UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI

FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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Covering Sudan: Delo and Photojournalism

Poročanje o Sudanu: Delo in novinarska fotografija

Diplomsko delo

Ljubljana, 2009

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"Just because you are worthy, doesn't mean you are newsworthy."

David Henderson

Covering Sudan: Delo and photojournalism

Photographs are recognized as an important part of everyday story-telling process and a key ingredient in the competition for public members. Journalists and even editors often fail to recognize the strength of photography in reporting the news and in contributing to the social construction of reality. The goal of this study is to explore Slovenian newspaper photojournalism and, more specifically, how cultural and political background influenced the way photographs were made and used. This paper demonstrates that photographic reporting of the Sudan conflict in the Slovenian leading newspaper *Delo* in the years 2003 to 2008 represents the choice made by the editor influenced by both the culturally embedded codes the images contain coming from the mainstream photographic tradition and the organizational and political practices under which the editors operated. During the period from 2003 to 2008 *Delo* published a total of 181 articles and 101 photographs related to the Darfur crisis. The photojournalistic visualization of Darfur has been tremendously concerned with refugees, especially women and children, in passive and pitiable forms, regardless of whether the narrative being illustrated is one of politic negotiations, genocide, or humanitarianism.

Keywords: photojournalism, *Delo,* visual representations, Darfur

Poročanje o Sudanu: Delo in novinarska fotografija

Fotografije igrajo pomembno vlogo v novinarski praksi poročanja o dogodkih sveta. Novinarji in uredniki se pogosto ne zavedajo vplivnosti fotografije na konstrukcijo realnosti. V diplomskem delu obravnavam novinarsko fotografijo pri enem izmed slovenskih časopisov in raziskujem, kako je družbeno in politično ozadje vplivalo na nastanek in uporabo fotografij. Osredotočam se na vizualno poročanje o sudanskem konfliktu v slovenskem vodilnem časopisu *Delo* v letih 2003 do 2008. Pri tem ugotavljam, da je fotografsko poročanje podvrženo urednikovi izbiri. Ta temelji na družbeno ustaljenih vzorcih, izvirajočih iz agencijske fotografske tradicije zahodne družbe ter organizacijskih in političnih praksah, pod katerimi so uredniki v tistem času delali. Med letoma 2003 in 2008 je *Delo* objavilo 181 člankov ter 101 fotografij, povezanih s krizo v Darfurju. Vizualna reprezentacija Darfurja je večinoma skoncentrirana na fotografije beguncev, še posebej žensk in otrok. Ti se pojavljajo v tradicionalnih vlogah kot pasivni opazovalci in mučeniki, pa naj se novičarska zgodba osredotoča na politična dogovarjanja, genocid ali humanitarno pomoč.

Ključne besede: novinarska fotografija, *Delo*, vizualne reprezentacije, Darfur

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1 INTRODUCTION

Photography is along with the television and motion picture the only visual medium that provides a record of something that was actually there, in front of the camera. Thus, there is a tendency for users of photographic communication to treat the images as a testimonial truth. Photography has a special relationship with reality; especially news photographs help the press to structure the reality. Because of this characteristics, photography is a much more influential cultural ingredient than the great majority of people are capable of realizing (Desnoes 1985).

When it was first invented, photography was hailed as a language that crossed borders. All one had to do was look at the photographic image and one could see the facts of the matter regardless of the language one spoke or the customs to which one adhered. Photography is now generally recognized as the product of cultural forces and is therefore considered to be particular to the culture that creates the imagery (Sontag, 1977). So are photographs a universal language or are they reflective of the culture that uses them to generate meaning?

As semioticians argue, photographs are not reality, they are cultural products with symbolic codes in their socio-historical context (Barthes 1972, Hall 2004). In a similar argument, Desnoes (1985, 386) write: "Photography is an index of values. Both in production and consumption. Photographs are matter in cultural movement. In order to live, they include their time and space. The analysis or contemplation of photographs as objects in themselves, independent of their context, outside the system of social circulation, is an illusion, a methodological trap."

Desnoes (1985) notes that the necessity of examining photographs in their context is never more strongly felt than now. Desnoes' statement may be particularly valid today given how widely photographs are distributed across the world. In the context of news media, photographs were being used in newspapers all over the world by the 1920s and they remain a crucial part of reporting today. The international news agencies each day distribute photos by photographers native to a great variety of countries to newspapers published in many languages and read by people of dramatically different cultures.

The goal of this study is to explore Slovenian newspaper photojournalism and, more specifically, how cultural and political background may have influenced the way photographs were made and used. The study investigates photographic reporting in the Slovenian leading

newspaper *Delo* in the years 2003 to 2008 and explores the choices made by editors in selecting photographic images for the newspaper. My thesis is that these choices are influenced by both the culturally embedded codes the images contain and the organizational and political practices under which the editors operate. This argument is illustrated through the examination of photographs covering the genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan.

2   THE ROLE OF PHOTOJOURNALISM IN MEDIA

Photographs have been important in the cultural construction of reality from the earliest days of development and expansion of photographic technologies. But this has never been more true than now, when people give more time to television news and web sites where images are playing the crucial role. Thus, photographers are regarded as journalists in every sense of the word. They are given respect to initiate, research, and tell stories visually because visuals can powerfully communicate strong content. Photographs, however, do more than just attract attention for text; they are capable of telling rich, emotional, and informative stories on their own. Besides, newspaper studies show that the eye goes first to the photograph, then to the headline and finally to the text of the story (Moses, 2000).

2.1   FROM A PHOTOGRAPHER TO THE EDITOR

Any kind of news is far from being a 'mirror' of the world; news is rather one of the most complex forms of representation. News is a highly conventional and codified genre that uses linguistic and visual codes (Fiske 2004). Reading a news photograph includes a series of relationships that are hidden "by the illusory power of the image before our eyes" (Clarke 1997, 29).

First, the photograph is always the product of a photographer. That means, that it embodies a photographer's specific point of view of that specific news event. By choosing a place, time, angle, lens, focus, lighting, depth of the field and so on, a photographer has total control on the 'look' of the photograph. Indeed, the photojournalist imposes, steals, and re-creates the news scene according to a cultural discourse (Clarke 1997). Besides, photography has always been dependent on technical, optical and chemical procedures, and photojournalists combine these procedures with strategies that uphold the culturally negotiated standards of the journalism profession (Becker 1991). Within this framework, technological innovations at times broaden and at other times restrict their access to news.

According to Schwartz (1992, 97), photojournalists distinguish between two types of news assignments: spot news and general news. Spot news refers to the coverage of unanticipated events such as disasters, acts of violence, and conflict, while general news refers to planned news events, such as press conference, speeches, or certain ceremonies. In case of spot news, Kobre (in Schwartz 1992, 98-99) emphasizes the importance of emotional

impact, because "accident pictures grab the emotional side of the reader." Furthermore, Kobre advises photographers to focus on the human side of the tragedy, so readers can relate to affected people in the photographs. The dramatic stories told by good news photographers encourage readers to identify with the story, the situations of the people, masking complexity, and diffusing critical response (Schwartz 1992).

Once the photographer finishes the photographic work, the images are edited. Ideally, photographers do the pre-editing and then a photo editor makes a final edit from the photographer's selection. Photo editors use several criteria for selection of photographs. They evaluate images based on composition, light, and moment. Most publication editors try to ensure that the story idea is communicated through the visuals as well as the words (Langton 2009). However, editors and writers understand that having a strong photograph with the story will help move that story to a more visible part of the paper – perhaps even to the front page.

Moreover, photographs are determined by hierarchal system of decision-making. The culture of a newsroom and the routines that journalists and photojournalists follow often define what is news and how news is covered. Photojournalists take the photographs, while editors and designers further narrow the focus by their selection and categorization of photographs, layout and design processes (Fiske 2004, Langton 2009). Furthermore, top editors make final decision and determine how their publications can best attract the 'right' readers. In turn, editors are influenced by the newspaper's ideology, owners' interests, and their own personal beliefs and background. Benzakin (in Langton 2009, 73) argues that "the system and the people within the system have everything to do with the creation of reality in photographic images – much more than subjects themselves."

