

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: HAUNTING IMAGES: DIFFERENTIAL PERCEPTION AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO THE ARCHETYPES OF NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY - A STUDY OF VISUAL RECEPTION FACTORED BY GENDER AND EXPERTISE

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This dissertation explores how and why certain news photographs become memorable. Although researchers believe news photos count as forms of media expression, no one knows how influential these images really are in shaping societal attitudes. Social constructionist critics have argued that *iconic images* are pervasive markers of American collective memory. While icons have become the subject of intense media study, critics have ignored the presence of *image archetypes* that fall outside of the boundaries of the American iconic canon. They have also followed a top-down procedure of interpretation rather than a bottom-up method of collecting data from actual subjects.

As I define it, the news image archetype is *an authentically captured image of a human predicament of the greatest magnitude and seriousness showing conflict, tragedy, and occasionally, triumph*. Visually these images communicate through physical gestures and facial expressions either directly, when faces are visible, or by implication in panoramic shots.

Archetypal images can be iconic but need not be. Whereas icons are presumed to appeal to “everybody” by modeling ideology and “civic performance,” archetypes need not exhibit any particular ideology. The common thread is more universally human than political. For this reason their appeal tends to be trans-cultural.

This mixed-method study tests audience response to 41 outstanding news photographs including iconic, archetypal and ordinary examples. The purpose is to ascertain whether archetypal images can be distinguished and recalled as outstanding exemplars outside the iconic category; whether image quality preferences vary by visual expertise and gender; and how study subjects “read” the archetype.

Using 2X2 ANOVA design, I studied four independent groups: male/female, visual expert/visual non-expert; n = 113. Study data indicate a convergence of ranking preference for some non-iconic archetypes that were rated as highly as famous icons. However, the strongest results show a convergence as to which image qualities (e.g., aesthetics, newsworthiness, emotional arousal etc.) were most important to viewers. The study found statistically significant *differences* of judgment on image qualities factored by gender and expertise. Qualitative results provided rich insights on factors affecting viewer response while composite data suggest multiple lines of future research.

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RESPONSE TO THE ARCHETYPES OF NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY: A STUDY OF
VISUAL RECEPTION FACTORED BY GENDER AND EXPERTISE

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Preface

This dissertation explores how and why certain news photographs become memorable. Although researchers believe news photos count as forms of media expression, the essence of debates about photojournalism and its place in shaping societal reality and attitudes is that no one really knows how potent these images really are. Social constructionist critics over the last two decades have argued that *iconic images* are the pervasive markers of American collective memory. Icons are highly publicized, circulated, and cartooned photographs that capture extraordinary turning points in our nation's history. Many Americans are familiar with these images. For example, Dorothea Lange's *Migrant Mother* (1936), the explosion of the Hindenburg (1937), Joe Rosenthal's *Old Glory Goes up over Mount Suribachi* (1945), Alfred Eisenstaedt's *Times Square Kiss* and, more recently, Eddie Adams' *Death of a Viet Cong Terrorist* (1968), John Filo's *Kent State Massacre* (1970), Nick Ut's *Accidental Napalm* (1972), *The Challenger Accident* (1986), among others, are counted as American icons. The impact of iconicity in its political forms has become the subject of intense study. Media critics Robert Hariman & John Lucaites (2007), Barbie Zelizer (1998, 2010), Paul Martin Lester (1999), Michael Griffin (1999, 2009), Carolyn Kitch (2001, 2005), Andrew Mendelson (2004b), Reuel Golden (2006), Michael Schudson (1989, 1995), among many others, have commented extensively on how famous news photographs both manage American rhetorical culture and become visual touchstones of collective memory and public mood. Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, in particular, produced what may have already become the *iconic book* on icons, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public*

Culture, and Liberal Democracy (2007). Drawing attention to a very limited iconic gallery, including all the images mentioned above, the authors estimate perhaps no more than a dozen to 15 or 20 photographs in all US history that can truly claim iconic status. Hariman and Lucaites' argument is that iconic images become so because they have a unique publicly binding character. These rare photographs, they argue, leverage visual eloquence and aesthetic familiarity drawing on conventions of middlebrow arts. Icons promulgate models of liberal-democratic ideology (p. 29). They provide emotionally provocative scenarios and a dramatic (performative) element that encourages civic participation in the name of heroic ideals of valor, patriotism, community action, and even dissent (p. 30). Some ideal examples are Joe Rosenthal's *Flag Raising* on Mt. Suribachi (1945) and the John Filo photograph of Mary Ann Vecchio screaming over the body of murdered demonstrator Jeffrey Miller Kent State University (pictured left). In addition, the iconic photo offers a streamlined



set of pictorial symbols and signs (“semiotic transcriptions”), which codify American experiences of gender, class, nationalism, technocracy, tragedy, and romance (p. 34). Together, these elements

virtually guarantee that icons “coordinate ‘beautifully’ a number of different patterns of identification, each of which would suffice to direct audience response, and which together provide a public audience with sufficient means for contending with potentially unmanageable events” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, pp. 34-35). Icons, in short, represent the most public images in the American photojournalism tradition. The authors, and many like them, argue that iconic photographs are indispensable

signs and guideposts of our visually engaged public sphere (p. 41). The icons' rhetorical richness (polysemy) and ambiguity both outline the central dilemmas of our culture and times without explicitly endorsing a single political credo or group of elite actors. Consequently, icons have the capacity to shape the "virtual reality" of a public with images that express the contradictions, crises, and notions of community that bind us together. They not only provide "equipment for living" as a public (p. 48), Hariman & Lucaites assert, but do so without slavishly replicating dominant discourse or radically reinventing alternative (and critical) views of the American social experience.

Difference between Icons and Archetypes

My own experience of iconic images is somewhat different. Suffice it to say that while some of these images are truly terrifying, enjoyable, and thought provoking, none, in my view, have been *proven* to accomplish anywhere near as much "identity shaping" as the cultural advocates of iconicity and collective memory contend they have. Yet belief in the power of icons has become so strongly entrenched in critical studies that it masks the need to look more carefully at the images we show—and suppress—at a time of escalating media crisis. The belief in icons as drivers of social behavior, as shapers of collective identity and memory, may be diverting scholarly attention away from the dilemmas and ethics of photojournalism practice and even more, the continuing production of superb news photographs worldwide that are *not* part of the American iconic canon. Could these alternative images be as important in shaping *diverse* public identities and values as the dozen anointed icons that Hariman, Lucaites, and other critics describe? If so,

what do these other alternative images show? How are they received? Are viewing audiences monolithic and essentially undistinguished? Or do they “parse,” emote, and ultimately, remember these images and derive their ideas from them, forming public identities very differently from the iconic model proposed?

These are the questions that have haunted me throughout the four years I have been working on this topic. As an instructor of New Media design at Temple University, I experienced intense (albeit anecdotal) feedback from students when I showed less popular, but wrenching news photographs that betrayed gestures, situations, and physical composition reminiscent of great works of art. When I showed many of these photographs side-by-side with paintings, illustrations, or sculptures that had been produced decades or even hundreds of years earlier, the collective exuberance and revelatory ejaculations (“oohs, aahs”) and commentary from audiences suggested strongly that something deeper was at work than mere



Figure 2: American soldier cradling little girl in Mosul, Iraq. Photo by Michael Yon, 2005. Reprinted with permission.

coincidence or superficial resemblances.

At that point, I began to explore the possibility that *image archetypes* were at work—a kind of “deep structure” of human experience¹—

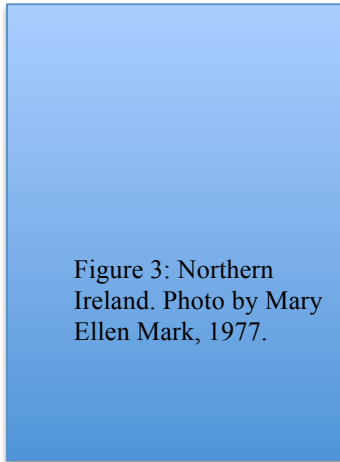
expressed visually as *common gestures, facial expressions, and scenarios of challenge, conflict*

and downfall capturing situations of human struggle of the most extreme magnitude.

Though I did not define the archetype exactly that way at the time, it seemed that the very best of these emotionally provocative, seemingly familiar “archetypal” images

¹ I do not intend to abuse the moniker “deep structure” to imply an exact analogy to the deep structures in Chomskian linguistics, although I am referring to visual expressions and situational dilemmas that appear to be instantly understood.

were expressed in both pre-mechanical artwork and modern photography, with many repeating motifs and themes. Moreover, the most provocative images seemed to signal possibilities and outcomes of predicaments that my student audiences intuitively, immediately understood. An example was Mary Ellen Mark's image (left,

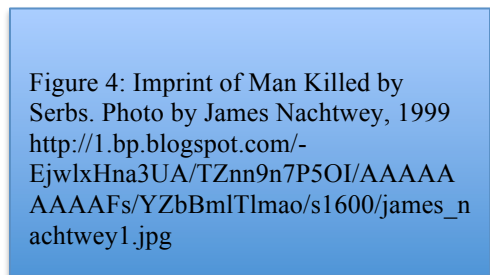


1977) of a furious, anguished woman in Northern Ireland.

No one knew the exact cause of her anguish, but the contortion of her jaw and the flaring, tearful eyes trained on an invisible combatant (or listener) easily communicated the intractable quality of her loss. And another image by James Nachtwey (below) elicited a shocked silence. How did it happen? Was the photo real?

Did it capture the imprint of a body burned by radiation? Or a fire bomb? Who would do such a thing?

At the time, I was not wedded to the idea that “archetypes” were actually the same as semiotic “transcriptions” or collections of known symbols and visual codes



that communicated instantaneously to audiences worldwide, as Hariman & Lucaites theorized of iconic images. Nor did I think I could make a case for the Jungian

“archetype” as a matter of psychic myth or character types, those outcroppings and repeated visitations of mythological characters designed to direct our attention to epic human struggles in art, literature, and world myth. What I did believe was that photographs beyond the iconic canon were worth much closer study. Moreover, I

wanted to understand whether “icons” and “archetypes,” as I explain them here in the next chapter, actually were received universally by viewers, or whether, in fact, the *differences among viewers*—for example, their gender, visual training and expertise, life experience, age, even their personal exposure and familiarity with a particular news event, war, or traumatic happening—might in fact influence their choices of *which images* among the group were most trenchant, emotionally meaningful, and hence memorable.

This study, therefore, is an attempt to understand exactly how and why photographs are memorable—and to whom? “To whom?” is a very important question for those who study the impacts of photography. The entire iconic approach in media criticism is that “icons” appeal to “everybody.” Archetypes, on the other hand, may express extreme predicaments and character types that do not necessarily appeal to everybody. Moreover, the “everybody” of “public(s),” so unitary in assumption, may in fact be illusory. So what is the truth about the American public? Does everyone lionize icons? Are they the most emotional, trenchant, and memorable images in our common visual gallery? Or can archetypal images—those that depict great predicaments and scenarios of human coping, even if those images are not “popular” or well-distributed as our national icons—also produce extremely strong reactions and memories, at least among certain individuals and groups? These are the questions I wanted to answer.

The Problem with “The Collective We”

A cornerstone of social constructionist thought is that individuals and groups *do not* generate ideas or opinions separately from the matrix of values and emotions brought about by social relationships and systems that “construct” our reality from birth. As such, the “collective we” among social construction theorists is presumed to be truly plural and populist. The public, though composed of very diverse groups and individuals, does have a mainstream that is susceptible to dominant discourse as a sponge is to water. But rather than assume the audiences are basically all alike, especially at a time of great change and world uncertainty, I have started with the hypothesis (see Chapters 1 and 2) that they may in fact be very different. Consequently, this study attempts to achieve two major goals: 1) First to identify a variety of outstanding photographs and the qualities that make them so, in effect setting out an “aesthetics” of news photography that looks carefully at the image qualities, gestures, and compositional components that attract certain audiences and not others; and 2) to look carefully at viewing audiences themselves. Although for logistical reasons I could not separate viewing groups (my independent variables) into multiple demographic variables representing all major differences (e.g., sex, race, gender, age, education, ethnicity, etc.), I did in fact choose two distinguishing variables that might produce a divergence of emotional responses, image rankings, and memories of the photographs under study. Those two major factors were the viewer’s 1) gender and 2) visual expertise (whether or not the viewer had been trained

as a professional photographer or designer). For example, did female professional photographers (visual experts) favor certain “archetypal” photographs featuring gendered content over other types of pictures? Did more male than female students prefer war photographs over other subjects? Do the factors of personal upbringing and life experience produce an affinity or attraction to certain kinds of visual content and not others? These kinds of questions were woven into my study design and resulted in a rich but complex series of results.

Though I by no means consider this a definitive study, it is a start at trying to undo some of the assumptions that have gripped media criticism about public responses to photography for many years. Why is this important? Because icons do not tell the whole story. And because there is a gallery of superb imagery out there that is all too frequently ignored or suppressed. The reasons for that ignorance and suppression are complicated. I will attempt to describe at least some of the factors that produce censorship of ideologically “incorrect” images in the American media. However, my main objective in the study is to distinguish the icon, the archetype, the “merely ordinary” news photo, and the variety of emotional response and reception in study subjects. Ultimately, I hope to open a dialogue about news imagery that speaks to the importance of showing a variety of human experiences—even the most abject, cruel, and graphically tragic human experiences—not simply the ones that are most popular and presumed to be palatable and ideologically correct to the American public(s).

To the “outliers,” both photographic and human, I dedicate this study.

--Arielle Emmett

Dedication

Dedicated to the Memory of my Mom,
who loved justice and drama and always thought I should be a doctor;
and to my Dad,
who was free as the wind and couldn't care less.

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There are no words to describe the encouragement and support of my sister, Rowena Emmett Stelmach, her husband David Stelmach, and her daughters Danielle DeNottbeck Smith and Dr. Dainna Stelmach-Scherk.

Most of all, though, I wish to thank my children, Gráinne Arthur and Emmett Arthur, for their jokes, their loving support, and for just being here.

--Arielle Emmett

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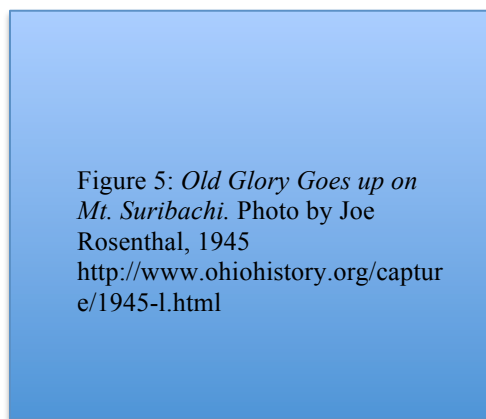
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Chapter 1: The Challenge of Publics and Public Photography

1.1 Introduction

News photos count, but we don't know how much or by what means they influence cognitive behavior or the emotional intensity and scope of mental narratives after the physical photo stimulus is removed. News photos, in particular, act as a vehicle of transmission for critical information of presumed public interest, whether



that interest centers on the horror of child torture or the thousand-mile stare of two girls demonstrating against child slavery. Much of the recent research conducted on news photography has centered on “iconic” photographs, which are presumed to exercise powerful effects. Icons, according to the photo image critics Robert Hariman & John Louis Lucaites, are defined as the historic public images in Western liberal democracies that “stand out from all the others over time...a class of images...for tapping into public memory” (2007, p. 6). These images are believed—mostly through historic study of photo artifacts along with informal conversations the authors conducted with strangers on airplane trips—to constitute the backbone of collective American visual experience² (p. 5). Though icons do not comprise the long list of

² Hariman & Lucaites noted: “Whenever we would be asked about our work—for example, by the strangers next to us on airplanes—we would mention the iconic photos, defined roughly as ‘famous pictures from the news media’ and then ask our interlocutors to list those that came to mind. We soon learned what would be the typical response: three or four of the set would be listed immediately,

influential news photos, the authors continue, “iconic photographs provide an accessible and centrally positioned set of images for exploring how political action (and inaction) can be constituted and controlled through visual media” (p. 5).

Icons, they continue, rely on series of props, characters, mythologies, and visual structures that invite viewers’ empathetic participation and civic identification by capturing a critical turning point in the nation’s history. These pictures are believed to “work” among mass publics by employing commonly understood visual symbols and tropes that promote collective memory and consensual feelings. Hariman and Lucaites (2007), both of whom teach communications studies at Northwestern University and Indiana University, respectively, argue that photo viewers engage emotionally in interactions with characters depicted within the iconic frame by marginalizing or short-circuiting their own interior flood of emotions and sensations³ (p. 35). Their cornerstone argument is that iconic pictures provide “coded” transcription of easily understood signs and symbols such as flags, fireworks, soldiers, explosions, and impoverished women that promote the binding of communities through socially constructed ideals (p. 34).

Hariman & Lucaites aren’t alone. Critics strongly influenced by Durkheimian social constructionism have presumed that American news photographs have helped

usually with some comment about the powerful impact one or more had on that person or on society. Other images would be mentioned only occasionally, in a speculative tone” (p. 6).

³ The authors cite the 18th century empiricist, David Hume, in their analysis. “David Hume observed that we feel more through the public exposure to others’ emotions than through an interior circuit of sensations, and contemporary scholarship on the social construction of the emotions provides strong confirmation of this fact.” See Hume, D. (1888/1978). *Of the Love of Fame*. In: L.A. Selby-Bigge (Ed.), *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Oxford. Clarendon. “The photograph’s focus on bodily expressiveness not only displays emotions but also places the viewer in an affective relationship in the picture. These emotional signs and responses operate reliably and powerfully because they are already presented within the society’s conventions of display....More technically, the image activates available structures of feeling within the audience...” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 35).

shape a “collective we,” both civic identity and social memory over the past century. Carolyn Kitch, a professor of journalism at Temple University, writing in *Pages from the Past: History & Memory in American Magazines* (2005), states that news images and even magazine covers (not all “iconic” by Hariman & Lucaites’ definition) can reveal visual and symbolic processes influencing American civic identity. Narrative analysis of images, she continues, is based on the notion that every aspect of photojournalism “is a form of both cultural production and communal practice, what James Carey defines as a ‘ritual view of communication’ in which news media work toward the ‘maintenance of society...the creation, representation, and celebration of shared even if illusory beliefs’” (Carey, *Communication as Culture*, p. 43, as cited in Kitch, p. 4). Andrew Mendelson, a former news photographer and Temple University associate professor of journalism, confirmed the view that familiar news images become part of a quasi-linguistic pattern, an “iconology,” he writes, quoting critic W.J. T. Mitchell,⁴ who argued along with Roland Barthes that images produce patterns of meaning and narrative that become “myth”—a schema of visual representations outlining a community’s grand narrative (2004, pp. 168, 169). “...journalists place the events of news into existing cultural ‘plots,’” Mendelson contends (Mendelson 2004b pp. 168-169). “Journalistic symbols appearing iconologically—repeated in patterns over time—become mythic.... Further, the mythic meanings are naturalized by the representational quality of the pictures,” according to Barthes (as cited in Mendelson 2004b, p. 169). Adds critic John Storey: “Myths are stories we tell ourselves as a culture in order to banish contradictions and

⁴ Mendelson cites W.J.T. Mitchell’s definition of “iconology, a linguistic system in which meaning is made in patterns....” Visual images function not individually but rather, over time, as a body of messages....” (See Mitchell, 1956, as cited in Mendelson, 2004b, p. 168).

make the world explicable and therefore habitable” (Storey, 1996, p. 57, as cited in Mendelson (2004b), p. 169).

The predominant view of these scholars is that when visual images become iconic and mythological, they fulfill a sacred ritual function in society. Moreover, the satisfaction of ideas of imagined liberal-democratic community appears to be more important to these scholars than *whatever disturbing patterns of denotation the news images actually show*. The implication of their argument is that photos falling outside the realm of familiar community narrative are naturally censored, suppressed or expunged from the visual record. Over time, emphasis on “localization” of newspaper and broadcast coverage throughout the country has in fact winnowed down foreign coverage and unusually graphic photographs to bare minima (Emmett, 2010), thus corroborating this view.

Some critics, though, remain divided on the subject of *visual determinism*—that is, the alleged power of news images to inspire discernible changes of public attitude and opinions. For example, Hariman & Lucaites voice confidence that American image icons ultimately exert strong effects on public values and even foreign policy decisions (2007, p. 12);⁵ they cite the publication of such famous photographs as Nick Ut’s *Accidental Napalm* as galvanizing opposition to the Vietnam War. Walter Lippmann famously argued in *Public Opinion* that the inadequacies of journalistic dispatches (mostly text) went so far as to feed the distorted “pictures in our heads,” resulting in chain reactions of bad decision making

⁵ Hariman & Lucaites state; “Even though iconic images usually are recognized as such immediately and even if they are capable of doing the heavy lifting required to change public opinion and motivate action on behalf of a public interest, their meaning and effects are likely to be established slowly, shift with changes in context and use, and be fully evident only in a history of official, commercial, and vernacular appropriations” (pp. 12, 13).

and acts based on these distortions (1921, pp. 3-12). But media critic David Perlmutter argues that the case, at least for *visual journalism's* influence on civic opinion and policy, is actually weak (1999). The most searing and popular iconic images of violence, which Perlmutter calls “icons of outrage,” may have “the aesthetic appeal as ‘great shots’” (p. xiv). However, “few are made icons,” he writes. “Icons of outrage, then, are rarely born great; rather, journalists, academics, and politicians, and only to a very small extent the public, thrust greatness upon them” (p. xiv). Perlmutter downgrades the connotative influences of icons on public narrative. Instead, he argues that images and their relevance to historic events are neither transcendent nor unitary in meaning for public(s) “but are the subjects of bitter argumentation” (p. xiv). Photo critic Susan Sontag added famously: “A photograph that brings news of some unexpected zone of misery cannot make a dent in public opinion unless there is an appropriate context of feeling and attitude.... Photographs cannot create a moral position. But they can reinforce one—or can help build a nascent one.... The contribution of photography always follows the naming of the event” (1977, pp. 17-19).

1.2 Goals and Definitions for this Dissertation

None of the aforementioned critical positions have employed quantitative analysis of outstanding news images or of audience response(s) to ascertain how uniform or diverse opinions and feelings actually are. Empirically rigorous research is also lacking to pinpoint which factors explain why any news image is received with emotional intensity—or comparative indifference. In particular, no current theory documents how gender, age, education, level of visual expertise, personal background

or direct exposure to the news event affect the viewer's mental parsing of the image, the protocols for assigning values to elements within it, along with the individual's self-dialogue and ranking of the photograph's expressive, narrative, and newsworthy qualities.

Representative groups within the public sphere may differ substantially in their responses to news photographs. For example, women in their mid-20s may differ from their male counterparts in regards to their enthusiasm and interest in photos depicting Hollywood celebrities or, conversely, victims of crime, rape, or natural disaster. Young male viewers may romanticize and declare "memorable" certain Vietnam or Iraq war photos. Diverse viewing public(s) may deviate from consensus readings about a particular image's meaning, emotional impact, or memorable qualities—a phenomenon that has neither been examined nor documented adequately in culturally oriented photojournalism studies, much less understood.

Why are certain images viewed with great emotional intensity while the very same photos leave others cold? Why are certain public photographs promoted and reproduced by editorial gatekeepers while others are seemingly marginalized or ignored? What constitutes the narrative, aesthetic, ideological, and psychological qualities of a superlative news photo versus an ordinary one? Such questions suggest that current theories of the American news photo icon remain wide open and based more on insider assumptions about audience and public opinion(s) rather than empirically gathered facts (Griffin 2009).

The study is intended as a test and, if necessary, a corrective to socially constructed theories about the preeminence and power of iconic imagery. My

foundational study is devoted both to quantitative and qualitative investigation of two major elements of news photography: 1) the outstanding news photograph in many manifestations, iconic and archetypal (see definitions below); and 2) the responses and memories of viewing audiences separated by gender and visual expertise. Though American icons are supposed to constitute “the zenith of photojournalistic achievement,” even if they are rehearsed or reshot (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 27), this study examines whether icons do in fact exert pervasive emotional influence on audiences of varying gender and expertise, or whether their preferences actually fall beyond the boundaries of the American iconic canon.⁶

1.3 Difference between Icons, Archetypes, and Ordinary Photos

Based on content analyses of literally hundreds of the best news photo images (see Chapters II and III), I define the archetypal image *as an authentically captured image of a human predicament of the greatest magnitude and seriousness*. Image archetypes also express the *highest aesthetic achievement*, representing human predicaments in narrative captures that are often haunting, sometimes horrific or exhilarating, but almost always intelligible even without extensive captioning.

The archetype, as I define it for this study, is neither a myth nor inspired by mythology. It is neither artificially constructed nor posed. As I suggested in the

Preface, the *archetype* is:

⁶ The boundaries of this canon are controversial. However, the canon I speak of has been most recently redefined by Hariman & Lucaites (2007), Carolyn Kitch (2005), Paul Martin Lester (1990), and other critics. Though the American canon may vary somewhat according to the critic or media interpreter, I take as “ground” the nominations of icons put forth by several photojournalism critics, including Hariman & Lucaites, who have written the most comprehensive, theoretically robust book on the subject in recent years. Beyond the canon, though, I have found and tested the effects of news photographs that emulate the icon’s expressive and aesthetic achievements without capturing any of their fame. The reasons for their lack of notoriety or reproduction are provocative, but certainly subjects’ strong responses to them call into question exactly how icons are “made,” not born—and how the taxonomy of choice in American media strictly censors certain image ideas and not others.

...expressed visually by common gestures, facial expressions, and body language captured during [public] scenes of challenge, conflict and downfall. Archetypal images show *predicaments* (i.e., “plot points”) of human struggle of the most extreme magnitude.

By contrast, *icons*, as Hariman & Lucaites define them, are:

...photographic images appearing in print, electronic or digital media that are widely recognized and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional identification or responses, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics (p. 27).

The obvious difference between the two definitions is that icons are defined by how popular and widely distributed they are in major media channels, whereas archetypes are not defined by distribution or popular appeal at all. Rather, they are marked by the sheer originality and emotional traction of the image content and presentation style. Audience response to archetypal images (i.e., “to whom” do they speak?) remains an open question that will be investigated in this dissertation.

1.3.1 Intersection of Iconic and Archetypal Image Classes

In reality, an icon can capture an archetypal predicament. Consequently, in that sense an icon can *express* an archetypal subject. An archetypal photograph, by the same token, can also *become* a photo icon if it is widely distributed and vetted by the media. However, an archetype need not be an icon in order to exert its emotional hold on a particular viewer.

Unlike icons (at least as defined by Hariman & Lucaites), the class of archetypes captures human predicaments that apply across all cultures and times; hence, the archetype class has no particular ideological affiliation to American or, for that matter, liberal-democratic values or themes. Archetypes

are a large class of photos; they are the best that photojournalists have taken across every culture and political system.

Icons, as a class, constitute a comparatively small group of popular images. Whether they are American images or belong to another culture, icons are dependent on political distribution, *a perception* of public consensus on their quality, along with widespread reproduction, copying, parodying, and appropriation. Hariman & Lucaites, in particular, study the effects of copying and parodying as a form of “proof” that certain images have been fully “woven” into the visual fabric of our culture (2007). For reasons I will explain later in this chapter, icons do not necessarily represent the highest aesthetic achievement. A few of the most effective icons will embody archetypes of predicament and aesthetic achievement; hence the two categories will intersect, as follows:

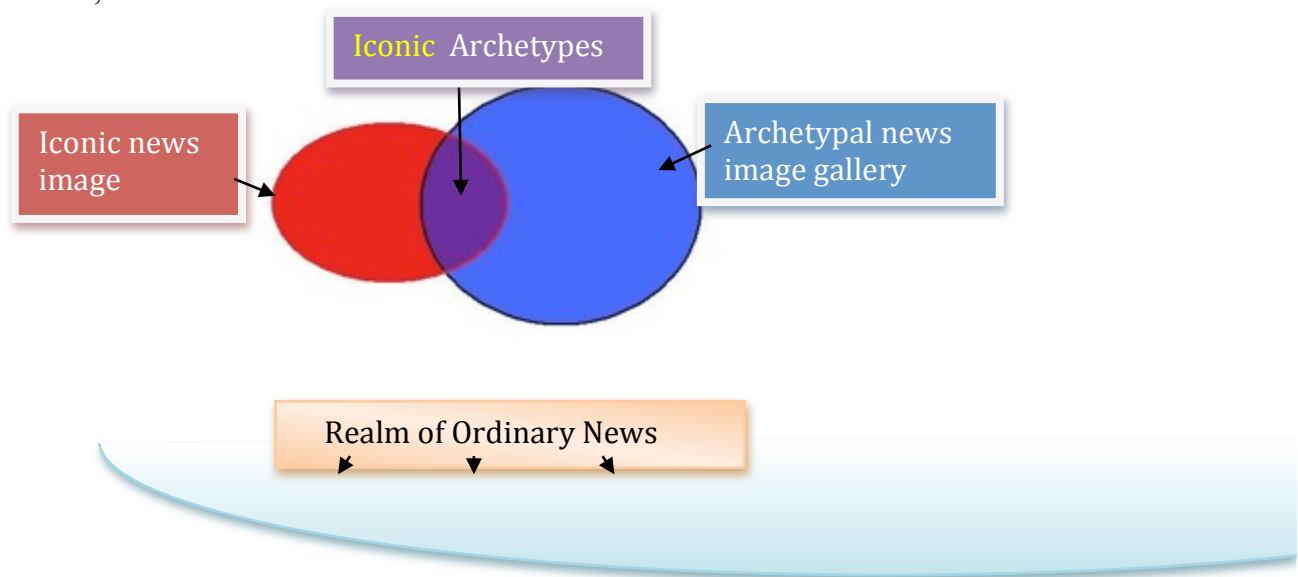


Figure 6: Icons, Archetypes, and Ordinary News Photos (Conceptual System)

1.3.2 Character of Ordinary News Photos

By contrast, *ordinary news photos* make up the vast majority of news photographs. These are neither iconic nor archetypal in achievement, expression, or content. Ordinary photos are of varying quality, and they may display solid visual information (e.g., “mug shots,” “grip and grin,” crowd shots, ordinary portraits, feature photos, etc.). The ordinary shot may be mildly compelling, useful or enlightening to readers or viewers. But these average or routine news photos will neither exhibit the expressive, aesthetic, or narrative achievement of archetypes, nor will they enjoy the popularity or wide distribution of photo icons. They are designed principally as informational fillers to communicate specific information within the context of textual (print or electronic) news stories.

This foundational study will make a start at gathering data on how and possibly why diverse viewers perceive archetypal images as valuable—possibly more valuable and personally meaningful than photographic icons receiving massive exposure and distribution in mainstream media. A further elaboration of archetypal theory and the differences between iconic and archetypal imagery, with examples, will be made later in this chapter.

1.4 Major Issues, Background and Focal

In the following brief sections, major issues will be outlined in preparation for more extensive treatments in later chapters. Theories of icons are a major target.

1.4.1 Public Distribution and Promotion of News Photographs

Why, and with what justification, are certain news photos promoted and reproduced by editorial gatekeepers and citizens while others are marginalized or ignored? Are the

chosen ones in general superior to those that drift into limbo? Are they chosen because news organizations have a finger on the pulse of the reading public? Or is photo celebrity largely manufactured by media elites and copycats promoting an ideology or specific political agenda? These questions are central to claims for iconic photos, which supposedly achieve celebrity by virtue of their power to express consensus narratives modeling civic identity.

Photos that are deemed disturbingly offensive to readers are regularly refused publication in some newspapers and magazines, although standards of propriety are by no means uniform. Witness the level of graphic photography of human corpses published during the Haitian earthquake disaster of January 2010 as compared to the *absence* of photos of Japan's dead in the immediate aftermath of the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami.⁷ Editors and publishers may carefully guard or abuse viewer sensibilities, depending on the climate of the times: Heinrich Jöst's *tourist* photography of dying Jews in the Warsaw ghetto (published in book form as *In the Ghetto of Warsaw*) is a case in point (Linfield, 2010).⁸

⁷ Although the Japanese did not suffer as many deaths in the immediate aftermath of the quake, its disaster was just as consequential, yet the photographic treatment of Japanese showed far more distance, anonymity, and respect for privacy than the photography of the Haitians did. Emmett, writing in *American Journalism Review* (2010), described the seeming *carte blanche* with which photographers in the January 2010 Haitian earthquake aftermath documented the carnage in and around Port au Prince. By contrast, in the days following the March 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami, the Western news media distinctly avoided publishing graphic images of the dead. Most news photographs depicted wide-angle disaster scenes shot from a distance; oil refineries on fire, nuclear plant explosions, denuded beaches and grieving groups of the living (many of them wearing masks) rather than close-ups of the dead.

⁸ Jöst was a German sergeant who spent his birthday in September 1941 photographing the starving, typhoid-ridden Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto. Susie Linfield discusses his work as a form of voyeuristic pornography in her 2010 book, *The Cruel Radiancy*. The Nazi party encouraged photography as a key to the Aryan nation, urging families "to compose 'racially impeccable' photo albums that would reflect Aryan values and Aryan superiority" (Linfield, 2010, p. 66). Further, the German magazines *Photofreund* and *Illustrierter Beobachter* published graphic scenes of brutality against Jews, including a photo essay called "Concentration Camp Dachau" (Linfield, 2010, pp. 67-68). The government's vetting of approved "icons" of the Nazi party, constitute "what I consider the most morally vexing photographic genre: pictures of people about to be murdered" (p. 66). Linfield also cites the "about to be murdered" photographs of adults and children in Stalin's Lubyanka Prison and Tuol Sleng, the Khmer Rouge's torture center in Cambodia, where 14,000 victims died between 1975-1979.

Consequently, an attitude of increased caution regarding appropriateness and public reception pervades mainstream news organizations, often resulting in organizations altering or censoring photographs (Moeller, 2009; Bruno, personal communication, October 27, 2010).

1.4.2 The Political Context of Iconic Images

Two of iconicity's most ardent advocates describe the most famous of public photographs as an exclusive invention of liberal-democratic societies (Hariman and Lucaites).⁹ Yet history testifies that images have been created, promoted and celebrated in power structures of all stripes, democratic and autocratic. A more minute and empirical study of viewer reception of icons seems needed in order to produce a sounder understanding, whether in America or other countries. Icons may constitute "pedestal objects" for their time and place, a form of visual discourse promoting the ideologies, conveniences, and aesthetic sensibilities of dominant media and political groups. At the same time, icons may be appropriated very deliberately to galvanize public opinion in times of crisis. In 1936, for example, Dorothea Lange's *Migrant Mother* (also called *Migrant Madonna*), a serendipitously taken photograph of Florence Thompson and her impoverished children in a pea picker's camp in Nipomo, California, became the defining iconic image of the Great Depression. When *Migrant Mother* was published on March 10 1936 in the *San Francisco News*, part of a story demanding relief for the starving migrants, the combined persuasiveness of the image and text actually produced a relief effort preventing the Nipomo workers' starvation.¹⁰ The choice to publish or not to publish such photos is undoubtedly

⁹ See also Griffin 2008; Dunleavy, 2009; Barnhurst & Henke, 2008; and Edwards, 2008.

¹⁰ Joe Rosenthal's iconic "Flag Raising at Mt. Suribachi," in 1945, also enthralled many Americans to continue support of the war effort, as did the mushroom cloud images of the US atomic bomb blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These were visual exclamation marks signaling the terrible puissance of

driven by many factors. Before the internet, though, virtually all the choices were made by government and media gatekeepers, many of them Apollonian and mainstream in philosophy and bent on managing the public rather than genuinely enlightening it (Linfield, 2010; Moeller 2009).

1.4.3 How Monolithic is the “Public” at a Given Time?

Without denying commonalities among most members of a nation’s viewing public, media scholars may want to question how uniformly individuals judge photographs or change their attitudes about public issues after viewing them. Rather than galvanizing a public to think and act alike, images can offer alternative, expansive, even oppositional views. Such photos may have some capacity to establish the importance of difference, even stimulating a hunger and curiosity for diversity and difference. A viewer’s gender, visual training and/or direct historical knowledge of a news event may play a part in how the individual or group “weighs” photographic evidence (see Results, Chapter 4). Though theories of iconicity do not deny all audience diversity, the concept of icons driving a uniform public response may not fit the facts. The media artifacts of virtually every era, including news photographs, recorded speeches, newspaper and magazine articles, viral Internet images, TV documentaries, oral histories, and personal diaries and recollections, reflect many contentious memories and fractious views of the past rather than a single “collective memory” stabilized by a gallery of civic icons (Perlmutter, 1998).

1.4.4 The Longevity of Icons

a weapon bringing war to a swift and unimaginable close (Moeller, 2009, 136). However, the terribly graphic (not iconic) images showing the destruction of populations in Japan were not released until the 1952, when *Life* finally published photographs of the ‘walking’ dead and the dying infants and toddlers of Hiroshima (Moeller, pp. 135-136).

Citing informal classroom studies of American news photo icons conducted with his own students, critic Perlmutter (1998) noted how few of them were able to sketch from memory, recognize or place dates or other details on the most iconic photos from Vietnam (e.g., Eddie Adams' 1968 *Shooting of a Suspected Vietcong Terrorist*). "I thought I was studying visual texts that were at the center of American culture; I was reminded by my students that historical images may have only a slight chance of surviving the event and the generation from which they sprang. What my cohort considers to be the powerful, the important, the widely known, may very well have faded from the immediate cultural landscape as completely as the poems of Callimachus or the essays of Montaigne" (1998, p.10). As with the issue of the public, a theory of icons can accept some degree of transience. But in general, transience diminishes the significance of a given icon. If generational memories are short, then each generation's icons are likely to burn brightly for a few years or decades, then fade into half-life.

1.4.5 The Eminence of Icons as Photographs

Icons are frequently taken to represent the highest levels of photojournalistic excellence (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007; Griffin, 2009). The celebrity of iconic images on the public stage doubtless fulfills many news photographers' ambitions. But of equal importance, at least to some photographers, is the aspiration to produce ethically sound photo images judged on criteria well understood by fellow photojournalists. Shooting a publicly accessible patriotic image (for example, Thomas E. Franklin's *Raising the Flag at Ground Zero*, September 11, 2001, *The Record*, Bergen County, New Jersey) may make an icon an icon, but producing images that depict the horror of American-made wars (i.e., photographer Julie Jacobson's images of marine Joshua Bernard dying in Iraq) could stimulate public

opposition and hence demolish the possibility of iconic fame. A photo may achieve iconicity because of its adventitious documentary value, even if its photographic quality is poor (an example is the Abu Ghraib photo series showing American torture of Iraqi prisoners). On the other hand, news photographs that satisfy aesthetic, narrative and newsworthy standards of excellence may operate powerfully in less populist venues than the ones in which icons make their mark. These photos can move viewers more selectively to reflect on their civic identity even more deeply than many iconic photos do.

1.4.6 Can Icons Survive Without Captions?

The title of Hariman and Lucaites' 2007 book, *No Caption Needed* suggests that iconic photographs can convey civic content and heroic ideals without explanations. But to what extent can these images do this by themselves, uncaptioned? Since these photographs exist in a dense context of oral and textual discourse, much of their allegedly autonomous power may well be borrowed rather than original. Certainly their content cannot be gleaned accurately (or appropriately) without a context of discourse. Their advocates stress the power of visual images to move viewers. How does this power compare with that of other images, or forceful rhetoric, as in talk radio? Does any photo of the attack on Pearl Harbor wield more persuasive power than FDR's phrase "...a date which will live in infamy"? Questions like these need to be explored before we can claim that news photographs not just supplement discourse but trump it.

1.4.7 The Relation of Photographic to Pre-Photographic Icons

High quality photos abound to an extent not matched by pre-mechanical visual illustrations. The ease with which photographers take them vastly expands the subjects and perspectives they depict. Moreover, photojournalists are driven to explore phenomena in

seemingly endless detail. Slide shows on the internet, news print, and large format photo books are the primary media of transmission. Photos also have referential force—a closer connection with reality than paintings, drawings or prints—however problematic the details of framing and authentic capture may be in particular cases. The opportunity exists to show many more aspects of a loaded news subject than ever before. This is a positive outcome of Walter Benjamin's *Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935).

