis: This image represents a religious refugee. We can assume that he is a Muslim by the position in which he is praying. He possibly brought the carpets with him during the entire journey, as they might represent religious and cultural memorabilia from his home country. The caption makes us assume that he will be stuck in the camp for a longer period of time.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: This image highlights personal life and traditions of refugees. We have been presented so many scenes of loss and tragedy during the crisis, that we easily forget that refugees have needs, customs, and beliefs like every human being.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer framed this intimate moment from a certain distance. We can assume that he wanted to respect the man's privacy. In addition, the full shot allows us to see both, the man's prayer as well as the camp surroundings outside.

- **The Guardian** (*Quality Press*):

This image was published by *The Guardian* on **16.12.2016**.

Headline: Guardian and Observer readers raise over £500,000 for child refugees



Figure 9.
Refugee Children
(Source: theguardian.com/uk)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: We see four little children looking at the camera; two of them are smiling. Behind them there is a tent camp in a desert environment. The caption reads, “Syrian children at Jordan’s Zaatari refugee camp”.

Photograph: Thomson Reuters Foundation/Reuters.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: This picture demonstrates the photographic appeal of young children in refugee photography as noted by *Fehrenbach and Rodogno (2015, p.1143)* in my literature review. In combination with the headline, it becomes clear how children play an important role in humanitarian photography that tries to raise money. Their facial expressions let us assume that the children are having fun being photographed.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: While such emotional depictions of young refugee children are omnipresent in contemporary media, they somewhat seem to distract the viewers from the actual challenges within a crisis. Smiling children that pose for the camera give us little information about the actual circumstances and living conditions within the camp. We could also argue that such child depictions are somewhat visually exploited by newspapers in order to increase their circulation.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: The photographer clearly staged this image with a close-up. He placed the four children in the centre of the frame to make them the focus of interest. The background almost loses its importance.

2.3 Answers to Research Questions Q.1 & Q.2 and Hypothesis Result:

The answers to research questions Q.1 & Q.2 take into account the results of the image coding in Step 1, as well as the findings of the *Iconographic-Iconologic Image analysis* in Step 2.

Q.1 How were refugees photographically represented in German newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?

The German quality press revealed two important themes - state control and integration of refugees. This could be seen through the presence of state authority photographs in **Table 2**. (4 pictures), as well as through images that displayed the theme of integration in the image analysis: Refugees in a language course, and a “selfie” with the German chancellor were part of the German quality press (See *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *Die Welt* above). Considering the high number of refugees that had to be handled in Germany at that time, we can argue that quality newspapers reflected themes that were highly relevant to German citizens during the crisis in 2016.

For the visual analysis of the German tabloid paper *Bild* I analyzed a rescue scene on the Mediterranean. It showed us both, women and children (the category with the strongest presence in Table 1-3), as well the intimate *iconic-interpretation* of the photographer. Visual exploitation of graphic imagery, including images of corpses and crying girls, could be identified within the full image sample of *Bild* (See Appendix: **Table 7** Full *Bild* Sample). Thus, while the biggest German tabloid did not seem to present an anti-refugee stance, it certainly capitalized on graphic refugee representations.

Taken together, the entire German pool revealed a balanced distribution between close-ups and long shots (both categories with seven pictures each). This indicates a great photographic diversity that underscores Germany’s focus on both, humanitarianism (emotional close-ups), as well as order and surveillance (groups).

- Overall, I would describe the German newspaper representation of refugees as balanced and unbiased, while tabloids catered for their audiences in a clearly graphic way.

Q.2 How were refugees photographically represented in British newspapers (quality press & tabloids) during 2016?

British newspapers displayed more photographs of women and children and more close-ups than its German counterpart. Equal to the German sample, British quality papers had much more pictures within those two categories than the tabloids did. Tabloids seemed to sustain a certain distance between refugees and their audiences, as they featured only three close-ups.

The most unusual finding however, were the low amounts of long shots (four pictures) and state authority shots (one picture) shown my British sample. Considering Britain's anti-refugee stance, one would have expected more images of distant crowds surrounded by massive police surveillance.

While British papers offered a great variety of photographs, their most famous tabloid, *The Sun*, was the only newspapers out of all eight that featured refugee violence. *The Sun* also linked a negative report about refugee crimes to a random image of refugee families, thus somewhat generalizing the crimes to the entire refugee community.