Selection, the ability to define 'what is news' through the origination of story ideas is perhaps the newsroom's most influential practice. By choosing stories and defining what is and what is not news editors interpret the world (Luthar 1998). Story ideas are judged on their perceived level of 'newsworthiness'. Photojournalists adhere to a conception of news values espoused by print journalists. News photography categories formalized by the National Press Photographers Association include: spot news, general news, sports action, sports feature, portrait, environmental portraits, pictorial, food illustration, fashion illustration, and editorial illustration.

Today, however, with the cost of digital technology decreasing and image quality increasing, the culture of newsroom is being redefined. Previously, new photography techniques and technologies were just extensions of older, accepted routines, but Horton

(2000, 207) explains that now "the digital cameras, the software and computers to support them, and the integration with newsroom systems is a new world." Similarly, Tirohl (2000, 342) argues that especially with the fast transmission mechanisms "the control over image content shifts from the photographer to centralized news teams or even other, non-picture staff individuals." Images can be communicated in a matter of a few minutes and sometimes photojournalists do not even see image before transmission. This shifts "responsibility for selecting imagery to picture desks and leads some picture makers to believe that control over images may be conducted by staff with limited visual literacy" (Tirohl 2000, 343). Indeed, this relocation of even greater control to the production department can impair the status of photojournalism and potentially destroy the credibility of the photograph as a document (Becker 2000).

To sum up, in addition to deciding what is news and what is not, journalists continue to make other exclusion decisions throughout the news production process. During the editing and packaging stages certain word and images are selected while others are excluded, and certain arrangements of elements on a page are accepted while others are rejected. All of these decisions affect the way in which general public perceive the world.

2.2 PHOTOJOURNALISM: REPORTING OR CONSTRUCTING REALITY

At the many newspapers, photographs are recognized as an important part of everyday story-telling process and a key ingredient in the competition for news consumers. Yet at many other newspapers, photographs are regarded as simply means for illustrating word stories. Journalists and even editors often fail to recognize the strength of photography in reporting the news and in contributing to the social construction of reality.

French scholar Roland Barthes (1972) believes that the symbols (photographs, for example) that appear in the news media are both purposefully selected and understood to be presentations by journalists but perceived as something else by news consumers. Audiences do not perceive photographs as symbols, but as reality. Individuals believe what they see (Sontag 1973). The frameworks used by news media to report 'reality' become taken for granted by both media professionals and media readers. However, research has indicted repeatedly that the structure used to frame the news affects the content of the news and contributes to the social construction of reality.

Semiotics, as the study of symbols (signifiers), their meanings and how they relate to the concepts (signifieds) they refer to, offers a method for analyzing the way in which news photographs are produced and comprehended. In this view, the relationship between the symbol and the concept is arbitrary and learned, therefore society specific.

Lutz and Collins (1993, 5) explain that our perspective on the photographs leads us to attend to "formal features of the shot such as composition and point of view," but we interpret photographs in a socio-historical context that gives the photos and their elements meaning and significance. Indeed, rather than the notion of looking, which suggests a passive act of recognition, we need to insist that we read a photograph as text. The photograph achieves meaning through what has been called *photographic discourse*. As Victor Burgin (1982, 144) explains: "The intelligibility of the photograph is no simple thing; photographs are *texts* inscribed in terms of what we may call 'photographic discourse', but this discourse, like any other, engages discourses beyond itself, the 'photographic text', like any other, is the site of a complex 'intertextuality', an overlapping series of previous text 'taken for granted' at a particular cultural and historical conjuncture."

The photography mirrors and creates a discourse with the world, but it is never a natural representation of it. The photographic images contain "a photographic message as a part of a practice of signification" which reflects the codes, values, and beliefs of the individual and culture as a whole (Clarke 1997, 28). Furthermore, Langton (2009, 72) suggests that news production and news comprehension are structured within frameworks that are "culturespecific" and make news meaningful. This means that what makes sense for the *New York Times* and its readers may not make sense for the Slovenian's *Delo* and its readers.

Barthes (1972) advances the discussion of relationships between symbols and concepts one step further. He believes that these relationships, although arbitrary, are perceived to be natural. He calls the process of naturalization the *myth*. Myth is "a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a second-order semiological system" (Barthes 1972, 114). He contends that news consumers ultimately 'naturalize' the symbols chosen by journalists to represent concepts. A news photograph through interaction with the viewer's cultural background becomes reality. According to Barthes (1972), myth is the most appropriate instrument for the ideological inversion that defines this society.

Clarke (1997, 27-30) acknowledges that a photograph is far from being a mirror; it is rather one of the most complex and problematic forms of presentation because at its every

level it involves "a saturated ideological context." Hence, the ideology both constructs meaning and reflects that meaning as a stamp of power and authority. Following this logic, Hall (2004) argues that representation constructs rather than reflects a reality. In his opinion the ideological value of a photograph includes moral and political discourse in the society as a whole. Thus, the role of photography in the press is also to form and control the collective memory of the society as a part of the individual memory of its members (Hardt 2003).

Nevertheless, how photographs portray a certain group may determine how others view and treat its members in daily life. For example, forever showing poor people exclusively in situations that connotes victimhood – squalid, overcrowded living spaces, worn clothing, crying children, sad and exhausted faces – may lead outside viewers to think of those living in poverty as passive and indifferent, and therefore as somehow 'deserving' their situation. Barthes (1972) suggests an important distinction here between the relative meaning of different elements within the photographic frame, distinguishing between what has been termed the *denotative* and the *connotative*. By denotative is meant the basic, literal meaning and significance of any element in the image such as clothes and expressions, while connotation is a series of visual codes that operate as a reflection of a wider process of signification within the culture. Working from the assumption that news photographs are socially constructed and that their appearance is shaped by the institutional context of the mass media organization, press photography's mechanical reproduction only serves to increase the stakes in social representation.

2.3 CONTEXT

A news photograph normally appears within an article on a certain page with a caption. The way we read an image depends on its contextual framework. For the newspaper it is very important where the photograph appears and what caption follows it. After readers recognize the photograph, they go to the caption to find out what is going on in the photograph. Sometimes the background might give information about the settings or the subject's expression may suggest the mood, but only a caption can (mis)clarify the information in the photograph and relate the photograph to the story (Langton 2009). Caption style is pretty similar at most newspapers. Captions are basically the 'what', 'where', 'when', and ''who' that connect the image with text. Nevertheless, Tomanić-Trivundža (2005, 447) writes about two types of captions in newspapers. Descriptive captions inform and emphasize the

noticeable information on the photograph, while interpretative captions, in contrast, include comments, evaluations, stigmatizations and so on. Price and Wells (1997, 58) write about 'preferred readings', because a reader is advised by the caption how to read the photograph. Indeed, the caption emphasizes or even highlights certain elements of the photograph and hints at how to read it 'accurately'.

3   PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE OF SUDAN

3.1 FACTS ABOUT THE DARFUR CRISES

Sudan is the largest country in African continent. Sudan's population is one of the most diverse because contains two distinct major cultures: Arab and black African. Besides, there are hundreds of ethnic and tribal subdivisions and language groups.

The northern states cover most of the Sudan and include most of the urban centers, while the southern region has a predominantly rural, subsistence economy. Except for a ten-year hiatus, southern Sudan has been involved in conflict, resulting in major destruction and displacement since independence. Northerners, who have traditionally controlled the country, have sought to unify it along the lines of Arabism and Islam despite the opposition of non-Muslims, southerners, and marginalized peoples in the west and east (Youngs 2004).