In the era of pre-mechanical illustration, the opportunities for iconic images were extremely limited. One example was Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1830-1), which was highly regarded as a latter-day icon in the French struggle toward the Second Republic. However, the painting, deemed too radical either for the French government or bourgeoisie, was largely withheld from public view for 40 years (Clark, 1999). Only after 1870, the year of establishment of the Third Republic, did the painting become truly famous, standing head and shoulders above the few other paintings in its genre. Ironically, *Liberty Leading the People* was counted as an *archetype* of modern revolution. However, the painting did not become an *icon* until the French government loosened its grip and saw fit to exhibit it widely!

In the post-mechanical reproduction era, icons of the Vietnam War were picked from a huge class of superb photographs that had the capacity to teach us volumes about the realities of war and the ironies of policy. However, a focus on iconic Vietnam photographs only might exclude too many visual reflections on the war. We no longer live in an era of pre-mechanical pictorial icons or the photos that are archived or published in special collections. This circumstance strongly supports the exploration of the extensive gallery of archetypal images mentioned above rather than a strict focus on icons.

1.4.8 How Do Cultural Critics Evaluate News Photographs?

Post-modern critics have typically demonstrated ambivalence about the power of news photography and how, exactly, it “works” on mass publics. They have debated the nature of public vision, the dearth of moral response to images of atrocity and terror, and ultimately, the impact of image “frames” on the masses’ ability to process mediated reality and extract meaning.

According to Gaye Tuchman: “The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality” (Tuchman, *Making News*, p. 193). Adds David Perlmutter: “Which visual images do and do not appear in the press, what is said and is not said about them, the context which they are said to represent and the context which they appear, constitute media frames” (p. 7).

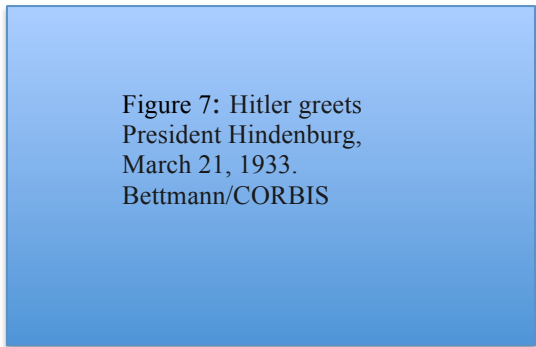
Post-modern critic Allan Sekula in 1984 decried photography as “primitive, infantile, and aggressive” and Rosalind Krauss claimed that photography represents a “travesty of the ideas of originality, or subjective expressiveness, or formal singularity,” thus undermining “the very distinction between original and copy” (Krauss, as cited in Linfield, 2010, p. 8). Susan Sontag focused attention on public (mis)uses, gratifications, and illusions about photography. She argued that public photographs had little ethical or moral effect on people because they presented no detailed explanations, only *archetypal abstractions* (Sontag 1977, p. 17). By contrast, “moral feelings are embedded in history whose personae are concrete, whose situations are always specific” (Sontag, 1977, as cited in Linfield, p. 7). Sontag interpreted archetypes not as the aesthetic imprint of specific human predicaments (as I do) but as amorphous prototypes lacking detail. Overexposure to these images

dulled moral sensibility, she contended. “Photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal...to take possession of a space in which they are insecure” (Sontag, 1977, p. 9). The camera is busy being both predator and bureaucrat, she wrote, “managing” public expectations and responses, insinuating itself in everyday life while invading or ignoring “whatever is going on.”

These views aren't new. Weimar-era media critic Walter Benjamin, in his famous essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility* (sometimes translated as *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1935), also described the dissemination of cheap copies of images to the masses and the feared *erosion* of the rituals and stabilizing “aura” of original works of art. Original art, he added, was inseparable from the fabric of cultural tradition and ritual. Benjamin displayed a concurrent love/hate relationship toward photography and its accomplishments. In 1931, he called it “a new way of seeing” (Benjamin, *Little History of Photography*, as cited in Linfield, 2010, p. 17) that brought the masses in closer proximity to the realities and opportunities of the world. In Benjamin's better-known essay (“*The Work of Art*”), he also described film and photography as potentially liberating technologies: “Mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual,” he wrote. “Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics (p.17).”

Benjamin's Weimar colleagues, among them film critic Siegfried Kracauer and dramatist Bertolt Brecht, deeply distrusted photography, which by then had become an obsession with the German public. “The tremendous development of photojournalism has contributed practically nothing to the revelation of the truth

about the conditions in this world. On the contrary, photography, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, has become a terrible weapon against the truth” (Brecht, cited in Linfield, 2010, p. 20). To Kracauer, the typical photograph was a net subtraction of the individual’s identity and worth. “The photograph annihilates the person,” he wrote. “In a photograph, a person’s history is buried as if under a layer of snow” (Kracauer, as cited in Linfield, p. 19).



Whether sympathetic to the plight and coming revolution of the masses (Brecht), disdainful of them (Kracauer and Adorno), or both (Benjamin), the Frankfurt critics recognized that photography could *capture* the seductive

freedoms of the Weimar Republic yet never *explain* the state’s dissolution into chaos and Naziism. Photography was mute and powerful, political and silent. It could be used to magnetize viewers, yet it could not provide the nuances, contexts, or reasoning behind the story or an explanation of the motives of the actors it depicted. Elite politicians and demagogues could stage and manipulate photographs, distributing them to the media and hence to the masses. But even more, the image could beautify or make heroic murder, decadence, poverty, hunger, dictatorship and evil practices, censoring protest or disgruntlement, turning “evidence” into frivolous objects of consumption and enjoyment while contributing to social paralysis and the inability of publics to debate ideas.

Today, Benjamin's ideas appear prescient. Suspicion about photography's ostensible violence to public awareness and cognition has pervaded much of visual criticism ever since. Combined with the Frankfurt School's general distrust of popular culture and its artifacts (much of the schools' rhetoric betrays a not very thinly disguised disdain for the crowd), belief in news photography has see-sawed between disdain for photography's authenticity or truth-value (Sekula, 1984, Ritchin, 2009) to a reassertation of photojournalism's documentary values and power to alter societies (Linfield, 2010).

Another strain in media criticism stems from moral sensitivity to subtle forms of exploitation. An entire school of criticism of documentary photography, led by Martha Rossler, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, and Allan Sekula, emphasizes the dangers of beautifying or aestheticizing, and thereby subtracting moral value from depictions of suffering. The result is to dilute the moral outrage by a glaze of aesthetic satisfaction. "Beautiful suffering" in images is charged with detaching viewers from the reality of what they are seeing (David Levi-Strauss 2007).¹¹

What can we take from these reflections? Unfortunately they provide no answers to our major questions. Photography is subject to abuse, manipulation, falsification, and oversimplification. But so is every other mode of communication. On occasion photographs exercise considerable influence, claiming a closer connection with reality that hand-made

¹¹ In his essay, "Picturing Violence: Aesthetics and the Anxiety of Critique," Reinhardt, writing in the book, *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain*, 2006, cites the aestheticization critiques by Rossler, Solomon-Godeau, and Sekula as definitive but registers doubts about the sufficiency of these critiques. He calls aestheticization "an overly blunt tool for getting at what is most troubling about certain photographs of suffering people" and recognizes the anxiety about such images as "'an anxiety...of the format choices and rhetorical conventions, and the resulting transformative work, of representation itself'" (David Levi-Strauss, 2007). Levi-Strauss writes movingly about the problems of sentimentality and aestheticization in which "Rossler accuses concerned photography of embracing 'the weakest possible idea of social engagement, namely compassion'" (2007), p. 2.

images do not. As a result it seems to viewers that they come into closer contact with the reality depicted than in drawings or paintings. Yes, but viewers also quickly become familiar, if not insulated from, photographic deceptions. After all, real events, even public enactments can also be contrived or misunderstood. Witnessing is no guarantee of accurate appreciation of what actually happens. In sum, it is doubtful that the many ideas and reflections about the “aesthetics of suffering” bear directly upon the questions to which this study is addressed.¹²

The exception to this negative judgment is the claim that aesthetic quality necessarily dilutes the moral impact of an image. This topic will be taken up when I review the question of aesthetics and moral messages in the image properties covered in the quantitative portion of the survey.

1.5 Monitoring Authenticity in News Photography

For obvious reasons professional journalism takes responsibility for maintaining standards of authenticity. The temptation to fudge, choreograph, or retouch is understandable given the adventitious character of photography. Much effort goes into unmasking failures of genuineness (Lester 1991). For example Robert Capa’s *Death of a Rebel Sharpshooter*

¹² Culture critics rightly point to certain deplorable examples of exploitation, partisan counterattacks and obliteration of essential human values. A recent example: photo images grabbed from a France 2 video clip of the killing of 12 year-old Muhammad al Dura as he huddled, terrified and screaming, behind his father during a fierce street battle in Gaza (September 2000). The images initially prompted claims about the savagery of the Israeli military. But shortly thereafter, claims and counterclaims from both Israeli and Palestinian political groups and the media turned the killing of the child into a surreal photo contest and political football, in which various experts on both sides chimed in about the photo’s authenticity, its apparent errors in camera angle, the possible ‘staging’ of the death by Palestinians, and even an accusation from Meirav Eilon Shara, a Israeli diplomat in Los Angeles, that the boy’s father had led him deliberately into the firefight for publicity’s sake. Shara started an email campaign urging Israelis to vote against the al Dura photograph in an MSNBC web site “Year in Pictures 2000” contest. The photo of the boy’s killing, although a leader in on-line voting for three straight weeks, eventually finished in sixth place after the *anti*-al Dura email campaign gathered steam. Five animal photographs came in ahead in the contest, “including one of a dog straining to get through a fence to urinate on a fire hydrant” (Starrett, 2003, p 399).] What never emerged in public discourse was a universal expression of sympathy and outrage – horror at the child’s death. Warring sides never coalesced around a single meaning for the image – another way of saying that the public’s existing political schisms became the *precondition* for interpreting the photo in ways advantageous to each side’s political bias.

(1936), has long been disputed as a possible counterfeit shot taken during staging exercises of the Spanish Civil War (Lester, 1991; Griffin, 1999, Ritchin, 2009). Dozens of other famous images have been altered, darkened, or retouched, even by respected photographers and photo departments. The digital darkening of O.J. Simpson's face on the cover of *Time* magazine during his murder trial is an example (see Ritchin, 2009). Some examples are downright frauds, others are substantially benign.¹³ For present purposes it is enough to acknowledge the wide range of deviations from perfect authenticity and to note that gross frauds can count neither as icons nor archetypes.

1.6 Recent Trends in News Photography: "Citizen Journalism" Icons

Fig. 8. Death of Neda Agha Soltan, June 2009. Photographer Unknown

The advent of digital photography, cell phones with photographic capability, and an internet wide open to anyone has dramatically altered the news photographic scene. The result is an ever-widening stream of news photographs by amateurs (citizen journalists) who serendipitously take shots of hot topics, especially of violence and cruelty, and send them out to the world faster than any printing press or traditional photo news service.¹⁴ Photographic quality is rarely a detriment if the content is sufficiently explosive. Inadvertently whistle-blowing images from Abu Ghraib in 2004 were an early instance. One included in my survey is considered iconic. Another famous example is that of the slain Iranian student Neda Agha Soltan. The shot was taken during the Iranian presidential elections in June 2009 *as she died*. This image became a lightning rod for global outrage against the regime of Iran's

¹³ For example, Perlmutter includes Dorothea Lange's *Migrant Mother* on the strength of a retouched thumb, hardly a substantive alteration. At some point, *inauthenticity* becomes technicality.

¹⁴ Citizen videos are likewise energetically distributed.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. These icons seem to offer no civics lesson tailor-made for American news consumers other than the fact that absolute power corrupts absolutely; that cruelty and intimidation are both bottom up and top down; and that civic dissent is frequently “rewarded” with a bullet to the heart. An image like Soltan’s may also suggest martyrdom to a democratic cause. With the steady increase in quality of equipment and practice, we can anticipate more and better citizen journalism. The events transpiring in 2011 in the Middle East make this plain. The effect is that the profusion of newsworthy images could expand significantly. It remains to be seen whether this will increase the turnover of popular icons.¹⁵ Another relevant question mark stands beside the concept of archetypes. Archetypal photo imagery presumes high professional achievement, which many citizen photographs do not as yet meet.

1.7 Iconic Features and Limitations

A superb news photograph, like a well-acted drama with a convincing script, will survive public intransigence and controversy. As such, public photographs can be manipulated and argued about endlessly, entering the mainstream of imagination and social discourse. Iconic photographs, in particular, seem ideally suited to the rhetorical requirements of both mainstream ideologies and star-struck American culture (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007; Perlmutter 1998). They generally combine action, facial expressiveness, surprise or novelty, a strong sense of story (narrative

¹⁵ Citizen photography on the web may partially compensate for the sharp decline in newspaper circulation, especially in the US. They may have already made a dent on the printed “real estate” of newspapers and resulted in less international coverage and publication of compelling photographs (Emmett, 2010; Winslow, Personal Communication, October 26, 2010). Slide shows on the Web are reportedly the most popular portion of cyber-news sites that audiences regularly visit (Bruno, Personal Communication, October 27, 2010).

clarity), a decisive moment (Cartier-Bresson) and symbolic weightiness. Sometimes they are shot in a manner that de-contextualizes time and space (i.e., facture and picture markers are somewhat fuzzy or lacking, so that one cannot always identify exactly where, or how, the photograph was taken [Griffin, 1998]). These qualities are true of public icons whether or not the photo is actually authentic and spontaneously shot.

Icons are theorized to *produce* emotion in audiences, offering a compelling arrangement of figures and forms, along with communicating a message of “fact” and “story” that might be literal or figurative *or both*. Hariman & Lucaites (2007) argue that icons are distinct artifacts of public culture activating “structures of feeling within the audience” which “operate reliably and powerfully because they are already present within the society’s conventions of display” (p. 35). “Iconic photographs concentrate and direct emotions,” they continue. Relying on middlebrow arts (Gans, 2003), they appeal to a comfortable “aesthetic familiarity” in viewing audiences—no composition or photographic perspective too daring, outré, or *avant garde*. Instead, icons ostensibly model how citizens ought to be—how they war, how they play and protest, how they team. The icon produces a “dramatic enactment of specific positioning, postures, and gestures that communicate emotional reactions instantly,” Hariman & Lucaites contend, “and they both display and create interactions that become circuits for emotional exchange” (p. 36).

1.8 The Problem of Public Spectatorship

While many of these observations are perceptive, the authors strain the limits of credibility by conceiving of a “public culture” in the abstract terms of common

spectatorship (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 43) equating public seeing (of mediated icons) with public *being* and formation of civic identity.¹⁶ “The use of abstract concepts such as “public culture” and “civic identity: to identify the social significance of particular images and justify the celebrity of canonic photographs leaves many important questions concerning icon formation and circulation unexamined,” critic Michael Griffin writes (2009, p. 540). Rather than tackling the complex structure of how visual print culture actual works, and specifically how certain photographic images are suppressed or vetted, “the concrete processes by which the selection and circulation of iconic images takes place, and the institutional, industrial, or overtly political forces shaping that process are largely overlooked” (p. 540), Griffin argues. The mainstream media, along with the media’s complex relationship to government and its agendas, have long had a major impact on which news images are circulated and seen (Moeller, 2009). Nonetheless Hariman & Lucaites claim that the cream of public photography inevitably rises to the top regardless of its origins. They cite the rapid spread and social *rescue effects* of such photographs as Dorothea Lange’s *Migrant Mother* (p. 53). Alfred Eisenstaedt’s *Times Square Kiss* in *Life* Magazine was also rapidly appropriated by publics in the form of copying and cartooning—principally to celebrate the outbreak of peace (if not the

¹⁶ Hariman & Lucaites follow and then dispute the Jurgen Habermas account of the rise and fall of an ideal public culture: “...few have challenged his assumption that deliberative rationality is subverted by visual display. For Habermas, the verdict is clear: “when the public assumed its specific form, ‘it was the bourgeois reading public...rooted in the world of letters,’ and the subsequent disintegration of that culture was accomplished in part through the rise of the electronic mass media and its displacement of public debate by political spectacles” (Habermas, as cited in Hariman & Lucaites, p. 41). However, the authors argue, “even Habermas’s theory does not privilege print alone.” Instead, every medium has its own techniques of embodiment, and photography is no exception. Thus the authors challenge that ‘visual media categorically degrade public rationality (p.42). Visual practices in public media “defines the public through an act of common spectatorship. When the event shown is part of national life, the public seems to see itself, and to see itself in terms of a particular conception of civic identity” (p. 42).

erotic release of a kiss celebrating life). The public parodies, copies, and regenerates iconic imagery through any number of media channels until the images assume the power of celebrity and visual cliché. Moreover, the public “gets the message” visually and understands what the photo is supposed to be about regardless of whether a caption is provided. Hence “no caption needed,” according to the authors; social knowledge of the image and its contexts ostensibly fills in the gap.

However, context is notably missing when Hariman & Lucaites argue for the operation of a photojournalistic icon as a discrete sign of “liberal-democratic public culture,” namely, that “each [iconic] image follows a common and powerful logic that characterizes liberal-democratic public culture...including strong realism...alignment of historical process, individual agency and collective purpose” (p. 87). When the authors argue that icons can only exist in cultures that are free to choose and celebrate them, they betray an assumption that photographs speak one language only—the language of commonly assumed freedoms. This argument appears as specious as the one about public identity constituting common spectatorship; that civic identity is formed when publics “see themselves” in a limited number of idealized photographs. Their value claim for Western photographic icons is a *public identity function*, which, they argue “defines what it means to be a citizen, to live in a modern polity, to possess equal rights, to have collective obligations, and similar determinations of public identity” (p. 28). Yet the authors neglect to discuss how iconic images of a different moral or politic persuasion might affect public identity in non-democratic cultures—witness the photography of the soon-to-be-terminated Weimar Republic, for example, or the widespread dissemination of the images of Marx, Stalin, Lenin,

Castro, and Mao Tse-Tung during 20th century Communist regimes. Can these iconic images be said to promulgate liberal democratic values? Do they encourage or model dissent? Icons, as envisaged by Hariman & Lucaites, constitute an *American* aristocracy of news photographs (indeed, all their selections but one are American); their inability to explain the icons of other cultures is a notable gap in public address.

1.8.1 Archetypes as a Photographic Concept

As I will demonstrate in this study, the icon is class of image that overlaps with a larger and more compelling category of photographs, some well known, some not, combining the highest aesthetic achievement with the authentic capture of archetypal situations and plots. By capture, I do not mean a choreographed, “restaged,” or “rehearsed” “news” photo (an icon can be all of those things, as it has proved to be throughout photojournalism’s history). I describe the archetypal image as a *capture of an action* or reaction as it *actually happens*.

Based on my content analysis of hundreds of news images combed from leading photojournalism books, newspapers, magazines, photojournalism books, newspapers, magazines, and the Web, I identify these archetypes not as abstract prototypes,¹⁷ stereotypes, or commonly played character types or *rôles* (as a “villain” or “angel” played by a performer), as Jungian proponents might describe them. Nor are they “master myths” in the sense that media critic Jack Lule uses them to describe journalism’s most common “mythologies” (e.g., floods, fires, storms, etc.) (2001).

Instead, archetypal gestures and expressions are *situational, referential* and

¹⁷ Prototype theory about images has been promulgated as an extension of linguistic theory (see Chapter II). Research has shown that certain visuals of commonly understood objects, such as horses, appear to coalesce around a recognizable “prototype” view which represents the mean of many different views (Solso). Prototypes produce models by which objects are recognized.

understood broadly regardless of a viewer's age, cultural background, or value system.

We can define archetypal themes and plots differently. A theme pertains to subject matter—who is in the picture, what is captured. A plot pertains to *how the situation plays out*—i.e., how the photograph frames the subject within the arc of time, suggesting (but not stating explicitly) the direction or fate of the photo subject's story through its implied *action*. Archetypal plots are weighty, of magnitude sufficient to inspire both public and private concern and rumination, arising out of the *archetype's expression of situational "no exits" endemic to human actions*.

Put another way, they depict the apogees and perigees of human experience irrespective of culture. The apogee and perigee is conveyed not only through implied



Figure 9: Michael Yon's 2005 photo shows an American soldier in Mosul embracing a girl mortally wounded in an Iraqi attack. The image combines expressive gestures with a situational "no exit." Reprinted with permission

actions within the photograph but also by the *gestures and facial expressions of the key "actors" (subjects) the photo captures*. An archetype shows a level of originality and force within the context of a public event that sets a precedent for future understandings.

These images show periods of "breakthrough" and joy, along with struggle, relief, abjection, and tragedy. They exemplify Cartier-Bresson's "decisive moment," often exemplifying a turning point in human affairs. Because the photo may capture any expressive gesture within the

narrative arc, the archetype could present a setting out, a gearing up, a struggle, a resolution, a denouement, or confrontation with the truth.

Figure 10: Lewis Payne awaiting trial, 1865.
Photo by Alexander Gardner
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Lewis_Payne.jpg

1.8.2 Archetypes without Credo



Figure 11: Demonstrating Against Child Labor, New York May 1, 1909 Photographer Unknown. Copyright free. Available at http://www.clipartguide.com/_pages/0512-0701-1818-4801.html

The photo's "code" or message may or may not be appropriated to represent mainstream ideals of nationalism, heroism, or performance of civic duty, as photojournalism icons are often claimed to be (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007; Griffin 2007; Kitch, 2005). Instead, the archetypal plot depicts predicaments and situations commonly recognized as human, universally experienced across cultures and times, but situated within the context of a particular time, society, and culture. Photo images

may offer alternative views, depicting incidents of triumph or extreme cruelty and misery that belie *any* mainstream ideology or sensibility. Archetypal plots are consequently independent *situations* in which life and death, wretchedness or fulfillment is at stake. According to Univ. of Maryland Philosophy of Art professor John Brown:

Because these situations are momentous for human well-being, they are objects of passionate concern. The principal narrative plots [of the news photograph] center upon them, since they involve the chief harms and dangers, joys and satisfactions that make life what it is. In running through a series of archetypes we sum up the “essential” character of human life. This being so, it seems clear that plots may be archetypal without being memorably or incisively so (Not all plots are equal!). Accordingly, the more admirable plots are those that contain more of the aspects or qualities proper to the archetype in question (Brown, personal communication, September 1, 2010).

1.8.3 Archetypal Criteria: Requirements

In this study, we have identified the archetypal category as satisfying two essential conditions: first, it shows a discrete, critical human situation, often at or close to the peak or crisis point in the narrative arc. Second, it represents an aesthetic achievement that news photographers and viewers look to as setting standards to emulate. Thus, although archetypes are not as yet well-defined as a class of images (see Chapter 2), three basic ideas seem involved in their creation: 1) that an archetypal human situation is shown; 2) that the image is superlative overall in its category, namely as a news photo; 3) that the photo is authentically shot. The first criterion speaks to the importance of the subject—that it’s a universally acknowledged and critical human predicament. The latter refers to the image being an exemplary news image that fulfills the highest ambitions of a news photographer, one he/she is proud to have made. This second sort of archetypality is news-photo

specific and directly related to criterion (3), namely that the photo captures the event as it happens. I will identify how and why both criteria are fulfilled in several of the news photographs selected for this study.

An archetypal image is not always iconic, at least if the icon is a measurement

Figure 12: Nisei child in California awaiting deportation to permanent internment camp, 1942. Photo by Clem Albers

http://www.archives.gov/global-pages/larger-image.html?i=/research/japanese-americans/images/child-waiting-1.jpg&c=/research/japanese-americans/images/child-waiting_caption.html

of mass public adulation and civic identity (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the differences between the icon and the archetype).¹⁸ A news photo with a strong archetypal presence may become an icon circulated publicly, or privately, or through alternative channels (e.g., citizens on the Internet; professional photographers; self-

published books). These images may be absorbed, suppressed, forgotten or remembered by a relatively small or large group of people. For example, photos of the Japanese-American internment during World War II, along with horrific images of the Holocaust, have moved in and out of public awareness and topical media interest over the years. An example is War Relocation Authority photographer Clem Albers' photographic of a little Nisei girl awaiting transport to an internment camp.¹⁹

The image was kept in the National Archives and was not released officially until

¹⁸ An icon, by contrast, is necessarily mainstream: It is an image replicated for public consumption by mass media, inspiring designated publics to admire, remember, and possibly, to pursue action or civic participation that follows certain ideological lines implied or inscribed in the image's 'performance', according to critics Hariman and Lucaites. In this regard, the icon reproduces the ideology and dominant social order; it is, according to Hariman & Lucaites, a "social construction" or relational performance that implicates the identities of viewers and photo subjects in presumed acts of empathy, if not complicity. "Thus the iconic image's combination of mainstream recognition, wide circulation, and emotional impact is a proven formula for reproducing a society's social order," Hariman & Lucaites claim (p. 9).

¹⁹ Photo by Clem Albers: "A young evacuee of Japanese ancestry waits with the family baggage before leaving by bus for an assembly center in the spring of 1942." California, April 1942. (Source: National Archives II: Photo No. 210-G-2A-6).

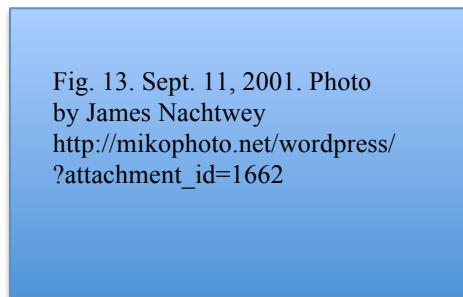
1972, with the publication of Richard & Maisie Conrat's ground-breaking book: *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese-Americans* (California Historical Society). Today the image has become one of the banner icons of the National Archives II website on internment photography; and has been republished in several books. No one has done a survey to assess how many Americans now recognize this image, or others like it. News critic Barbie Zelizer has described such "in and out" cycles of publication and media exposure as "memory waves" (1998) which, she argues, appear to reconfigure public recollection and, at times, produce epochs of collective amnesia. The case of Holocaust photography is an example:

The image's triumph in documenting Nazi atrocity went straight to the heart of collective memory, where pictures reminded publics of the scenes associated with Nazi terror. While photographic authority persisted over the years that followed, the atrocity photos rose and fell as effective carriers of the memory of Nazi brutality. For those who thought the world would not forget what had happened, it became alarmingly clear that the photos might reach a point at which they would no longer work as carriers of that memory....In all three waves, atrocity memory has been shaped by the fact that no tenable structure for understanding the events of the Holocaust has developed over time (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 141, 142).

Though I can hardly agree with the final conclusion of Zelizer's statement that no tenable structure for understanding the Holocaust has developed over time,²⁰ the presence of an archetypal image as I have defined it is no guarantee of a shrine in public memory or national archives. "Cross-generational memory and recognition of such images...may be weak," David Perlmutter states (1998, p. xiv). The impact on individuals in any society, at any given time, is an unknown.

²⁰ Continued media interest in the Holocaust, historical scholarship, museums, memoir, film, documentary, and constant reminders of Israeli-Palestinian activities in the Middle East have arguably kept the Holocaust much more visible to Western societies than holocausts afflicting peoples in the Third World.

Moreover, image archetypes offer many challenges of definition and qualification which I will develop in this study. First, archetypes are not self-enforcing. They have no power to compel belief or emotion across the board (a claim consistently made for icons). Rather, they become authoritative only upon adequately informed contemplation, which means that viewers understand their context and connect to the image individually and emotionally. A particularly strong image



archetype of a predicament without context or even a caption could be easily confused with dishonest imagery. This is obvious from the fact that a photo capture of a clandestine reenactment of the flag raising at Iwo Jima six

months after the event could conceivably become iconic if it were widely disseminated, copied, and appropriated by critics under the mistaken belief in its authenticity,²¹ the original having been accidentally destroyed. That is, the image becomes archetypal in the fictional world imagined by viewers unaware of the fake. It becomes *iconic* when it is widely disseminated, copied, and appropriated by critics and acolytes in the “real world” as an obvious “sign” of public culture.

By contrast, an archetypal news image is unique in its ethical relation to the real world and thus viewers must sift these images with knowledge of that world. As such, an archetype cannot represent the highest aspirations if it is not authentic in all

²¹ The Library of Congress website story, “Staff Sergeant Louis R. Lowery: The First Flag Raising on Mt. Suribachi,” argues that the second flag raising on Iwo Jima captured by photographer Joe Rosenthal in the “iconic” shot was in fact carefully staged, with Rosenthal in the most advantageous position. The circumstances of the shot suggest that Rosenthal’s icon was at one remove from the original event; thus one could argue that the image is questionably authentic. See <http://www.loc.gov/shop/index.php?action=cCatalog.showItem&cid=48&scid=390&iid=3583&PHPS ESSID=f6578ab1e1a3ec132>

essential respects. Both the authentic and spurious photos may refer to a given historical event (e.g., “Old Glory Goes up on Mt. Suribachi). But the inauthentic one refers to the reenactment -- “at one remove” from the original event (Brown, personal communication, April 15, 2011). Spurious photographs may also refer to entirely unreal events, as many propaganda photos do. But the importance of the archetypal photo as an authentic *news photograph* suggests it must maintain its fidelity to real-world events without staging.

Viewer context and timing are also critical to the apprehension of an archetypal photograph. As art critic Ernst Gombrich writes of all imagery (not just icons or archetypes), an image “cannot be divorced from its purpose and requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency” (Gombrich, 1960, p. 9). Factual context is required even for “famous” images, in other words, in order to mitigate the distortions that inevitably arise from a lack of context. In this sense, a caption is always needed with an archetypal photo, whereas an icon arguably (though I do not agree personally with this position, which I will develop in the next chapter), can stand on its own, with viewers providing their own fictional contexts and explanations based on their societal knowledge and historical exposures. Such exposures may be based on facts or fallacies.

Next, the archetype in this study does not presume psychoanalytic or metaphysical theory. Archetypes as myth, stock characters, and/or commonly accessible motifs of art and literature worldwide have been explored thoroughly by Carl Jung and his descendants (1958, 1977, etc.). Jungian archetypes are part of a deeply embedded psychographic profile of human consciousness, but I make no

particular claims for Jungian interpretation in this study. Nor do I ascribe archetypes to the mythologies underlying news stories in Jack Lule's 2001 book, *Daily News, Eternal stories: the mythological role of journalism* (The Guilford Press). Critic Lule focuses on textual stories, not photojournalism. However, he argues that myth, even in a context of news, gives the news propulsive force. Myth is a societal story with sacred qualities drawing from archetypal figures that provide exemplars of human life (2001). Lule also suggests that myth and news are forms of social expressionism—"an important way a society expresses its prevailing ideals, ideologies, values, and beliefs."

As I have stated, an archetype of a real event, action or response to an event describes a humanly *experienced* central dilemma. As such, archetypes are determined *empirically* by the emotional traction and regard that sensitive humans have for them. In this respect, I propose a theory of archetypes in news photography agnostically. The key differentiator between icon and archetype is that the latter broadens the idea of what constitutes a superb and emotionally magnetic photograph rather than one that fits neatly into the category of a "canonic," nation-building standard-bearer.

1.9 Archetypal Plot and Serendipity

News photography necessarily covers much more than the action or reaction motifs that one thinks of as central to outstanding news visualization (Brown, Personal Communication, January 17, 2011). However, images such as the *obligatory shot* of an MTV star's news conference on Live AID, a Rose Garden handshake, or signing of a Congressional bill do not qualify as archetypal either through subject

matter or the scripted and highly repetitive actions portrayed. The archetypal photo is therefore reserved for the rare, serendipitous (i.e., aesthetically “one in a billion”) shot capturing significant stages of human narrative. Virtually all these photos pertain, directly or indirectly, to the struggle between life and death, survival or pre-emption of the human (and presumably animal) worlds. Another restriction of this study is that archetypal photos will exclude almost all sports photographs unless the photograph depicts a situation or struggle for which all viewers within a public should be made aware. Similarly, moments of drama and extraordinary discovery in intellectual or scientific pursuits do not normally yield archetypal imagery because they rarely take place on the public stage. The primary domain of the news photo archetype is one that keeps the public cognizant of major hazards and harms. As such, archetypality is reserved for the most significant human predicaments.

What aspects of the image entitle it to be classed as an *archetype*? As I have already mentioned, one is clearly the magnitude of the hazard or harm it deals with. Another is the saliency of the action-reaction stage of the human narrative beneath it: For example, critical junctures in a narrative arc of a story define the outset of journey, the gearing up, the struggle, escalation of conflict, the execution, the turning point, the staking claims, and the aftermath in defeat and triumph (see list below).

Table 1: Predicaments

The Fall	The Journey or Way Back	Visitation	Escape & Rescue	Staking a Claim (Taking their Place)
The Choice	Labyrinth (alienation)	Disembodiment	Torture	Last Embrace
Crossing to Frontier	Armageddon	Triumph	Loss of Innocence	Domination/intimidation
Massacre of Innocents	Betrayal/abandonment	Communion	Last Rites	Healing
Grieving	Nurturance	Purgatory	Breath of Life	Resurrection
Laughing at Death	Passing the Baton	Band of Brothers	Sisterhood	Nadir
Limbo	Feeble gesture	Clash/Defiance	Surrender	Stand and be Counted
The Risk	Acceptance	Denial	Bargaining	Lying/Cheating
Heroic gesture	Invisible Attack	Tidal Wave	Swept Away	Entrapment

Table 2: Critical Junctures

The setting out	Recovery of hope	Climax/Fate determining moment	Tipping Point
The challenge	Turning Point	imminent outcome	Aftermath
Setback	Reversal of fortune	The outcome	Epilogue



Figure 14: Death of Tamesha Jean after floods in Cabaret, Haiti, 2009. Photo by Patrick Farrell, *Miami Herald*. Reprinted with permission.

I have identified archetypes of the real world above by theme (which also informs expressive gesture, facial expression, plot, and framing of scenes), along with critical junctures of visual narrative. Situations, gestures, and facial expressions are not, in this framework, codes or signatures of *mythologies*. Instead, they are archetypes of living, real-world experience. The wreckage of the Arizona in Pearl Harbor represents the outset (as in a causal event dictating war). Rosenthal's Iwo Jima's flag-raising represents a turning point in the "Good War"—but the image is restaged, and thus not authentic. Henri Cartier-Bresson's shot of a weeping Frenchman watching the Germans march into Paris during the Nazi takeover is a fine example of archetypal desolation and defeat. Patrick Farrell's black and white images of Franz Samedi mourning his drowned five year-old daughter after the Haitian floods of 2009 (above) shows a last embrace.

Such examples suggest that in order to stake its claim on the individual, the archetypal image *must elicit an emotionally powerful, if not haunting experience*. One of the research questions in this study, and the subsequent hypothesis derived from it, is whether the archetype is conveyed within the image itself, or whether it is "produced" in the receiving viewer's mind only when it fits (as in lock and key) directly within the frame of an individual's memory and/or mental associations of trauma. A memory may be mediated by imagery rather than direct experience (September 11th and its impact on the nation's millions is an example). However, an archetype may not be experienced fully unless the individual has sufficient frames of reference (including memories of war or personally experienced trauma) to understand the image and commit it to memory.

1.10 Reversal of Fortune and Other Plot Points

Figure 15: Dying soldier with priest, 1962.

Photo by Héctor Rondón Lovera

<http://www.archive.wordpressphoto.org/search/layout/result/in deling/detailwpp/form/wpp/q/is hoofdafbeelding/true/trefwoord/year/1962>

The photo to the left can be described for its archetypal theme and gesture: a last embrace and seeking of healing and forgiveness. The superb execution of a plot point at a critical juncture describes both a reversal of fortune (*peripeteia*) and a fate-determining moment as both priest and soldier face possible death. The outcome is entirely

unknown. Taken during the Venezuelan uprising of 1962, the photograph is *not* an American public icon according to theories of civic participation and patriotism (Kitch, 2005; Hariman & Lucaites 2007).²² In other words, the photograph seems to capture a more universal gesture of seeking forgiveness and receiving grace under fire; the soldier's position as a chess piece in a dirty guerilla war seems less important. One could easily argue the photograph activates empathy for Christian values and character; but does it tell an American how to behave in a war south of our border? Probably not. The photograph situates itself in someone else's war, and thus is not iconic in the North American community. Its depiction, however, shows a

²² Carolyn Kitch describes visual images such as the Thomas Franklin photograph of the three fireman hoisting an American flag after the September 11th attacks as a template for myth: a "narrative template for media coverage of subsequent crisis events, which were reported in terms of the American character, the common man, and the notion of a 'good war.'" (2005, p. 39). However, media critic Michael Schudson produces a definition of mythology that is closer to the meaning of the news photo archetype I describe in this study: "...Myths necessarily have multiple meanings; in fancier terms, they are 'polysemous.' They do not tell a culture's simple truths so much as they explore its central dilemmas (Schudson, as cited in Kitch, 2005, p. 40).

carefully distilled *predicament* of hazard that cannot be remedied; moreover, the outcome is unknown. “The tension in the photo and the intention to save if possible is plausible enough, but we don’t know enough about what the soldier and the priest confront, what their chances are” (Brown, Personal Communication, October 15, 2009). The photo, though it *can’t* explain itself without a caption, clearly suggests an archetypal situation (facing death) at or near its climax. In actuality, the wounded soldier seeks protection in the arms of a worried Navy priest, Luis Padillo, as bullets fly.

This photo was taken in 1962 by Héctor Rondón Lovera as he lay prone on the ground, firing off his camera while trying to avoid being shot himself. The image earned the 1962 Photo of the Year Award from World Press Photo. In every way, it fulfills the triple criteria of the news image archetype I’ve outlined above. The photo not only produces an *authentic record of a life-and-death predicament* within a context of extreme violence; it achieves excellence, even a haunting quality, in virtually every category of visual analysis. For example, the iron grates in the store front are reflected in the shallow, spreading pools of water (blood?) in the street. The grates frame a narrow vertical “window” containing the priest and young man. The soldier, strapping and child-like, has pulled himself up by the priest’s cassock in a final gasp of strength. The cropping of the photo “pushes” the two figures toward the right—where danger and death lie.

Figure 16: Murder in Mississippi. 1965. Painting by Norman Rockwell
http://www.artchive.com/artchive/R/rockwell/rockwell_mississippi.jpg

Soon after publication, Lovera’s photograph inspired Norman Rockwell to paint “Murder in

Mississippi” (left), a plea for American sanity and civil rights. The painting’s *archetypal gesture* (last embrace; seeking healing, forgiveness) is a dead ringer for the Lovera photograph (although the face of Rockwell’s painted white man shows no fear; in effect, producing a somewhat histrionic impression). The difference between the *effect* of the photograph vs. the Rockwell painting is instructive, however. In this case, the *photo’s authenticity* (one of the three most important characteristics of the archetypal image), its framing and superb execution, and the serendipitous capture of the *real* body language of soldier and priest produces anxiety and compelling concern. The image is unforgettable. By contrast, the Rockwell image is contrived, less convincing. The black victim is child-like and without identifiable facial features; his body does not cling so much as hang; the emotional force of the painting is concentrated in the steely white man’s face and the ominous shadows of gunmen who appear as aliens on a barren planet surface. By contrast, in the photograph, the soldier’s desperate clinging and yearning for the priest’s embrace is met by the equal force of uncertainty and fear in the priest’s face. Though the priest has a grip on the man and will not run, his face betrays a terror and confusion about what is coming toward him.

1.11 Linkage between Archetypal Situation and Photo Achievement

Any great news photo, iconic or not, must deal with an archetypal human situation, one that is broadly, intuitively understood. This first sense of archetype, *situation*, is linked strongly to the second, the aesthetic achievement of the photograph. However, an archetypal photo must make this linkage in a special way. First, the archetype situation represented must be an outstanding exemplar of the

archetype (see categories above). For instance, many situations pose threats to human well-being. Deprivations can be enormous or small, deeply or superficially inhibiting, or they may snuff out life altogether. The great news photo will deal with a serious threat, one that threatens the s of the lives of those affected. The same is true of the archetypes of triumph or relief. Superficial triumphs and minor tragedies will not make archetypal photos. The situation must be of sufficient gravity or buoyancy (or both) to warrant viewers' undivided attention.