Overall, I would also highlight the complete absence of photographs depicting refugee integration within British or European society. Unlike the German press, there was not one image in my entire British sample that featured a positive or hopeful refugee situation in regards to their future. Finally, refugee camps and housing units - the second highest category in the entire British pool - could act as deterrent towards British society; it can be argued that tent camps symbolize financial and political burden and, in the case of Calais, human chaos.

- Overall, I would describe the British newspaper representation of refugees as diverse, yet not welcoming or supportive towards them in any way. In addition, the most famous tabloid highlighted criminal/violent refugee representations.

Hypothesis Result:

The results of the image coding and the visual analysis confirm my hypothesis that the political differences between Germany and Britain, in regards to the refugee crisis, were reflected in their respective newspaper photography.

Photographically, Germany highlighted its political stance of integration and state control, while Britain distanced itself from integration and positive refugee depictions.

3. Step Three: Autoethnographic Analysis

3.1 Coding Results of Own Photography

As outlined above, my sample of nine photographs taken at the Munich train station in September 2015 was coded in two categories.

Table 4.: Coding of the personal photography

Photographs of women and/or children	Photographs of authorities (police/medical staff/administrators)
3	3

3.2 Interpretation of Table 4.

The Munich train station was very crowded when I photographed the refugee facility located outside of it in September 2015. At that time, the crisis was still on its climax regarding the refugee influx to Germany. While I photographed randomly without any scientific intention, the result of the coding chart could be explained with the fact that the facility was not meant to be a permanent one. It was set up as temporary structure to host the refugee groups that were arriving on trains. Hence, besides the refugees that entered the location, there was an equal amount of policemen, paramedics, volunteers, city administrators and train station staff present. This made

it somewhat difficult to clearly identify the refugees. Additionally, authorities brought lots of equipment and supplies making the entire site somewhat chaotic. I felt that I needed to document the entire scene, to create an accurate image of the situation, thus I intentionally photographed authorities and medical staff to illustrate the urgency of the moment. Following the constructionist approach as outlined by Stuart Hall (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.177*), I tried to give my photography meaning by including these state actors into my depiction: “Things don’t mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems - concepts and signs”, (*ibid 7*). Here, the state actors acted as “concepts and signs” as, according to Saussure (*ibid p.179*), they were visual *signifiers* (policemen, medical staff etc.) that represented the concepts of authority (*signified*). This resulted in a sign of governmental state control or, to put it plain and simple, they had to be photographed to give context to my photography. Thus, their presence (3/9) is somewhat symbolic of their importance.

I must admit that I was naturally drawn to women and children. While I only managed to photograph three, I would have certainly taken more pictures of them, given the chance. Overall, men were predominantly present around the camp, so I had to sneak between the tents to identify women and children. In one case, I saw two women sitting on the ground of the train station with two children (See detailed visual analysis below). Here, I must clearly admit that I felt like a news photographer that was trying to capture an “everyday scene” of refugee life. I was especially fascinated by the fact that they simply sat on the dirty floor of the train station. There would have certainly been possibilities to find a bench or a couple of seats elsewhere, yet they choose to sit on the floor. Thus, I felt drawn to a custom I could not possibly understand and experienced the urge to document it. As Kathryn Besio notes in her article *Autoethnography*,

Certainly, one of the goals of the ethnography is to understand lifeworlds, usually those dissimilar to researchers’ own, by immersing themselves in the activities of others and participating and observing their lives, *Besio (2009 p.242)*.

While I was not able to “participate” in the refugee experience myself as true ethnography would require, I want to make the attempt to visually analyze my photographic intentions in a self-reflective manner. Hence, I will now apply the *iconographic-iconologic* framework to further examine my photography.

3.3 *Iconographic-Iconologic Image Analysis for Autoethnography*



Figure 10.
Refugees in the train station
(Source: Victor A. Ukmar Photography © 2015)

a) Pre-Iconic Description: We see two women sitting on the floor in a large hall. Next to them two little girls play with toys. One of the women wears a head scarf and is dressed completely in black, while it is not sure whether her face is covered as well. The other woman is trying to arrange some of her few belongings. People walk by in the background. Nobody is looking at the camera.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: The picture was taken at the Munich trains station during the climax of the refugee crisis in 2015. Refugees would arrive by train, and were temporarily kept near the station to be registered and medically examined; then they would board buses that would bring them to their first refugee housing somewhere in Germany.

c.) Iconologic-Analysis: This image shows how little belongings refugees would carry with them. These were people lost everything and arrived in one the wealthiest cities of Europe. It is difficult to estimate what psychological impact the journey must have had on the children; at the same time their parents (or guardians) were also unaware of what lied ahead of them.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: As mentioned above, I was instantly drawn to this scene. I decided to capture the moment in a full shot that included all individuals as well as their surroundings. Furthermore, I refrained from taking a close-up as this would have required me to move closer to the group. I wanted to make sure that they did not notice me for two reasons: First, I wanted to photograph them in a natural state. Had they been aware of the camera, they might have acted differently and the image would have lost its spontaneity. Secondly, I tried to respect their privacy by not invading their personal space. I did not want them to feel like they were a “curiosity” or an object of sensationalism.