In 2003, while the historic north-south conflict was on its way to resolution, increasing reports began to surface of attacks on civilians, especially aimed at non-Arab tribes in the extremely marginalized Darfur region of Sudan. A rebellion broke out in Darfur, led by two rebel groups: the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. These groups represented agrarian farmers who are mostly non-Arabized black African Muslims. In seeking to defeat the rebel movements, the Government of Sudan increased arms and support to local, rival tribes and militias, which have come to be known as the 'Janjaweed.' Their members were composed mostly of Arabized black African Muslims who herded cattle, camels, and other livestock. Attacks on the civilian population by the Janjaweed, often with the direct support of Government of Sudan Armed Forces, have led to the death of hundreds of thousands of people in Darfur (The World Factbook – Sudan 2009).

In 2004, Amnesty International supplied some of the earliest documentation – eyewitness testimony from the ground – that warned of the impending catastrophe in Darfur. In January 2005, the UN Secretary-General's Commission of Inquiry on Darfur issued a well-documented report that indicated there were some 1.6 million internally displaced persons as a result of the ongoing violence and more than 200,000 refugees from Darfur in neighboring Chad. In 2006, the Darfur Peace Agreement was signed between the government of Sudan and one of the armed groups fighting in Darfur – the Sudan Liberation Army and the Minni Minawi faction (SLA/MM). Only a few other armed factions have signed the peace agreement since. Later, the UN Security Council approved a resolution to send a new

peacekeeping force of 17,300 to the region, but Sudan's government refused to consent to its implementation. Since then, through dozens of reports, several human rights organizations continue to pressure the international community to respond to the massive human rights violations in Darfur, especially the perilous conditions for women who are targeted by soldiers for rape and sexual violence (SaveDarfur 2009).

The war in Darfur has had a profound effect on the entire population living in Sudan. Aside from the estimated 300,000 casualties due to the combined effects of war, disease, and famine, the conflict has displaced upwards of 2.7 million civilians from their homes. However, there has been much controversy over the numbers of people killed in Darfur. Some nongovernmental organizations claim that from 125,000 to more than 400,000 people have been killed (Smith 2005). Most of them admit that there is no definitive proof for these numbers, but still believe it reflects reality. In that light, the death toll used by most governments is 200,000. Accurate figures are difficult to research and have made no distinction between those dying as a result of violence and those dying as a result of starvation or disease in the camps (Amnesty International).

3.2 MEDIA COVERAGE OF SUDAN

Despite an emerging awareness of the conflict in Darfur – prompted by reporters from advocacy organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch in the second half of 2003 – media coverage and popular awareness of the situation was practically non-existent (Campell 2007). Besides, Omar Al Bashir, the president of Sudan, was a master in controlling media. His government's effort to prevent widespread coverage of the death and destruction in its Darfur region succeeded for months. The crisis began in early 2003, but the overall media performance on Darfur was disappointingly weak (Ricchiardi 2005).

Censorship, both self- and government-imposed, has been strong under President Al Bashir's leadership. There have been many documented arrests, closings, suspensions, seizures of copy, abductions, and threats, but there is little documentation of physical torture or the death of journalists (Morley 2003). When the first international television coverage of the Darfur crisis aired – on Al Jazeera in December 2004 – Bashir's government closed the network's bureau, confiscated its equipment, and arrested the reporter. Sudanese authorities rapidly erected an obstacle course for gaining access to Darfur. It could take more than six weeks to get a visa for Sudan. Then, reporters awarded visas were required to get permission

to travel to Darfur, and once they got them, had to be accompanied by a government escort. Even then, soldiers could limit access to the pillaged villages or displacement camps (Morley 2003).

Journalists from Europe, where the public has more interest in Africa, got around the red tape by sneaking into Darfur from Chad. *Le Monde*, for example, ran a major story from Darfur at the beginning of 2004. The British press began to cover the story around the same time (Ricchiardi 2005). U.S. coverage came in late 2003 when *The World,* a public radio program, ran a story with UN officials discussing the Sudan crisis. In general, international news budgets of American media were more likely to be consumed by the war in Iraq and, to a much lesser extent, invasions in Afghanistan (Ricchiardi 2005). Arguably, events in Sudan hold few foreign policy implications for the United States.

Furthermore, the media coverage of Darfur was based only on the reports of nongovernmental organizations and the numerous stories of the survivors, told and re-told to reporters and human rights observers. All these stories lead to a general picture: mass killing, hunger, rapes, diseases, burning villages and so on. But there ware no other pictures, no TV images, and no photographs. Speaking at the World Press Photo 50th anniversary in 2005, Jan Prosk, the UN Secretary General's special representative for Sudan, linked the world's lack of concern about Darfur with an absence of photographic witnesses and called on photojournalists to produce more pictures as part of the struggle for attention and action in Darfur.

The only study about the earliest newspaper photo in 2004 of the Darfur crisis found that "more than two thirds of photographs (33) were refugees individually or collectively, and all but one of those refugee images showed women and children" (Campbell 2007, 368). This content analysis of photos in the newspapers *Guardian* and *Observer* also noted that with the overwhelming emphasis on women and children as refugees the photographs showed a remarkable continuity with earlier crisis in Africa, such as the Ethiopian famine of 1984, even if the nature of the crisis being portrayed was radically different (Campbell 2007).

In the case of Slovenia, the coverage of the Darfur crisis was in diverse media different. In 2006 Janez Drnovšek, at that time the president of Slovenia, tried to raise the awareness about the Darfur issue. He lunched his '*The World for Darfur*' initiative, which was sponsored by Slovenian humanitarian organizations as well as by the Slovenian government. The primary goal of the initiative was to encourage world leaders to raise funds in support of the refugees and the peacekeeping forces, and to propose for an international

conference on Darfur and for a joint effort of the African Union, EU, UN and the G8 group. Later, in February 2006 Drnovšek named Tomo Križnar as Slovenian presidential envoy. Križnar went to Darfur to present Slovenian president's proposal of peace agreement to the rebels. He entered the Sudanese Darfur region in February 2006 via the neighboring Chad, with the help of Darfur rebels and without a valid visa. After that he was soon arrested and was pardoned and released in September 2006 only after Drnovšek's letter to Al-Bashir, Sudan's president. In the situation, Slovenian media had a lot of material to publish, but because some media houses were in that time under control of the right-wing government and the relationship between Drnovšek and the government was tense[1], the coverage was in accordance with the spirit of that time – reporting from the scene was all too rare.

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[1] A major clash happened in summer 2006, when disagreement arose over Drnovšek's attempt to intervene in the Darfur conflict.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 METHOD

4.1.1 DATA

The focus of the analysis in this paper is on how photojournalism – in the form of news photographs used by the newspaper *Delo* in Slovenia from 2003 to 2008 – has pictorially represented the conflict in Darfur. While some questions of production are touched upon, the much larger questioning of audiencing is not addressed in this analysis. Of all the media outlets that could have been examined for their photojournalism of Darfur, I have chosen the Slovenian daily newspaper *Delo*. This choice is not wholly random. *Delo* is the largest Slovenian daily newspaper that sets a quality standard for printed news to a national public.[2] It is also one of the oldest newspapers in Slovenia, existing for 50 years, that practices coverage of world events by maintaining a network of foreign correspondents throughout Europe, the Balkan's countries, USA, Middle East and China. According to a 2006 readership survey (by company Valicon d.o.o.), with an average daily circulation of 76,000 copies, it reaches 10.2 percent of the Slovenian population.

Delo has no officially declared political orientation, although there was a constant accusation by the right-wing parties that the newspaper is more in favored the ruling left-wing party. But, after 14 years of coalitions where Liberal Democrats played the main role, a new government was formed after parliamentary elections in 2004 with only right-wing parties in the ruling coalition for the first time since 1992. This change also resulted in changes in Slovenian media, particularly in ownership and editorial policy. Especially the daily newspaper *Delo* and its holding company Delo d.d felt the changes. There was a lot of pressures on editorial content induced by ruling politicians, privatization, advertisers and stockholder profit goals. Of particular concern were convoluted ownership patterns that obscured overlapping interests and government involvement, threats to media plurality and diversity of voice in the marketplace of ideas, and the phenomenon of self-censorship. The ownership structure of the daily changed within the period 2003 to 2008. In December 2003, the main stakeholders were Pivovarna Laško (24.99 %), SOD (11.72 %) and ID Maksima

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[2] The country's largest daily newspaper is the tabloid newspaper Slovenske Novice with 89,460 copies in 2007.