Of course, since news photography is a recent invention, when we speak of news photographs, we speak of situations that must be (broadly) contemporary. Non-news narratives, fictional or non-fictional, are freer in this respect. They may be entirely out of the real or the contemporary. Fictive or non-fiction narratives, even those narratives of deep historical importance, have been captured for thousands of years in painting and sculpture, literature and music. But the realm of the photograph represents 175 years only, and thus *predicaments* are served up in a manner that seems more immediate and actual than the record of painting (however realistic in style) or the plastic arts. Since the technology of photography records light waves and the interference of objects that refract and reflect light, photographs claim a contemporary link to the actual human bodies and event(s) captured in space-time, the 'this has been' (Barthes)—a *detection* of and *reference* to human presence past. The power of reference in modern photography enables viewers to confront *what happened* in a way that seems entirely plausible. Plausibility is the provenance of great news photography; hence its compelling nature.

Beyond this, the archetypal news photo possesses outstanding qualities of presentation. It will be aesthetically notable, semantically rich, syntactically spare (as in the arrangement of figures, colors, shapes and forms), emotionally intense or subtle and of keen topical interest, which is to say, newsworthy (Lee, 2008). It will also be memorable to certain viewers who respond strongly to its presentation. The photo may possess an element of quirkiness and novelty (Mendelson, 2001). These are criteria for photojournalism excellence (many of the qualities are gleaned from intensive interviews with professional photographers or photojournalism textbooks²³). By virtue of these merits, a news photo of outstanding caliber, iconic, archetypal, or both, will attract the interest not only of average viewers, but of those who represent professional photojournalism and art photography (Lange's *Migrant Mother* is a stellar example), those who seek a career in visual communication, and those whose primary interests lie in other areas.

Can an icon embody an archetype? Absolutely. The authentically photographed icon that millions recognize does represent a critical piece of drama, a turning point, in a nation's narrative arc (Moeller 1989, 2009). One could argue that Joe Rosenthal's photograph of the *Old Glory Goes up on Mt. Suribachi*, Iwo Jima, is both icon (socially and politically constructed public image) and archetype, (extraordinary original representation) in that the image produces a emotionally

²³ Extensive interviews were conducted with several photographers prior to this formal student for an article I prepared for American Journalism Review on the graphic nature of the Haitian earthquake photography. The interviews, along with qualities discussed in such photojournalism textbooks as Reuel Golden's Photojournalism (2006), among others, contributed to my ideas about image "qualities" that could be assessed for archetypality during the study.

powerful vision and “stamp” of authenticity, an archetype, of teamwork, struggle, and victory in viewers’ minds.

Of course, not everyone will respond with the same intensity or interest to particular photographs. Therefore the effect on viewers who experience a strong visual news archetype vs. a weak one is also a subject of this study. The criteria for archetypes that have I proposed neither implies that a “pure archetype” exists and will always be detected. For example, not every ‘true shot’ of internees in German concentration camps make them look as depleted, abject, or heroic as other photographs showed them to be. The archetypal horror of that situation was expressed only in very few photographs which were able to convey the absolute scale of suffering to competent, well-informed viewers (Zelizer 2005). Several of those photos were taken after the Allied liberation of the camps (Margaret Bourke-White’s famous photography of emaciated camp victims and men behind barbed wire are examples). Even the most haunting of these images could not prevent whole sectors of the world’s population from disbelieving—and denying—what they saw.

1.12 Caveats and Research Questions

Do viewers, in fact, recognize an archetype when they see one, even if they don’t call it “an archetype”? Does the strong presence of one (in the sense defined by the three major criteria outlined above) enhance the viewer’s experience, emotional attachment, and memory of a photograph? Or do viewers “bond” to news photos with a specific story or character set very familiar to them (iconicity), one that speaks directly to their experience, emotions, gender, values, or intellectual interests?

Though I could not pursue the answers to all of these questions in this foundational study, I did in fact design a schema of comparatively simple measurements that I hoped would help viewers access, rank, and record as accurately as possible their perceptions and emotional responses to a range of very powerful news imagery. The subjects of my selections are discussed in Chapter 2; the Methodology in Chapter 3. In both the quantitative (Phase 1) and qualitative (Phase 2) portions of the study, I asked viewers to rate surveyed photo images that showed evidence of superb camera technique along with haunting or exceptional compelling content. In addition, I provided a range of other news photographs—some iconic, some routine or ordinary, some eminently forgettable—to see how diverse viewers in the survey would comparatively rank these images and decide which were the most affecting, poignant, and memorable.

My basic research questions were as follows:

RQ1: What are the aesthetic, narrative, and emotive qualities of the news image archetype?

RQ2: How do viewers assess lesser-known images fulfilling archetypal criteria vs. iconic images with a long history of public acclaim and exposure?

RQ3: What are the aesthetic, narrative, and emotive differences between a “superlative” news photo expressing a strong image archetype vs. a photo of routine or ordinary character?

A major challenge of this study was how to measure viewer responses to the *visual* qualities of a news photograph and relate them to higher level categories, such as an icon or archetype. Is newsworthiness or novelty, for example, a visual property

or a perception? Or do we judge newsworthiness and novelty based on intellectual understandings reflected in common training and culture? How does one evaluate a photograph for its haunting quality, beauty, moral force, or clarity of story line? In short: which tools are reasonably available to assess the salient characteristics of news photographs?

The reader can obviously detect the difficulty of operationalizing these ideas. Ultimately I adopted a schema of photo qualities and effects that would accomplish two types of comparisons: 1) how does gender and visual training/expertise impact response and judgment of the salient qualities of photographs; and 2) what did these judgments say about the emotional impact of certified “iconic images” vs. lesser known but superbly shot images that could, arguably, represent archetypal themes and plots?

I also asked the viewers to rank the *emotional* and *memory* effects of each photograph, understanding, of course, the limits of self-report (Newhagen 1999). Survey respondents were given as much time as they needed to contemplate each image and rank the qualities above on a Likert scale of 1 (poor or absent) to 5 (extraordinary or extremely strong). They could also add quick comments on the most striking images.

In Phase II of the study, I recorded, in depth, interviews with more than 20 survey participants who had the opportunity to “sit on” their survey experience for several weeks before responding. Did any of the “unknown photos” receive higher “marks” than the popular icons? Had participants in any of the groups committed these “archetypal” photos to memory?

To recap:

RQ4: How does a viewer’s gender and visual training affect his or her perception and judgment of the most important *qualities* in the news photograph?

RQ5: Does an archetype produce a more intense level of empathy and commitment, including a more accurate commitment to recall memory, than news photographs of a routine or ordinary character?

RQ6: Do viewers recall an archetypal news photo more accurately than an iconic one?

RQ7: Does gender and visual training affect the way viewers prioritize and rank qualities of news photographs, whether icons, archetypes, or routine photos?

1.16 Results Preview

The aggregate picture from this study is that a “values”-only critique of the American public icon and other superb photos in fact ignores or minimizes a startling amount of perceptual and emotional variance. There was no monolithic viewing audience for the photographs in my study, and no single canonic gallery of national “icons” that could stand the test of intense empirical scrutiny.

The origins of variance in viewer response will be discussed in Chapter 4. The results of my study suggest that people *do* judge news photographs differently, that gender and expertise do make a difference, and that an apparent “split decision” in visual percepts and judgment may be at work such that certain qualities appear

“universally experienced” among all viewing groups while others are “subjectively experienced.”

Moreover, many of the study participants did remark about the strong emotional effect of lesser-known photographs showing archetypal predicaments. And some called out the archetype literally. The range of responses, and the honesty with which study participants described how and why these photographs affected them, was remarkable. Among the visual non-experts, especially, personal and cultural background, along with direct or mediated exposure to important people and events in recent history, many of them traumatic and horrific, appeared to have a strong effect on their responses.

As I approached this study, it was not sufficient to adopt a view that news photographs speak no truth; that they are merely “a long quotation from appearances” (Berger, 1982, p. 2). The essence of my search was that photojournalism *can* give us glimpses of truth. There are stories told to each of us through news images of *things that actually happen*, events unspeakable and memorable, to which each of us respond differently. These stories are beyond important; they are the touchstones that allow us to cope. I see this study as journey inside the minds of individual viewers who responded with candor and thoughtfulness to graphic exposures of cruelty, humanity, and public celebration. To each of these individuals, I am grateful.

Chapter 2: Images Unframed

2.1 Aristotelian Tragedy and the News Photograph

In *Aristotle's Poetics*, the term *anagnorisis* is the tragic hero's epiphany regarding a truth about his or her identity or actions that accompanies a critical reversal of situation in the plot, the *peripeteia* (1951). Greek tragedy hinges on the *peripeteia*, the "reversal of fortune," and the *hamartia*, a hero's tragic flaw. *Hamartia* suggests several other meanings, among them "sin," "error," "trespass," and "missing the mark."²⁴ A hero's descent into misfortune is determined by actions (*praxis*) resulting from his or her particular kind of ; for example, *hubris* (Oedipus) or sexual jealousy (Clytemnestra in *The Agamemnon*).²⁵ The *telos* or endpoint of the tragedy or epic is *embodied in plot*. Audiences who grasp the plot will understand both the unity and the purpose of the actions represented (the actions of the plot must themselves be a structural unity, such that removing one or more parts will cause the whole to be disjointed or disturbed [1951, p. 35]). Moreover, plot *is character* expressed through action. Consequently, in both poetry and drama, tragedy can be conveyed *only* through the action of characters, not simply through their story telling, thoughts, or words; both thought and character are the two natural origins from which actions

²⁴ Greek, from *hamartanein* to miss the mark. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hamartia>; see also the definitions of hamartia in <http://www.english.hawaii.edu/criticalink/aristotle/terms.html>

²⁵ Tragedy, as Aristotle defines it, is driven by a unified plot consisting of actions that spring directly from a flaw in heroic character. Tragedy...is a representation (*mimêsis*) of an action (*praxis*) that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language pleasurably and variously embellished suitably to the different parts of the play; in the form of actions directly presented, not narrated, with incidents arousing pity and fear in such a way as to accomplish a purgation (*katharsis*) of such emotions.... The story or plot, then, is the initiating principle (*archê*) and, so to speak, the soul of tragedy; character being in second place (Aristotle, in Wheelwright, 1951, pps. 296,298) incidents arousing pity and fear in such a way as to accomplish a purgation (*katharsis*) of such emotions... The story or plot, then, is the initiating principle (*archê*) and, so to speak, the soul of tragedy; character being in second place (Aristotle, in Wheelwright, 1951, pps. 296, 298).

spring (1951, p. 29). The unity of actions and reactions that form the core plot of a tragedy not only convey the magnitude of the hero's downfall. Actions also elicit *pathos*, the powerful emotions of pity and fear aroused in the witnessing audience when they experience tragic events that come as a *surprise* attendant with the revelation of identity (*anagnorisis*) and reversal of fortune (*peripeteia*).²⁶ *Peripeteia* swings the action of the plot in a reverse direction and signals the story's tragic end (Aristotle, 1951, p. 39).

What does Aristotelian tragedy have to do with modern news photography? A news photograph obviously bears little *structural* resemblance to Greek dithyrambic poetry (poetry with dance and chorus) or classical drama or epic as Aristotle conceived it. After all, photo images do not shout out words or utter poetic musings; and there are no actions or literal plots in photo imagery other than what can be "frozen" by tripping a mechanical shutter. Yet photographs can convey tragic figures and predicaments nonetheless;²⁷ and in doing so, the image can *imply* a narrative even if it can only capture a relationship, an intention, a revelation, or a fate-

²⁶ Aristotle's famous *catharsis* clause describing a purgation of pity and fear by the act of witnessing a tragedy has been variously translated and debated over many decades of scholarship. The traditional translations by Philip Wheelwright and many others interpreted Greek syntax so that the catharsis or "cleansing" of emotions of pity and fear was aroused through the actions of the drama (Wheelwright, 1951) and suggested a therapeutic or cleansing effect. Schaper in 1968 argued for a more comprehensive "catharsis" clause connecting the tragedy's telos to catharsis, in which Aristotle was describing a structural principal of art rather than a mere purgation of painful emotions. In her interpretation, the art form ultimately delivers a sense of pleasure derived from both the insight and organization of the tragedy; a viewer experiencing pity and fear will also derive intense pleasure from the experience of witnessing art.

²⁷ Susan Sontag once described the camera as both predatory and referential, intrusive, true-telling and distorting. "Just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder – a soft murder, appropriate to a sad, frightened time (1977, p. 15). At the same time, photographs can enlarge our vision, teach desire, and redeem us from confinement in the shadows of Plato's cave, she observed. "In teaching us a new visual code, photographs alter and enlarge our notion of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe. They are a grammar, and even more importantly, an ethics of seeing" (On Photography, 1977, p.7).

determining moment in a sliver of time. The intimation of character, like Greek tragedy on stage, is largely revealed through the suggestions of *action and plot* in photography. In the *superlative* news photograph, the timing of the shot (i.e., the plot point) shapes the viewer's perception of the seriousness (magnitude) and likely outcome (direction) of the predicament. The photo, as I described in Chapter 1, must be authentically shot in order for viewers to believe the incident in question has actually taken place. The action, though technically completed in the past, thrusts forward into a viewer's sense of present time, gripping the viewer (as though in effigy) in a continuous impression of movement and aliveness. In addition, the aesthetic achievements of the photograph—its textures, contrasts, arrangement and repetition of forms, alignment of geometric elements, light and shadow, resolution, etc.—must be at a level so high that they set the standard by which other professionals will judge their own work.

That, at least, is a theoretical description of what an archetypal image might contain. An iconic image may also contain the same elements. However, there are differences in the climate of reception to iconic images which may suggest variations in content, subject matter, aesthetic presentation, and relevance to large groups of people. An archetype may present an image so powerful, graphic, or uniquely terrifying or politically unacceptable that large numbers of viewers may find it repugnant. Alternately, an archetype may present gendered, racialized, or “anti-mainstream” subject matter. An icon may differ from an archetype in its degree of graphic detail—virtually no American icon, for example, is particularly gory or graphic. The risks taken by the photographer and the extremity of presentation will

affect the large numbers of viewers who can *accept or reject* the image as palatable and memorable (see Chapter 4 and 5 for testimony).

There are two other elements that are enormously important to *any* news photo's impact: the *physical gestures* of the subjects portrayed, along with their *facial expressiveness*. These latter two features must carry the emotion of the image; and it is through them that a viewer may recognize the tragic flaws of people. In addition, the camera frames the climactic actions that result in a reversal of fortune (*peripeteia*) and the hero's ultimate triumph (occasional) or downfall (more common). Facial expression in a news image may even give clues to the *anagnorisis—revelation—*of the hero's true identity. The analogy, therefore, between photographic mimesis and dramatic mimesis is not all that far-fetched. Despite some very big differences in execution, medium, the uses of language, technology, and modes of storytelling, photographic art can be highly poetic, just as dramatic art on stage can be incredibly visual. The end result—*pathos*—is an experience of all the senses in which emotions and intellect are literally saturated with the story and its meaning. The viewer may retain the image long after it is seen. The mental *afterimage* is not the identical copy of the photograph, but a *gestalt of feeling and visual association* arising when the image is recollected and scanned mentally, with various parts of the image coming in and out of focus. The afterimage may represent an impairment, or augmentation, of feelings and insights a viewer may have experienced before. The force of the archetype—situational, referential, authentic—may increase viewer retention of some piece of that image, if not the whole.

2.2 Psychological Gesture and Facial Expression in the Archetype

Many of the news photos selected for this study are dramatic examples of archetypal situations and plots that viewers might respond to *variably* according to their expertise and gender, among other factors. Several of the best and most highly rated photographs in this study also display distinct gestures and actions which become, in effect, *psychological* gestures revealing intrinsic traits of character. Some gestures and expressions may even forecast the struggle or endgame of the protagonist. In the Aristotelian conception, for example, a moment on stage can literally express the most important actions of a hero in a single *physical* gesture; Oedipus gouging his eyes out after recognizing his true identity (as the killer of his father and the lover of his mother) is a case in point. A photograph may also capture a single moment of revelatory experience in one tell-all gesture or action.²⁸ For example, the now-celebrated (and frequently suppressed) 2001 Richard Drew photograph of “The Falling Man” shows the split-second trajectory of an anonymous man falling head first from the exploding World Trade Towers. The image is graphic and *ethereal*, its composition perfectly symmetrical (his body divides the North and South Towers as he falls) and atypical, in that it shows absolutely no struggle in the man as he falls. Indeed, one could argue that the image represents a new archetype of terror: the *descent* and free-fall of humanity in the post-911 age. *Esquire* writer Tom Junod chose to elegize the falling man, describing the camera’s capture of his physical plunge and “rebellious” posture—“his left leg bent at the knee,” arms seemingly relaxed by his sides, “slightly outriggered,” as though he felt completely

²⁸ As essayist John Gassner observed: “Such actions are not necessarily processes extended over a period of time: they may realize themselves in a single moment” (1951, in Butcher, p. 124).

“comfortable in the grip of unimaginable motion,” making a last-ditch bid for freedom”²⁹ (Junod, 2003). As he wrote: “Although he has not chosen his fate, he appears to have, in his last instants of life, embraced it. If he were not falling, he might very well be flying. He appears relaxed, hurtling through the air” (Junod, 2003).

“Psychological gesture” was first outlined by the Russian director and acting teacher Michael Chekhov, a founder of the Second Moscow Art Theatre (he was a nephew of playwright Anton Chekhov). He coined the term to define the physical expression of character captured as an actor’s gesture at a critical moment (p, personal communication, Sept. 24, 2004). Such a gesture provides an outward manifestation of inner dynamics: mental processes, spiritual movements, and desires issuing from deep sources of emotional and physical conflict.³⁰ Even if the gesture is

²⁹ Tom Junod September 2003 article, “The Falling Man,” in *Esquire*, described the man as a new icon of post-9/11 American. Junod focused on the falling man’s physical gesture captured in the photo: “In the picture, he departs from this earth like an arrow. Although he has not chosen his fate, he appears to have, in his last instants of life, embraced it. If he were not falling, he might very well be flying. He appears relaxed, hurtling through the air. He appears comfortable in the grip of unimaginable motion. He does not appear intimidated by gravity’s divine suction or by what awaits him. His arms are by his side, only slightly outriggered. His left leg is bent at the knee, almost casually. His white shirt, or jacket, or frock, is billowing free of his black pants. His black high-tops are still on his feet. . . . The man in the picture. . . is perfectly vertical, and so is in accord with the lines of the buildings behind him. He splits them, bisects them: Everything to the left of him in the picture is the North Tower; everything to the right, the South. Though oblivious to the geometric balance he has achieved, he is the essential element in the creation of a new flag, a banner composed entirely of steel bars shining in the sun. Some people who look at the picture see stoicism, willpower, a portrait of resignation; others see something else—something discordant and therefore terrible: freedom. There is something almost rebellious in the man’s posture, as though once faced with the inevitability of death, he decided to get on with it; as though he were a missile, a spear, bent on attaining his own end.”

³⁰ In recent years, especially, and with the advent of the internet, affecting photographs shown in *series* (an example: *popular slide shows* of news photographs of the 2009 Haiti floods, followed by the 2010 earthquake in Haiti and its aftermath) have become the most popular feature of newspaper websites (Bruno, personal communication, 2010; Rasmussen, 2010). Cyberspace enable a viewer to have both a private experience of a photographic “journey” through several images linked to a common theme or plot; but also a *public experience* of seeing and knowing that these photographs are being shared among hundreds, thousands, or perhaps millions of other viewers (albeit asynchronously). A news slide show, often deployed strategically to *show* a story of cause-and-effect relations, actions and responses to a certain event, can produce an overall *impression* of tragedy with accompanying

suppressed, an actor will internalize and communicate the character trait through gesture and body language throughout a performance (much of Method acting is based on these ideas; Michael Chekhov was a student of Stanislavski). A psychological gesture can therefore concentrate the physical message of drama into one moment. That's where the camera and the stage coalesce; a climax within the temporal process of the narrative arc can suddenly become a vivid, unforgettable spatial/visual representation. (For reasons beyond the scope of this study, the still camera may be a better instrument to capture psychological gesture than a movie camera.)

2.3 Image Archetypes Manifesting the Elements of Tragedy

Not surprisingly, many of the news photographs selected for this study that I would classify as “archetypal candidates” display the expressive characteristics of Aristotelian tragedy. To the Greeks, as I have mentioned above, action is manifest through revelation or recognition of the hero's true identity (*anagnorisis*), *tragic flaw (hamartia)*, *reversal of fortune (peripeteia)*, and *pathos*. These qualities are not only inseparable from the construction and *effect* of tragedy, but both audience and actors are bound together through the giving and taking of emotion during a performance.



Figure 17: Haiti after the earthquake, 2010. Photo by Patrick Farrell, *Miami Herald*. Reprinted with permission.

The same holds true for photographic performance. Pitiful, fearful *emotions*, in particular, which Aristotle once said were aroused by the playing out of a tragedy

spectator emotions that are not dissimilar to the pity, fear, and sense of common fate that Greek theatergoers once experienced (Emmett, 2010).

allow audiences to contemplate and identify with the hero's dilemma. Alternately, a well-rounded villain or even a common man or woman in the throes of downfall can inspire pity, fear, and wonder.³¹ Quite often, the hero's tragic flaw will result *in actions* producing an *epiphany* of horror or shame; identities are inexorably shaped by his or an agent's miscalculations, bad luck, or the actions of others. Alternately, photographs may display victims who suffer because of the random cruelty of Nature where no human can be assigned initial blame or cause (hurricanes, earthquakes, etc). However, the carelessness or neglect of humans in the aftermath of such disasters is frequently recorded by the media as a testament to the indifference or inadequacy of social systems (the Haitian earthquake disaster and floods of 2009 are recent examples); in this case, the tragic flaw is in the "system." With or without a clear display of *hamartia*, though, a photograph can capture the *peripeteia*, or "swinging around" of the drama's essential plot to its inevitable tragic end. For example, photographs charting the progression of wars or the rape and pillaging of whole communities or nations routinely provide graphic evidence of *peripeteia*. Photographs can also capture executions and murders as they happen, or just before or after. It is in the transitions from life to death that the most haunting psychological gestures often occur.

2.4 Archetypal Plot Points

The most forceful archetypes that emerge from historically negative news imagery (which make up the vast majority of news images) can suggest all four of Aristotle's elements of tragedy along with other predicaments representing the significant plot points of a narrative. I have identified these plot points or "critical

³¹ The term empathy, *einfelungen*, was invited much later.

junctures” in Chapter 1 as *the challenge, the setting out, the setback, the recovery of*

Fig. 18. Benito Mussolini, undated.
Photographer unknown.
<http://scrapetv.com/News/News%20Pages/Politics/images-2/benito-mussolini-speech.jpg>

hope, the turning point, climactic/fate
determining moment, the reversal of fortune,
the imminent outcome, the outcome, the
aftermath, among others. A particularly
powerful image may display not only
archetypes of time but of character and

theme. For example, the image above left of Italian Fascist Benito Mussolini seems to convey an archetype of power—or more properly, the will to power. However, the image also captures a plot point—the rise or challenge to war, a throwing down of the gauntlet. Mussolini’s most revealing psychological gesture is his upturned arm and clenched fist. Given the message of his gesticulations—both the raised right fist and the left hand firmly anchored on his military belt—Mussolini easily conveys his arrogance and *braggadocio*. His *hamartia* is manifest in the braced posture, his snarling mouth and shiny black boots. Moreover, it is early in his game. His outfit is too clean and well-pressed, the boots too shiny, his lieutenants too casual, variously distracted by the crowds or the camera. Mussolini has not yet been dimmed and dirtied by the war he threatens. Further, as a matter of technique, the photograph is neither perfectly framed nor cropped; perhaps the angle of the camera is not sufficiently trained on Mussolini himself, and the background figures in the photo seem mostly disinterested, thus dampening an impression of a truly “archetypal” villain. However, Mussolini’s psychological gesture is flawless, his *hamartia* plain as day, making his image compelling historical portrait, even for those who are not fully

acquainted with his story. However, there is no evident *anagnorisis* in this photo (save perhaps for the camera's and our own, if we happen to be among the viewers who knew and understood his fate). The *peripeteia* a viewer imagines in seeing this image is based on knowledge of the fast-forward facts of Mussolini's life. Fear and pity, if they are aroused by this photograph, may be directed toward the people Mussolini seduced and extinguished in war. Thus the photo can only go so far in suggesting a tragic hero; the uninformed viewer might be disturbed or interested in what transpired. But unless the context is understood, the imagined trajectory of the tragedy will not be complete, and thus the emotional effect may be diminished, producing curiosity more than terror.

Naturally, there are many news photographs that fail to project an obvious

Fig. 19, *Grief*, after Battle of Crimea. 1942.
Photographed by Dmitri Baltermants
<http://www.skjstudio.com/baltermants/grief.html>

character flaw or revelation of a hero or villain's true (and heretofore hidden) identity. But even if such elements are conspicuously absent, the news image can still elicit pathos, disgust, pity, and other strong emotions. The photo does so by

providing ample evidence from the conditions of the victim. There are always consequences for those on the receiving end of *someone else's hamartia*: the imperial (or tribal) appetite for mass killing, for example, or for stealing power or territory, or engaging in self-aggrandizing acts of torture and atrocity. All these actions have been widely captured in photojournalism throughout the past 170 years.

The audience, moreover, is never a blank slate. It brings to each photo its own context of personal or historic knowledge, desire for information or vicarious experience. (Young people have less historic knowledge or context, as Perlmutter points out [1998], but over a period of time, a fascination with news photographs, generally accompanied by captions and text, provides an education.) Viewers “read” photo subjects’ *facial expressions and body language*, for example, which are both significant indicators of human character and motivation, communicating psychological gestures. Faces are particularly important because they express what film theorist Bela Belász called “the silent soliloquy,” or microdrama of the human face (1970). Visual cues are frequently supplemented by textual stories surrounding the photograph. Alternately, viewers may apply their own context through direct or mediated exposures to the incidents in question. Either way, since there are no words in photographs, and no lengthy trajectory of time/story line captured within a single frame, *facial expression and body language* must *carry the action* of the implied plot and show the exact moment—a flash—in which a tragic flaw, coupled with a horrific revelation (*anagnorisis*), produces the *reversal of fortune (peripeteia)* and unwinding of plot. Viewers may experience pathos and strong emotional attachment—empathy—in this situation. They can imagine what the subject is going through, imputing the depicted subjects’ feelings not expressed in the photo. Alternately, the viewer may imagine himself (or herself) in the situation, using the photo as a prop in self-analysis: what would I feel if I were in this situation? What would I do?

It is therefore my hypothesis that facial expression and body language will be more important to the emotional impact of a non-panoramic news photograph than

any other discrete element, including aesthetic effect, novel subject matter, split-second capture of action, or narrative clarity of the story:

- **H1: In non-panoramic news photographs depicting human subjects, *facial expression, body language, and gesture* are more important to viewers' overall assessment of the emotional magnetism of the image than factors of aesthetic presentation, narrative clarity, or split second capture of action.**

A photo capturing a forceful, tragic archetype through facial and body gesture is actually quite rare. But whether or not the tragedy is explicitly shown, an implied action may continue in the viewer's mind; thus the heartbreak of the photograph and the poignant feelings the viewer experiences. In some instances, the only *anagnorisis* (recognition/epiphany) apparent from the photo image is *not* the hero's or photo subjects' (we cannot know what they are thinking); it is the *anagnorisis of the viewer*. I would define this phenomenon as the ability to recognize an implicit truth about the actions and characters depicted—what they are doing and why. The undiscovered truth becomes a source of empathetic feeling and identification (Strauss, 2006). Audience recognition and insight completes the dramatic circuit and constitutes a direct, emotional communication of the tragedy, as shown below.³²

³² Aristotle's *Poetics* made much of audience reaction. A powerful image of archetypal magnitude and achievement can indeed arouse audience emotions of pity and fear (and occasionally, joy or relief, if the news photo is positive). Though viewing a great photograph may not be "cathartic" at all – rather, the experience may be one of "no exit," compelling a viewer to return repeatedly to the image, dissatisfied and unable to resolve ambivalent feelings about it – the image may nonetheless be trenchant enough for a viewer to commit it to memory. Moeller argues that a memory of an image not our own (or of someone we know directly) is an indicator of "the aura" Walter Benjamin spoke of when he described the originality of art. A great photo speaks to the "elusive, charismatic and sometimes haunting presence" (Moeller, 1999, p. 39) of situations that stimulate feelings of pity, fear, and empathy.

Figure 20: Eddie Adams photo of S. Vietnamese National Police Chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing Viet Cong officer in Saigon on Feb. 1, 1968
<http://www.pbase.com/omoses/image/118045027>

Figure 21: First Aid Station near DMZ, 1966.
Photo by Larry Burrows
http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.yale.edu/yale300/democracy/may1text/images/BurrowsVietnam.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php%3F29649-The-Most-Moving-Pictures/page7&usg=__tgYBQmsbPL8BGjWqL2rOM8WEoA4=&h=668&w=1000&

Physical gestures energize the archetypal plot and shape its message: 1) (Left: Unflinching General Loan delivers one shot to the head (Eddie Adams, 1968); 2) Below: Injured soldier reaches out to his fallen brother (Larry Burrows, 1966); 3) Below: Volodya Sherbateivich, about to hang, hands tied, looks on kindly, possibly speaking to or praying for his dead comrade Masha Bruskina (1941).

Figure 22 above right: The hanging of Masha Bruskini and Volodya Sherbateivich, two teenage Russian resistance fighters, 1941. Photographer Unknown
<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWbruskina2.jpg>

Figure 22 above right: The hanging of Masha Bruskini and Volodya Sherbateivich, two teenage Russian resistance fighters, 1941. Photographer Unknown

2.5 “*Anagnorisis*” (Recognition) and the Archetypal Image

There are, indeed, exceptional cases in which the camera, quite serendipitously, manages to capture the expression of *anagnorisis* in the face of a protagonist or a victim. Two examples are the very disturbing 1941 image of the Nazi hanging of two Russian teenage resistance fighters, Masha Bruskina and Volodya Sherbateivich (1941), along with Larry Burrows’ famous 1967 image of an American

soldier in Vietnam sweating heavily and clutching a thick book (it may be a parcel) in his dirty fingers as he steps aside from his men on a jungle patrol. Both photos deliver the *impression* of a personal revelation/recognition, which is communicated directly by the expressions in the photo subjects' faces. In the Russian photo, for example, Volodya (the boy in the hat) witnesses the death of his colleague Masha, a nurse and resistance fighter. His mouth is open, as though in a half-smile or spoken prayer. Perhaps he is speaking, praying, or comforting her as she dies. His face is apparently placid and without anger. His hands are tied behind his back, yet he focuses on giving or receiving comfort. Masha is dead or nearly so, and no longer struggling and in pain. The boy seems calm and accepting just moments before his own execution.

Figure 23: Vietnam. Photo by Larry Burrows

<http://collection.spencerart.ku.edu/eMuseumPlus?service=DynamicAsset&sp=SU5mxm4Yx%2FVbg9LVP7MZLDqo6z5lhONBxez%2FYx5EhVSCZjU0bcvvsnPxkoLiFJnF9QzRY98OZwV3L%0ATpwyJeR7NMPvp3RRP61q%2FZaOrpMIarXn%2B1mkImUteSyJGqnlNVpn&sp=Simage%2Fjpeg>

In the Burrows' photograph (left), the soldier is apparently exhausted and contemplating some unspoken ugliness or horror as he casts his eyes down and away from the queue of men seemingly peeling off in a different direction.

We can only surmise that something is wrong—the viewer's context could be that all of (American involvement in) Vietnam is wrong. The soldier's physical gestures and facial expression—his stepping away, his darkened eyes and brow, the soft mouth, his hand reaching up to collar, his body burdened by too many packs and objects, including the book—suggest that he is drifting from the main line of his men, in thought and perhaps in deed. The soldier behind him, to our left, is a study of opposites. His jaw is set, his

gaze determined; he is leading the line of men to the next appointed hour, all readiness and vigilance. The helmet on this soldier thrusts forward over the brow, his fingers wrapped resolutely around a belt (perhaps fingering a gun on his hips). Meanwhile, our foreground soldier expresses weariness, suggesting that he recognizes the *peripeteia* about to befall this mission, indeed, any American mission. He is an archetype of the lost, alienated soldier wandering through the jungle.

Admittedly, Burrows' photo is a work of contingency. Unlike classic poetry or Greek drama, there are no explanatory words or scripts written explicitly within the frame. Yet the photo elicits a disturbing, haunting sense of *pathos*. No photo can fully explain itself. The presumptive witness of record, the camera, which is an extension of the photographer, merely provides technology to preserve the scene and its serendipitous details.

2.6 Ordinary News Photos as “Placeholders” and Promotion

Figure 24: An Afghan bridge destroyed by insurgents, Dec. 2009. Photo by Dario Lopez-Mills, Associated Press
http://www.syracuse.com/news/index.ssf/2009/12/what_is_president_obamas_plan.html

To understand how important the expressive gesture is to the great photograph, though, consider a December 2009 AP image or an American soldier patrolling in Afghanistan. The image, published on the front page of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, accompanied a story about Obama's decision to send 34,000 additional troops to Afghanistan in a surge to battle growing numbers of Taliban guerillas. As depicted in this image, the patrolling soldier is a model of American military power and anonymity; his enormous goggles shield the face and especially, the eyes. The uniform he is wearing shows no evidence of damage or even wear-and-tear. He is gloved, helmeted,

obviously well fed, attired neatly and holding his gun at a downward angle. The aggregate impression of the image is that it is primarily promotional; it shows no particular action or gesture of high emotional significance, although the soldier in the distant background has a hand held up, as though signaling. The absence of facial expressions or depiction of a serious life-and-death predicament places the photograph outside the realm of archetypal and much more in the realm of “average,” “constructed,” or even “fake news.”³³ Without the caption, we would have very little idea of what the soldier on patrol or the background figures were actually *doing*. The image appears more like an artifact created to assist the US in publicizing the Afghan war effort than a legitimate capture of soldiers acting and responding in real wartime conditions. If any photo were to be chosen to exemplify a hegemonic code, this is it.

Clearly the mimetic *methods* of a superb news photograph are not the same as those of an ordinary photo, much less a tragic play or poem. But *insight* and *pathos* are achievable nonetheless; they are among the great attractions of photojournalism. Without them, a news photograph would be strictly informational and routine (as many of them are), never assuming the magnitude, seriousness, or emotional impact of mimetic art.

2.7 Which Image Properties Count and Why?

I have already proposed that psychological gesture, action, and facial expression and body language are key elements of the superlative news photograph. Barring panoramic views of battlefields, explosions, bombings, natural disasters,

³³ The US government has frequently hired public relations agencies to generate military photographs and video footage under the general monikers “fake news.” Many of these agencies provide general footage to TV news and radio outlets; they serve as filler when commercial enterprises cannot embed or provide independent coverage.

exotic landscapes and visitations from outer space, human faces are the most direct “stage” in which drama happens.³⁴

Besides the human face,³⁵ physical gestures are bound up in the totality of *expressive mood* of the photograph; gestures or facial expressions may forecast the hero or villain’s *recognition* of culpability, impossible odds, or fate. In addition, the expressive mood of the photograph seems to telegraph the overall emotional *gestalt* to viewers. Such factors as composition (grouping, alignment, and proximity of geometric forms), aesthetic and content approach (e.g., perspective, angle, use of repetition, contrast, close-up), along with lighting, textures, the graininess/speed of the film, shutter speed and uses of sepia pantones, b/w or color, clarity of the image ‘story,’ use of detail and facture to communicate authenticity: all these elements contribute to the photograph’s tone. The other discrete pictorial properties I’ve selected for evaluation are mainly derived from common terms of photojournalistic

³⁴ The film director and scenarist Béla Belázs, in *Theory of the Film* (1970), argued that the “close up” of objects, especially human faces, is critical to the moving image’s effectiveness. “...the close up strips the veil of our imperceptiveness and insensitivity from the hidden little things and shows us the face of objects [which reveal] man” (p. 60). Further, the human face is the site of the silent soliloquy, Belázs wrote. Spoken soliloquies were once a mainstay of classic literature and drama; they revealed the internal conflicts of the hero. Today, the abbreviated language of film and the close-up of actors’ faces largely eliminates the need for words. Moreover, the “silent soliloquy” is certainly a strong element of film along with still news photography. One piece of evidence that shows how strong photographs’ “silent soliloquies” actually are is that digital slide shows providing a sequence of silent still frames on major newspaper websites remain the most popular and visited part of the site, recording the highest number of “hits,” much higher than textual stories or even video (Bruno, Personal Communication, 2010; Rasmussen, Personal Communication, 2010). One explanation may be that a series of photographs can telegraph the salient visual – and emotional – details of a theme or single news story much more efficiently than either text or video; and viewers apparently enjoy the privacy and asynchronicity of viewing and “running” the slide shows at their own pace(s).

³⁵ Interior monologues and mental dialogues may erupt in response to close-up images of human faces; the human brain has been shown experimentally to process faces holistically, lending credence to the idea that facial prototypes can be processed and memorized as wholes (Tanaka & Farah, 2003). This may be a survival mechanism—immediate recognition of the face of friend or foe. The ability of the mind to detect nuance of emotion in faces is unparalleled. The face produces manifestations of mental states, including aggression, anger, fear, vulnerability, calculation, and loneliness. Therefore, one could reasonably predict that facial expressions and body language would be a key element of the superb, non-panoramic photograph.

practice. For example, newsworthiness and novelty are virtually ubiquitous terms of art (see below). Newsworthiness and novelty are “paired” properties; viewer detection of a ‘newsworthy’ photo may indeed depend to some degree on its novelty (Mendelson, 2001). Other paired properties having direct or indirect bearing on viewer responses include composition-aesthetics, narrative clarity-narrative power, and memorable quality-haunting quality. Emotional arousal, although linked to expressive mood, may also be interrelated with the aforementioned properties along with the presentation of a strong archetypal theme (a theme that bears a ‘message’ about human predicaments, right vs. wrong, etc.).

The apparent inter-relatedness of these property categories, which cross into realms of content, technology, presentation, and viewer apprehension of what is going on within the frame, seems mostly a matter of logic. For example, a clear, simplified presentation of geometric forms or figures in a photograph (i.e., such forms may include triangles, circles, vanishing points, ovals and S curves, for example) helps reduce the “noise” or clutter of distracting objects and may contribute directly to the viewer’s aesthetic impression of beauty or force (Brown, Personal Communication, September 10, 2010). A visual story clearly showing the wounding, anguish, or death of a child is likely to be judged as a powerful narrative (narrative clarity-narrative power).

An especially memorable photo may also seem “haunting” to viewers who retain the image and return to it in daydreams and nightmares. At times, though, these

qualities will be judged asymmetrically (see Results, Chapter 4). For example, the death

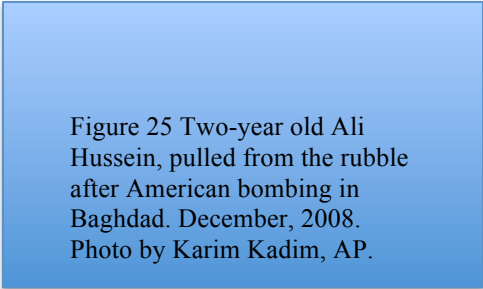


Figure 25 Two-year old Ali Hussein, pulled from the rubble after American bombing in Baghdad. December, 2008. Photo by Karim Kadim, AP.

by suffocation of the 2 year old child Ali Hussein (Section II of the Quantitative Survey) in Baghdad in 2008 conveyed a powerful story despite a visual narrative that lacked a ‘cause and effect’ narrative clarity. (The child suffocated as a result of a building collapse during an American bombing raid; neither planes nor Americans were shown. The suffocation is suggested only by the dust on the child’s face and body.)