In her visual autoethnography Elizabeth Chaplin refers to ¹⁰others noting that, “in autoethnography, the boundary between social science and art can become blurred” *Chaplin (2011 p.3)*. Indeed, while taking this picture I thought about the best way to artistically capture the essence of the given situation; this also includes my choice to edit the picture to black and white, thus giving it a “timeless” look. Furthermore, referring to *Greenwood and Jenkins (2015p.214)*, I intentionally selected a visual frame that depicted women and children in a passive, victimized role. This frame is further enhanced by their position on the floor that suggests submission. While taking the picture I felt both, compassion towards the people I photographed, as well the need to act as amateur journalist by capturing “the moment” and sharing it with others. It should be mentioned that I posted this picture on ¹¹*Instagram* with several hashtags that were thematically linked to refugees. I shared the picture on social media to raise public awareness among my friends and followers; furthermore, I must admit that I felt the need to let people know what unusual scene I had just witnessed.



Figure 11.
Waiting on the bus ride
 (Source: Victor A. Ukmar Photography © 2015)

a) Pre-Iconic

Description: A group of approximately 25 men stands in line in front of a bus. A woman with a bright vest stands at the top of the line and talks to some of the men. A policeman stands in front of the crowd.

b) Iconographic-Analysis: While we can apply the same political/societal context as in Figure 10., this picture shows refugees that are about to board a bus at the Munich train station in order to be transported to their first refugee housing location. The

¹⁰ Chaplin refers to Wall, S. (2007). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography, 5, (2). Online: https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_2/PDF/wall.pdf

¹¹ *Instagram* is a social media platform used to share pictures, usually taken with a cell phone. Relevant tags can be assigned.

woman in the bright vest seems to give out information to the refugees, while the police officer supervises the departure.

c) Iconologic-Analysis: From a refugee perspective, this moment could be seen as departure into an unknown, new life in Germany. The picture also shows the large number of refugees that had to be registered and distributed by the state authorities; hence, the image is a representation of a great logistical challenges.

d) Iconic-Interpretation: Within this picture I was trying to represent the departure of a refugee group by using a long shot, thereby including as much visual information as possible into my frame. Here, I can completely rely to *Zhang and Hellmueller (2017)* that described how long shots are “less likely to solicit viewer’ emotional response” (p.17). Indeed, the distance emotionally detached me from the scene, since I was not forced to look into the faces of the refugees. Thus, my feeling while photographing the group was mainly technical - artistic. I was more concerned with the visual framing of the image than its human context. While there is no question that context and meaning are predominantly more important than visual style, a photographer can use style to convey a certain emotion. As *Chaplin (2012)* notes, “Aesthetics is an important concept in its own right for autoethnographers, because it’s about conveying feeling”, (p.4). Following *Saussure’s* theory according to Hall (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.179*), I wanted to express the logistical challenges that German authorities were facing in this photograph. I did so by combining *signifiers*, such as the policeman, the woman in the bright vest, the bus, and of course the group refugees, with their *signified* meanings/concepts. This combination represented a symbol of governmental order during chaotic times.

Interestingly, I didn’t share Figure 11. on social media but chose to post Figure 10. instead. In hindsight, I realize that I decided to share an image with an “emotional quality” to trigger people’s reactions; Figure 11. was clearly lacking those qualities.

3.4 Answer to Research Question Q.3:

Q.3 How was I, as an amateur photographer, indirectly influenced in my own photographic portrayal of refugees by contemporary media?