(11.09 %), while in May 2007 Pivovarna Laško owned 74.92 % and Radenska 19.16 % (Bašić-Hrvatin and Petković 2008). Accordingly to the changes in the stockholders' structure, there were a lot of modifications in the editorial room. In this period the chief editors were: Darjan Košir (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008), Peter Jančič (2006, 2007), and Janez Markeš (2007, 2008), while the editor of photography was first Aleš Černivec (till 2006) and then Jože Suhadolnik.

The size of the newspaper ranges in average from 22 to 34 pages. The newspaper consists of several sections, such as: Events of the day, World, Slovenia, Internal Affairs, Business, Sport, Culture, Last Page.

This study of *Delo*'s coverage of Darfur crisis spans the period between 1st January 2003 and 31st December 2008. Within this period, *Delo* published a total of 181 articles and 101 photographs (81 articles with one photograph, 9 articles with 2 photographs and 2 articles with a graphic image) on Darfur. An individual photograph and its caption was the unit of content analysis.

4.1.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is a research tool focused on the actual content and internal features of media. Researchers analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of message characteristics. The various techniques that make up the methodology of content analysis have been growing in usage and variety. Because of characteristics of photographs this paper uses critical qualitative analysis, often conducted in a tradition of cultural studies for the analysis of media messages (Neuendorf 2002). The challenge of the analysis is to identify elements of a photograph, sort them out, and to responsibly address the many aspects of a photograph by recognizing that "the search for meaning and significance does not end in singular 'facts' or 'truths' but rather produce one or more viewpoints on human circumstances" (Leeuwen and Jewitt 2004, 36). In line with the broad approach to visual images, Krippendorf (in Rose 2007, 55) insists that content analysis is a way of understanding the symbolic qualities of text, by which he means "the way that elements of a text always refers to the wider cultural context of which they are a part." Firstly, articles with images were coded according to the intersection within the newspaper and the type of the news article. Then, photographs were scrutinized for visual coverage of Darfur issue, including source of images, genres and hierarchy of news photographs, composition, number and gender of subjects on the photograph.

In the textbook by Kobré (2000), news photographs were coded into seven genres: (1) general news – a photographic report of a scheduled news event; (2) spot news – a photographic report of an unscheduled news event; (3) feature – a picture of a candid situation that features strong human interest, or a fresh view of an everyday scene; (4) portrait – a picture of a person that reveals the essence of the subject's character; (5) environmental portrait – a portrait that includes the subject's immediate environment; (6) mug shot – a photo that shows a person's face; and (7) non-photojournalistic images.

According to Elbert (in Kobré 2000) there are four hierarchical categories of news photographs. (1) Informational photographs: these are simple depictions about a place, person or event. They include 'photo ops', building shots, mug shots, speakers, etc. They rarely provide information beyond simple proof that the subject existed or that an event actually happened. (2) Graphically appealing photographs: these are more visually captivating, but the subject matter and content remain ordinary. Sometimes photographs rely on technical devices such as special lenses or filters. They are stunning images, but they seldom evoke strong emotion or describe dramatic news events. (3) Emotionally appealing photographs: these capture subjects' emotions and cause the reader to feel sympathy toward the subject. (4) Photographs evoking intimacy: make the reader feel close to the situation and empathetic with the subject. Readers feel privileged to see something they usually cannot see. The photographers have complete access to the subjects or events.

Fourth, photographs were coded according to compositional angle: (1) overall: photographs that show the whole situation including people and their environment with a wide angle; (2) medium: photographs that show the main subjects with some limited environment; (3) close-up: photographs that provide a closer look at people or events; and (4) detailed: photographs that showed radical close-ups of people or objects.

Fifth, photographs were coded according to the number of people included as: (1) one person; (2) two persons and (3) three or more persons or group of people.

Lastly, captions were coded as to whether they (1) provided specific individual identity of main subjects or (2) provided only group identity such as, for example 'demonstrators', 'refugees' or 'Sudanese women' without individuals' names.

If the genre of a photograph was initially coded as 'mug shot', 'portrait' or 'non-photojournalistic image', no further analysis was done. A critical content analysis of the rest of the photographs was done, concentrating on the photos shot in the Darfur area. This

analysis is followed by a brief consideration of photojournalism in other outlets (such as the newspaper *New York Times*, the work of individual photojournalists, and the galleries of some non-governmental organizations involved in Sudan) to see how particular the news photographs in *Delo* are. The results of this analysis will be discussed after the findings of the research.

4.2 FINDINGS

During the period from 2003 to 2008 *Delo* published a total of 181 articles related to the Darfur crisis. During 2003, when the conflicts in Darfur started to be intense, there were no articles at all (see Table 4.1). Of the 181 total articles, 81 articles had one photograph, 9 articles had two photographs and 2 articles had a graphic image each. Pictorial representation of Darfur featured prominently on the international news-page – 45.5 percent of photographs were published in the intersection *Svet (World)*, while only 13.2 percent of the photographs were published on the front page, mainly during 2006. However, in the last decades *Delo*'s use of photography has changed significantly by increasing the importance of visual material as an essential part of narration of international news (Tomanić Trivundža 2008). Still though the paper uses photographs to supplement rather than replace text – 53 percent of the total articles were short news with one photographs or photo news when photographs are used as independent news with the a longer caption of 40 to 90 words.

Graph 4.1: Articles related to the Darfur crisis by the year
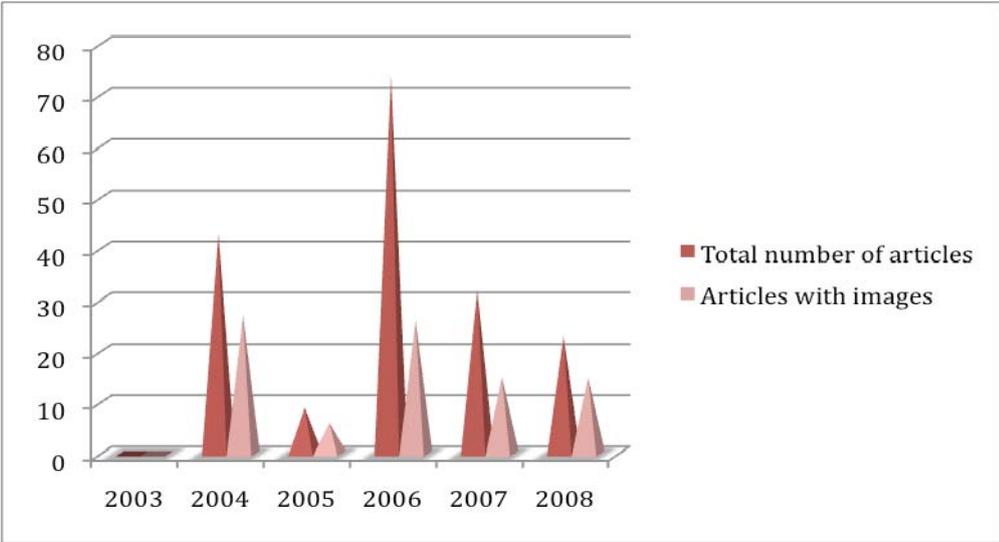
Currently, the bulk of *Delo*'s visual material comes from the major Western agencies. The photographic coverage of Sudan was dominated by four agencies: AP, AFP, Reuters and EPA account for 77 percent of the published material. The rest of photographs were credited to *Delo*'s staff photographers, but they were all shot in Slovenia.

Slovenian newspaper published more general news and features photographs, 46.5 percent of the total were in the general news and features category, and fewer spot news photographs (19 percent), portraits (11.8 percent) and mug shots (18.8 percent).

Informational photographs were the dominant type from among the four hierarchical categories provided by Elbert (in Kobré 2000): 50.7 percent were informational, 21.5 percent were emotionally appealing photographs and 21.5 percent were intimate photographs. There was only one graphically appealing photograph.