Similarly, an image may be memorable without haunting the viewer (as in ‘frightening’ or visiting the viewer repeatedly in mental images). The iconic John Filo image of Mary Ann Vecchio screaming over the body of a murdered Kent State student from 1969 lost much of its novelty and haunting effect over decades of public exposure. Yet the image remains memorable to many, especially to the Americans who lived through that period. If cultural critics Hariman & Lucaites are correct, certain icons continue to provide “acceptable” metonymic captures of democratic dissent even if they have lost a great deal of their potency and shock value (2007; Sontag 1977). An archetypal image need not be overexposed; and hence may retain more of its original power.

2.8 Interrelatedness of Image Properties

Based on the interrelatedness of many of these photo properties, along with abundant critical literature arguing that 1) many news photos tend to produce *consensus narratives* based on acculturation and group construction of social values and meanings; and 2) that human aesthetic sense may be partially innate or biologically engrained, I hypothesize that both expert and non-expert viewers of both sexes will universally recognize and prioritize (i.e. rank order) certain properties of

news images (i.e., newsworthiness, novelty, expressive mood, etc.) they feel most contribute to the success or failure of the image to communicate meaningfully to them. In other words, people will identify the same or very similar properties in the image which are particularly salient (for example, split-second capture of an action) and contribute most to their emotional judgments of what is “good.”

- **H2: Experts of both sexes prioritize and rank (ordinally) the most important stimulus qualities of a news image in the same order as non-experts.**

Two hypotheses are related to H2. The first is that certain photo properties are more likely to be judged more universally than others. These include properties that appear to be based on socially constructed ideas rather than pictorial qualities having to do with aesthetic preference or gendered content. These more ‘neutral’ qualities may depend on how we are trained and acculturated to decide such things as newsworthiness, i.e., “what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe” (Sontag, 1977, p. 3). Therefore:

- **H3: Differences in gender and expertise *do not* produce significant differences in the perception and ranking of such news image properties such as newsworthiness, novelty, and memorable effect.**

By contrast, those properties aligned to the aesthetics, gendered subject matter, expressive mood, or emotional gestalt of the images may register very differently according to the expertise and gender of the viewer:

- **H4: Differences in gender and expertise produce significant differences in the viewer’s judgment and rankings of news images properties, such as**

aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality and effect.

In addition:

- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, moral, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**

Moreover, an image should be more salient and meaningful to viewers if they have personal knowledge of the news event, including *experiencing the event in their lifetime* by having had direct or indirect (mediated) exposure to that event, as follows:

- **H6: Temporal proximity and exposure to the news event depicted in a photo heightens viewers' perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and emotionally expressive as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**

2.9 Image Properties in the Literature

Below are brief summaries of the literature on these photographic properties along with my comments on concepts and research opportunities as yet unexplored.

The descriptions form the backdrop for my foundational study and specifically, for hypotheses formulated, tested, modified, and, in some cases, discarded. Most of these studies on audience reception and collective memory are based on post-structuralist writings assuming unanimity of public mood. Surprisingly, very little, if any quantitative or qualitative survey research has been attempted to assess differences either in visual reception to news photo images among distinct

viewing group—for example, professionally trained photographers vs. naïve or untrained subjects; people of different ethnic or racial background; women and men. The lack of reliable data on both expert vs. non-expert and gendered responses to news photography is shocking. Mendelson’s (2001) study of naïve subjects’ reception to novel news photos prompted him to observe that “an important area to [future] research is the differences in schema or expectations between expert photographers and novices or non-photographers” (p. 146). These are precisely the groups (visuals experts and non-experts) that I have chosen to study. In addition, I have also attempted to isolate the factor of gendered reception to surveyed images. It is my contention, which forms the basis of several research hypotheses, that gender difference will predict strong vs. tepid responses to certain exceptional photographs with strongly gendered subject matter. Indeed, gender and visual expertise may be a significant predictor overall of how a particular viewer will respond to a news photograph. It may even play a role in which images a viewer retains or forgets.

2.9.1 Newsworthiness and Novelty

Representations of faces and actions in the photograph can bluntly telegraph to the viewer why the image is *newsworthy* or not. Although newsworthiness is a complex set of concepts expressed visually, it is one of those “intangible” properties which, presumably, members of similar news communities and cultures can roughly agree on. Critics in recent years have equated newsworthiness with a deviance from social, legal and statistical norms (Lee, 2008). The latter includes news coverage of unlikely or statistically odd or novel events. Newsworthiness also charts *social change deviance*, referring to “events that have a potential to make a difference in the

existing social structure or order” (Lee, 2008). All forms of “deviance” influence audience selection of news and predict the likelihood of media coverage, according to a recent 10-country study (Shoemaker & Cohen [undated] cited in Lee [2008]). However, Durham Peters equates the professional and lay audience *experience* of news as an act of *witnessing* and *presence*, particularly the witnessing and acknowledgement of pain and death (Durham Peters, 2001). This definition is particularly important in the visualization of newsworthy events.

In the same vein, newsworthiness is often equated with a surprising, *novel* and especially *local* event or personage in a public context, such as a President stopping by a hamburger joint or an acrobat walking a tightrope between two New York City skyscrapers. The imaging of an act or event of significance to public viewers can reflect changes in the group’s material circumstances as a result of a shift in public policy, a war decision, or the ousting of a government official or foreign dignitary. “Newsworthiness” may also refer adroitly to the “framing” of news by elites. Prasun Sonwalkar (2005) argues that too many mainstream news organizations define what is “newsworthy” in the narrowest, most binary way, echoing Stuart Hall’s warnings against hegemonic codes (1980). Media organizations decide on the newsworthiness of an event or item based on an “us vs. them” frame that eliminates not only half the world, but half the world within our own borders. Whether the framing reflects benign neglect (most media critics don’t think so) or deliberate omission based on myopic perspectives and assumed knowledge of public(s) and what is good for them to see, Sonwalkar maintains that “the events and issues that rarely figure in news content may be termed the media’s ‘sphere of invisibility’ or what Tuchman (1978)

called ‘symbolic annihilation’” (p. 262). Even though journalists would deny it, mainstream media marginalizes news of “otherness”: events, places, and people who are unwanted, unknown, or rarely heard from. What is “fit to print,” therefore, reveals both “intentional and unintentional biases at various levels: selection, language, images, framing, presentation and representation” (p. 262). As Said (2001, as cited in Sonwalkar, 2005) argued:

There really is a feeling being manufactured by [US] media and the government that a collective ‘we’ exists and that ‘we’ all act and feel together, as witnessed by such perhaps unimportant surface phenomena as flag-flying and the use of the collective ‘we’ used by journalists in describing events all over the world in which the US is involved. We bombed, we said, we decided, we acted, we feel, we believe, etc. Of course, this has only marginally to do with reality, which is far more complicated and far less reassuring (Said, 2001).

One of the purposes of this dissertation is to assess how professional photojournalists and naive viewers react to news photographs showing this alternate, less assuring reality. A news photograph that exceeds the quotidian and produces compelling news attention may display subjects and actions that not only deviate from mainstream newsworthiness, but also give insight into mental states, cultures, and worldviews to which the viewing/reading public(s) are not ordinarily exposed.³⁶

³⁶ An archetypal image that depicts an alternate reality can in fact enable insights of this nature; an iconic, familiar image may not – in part through overexposure; in part because it confirms existing mainstream ideologies of nationhood and civic participation. To avoid the problem of banality or ceaseless saturation of images that readers have been exposed to too many times (see Moeller, 1999, and description of overexposure in *Compassion Fatigue*; see also Mendelson, 2001), editors might deliberately begin choosing alternative (not hegemonic) representation of subjects and predicaments not commonly represented in mainstream news. Textual stories might also “bend the envelope” by presenting stories in formats and perspectives other than from the standard elite (and primarily) Western sources. Unfortunately, news organizations have spent very little time or energy researching audience sensitivity to news imagery (the same cannot be said for advertisement or general sections of a newspaper, where focus groups and surveys are common); most knowledge about reader response is anecdotal, based on reader complaint and report (Emmett, 2010). According to Don Winslow, a former news editor at the *Palm Beach Post* and current editor of *News Photographer Magazine*, a monthly publication of the National Press Photographers Association: “News editors today don’t want to offend readers, and they don’t want to piss people off, and they don’t want to take phone calls [from irate

The novelty aspect of newsworthiness has long been recognized, but it may be a less salient (or enduring) quality than media people commonly assume. Sontag observed that “Photographs shock insofar as they show something novel.... After repeated exposures to images it [the pictured event] also becomes less real” (1978, p. 19). Mendelson (2001) confirmed her observation when he conducted two experiments showing the effects of photographic novelty on naïve (student) viewers’ memory and attention. When evaluating novelty in terms of preferences for viewing, viewing time, recall memory, and interest ratings for photos seen alone or when seen in a newspaper, Mendelson found that readers do in fact respond better to photos that are judged novel (and pre-qualified as novel), but only when seen by themselves. “These effects disappear when photos are seen as part of newspaper pages. In this context, the only driving sources of interest seem to be the story topic,” he concluded (p. 119). In his study, novel news stories certainly attracted more student attention and were remembered better. Ironically, novel photos, seen in the context of textual stories, were not. Mendelson attempted to establish separate measures for both compositional novelty and content novelty, asking viewers to rate and distinguish both types of novelty. However, his experimental participants “did not find the two novelty dimensions independent,” confirming the expert view that content and composition are often “inextricably intertwined” (p. 145).

readers] the next day” (Emmett, 2010, p. 33). The avoidance of negative reaction appears to be at least one driving force behind mainstream visual censorship. Editors acknowledge they have withheld or retouched particularly graphic, politically controversial, or forceful news photography if they believe too many readers would be offended (Moeller, 2009).

2.9.2 Aesthetics and Composition

Aesthetics, by definition, is the branch of intelligence that critically reflects on the nature of beauty and ugliness, Nature (i.e., natural processes and states), taste, and art. In the modern view, aesthetics is very much driven by the cognitive processing of *vision in all the senses*. Immanuel Kant in 1790, writing in his *Critique of Judgment* (1790/1951), observed that aesthetic judgment which relies partially on sensory information belongs neither to the faculty of sensation nor to the faculty of reasoning alone. Instead, it appears unique, a separable bridging faculty that presents “judgments [that] are singular, and yet announce themselves as universally valid for every subject” (Kant, 1790/1951, p. 82).

The modern day take on visual perception and aesthetic judgment is complex. In the era of Carl Jung and his mid 20th century brand of psychological humanism, art and aesthetics expressed not only the vagaries of personal consciousness but the symbolic and highly visual aptitudes manifesting humankind’s *collective unconscious* (Jung, 1958, 1964, 1974). The collective unconscious, Jung believed, expressed the knowledge and experience internalized as part of the human struggle over the ages. This inheritance also produced *archetypes*—repeated motifs, symbols, and character types in art, literature, and dreamscapes. Archetype, as a term, derives from the ancient Greek, *archetypum*—[Gr. Arkhétupon = *αρχετυπον*, f.] which means “first molded” or “first stamped.” (OED online, 2009). The word “*αρχε*” translates as “first” or “primitive” and “*τυπον*” means impress, stamp, or type (OED, 1981, p. 108). According to Jung, archetypes emerged across cultures, manifesting as commonly understood symbols (e.g., “the Sun God; Mother spirit, etc.) or

mythic/idealized stock characters (“the wise old man,” “the divine couple,” the “hero”) who served as unexpected “visitors” intervening at critical plot points in stories, dreams, and visual narratives. His interpretations gave rise to the concept of archetypes as a source for cross-cultural mythologies expressed in common images of art (but this is not the sense in which I describe real-life, situational archetypes of news photography for my study).

Modern cognitive science has more or less dispatched Jungian theory. However, cognitive linguists have argued that pre-existing mental *schemata* can enable the mind to grasp quickly the particulars and significance of image and textual narratives in varying forms, applying rules to categorize and identify visual subjects. Linguistic *prototype* theory, developed in the 1970s and 1980s, reinterpreted Wittgenstein’s “family resemblances” and basic-level categories. Rosch and Lakoff argued that cognition produces a set of *canonic* categories (mental schema) that aid memory by producing somewhat abstracted or idealized feature sets of an object or object class (birds, for example) (Lakoff, 1987). A prototype schema, according to Solso in his *Cognition and the Visual Arts* (1994), *also* expresses central tendencies of a visual object; they are “abstractions of stimuli against which similar patterns are judged” [embodying] “the most frequently experienced features of a class of objects” (p. 251). These features are restructured and stored within the brain as an abstraction in canonic (idealized) form, he writes, enabling the brain to recognize objects instantly (and their variations) while conserving billions of cortical neurons. Solso suggests that prototype schemata influence our ideas about aesthetic preferences (pp. 242-251).

An information processing “goal” of improving the brain’s efficiency and effectiveness has also been theorized to explain “innate” or “universal” aesthetic preferences (Barry, 2005). Di Dio et al. (2007) reported human subject MRI showing discrete neural patterns associated with aesthetic responses.³⁷ Their findings suggest that “objective” feelings of beauty and ugliness are not produced only as the result of cultural preference or subjective taste. Rather, artistically naïve study subjects’ overwhelmingly positive responses to images of classically proportioned Greek sculpture (as opposed to digitally distorted sculpture) appeared to have a biological . Dutton (2009) argued that taste and creative impulse toward beauty (both appreciating beauty and making beautiful objects in the form of art) are survival mechanisms to make humans more attractive to the opposite sex and fit for continued evolution. But for Herbert Gans (1999), aesthetics is purely social construction, given to high levels of variability in standards as defined by discrete *taste cultures*. There is no “good” and “bad taste,” according to Gans, only such putative distinctions as “high brow,” “middle brow,” and “low brow.”

Empirical research on the aesthetics and compositional effects of news photography is scant. However, content analyses of photographic images have shown that powerful *stimulus qualities* can trigger emotional responses. Based on Berlyne’s ecological approach, Dennis Dake identified certain “stimulus” qualities in an image which actually produce heightened emotional responses in viewers (Dake, 2005). The

³⁷ Di Dio’s MRI research has also shown that the *amygdala* is associated with aesthetic processing and subjective appreciation of beauty – including positive emotional feelings and attitudes toward visual percepts presented in painting and sculpture. Di Dio et al. (2007) found that among naïve subjects asked first to observe, then judge the aesthetics of “canonic” vs. modified Greek statuary (see “Visual Rules and Cognition” below), distinct emotional, analytic, and motor processing centers of the brain consistently “lit up” depending on task demand, producing strong feelings of pleasure in these subjects.

qualities he identified as *complexity, ambiguity, incongruity, uncertainty, surprise, novelty, and indistinctness* (p. 5). Certain ambiguous images often excited greater attention in viewers than unambiguous images (Berlyne). Complex images may help viewers sustain an aesthetic experience (Berlyne, 1974). Further, Dake (2005) and Arnheim (1966) identified “hidden” and induced visual structures which include illusory movements.

Compositional “rules” are intrinsic to news photograph’s effectiveness.

Figure 26: Rule of Thirds

Many of these rules may in fact have strong cognitive information processing correlates. An example is the “Rule of Thirds,” which has been accepted since the end of the 18th century as a guideline for “good composition”

(whether portrait or landscape doesn’t matter; neither does the medium; the rule applies to painting, illustration or photography). The Rule of Thirds states that an image is best divided up into a tic-tac-toe grid of three equidistant columns and rows. Points of interest and tension lie at the intersection of these lines, so that artists, photographers, and designers should position their most important visual subjects at the intersection points (see below). These points may facilitate holistic (gestalt) processing efficiency, along with faster initial analysis of primitives.³⁸ Another

³⁸ Further, the grid has its cognitive processing analog in the “viewer centered coordinate frame” that David Marr outlines in his primal and 2 ½D “sketch.” The process by which the vision system separates primitive geometries, figure from foreground, luminance values, depth cues, and differential signal intensities, among other parameters, also suggests that the Rule of thirds or “grid-like” analysis of a 3D image—whether in the brain, a landscape painting, or in Photoshop—makes for efficient “early-stage” 2 and 2½D retinocentric processing. The “implicit” or “hidden” heuristic supporting the Rule of Thirds is that salient visual objects or horizons are ill-positioned for effect when they are placed smack in the “center” of the frame, ostensibly “cutting” the picture in half and forcing the eye to fixate on one central object.¹⁵ Composition of this sort is believed to lend a static feeling images that otherwise would seem dynamic from a different perspective; moreover, the “weighted” position at

frequently cited rule of compositional proportion and “balance” is the *Golden Ratio*. Discovered as a property of geometry and architecture by Euclid and Pythagoras, it divides a line into a longer (a) and shorter (b) segment whose ratio a/b is the same as that of the whole to the longer (a+b/a). This ratio works out to the following:

$$\frac{a+b}{a} = \frac{a}{b} = \varphi \quad \text{where} \quad \varphi = \frac{1+\sqrt{5}}{2} \approx 1.6180339887\dots$$

Figure 27: Calculation of the Golden Ratio

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_ratio)

The Golden Ratio was the preferred choice of naïve subjects in Di Dio’s study of images of canonic Polykleitos sculptures and their digitally distorted variants (Di Dio et al, 2007). The aggregate conclusion about aesthetics and composition is that certain “rules” of beauty apply to news photography, as they do in art, and many of the rules appear to be based on a human sense of proportionality and innate balance between objects arranged in a 2 or 3D space. Whether or not that sense is biological or culturally based, or both, is still open to question. However, the viewers’ sense of aesthetics is sufficiently developed by early adulthood that I had no qualms about asking study subjects about general aesthetic impressions of these properties in my surveys.

2.9.3 Empathy, Emotional Arousal, & Gender

Although many psychologists have attempted to measure the affective and cognitive components of empathy in connection with gender, very little work has been done specifically to evaluate empathy and allied emotions in connection with

the center “counters” the *implied trajectory* of embedded path-to-goal image schema allowing the viewer to follow the path of the object to its ‘resting point’ or position of stability (Gibbs & Colston, 2006).

photography and gender difference, according to Strauss (2004), reviewing the research of several psychologists and her own, identified three essential emotional components of empathy: imaginative projection, awareness of others' emotions, and concern. Hoffman (1993) distinguished cognitive vs. affective empathy, arguing that the cognitive aspect of empathy is awareness of another's feelings; while the affective aspect is an emotional reaction to another's feelings, in particular, "the affective response is more appropriate to [their] emotions than one's own" (p. 648). Empathy is closely linked to identification, and Strauss's studies of poverty (2004) have shown that women display greater empathetic concern than men when subjects talk about poverty. Gilligan has also argued that women's empathy is more likely than men's to produce a standard of care (1982). However, some cross-cultural research shows greater sex differences in empathy in the United States than elsewhere. And Strauss's overall review of studies of empathy and gender have shown that evidence of differences in cognitive empathy between the sexes is mixed. Hall (1984) noted that women and girls are generally better at determining the emotions depicted in pictures or videos (without verbal cues) than men and boys (Graham & Ickes, 1997). But sex differences in empathy seem contingent on details of the experimental situation. In studies of affective empathy (Eisenberg & Lennon 1983 using Davis's Interpersonal Reactive Index and Empathetic Concern Scale), females showed stronger empathy than males; 20 of these studies showed highly significant differences (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983, p. 437).

The findings of these studies can only serve as a background for evaluating the emotional and empathetic responses to the still news images in this foundational

research. For example, are there strong gender differences in emotional response and empathy levels toward particular photographs? Are there discernable differences in the kinds of empathy study participant displayed (i.e., imaginative projection, cognitive awareness of other's emotions, and concern)? Are there differences in emotional identification with pictorial subjects among visual experts vs. non-experts? Although this study did not attempt to analyze empathetic responses by the three separate components Strauss identified, I do in fact hypothesize that gender difference, along with direct exposure to the news event, will play a major role in image identification and judgment. Thus, in addition to the gendered hypotheses, above, I propose the following:

- **H7: The viewer's gender and personal knowledge of the depicted news event will have more impact on the emotional arousal (empathy) and recall of the image than its aesthetics or the viewer's perception of its novelty.**

- **H8: Viewers of either sex will report a 'haunting' or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear 'neutral' or non-gendered.**

2.9.4 Narrative Clarity-Narrative Power—Moral Issues

Barbie Zelizer has argued in several different books and articles that narrative timing is critical to public reception of photojournalism (1998, 2004, 2010); one of the most powerful junctures is the moment before death. Moreover, the clarity of a narrative at a crisis point is key to its emotional power. In that space between depiction and conjecture, "as is" and "as if" (Schudson, 1989, 1995), the photograph

produces a contingent or “subjunctive mood” which describes neither the beginning nor the end of the action, but the middle or “near end,” the moment that binds spectators in empathy with the photographic subject (Zelizer, 2004). Zelizer’s contention that “middles” or “near ends” represent the most compelling aspect of negative and violent news photography (the “about to die” image in her view) does not address the opportunities at other critical junctures in the narrative arc.

The correspondence in the narrative arc between the “crisis point” and the production of iconic imagery is hardly serendipitous. Photographs showing crisis invoke active empathy, imaginative projection (Strauss, 2004), embodied cognition (physical feelings of being involved in the ‘action’ (see Lakoff, 1987); and, in some cases, omniscient pity, based on belief that what is about to befall the photographic subjects has already done so. “Taken together, voice is extended here to refer to the relationship developed between the spectator and the image-involving state of mind, attitude, temporal and sequential positioning-and to those aspects of the image that help the spectator develop that relationship” (Zelizer, 2004, p. 162).

Roland Barthes (1970) and Zelizer (2004) both assert that a photograph within a visual culture has an additional force known as a “third meaning,” which is neither the literal surface reference to faces, bodies, scenes, events, nor is it the overt symbolism or abstract inference drawn directly from the photograph’s framed narrative. Rather, the third meaning is related to metonymy and personal interpretation of narrative (Barthes, 1970, p. 45). A viewer apparently recasts the image story within a personal vocabulary of mental images and thematic markers that disguise the photo but make it more relevant and cogent to the individual. “The third

meaning,” according to Barthes, is akin to the photograph’s *punctum*, or *wound* that Barthes describes in particularly compelling images (Barthes, 1980, p. 32). A *punctum* can be equated with a single object or gesture. The *clarity* of the punctum is tantamount to its power to convey emotion beyond the frame.³⁹

Walter Fischer contended that the “narrative paradigm,” for news has a moral bent: “...many scholars have studied the ways in which the journalistic media routinely use the techniques of narrative and personalization to find lessons in the news” (Kitch, 2005, pp. 4-5). Photojournalism’s presentation of “moral issues” or issues of justice is often caught up in arguments regarding the media’s framing of issues (see *newsworthiness and novelty*, above), its visual censorship and decisions not to publish (Emmett, 2010, Moeller, 2009). In terms of narrativity and the visual image, Kitch argues for photojournalism’s triple role in confirming existing mainstream community narrative; setting up ideals visually that very few can follow (she cites Susan Faludi’s comments that modern-day men are forced to emulate their father’s sense of manhood as defined by Joe Rosenthal’s iconic group of tough young soldiers planting the flag on Mt. Suribachi); and producing rituals and myths that sanctify war and mainstream values (p. 41). Narrative clarity and power are of a piece in photojournalism’s continued homage to the past. Perhaps more important, though, both Kitch and Schudson observe that journalism’s persistent narrative myths, whether conveyed visually or textually, “do not tell a culture’s simple truths so much as they explain its central dilemmas” (Schudson, *The Power of News*, 1995, 164, as

³⁹ Barthes considers wounds to be entirely related to the viewer’s individual history and subconscious life). The punctum, Barthes argued, apparently “annihilates the medium” of the photograph and produces a feeling that the viewer is no longer apprehending a visual representation (the sign), but the person or thing itself (Barthes, 1980, p. 45). This experience of “thirdness,” in the semiotics that Barthes helped devised, is neither the overt sign nor its signified object in the real world.

cited in Kitch, 2005, p. 40). While it is hard to argue with the latter statement, the problem with visual journalism, especially iconic photojournalism, is that so many of the central dilemmas of our time are rarely broached. Photojournalism doesn't "explain" anything. This study deliberately focuses on a variety of lesser-seen and known images from current and past times and cultures to explore what these images do convey. (Explanations must surely be found in a combination of text and image, but more importantly, in the minds of viewers and readers.)

2.9.5 Memorable Quality, Haunting Quality

As I have already reviewed in Chapter 1, many of media studies' chief proponents argue that photojournalism is the conduit and preserver of collective memory and communal, even democratic ideals (Zelizer, 1999, 2004, 2010; Kitch, 2005; Hariman & Lucaites, 2007). Kitch argues that re-telling of stories through journalism is "central to social identity formation and affirmation" (2005, p. 4). These arguments are hardly new. Zelizer has even described "waves" of memory work that "made Nazi atrocities rise and fall in the public imagination over time: an initial period of high attention persisted until the end of the forties...followed by a bracketed period of amnesia that lingered from the end of the forties until the end of the seventies; and that was followed in turn by a renewed period of intensive memory work that has persisted from the end of the seventies until the present day" (1999, ps. 141-142). While Zelizer indeed made a profound study of the public appropriations of Nazi atrocities and the role of the press in reviving interest in atrocity photographs, she does not focus on how private memories of public events, including haunting ones, are actually formed or shaped. This private to public intersection is really the

subject of my study. Rather, Zelizer argues that “images of collective memories are schematic, lacking the detail of personal memory’s images” (p. 7). What she apparently means by this is that people tend to remember the overall impression of a public image, not its details. “Few of us remember the name of the South Vietnamese village where children ran screaming from their napalmed homes into a photographer’s field of vision. ...but its resonance as an image of war atrocity – and invocation by U.S. antiwar groups during the sixties and seventies – stabilized its meaning precisely along its schematic dimensions” (p. 7). Michael Griffin has also argued that many iconic images, especially of war, are strangely lacking in salient ‘markers’ or details that would pin them definitely and recognizably to a time or place (1999). The classic example is the much ballyhooed, controversial 1936 *Death of a Rebel Sharpshooter*, by Robert Capa, which appears to be shot in a landscape of no one’s immediate recognition. Roughly half of the visual critics evaluating the photograph, including several of Capa’s former colleagues, have argued that the iconic photo was faked during a training exercise (Lester, 1991). Several other iconic photos are also strangely lacking in sharpness and identifiable details. Lester noted that 8 of the 10 most iconic images appearing in *Life* magazine were later found to have ethical problems associated with them, raising the question of whether icons and their “schematics” are actually conjured rather than photographed serendipitously.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ J.L. McClelland and D.E. Rumelhart’s “A Distributed Model of Human Learning and Memory” (1986, pp. 159-188) provides perspective on the mind’s parallel processing of visual images. The researchers describe a highly interconnected neuronal network of processing units that communicate with each other locally, producing an “array” of visual impressions. This distributed model of memory accounts for the fact that “memory appears to extract the central tendencies of a set of experiences [while] memory is sensitive to the details of specific events and experiences.” Drawing on this work, media professor John Newhagen of the University of Maryland studied meaning making, emotional responses to images, and memory. He found both positive and negative relationships between the airing of negative or traumatic news images on TV and the viewer’s retention of those images

It is my contention that both archetypal content and outstanding photographic execution (as in the “archetypal” or superb image) produce a more accurate viewer memory of the image than one that is poor in execution. Therefore:

- **H9: The primary visual details of a superlative news photo, including central figures and spatial relationships among figures, will be recalled more accurately than details of either prototypical or ordinary news photos.**

2.9.6 Audience Studies

Studies of photojournalism’s direct impact on audiences have been hampered by a lack of quantitative information. In the recent past, researchers positing the “we” of audience response to photojournalism, especially the ‘iconic’ photograph, have preferred to bolster their theories by citing the *indirect evidence* of cultural artifacts and behaviors brought about by a particular photograph’s publication and copying. Cultural critics have proposed, rather than studied carefully, the theory of visual determinism (Perlmutter, 1999), arguing that news photos have large societal effects, rather than variable or minimal effects according to differences of audience gender, expertise, culture, age, education, and other factors. The preferred method of studying

(Newhagen, 1998, 1999; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992; Newhagen, 2002). Specifically, Newhagen discovered that images can produce selective inhibiting effects on memory, i.e., “memory was worse for images that preceded the negative scenes. During the negative scenes, memory was worse for semantically intact audio information such as speech than for non-semantic aural information such as screams or crashing noises.” (1992, p. 25). Memory for visual material presented *after* the negative scenes was better than memory of materials presented before. This led Newhagen to suggest that retroactive inhibition of memory may have occurred after introduction of compelling negative imagery, while memory of events occurring afterward was stimulated. Newhagen linked the findings on memory to levels of emotion and the quality and quantity of memory, suggesting that images are a very powerful means of conveying information. “Professional journalists understand that while images of tragedy and human distress are aesthetically difficult to look at, they demand viewer attention in ways that other images do not.” (p. 26). Newhagen’s findings may be relevant to the testing of negative news images, especially. However, it remains to be seen if still photo images will exert the same inhibitory effects on memory as animated, televised ones.

images has been content analyses, appropriation of textual memoir, historical analyses, and interpretation of culturally repeating images, signs and motifs.

Reception theory, which describes a phenomenology of *how* a visual text “means” to an audience, takes visual meaning-making as a form of shared discourse between media content and audiences (Lindlof, 1987; Fish, 1980, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p. 286). Most of these reception studies are characterized as socio-phenomenological, in which subjects’ viewing habits are studied within the context of a family or a particular group sharing common interests or experiences. Reception theorists also conduct “audience (sic) studies” which Jensen (1993, as cited in Barbatsis, p. 286) characterized as “a qualitative form of audience-cum-content analysis” (p. 21, as cited in Barbatsis, p. 283). These studies seek “to understand how discourses of audiences compare with discourses of media texts” (p. 21). Audience discourse is thought to be “recoverable” through a researcher’s own interpretive analysis of a textual structure—such as a television program, a Web site, or a magazine ad (p.283).

During the 1980s, however, empirical studies (i.e., ethnographies, surveys, etc.) emerged showing substantial and sometimes surprising variations in audience responses to media content (Ang, 1985; Jensen, 1985; Lindloff, 1987; Morley 1980; Radway, 1984, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p. 281). Scholars advanced the notion of “interpretive communities,” which contributed to an understanding of how audience reaction to TV programming, romance novels, and other media forms could vary widely (as Liebes and Katz observed in their 1990 cross-cultural audience study of the TV program *Dallas*). For example, a classroom or group of housewives in a

suburban community might be framed as an “interpretive community” (Jensen, 1985, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p. 281) whose shared interests and experiences produced multiple interpretive strategies and meanings, enabling the group to reach a rough consensus on the emotional value of a romance novel or TV soap opera.⁴¹

In the 1990s, though, reception theory changed again. This time, researchers began considering the differences in audience reception to pictorial vs. verbal information, with criticism emerging that arbitrary verbal constructs were being imposed on visual ones (Barry, 1997, p. 108, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p. 289). Armed with neurological instruments such as PET scans and MRIs, scholars from art, linguistics, philosophy, cognitive psychology and communication began investigating the ‘holistic’ logic of visual cognition, positing a separate visual intelligence (supported, in part, by brain scans and MRI research) which enabled “mosaic presentations” of visual information (Stafford, 1996, as cited in Barbatsis, p. 289); abductive visual reasoning that came to viewers who assemble signs and signifiers like a “flash” (Moriarty 2005); collisions of visual fragments, and “complex seeing” (Stephens, 1998, pp 112-123, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p.289), a style of absorbing and organizing multi-sensory inputs much like the editing style celebrated on MTV (Stephens, 1998, pp. 112-123, as cited in Barbatsis, 2005, p. 289). Pictorial perception was defined as a faculty very different from the linear or logical presentation of verbal information (Stafford, 1996, p.16, as cited in Barbatsis, p. 289). Media

⁴¹ “Consensus includes, then, the notion that sense-making achievements are more than idiosyncratic and irresponsible interpretations as well as that they are variable. Accordingly, as Jensen (1990) pointed out, interpretive communities are multiple, overlapping, and potentially contradictory.” (Barbatsis, 2005, p. 288)

researchers began testing theories of visual vs. verbal learning capacity among students reading news stories, but with inconclusive results.

My foundational study takes a much more quantitative approach to viewer preferences and choices than many of the previous audience studies. Parts 1 and 2 measure the viewer's subjective confrontation with a range of news photographs of different qualities. The goal is to assess how viewer sees the image, parses it, assigns priority and value to its qualities and parts, compares it to other images within a framework of existing knowledge, and ultimately decides whether the image is valuable or worth remembering. To my knowledge, these tasks have not been attempted in any previous study of photojournalism using a diverse 2 X 2 ANOVA group design.

2.10 The Survey Images

The following consists of concise analytic summaries of several of the images drawn from each of the five parts of my quantitative survey. While I do not analyze all the images that appeared in this study, I have included those provoking the most commentary and, in many instances, the highest rating. I do, however, include summaries of a few of the lower rated photographs as a basis for comparison. Since my focus is primarily on the reception to thematic and plot point archetypes and how they might register among viewers, the descriptions center on these themes.

2.10.1 Icon vs. Archetype

As a matter of clarifying distinctions between certified icons (famous public photographs) vs. lesser known but high quality photos showing certain archetypal

characteristics, I include the following comparative summary. These criteria contribute to the classification of the survey images described in this section.

1) Icons:

- Highly public artifacts, widely distributed, copied, and appropriated by mass media, citizens, producing models of civic participation in moments of stress, public celebrations of joy, or crisis.
- Typically portray *an unfinished public task*, a process that must go on, inviting a viewer's strong imaginative civic participation and projection.
- Provide graphic representations – but not too graphic, of catastrophic or history-making events framed within the public mainstream.
- Use psychological gesture and facial expression to convey emotion.
- Allow expressions of extreme pain and suffering as long as there is an implicit public invitation to produce a remedy.
- May rely on heroic or religious inspired poses and decontextualized spaces and scenarios that lack familiar geographic or locational markers. Lack of scenario context reputedly contributes to an icon's symbolic or mythological feel.
- May or may not be of the highest aesthetic caliber.
- May or may not be authentically framed and shot.

Archetypes:

- Exemplify models of human character responding through *action* and *gesture* to predicaments and tragic events of magnitude and seriousness.

- Express critical plot points or junctures in human struggles, particularly life and death struggles or moments of celebration or resolution.
- May or may not provide models of civic participation; may provide counter-culture or alternative (not mainstream) models of character and behavior.
- May or may not be highly publicized, distributed, or recognized by large sectors of the public (Alternately, may be distributed selectively through professional books, magazines, Internet sites, or through word of mouth).
- Portray unfinished and finished tasks, including tasks that portend or display final outcomes.
- Use psychological gesture and facial expression to convey emotion.
- May be extremely graphic – too graphic for many individuals – displaying catastrophic turning points or history-making events.
- Allow expressions of pain, suffering, or joy regardless of the outcome to viewing publics.
- Must be of the highest aesthetic caliber and authentically shot (not restaged or choreographed).

2.10.2 Section #1: Hope and Heroism

Section #1 Image #1



Figure 28: 1909 Labor Day Parade, NYC: Photographer unknown

Subject: Two girls wearing Banners saying “Abolish Child Slavery!” in English & Yiddish.

Thematic archetype(s): Every woman as hero; stand and be counted; taking their place.

Plot point/ Juncture: The Challenge

Iconic? No

Archetypal? Candidate. Struggle not portrayed in action; however, high aesthetics and compelling presentation, facial expression & gesture

Image's strengths:

- Visual (photographic) clarity
- Haunting portraits of two girl demonstrators holding banners.
- Girls' penetrating eye contact with camera/viewers
- Presence of enigmatic third woman (background)
- Gaze of supporting male characters, including child on right, man in background
- Excellent composition (a triangular "pediment") & aesthetics (sepia print has marvelous 3D quality)
- Facial expressions suggest hope, character, early female heroism
- Memorable; strong moral theme

Image weaknesses:

- Minimal physical action; lack of action precludes sense of tipping point/struggle
- Less overtly newsworthy than historical in value.
- Subdued psychological gesture (holding flags, banners)
- Ambiguous juncture in time; more a posed-on-the-fly portrait

- Minimal novelty

Section #1 Image #2

Figure 29: Winter Soldier, 1972

Subject: Winter Soldier 1972 (from documentary on Vietnam);
photographer unidentified.

Thematic archetype(s): Stand and be

Counted; Defiance.

Plot point/Juncture: The Challenge

Iconic: No

Archetypal: No. Aesthetic/technical achievement lacking; intense struggle but not manifest in external action

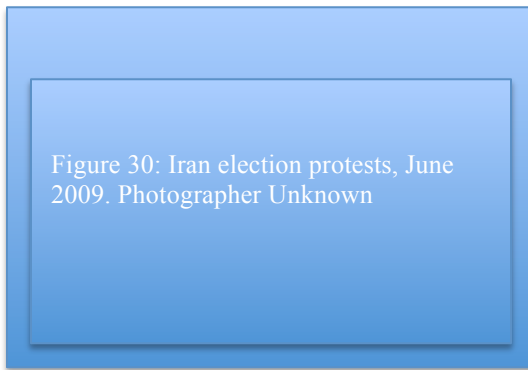
Image Strengths:

- Unity and closeness of diverse characters (i.e., “circle of life”)
- Spontaneity of shot
- Narrative clarity (shows resistance to war)
- Dynamic motion (inverted American flag); irregular grouping of figures
- Strong psychological gestures (kneeling GI grasping hand; standing young man defiantly holding flag upside down; crippled man on crutches trying to make his way forward)
- Defiant facial expression of leader
- Emotional resonance; trenchant presentation of moral theme

Image Weaknesses

- Camera angle weak; photo subjects looking away
- “Antagonists” or authority figures not pictured
- Central figures distracted
- Woman’s hand gestures, facial expression unclear; position in group unclear; no rapport with viewer

Section #1 Image #3



Clashes between injured police and Iranian election protestors. Tehran June 15 2009 (Photographer Unknown)

Thematic Archetype(s): Clash & Defiance

Plot point/Juncture: Turning Point

Iconic: No

Archetypal: No. Image aesthetics lacking; irresolution of struggle (still ongoing)

Image Strengths:

- Newsworthiness & expressive mood
- Breaking action/chaos
- Psychological gesture: hands extended to protect bloodied officer
- Facial Expressions: shouting and confronting
- Narrative Clarity-Power (conveys strong impression)
- Presentation of moral issue
- Strong emotion in photo subjects

Image Weaknesses:

- Focus
- Bloodied officer turning away from camera -- arouses interest but does not deliver complete impression
- Crowded composition (but also gives impression of action)
- Screaming man in foreground may represent a ‘turn off’ to Western viewers

Section #1 Image #5:

Subject: Martin Luther King Addressing Crowds, 1963. Agence-France Presse
(Photographer Unknown)

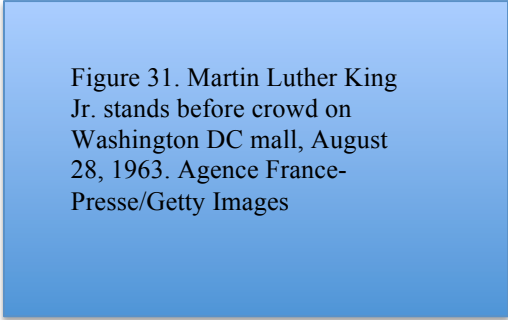


Figure 31. Martin Luther King Jr. stands before crowd on Washington DC mall, August 28, 1963. Agence France-Press/Getty Images

Thematic Archetype(s): Triumph, Everyman as Hero

Plot Point/Juncture: Recovery of Hope; Climax

Iconic: No. Other images of King at same time better known

Archetypal: Yes. Original vision of hope in time of great change; resolution of massive civil rights struggle

Image Strengths:

- Newsworthiness & Novelty: Image is original, enigmatic

- Excellent composition & aesthetic achievement – backdrop of crowds forms tapestry
- Memorable
- Narrative clarity and power
- Strong Emotion

Image Weaknesses

- None apparent
- Historical context or caption needed to explain significance

2.10.3 Section #2: Children of Men

Section #2: Image #2



Figure 32: US Soldiers hold Dying Iraqi Girl, Mosul 2005. Photo by Michael Yon. Reprinted with permission

Subject: *Little Girl* by Michael Yon, 2005.