Having conducted a limited visual autoethnography with the help of nine pictures shot in 2015, I can clearly confirm that my photographic style was influenced by the contemporary media of that time. Following *Greenwood and Jenkin's* (2015 p.208) definition, I intentionally created a "frame of victimization", as soon as I was given the opportunity to photograph women and children. By doing so, I followed the "gender narrative" mentioned by *Szczepanik* (2016 p.25) in my literature review. As displayed through my photograph of the four refugees on the floor (Figure 10.), I find myself represented in the most dominant category of the entire sample in Table 1. - pictures of women and children. Furthermore, the image of refugees in front of a bus with police surveillance (Figure 11.) showed the theme of state authority. Looking at Table 2. and Table 3., state authority was much stronger in the German image sample (five pictures) than in the British one (one picture). Thus, I can assume that I was somewhat subconsciously influenced by German media themes.

- Overall, I would describe my visual autoethnography as humanitarian amateur photography that was subconsciously influenced by both, popular international refugee depictions, as well as specific German media themes.

VII Discussion

1.1 Effects on society:

Placing my findings in a broader, societal context, one must consider the constructionist approach as described by Stuart Hall. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, “it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts”, (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.177*). Hall deliberately says, “whatever system”; thus, we can consider visual media (photography and video/film) as such another system. It can be argued that photographs are clearly used by newspapers to construct meaning.

People often say that a picture is worth a thousand words; this concept clearly applies to newspapers where images on the title pages gather more attention than the printed words below them.

As seen through this study refugee photographs can mean a lot of things. Newspapers can use them as symbols of compassion, as symbols of an imminent threat, and as symbols of governmental integration. My findings suggested that, while quality press and tabloids will report differently on questions of asylum, migration, and refugee communities, the overall difference can often be found through a national stance. According to my results, a country more open to refugee acceptance like Germany is more likely to produce newspapers that reflect this stance through their visual representations. Britain on the other hand, a state against a large refugee influx, will equally underscore its hesitation through newspaper coverage that displays little to no positive refugee imagery.

In his book, *Ways Of Seeing* John Berger notes that, “[t]he way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe” (*Berger J. 2013 [1972] p.197*). Here the cultural aspect is crucial. Refugee photography can evoke different feelings in different countries. This often depends on a country’s historic record in regards to migration and humanitarian crises. Stuart Hall concludes that, “[o]ne way of thinking about ‘culture’, then, is in terms of these shared conceptual maps, shared language systems...”, (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.175*).

As my findings showed, newspapers images (in print or online) have a tremendous power to steer the refugee crisis in a positive or negative light. The composition of a frame, as well as the editorial selection, are important factors that can be used to underscore a single article, as well as a political agenda. While the political stance of a state might strongly influence newspapers and all other media forms within its boundaries, it must be noted that today's citizens are no longer dependent on the media of their own state. The digital revolution along with the spread of the internet allows citizens in most countries to access a large variety of newspapers in their online version. Thus, a British citizen could break free from the national stance on the refugee crisis by reviewing German, French, or any other national newspapers online. Therefore, it will be interesting to observe whether more newspapers and media outlets will turn to a more globalized perspective in the near future in order to maintain their relevance.

Through its autoethnography, this thesis also expressed the idea of citizen journalism. Today's technology allows us to casually create images and video in an unprecedented way. This content can conveniently be shared over social media platforms like *Instagram*, *Facebook* and *Twitter*. Applied to political and societal themes, such as the current refugee crisis, a broader visual spectrum can be shared, one that either reinforces or contradicts newspaper depictions.

Finally, as highlighted through my work, it is important that audiences are aware of emotional and criminal framing in newspaper photography. For instance, too many close-ups of refugee children can steer audiences into a more humanitarian corner, while neglecting imminent logistical and political challenges; single shots of violent behavior on the other hand, can lead to unfair generalizations of the refugee community. Thus, educated audiences should always be aware of newspapers that exploit certain frames in order to match their editorial reputation.

1.2 Social Assessment:

This thesis tried to reveal photographic representations of refugees on a national and editorial level by comparing quality press and tabloids of Germany and Britain. It reviewed a random sample of photographs from diverse newspapers and can function as a qualitative snapshot for the year 2016. Thus, by using similar studies that depict other years of the European refugee crisis in a visual way, a complete photo-journalistic representation of this historic migration could be established. Furthermore, this study could be used in comparison with refugee photography of former decades. Here, Caroline Lenette's work of archival refugee photography presented in her article *Writing With Light (2016)*, is a first point of reference.

In regards to my visual autoethnography, this thesis can be seen as an example of critical self-reflection for researchers that conduct their own scientific photography. Here, I hope that my approach with *Panofsky's (1955) iconographic-iconologic image analysis* could be seen as a useful tool for photographic self-evaluation.