In *Delo,* medium shot images were dominant (75.4 percent), while close-up (6.2 percent) images constituted approximately the same portion as overall (18.5 percent) composition photographs. Detail images did not appear at all.

Daily *Delo* published more photographs containing small numbers of subjects; in total, more than half of the photographs contained one or two persons, while 40.7 percent of the photographs contained large numbers of subjects.

About 52.4 percent of the news photographs did provide specific identification of the main subjects. Photographs that did contain any identifiable human subjects were more likely photographs containing well known subjects such as politicians, activists or famous persons.

4.2.1 FACES WITH(OUT) NAMES

In the five-year period reviewed there were only 36 photographs from 101 taking in the Darfur region. Starting with the first picture in April 2004, 83.3 percent of those photographs were of refugees individually or collectively, and most of those refugee images showed women and/or children. Of the remainder, seven photographs were of the protest in Sudan, four photographs were of Sudan's soldiers, and five photographs were relating to different topics, such as the landscape of war (empty, destroyed village), funeral and so on. Together, this meant that the majority of the photographs invoked what Shapiro (in Campbell 2007, 368) has called the personal code – the foregrounding of individuals to represent the situation.

Figure 4.1: Sudanese women waiting for food (Photo: AP)

Napredek na pogajanjih o sudanski krizi

Abudža – Sudanska vlada in uporniki so v sredo zvečer s posredovanjem Afriške unije (AU) v Nigeriji do-
segli dogovor o zaščiti 1,2 milijona beguncev v pokrajini Darfur. Čeprav sta sprti strani sprejeli dogovor o
humanitarnih vprašanjih, bo uradno podpisan, ko se bodo končala pogajanja o varnosti. Poleg varnostnih
in humanitarnih zadev bodo za pogajalsko mizo govorili tudi o političnih, gospodarskih in socialnih vpraša-
njih. Sudanska vlada je zavrnila poročilo generalnega sekretarja Združenih narodov Kofija Anana, ki se je
zavzel za večje mirovne enote v Darfurju. Anan je ugotovil, da sudanska vlada ni uresničila vseh zahtev iz
julijske resolucije varnostnega sveta OZN, ki je zahtevala ustavitev spopadov, razpustitev arabskih milic
in izboljšanje humanitarnih razmer v tej pokrajini na zahodu Sudana, v nasprotnem primeru pa je grozila
s sankcijami. »Vse strani, vpletene v sudansko krizo, bi se morale pogovoriti o dobrih in slabih straneh na-
potitve sil AU v Darfur, preden se to dejansko zgodi,« je izjavil sudanski zunanji minister Mohamed Jusuf.
VS OZN po pričakovanjih še ne bo glasoval o sankcijah proti Sudanu, saj jim nasprotujeta Rusija in Kitaj-
ska. V Darfur je v četrtek odpotovala šestčlanska delegacija evropskega parlamenta, obiskala pa bo tudi
Kartum. Evropski poslanci se bodo sestali s sudanskimi oblastmi, predstavniki človekoljubnih organiza-
cij, begunci in opazovalci Afriške unije. Obiskali bodo tudi sosednji Čad, kamor se je zatekla šestina be-
guncev iz Darfurja. Na fotografiji prebivalci vasi Disa, ki je pod nadzorom upornške Sudanske osvobodilne
vojske, čakajo na razdelitev humanitarne pomoči. **STA**

Source: Delo (2004a).

Moreover, from 30 photographs relating to refugees and camps, there were four photographs of food delivery, four were of refugees going for water, two were of leaving homes, and ten were photographs of women and/or children in the camp. All photographs except two were photographs of female refugees and/or children. For example, the photograph published on 3rd September 2004 (Figure 4.1) is a medium shot of women waiting for the food delivery. Most of them are sitting and looking directly to the camera. They look sad, tired and in desperate need of help. Similar example is a photograph of children published on 13th March 2007 (Figure 4.2). On the photograph, there is a large group of children sitting together and staring at the camera. All children have serious faces with a bit doubtful look. No one is smiling or playing what we would usually expect from a photograph of children. There is no childish happiness or carelessness. Besides, the photograph was taken from a high angle, thus reinforcing the viewer's sense of power compared with their hopelessness.

Figure 4.2: Sudanese children in the camp Kalm (Photo: Delo)

Source: Delo (2007).

With the overwhelming emphasis on women and children as refugees the Darfur photographs showed people as needing our pity – as passive victims. This was through a de-contextualized concentration on mid- and close-up shots emphasizing body language and facial expressions. The Darfur photos demonstrated significant eye-contact, thus reinforcing the viewer's sense of looking at hopelessness and pitiableness. Despite the different nature of the crisis and the scale of the violence in Darfur, few photographs portrayed combatants or casualties, adding further evidence that the news media is in actuality reluctant to portray unvarnished horror.

Apart from a few photos showing women with jars walking to the river (Figure 4.3), not a single image appeared showing the Sudanese population in possession of the means of production. The Sudanese were depicted as passive subjects, lying on the ground or performing religious rituals or mourning. When they were shown in active mode, they were demonstrating against UN decisions and army forces. The Sudanese were presented as passive victims – grieving subjects who were refusing our help from the West by demonstrating every time the UN decides to send its peacekeeping forces.

Figure 4.3: A mother with a child (Photo: Reuters)
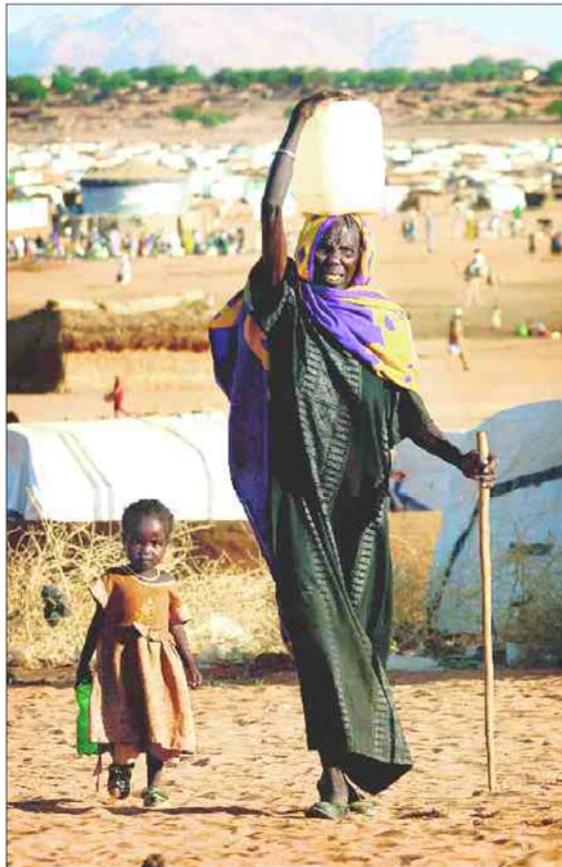
Spopadi rušijo krhko premirje

Darfur – Na današnjem rednem mesečnem zasedanju bodo zunanji ministri Evropske unije (EU) razpravljali tudi o razmerah v sudanski pokrajini Darfur, kamor je minuli vikend prispelo 60 dodatnih ruandskih pripadnikov mirovne misije Afriške unije (AU). V Darfurju so pred dnevi izbruhnili najhujši spopadi med tamkajšnjimi uporniki in provladnimi arabskimi milicami džandžavid, odkar so uporniki in vlada v Kartumu pred pol leta sklenili sicer krhko in večkrat kršeno premirje. V zahodnem Sudanu je v 20 mesecih nasilja umrlo 70.000 ljudi, več kot poldrugi milijon pa jih je bilo prisiljeno zapustiti svoje domove (na fotografiji prebivalka begunskega taborišča v severnem Darfurju na poti po vodo). **Reuters**

Source: Delo (2004b).