Thematic archetype(s): Last embrace/Massacre of Innocents

Plot point: Imminent Outcome

Iconic: No, but could be

Archetypal: Candidate; gesture, focus and

body language highly affecting; excellent aesthetics; emotional appeal and counter-mainstream view

Image Strengths:

- Psychological gesture: embrace; soldier's face pressed close to baby's
- Details suggest authenticity, including traces of blood
- Composition and Aesthetics: Strong, centered; little distracting detail
- Narrative Clarity & Power: Story is evident and tragic

- Strong emotion
- Memorable/haunting
- Trenchant presentation of moral issue

Image Weaknesses: None known

Section #2 Image #4

Figure 33: Nisei Child Awaiting Evacuation to Internment Camps, April 1942. Photo by Clem Albers <http://www.archives.gov/global-pages/larger-image.html?i=/research/japanese-americans/images/child-waiting-1.jpg&c=/research/japanese-americans/images/child-waiting.caption.html>

Subject: Nisei child awaiting deportation to a Japanese-American assembly center, 1942; Photographer: Clem Albers

Thematic Archetype(s): Abandonment & Betrayal

Plot point/juncture: Setback/turning point

Iconic: Limited national exposure but frequent publication in connection with Japanese-American internment story.

Archetypal: Candidate; superb image; but struggle is internalized, not evident in “action.”

Image Strengths:

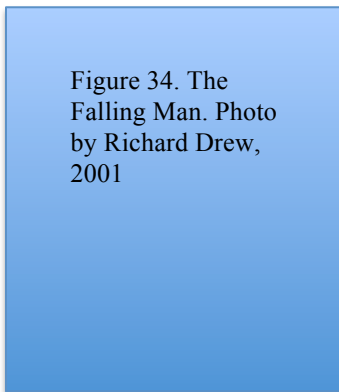
- Facial Expressiveness/poignancy
- Composition & Aesthetics: Simplified, focused; strong contrasts and geometries
- Psychological gesture: girl clutching half eaten apple, tiny purse, seated on suitcase

- Memorable, haunting
- Narrative clarity-power (story is ambiguous; needs caption; the emotion is not)
- Strong emotion; pitiable
- Historical value (newsworthiness in historical context)

Image Weaknesses:

- Ambiguous context; requires historical knowledge, explanatory context
- Presentation of moral issue requires historical knowledge, context

2.10.4 Section #3: The Fall & Rescue



Section #3 Image #2

Subject: *The Falling Man*, September 11, 2011.

Photographer: Richard Drew

Thematic Archetype(s): The Fall; the Choice

Plot Point/Juncture: Imminent Outcome

Icon: Yes (though frequently suppressed)

Archetype: Yes. Choice of how one dies; transition point between life & death.

Uniquely Communicates Free Fall of Western Man Post 9/11

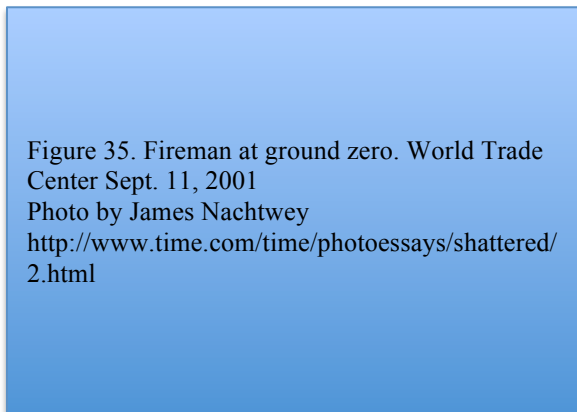
Image Strengths:

- Newsworthiness, novelty

- Psychological gesture: inverted posture, falling head first; flexed knee, arms ‘slightly outriggered’ (Tom Junod, 2006)
- Aesthetics & Composition: Falling man bisects North & South World Trade Towers; strong contrast, repetition of grid forms
- Haunting & Memorable
- Strong Emotion Aroused
- Narrative clarity/power: A man is falling; without context from September 11, 2001, a visitor would not know the reason or the cause.

Image Weaknesses:

- None apparent. Darkening of subject’s face appropriate given conte



Section #3 Image #6

Subject: New York, “Ground Zero.”

2001. Photograph: James Nachtwey

Archetypal Theme(s): Purgatory; The Journey or Way Back

Plot point: The Aftermath

Iconic? No. Well-known among those who study September 11 2001 disaster photos
 Archetypal? Candidate. Unique effects; highest aesthetics and composition; evidence of life and death struggle; dispassionate.

Image Strengths:

- Expressive mood; Narrative clarity & Power

- Aesthetics, composition, boiling clouds/quality of light
- Haunting theme; memorable
- Psychological gesture: Fireman holding stick (i.e., 'divining rod'); leaning into wreckage
- Figure 36: 9/11 rescue operations. Photographed by Shannon Stapleton, Reuters

Figure 34: 9/11 rescue operations. Photographed by Shannon Stapleton, Reuters

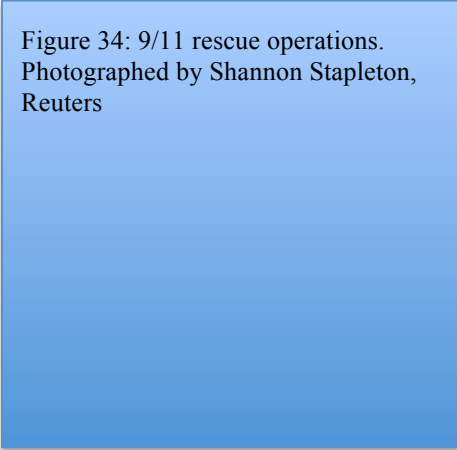


Image Weaknesses:

- Air of unreality; more a panorama than a portrait of emotion
- Photoshop-enhanced clouds? Question about authenticity

Section #3 Image #4

Subject: Rescue team at World Trade Center wreckage. 9/11/2001. Photographer: Unknown

Archetypal Theme(s): Fall & Rescue; Band of Brothers

Plot point/juncture: The setback

Icon: No.

Archetype: No. This is an alternate image of rescuers bringing the dead Father Mychal out on a chair.

Image Strengths:

- Strong action/dynamic movement
- Psychological gesture: Fireman pointing and shouting

Image Weaknesses:

- Facial expressions, narrative clarity (image of shouting fireman shows he is angry but does not show ‘agent’ or cause of anger, leaving photo narrative ambiguous)
- Faulty structure of composition: Face and head of Father Mychal missing and obscured by pointing fireman; central fireman looks as though he is ‘sitting’ rather than carrying out the dead man
- Expressive mood ambiguous; if image is memorable, not sure how or why
- Novelty: strange presentation but essentially confusing



2.10.5 Section #4: Abomination

Section #4 Image #2

Subject: Torture of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib Prison. Baghdad 2004

Archetypal theme(s): Torture; nadir

Plot point/juncture: The Turning Point;
Reversal of Fortune

Icon: Yes

Figure 37: Abu Ghraib Torture. 2004 Photographer unknown. US Military: Copyright free.

Archetype: No – Aesthetic achievement too low; image is haunting but unfocused and taken with low-quality camera

Image Strengths:

- Expressive Mood, Novel Content

- Narrative clarity and power; photo shows agents of oppression; hamartia, peripeteia
- Elicits strong emotion, pathos; shock value
- Newsworthiness
- Haunting & memorable

Image Weaknesses

- Weak aesthetics and composition; low-quality digital camera



Section #4 Image #4

Subject: Nazi executions, World War II.

Undated. Photographer unknown

Archetypal theme(s): Defiance and Execution; Massacre of Innocents

Plot point/juncture: Climax; Imminent

Outcome

Iconic: No

Figure 38: Nazi execution of resistance.
Location, date, and photographer unknown.

Archetypal: Candidate. Archetype of evil; facial expressions of Nazi officers

trenchant; photo quality and technical achievement somewhat lacking; expressions of resistance fighters/victims not seen.

Image Strengths:

- Narrative clarity and power; dynamic action at moment before shooting death

- Facial expressions of perpetrators; psychological gestures of domination and pulling the trigger.
- Textures and details suggest authenticity
- Memorable; trenchant presentation of moral issue
- Embodied cognition/emotion; viewer ‘feels’ the gun behind the head.

Image Weaknesses

- Print quality available not completely clear
- Image might be more effective if facial expressions of resistance fighters and soldiers in background were visible
- Aesthetics: contrast too high; mid-range tones missing; cropping too closely

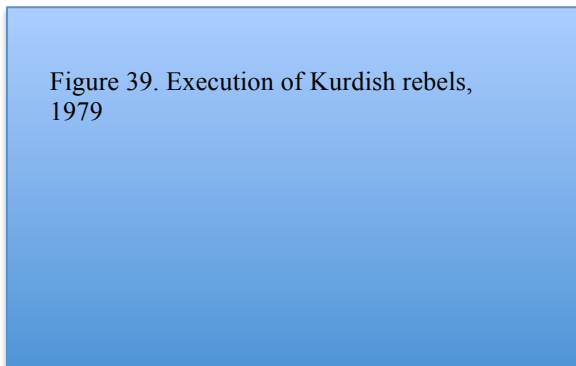


Figure 39. Execution of Kurdish rebels, 1979

Section #4 Image #12

Subject: Execution of Kurds, 1979

Archetypal theme(s): Defiance and Execution; everyman as hero

Plot point/juncture(s): fate-determining moment; imminent outcome

Iconic: No

Archetypal: Candidate. Shows depth of struggle; aesthetic performance moderate; clarity could be improved.

Image Strengths:

- Stop-action shows execution of several men at split-second it happens

- Psychological gesture: blindfolded man on extreme right stands tall, holds bandaged hand to torso; other men in various states of falling
- Expressive mood; victims captured from soldier's perspective
- Narrative clarity/narrative power
- Memorable; may arouse strong emotional reaction

Image Weaknesses:

- Aesthetics: No close-ups of faces; lack of focus
- Multiple shots and falling victims can be confusing; hard to focus on single powerful action
- Somewhat dispassionate in tone
- Image somewhat light; aesthetics “dusty” and distracting

2.10.6 Section #5: Redemption

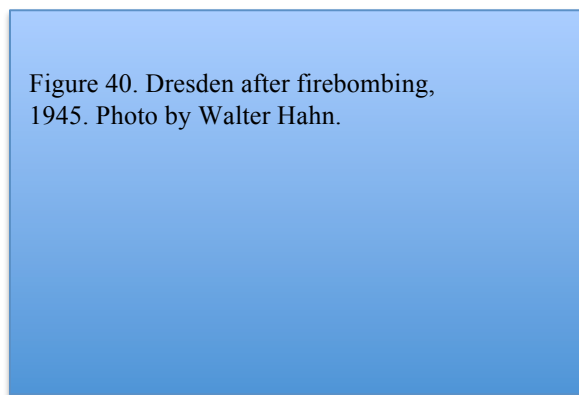


Figure 40. Dresden after firebombing, 1945. Photo by Walter Hahn.

Section #5 Image #2

Subject: Dresden after Firebombing, 1945. Photographer: Walter Hahn

Archetypal theme(s): Armageddon
Plot Point/juncture: Aftermath

Iconic: No, but published fairly
widely

Archetypal: Candidate. Strong evidence of annihilation countered with image of stone saint or figure conferring benediction on the destroyed city.

Image Strengths:

- Technical camera clarity; contrast of light and dark; excellent aesthetics and composition
- Narrative clarity/power: story clear enough

- Memorable/haunting quality
- Trenchant presentation of moral issue
- Strong expressive mood; historically significant image

Image Weaknesses

- Image dated? Historical nature of image requires viewer context or captioning/text
- Lack of human presence connotes utterly desolation; inspires thought but perhaps deadens emotion?

Figure 41: Fireman attempting CPR with baby.

Location, date, photographer unknown

Section #5 Image #4

Subject: Fireman attempting resuscitation of baby.
Date Unknown. Photographer Unknown.

Archetypal theme(s): Escape & Rescue, Breath of Life

Plot point/juncture: Fate-determining moment; recovery of hope

Iconic: No

Archetypal: Candidate. Powerful action shot; but context unknown. Good aesthetics, showcase of struggle. Not as well-known as Oklahoma City fireman.

Image Strengths:

- Expressive mood; strong action portrayed
- Strong composition; aesthetics

- Psychological gestures and facial expression: fireman holding baby who is overcome by smoke; attempts mouth-to-mouth; position on ladder precarious
- Arouses strong emotion/memorable
- Narrative clarity-power

Image Weaknesses:

- Slightly out of focus; lower resolution
- Without caption; no hint of cause or circumstances
- Baby's face obscured

The remaining images for this survey are reproduced as they appeared in Appendix A.

2.11 Which Is More Important—Image Qualities Or Viewers?

My initial hypothesis about these 12 different measures was that the four study groups, so different in visual training and divided by gender, would receive and rank the photos very differently—perhaps significantly differently—based on their own preferences and psychological affinity for certain archetypal content vs. others (i.e., are there “gendered” archetypes?) Variable results regarding a news photo’s beauty, forceful presentation, even the clarity and emotional power of the image story itself might signify that factors within the study groups (i.e., their visual training and gender identities) are just as important as the stimulus qualities within the photo frame. But if viewing groups coalesced in judgment around the *same images* and

image properties—including photos they thought were judged “best” and extraordinary overall—then certain “universals” could be at work. Those universals might in fact be those of common sensibility and/or training. While I could not directly examine whether viewers recognize archetypes of timing and thematic predicament as such, it seems reasonable to conclude that if just a few images are universally ranked as extraordinary, and also cited as memorable and emotionally affecting across all groups, then those images should be examined closely for the archetypal content and narrative conditions I’ve described. If only icons are recognized and ranked as extraordinary, then there is arguably no separate category of image archetypes that viewers pick out. And, in the third condition, if images are judged and recalled consistently only by the factor of study participants’ gender or expertise, one can assume that judgments of ‘archetypal’ content are based on just that: the gender of the viewer and his or her visual training. My hypothesis is as follows:

- **H10: A consistency of ranking, memory, and viewer choice of just a few extraordinary images across all groups indicates that archetypes of content and predicament do exist, producing a greater emotional effect on viewers than ordinary or average news images without this content.**

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Background for a Mixed-Method Research Study

Assessing the aesthetic and emotional reception to news photography among different viewing groups does not lend itself easily to a single research method.

First, there is virtually no precedent in the research literature for a full-blown quantitative measure of “live” (human subject) reception to outstanding news photographs. Mendelson (2004a), as mentioned in Chapter 2, has attempted some quantitative studies on student responses to novelty in news photography, with mixed results. Later he attempted to show differences in learning style by studying the responses of “verbalizers” versus “visualizers” exposed to news stories (2004a). Schwalbe, Silcock, and Keith (2008) conducted detailed visual content analyses of 1822 news images from Iraq—with attention to mainstream photographic and video content. The emphasis in these and other studies (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003; Kang 2005; Luther & Miller, 2005, as cited in Schwalbe, Silcock & Keith, 2008) was on the evolving wartime media “message” and the ways in which images were selected and framed to conform to a “master war narrative” promoted by the US government (Schwalbe, Silcock & Keith, 2008, p. 449). The researchers did not investigate the direct responses of viewers to these images. Rather, they contended that although US public opinion was sharply divided on the US entry into the Iraq war (Balz & Morin, 2005; Kull, Ramsay, Subias, Weber, & Lewis, 2004, as cited in Schwalbe, Silcock & Keith, 2008), “images became a key part of the debate as scholars, citizens, and journalists considered the meaning and effect of such iconic visuals as photographs of

a statue of Saddam Hussein being pulled down in Baghdad's Firdos Square on April 9, 2003 (Schwalbe, Silcock, & Keith, 2008, p. 449). That scene, of course, was famously staged. Studies of iconic and even 'subversive' media images from Abu Ghraib showing American torture and abuse of prisoners once again turned the lens on available photographic content rather than on direct viewer impressions. Schwalbe and co-authors prefaced their article by claiming that even opponents of visual determinism agree that image saturation does exert significant audience effects (2008). But she did not offer empirical evidence documenting the nature of those effects other than citing studies of the same general design as hers.

Visual content analyses in recent years have in fact focused on image content and image properties (e.g., color, texture, light, shape, contrast, spatial similarities, object features, etc.). (Flickner, Sawhney, Niblack, et al, 1995; Agrain, Zhang, Petkovic, 1997). But the analyses in this case are being performed principally by computers which are programmed to index, filter, and match pictorial content for the purposes of developing multimedia information retrieval or still photo image querying. Although the understanding of pictorial dimensions is becoming more robust, the role of the user in these studies is that of a "requester of information" providing semantic inputs at the user interface. These studies are *not* concerned with image properties as they affect viewers' ideas or emotions, only whether the computer system can make an accurate match between similar pictorial and spatially arranged content that fulfills the requested information criteria.

Virtually all recent media studies on photography have amounted to historical, biographical, and cultural narratives focusing on photojournalism as a nexus between real news, the ethical positions of the photographer, media packaging, and the sensibilities of real and imagined media consumers (Moeller, 2009). Such narratives rest on research about the convergence of a news story, the production of image and text in appropriate media, interviews with journalists, and reports of reader response (including irate response). These responses are generally documented after the fact, either through interviews or culling through primary documents or audio recordings (i.e., letters to the editor; listener complaints to TV or broadcasting companies). The exception—"audiencing" studies conducted on mainstream media (see Chapter 2), principally television—can in fact utilize direct interview or surveys of viewing audiences during and after broadcast presentations. However, the interpretive discourse surrounding these studies is based primarily on "active audience" theory representing an intersection between semiotic methodologies (analyzing the pictorial or audio components or tropes as 'text' and viewer response as 'reader') and the "uses and gratification" functionalism of critics following Blumer, Gurevitch and Katz (Ien Ang, 1996, as cited in Marris). As such, the studies are essentially cultural and constructionist, Ang explained. "Audience activity cannot and should not be studied in isolation. Rather than dissecting 'audience activity' into variables and categories in order to be able to study them one by one so that we could ultimately have a complete and generalizable formal 'map' of all dimensions of audience activity....the aim of cultural studies...is to arrive at a more historicized insight into the ways in which 'audience activity' is related to social and political structures and processes" (1989, p.

484). Ang does not see audience activity, much less studies of perception or image choices among diverse audiences, as a discrete object of research. Instead, audience activity is “embedded” within a network of ongoing cultural relations and practices. This leaves photojournalism as just another embedded activity that is shielded and perhaps mitigated or distorted by others’ social activities and cultural practices. Any particular interest in what drives news photography and its pursuit of audience is mostly relegated to biography (of photographers) and cultural critique. Collective memory proponents like Kitch (2001, 2005), Zelizer (1998, 2010), and Hariman & Lucaites (2007) continue to interpret news images both as artifacts of public life and also as signposts that inscribe dominant power relationships and Western mythologies. If there is in fact an “oppositional reading” to news photographs that might inspire viewing communities to reflect and act differently after they have been exposed (much in the way Janice Radway mentioned possible oppositional readings against patriarchy in “Reading the Romance” [1987]), then researchers would need to document *actual, not imagined audience responses and activities* triggered by the images. Without that data, any claims about photojournalism and its impact on the public’s recognition of issues would be based on pure supposition.

Operationalizing Study Goals

My goals in this study, as I have stated earlier, include the collection of *actual* audience responses to provocative and even average or dull news images. The importance of understanding real audiences who may be “divided” in perspective by gender and expertise is a starting point for data collection. The larger goal is to find out not only why certain images have particularly strong emotional effects on

particular audiences, but how the process might occur. For purposes of clarification, I am much less concerned in this research about the theorized “embeddedness” of cultural practices (including practices of media production and media consumption) than I am in describing the *relational and perceptual* dynamic between individual viewers and an image. Although this is not a neurological examination of how the brain works during an interaction with a news photograph (no brain scans), I have attempted to understand how much universality actually exists in perception and judgment, and whether the factors of gender or expertise affect not only aesthetic preferences, but overall empathy and memory retention.

While I have proposed 10 hypotheses in Chapter 2, many on percepts of image properties related to the gender or visual training of the viewer, the most important hypothesis is the last, which outlines possible outcomes that might suggest “proof” or negation of the existence of a psychological category of image *archetypes* that I have identified in Chapter 1.

H10: A consistency of ranking, memory, and viewer choice of just a few extraordinary images across all groups suggests that archetypes of content and predicament do exist, producing a greater emotional effect on viewers than ordinary or average news images without this content.

To review, the *archetype* defines a class of images recognized as most memorable, aesthetically powerful, and emotionally affecting. The archetype supersedes the category of *icon*, which I have described as a social constructionist

phenomenon that models dominant public themes and rôles inviting civic participation and identification. By contrast, an archetype need have no allegiance either to patriotic themes or model emulation; in fact, it can stimulate counter-culture or oppositional readings. However, as I have defined the criteria for archetype in Chapter 1:

1. The image must capture a plot point, a human predicament that is weighty, of magnitude sufficient to inspire both public and private concern and rumination, arising out of the *archetype's expression of situational "no exits" or fulfillments endemic to human actions.*
2. The archetype is conveyed both spatially and temporally, not only through implied actions at critical plot points, but also by the *authentic capture of gestures and facial expressions of the key "actors" (subjects).* The panoramic archetype, when visible, presents circumstances strongly associated with such expressions and gestures.
3. An archetype shows a level of aesthetic originality and force within the context of a public event that sets a precedent for future understandings; the image archetype is substantially authentic and superlative overall in its category, namely as a news photo.

Even though this study seeks to understand better how diverse viewing groups perceive and recollect news images, the end-goal is to determine how superbly affecting images that *may or may not be iconic* affect viewer perception, emotion, and judgment. I have defined these images as "archetypal." To demonstrate the extent to which archetypal narrative and themes can produce the strongest responses among

viewing groups, I have described any of three probable outcomes to the image ranking process in this study. One outcome is that no ‘universal consensus’ regarding the most powerful images exists (Condition #1). Consequently the “collective we” posited by social constructionists is thrown into some doubt. Favored images may be selected by gendered groups, for gendered content, or by expert groups, for expertly shot photographs. The point is there is no general agreement across all viewing groups.

Another possible outcome is that only certified, well-known Western icons will receive the highest rankings (condition #2), in which case, icons are truly deserving of their name and no other images really match up; moreover, there is indeed some kind of universal sensibility that allows diverse groups to converge on the same select class of images. The third outcome is that viewing groups coalesce around a group of favored images which contain relatively “unknown” or lesser known public photographs. In this case, content, presentation, and gravity of theme and plot in these images might be examined for evidence of the ‘archetypality’ as I have described. Each outcome carries a distinct implication regarding archetypes, as follows:

- **Implication 1:** If certain images are ranked as extraordinary and memorable, but judged so in a manner consistent with a study subgroup’s preferences only (i.e., participants’ gender and/or visual expertise), then one can assume that judgments of ‘archetypal’ content and quality are in part based on just that: the gender of the viewer and his or her visual training. A subsidiary consequence is that icons are likewise relative.

- **Implication 2:** If icons *only* are recognized and ranked as extraordinary across all groups, then there is arguably no separate category of image archetypes that viewers can pick out. The category of icons will then “rule the roost.”
- **Implication #3:** If just a few survey images are universally ranked as extraordinary, memorable and emotionally affecting across all study groups, and those images are drawn from a variety of sources, not all famous or iconic, then those images should be examined closely for archetypal narrative, authenticity and aesthetic uniqueness.

To visualize these conditions, see the following:

Condition #1: No Universal Consensus: Top Photo Rankings Determined by Viewer’s Gender &/or Expertise

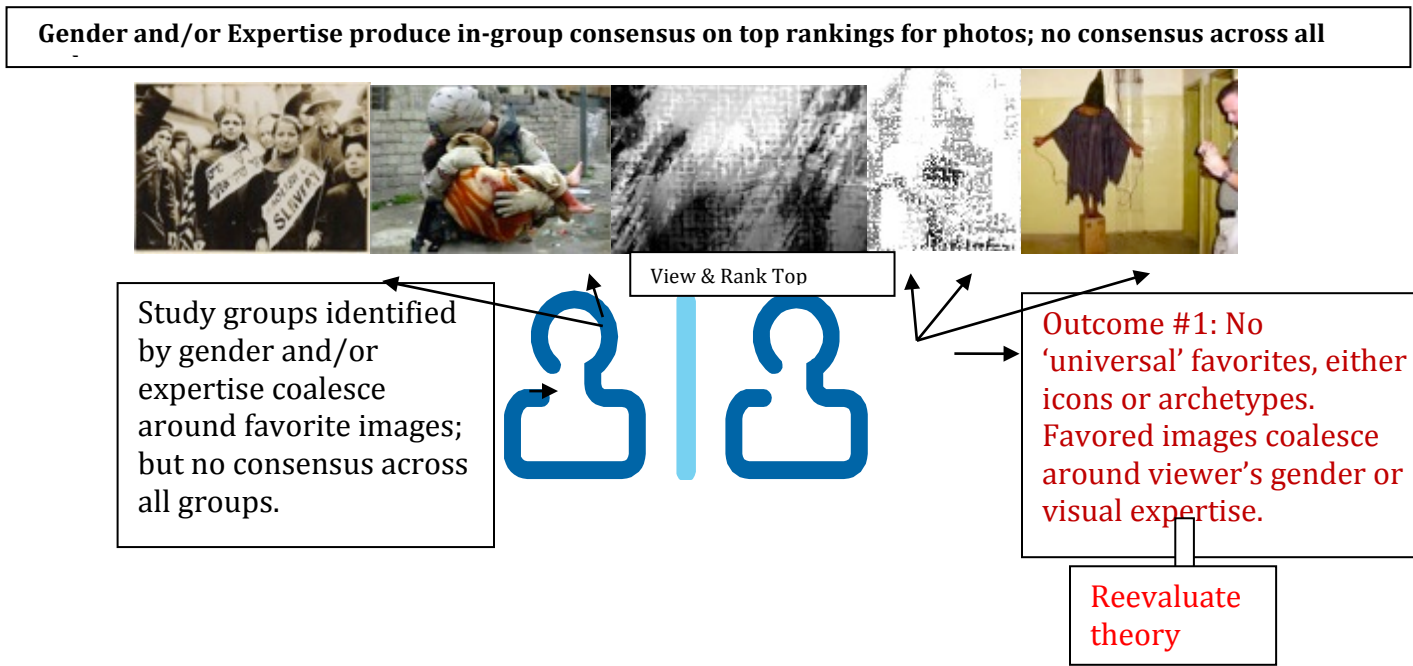
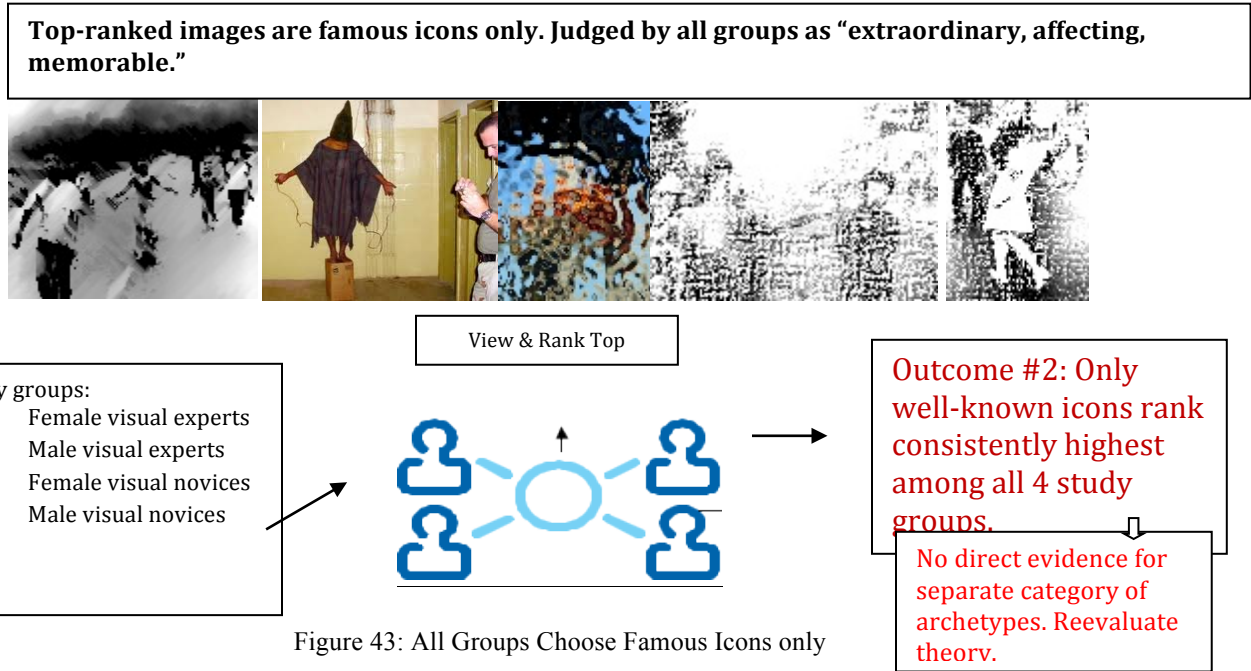
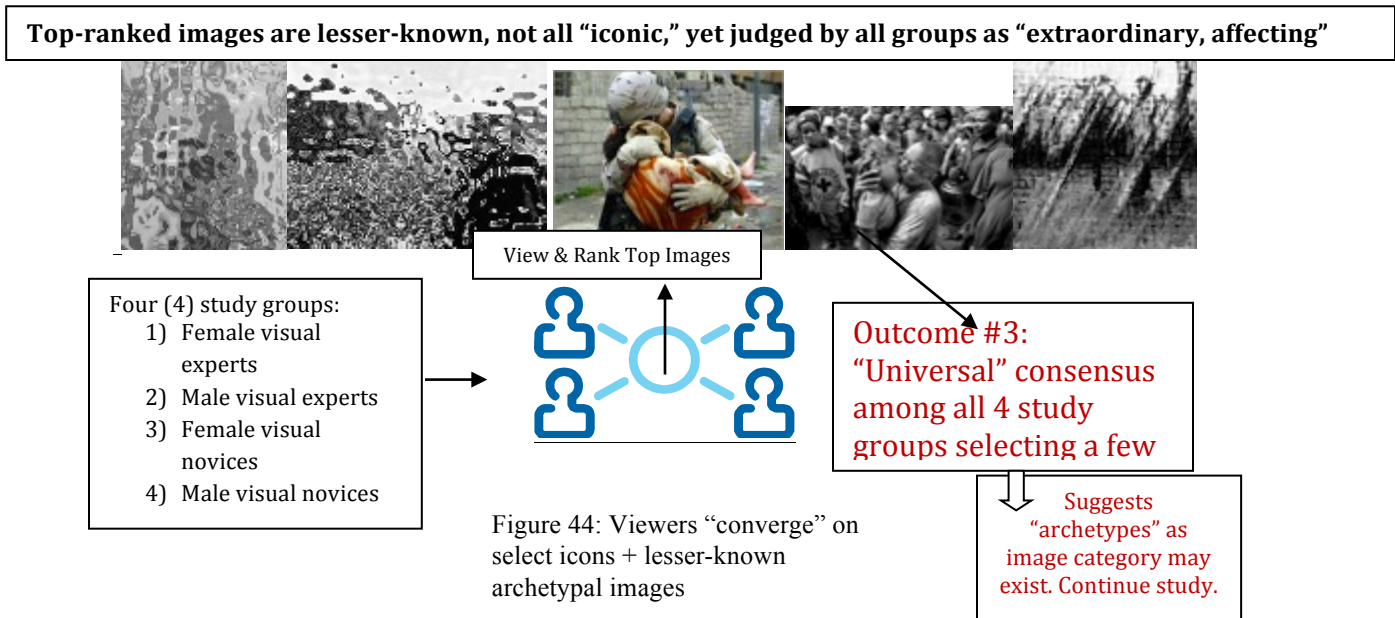


Figure 42: Consensus by Gender/Expertise Only

Condition #2: ‘Universal Consensus on Celebrity’: All groups give familiar Icons top ratings; leave out lesser-known images.



Condition #3: Universal Consensus on Diverse ‘Icons + Archetypes’



3.2 Rationale for Mixed-Method Design

Instinctively, I believed that a mixed-methods research approach would engender a more nuanced, accurate picture of viewer differences in reception. A quantitative survey (Phase 1) would assess perceptions of photographs and photo qualities across all study groups; and a qualitative follow-up interview (Phase II) for selected study participants would confirm or negate initial findings and add insights about the causes of emotional bonding to certain image choices.

In my original vision for the Phase 1 quantitative design, I wanted to assess three sets of independent variables—gender, visual expertise, and cultural background—to determine whether any of these factors, including ethnicity (specifically: non-Western cultural values) might play a significant role in viewer judgments and preferences for certain images and image properties over others.

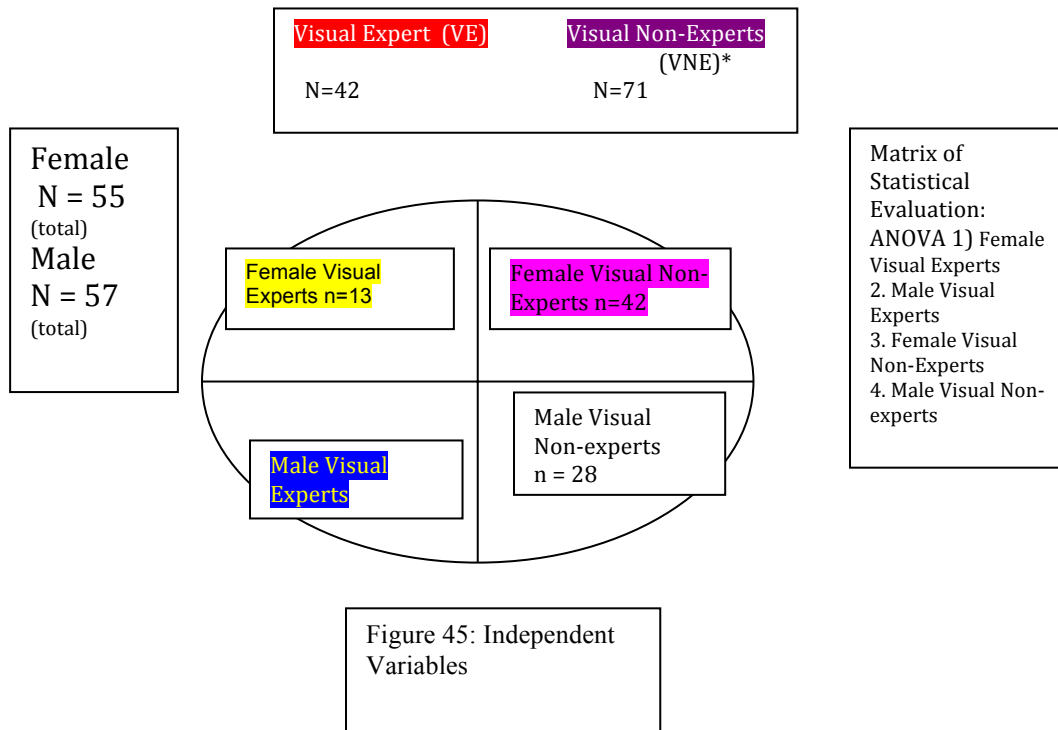
However, in the interests of streamlining the quantitative study model (Phase 1) to a manageable number of independent and dependent variables, and also to ensure an adequate sample size (n) and statistical power $(1-\beta)^{42}$ among the treatment groups,⁴³ I chose a two-factor, fixed-effects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) study design. In this design, also known as 2 x 2 ANOVA, two independent variables with

⁴² Statistical Power is defined as $1-\beta$, where β represents a Type II error. The definition of power is therefore “rejecting the null hypothesis when it is false.” The factors affecting the power of a test include a) the directional nature of the alternative hypothesis (H_a), whether one-tailed or two-tailed; the level of significance (α = probability of making a Type 1 error) of the test; 3) the sample size (n); 4) the effect size (ES) or *d expressed in standard deviation units*.

⁴³ Effect size is defined by Cohen as the degree to which a phenomenon exists (Cohen, p. 9 as cited in Hinkle, Wiersma, & Jurs, p. 247).

two levels each, 1) gender (male/female) and 2) visual expertise (expert/non-expert) are evaluated for significant differences in four ways:

Independent Variables (Study Groups): 1) Visual Experts 2) Visual Non-experts 3) Males 4) Females *One non-expert did not specify his/her gender.



The chart above shows the distribution of the four study groups, each of which evaluated a total of 42 news photographs in nearly identical on-line surveys, one distributed to news and visual professionals; the second to visual novices (primarily students drawn from the Univ. of Maryland, Drexel, and Temple Universities). Each survey consisted of 1) ordinal rankings of 21 images, 2) nominal rankings/comparisons between images and image properties (e.g. “Which image is the better, A or B?” or “Which factor listed below contributes most to this photo’s

effectiveness?”) and a space in several of the questions for spontaneous, short commentary on the photos.⁴⁴ The only differences between the surveys for professionals and non-professionals was an extra bonus question for students (see appendix), along with an opportunity to make a few additional comments on existing images. Any questions that represented inconsistencies, errors, or deviations in the two surveys (professional or non-professional) were eliminated in the statistical evaluation phase of the study to maintain accuracy of comparisons.

3.3 Sample Sizes and Power: Assumptions and Calculations

Phase 1 study’s total proportion of males (n =57) to female (n= 55) participants was virtually identical, providing some assurance that any variation in survey responses according to gender would satisfy reliability criteria. Female photographers and visual professionals (n=13) were more difficult to recruit than male professionals (n=29) during the early stages of this study. However, female student volunteers (N=42) exceeded male student volunteers (N=28); thus rebalancing the overall gender ratio. However, the ratio of male visual experts to female visual experts was disproportional (M/F 2.23: 1), suggesting that gendered results between the two professional groups might be subject to larger standard error than would be the case with a professional group consisting of approximately equal numbers of males and females. (Surprisingly, though, image and image property choices proved so consistent across gendered groups, both expert and non-expert, that a reasonable assumption of accuracy can be drawn. See Results, Part 1.)

⁴⁴ The survey of visual experts, conducted first, consisted of 68 questions. The survey of non-experts, which contained the identical photographs, was 73 questions. In the latter student, a few of questions were added to elicit additional commentary and feedback from student non-experts.

Determination of adequate sample sizes and power for this study was based on the following guidelines proposed by Hinkle, Weirsma, and Jurs (2003):

- Type 1 Error $\alpha = .05$ (CI 95%) (Note: In some parts of the survey, we found statistically significant differences among groups at the $\alpha = .001$ level.
- Ratio of Type I error probability to Type II error: $\beta : \alpha = 4:1$ ⁴⁵
- Power of the test $(1 - \beta) 1 - 4 (.05) = .80$ (ideal); the actual power may be lower
- Effect size (standard deviation units) $d = .20-.50$ (small to medium).⁴⁶
- Directionality of the test: 2-tailed (surveys responses may deviate positively or negatively from the mean assuming normal distribution)

In practice, it was impossible to accurately determine an effect size in advance, thus making it necessary to estimate. However, assuming that a reasonably large effect size could be determined in a foundational study, for one variable and two treatment levels, Cohen (1969) showed that a sample size per treatment level with a difference to be detected between treatment levels of $.75\sigma$ should be $n = 29$ per level (Hinkle, Wiersma, Jurs, p. 654). With two independent variables (gender, expertise) and two treatment levels each, the minimum number of participants should be 116.

⁴⁵ Note: Type 1 errors are generally more serious than Type II, Hinkle et al argue that a large ratio in favor of making a Type II error (retaining a null hypothesis when in fact it is false) is preferable to Type 1 (rejecting a null hypothesis when it is true).