1.3 Limitations:

This thesis had some limitations. First, it could be argued that my research sample of 80 photographs was too small. While I was able to include several newspapers each newspaper sample only contained 10 pictures. It could be argued that 10 pictures are not representative for a one-year coverage of any given newspaper. However, the photographs in this study should be acknowledged as a random sample that was selected according to unbiased criteria. While a bigger sample would have created more accuracy, it was unfortunately out of the scope of this thesis in regards to the limited time frame. The autoethnography was also limited by a very small amount of images. While nine images might not completely confirm how much my photography was influenced by German or international newspaper depictions, they still give some personalized insight on how and why photographers select a certain motif or theme. Lastly, all my photographic interpretations were purely subjective and would have likely been somewhat different if conducted by another researcher. Even if researchers try to be objective in their visual interpretations, an image is similar to a piece of music and will trigger a unique emotional response within each individual.

1.4 Further Knowledge:

To have a better understanding of photographic refugee representations in newspapers, further knowledge is required through more research.

The *iconographic-iconologic image* analysis, as outlined by *Caroline Lenette (2016)*, is an effective tool to detect common themes and frames; still, I would suggest to use a greater variety of visual research methods that also acknowledge the perspective of the passive, photographed individual. For instance, one could hand a camera to a refugee family while asking family members to document their daily life. This auto-photography would later allow a direct comparison between newspaper and refugee portrayals of a given situation.

Furthermore, I suggest that future studies clearly differentiate their image samples between refugees that are intentionally posing for the camera as opposed to refugees that are unaware of the process. This became especially clear to me through the review of *Lynda Mannik's (2012) work Public and private photographs of refugees*. Posing and smiling migrants that are aware of the photographic process give us little insight into their actual living conditions. Thus, future studies should consider photographic samples that aren't staged by the photographer as in Figure 9.

Finally, in regards to future amateur photography conducted by the researcher, I suggest documenting more than just the arrival of refugees at train and bus stations. A visit to nearby refugee shelters and governmental integration programs would allow the researcher to get a more valuable photographic sample.

Taken together, all these suggestions can hopefully enhance further knowledge about refugee photography.

1.5 Ethical Assessment:

Refugee photography is inked to several ethical considerations. While the newspaper images used in this study had already been published, there is still an ethical concern when displaying these images in an academic setting. Researchers should always assume that the photographed individuals might not have given their explicit consent to the photographers. On the other hand, refugees might have given their consent to be photographed for a newspaper publication but not specifically to the inclusion in academic work. Unfortunately, I had no possibility to gain additional consent from

the depicted individuals.

Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge that refugees seem to have no say on how they are being portrayed. This was also acknowledged by Anna Szörényi who identified three agents in this process: The photographer, the audience and the photographed individual. She notes that,

the ‘third persons’, the refugees on display, do not join in this questioning of reality. Rather it is their adequacy at *standing in* for reality that is under question. Thus the celebrated ‘agency’ of these photographic subjects does not include access to the position of expository agent, in which they could present their own views and interpretations, Szörényi (2006 p.35).

In other words, photographers and newspaper editors have complete freedom of how, when and where they want to portray refugees in their publications. Especially when it comes to images of physical and mental suffering we should refer back to Susan Sontag’s question regarding the purpose of looking at such photographs (*Sontag (2003 p.72)*). While direct consent for further publication was not an option regarding the image sample of this thesis, I could have approached the group of women sitting on the floor with their children (Figure 10.) before taking their picture. Still, I decided against it. In his work, *The Ethics of Photojournalism*, Jolyon Mitchell notes that, “a common dilemma for photojournalists: do deal with an immediate need or ‘to cross the line’ and try to bring long-term assistance through their photography”, *Mitchell (2000 p.10)*. My intention was not to disturb the women in Figure 10. and to get a “more natural” representation of their situation; thus, while asking for consent before taking the picture might have falsified “the moment” I tried to capture, I could have clearly asked for consent of publication after taking their picture. Overall, as also addressed by *Bleiker et al.* photojournalists should, “proceed with caution and sensitivity ‘when publishing images that may identify individuals’”, (*Bleiker et al. 2013 p.412*). This is a point that I will clearly consider, should I photograph refugees in the future.

VIII Conclusion

This study confirmed my initial hypothesis that political stances towards the recent European refugee crisis were reflected within the national newspaper photography of Germany and Britain. Frequency of different photographic categories, as well as analysis through the *iconographic-iconologic image framework*, have led me to this conclusion. An additional visual autoethnography confirmed my subconscious exposure to dominant German media frames and international refugee depictions.