These photographs played a part in constructing a Eurocentric view of Africa and its people as economically and technologically weak. This photojournalistic practice fosters this stereotypical view and classical representations of African people subjected to famine. According to Wolf (in Lutz and Collins 1993, 109), Western culture often presents non-Europeans as having timeless societies and personalities. In this sense, the people without history have been ideologically seated in the natural rather than cultural realm. Thus, a question of 'otherness' plays a significant role in setting up a symbolic frontier between 'Others' and 'Us' within a certain "regime of representations" (Hall 2004, 259). With publishing photographs with mostly women and children *Delo*'s coverage showed a remarkable continuity with the conventional images of earlier crises in Africa that found mothers and children featured more than any other subjects.

5 DISCUSSION

The longest-running civil war in Africa appeared on the verge of ending in the late summer of 2002. But, hostilities continue until the present, the overall media performance on Darfur has been disappointingly weak. Similarly, *Delo*'s coverage is erratic and sporadic, in the sense that there is the lack of continuous coverage during the last six years. Especially, there was the lack of photographic coverage in its pages. Visual images are an effective and efficient means of conveying experiences of suffering, violence and oppression. They offer an immediacy and persuasion that words on their own cannot. Therefore, they should be an important part of the Darfur's coverage.

According, to observe that the photojournalistic visualization of Darfur has been tremendously concerned with refugees, especially women and children, in passive and pitiable forms, regardless of whether the narrative being illustrated is one of politic negotiations, genocide, or humanitarianism is not to say that those pictures are not telling the truth. Those images are what Ronald Barthes (1981, 87) calls "certificates of presence" which faithfully record the people who were before the lens on those given days. Given that the refugee camps were the most accessible sites for photojournalists, and given that the refugee camps are mostly populated by women and children, the proliferation of such images is hardly surprising.

In this case, the issue these images pose is not one of accuracy or appropriateness. It is a question of what they do, how they function, and the impact of this operation. As such, this means we need to depart from an understanding of photographs as carriers of information (which a focus on their content could suggest) to an appreciation of pictures as metaphoric symbols. When we are dealing with photographs we are concerned with the visual performance of the social field, whereby pictures bring the objects they include to simply reflect into being (Campbell 2007). The redundancy of refugee photographs does not just tell that there are millions displaced, but also how we should feel about Darfur as a place where the innocent are displaced and appear before us in ways that recall earlier Africa's issues. Even if the nature of the crisis being portrayed was radically different, the visual representations in *Delo* showed a remarkable continuity with a traditional framing of non-Western others, such as an image of starving African children. Although many of the (photo) editors who are publishing such images are hoping that we feel moved and responsible, the affective responses engendered by these symbolic statements of conflict, because of their

familiar forms, just lead to inattention and indifference. In Campbell's opinion (2007) the photographs of Darfur do not just mirror the geopolitical issues that are its subject, but they are themselves geopolitical. As such, this photographic practice based on *white gaze* manifests power relations through which spatial distances between the developed West and undeveloped South are represented.

Nevertheless, some international newspapers have sent reports and photojournalists to Sudan, *Delo* published articles and photographs only coming from the major Western agencies. According to data gathered by international communication scholars, these Western multinational corporations, with the support of political regimes of wealthy countries and national elite groups in the developing world, dominate international cultural and media flows (Kraidy 2004). Most of the news media circulating around the world is produced by a handful of press agencies, mostly from the First World countries: AP and UPI from the United States, Reuters from Germany, and Agence France Press from France. What is called South-to-South communication – communication and information traveling directly from one Third World country to another – was and still is practically nonexistent (Rodríguez 2006).

Developing countries have also raised specific concerns since the 1970s regarding the pattern of news flow emerging from the dominance of Western news agencies (Rampal 2007). First, even people from Third World countries are forced to see each other and even themselves, through the medium of these agencies because they are major suppliers of news to the developing world. Second, Western information dominance confines judgments and decisions on what should be known, and how it should be made known, into a hands of few, resulting in an inadequate, negative, and stereotypical portrayal of developing countries (Rampal 2007, Rodríguez 2006). Thus, most information from the Third World countries was gathered by the First World international reporters who report the underdeveloped world from a very limited First World perspective. The Third World as a result, became "an array of images of violence, poverty, and natural disasters in the world's information media" (Rodríguez 2006, 265). Besides, information about the Third World was not only limited in its perspective, but also restricted in its quantity. According to the MacBride Report, the number of circulating news items about the First World was incomparably greater than the number of items about the Third World.

Overall, there are two significant consequences of imbalance of news flow: first, major news agencies from developed regions influence what news gets into the news flow, and second, they set the standard of content and form of news (Tomanić Trivundža 2008). Both

facts lead to the conclusion that structural dominance of these agencies produce representational practices, which have been used to mark racial difference and signify the racialized 'other' in western media.

Scholars have been generally critical of the news coverage of the Darfur conflict. They described it as confusing, inadequate, insufficient, and not timely (Waisbord 2008). Accordingly to Jan Eliasson, United Nation Special Envoy to Darfur, there are other realities inside the camps in Darfur and the main reasons for tensions have not been highlighted in the world press (Waisbord 2008). Indeed, there is a need to understand why conflict has not been solved. The media need to offer a good analysis of the Darfur crisis with appropriate visualization to create a better shape to set the stage for a good public debate, which could contribute to the solution of Darfur.

In this sense, the value of the independent news media, functioning as a conduit for timely and accurate information, is widely acknowledged as vital for democracy and development (Norris and Odugbemi 2009: 4). Besides, there must be a free flow of international information unimpeded by other nation's government such as Sudan. The global flow of information across nations is also essential for international understanding and peace; lack of information and awareness about other communities, cultures, and viewpoints can increase social intolerance, erode trust, and lead towards conflict (Wolsfeld 2004). From this perspective, alternative journalism, such as civic/public journalism and peace journalism, can be identified as special mode of socially responsible journalism which sees the news media as an active player in the process of encouraging public debate and promoting peace (Hanitzsch 2004, Coleman 2007). Nowadays alternative models of journalism like civic journalism and peace journalism are the part of a major worldwide media reform movement growing out of a strong critique of dominant mainstream media practices (Bratic 2008).

Peace journalism has been proposed as an alternative journalistic program. The basic premise of peace journalism is that if contemporary media tend to play a negative role in terms of increasing the tensions between and among the sides of conflict, they can also play a positive role by promoting peace (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000). In general, peace journalism is defined as a normative theory claiming that media ought to play a positive role in promoting peace; as a normative approach by prioritizing peace as its central value (Hanitzsch 2004). Despite the fact that the concept of peace journalism has raised significant criticisms and controversially discussions among participators and scholars in recent years, peace

journalism lives in some real forms. The most vivid example occurred within conflicts in Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Middle East (Bratic 2008).

In a similar way, civic journalism is concerned with reconnecting citizens with public life through new listening techniques, reporting practices, and story content with the intention to encourage and improve the quality of public debate. However, neither peace journalism nor civic journalism has concerned itself much with problems of visual presentation. This is unfortunate because the processing of visual information is just as important as the processing of textual information. If the content of civic and peace journalism is different from that gathered by traditional reporting, and photography is driven by content, then it should be different too. For example, one way how to battle the media hegemony of the west and its proclivity to depict exotic others in stereotyped and demeaning ways could be focusing on more positive images. Rather than photographs of emaciated people packed together awaiting the relief foods handed out by white United Nations representatives, the photographers could produce more positive and active visual stories.

Visualizing the non-west differently from the ways in which mainstream media or the international nongovernmental organizations present their passive victims is crucial to a different visual repertoire. Captions, crucial in such an undertaking, have the potential to fill in the gaps. Most of the advocacy images need to be heavily captioned, holding the attention of capricious viewers of photographs, focusing their reading to the photographer's message. Moreover, a radical change in the visual grammar of the mainstream media requires more than captions and endearing images. In terms of Roland Barthes (1972), distinction between the denotative and the connotative aspects of the journalistic image, photographers should intervene at the denotative level of the image, but leave the connotative intervention to the caption. This means that, whilst selecting different subject matter, the photographers remain strictly within the boundaries of the genre of documentary realism.