⁴⁶ A review of research in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology reported that studies in psychology, education, communication and journalism routinely documented statistical power ranging from .20 to .50 when detecting small to medium treatments effects (Sedimeir & Gigerenzer, 1989, as cited in Yaros, 2006). Specifically, a meta-analysis of research found a small combined correlation of cognitive styles on effectiveness of .24 (Chen & Rada, 1996, as cited in Yaros).

My survey included 113 participants, which satisfies the sample size requirement adequately for the purposes of a foundational.

3.4. Phase 1 Survey Methodology

As mentioned in Chapter II, I selected study images from diverse global sources of the best photojournalism. These sources included newspapers, books, photography and agency anthologies (i.e., Magnum, Black Star, etc.), Pulitzer-Prize collections, World Press Photo prize-winning collections, photojournalism texts, and many digital sources from the Internet. The goal was to select a range of national and international photographs—a few iconic (to Western viewers), but most of them not well known. Some images were mediocre, poorly focused and executed or featured banal subject matter. But the majority were graphic, wrenching, inspiring, and highly newsworthy across a range of incidents and timeframes. One image was more than a century old; several others were taken from World War II archives and many more were photographed within the last few years.

The initial collection of favorite images was organized and evaluated for aesthetic and narrative achievement, emotional impact, and archetypes of narrative plot, theme, and power. The operational objective was to select a range of images (approximately 60) coalescing around five major themes and exhibiting several different quality ratings varying from “Extraordinary” [5] to “Compelling” [4] to “Average/Prototypical” [3] to “Routine/Ordinary” [2] to “Poor” [1]. These same ordinal ratings were to be presented as options for viewer selection during Phase 1 of the survey. The actual test was administered on Survey Monkey.com, which contained a remarkably easy and clear interface with which to upload large, very high

resolution color and black and white images. The website is considerably advanced from his original form. It also provided filtering and analysis tools with which to examine the statistical data from any specified viewing group (e.g., Female non-professionals; male viewing novices, etc.) Standard measurements of central tendency for ordinal data, along with percentages and bar charts showing trends in nominal data and complete print-outs of commentary, were reformatted into spreadsheets and then uploaded into IBM PASW Version 18 for comparative analysis.

3.5 Pre-testing

In discussions with dissertation advisers and mentors, I realized initially that I wanted to pre-test these images and see how my ratings and analyses of their narrative and aesthetic character (comme archetypal image) compared to the opinions of experts. Therefore I interviewed several top news photographers and photo editors in preparation for the final image selection.⁴⁷

These sources included James Atherton, a former *Washington Post* photographer who specialized in photographing American presidents from Harry Truman to Jimmy Carter; Torry Bruno, the Associate Managing Editor for Photography at *The Chicago Tribune*; Leslie White, Director of Photography at *The Dallas Morning News*; Patrick Farrell, a chief photographer at *The Miami Herald* (and also a 2009 Pulitzer Prize winner for his feature photographs of Haiti's floods

⁴⁷ The pretext for the interviews was my article on the photojournalism of the Haitian earthquake disaster for *American Journalism Review* ("Too Graphic"? Spring 2010). However, the richness and depth of these interviews formed the backdrop of this dissertation study, and also helped me identify which images and image properties were most important to test. Several of these photographers were among the first to take my quantitative several and several more did post-test qualitative interviews for Phase II.

prior to the devastating earthquake of 2010); Nancy Andrews, the Managing Editor for Digital Media at *The Detroit Free Press*; Michelle McNally, the Photo Editor of *The New York Times*, Dennis C., an assistant professor of photojournalism at Iowa State; Don Winslow, the Photo Editor of the National Press Photographer's Association; Kenny Irby, visual journalism group leader and director of diversity at the Poynter Institute; Tim Rasmussen, assistant managing editor of *The Denver Post*; David Walters, the deputy editor - photos and video at *The Miami Herald*; and Michel Du Cille, the *Washington Post's* director of photo/multimedia/video. The richness and depth of these interviews formed the substrate of the pre-test. We discussed many of the most iconic and troubling news photographs of recent years, reviewing the importance of serendipitous action and gesture in the news photo. We also debated the existence of visual archetypes and their possible effects on viewer emotion (several photographers strongly agreed they existed, especially the *Chicago Tribune's* Torry Bruno). These experts' observations helped me identify which images and image properties were most critical to test in order to support (or refute) my hypotheses. Several of these experts were among the first to volunteer to take my quantitative survey. Originally I conceived of their contributions as a pre-test only, a "frame" with which to refine my test and evaluate student findings. However, so many of the professional photographers *wanted* to take the survey, along with other news professionals, that I decided that a direct comparison between experts and non-expert groups was warranted. In this fashion I refined my study design and adopted the current 2 X 2 ANOVA model that constitute the core research instrument for Phase I. Permissions and consent forms were obtained according to University of

Maryland Institutional Review Board regulations (ID number 10-0050) for all participants in the study.

3.6 Survey Instrument Partitioning

In Phase 1, I divided the quantitative survey into the following themes, selecting photographs that supported each theme in various ways. In turn, each thematic section was identified by the label below, and each image was also identified with caption information regarding the title, subject, date, and, when possible, the photographer and/or photo agency. The purpose of organizing images by theme was to give survey respondents an impression of connectedness among the photographs. By organizing by theme and (presumed) archetypal content, I invited each participant to take a ‘journey’ of sorts through the images and the archetypes they might represent:

1. Hope & Heroism (7 images)
2. Children of Men (i.e., children in war: 7 images)
3. “The Fall & Rescue” (9/11 images; 10 in all)
4. “Abomination” (12 images of war and execution)
5. “Redemption” (7 images of healing, forgiveness, and community)

3.7 Dependent Variables

As a result of the pre-test interviews and image selection (which eventually culled 60 images down to 42), the following dependent variables were identified for the *ordinal portions of the survey*, which include Thematic Parts 1 (“Hope & Heroism”) and 5 (“Redemption”) and sections of Part 3 (“The Fall & Rescue”) and Part 4 (“Abomination”).

1. Strength of composition
2. Aesthetic qualities
3. Expressive mood
4. Narrative Clarity & Interest (how clear and “rich” is the story it tells)
5. Newsworthiness
6. Novelty
7. Haunting Effect
8. Is it memorable?
9. Power of the image narrative
10. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue
11. Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, anger, fear, etc.)
12. Overall image quality

Both professionals and non-professionals of both sexes were asked to rate each of these qualities on an ordinal scale of 1 (poor) to 5 (extraordinary). A total of 21 images were evaluated and ranked in this manner. Each image had a minimum of two questions (see Sample 1 below) devoted to performance ratings for each of the image properties, so that the first eight dependent variables were grouped in the first question; and the last four variables were grouped in the second question. The object in breaking up the 12 variables into two groups was to give viewers ample time to consider and ‘reconsider’ each image property. As I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, most of these image properties/dimensions are actually redundant. I have paired or grouped in triplicate (see below) to flesh out four major performance characteristics

of each photograph. These characteristics include 1) News value & topical interest; 2) aesthetics 3) narrative power and plot/action; 4) Emotional/moral impact, as follows:

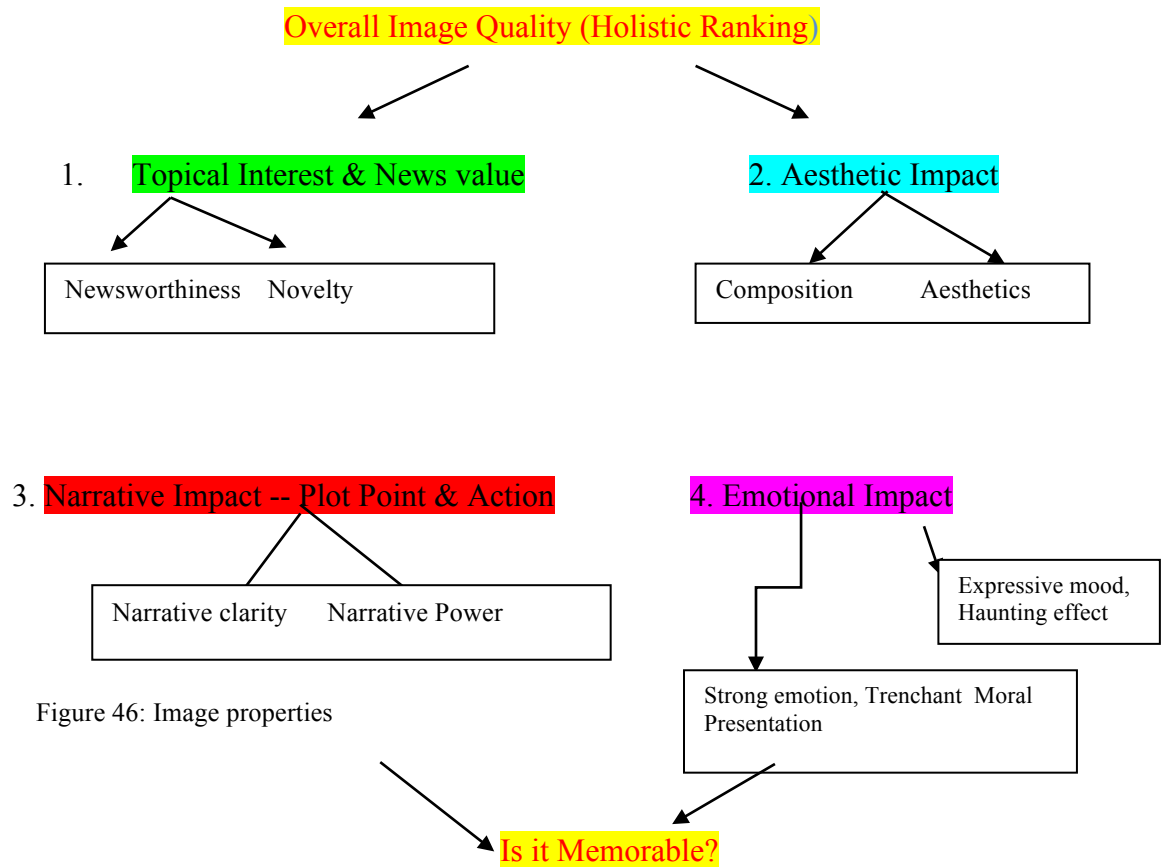


Figure 46: Image properties

All of the dependent variables in the ordinal portions of the study were evaluated using SPSS (now called IBM PASW Version 18). Cumulative means, analyses of variance, and T-tests for *all dependent variables* were assessed for the four independent variables just mentioned. Even though the 12 dependent variables pictured above roughly (and redundantly) assess viewers' responses for each of the four image performance characteristics I've outlined, I did not choose to evaluate or "roll up" the paired or triplet variables as intermediate groups or new variables. The overarching goal was to assess similarities or differences for all image property rankings among the four main survey groups. Therefore, I looked at *cumulative means* of each of the 12 dependent variables by factors of gender and/or expertise to get some idea of how viewers judged each image overall. Statistical techniques used in the IBM PASW analysis program included

- *Cumulative means* for all 21 of the images ranked ordinally based on all inputs from all four study groups;
- *Comparative grand means* of all dependent variables ranked ordinally for *each* of the four study groups;
- *Cumulative* two-sample T-tests for males vs. females for all 12 dependent variables on all 21 images;
- *Cumulative* two-sample T tests for experts vs. non-experts for all 12 dependent variables on all 21 images.
- *Univariate (one-way) ANOVA, Pearson's R, Spearman's Correlation, and Two-way ANOVA* were also used to confirm analysis of the gender and

expertise factor(s) in determining study group responses to separate image qualities.

The following hypotheses were formulated and modified using the statistical instruments above for all ordinally ranked data:

- **H3: Differences in gender and expertise *do not* produce significant differences in the perception and ranking of such news image properties as newsworthiness, novelty, moral issue presentation, and memorable effect.**
- **H4: Differences in gender and expertise *do* produce significant differences in the viewer's rankings of news images properties such as aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality and effect.**
- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, moral, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**

Ordinal analysis contributed to the following hypothesis, although comparative nominal data in Parts 2, 3 and 4, along with qualitative interviews, also effectively presented support:

- **H2: Experts of both sexes prioritize and rank the most important stimulus qualities of a news image in the same order as non-experts.**

Particularly, Hypothesis H2 (see Results, p. 198) utilized side-by-side comparisons of group means (ordinal data) for each of 12 variables obtained for each

image and image quality. The top three ratings in each group were then compared to ascertain whether each group prioritized the most important stimulus qualities in the same order.

3.8 Nominal and Comparative Data

Each section of the quantitative survey also contained questions that participants answered by “voting” either for one image over another or for certain specific qualities that contribute most to a viewer’s impression of an image. Samples are below:

*** 1. Although many factors affect the salience and emotional power of these images, choose TWO FACTORS for each image which seem most important in determining your personal response.**

	Narrative clarity and interest	Facial expressions and body language	Historical context/news value	Aesthetic presentation	Haunting quality	Split-second capture of action
Image #1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

If you wish, comment on the factors producing your emotional response

Figure 47: Viewers Vote for Most Important Image Properties

4. Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?

Image #1

Image #2

Image #3

Image #4

Image #5

Image #6

Explain your choices if you wish

Figure 48: Questions from the Survey

9. Do any of the images in this section (Image #1-Image #6) rival or exceed in emotional power and quality the famous "Accidental Napalm Attack" image by Nick Ut, 1972?

Please list any and all candidates.

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6
- None

Figure 49: Direct Image Comparisons

You may mark two choices on each answer line, indicating which two images are the strongest, according to the question:

	Image #4	Image #5	Image #6	Image #7	Image #8
Strongest composition?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trenchant presentation of moral issue?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
News value?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Narrative qualities (does it tell a story?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Novelty?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Authenticity?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Emotional Impact?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haunting Effect?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shock value?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Figure 50: Side-by-Side Comparisons of Images and Properties

*** 19. You've been given the general captions to these photos. However, are any of these images so powerful they "stand alone," without the need for captions or explanations?**

	1. Stands alone; no caption needed.	2. Requires captions and/or other photos to fully explain importance.	3. Requires viewers' historic knowledge to comprehend importance.	4. Options 2 & 3 together.
Image #1	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Image #3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Image #4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Image #5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Image #6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Image #7	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Figure 51: Determining Need for Captions

The choice of offering viewers the chance to “vote” for image qualities or whole images rather than rank them ordinally throughout the survey provided two benefits: First, it relieved the monotony of questions worded the same way; and second, it gave viewers greater choice in how they answered and interacted with the survey material. “Votes” allowed viewers to assess the images differently and act on their own impressions and feelings. Although not as easy to manipulate statistically as ordinal data, nominal counts yielded percentages and, with the use of on-line Survey Monkey filtering tools, comparative data showing discrepancies in preferences among the four gender/expert study groups. Some tallies below from the Expert survey are illustrative:

21. Although many factors affect the salience and emotional power of these images, choose TWO FACTORS for each image which seem most important in determining your personal response.

	Narrative clarity and interest	Facial expressions and body language	Historical context/news value	Aesthetic presentation	Haunting quality	Split-second capture of action	Response Count
Image #1	15.4% (6)	79.5% (31)	23.1% (9)	35.9% (14)	30.8% (12)	7.7% (3)	39
Image #2	25.6% (10)	64.1% (25)	17.9% (7)	10.3% (4)	51.3% (20)	23.1% (9)	39
Image #3	8.3% (3)	55.6% (20)	8.3% (3)	27.8% (10)	44.4% (16)	47.2% (17)	36
Image #4	17.9% (7)	53.8% (21)	59.0% (23)	25.6% (10)	35.9% (14)	2.6% (1)	39
Image #5	12.5% (5)	90.0% (36)	2.5% (1)	10.0% (4)	62.5% (25)	17.5% (7)	40
Image #6	17.9% (7)	82.1% (32)	35.9% (14)	5.1% (2)	10.3% (4)	43.6% (17)	39
If you wish, comment on the factors producing your emotional response							21
<i>answered question</i>							40
<i>skipped question</i>							2

Figure 52: Sample of Results Shows Salience of Facial Expression and Body Language

The availability of these and other nominal data summaries (e.g., comparative percentages, highest number of votes, or most-often mentioned image properties contributing to a viewer’s impression), in addition to the commentary sections on the survey, provided support for the more subjective elements of the qualitative interviews (see next section, Phase II). Further, the nominal data, obtained through several different questions, lent support to the following hypothesis:

- **H1: In non-panoramic news photographs depicting human subjects, *facial expression, body language, and gesture* are more important to viewers’ overall assessment of the emotional magnetism of the image than factors of aesthetic presentation, narrative clarity, or split second capture of action.**

In addition to the nominal data, the survey participants’ extensive *commentary* on the facial expressions of key images, outlined in Results II, contributed strong support to this core hypothesis.

3.9 Phase II: Qualitative Interviews

Twenty-seven structured interviews were conducted with volunteer experts (n = 11) and non-expert groups (n=16) approximately two-three weeks after the quantitative surveys were completed. The interview period lasted approximately three weeks. The objective of this part of the study was to augment the depth and granularity of the quantitative portions of the survey, and also to ascertain how gendered vs. expert/non-expert groups might converge or diverge in their explanations of the survey images they explicitly recollected.

The interviews with student participants took place in a private conference room at the University of Maryland Philip Merrill College of Journalism. These were recorded on digital voice recorder while I took notes on their responses. Many of the professional photojournalists, however, were reached on the phone and the interview questions and answers recorded on a digital voice recorder, and then downloaded to my computer for development of transcripts. Sixteen questions were asked during the interview; of these, only seven became the core for Phase II of the study. The remaining questions related to notions of political “action” in response to an image; of using an image to convince people of some idea or value or a decision to act or become more politically involved as a result. However, I decided that the first seven questions were more relevant to the scope of my study objectives as they stood; therefore I focused on them to help support or refute my research questions and hypotheses, as follows:

RQ1: What are the aesthetic, narrative, and emotive qualities of the news image archetype?

RQ2: How do viewers assess lesser-known images fulfilling archetypal criteria vs. iconic images with a long history of public acclaim and exposure (which may or may not satisfy archetypal criteria)?

RQ5: Does an archetype produce a more intense level of empathy and commitment, including a more accurate commitment to recall memory, than news photographs of a routine or ordinary character?

Of these questions, RQ5 was the most compelling to me. Empathy has had a long history of explanation and interpretation, but my principal question was whether viewer gender or expertise was a determining factor in the kinds of empathy evoked or images recalled, and whether gendered subject matter made a survey participant more likely to find the image compelling.

I also wanted to know several other things: Was an emotional connection to an image linked strongly to a memory of that image? Did the viewer experience feelings of pleasure, regardless of the graphic, negative, or violent nature of an image they found compelling? What caused certain images to be remembered accurately and deeply than others? Could an image be memorable without being haunting? Does an image induce us to take someone's side rather experience the way s/he feels from the inside (cognitive empathy)? And how accurately do we remember compelling news photographs, anyway?

In the course of completing the interviews, new information emerged (see Results II). Based on the feedback of both naïve and expert subjects, I was able to modify and add hypotheses as follows:

- **H6: Temporal proximity and exposure to the news event depicted in a photo heightens viewers' perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and emotionally expressive as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**
- **H7: The viewer's gender and personal knowledge of the depicted news event will have more impact on the emotional arousal (empathy) and recall of the image than its aesthetics or the viewer's perception of its novelty.**
- **H8: Viewers of either sex will report a 'haunting' or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear 'neutral' or non-gendered.**
- **H9: The primary visual details of a superlative news photo, including central figures and spatial relationships among figures, will be recalled more accurately than details of either prototypical or ordinary news photos.**

The series of structured questions I used in the interviews appears below and will be repeated and analyzed in the Results II section. The rationale for these questions is also explained in Results II.

Structured Questions:

1. Which photos were most memorable to you in the survey and why? For example, if a photo has exceptional narrative clarity and interest to you, what do you

- visualize when you see it? If it is 'haunting' to you, describe what 'haunting' is to you.
2. How well do you remember the image(s)? Can you describe in detail exactly what you do remember?
 3. How close or 'bonded' do you feel to the subjects in the image? Do you visualize something more than is actually seen here?
 4. Is the photo powerful or beautiful in any way to you?
 5. If the image is recent, would it have the same compelling power if it were historical or would it be less powerful or meaningful to you? (Another way to put this is as follows: Does your long familiarity to any of these images make you more sensitive, or less sensitive to the photo subject?)
 6. How powerful is this image in helping you feel you witnessed the event?
 7. Can you tell me what distinguishes a high vs. middle vs a low quality news photograph?

The final hypothesis 10, listed above, emerged as a conglomerate hypothesis when I realized that there was a need to link the overall judgments and recollections of interviewees with the earlier findings of the quantitative survey. Would the final "poll" of recollected and favored images in Phase II help demonstrate that image archetypes "live" even if they don't belong to the publicly exposed canon we call "icons"? The final "poll" of most recollected and most talked about images in the

qualitative survey suggested, with some raggedness, that this was the case – and more.

3.10 Reliability and Validity

This was an extremely ambitious study and, by most doctoral standards, too ambitious. However, the nature of visual communication is extraordinarily complex, and therefore I tried to accommodate at least some of that complexity in a study design that would open doors to direct empirical testing rather than dismiss the subject out of hand and resort to the interpretive historicism that has pervaded cultural studies of media and photojournalism.

There are several possible weaknesses to the study that could in fact threaten reliability and validity. Two reliability issues are related to samples size and selection of naïve subjects. The sample size for the quantitative study, by standards of major research studies, was small, albeit adequate for foundational research. Obviously the findings, though dramatic and, in many cases, statistically significant, require much larger samples to understand how gender and expertise truly factor into both image selection and emotional reception and recall. Further, the weakness of selecting “naïve subjects” from a pool of college students, most of whom are journalism and communication students, is that journalism training seems to preselect candidates who are already more articulate than the general population and possibly more visually astute. In other words, their visual training and understanding of aesthetic, narrative, and ethical principles of photojournalism may already be much more developed than subjects drawn randomly from a general population. Thus the

relativity of the monikers “visual non-experts” or “visual novices” needs to be kept in mind.

In defense of the research, the selection of visual experts, drawn from some of the best news organizations in the country, is solidly defensible. My pre-testing interviews with them, and the insights during pre-testing and Phase II interviews, were invaluable to the accuracy and granularity of the test and its analysis. Also, while the nominal data and ‘votes’ representing a ‘change-up’ in the Phase 1 survey methodology certainly added a confounding element to statistical analysis (and may in fact subtract from the definitive quality of the image ranking system), the availability of simple group comparisons of the ‘top-rated’ image properties added another surprising dimension to the data, revealing universals of preference of “seeing” across groups that might not have been discovered otherwise.

The biggest question, though, is whether this study is actually “valid” in providing evidence to support the hypotheses related to the archetypal images and plot points/themes that I have proposed. The aggregate findings are never clean. However, the conglomerate findings do lend support to Hypothesis 10. The level of detail in student and expert interviews and commentary certainly suggests that icons, while a valid and verifiable concept in the ways they have been described, do not present a whole picture of viewer response. Great pictures can inspire feelings of allegiance and memory because of factors beyond the image itself. But unlike the popular ‘consensus narratives’ of iconicity, these factors are at once complex, personal, social, aesthetic, and possibly, gendered. Furthermore, the results seem to indicate that the pictures of our world in aggregate are appreciated for reasons that

have more to do with universal sensitivities to the human predicament than on values inculcated by political systems or philosophies.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Results and Commentary

4.1 Image Reception—Overview

News photos count as a form of social communication, yet we don't know how or exactly why the image properties in news photographs produce strong emotion and recollection in some viewers and not in others. In Chapters 2 and 3, I have hypothesized that:

- **H1: In non-panoramic news photographs depicting human subjects, *facial expression, body language, and gesture* are more important to viewers' overall assessment of the emotional magnetism of the image than factors of aesthetic presentation, narrative clarity, or split second capture of action.**
- **H2: Experts of both sexes prioritize and rank (ordinally) the most important stimulus qualities of a news image in the same order as non-experts.**
- **H3: Differences in gender and expertise *do not* produce significant differences in the perception and ranking of such news image properties such as newsworthiness, novelty, and memorable effect.**

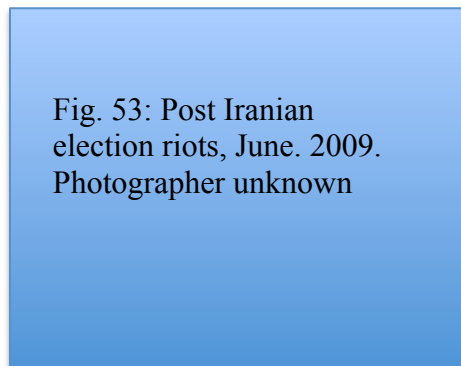
These three hypotheses, which were modified during the course of evaluating the quantitative study results detailed below, suggest that certain kinds of image properties in news photography appear to be received universally regardless of the gender or visual training of the viewer. At the same time, another dynamic of reception is clearly at work. Specifically:

- **H4: Differences in gender and expertise *do* produce significant differences in the viewer's rankings of news images properties such as aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality and effect.**
- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, moral, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**
- **H6: Temporal proximity and exposure to the news event depicted in a photo heightens viewers' perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and emotionally expressive as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**

The results of my study suggest that gender and expertise play a primary role in an individual's judgment of *certain* properties within the image frame which might, in the language of Kant, be called matters of aesthetics and moral judgment. Gender apparently plays a significantly role in determining which image the individual believes is salient, aesthetically pleasing, and expressively moody. In addition, females score significantly different from males in deciding whether an image "narrative" (story) is interesting and compelling; they also differ from males in their judgment of whether an image makes a trenchant presentation of an issue of morality or justice.

On an aesthetic level, commonly apprehended 'rules' such as contrast, repetition, alignment and proximity of clear, bold geometric forms (i.e., triangles,

triptychs, S-curves, and rectilinear forms) appear to affect the viewer's ability to focus on the image and respond positively to it (Williams, 2004), although certain



“noisy” and chaotic images may also produce strong emotional responses (see image at left).

Surveyed viewers repeatedly cited the importance (or lack of) *contextual clues* within the photo frame to clarify the image “story,” one that coherently links *causes* and *effects* of a

depicted conflict, demonstration, or catastrophic outcome. For example, many of the viewers, mostly experts, cited flaws in the Iranian firefight photo (Survey Section #1, Image #4), in which a group of men are seen fleeing from a fire whose cause is unknown. In addition, viewers in every study group overwhelmingly rated *facial expressions and body language* as the most important factor in determining strong personal response to the depicted news images, followed by “haunting effect,” for images of children. Indeed, according to the study findings, facial and body expressiveness were more important than either the viewer's impression of the *historical value* of the news image, its degree of novelty or its split-second capture of action.

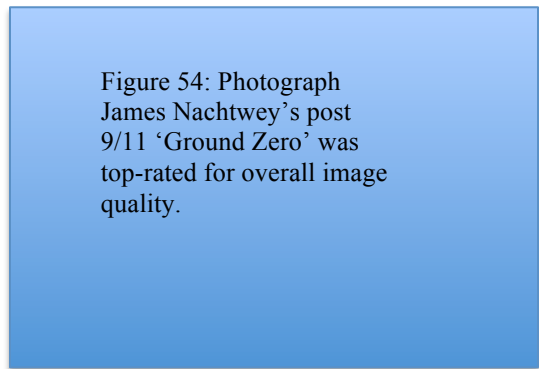
The study results also strongly suggest that there is no monolithic viewing public. Moreover, the variety of top-rated images (see also Chapter 5) indicate that there is no single, canonic gallery of national photojournalism “icons” that can stand the test of time or intense empirical scrutiny. Extraordinary images of galvanizing power are still being made outside the boundaries of the American “canon.”

Individuals see, judge, recall, separate from, or grow emotionally closer to an extraordinary news image not only because of their cultural positioning, professional or gender role, or the ideologies they embrace. Rather, Phase 1 and Phase 2 data suggest that the capacity to remember and prioritize the importance and “resonance” of an image is actually influenced by a constellation of factors. Not only does the viewer’s gender and visual experience play a part, but also such factors as personal and idiosyncratic exposure to trauma; and proximate (near-term) exposure or direct historical knowledge of the depicted news event. By “direct” I mean that the individual has experienced or witnessed the event or studied it intensively through various forms of witnessing (e.g., photographs, film, museums) and storytelling (including oral storytelling of parents or relatives).

4.2 Top Rated Photos: Not All Are Iconic

Further, viewers in each surveyed group voted highest the photographs that showed the most cataclysmic and negative news events associated with death and suffering (see Table 3). Ironically, the very top images were of events captured at the climax and aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks; none of the top three in this survey showed a person’s face up close; they were all panoramic. In one case, the image drawing second highest marks for overall quality (see below, Fig. 53a) among three of the four viewing groups was a man wearing a mask and surveying the damage and debris in lower Manhattan after the fall of the World Trade Towers. Many of the survey participants, including women, commented that the image haunted them, as though they could easily have *been* the photo subject and placed themselves in the scene.

The top five images in the survey were ranked ordinally. Based on the grand means for all groups in all eligible image categories, the top images were: 1) James Nachtwey's haunting image of a fireman rooting through post-9/11 rubble; 2) the World Trade Tower Explosion; 3) the image of a single man walking through post



9/11 debris in a lower Manhattan street; 4) the image of an incinerated Iraqi man on the "highway of death" during the First Gulf War; and 5) the image of the "hooded man" being tortured in Abu Ghraib. Of these images, only two are

considered "iconic" in American culture: the World Trade Tower explosion (ranked #2) and the "hooded" torture victim from Abu Ghraib (ranked #5). The rest of these top-five images ranked ordinally are known to professional photojournalists and viewing publics following 9/11 imagery, including Internet audiences whose sizes are unknown. Although some variation in the ranking of the top five images exists among the four groups tested (see Table 4), including female visual experts, male visual experts, female non-experts, male non-experts, the overlap and belief in these top-rated images is so consistent that one can reasonably assume that negative images capturing *catastrophic and recent news events* are even more salient to viewing audiences than portraits of extraordinary political figures such as Martin Luther King or the rare images of hope from the January 2010 Haitian earthquake. The images may be described as *negative* archetypes depicting Armageddon and its aftermath.

The ordinal ranking of the images overall (see Table 3) suggests that news photos eliciting positive emotions, no matter how beautiful or historically significant, do not “burn” in memory or produce as strong an emotional response as the negative ones.

Figure 55: Lower Manhattan after 9/11 WTC collapse. This photograph was rated #2 for overall image quality among both female visual experts and female and male visual novices.

Moreover, the panoramas of apocalypse appear more important and wrenching to individuals than human-scale portraiture or depictions of battlefields. This finding seems to confirm many earlier studies of negative imagery (see Newhagen, 1992),

several of which focus on images from TV news, suggesting that viewers remember violent images more intensely than positive ones. Newhagen’s explanation for the salience of violent images is that they deviate radically from invariant expectations, thus compelling further cognitive processing effort (1992).⁴⁸ Newell (1990) has also argued that the additional processing is an adaptive mechanism enabling the human organism to generate the appropriate response behaviors in a changing environment. Lang (1985) theorized that the most compelling images are intensely negative, triggering automatic emotional states that enhance performance in the face of danger.

The intensity and recall of negative images was evident throughout the recorded

⁴⁸ Newhagen (1992) believes that “for a match to be made between the attributes represented in the pattern of information provided in an image and the pattern of information available in memory, the characteristic parts, and the relations among those parts, must be the same. Violations of these two conditions might explain why certain novel images compel viewing, particularly in instances of threatened pain or death...the novelty of this image demanded further cognitive resources to integrate it into existing expectations of how the human body should look...to reconcile the mismatch between its environment and mental expectations of it, an organism ‘learns’ the nature of the new relationships and integrates them into existing representations” (pp. 26, 27).

interviews in the qualitative portion of my study as well, although the preponderance of images were in fact negative and drawn from common photojournalism themes (child labor, earthquake and flood, war, execution, murder, and grieving).

The one exceptionally positive image ranking highly and mentioned frequently among both experts and non-experts was Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" image as he surveyed a vast crowd on the mall in Washington DC. This was one of the professionals' favorites (most often mentioned photo); even though the photo was not the typical "icon" associated with the event in 1963; all groups mentioned this photo as producing exceptionally positive feelings amid a survey experience that many deemed challenging and difficult.

Figure 56: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream," speech August. 28 1963. Agence France Presse/Getty Images

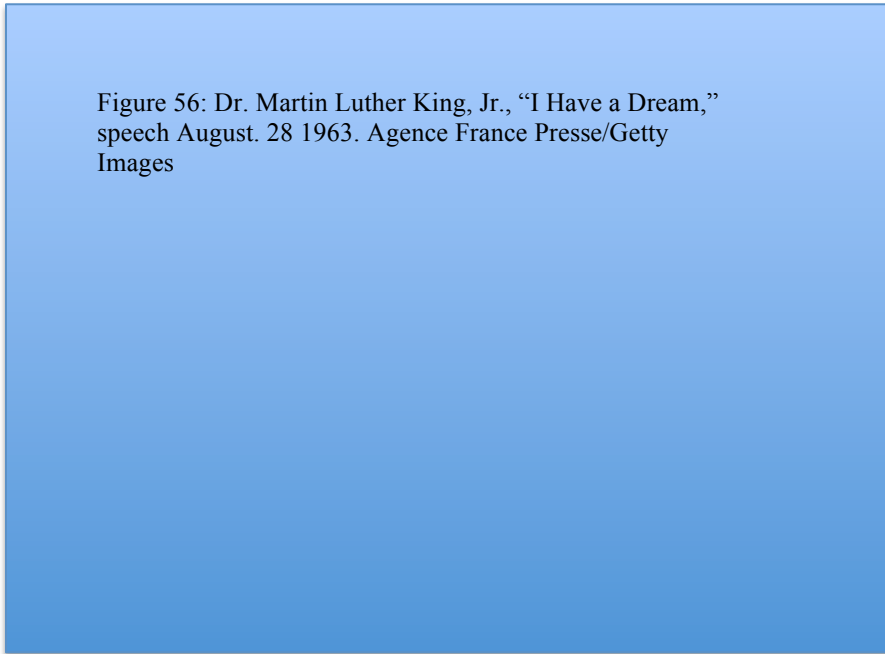


Table 3: Descriptive Statistics (Grand Means All Groups)

<p>Top 10 Images</p> <p>Indicates 2nd tier/top 20 images</p>	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
NachtweyPost911mean	4	.54	4.04	4.58	4.3475	.11235	.22470	-.963	1.014	2.016	2.619
Worldtradeattackmean	4	.27	4.22	4.49	4.3350	.06410	.12819	.478	1.014	-3.098	2.619
LowerManhatmean	4	.41	4.04	4.45	4.2650	.10087	.20174	-.232	1.014	-4.472	2.619
IncineratedmanIraqmean	4	.23	4.05	4.28	4.1725	.04732	.09465	-.464	1.014	1.404	2.619
AbuGraibmean	4	.45	3.84	4.29	4.1000	.10901	.21802	-.438	1.014	-3.456	2.619
MLKmean	4	.36	3.86	4.22	4.0750	.08846	.17692	-.513	1.014	-3.114	2.619
FiremanChildmean	4	.43	3.86	4.29	4.0725	.08788	.17576	.085	1.014	1.439	2.619
Gravemourningmean	4	.38	3.83	4.21	3.9925	.08230	.16460	.816	1.014	.043	2.619
Haitirescuemean	4	.30	3.79	4.09	3.8950	.06764	.13528	1.571	1.014	2.417	2.619
Dresden	4	.36	3.68	4.04	3.8425	.09241	.18482	.157	1.014	-5.072	2.619
NYexcavatepost911mean	4	.77	3.32	4.09	3.7425	.15866	.31732	-.696	1.014	1.772	2.619
Groundzeromean	4	1.31	2.86	4.17	3.6525	.28135	.56269	-1.299	1.014	2.089	2.619
Lincolnmean	4	.60	3.33	3.93	3.6125	.13015	.26030	.313	1.014	-1.292	2.619
BloodyIranpolicemean	4	.78	3.19	3.97	3.5475	.18477	.36954	.261	1.014	-3.853	2.619

SleepingGIsmean	4	.65	3.09	3.74	3.4025	.13444	.26887	.265	1.014	.869	2.619
Maydaymean	4	.53	3.00	3.53	3.2575	.10950	.21899	.196	1.014	.872	2.619
FirefightsTehranmean	4	1.02	2.66	3.68	3.1625	.23468	.46935	.055	1.014	-3.513	2.619
Foundationalsmean	4	.38	2.74	3.12	2.9350	.08421	.16842	-.124	1.014	-2.311	2.619
Streetsidememorialmean	4	1.33	2.29	3.62	2.9200	.35419	.70838	.053	1.014	-5.664	2.619
Hugmean	4	1.10	2.16	3.26	2.8550	.25889	.51778	-1.023	1.014	-.410	2.619
Vietdemmean	4	.25	2.67	2.92	2.8500	.06014	.12028	-1.972	1.014	3.908	2.619
Expertise	4	1	1	2	1.50	.289	.577	.000	1.014	-6.000	2.619
Gender	4	1	1	2	1.50	.289	.577	.000	1.014	-6.000	2.619
Valid N (listwise)	4										

Table 4: Top 7 Ranked Images by Gender, Expertise

Image	Female Students		Female Professionals	Rank	Male Students	Rank	Male Professionals	Rank
World Trade Attack	4.49	1	4.35	3	4.25	1	4.24	2
Lower Manhattan Post 9/11	4.45	2	4.42	2	4.15	2	4.04	5
Ground Zero 9/11 (Nachtwey)	4.38	3	4.58	1	4.04	4	4.39	1
Hooded Man Abu Ghraib	4.29	4	4.27	4	4.0	5	3.84	8
Fireman rescuing baby	4.29	4	4.06	9	3.86	6	4.08	4
Incinerated Man	4.28	5	4.19	7	4.08	3	4.17	3
Martin Luther King Jr.	4.22	6	4.22	5	4.0	5	3.86	7
Haiti Rescue	4.09	7	3.88	12	3.79	8	3.82	9
Mourning	4.015	8	4.21	6	3.83	7	3.91	6

Panoramic images of the 9/11 World Trade Center attack and survival in the immediate aftermath ranked highest for overall quality among all four study groups.

Female experts and non-experts voted for WTC images similarly, although their rankings did not exactly match.

Professional males and professional females showed preference for photographer James Nachtwey’s artistry, but female and male students (visual non-experts) ranked highest the jet explosion in the WTC South Tower. Students of both sexes ranked many of the images in similar order.

The ‘iconic’ Abu Ghraib image was ranked higher among female professionals and students than either professional or novice males.

Males of both groups ranked the graphically disturbing “incinerated man” #3 . Neither female group was similarly impressed.

Martin Luther King, Jr.’s ebullient “I have a Dream” image ranked 5-7 in all groups. Only two images of women – that of an older woman being rescued after the 2010 Haiti earthquake, along with an old woman grieving with face hidden by a husband’s gravestone – were ranked among the top 7. Both images came in last among the top 7 in the four study groups.

Indeed, differences in training and expertise, along with *gender*, produced statistically significant differences in rankings of selected news images throughout the study, especially in viewer assessment of the aesthetics, expressive mood, narrative clarity and power, and overall image quality (see Tables 5-13 below). Further, expertise was a prime differentiator in judgment and enthusiasm regarding an image's newsworthiness, narrative clarity and power, expressive mood, moral presentation of a message, "sticking power" (memorable quality) and other aesthetic and emotive qualities.