However, as noted in my limitations section, my interpretation of all photographs in this paper was highly subjective and would have likely been different if conducted by somebody else. In the same way, another researcher would have photographed different motifs at the train station in Munich, since he or she would have placed importance on other scenes and situations. Still, I believe that conducting personal photographic diaries can be a valuable addition to any given research, as it allows the researcher to experience a topic firsthand in an environment that has not been pre-filtered by other scholars or the media. However, when photographing other individuals, one must never neglect ethical considerations that protect the privacy and dignity of the photographed persons.

Overall, I have come to realize that refugees have no control on how they are being represented in the media and that they are exposed to the arbitrariness of photographers and editors that often exploit their misery for sensationalism or political opinion forming. Unfortunately, this often leads to stereotypes and generalizations that give audiences a distorted view on the actual hardship that refugees must endure on their journeys. Considering my findings of national differences, I would highlight the importance for audiences to review multiple (international) sources before forming a final opinion on the actual intentions and demands of refugees.

Following Stuart Hall's work of representation, I would agree that, "interpretations never produce a final moment of absolute truth. Instead, interpretations are always followed by other interpretations in an endless chain", (*Hall 2013 [1997] p.185*). Thus, while I constructed a visual interpretation through the analysis of diverse newspaper pictures, as well as through photography of my own, my findings cannot be final and are subject to further investigation.

IX Appendix

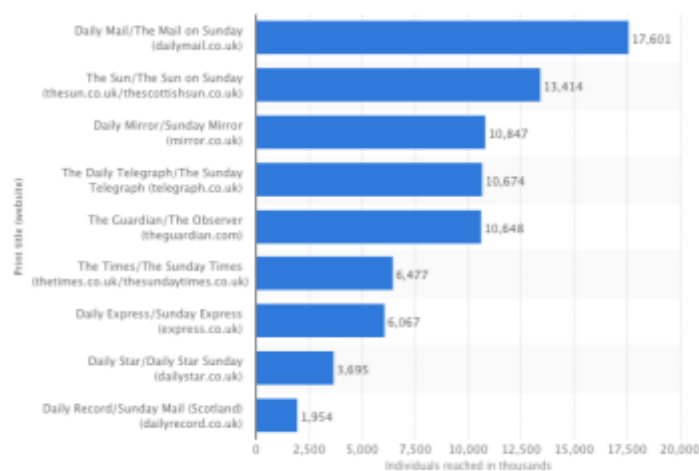
1.1 Tables:

Table 5: Ranking of national newspapers in Germany (Source: Ver.di b+b)
 Link: <https://www.verdi-bub.de/index.php?id=2282> (accessed: 2017-05-16)

Zeitung	(sold copies 3/2011)	(sold copies 1/2016)
Bild / B.Z. Deutschland	2,9 Mio.	1,99 Mio.
Süddeutsche Zeitung	415 Tsd.	382 Tsd.
FAZ	361 Tsd.	253 Tsd.
Die Welt	251 Tsd.	180 Tsd.
Handelsblatt	136 Tsd.	124 Tsd.
taz	53 Tsd.	52 Tsd.
Neues Deutschland	37 Tsd.	29 Tsd.

Table 6: Ranking national newspapers in the UK (Source: Pressgazette)
 Link: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/246077/reach-of-selected-national-newspapers-in-the-uk/> (accessed: 2017-05-16)

Monthly reach of national newspapers and their websites in the United Kingdom (UK) from January to December 2016 (in 1,000 individuals)



ABOUT THIS STATISTIC

This statistic shows the average monthly reach of the leading national newspapers in the United Kingdom (UK) from January to December 2016. The print title of middle-market tabloid newspaper Daily Mail (including The Mail on Sunday) and its website dailymail.co.uk had the highest reach with an average of approximately 17.6 million individuals reached per month through both its print and digital formats. [Show more...](#)

SPECIAL FUNCTIONS

Download as ...	Options
Graphic (PNG)	Settings
Excel (XLS)	Print
PowerPoint (PPT)	Research Alerts

Table 7. Full Bild Sample
Source: bild.de (Accessed: 04.05.2017)



X Visual Sources and Newspaper References

1.1 Figures:

-Figure 1 Source: italianrenaissance.org

Link: <http://www.italianrenaissance.org/wp-content/uploads/masaccio-expulsion-adam-eve> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 2 Source: bild.de