While overall *Delo*'s performance on Darfur has been disappointingly weak and the photographic images were typically from the mainstream photojournalistic tradition, some foreign news organizations have covered the story with distinction. The Washington Post and New York Times have emerged as leaders in persistent, on-the-ground coverage, not just at the Chad border, where tens of thousands of survivors have fled, but deep in vast wastelands where the Janjaweed have left a trail of scorched villages, rape and wanton killing. The work of a handful of journalists has been particularly impressive, chief among them the *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof. He was among the first to provide eyewitness accounts of

the horrors, coupling the human element with strong doses of political commentary. Besides, he also enriched his writing with images taken by him in 2003. Later *New York Times* sent three photojournalists to Darfur area (Jacob Silberberg, Michael Kamber and Lynsey Addorio). Their photographs include a different form of media representation of Darfur's people by showing activities and events from their everyday life (cooking, giving birth and so on). In the case of Slovenia, *Delo* had a lot of new material to published, but because of the editorial politics in that time was under control of the right-wing government and the relationship between Drnovšek and the government was tense, the coverage was in accordance with the spirit of that time – reporting from the scene was all too rare. Although, Taylor (2000) points out that despite the power and influence of media owners, the press has relative autonomy and editors use photojournalism according to well-established practices within their industry. Likewise, *Delo*'s 'owners' did not control in detail what newspaper printed, but they occasionally made their preferences known. For example, *Delo* did not publish any photography shot by Tomo Križnar, Slovenian activist sent in Sudan by Drnovšek, while *Dnevnik* did.

What I have tried to illustrate in this paper is that photographic reporting of the Sudan conflict in the Slovenian leading newspaper *Delo* in the years 2003 to 2008 represents the choice made by the editor influenced by both the culturally embedded codes the images contain coming from the mainstream photographic tradition and the organizational and political practices under which the editors operated. Nevertheless, the media must take the first step in realizing Darfur is an important story, especially from the visual point of view. Can more or better pictures produce public and political response to the situation like Darfur? More photographs will not provide the answer, especially if they follow the same aesthetic forms as those considered here, in *Delo*'s case. Analyzed images probably had some bearing on humanitarian sensibility and encouraged viewers for humanitarian actions, but they did not contribute to any kind of social change. However, the indifference of people to the suffering of others is not just a condition of viewing it in modern industrialized societies but also an effect of familiar forms of photographs used by mainstream media (Taylor 2000). What can be changed is the development of new visual patterns and photographic strategies that battle the media hegemony of the west and stop replicating neo-colonial relations of power.

6 POROČANJE O SUDANU: DELO IN NOVINARSKA FOTOGRAFIJA

V diplomskem delu obravnavam novinarsko fotografijo pri enem izmed slovenskih časopisov, in sicer, kako je družbeno in politično ozadje vplivalo na nastanek in uporabo fotografij. Osredotočam se na vizualno poročanje o sudanskem konfliktu v slovenskem vodilnem časopisu *Delo* v letih 2003 do 2008. Pri tem ugotavljam, da je fotografsko poročanje podvrženo urednikovi izbiri. Ta temelji na družbeno ustaljenih vzorcih, izvirajočih iz agencijske fotografske tradicije zahodne družbe ter organizacijskih in političnih praksah, pod katerimi so uredniki v tistem času delali.

Diplomsko delo je sestavljeno iz teoretičnega in empiričnega dela. V teoretičnem delu se ukvarjam z vlogo fotografije v novinarskem poročanju, ugotavljam, kdo so glavni akterji pri nastanku, izbiri in objavi fotografije, kako se prek podob konstruira realnost ter kakšno vlogo igra pri tem sam fotograf, kako se lahko odvisno od konteksta spreminja pomen fotografij, kakšen je odnos med fotografijo in ideologijo ter kako digitalizacija medijev vpliva na novinarsko fotografijo. Fotografije so namreč selekcionirane v hierarhičnem procesu uredniškega odločanja. Fotograf posname fotografijo, uredniki in oblikovalci zožijo selekcijo, in nato glavni urednik odloči, katera fotografija najbolj ustreza članku in hkrati celotni podobi časopisa (Fiske 2004, Langton 2009). Pri tem na urednikovo odločitev vplivajo številni dejavniki: ideologija časopisa, interesi lastnikov ter urednikova osebna prepričanja. Hkrati pa vsi ti dejavniki vplivajo na reprezentacije sodobnega sveta in dnevnih dogodkov.

Fotografije delujejo kot prevod realnosti, kajti pričajo o resničnosti dogodka, ki ga reprezentirajo. Fotografske podobe so namreč eden izmed najbolj množičnih in najbolj univerzalno razumljivih sistemov reprezentacij, s pomočjo katerih osmišljamo in dojemamo svet okrog nas. Po Stuartu Hallu je reprezentacija »ključni del procesa, v katerem člani iste kulture proizvajajo pomene in si jih izmenjujejo« (Hall 2004a, 35). Fiksni pomeni podob ne obstajajo, opozarja Hardt (2002: 324), saj je njihov pomen odvisen od različnih družbenih in političnih kontekstov ter kulturnih praks. Fotografije so simbolne konstrukcije. Pri tem je pomembna Barthesova ideja razslojevanja pomena na dve ravni signifigacije, in sicer na *denotacijo* in *konotacijo*. *Denotacija* je preprosta, opisna raven, kjer se večina ljudi strinja o pomenu. Pri *konotaciji* gre za širši pomen, ki ni več opisana raven očitne interpretacije. Hall utemeljuje, da »tu začnemo zaključene znake interpretirati v smislu širših področij družbene

ideologije: splošnih prepričanj, konceptualnih okvirjev in vrednostnih sistemov družbe« (Hall, 2004: 59). V zvezi z branjem medijskih tekstov Barthes vpelje pojem *mita*. Mit je ogrodje ideologije, ki pomaga oblikovati, ohraniti in vzdrževati skupne koncepte in pomene v določeni družbi, ki jih preferirajo vladajoče elite. Pomen vsake fotografije je odvisen tudi od konteksta, v katerem jo beremo. To pomeni, da prek konteksta dobimo napotke, kako naj beremo fotografije. Prav besedilo okrepi in izpostavi določene pomene ter nam sugerira, na kakšen način naj fotografije razumemo (Langton 2009).

V drugem, empiričnem delu, je poudarek na analizi novičarskih fotografij časopisa *Delo* v obdobju od 1. januarja 2004 do 31. decembra 2008, povezanih s krizo v Darfurju. V vzorec je skupno vključenih 181 člankov ter 101 fotografij. Pri analizi fotografskega materiala sem uporabila kvalitativno analizo fotografskih podob, in sicer metodo kritične analize medijskih tekstov v kombinaciji z metodo semiološkega pristopa. Pri analizi razvrščanja fotografskega materiala pa sem si pomagala tudi s kvantitativnimi metodami.

Že desetletja so prebivalci zahodne sudanske regije Darfur čutili, da jih sudanska vlada marginalizira. Kriza v Darfurju je izbruhnila leta 2003, ko sta se oboroženi skupini (JEM in SLA/M) v Darfurju uprli vladi, da bi dobili več avtonomije in nadzor nad regijo. Sudanska vlada se je odzvala z oborožitvijo lokalne milice, poznane kot *džandžavidi*, ki jo je podpirala pri bojevanju proti upornikom iz Darfurja. Od leta 2003 je tako prihajalo do množičnega plenjenja in popolnega opustošenja Darfurja, ljudi in možnosti preživljanja. Poročanje o krizi se je pojavilo šele leta 2004, ko je agencija Al Jazeera prvič svetu poročala o krizi v Darfurju. Vendar tudi kasneje konflikti v Darfurju niso poželi veliko pozornosti v novinarskih vodah množičnih medijev. Prvi razlog je cenzura predsednika Sudana Omarja Al Bashirja. Njegova vlada je namreč strogo nadzirala prihod tujih novinarjev v državo ter s tem preprečila širjenje novic iz pokrajine Darfur. Tako je poročanje o darfurski krizi v glavnem temeljilo na poročilih nevladnih organizacij in njihovih aktivistov. V primeru Slovenije je bilo poročanje o Darfurju v različnih medijih različno. Časopis *Delo* je v primerjavi z drugimi dnevnimi časopisi, kot sta *Dnevnik* in *Večer*, poročal zelo skromno. Razlog za to je bil predvsem lastniška struktura Dela d.d., ki je dovoljevala vladi Janeza Janše precejšen vpliv na uredniško politiko *Dela*.