However, *cumulative means for all the qualities* surveyed for each image in the ordinal portion of this study were surprisingly *similar* for all groups. These means represent aggregate scores for *all ordinally* ranked images tested for each of the 12 qualities among the four main study groups for 21 of the tested images. All cumulative scores for each group clustered together in the mid 3.55-3.75 range, with aggregate means for expert/professional males scoring lowest [M = 3.5569, SD = 31823S] and non-expert females scoring highest [M = 3.7614, SD = .29991.] Female experts scored higher than their male experts counterparts [M = 3.6074, SD .49607], while male non-experts, many of them journalism or communication students, ranked the images higher than either professional males and professional females [M = 3.6219, SD.45793], but substantially lower than their female student counterparts. The *impression of difference* in the four grand means is readily confirmed in each group's rankings of individual images [see next section]. Strong differences in rankings for image qualities were recorded by expertise and gender, and sometimes by gender-expertise. The impression of the individual image rankings is that each

group's *emotional intensity of reception, levels of empathy, and judgments regarding the aesthetics and content-worthiness* of particular news photographs (explained by image qualities such as 'newsworthiness' and narrative clarity) can be quite different, depending on the appearance of gendered subject matter and certain classic "constructions" of archetypal themes and plots (e.g., war, grief over children killed in war, young women demonstrating against childhood slavery) which appeal strongly to certain groups and not to others.

Differences in the aggregate *grand means* for the four groups for all *ordinally ranked image qualities* show $p = .057$ for gender at the 95% confidence interval. For example, a two-sample T Test for males and females for differences in means (N= 55 female; 58 male) across both expert and non-expert groups produced a two-tailed statistical significance of $p = .057$, $t = 1.920$ (*equal variances assumed*), with a *t score* very close to two standard deviations ($t = 1.96$) from the mean assuming a normal distribution (Levene's test for equality of variances: $F = .030$; $p = .862$). Two-sample T tests for visual experts vs. non-experts (both sexes) produced $p = .074$, *equal variances assumed*; $t = -1.802$ at the 95% confidence interval; experts consistently ranked most image qualities lower than non-experts. Many individual images showed statistically significant differences in rankings both for gender and expertise. The comparatively small range of grand means among the four groups does not translate into tepid or identical responses, but a wide variation in quality rankings (see individual ratings, below, Appendix A). At the same time, group preferences and rankings of particular images may have cancelled out larger variations between groups since some images in the survey strongly appealed to females, others to males,

and certain images elicited higher scores vs. lower ones between experts and non-experts.

Table 5: Survey I by Gender & Expertise (N = 113)

		Value Label	N
Gender	1	Female	55
	2	Male	58
Expert or Non-Expert	1	Expert	42
	2	Non-expert	71

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics: Aggregate Grand Means by Gender and Expertise

Dependent Variable: Newmeans

Gender	Expert or Non-Expert	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Female	Expert	3.6074	.49607	13
	dimension2 Non-expert	3.7614	.29991	42
	Fem Mean	3.7250	.35685	55
Male	Expert	3.5569	.31823	29
	dimension2 Non-expert	3.6219	.45793	29
	Male Mean	3.5894	.39221	58
Total	Expert	3.5725	.37649	42
	dimension2 Non expert	3.7044	.37594	71
	Total	3.6554	.37990	113

Table 7: Two Sample T Test for Independent Groups (Gender)

Gendered Means suggest statistically significant differences in ordinal image quality rankings

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Newmeans Equal variances assumed	.030	.862	1.920	111	.057	.13564	.07066	-.00438	.27565
Newmeans Equal variances not assumed			1.924	110.815	.057	.13564	.07048	-.00403	.27530

Table 8: Group Statistics—Gender (Aggregate Means all Qualities)

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Newmeans Female	55	3.7250	.35685	.04812
Newmeans Male	58	3.5894	.39221	.05150

Table 9: Independent Samples T Test for Visual Experts vs. Novices (Non-experts)

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means							
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
								Lower	Upper	
Newmeans Equal variances assumed	.048	.828	-1.802	111	.074	-.13192	.07322	-.27701	.01317	
Equal variances not assumed			-1.801	86.088	.075	-.13192	.07325	-.27753	.01369	

Means between experts and non-experts suggests substantial or 'borderline' statistical differences in ordinal quality rankings.

Table 10: Group Statistics – Expertise (Aggregate all Qualities)

Expert or NonExpert		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Newmeans dimension1	Expert	42	3.5725	.37649	.05809
	Nonexpert	71	3.7044	.37594	.04462

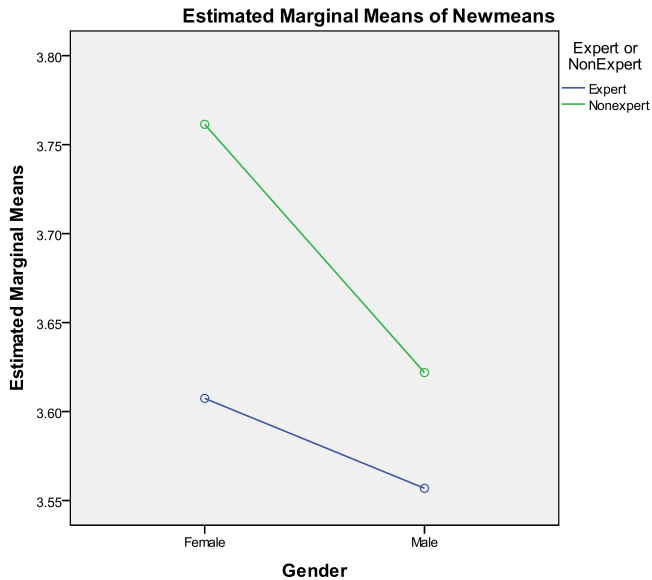


Figure 57: Graph shows dramatic differences in overall rankings of 21 images and image properties among gendered and visual expert/non-expert groups. Female students rank images highest compared to male students and professionals of both sexes. Female professionals are closer in rankings to their male counterparts, suggesting that professional training may trump gender when it comes to evaluating news images.

The aggregate grand means for all ordinal rankings show that non-expert females respond most strongly to the images and give them the highest scores. Expert females and non-expert males show less enthusiasm, while professional males are toughest, although their scores vary widely with subject matter, apparent exposure or proximity to a significant news event depicted by the image, and identification/empathy with gendered subject matter.

Univariate (one-way ANOVA) analysis of *combined means* of all image properties for the four groups (analyzed by gender, expertise, and gender-expertise, an interaction variable), also showed substantial differences in quantitative rankings for the images between groups (although between subject effects registered no statistical significance):

Table 11: Analysis of Variance Between Groups

Newmeans

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.519	1	.519	3.685	.057
Within Groups	15.645	111	.141		
Total	16.164	112			

Cross tabulations comparing male and female ordinal rankings in a linear association also yielded statistically significant differences. Both correlation coefficients (Spearman’s Rho; appropriate for ordinal data) and the Chi Square goodness of fit test showed significance as follows:

Table 12: Symmetric Measures (Gendered Differences, Means)

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	-.179	.089	-1.920	.057 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	-.197	.092	-2.114	.037 ^c
N of Valid Cases		113			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Table 13: Chi-Square Tests (Gendered Differences, Means)

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	106.996 ^a	109	.536
Likelihood Ratio	148.254	109	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.599	1	.058
N of Valid Cases	113		

a. 220 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .49.

Cross tabulations comparing linear expert vs. non-expert rankings also showed statistical significance for Spearman's Rho (correlation coefficient for ordinal data) and Chi Square Goodness of Fit:

Table 14: Symmetric Measures (Expertise)

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval Pearson's R	.169	.092	1.802	.074 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal Spearman Correlation	.193	.090	2.074	.040 ^c
N of Valid Cases	113			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Table 15: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	108.718 ^a	109	.490
Likelihood Ratio	143.580	109	.015
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.182	1	.074
N of Valid Cases	113		

a. 220 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .37.

4.3 How Expertise and Gender Produce Difference in Image Perception & Ranking

A more granular analysis of image responses showed very significant differences, both for gender, expertise, and in some cases, gender-expertise (an interaction variable) when 2X2 multivariate ANOVA and two-sample T tests for independent groups were applied to individual images, especially with distinct masculine and feminine subject matter and themes. These tests demonstrated wide and statistically significant differences in the group rankings for discrete stimulus qualities such as newsworthiness, narrative clarity, aesthetics, composition, memory, novelty, emotion, and overall image quality. Moreover, *aggregate means for all stimulus qualities* measured ordinally showed the following trends at the 95% confidence interval:

Table 16: Summary Table: Aggregate Means for Ordinally Ranked Image Qualities by Gender and Expertise (Two-Sample T Test for Independent Groups)

Stimulus Quality	Aggregate Means Expert N= 42	Aggregate Means Non-Expert N=71	Independent Samples T Test for Expertise (Two-Tailed Sig., Equal Variances Assumed)	Aggregate Means Female N=55	Aggregate Means Male N=58	Independent Samples T test for Gender (Two-tailed Sig., Equal Variances Assumed)
Aesthetics	3.4880	3.7676	t= -3.993 Sig = .000**	3.7810	3.5241	t= 3.257 Sig = .001†
Composition	3.5946	3.8337	t= -2.731 Sig = .007†	3.8486	3.6464	t= 2.370 Sig = .019‡
Expressive Mood	3.6983	3.9226	t =-2.791 Sig.= .006†	3.9279	3.7551	t= 2.196 Sig. = .030‡
Overall Image Quality	3.3454	3.7057	t =-4.166 Sig.= .000**	3.6760	3.4760	T = 2.311 Sig. = .023‡
Power of image ‘story’	3.7001	3.7496	t= -.628 Sig.= .683	3.8009	3.6652	t= 1.802 Sig.= .074≈
Narrative Clarity/interest	3.6477	3.7359	t= -1.056 Sig.= .293	3.7911	3.6197	t= 2.197 Sig.= .033‡
Newsworthiness	3.8237	3.7920	t = .413 Sig.= .680	3.8534	3.7567	t= 1.312 Sig.= .192
Presents Moral issue	3.3623	3.4676	t=-1.072 Sig.= .286	3.5196	3.3420	t= 1.891 Sig.= .061≈
Arouses strong emotion	3.5334	3.6810	t=-1.622 Sig.= .108	3.6888	3.5666	t= 1.396 Sig.= .166*
Is it memorable?	3.6124	3.6900	t =- .937 Sig. = .351	3.6795	3.6437	t= .445 Sig.= .657

Novelty	3.5594 3.5286	t = .337 Sig. = .737	3.5275 3.5531	t = -.300 Sig.= .765
Haunting Effect	3.4774 3.4121	t = .735 Sig. = .434	3.4425 3.4305	t = .140 Sig.= .889
	Key: Purple indicates higher group score	Key **p ≤ .000 indicates very high statistical significance †p ≤ .01 high statistical significance	‡p ≤ .05 statistical significance ≈p ≤ .1 indicates borderline statistical significance	*Levene Test for Equality of Variances shows F = 4.261, Sig. = .041 . Therefore equal variances not assumed in this finding.

The above statistical summary shows that both gender and expertise (independent variables) yield *highly statistically significant* aggregate differences in viewer rankings of photographic *aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality* in this study. Experts judged the news photographs, on the whole, as less aesthetic, compositionally sound, expressively ‘moody’ or worthy of high overall quality rankings than non-experts. By the same token, males of either group scored all image qualities lower, on average, than females did. Other differences of notable statistical significance were found in the gendered rankings for *narrative clarity and interest* (defined as “how clear and ‘rich’ is the story the image tells”), *narrative power* (e.g., emotional ‘power of the image’ story), and *trenchant presentation of a moral issue*. The latter two stimulus qualities were scored for gendered difference in the ‘borderline’ statistical significance category, suggesting that follow-up study of gendered differences may be needed.

The statistical evidence lends strong support to the following two hypotheses:

- **H4: Differences in gender and expertise *do* produce significant differences in viewers’ rankings of news images properties such as aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality.**
- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, moral, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**

The aggregate scores are also significant for differences they *do not* show. For example, experts and non-experts were statistically in-synch in their overall rankings for *newsworthiness, novelty, arousing strong emotion, haunting effect, and*

memorable quality. These particular stimulus qualities appeared to be scored very similarly, suggesting that they are perceived and prioritized “universally” and that minor differences could have happened by chance. Moreover, experts ranked such qualities as *newsworthiness*, *novelty*, and *haunting effect* slightly higher than their non-expert counterparts. Males, in particular, reversed their “normal” trend of lower scores and judged the novelty of the photo images slightly higher than females, as did experts over non-experts. The finding suggests that visual journalists may be more attuned to novel qualities than non-experts, and males, in turn, may assign the moniker ‘novelty’ to unusual news photos for which women have other names—or responses. In addition, photojournalists may possess longer histories of identifying these qualities; in fact they may be more accustomed to assigning terminology to perceived qualities than the non-experts counterparts. But the differences are statistically small; experts, especially male experts, judge similarly to their non-expert counterparts.⁴⁹ Therefore:

- **H3: Differences in gender and expertise *do not* produce significant differences in the perception and ranking of such news image properties such as newsworthiness, novelty, and memorable effect. [See next page for Conceptual Diagram of properties.]**

⁴⁹ Univariate analysis of variance scores testing for between-subject effects for gender, expertise, or gender-expertise (an interaction variable testing the various combinations of male/female and expert/non-expert) showed significant effects for gender ($p = .031$) and expertise ($p=.002$) in aesthetics. However, the only other between-subjects results of note were for expertise in composition ($p=.035$), expressive mood ($p=.014$) and overall image quality ($p=.000$).

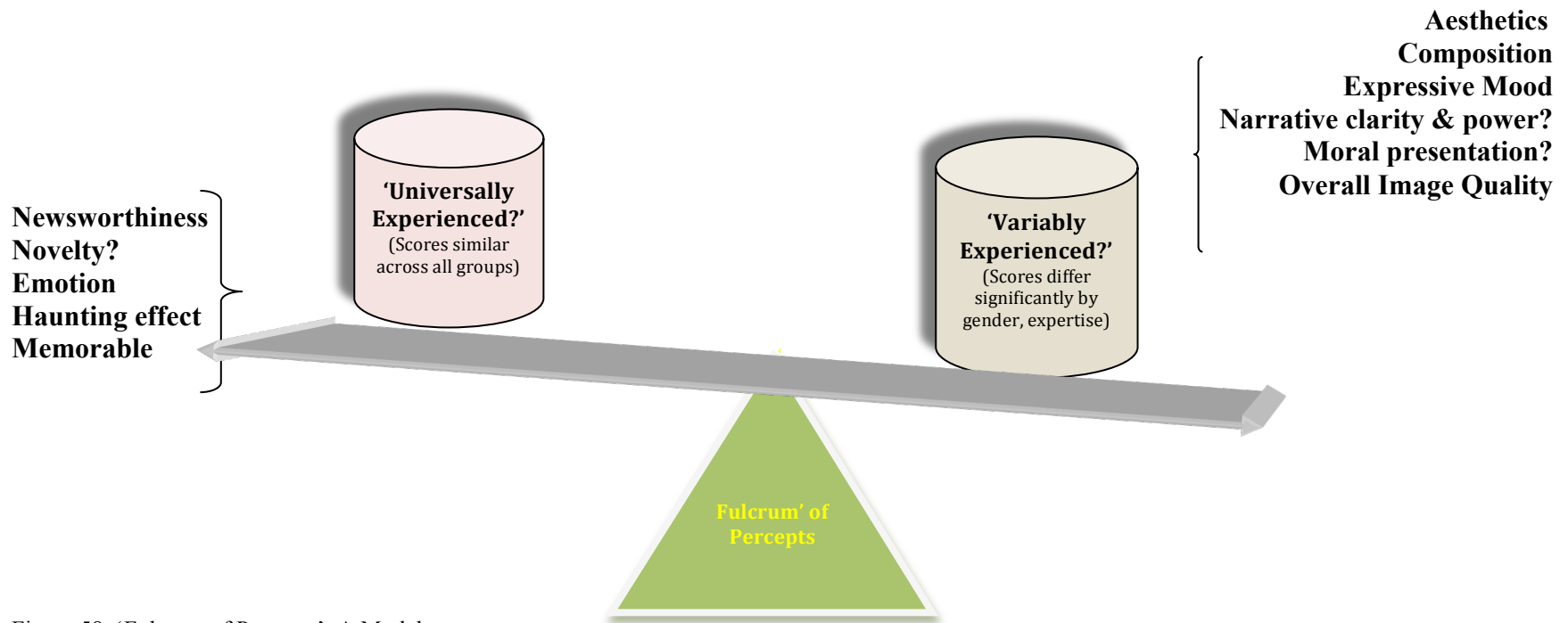


Figure 58: 'Fulcrum of Percepts': A Model

Explanation: The data in Phase 1 of this foundational study suggest a “split decision” in the perception and ranking of photographic qualities may be at work among the four study groups. Visual experts and novices of both sexes judged such qualities as newsworthiness, novelty, emotion, haunting effect, and memorable effect in news photographs with very similar rankings (i.e., no statistically significant differences). By contrast, the four group ratings for image aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality were significantly different both for gender and expertise; such qualities as narrative clarity and power, along with “trenchant presentation of a moral issue” showed a

statistically significant different for gender. In the main, females scored these qualities much higher than males; although male professionals, ironically, judged images higher than non-experts for the properties of newsworthiness, novelty, and haunting effect. These results imply that some properties of news photos appear to be *universally experienced and judged*, regardless of gender or visual experience. Moreover, viewing groups seem to agree about which photographs are most memorable. On the intensity of emotional response – especially to the “beauty” of an image, the power and clarity of its story, and the incisiveness of presentation about an issue of justice, morality or fairness – women and men respond variably. The complexity of these findings suggests that some combination of universal faculties and impressions based on archetypes is plausible. At the same time, gender produces big differences in how news photographs are experienced and “felt” by viewers.

The overt implication of the quantitative data is that our impressions of what is “newsworthy,” “novel,” “memorable,” or emotionally provocative appear to be commonly shared among all groups regardless of gender or visual training. Alternately, audience perceptions may be similar because of acquired social or cultural experiences and shared values. These may include acquired photojournalistic knowledge and judgment about what is “new,” “deviant,” or radically different from everyday experience. Either way, certain photographic qualities can be assessed according to their magnitude and apparently commonalities—in effect, lending support to the idea that image archetypes (as I have defined them in previous chapters) communicate instantly and forcefully to many people. The fact that the different viewing groups converged on the spectacular images of 9/11—both at the climax or fate-determining moment (explosion of the towers) and the many aftermath images—shows a definite “consensus” on what is striking and memorable. The fact that negative images appear to trump positive ones also shows that most of us reserve our deepest reverence for archetypes of the sublime and terrifying; such visual archetypes as *Armageddon*, *mass extermination*, *divine vengeance*, *impossible odds of survival*, *phoenix rising from the ashes*, *firemen sifting faceless through the wreckage of the World Trade Center (WTC)*; *common man walking through the end of world*: the ratings show that these are photographs that have implanted themselves in our public(s) consciousness regardless of their status as media icons, secondary, or rarely seen photos.

Other image properties appear variably *experienced and judged*, where gender and expertise produce *significantly different* rankings for image aesthetics, expressive

mood, moral “depictions,” and even whether the “story” of the image is particularly clear, interesting, or powerful. The factor of gender difference here may be even more important than differences in visual expertise and training. Apparently, the study groups displayed a combination of ‘universal’ and variable perceptual experience, strongly suggesting that reception of news photography is neither one nor the other, but a “split decision.” Apparent differences in study groups and their assessment of images will be discussed in detail in the next several sections.

4.4 Gendered Responses to Images among Visual Experts and Non-Experts

There is absolutely no question that gendered subject matter of significant historical interest strongly affects the responses of both experts and non-experts in this study. Professional males, for example, normally rated all image qualities lower than any other group. Yet they demonstrated “flip flopping” on certain historic and iconic images with male-centered subjects, especially those of war, scoring qualities such as “narrative clarity,” “memorable,” “trenchant presentation of a moral issue,” and “overall quality” *higher than all of the other groups* (see Figures 57, 58 below). Significant expertise differences in these scores also suggest a “cross generational rift” in the perception of image content and importance, as David Perlmutter discussed in his informal studies of students (1999). Professionals who are familiar with American photographic history appear to appreciate and score higher these historic and memorializing images than other groups (e.g., Foundational over Wake island, Dresden bombing, Lincoln memorial), suggesting that what is iconic or soul-stirring to one generation may be much less so to the next.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ This is the same conclusion Perlmutter drew in his own survey of images of Vietnam’s Tet offensive which he conducted among 17-20 year old students in his classes. “Overwhelmingly, he wrote,

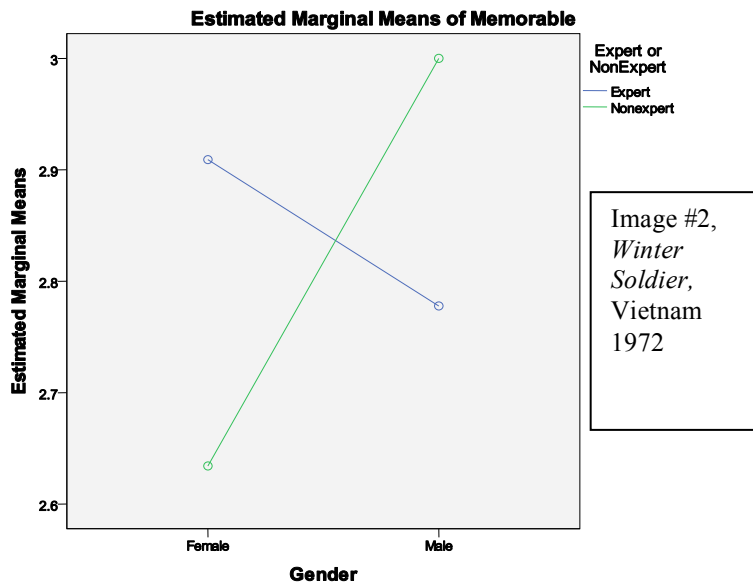
4.4.1 A Contradiction Between Expert Ratings and Commentary

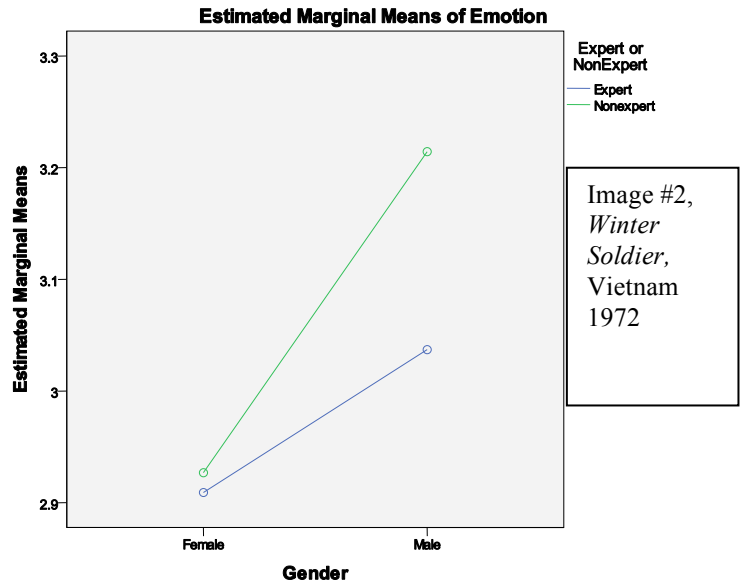
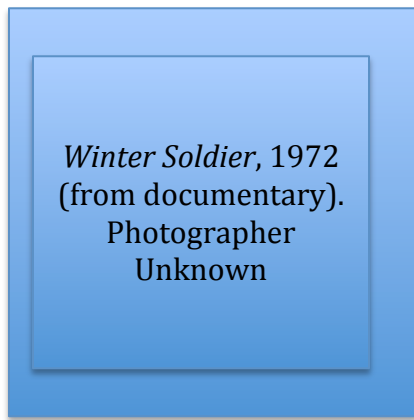
Both professional females and student females tended to rate aesthetics, compositional achievements, emotion, and overall image quality for the photos *higher than either professional or non-expert males*. Further, professionals offered candid and highly perceptive remarks that showed widespread enthusiasm and recall of certain images that they may have “marked down” for aesthetic deficiencies in the quantitative portion of the test. For example, professionals gave lower scores for composition and aesthetics to such images as Vietnam Image #2 (*Winter Soldier*, below) and the Iranian riot photo #4 (above), yet commented about these images extensively and thoughtfully, praising their historic relevance and emotional candor.⁵¹ Professional males, in particular, gave higher ratings than any other group to the moral and narrative clarity properties of the Vietnam images, once again suggesting that gendered subject matter, along with professional and personal context, are as important in visual judgment as aesthetic matters.

“images with which I, as a student of American photographic history, was intimately familiar, were largely unknown to my students. For the Tet question, for example, over 90 percent of the class gave vague answers, such as “pictures of fighting.” Revealingly, fully 20 percent of the class provided answers that seemed drawn from Hollywood movies, such as *Platoon* or the *China Beach* TV series, or even M*A*S*H.” (Perlmutter, 1999, p. 9)

⁵¹ Frequently, discrepancies cropped up when experts recalled the “best” images in the qualitative Part II of the study vs. those images they rated highest during the quantitative portion of the test. These discrepancies suggest that the ordinal rankings tell only part of the image response story; indeed, the nominal and scalar data of the survey Parts II, III, and IV produce a more ‘rounded’ and accurate picture of both professional and student preferences and engagement in the images, particularly those news images they would qualify as extraordinary, haunting, or highly memorable

Novice males were also affected deeply by the Vietnam, Iraqi, and American war images. For example, student males scored image #2 (*Winter Soldier*) higher than any other group for memorable content and emotion. Their interest in this photograph runs counter to their comparatively tepid responses to the other photographs in the survey.





Figures 59, 60: Image #2 produced atypical image rankings, with male students scoring the Vietnam image higher for emotional and memorable qualities than all other groups.

In addition, male students' ad hoc comments on the characters (there was space allowed for comments in the quantitative survey) in *Winter Soldier* were especially observant. One student noted: "The picture as a whole is most striking....there is a circle of life aspect to the picture, beginning with the man crouched down on the left to the injured older man on the right. The man in the center represents the prime age of our lives, the highest point, which is represented with the flag in his hands. This picture for me, is showing that men, in the prime of their lives, were sent off to war, and their future is characterized by the man on crutches on the right" (Student commentary, Survey Part 1, March 2010). No comparable interpretation was offered either by professional females or novice females. In many ways, this image appears to 'belong' as a narrative and point of debate to men:

Figure 61: Vietnam Demonstrators/Section I, Image No. 2, *Winter Soldier* (Vietnam documentary, 1972).

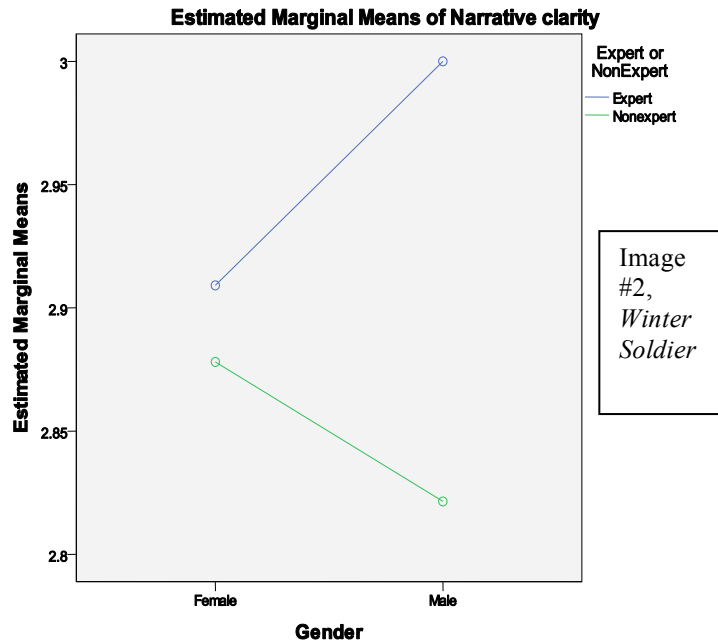


Figure 62: Professional males ranked the *Winter Soldier* Vietnam image (above) higher than other groups for the clarity and interest of the image story. Most likely, the professional male photographs knew this story well from personal experience. Ironically, male students ranked this image lowest for narrative clarity, while professional females and novice females gave the image an “average” ranking.

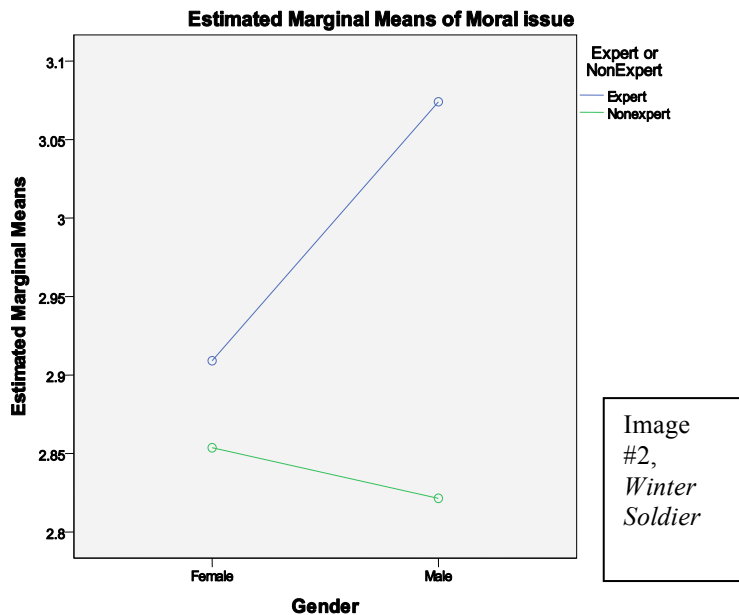


Figure 63: Professional Males, reversing their ‘normal’ trend of giving lower scores than any other group, actually gave the *Winter Soldier* Vietnam War image the highest scores for “trenchant presentation of a moral issue.” Gendered subject matter and empathy for the demonstrators were cited in the professionals’ ad hoc comments on the image.

4.4.2 Familiarity Breeds Indifference

Professionals were quick to identify expertise as a door to aesthetic perception and savvy evaluation of images. But they also acknowledged that familiarity breeds indifference and even dulls emotional response to iconic and familiar images frequently seen. One news photographer, Dennis C., currently a photojournalism professor at the Iowa State University, said in a follow-up interview that he had already seen roughly 75 percent of the images in the study, although a few, including Martin Luther King's "I have a Dream" image, along with the hanging of two teenage Russian resistance fighters (Part IV, image 7), stood out. "Photo editors have the right to be visually jaded," said Dennis C., a Pulitzer-prize winning news photographer who covered Eastern Europe for nearly two decades (Dennis C., personal communication, April 4 2010). Differences in visual training enable professionals at once to 'frame' and understand the timeliness or historical context of a news image and also to distance themselves emotionally and aesthetically from the ones they routinely encounter, no matter how powerful on first-viewing (Dennis C., 2010; Harding, Personal Communication, August 7, 2010).

4.4.3 Novelty Produces Cognitive Dissonance—and Pleasure

The professionals also delivered some of the most perceptive comments on what makes an image fresh, jarring, or "haunting." For example, Dennis C., in his qualitative follow-up interview, suggested that "seeing something new" the first time sets up a cognitive dissonance (a sense of surprise or novelty) that actually produces a feeling of pleasure or surprise. An image like the Agence France Press photo of Martin Luther King Jr., for example, "is so close to being a normal shot, but the

subtle differences make it wonderful,” he explained. “The sea of people in the frame are not individuals anymore; they are so far off that the people practically create a texture that King stands out against. The shot is beautifully composed, with a simple composition; and it’s a really powerful famous moment that captured the expression on his face” (Dennis C., personal communication, August 7, 2010).

Among the several professional photographers interviewed for this study, Dennis C. commented that while the MLK photo in the survey seemed extreme familiar, he could not pinpoint its origin, its photographer, or where he had seen it before. The image was not the “classic” or iconic one of King that is most well known from the “I have a Dream” speech day, the one in which King is delivering his speech in an impassioned tone and supported by a group of men lining up behind him. The more exceptional and lesser-known photo in this survey “struck me as beautiful,” Dennis C. said. “It’s a quietly reflective moment in definitely what wasn’t a reflective day.” He noted that for an image to burn into memory, “[it] has to catch me with something the first time; and has to have enough impact that it stops me from turning the page the first or the second time.” Such an image fulfills a dual mission, he added: invoking both a feeling of “you are there now,” i.e., “witnessing” the event and sensing its newsworthiness (the emotion and stimulus of “now”) and also producing enough visual impact to be relevant over historical or “deep time”—a sense of time invoked by re-inspection of the image and feeling connected to the past.⁵² Direct

⁵² Another photographer, Torry Bruno, the chief photo editor of The Chicago Tribune, adds that the most long-lasting images are “memory images.” For example, “Eddie Adams” photo of General Loan executing the Vietcong terrorist triggers a lot of memories of the event and personal memories of your life at the time,” he explained. “I think every time of facial expressions and the human reaction [to those expressions] as the visual story teller; for example, with the Eddie Adams’ photo, the shooter was some kind of official, very cocky, and very matter of factly executing this person. The look on the victims’ face was amazing; and the look sticks with you, too.” (Bruno, personal communication,

viewer engagement and the creation of a rich psychological narrative distinguish a superlative photo from an ordinary one, he continued. “A great photo creates narrative in the viewer that may be different from the facts of the photo,” he said; [above all] “you want to engage people.”

4.4.4 Gendered Empathy

Students, especially female students, displayed little of the jadedness of professional photographers. In both the quantitative and qualitative portion of the study, they displayed the most enthusiasm and strongest aesthetic and emotional responses for the majority of the images, even negative ones. Although level of expertise (i.e., experts vs. non-experts) certainly produced dramatic, statistically significant differences for most of the images tested, a strong factor of gender empathy, especially among young non-experts, manifested itself in gender-inflected



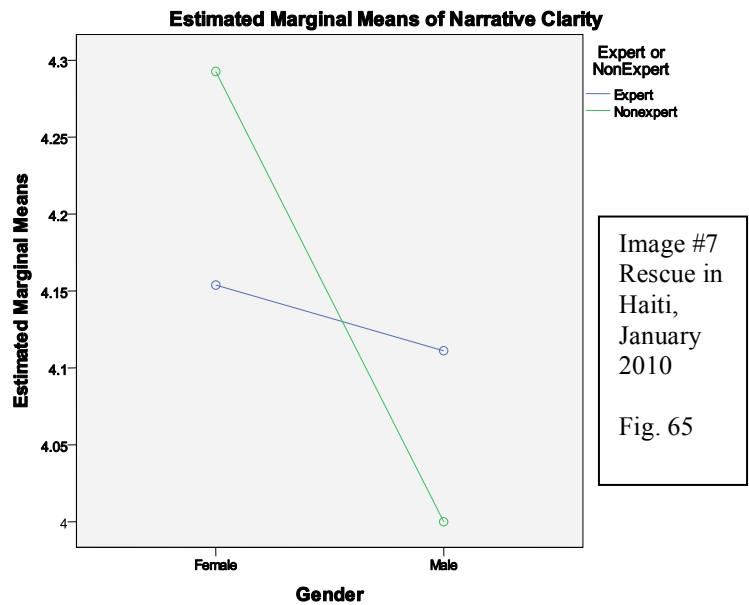
Figure 64: Rescue in Haiti, Image #7, Photo by Patrick Farrell, *Miami Herald*. Reprinted with

narratives and judgments of images with specifically ‘male’ and female’ themes (examples, Vietnam Image #2 and the Jewish Girls in the Mayday Parade, Image #1). For example, student females rated the first image in Part 1—two Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery (see below)—higher than any other group for every category. Their ratings were similarly high for every category of the Haitian earthquake rescue image (Part 1, Image #7, depicting two women, mother and

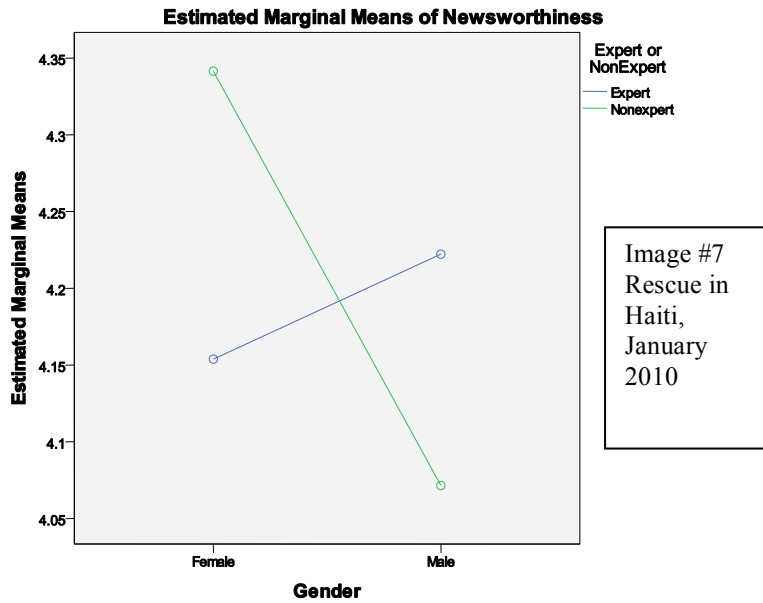
October 27, 2010). Bruno suggests that “memory images” don’t require extended captions to explicate their force.

daughter, as the centerpiece) and even for the bruised and bloody Iraqi policeman depicted in Part I, image #3 (possibly a “sympathy vote”).

Female students also rated highest the image of soldiers sleeping with a child in a foxhole in Part V (image #3) the highest among the groups. They offered the longest, most empathetic and most emotion-laden narrative comments about several of these images (see Chapter 5); in many cases, their judgments regarding the more “emotion-neutral” qualities such as newsworthiness and novelty were much higher both for gendered and non-gendered subject matter than their male student counterparts.⁵³



⁵³ Gallese (2003) argued in the article, "The manifold nature of interpersonal relations: the quest for a common mechanism," that empathy has both neurophysiological and social advantages. The capacity to code the "like me" analogy between self and others constitutes a basic prerequisite and starting point for social cognition. It is by means of this self/other equivalence that meaningful social bonds can be established, that we can recognize others as similar to us, and that imitation can take place. Gallese also reviews brain imaging data on monkeys and humans, showing that the “like me” analogy may rest upon a series of 'mirror-matching' mechanisms.



Figures 65, 66: Haiti Rescue: Female non-experts identified strongly with the image narrative and gave the photo high marks for newsworthiness, emotion, memory, and overall image quality. Non-expert males were less impressed in all categories. Professional males and females judged the image more favorably than male novices.

Image #1 of a May 1909 May Day Parade elicited responses typical of each study group's "normal" preference profile throughout the survey. Student Females rated this image highest in every category, above all other groups.



Figure 67: Image #1: 1909 May Day Parade, NYC. Copyright free.