Link: <http://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/fluechtlingskrise/fluechtlingsdrama-vor-griechischer-kueste-44254050.bild.html> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 3. Source: sueddeutsche.de

Link: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-die-fluechtlingskrise-macht-pause-1.3074871> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 4. Source: faz.net

Link: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/migranten-kritisieren-deutschlands-fluechtlingspolitik-14552741.html> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 5. Source: welt.de

Link: <https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/bilanz/article161751959/Die-reichsten-Laender-nehmen-die-wenigsten-Fluechtlinge-auf.html> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 6. Source: dailymail.co.uk

Link: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-4061844/Mediterranean-migrant-deaths-2016-pass-5-000-UN.html> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 7. Source: thesun.co.uk

Link: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1892616/union-jack-waving-migrants-and-hard-left-activists-clash-with-french-cops-as-tensions-escalate-in-calais-refugee-camp/> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 8. Source: telegraph.co.uk

Link: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/14/what-the-refugee-crisis-looks-like-across-europe-over-four-weeks/> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 9. Source: theguardian.com/uk

Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/dec/16/guardian-and-observer-readers-raise-over-500000-pounds-for-child-refugees-charities> (accessed: 04.05.2017)

-Figure 10. Source: Victor A. Ukmar Photography © 2015

-Figure 11. Source: Victor A. Ukmar Photography © 2015

- Cover Image Source: srilankabrief.org

Link: <http://srilankabrief.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Aylan-Kurdi.png> (accessed: 10.05.2017)

1.2 Newspaper Sources:

- *German Newspapers:*

bild.de (accessed: 2017-05-17)

faz.net (accessed: 2017-05-17)

sueddeutsche.de (accessed: 2017-05-17)

welt.de (accessed: 2017-05-17)

- *Additional sources regarding German newspapers:*

doyouspeakdeutsch?, Link: <http://doyouspeakdeutsch.com/7-deutsche-zeitungen/>(accessed: 2017-05-17)

Historische Lexikon Bayerns, Link: [https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Süddeutsche Zeitung \(SZ\)](https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Süddeutsche_Zeitung_(SZ)) (accessed: 2017-05-17)

Ver.di b+b, Link: <https://www.verdi-bub.de/index.php?id=2282> (accessed: 2017-05-17)

Cultura21, Link: <http://magazin.cultura21.de/kultur/wissen/die-presse-in-deutschland.html>(accessed: 2017-05-17)

Vistawide, Link: http://www.vistawide.com/german/german_periodicals.htm (accessed: 2017-05-17)

- *British Newspaper:*

dailymail.co.uk (accessed: 2017-05-17)

telegraph.co.uk (accessed: 2017-05-17)

theguardian.com (accessed: 2017-05-17)

thesun.co.uk (accessed: 2017-05-17)

Sun Headline (2016):

Syria Crime Wave Hundreds of Syrians in UK arrested over string of offense including rape and child abuse:

Link: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1528756/hundreds-of-syrians-in-uk-arrested-over-string-of-offences-including-rape-and-child-abuse/>(accessed: 2017, 05,17)

- *Additional sources regarding British newspapers:*

The Anglotopia Magazine, Link: <http://www.anglotopia.net/anglophilia/which-british-newspaper-are-you-a-guide-to-british-newspapers/> (accessed: 2017-05-17)

Encyclopaedia Britannica, Link: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Daily-Telegraph> (accessed: 2017-05-17) &

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Guardian-British-newspaper> (accessed: 2017-05-17)

worldatlas, Link: <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/which-are-the-most-popular-newspapers-in-the-united-kingdom.html>(accessed: 2017-05-17)

XI Work Cited:

- Aljazeera (2016). Number of refugees reaching Europe plunged in 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/number-refugees-reaching-europe-plunged-2016-170106132732972.html> . (accessed: 2017-04-13).
- Alfred, C. (2016). Year in Review: The Refugee Crisis in 2016. Newsdeeply.com: <https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2016/12/29/year-in-review-the-refugee-crisis-in-2016> (accessed: 2017-04-29)
- Amnesty International (2016). Syria's refugee crisis in numbers. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/02/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers/> .(accessed: 2017-04-13)
- Besio, K. (2009). Atuoethnography. Elsevier Ltd. 240-243.
- Berger, J. (2013 [1972]): *Ways of Seeing*. In: Quelette L. (ed.) (2013) *The Media Studies Reader*, pp.197-204, Routledge.
- Bild.de: <http://www.bild.de/corporate-site/ueber-bild-de/bild-de/artikel-ueber-bild-de-17520982.bild.html> (accessed: 2017-05-02).
- Bleiker, R., D. Campbell, E. Hutchison and X. Nicholson (2013). The visual dehumanisation of refugees. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 48.4: 398-416.
- Borders, L. DiAnne, and A. L. Giordano (2016). Confronting confrontation in clinical supervision: an analytical autoethnography. *Journal of Counseling & Development* 94.4: 454-463.
- Chaplin, Elizabeth (2011). The photo diary as an autoethnographic method. *The Sage handbook of visual research methods*: 241-262.
- Collins, Hillary (2010). Creative research: the theory and practice of research for the creative industries. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010.
- Fehrenbach, H., and D. Rodogno (2015). "A horrific photo of a drowned Syrian child": Humanitarian photography and NGO media strategies in historical perspective. *International Review of the Red Cross*: 1-35.
- Greenwood, K., and J. Jenkins (2015). Visual framing of the Syrian conflict in news and public affairs magazines. *Journalism Studies* 16.2: 207-227.
- Greussing, E. and H. G. Boomgaarden (2017). Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*: 1-26.
- Hall, S. (2013 [1997]): The Work of Representation. In: Quelette, L. (ed.) (2013) *The Media Studies Reader*, pp.171-196, Routledge.
- Harding L., Oltermann P., and N. Watt (2017). Refugees welcome? How UK and Germany compare in migration. theguardian.com: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/refugees-welcome-uk-germany-compare-migration>. (accessed: 2017-04-26).
- Historisches-Lexikon-Bayerns: Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ): 2017-05.02.
- Lenette, Caroline (2016). Writing with light: An iconographic-iconologic approach to refugee photography. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. Vol. 17. No. 2.

- Mannik, L. (2012). Public and private photographs of refugees: the problem of representation. *Visual Studies* 27.3: 262-276.
- Mitchell, J. (2000). The Ethics of Photojournalism. *Studies in Christian Ethics* 13.1: 1-16.
- Mortensen, M. (2016). The image speaks for itself—or does it? Instant news icons, impromptu publics, and the 2015 European “refugee crisis.” *Communication and the Public* 1.4: 409-422.
- Musarò, P. (2017). Mare Nostrum: the visual politics of a military-humanitarian operation in the Mediterranean Sea. *Media, Culture & Society* 39.1: 11-28.
- Panofsky, E. (1955). *Meaning in the visual arts*. Anchor Doubleday
- Quinn, B. (2016). Migrant death toll passes 5,000 after two boats capsized off Italy. The Guardian.com: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/23/record-migrant-death-toll-two-boats-capsize-italy-un-refugee> (accessed: 2017-04-25).
- Refugee Council. Asylum Seekers in Europe March 2017. <https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/stats> . (accessed 2017-04-25.)
- Rettberg, J. Walker, and R. Gajjala (2016). Terrorists or cowards: negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees in social media. *Feminist Media Studies* 16.1: 178-181.
- Ruck, Nora, and Thomas Slunecko (2008). A portrait of a dialogical self: image science and the dialogical self. *International Journal for Dialogical Science* 3.1: 261-290.
- Smith, H. (2015). Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees> .(accessed: 2017-04-11).
- Sontag, S. (2003). Regarding the pain of others. *Diogenes* 1: 127-139.
- Statista.com. Überregionale Tageszeitungen in Deutschland nach verkaufter Auflage im 1. Quartal 2017 <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/73448/umfrage/auflage-der-ueberregionalen-tageszeitungen/> (accessed: 2017-05:02)
- Szczepanik, M (2016). The 'Good' and 'Bad' Refugees? Imagined Refugeehood (s) in the Media Coverage of the Migration Crisis. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 10.2: 23.
- Szörényi, A. (2006). The images speak for themselves? Reading refugee coffee-table books. *Visual studies* 21.01: 24-41.
- Walker R., J., and R. Gajjala (2015). Terrorists or cowards: Negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees. *Feminist Media Studies* 16.1: 1-5. [guardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/01/h](http://www.guardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/01/h)
- Wright, T. (2004). Collateral coverage: Media images of Afghan refugees, 2001. *Visual Studies* 19.1: 97-112.
- Wright, T. (2002). Moving images: The media representation of refugees. *Visual Studies* 17.1: 53-66.
- Zhang, X. and L. Hellmueller (2017). Visual framing of the European refugee crisis in Der Spiegel and CNN International: Global journalism in news photographs. *International Communication Gazette*: 1748048516688134.