Med letoma 2003 in 2008 je *Delo* objavilo 181 člankov ter 101 fotografij. Večina člankov vsebuje le eno fotografijo (80%) in večinoma so objavljeni na strani *Svet* (45,5 %). Običajno gre za foto vest z daljšim podnapisom od 40 do 90 besed. Slabih 80 procentov vizualnih podob prihaja iz največjih novičarskih agencij zahodnega sveta, kot so AP, AFP,

Reuters in EPA. Fotografije so bile dalje klasificirane glede na devet žanrskih kategorij novinarskih fotografij po Kobru (2000), in sicer 58,7 procenta fotografij je bilo v kategorijah splošnih novic in novic iz vsakdanjega življenja (*general news* in *features)*, sledile so nepričakovane novice oziroma *spot news* (11 %), portreti ali *portraits* (5,6 %), veliki plan ali *mug shots* (17,4 %) in portreti iz okolja (*environmental portrait)* ter kategorija z neslikovnim gradivom (*non-photographic image)* s slabima dvema procentoma. Fotografije iz kategorij *mug shots, portraits* ter *non-photographic image* so bile izpuščene iz nadaljnje analize. Po Elbertu lahko novinarske fotografije razvrstimo v štiri hierarhične kategorije. V Delu je prevladala kategorija fotografij, ki nosijo informacije (*informational photograph*, 52 %), sledili sta kategoriji s čustva vzbujajočimi in intimnimi fotografijami (*emotionally appealing* in *intimate photograph*, vsaka z 22 %). V kategorijo umetniških fotografij (*graphically appealing photograph)* se je uvrstila le ena fotografija. Dobrih 70 procentov slik je bilo posnetih v srednjem planu, 17 procentov v ekstremnem total planu ter 13 procentov v bližnjem planu. Na večini fotografij je bila ena oseba oziroma dve (60 %), medtem ko je bila na 40 procentih fotografij večja skupina ljudi. Dobro polovico slik je spremljal podnapis z identifikacijo oseb na sliki, običajno v primeru politikov ali osebe iz sveta zabave.

V petletnem obdobju poročanja o krizi je *Delo* objavilo le 53 fotografij, neposredno nanašajočih se na darfursko pokrajino. Slaba polovica slik so bile fotografije beguncev, in sicer predvsem žensk in otrok oziroma žensk z otroki. To pomeni, da je *Delova* vizualna reprezentacija Darfurja večinoma skoncentrirana na fotografije beguncev, še posebej na fotografije žensk in otrok. Ti se pojavljajo v tradicionalnih vlogah kot pasivni opazovalci in mučeniki, pa naj se novičarska zgodba osredotoča na politična dogovarjanja, genocid ali humanitarno pomoč. Takšne vizualne reprezentacije potrjujejo in spodbujajo že ustaljene stereotipne vzorce o Afriki in tam živečih ljudeh kot nemočnih žrtvah, potrebnih naše pomoči iz razvitega Zahoda. Poleg tega so fotografije večinoma agencijske, tako da se je v medijih ustvaril enoten pogled na ta dogodek. Hkrati pa ti že uveljavljeni okviri le spodbujajo bralca k humanitarnim dejanjem, ne pa tudi k določenim družbenim spremembam. V tem oziru, alternativne veje novinarstva, kot sta mirovno in javno novinarstvo, poskušajo spremeniti novinarske prakse množičnih medijev. Z novimi tehnikami poročanja skušajo izboljšati kakovost javnih razprav in s tem spodbuditi družbene spremembe. Sicer v razpravah o alternativnih novinarskih praksah vloga fotografije še ni dobro dodelana, a se tudi od alternativne novinarske fotografije zahteva drugačne načine fotografiranja in objavljanja. Na primer, namesto fotografije sedečih begunk, ki čakajo na OZN kamione s hrano, bi lahko

fotograf ujel trenutek iz vsakdanjega življenja (na primer, begunke med kuhanjem kosila). Drugačne vizualne reprezentacije zahtevajo tudi daljše in bolj poglobljene podnapise, ki usmerjajo naše konotativno branje fotografij.

V primeru Slovenije je bilo poročanje o Darfurju v različnih medijih različno. Časopis *Delo* je v primerjavi z drugimi dnevnimi časopisi, kot sta *Dnevnik* in *Večer*, poročal zelo skromno in omejeno. Leta 2006 je bil tedanji predsednik države Janez Drnovšek zelo aktiven na področju mednarodne politike, še posebej glede reševanja krize v Sudanu. Njegova vpletenost v mednarodno politiko je zelo zmotila tedanjo desno-sredinsko vlado z Janezom Janšo na čelu. Istega leta je Drnovšek tudi imenoval Toma Križnarja za posebnega odposlanca za Darfur, ki so ga kmalu po prihodu v Sudan aretirali in po nekaj mesečnih pregovarjanjih končno spustili na prostost in poslali nazaj v Slovenijo. Ne glede na dogodke na slovenski javni sceni, *Delo* ni poročalo veliko o vpletenosti Slovenije pri iskanju rešitve za krizo v Darfurju, ker je bila uredniška politika pod velikimi vplivi Janševe vlade, ki ni podpirala Drnovškovih dejanj. Kriza v Darfurju je bila v *Delu* predstavljena na ideološko nenevtralen način, saj večina fotografiji poudarja en določen aspekt, ki pa je v skladu s tradicionalnimi trendi vizualnih reprezentacij Afriškega sveta na področju zahodnjaškega medija.

7   LITERATURE

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8   APPENDIX

Appendix A: **TABLE**

	Total number of articles	Articles with images
2003	0	0
2004	43	27
2005	9	6
2006	74	26
2007	32	15
2008	23	15
Total	181	89

	N	%
Articles with images	**89**	100
One photographs	78	80.19
Two photographs	9	8.91
Three or more photographs	0	0
Graphic image	2	1.98

	N	%
Intersection of articles with images	**89**	100
First page (Prva stran)	12	13.48
World (Svet)	45	50.56
The events of the day (Dogodki dneva)	8	8.99
Opinions (Mnenja)	6	6.74
Last page (Zadnja stran)	14	15.73
Other (Culture/Kultura, …)	2	2.25

Type of articles with images	**89**	100
Short news	10	11.24
Photo news	21	23.60
Photo news beside longer article	16	17.98
Long article	42	47.19
Source of the images	**101**	100
AP	19	18.81
EPA	21	20.79
REUTERS	20	19.80
AFP	10	9.90
DELO'S DOCUMENTATION	21	20.79
NO SOURCE	10	9.90
Genre	**101**	100
General news	20	19.80
Spot news	19	18.81
Feature	27	26.73
Portrait	12	11.88
Environmental portrait	2	1.98
Mug shot	19	18.81
Non-photojournalistic image	2	1.98
Hierarchy of news photographs	**65**	100
Informational photograph	33	50.77
Graphically appealing photograph	1	1.54
Emotionally appealing photograph	14	21.54
Intimate photograph	14	21.54

Composition	65	100
Overall	12	18.46
Medium	49	75.38
Close-up	4	6.15
Detailed	0	0

Numbers of subjects	65	100
One person	34	52.31
Two or three persons	9	13.85
Large group	22	33.85

Gender of subjects	65	100
Male	34	52.31
Female	12	18.46
Both	4	6.15
Children	8	12.31
Women with children	7	10.77