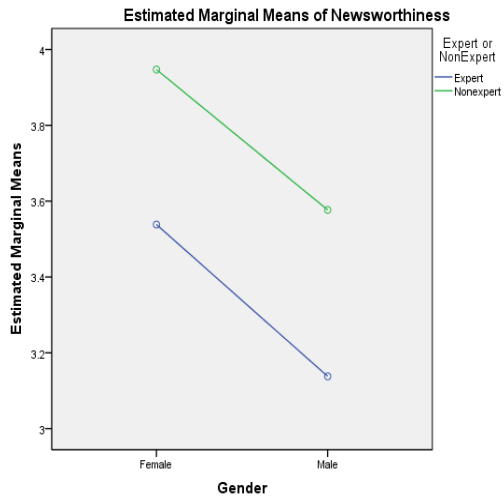
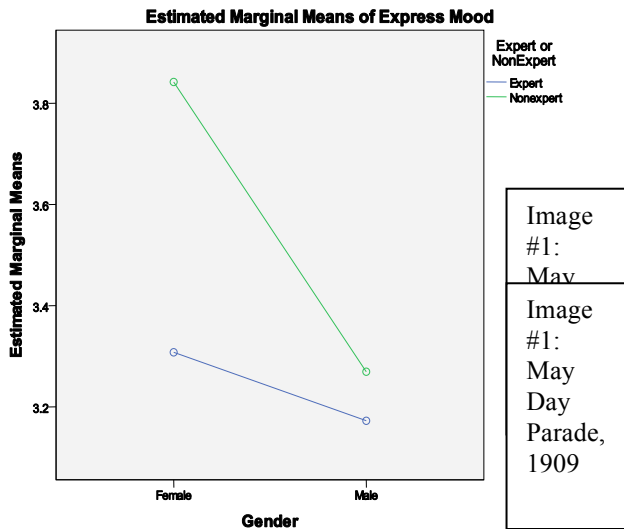
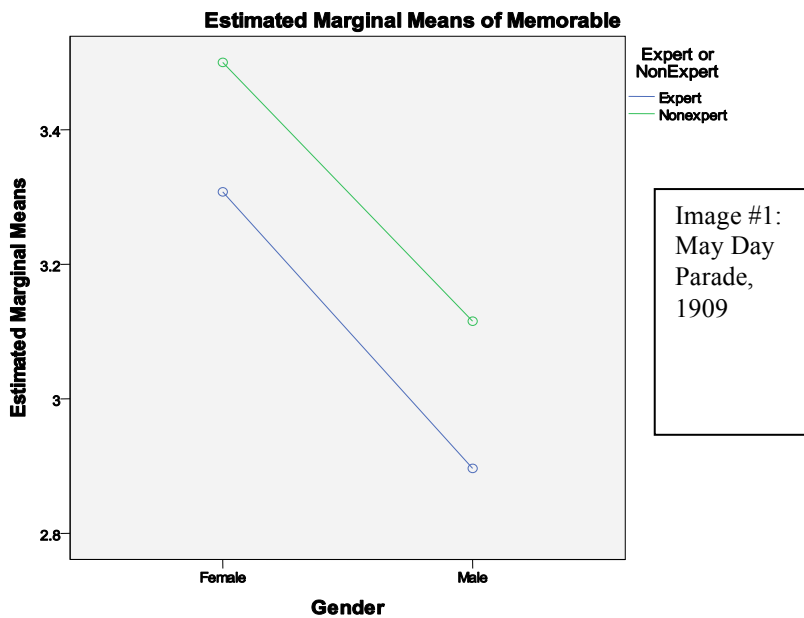
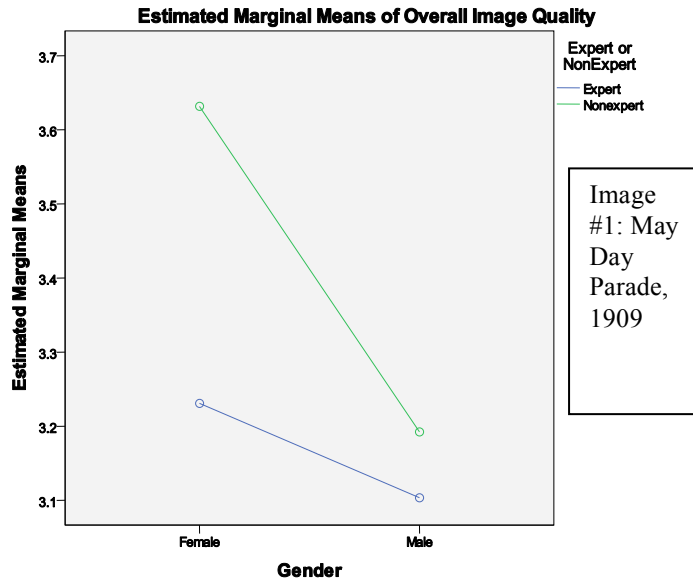


Figure 68: May Day Parade Image #1. Between subject effects showed the following:
Gender difference: Newsworthiness: $F= 5.0619$, $p \leq .019$
Expertise difference: Newsworthiness : $F=6.932$ $p \leq .101$





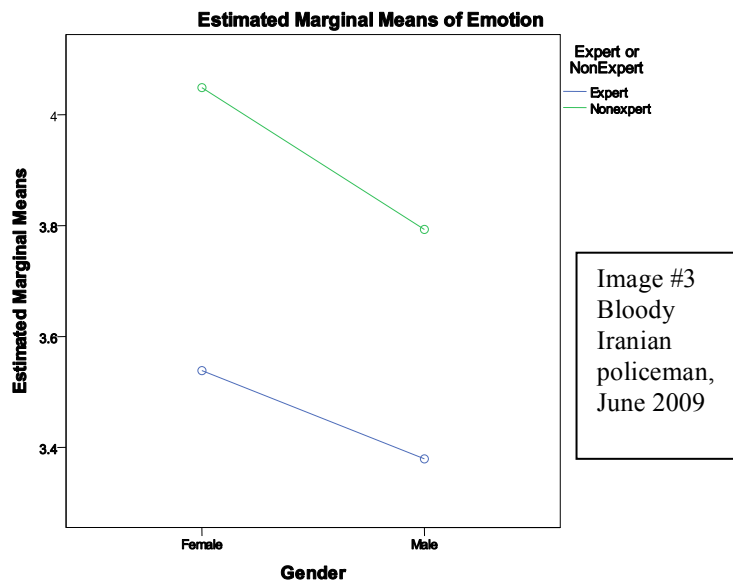
Figures 69-71: May Day Image #1: Evaluation of expressive mood, memorable quality and overall quality show the same strong pattern of young female identification and high ratings.

The May Day Parade elicited highest marks from student females, followed by professional females. Ironically, though, many of the ad hoc comments offered by professional and novice males in the survey showed strong engagement with both the young women and men in the photo, with repeated references to the women's signs

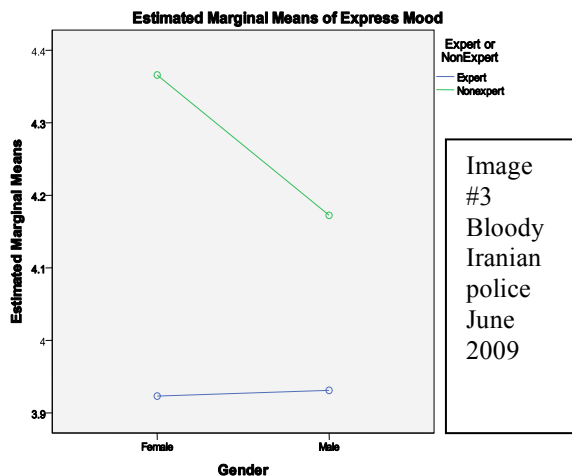
and their expressive eyes. However, the photo was ranked only slightly above average overall, deemed not “newsworthy” or action-oriented enough to tell a compelling or “archetypal” news story.

Figure 72: Bloodied Iranian policemen during post-election riots, June 2009. Photographer unknown.

Concerning Image #3, a photo of an Iranian policeman injured in post election riots, female non-experts registered the strongest emotion and receptiveness to expressive mood in the photo. One possible reason for strong female cross-gender identification is the display of blood signifying the infliction of pain.



Figures 73 (above), 74 (below): Novices and experts showed statistically significant differences in their rankings of *emotion* and *expressive mood* for the Iranian police image.



Post-hoc tests for Image #3 above (2X2 multivariate ANOVA) show statistically significant differences in response according to level of **expertise** ($P < .005$), a trend that was evident throughout the study. Despite its keen action, the photo elicited less enthusiasm among professionals than the students. Here, the strongest identification was cross-gendered (see Table 17 below).

Table 17: Multivariate Tests, Image #3: Bloody Iranian Policeman During Post-Election Riots, 2009

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power ^b
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.973	446.754 ^a	8.000	101.000	.000	.973	3574.030	1.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.027	446.754 ^a	8.000	101.000	.000	.973	3574.030	1.000
	Hotelling's Trace	35.386	446.754 ^a	8.000	101.000	.000	.973	3574.030	1.000
	Roy's Largest Root	35.386	446.754 ^a	8.000	101.000	.000	.973	3574.030	1.000
Gender	Pillai's Trace	.091	1.269 ^a	8.000	101.000	.268	.091	10.154	.557
	Wilks' Lambda	.909	1.269 ^a	8.000	101.000	.268	.091	10.154	.557
	Hotelling's Trace	.101	1.269 ^a	8.000	101.000	.268	.091	10.154	.557
	Roy's Largest Root	.101	1.269 ^a	8.000	101.000	.268	.091	10.154	.557
Expertise	Pillai's Trace	.190	2.970 ^a	8.000	101.000	.005	.190	23.757	.942
	Wilks' Lambda	.810	2.970 ^a	8.000	101.000	.005	.190	23.757	.942
	Hotelling's Trace	.235	2.970 ^a	8.000	101.000	.005	.190	23.757	.942
	Roy's Largest Root	.235	2.970 ^a	8.000	101.000	.005	.190	23.757	.942
Gender * Expertise	Pillai's Trace	.070	.951 ^a	8.000	101.000	.478	.070	7.611	.421

Wilks' Lambda	.930	.951 ^a	8.000	101.000	.478	.070	7.611	.421
Hotelling's Trace	.075	.951 ^a	8.000	101.000	.478	.070	7.611	.421
Roy's Largest Root	.075	.951 ^a	8.000	101.000	.478	.070	7.611	.421

a. Exact statistic

b. Computed using alpha = .05

c. Design: Intercept + Gender + Expertise + Gender * Expertise

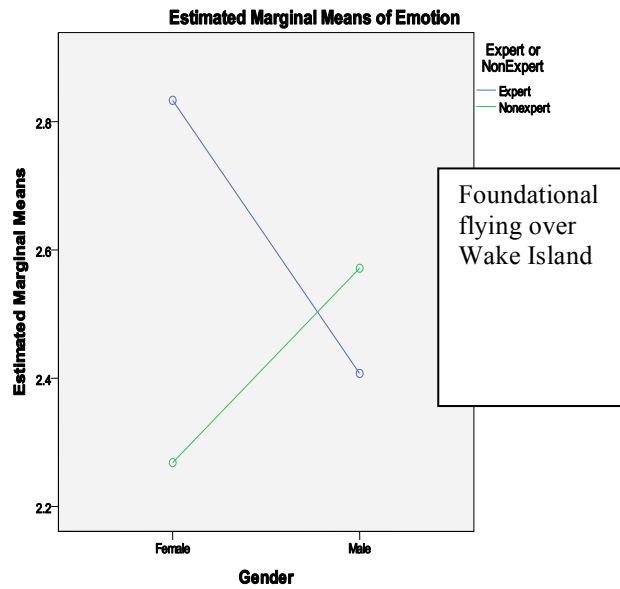
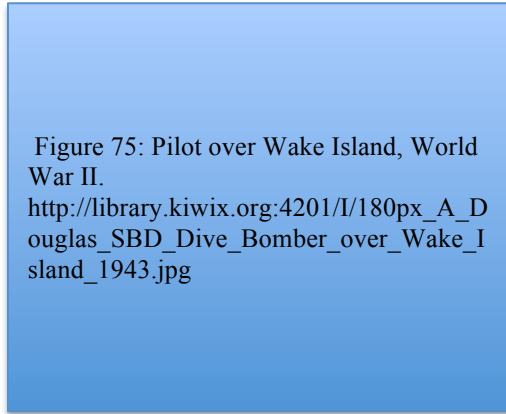
4.4.5 Professionalism and Gender

Whereas experts in this study tended to favor the more classical and familiar images, even iconic ones (e.g., Martin Luther King, Image #5, Nick Ut's 'Accidental Napalm,' and Eddie Adams's "Shooting of a Vietcong Terrorist), several of the female students converged around lesser-known images of suffering women and children (from Part II of the study, "Children of Men"; see commentary section). Young student males, by contrast, exhibited more intense emotion than student females and stronger ordinal ratings for memory and expressive mood when assessing war images such as Vietnam and the World War II photograph of a foundational flying over Wake Island. Their commentary on these images, especially those of Vietnam, suggests a rich psychological narrative and strong identification with these subjects. Male students in particular scored atypically *higher* than female students on both emotion and memory of the Martin Luther King image, suggesting that King was a heroic presence to the males. Many of the male students also chose images of suffering (especially soldiers holding babies) during their follow-up interviews.

At the same time, professional females registered a stolid independence. They ranked the lyrical Wake Island image *highest* among all groups, suggesting an admiration for the 'wing's eye' perspective and evocative capture of the lone foundational flying in the sky in an open cockpit without protection.

These findings once again suggest that gendered content and both gendered and cross-gendered identification play a role in photo ranking and judgment. Professionalism admiration for camera technique and aesthetic/artistic expressiveness is apparently a factor in eliciting strong emotional responses.

Figures 75, 76: Professional females and student males ranked the Wake Island image #7 (Figure 75) highest for emotional impact, but the overall ratings were low. Many commented this was not a true 'news photo,' but a lyrical feature portrait.



Gendered quantitative and qualitative responses also suggest intriguing and often substantial differences in viewpoint and degree of empathy regarding photojournalism subjects. Not only were professional males toughest in their rankings of the aesthetics, emotional impact, newsworthiness, and narrative qualities of the vast majority of news photographs presented in the survey, they were also the most likely to *reverse* themselves and produce the highest rankings among all groups for the moral, narrative, and emotional impact of historical and iconic images of war and terror for which they had direct contact or exposure, such as the Vietnam era, the Iraq war, World War II, and the recent 2010 Haitian earthquake (see Vietnam, Haitian exhibits). Novice males, though, scored higher than any other group for

acknowledging the Vietnam era photos as highly memorable, also offering the most detailed and symbolically embellished narratives about the photographs from Vietnam in the “commentary” sections that followed their qualitative evaluations.

Concurrently, novice females displayed unbridled enthusiasm and openness toward the full array of images presented, scoring significantly higher than any other group in virtually all rankings for image aesthetics and composition, newsworthiness, expressive mood, narrative clarity, emotional impact, novelty, overall image quality, and even ‘haunting qualities’ evinced by the news images. Yet this same group apparently withdrew and ranked lower the narrative qualities of ultra-violent and graphic images of war or terror that the young male novice group (and also professional males) found so compelling. Novice females scored even lower than professional females when ranking the grotesque image of an Iraqi man incinerated to death in the first Gulf war. On the other hand, novice males, who generally appeared “chillier” to virtually all survey images and ranked them lower than novice females (especially those images with female themes and subject matter), embraced the grotesque burned man along with the professional males, producing ordinal score spikes that converged with the professional males for “haunting effects,” “emotion,” and “narrative power.”

In all, individuals in the four measurement groups displayed both commonalities (if not universalities) of visual perception and judgment along with a surprising amount of variance and discretion in their choices, especially choices of ‘favorite’ and ‘haunting’ images. The aggregate data (including the grand means showing statistically significant gender differences), along with the commentary and

rankings, strongly suggests that my initial hypothesis describing gender differences in judgment and ranking of news images is correct:

- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, moral, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**

Among the study photographs, certain universal “favorite” images appear to exist across all groups (especially those photos involving suffering children). But by no means did any of the four groups converge strictly around the identical images. While some of the icons scored very high in many categories – professionals, especially, were quick to validate the most ‘classic’ views of the World Trade Center explosions of September 11 2001 or the Nick Ut “Accidental Napalm” image of 1972—several lesser known images taken in Iraq, Iran, Thailand, among other countries, scored in the top rankings, especially when the groups “voted” for the best images in the nominal portions of the study (Sections II, part of III, and IV). Both experts and nonexperts did not always agree on which images or depicted properties of the image (e.g. newsworthiness, narrative clarity, expressive mood) were the “best” or most salient in all categories. Variations of response also suggests that the “furtive” and “anti-war” image (Image #2, *Winter Soldier* is an example) is important in generating public opinion and behavior and may account for the diversity of opinion and thought on common subject matter that actually exists.

Of all the surveyed groups, professional females remained the most consistent and least mercurial in their judgments. At the same time, they also converged more tightly around certain values and appeared to express their opinions about images in

virtual unison. These females embraced the tougher visual standards of their professional male counterparts, scoring significantly closer to the professional males on virtually all images than to novice females or males. At the same time, the professional females were also more like to rank more consistently those images that were nominally scored in Study 1 (Parts II, portions of Parts II and IV; see below, “nominally ranked” images).

Because of the wide gap between the professionals and the novices, the *professionalism* factor became a significant and consistent defining difference in ordinal rankings of the individual photographs throughout—perhaps even more important than *gender alone*, which registered significant effects in a handful of quantitative categories, mostly aesthetics, composition, emotion, memory, and judgments of overall image quality. In some instances, gender-expertise interactions also registered significant differences in picture rankings, as they did in the judgment of the World Trade Tower explosion and several of the images in the last thematic sequence, Redemption. Professional females grasped the nuances and wrote longer narrative and symbolic explanations of many of the iconic and historic news images whose impact and narrative clarity seemed to elude the majority of male novice viewers. And, while the professional females could be extravagant in praise for certain iconic images with peaceful themes—Martin Luther King’s image in the 1963 March on Washington is an example—they were also less enthusiastic about gendered images of war and violence, where they scored lowest among all groups ranking overall image quality, memorable, and haunting effect.

Professional females were also more prone to withholding negative judgments about images that many novice women found distasteful. Their scoring initially suggests that thematic differences and the ‘overall play’ to iconic male themes was more of a turn-off to professional women. On the other hand, “artistic” icons, such as Jim Atherton’s 1963 photograph of the Lincoln statue “presiding” over Martin Luther

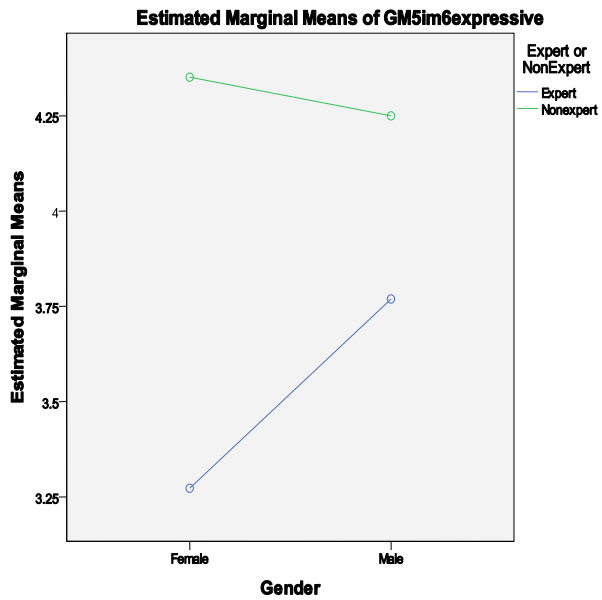


Figure 77: Lincoln Memorial, August 1963 during MLK Jr.’s “I have a Dream Speech.” Photo by James Atherton. Reprinted with permission.

King’s “I have a Dream Speech” registered the highest with professional women, who scored every element of the image higher than any other group. The professional women also rated the image of the angel peering down at the devastated city of Dresden (Section V, Im #2) highest for composition, aesthetics, narrative clarity, emotion, moral presentation, memorable quality, and overall image quality (professional males, ironically rated “expressive mood” higher for Dresden than professional females). These women appeared less sentimental and emotional toward certain images than their male counterparts. The grieving image of the widow at graveside (Section 5, Image #6) appeared to touch non-expert females and professional males the most (who rated the widow highest for memorable quality, haunting effect and presentation of a moral issue). The professional women, on the other hand, were left comparatively cold.

Fig. 79: Grieving widow by gravestone. Photo by Tony Suau.
<http://www.nocaptionneeded.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/Suau-Memorial-Day.png>

Figures 79, 80 (below): Professional women registered strong disfavor for Tony Suau's *Grieving Widow* above, rating it lower for expressiveness and overall quality than any other group.



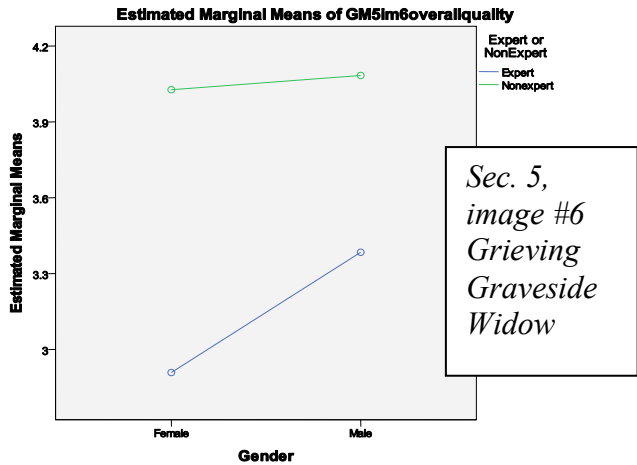
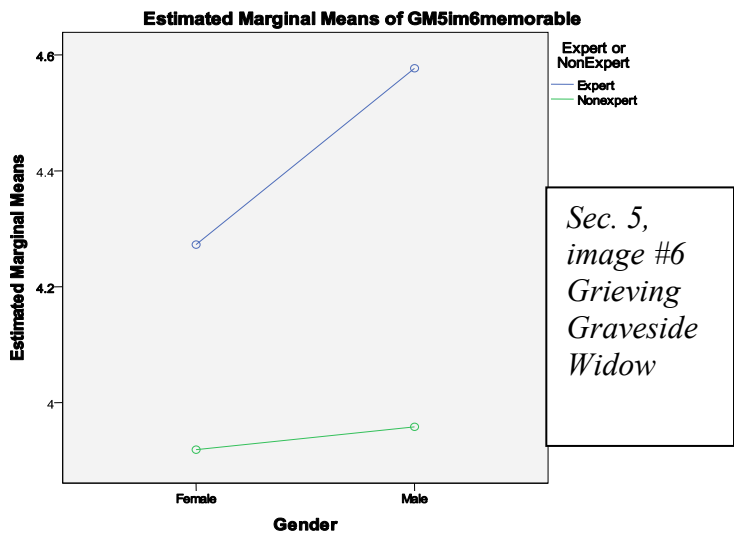
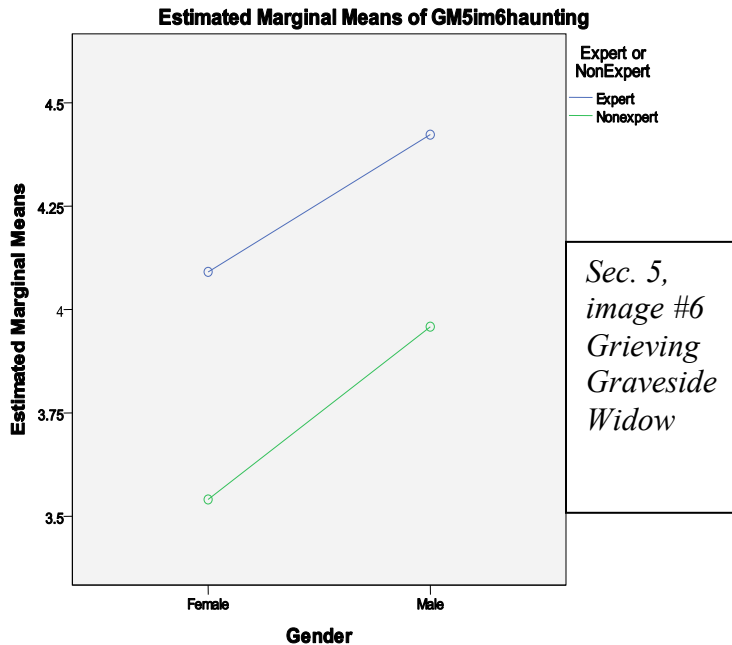


Fig. 80

Professional females judged most harshly the overall quality and expressiveness of *Grieving Graveside Widow*. To professional women, the grieving widow may have seemed like a standard wartime cliché, whereas professional males found the archetype haunting and memorable (Fig. 81, 82 below).



Figures 81 and 82 (above and below): Professional males loved Tony Suau’s image of the grieving widow; they also found it much more haunting (Figure 82) than others did.



4.5 A Taxonomy for Perceiving and Assigning Values to Image Qualities

One of the most intriguing findings in this study is the striking similarity between both expert and non-experts' prioritized rankings of the "top qualities" for each image. By top qualities, I refer to the highest ranked of all 12 individual qualities assessed for each of the ordinally ranked images. For example, experts voted newsworthiness, expressive mood, and narrative clarity as the top three qualities for image #1. Student non-experts also *gave the highest aggregate marks to* newsworthiness, expressive mood, and narrative clarity, in that order. Both non-experts and experts chose the same two or three "top qualities" for each image, even though study subjects were never asked explicitly to decide which were the top three qualities or to rank them by any order of salience or priority. Instead, users simply responded to a rubric asking them to rank each quality as poor (1) routine (2),

average/prototypical (3), compelling (4), or extraordinary (5). Nonetheless, virtually identical qualities rose to the top (and the top choices were different for almost every image). The resulting similarities in perception and ranking of qualities between expert and non-expert groups of both genders seem remarkable. The rankings show that study subjects readily identify these qualities as relevant; subjects also appear to perceive and *prioritize* the most salient qualities (the top three or four) of each image in a very similar fashion. In other words, certain qualities in each image are universally perceived as “better” and more noteworthy than others.

The origins of this seemingly “universal” capacity to recognize and prioritize an image’s most important qualities may speak to a superb set of *learned* heuristics (which are evidently “learned” at any early age). Alternately, a biological/cognitive explanation may be in order; if all people can parse and recognize the most important characteristics or properties of image, could these heuristics maximize sensitivity to potential dangers (i.e., Fight or flight? Friend or foe?) and hence increase chances of survival? Apparently, the nearly identical top rankings across groups reflect common interest and sensitivities—another argument that *archetypes of predicament and magnitude may operate biologically to enable more effective, faster cognitive processing and recognition of actual physical threats*. A “features, then objects” level of visual processing—a capacity identified by Triesman (1986) and Marr (1982), may indeed account for the results.⁵⁴ The fact that these images are two dimensional

⁵⁴ MIT researcher David Marr identified that visual processing starts with a “primal sketch”: a first stage of processing, in which patterns of light reaching an array of receptors are converted into a coded description of lines, spots, or edges and their locations, orientations, and colors. The representation of surfaces and volumes and finally *object identification* can begin only after initial coding. Thus a general model that has been accepted among psychologists, physiologists, and computer scientists: first stage if extraction of features from patterns of light; later stages are concerned with identification of features and objects. What happens to sensory data suggests the data are processed in different areas of

representations of three dimensional real-world events employing human figures in often threatening or tragic circumstances does not diminish either the viewer's mental and physical intimations of threat (i.e., embodied cognition; see Lakoff, 1987) or the importance of holistic and pre-attentive processing (Triesman, 1986).⁵⁵ Faces, for example, have been shown to be processed holistically (Tanaka & Farah, 2003) to promote "instantaneous recognition." Facial processing operates more efficiently than processing of other ordinary objects (Yovel & Kanwisher, 2004), lending credence to the idea that recognizing faces, *especially in archetypal images of predicament*, has a developed, evolutionary purpose.⁵⁶

considerable specialization. One area concerns itself with orientation of lines and edges, another with color, still another with direction or moving. The "features, then objects" orientation in cognitive studies (see Triesman below) begins to explain how "instinctive" or pre-attentive visual processing might work to enhance awareness and, potentially, survival.

⁵⁵ Triesman argued in a landmark 1986 *Scientific American* article, "Features and Objects in Visual Processing," that humans display a seemingly effortless ability to perceive meaningful wholes in the visual world; however, this ability depends on complex processes. The brain proceeds along a "features, then objects" assembly of information. The features automatically extracted from a scene are assembled into objects. Certain aspects of visual processing seem to occur simultaneously and automatically. Other aspects seem to depend on focused attention and are done serially, as if a mental spotlight were being moved from one location to another (114B). A pre-attentive level of visual processing segregates regions of a scene into figures and ground so that a subsequent attentive level can identify particular objects. The capacity and similarity of identified of identified image traits in this study may speak to a "features, then objects" orientation.

⁵⁶ Evidence that face perception is mediated by special cognitive and neural mechanisms comes from fMRI studies of the fusiform face area (FFA) and behavioral studies of the face inversion effect. Here, Yovel and Kanwisher (2004) reported that they used two methods to ask whether face perception mechanisms are stimulus specific, process specific, or both. Subjects discriminated pairs of upright or inverted faces or house stimuli that differed in either the spatial distance among parts (configuration) or the shape of the parts. The FFA *showed a much higher response to faces than to houses*, but no preference for the configuration task over the part task. Similarly, the behavioral inversion effect was as large in the part task as the configuration task for faces, but absent in both part and configuration tasks for houses. These findings indicate that *face perception mechanisms* are not process specific for parts or configuration *but are domain specific for face stimuli per se*.

Table 18: Table B—Ranking of ‘Top Three’ Stimulus Qualities for Ordinal Data by Experts and Non-Experts

Group #, Image #, Title	Expert Rankings (top qualities)	Means (Experts)	Non-Expert rankings (top qualities)	Means (Non-experts)
Group I: Hope & Heroism				
1. May Day Parade	1. Newsworthiness	3.26	1. Newsworthiness	3.77
	2. Expressive Mood	3.21	2. Expressive Mood	3.60
	3. Narrative Clarity	3.14	3. Narrative Clarity	3.56
2. Vietnam Demo	1. Expressive mood	3.19	1. Expressive mood	3.35
	2. Newsworthiness	3.05	2. Newsworthiness	3.18
	3. Narrative clarity	2.93	3. Composition	3.11
3. Bloody Iranian police officer	1. Expressive mood	3.93	1. Expressive mood	4.30
	* 2. Narrative clarity	3.21	2. Narrative clarity	3.96

	* 2. Composition	3.21	3. Haunting effect	3.92
*indicates a ranking tie	3. Memorable	3.10		
4. Iranian Firefight	1. Newsworthiness	3.31	1. Newsworthiness	3.94
	2. Expressive Mood	3.05	2. Expressive Mood	3.87
	3. Aesthetic qualities	2.93	3. Composition	3.70
5. Martin Luther King	1. Newsworthiness	4.43	1. Newsworthiness	4.48
	2. Memorable	4.46	2. Memorable	4.34
*ranking tie	3. *Narrative clarity	4.10	3. *Expressive mood	4.24
	3. *Composition	4.10	3. *Composition	4.24
Sec. # Image #	Expert Rankings	Means (Experts)	Non-expert rankings (top	Means (Non-experts)

	(top qualities)			qualities)	
6. Foundational over	1 *Composition	3.62		1. Aesthetics	3.32
Wake Island					
*ranking tie	1. *Aesthetics	3.62		2. Composition	3.28
	2. Newsworthiness	3.24		3. Newsworthiness	2.94
	3. Expressive mood	3.17			
7. Rescue in Haiti	1. Expressive mood	4.26		1. Expressive mood	4.39
	2. Newsworthiness	4.21		2. Newsworthiness	4.23
	3. Narrative clarity	4.14		3. Narrative clarity	4.15
Group III: Fall & Rescue					
1. World Trade	1. Newsworthiness	4.70		1. Newsworthiness	4.73
Explosion					
	2. Memorable	4.53		2. Memorable	4.68
	3. Novelty	4.46		3. Haunting	4.43

Sec. # 4: Abomination				
	Expert Rankings	Means (Experts)	Non-expert Rankings	Means (Non-experts)
	(top qualities)			
1. Incinerated Iraqi man	1. Haunting effect	4.56	1. Haunting effect	4.59
	2. Novelty	4.45	2. Memorable	4.48
	3. Memorable	4.40	3. Expressive mood	4.45
2. Abu Ghraib Hooded man	1. Newsworthiness	4.58	1. Newsworthiness	4.52
	2. Memorable	4.53	2. Haunting effect	4.42
	3. Novelty	4.46	3. Memorable	4.31
Sec. # 5: Redemption				

Image #	Expert Rankings (top qualities)	Means (experts)	Non-expert rankings (top qualities)	Non-expert (means)
1. Lincoln's 'View'	1. Composition	4.41	1. Aesthetic	4.09
	2. Aesthetic	4.17	2. Composition	4.02
	3. Novelty	3.97	3. Novelty	3.58
2. Dresden "angel"	1. Composition	4.30	1. Aesthetic	3.98
	2. Haunting	4.11	2. Composition	3.80
	3. Aesthetic	4.08	3. Newsworthiness	3.75
3. Sleeping GIs with child	1. Aesthetics	3.65	1. Expressive mood	3.92
	2. *Expressive mood	3.61	2. *Aesthetics	3.91
	*ranking tie 2. *Novelty	3.61	2. *Composition	3.91
	3. Composition	3.57	3. Narrative clarity	3.72

Image #	Expert Rankings (top qualities)	Means (experts)	Non-expert rankings (top qualities)	Non-expert (means)
4. Fireman rescuing child	1. Expressive mood	4.30	1. Expressive mood	4.37
	2. Narrative clarity	4.25	2. Haunting	4.31
	3. Memorable	4.24	3. Narrative clarity	4.26
5. The Hug	1. Expressive mood	3.68	1. Expressive	3.86
	2. Composition	3.43	2. Composition	3.59
	3. Aesthetic	3.27	3. Aesthetic	3.57
6. Grieving widow	1. Expressive mood	4.42	1. Expressive mood	4.29
	2. Composition	4.41	2. Composition	4.20
	3. Narrative clarity	4.31	3. Aesthetic	4.09

Further, the gendered breakdown of preferences (rankings) for these top three qualities also shows strong convergence and agreement (see Appendix B). While the order of preference for the top three qualities might flip flop for males and females in either or both expert and non-expert groups, once again, more similarity than difference is evident. A snapshot of scores for the Bloodied Iran Police Office (Part 1, Image #3) suggests that the uniformity of response reaches across both ordinal and nominal rankings:

Figure 83. Bloodied Iranian police officer Image #3.
Photographer unknown 2009.

Table 19: Top Qualities Image #3 Experts Male and Female

Experts					
	Means	M/F	Males	females	L
1. Expressive mood	3.93		Exp mood	3.93	Exp mood 3.92
2. Composition	3.21		Narr clar	3.14	Comp 3.46
2. Narrative Clarity	3.21		Comp	3.10	Narr clar 3.38
3. Memorable	3.10		Memorable	3.07	Mem 3.15

Non-experts image #3					
	Means	M/F	Males	Females	
1. Expressive mood	4.30		Exp mood	4.18	Exp. Mood 4.38
2. Narrative clarity/interest	3.96		Memorable	3.86	Narrcla 4.19
3. Haunting Effect	3.92		haunting	3.71	Haunting 3.60
4. Memorable	3.90		Narrclar	3.64	Memor 3.93

What is the probability that these observed rankings of qualities, so similar in order, could have happened by chance? The Chi

Square goodness of fit test conducted for all the top listed qualities above shows these choices could not have happened by chance, and that all the results are statistically significant:

Table 20: Chi Square Goodness of Fit: Test Statistics, Top three qualities, Images 12, 3 and 5 Group 1

	Newswo rhiness	Expr ess Moo d	Narra tive clarit y	Expr ess Moo d	Newswo rhiness	Narra tive clarit y	Compos ition	Expr ess Moo d	Narra tive clarit y	Compos ition	Memor able	Haun ting	Newswo rhiness	Memor able	Narra tive clarit y	Compos ition	Expres sive mood
Chi- squa re	100.757 ^a	59.3 39 ^b	74.74 3 ^c	58.3 57 ^b	62.885 ^c	42.01 8 ^b	49.788 ^c	96.3 81 ^d	69.78 8 ^c	62.265 ^c	35.946 b	36.33 6 ^c	88.239 ^d	60.770 d	61.83 2 ^d	59.212 ^d	57.786 e
df	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Asy mp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

- a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 22.2.
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 22.4.
- c. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 22.6.
- d. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 28.3.
- e. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 28.0.

Asymptote significance = .000 for all image qualities (these results are repeated throughout the chi square tests of all top ranked stimulus qualities listed in the Table above).

4.6 Discussion of Findings and Implications for Archetypes

The clarity of these findings lends support to the dual theories suggested above. One is a cultural explanation for the uncanny agreement among groups; and/or some combination of cultural training and *cognitive ranking behavior*, i.e., namely, the ability to perceive, judge, and prioritize news image stimulus qualities and ultimately to decide which are “best,” most salient and important, a capacity that appears to be *universal*. One explanation is that image qualities identified in this study make up a mosaic of “must haves” to which the individual’s cognitive “taxonomy engine” applies certain rubrics of judgment re: newsworthiness, historical importance, aesthetic attractiveness, story relevance, etc. A superlative image may reconstruct or remind the viewer of recent traumatic or joyful events experienced both socially (as public experience, sometimes labeled “collective memory”) and psychologically, as private experience and memory. When a viewer attaches him or herself to the “story” of an image which is exceptionally powerful (and may generate other stories within the individual’s recollection), aesthetically pleasing, and proximal to highly patterned/archetypal situations and dilemmas, the viewer may judge the image “compelling,” magnetic, or dangerous/threatening. Some images will touch the

viewer's deepest emotional and ideational life: his or her long-term memory, familial associations, traumatic memory, verbal descriptors attached to fragmentary mental images of known figures (such as MLK) or unknown ones (the Jewish girls) that offer a sense of timeliness, aesthetic excellence (aesthetics and composition), narrative clarity and force. Such images will evince an "expressive mood" (a quality that speaks to the expression of emotion), "surprise" (novelty), even a capture of "moral messages"; and the ability to invoke parallel or associated images that seem "haunting" to some viewers.

Though a purely cultural or Durkheimian explanation is possible to explain the cognitive response to these images—namely that both professionals and non-experts "see alike" and "prioritize top qualities" because of the influence of commonly shared visual training and/or socially inspired concepts, it is also plausible, as these results suggest, that "universal prioritizing" is a wired cognitive phenomenon. Marr (1982) and Triesman (1986) might argue that similar quality "parsing" is an algorithmic expression of a "features, then objects" computational theory of image relevance. Such a theory defines proportion, timeliness, compositional force, and message relevance. In the presence of an "archetypal" predicament, awareness would enable a viewer to compare a new image stimulus for congruence or non-congruence with the archetype; for distance (diffidence) vs. feelings of proximity to the event, a "you are thereness" (witnessing) and, implicitly, activation of muscle groups and mirror neurons that 'rehearse' the action necessary within the mind and the body.⁵⁷ The ability to prioritize/rank stimulus qualities,

⁵⁷ According to Lakoff (1987) the embodied cognition point of view is that thought is literally *embodied* through activation of mirror neurons and muscle groups, i.e., our conceptual systems grow

identifying the most important ones will drive our sensitivity and perception of an image's core strengths. The seemingly instinctive ability to prioritize across groups appears to be the cases even if certain individuals possess little to no verbal or aesthetic vocabulary to articulate why they made the choices they did. Moreover, the ability to understand what makes a picture 'work' appears to cross boundaries beyond pure 'newsworthiness' or judgment of content or image story. For example, both experts and non-experts' in this study chose "aesthetics" and "composition" as top qualities for the more historic and lyrical feature photographs when newsworthiness or 'moral presentation' seemed less relevant (examples: World War II Foundational flying over Wake Island; Lincoln memorial image looking down on demonstrators at the Capitol Mall in 1963). These very similar selections provide evidence that prioritizing behavior at several levels is at play. Moreover, the innate "calculus" or "taxonomy engine" operating within and between groups appears capable of distinguishing between a truly newsworthy, memorable, and haunting photo (example: Explosion of the World Trade Center) and one that is primarily "pretty" but does not delivering 'breaking' news information or life lessons.⁵⁸ However, the

out of bodily experience and make sense in terms of it. The core of our conceptual systems come out of perception, body movement, and experience of a physical and social character (xiv.) Since thought is imaginative, concepts are not directly grounded in experience but may employ metaphor, metonymy and mental imagery, all of which go beyond the literal mirroring, or representation of external reality. Imaginative capacity allows for abstract thought and takes the mind beyond what we can see and feel. However, a component of physically feeling what we imagine and verbalize has been shown in studies of physiological and muscle group activation to "action verbs."

⁵⁸ Of course, it's also possible that the sampled non-expert population of students has already developed perceptual faculties and aesthetic judgments that "skew" toward professional photojournalistic vision, since many of these students were studying journalism and communications and have expressed interest in learning more about the media. The non-experts in fact may be more visually sophisticated and more oriented and trained to articulate, at least tacitly, the dominant values and stimulus qualities of photojournalism than has been commonly assumed. Indeed, these students may be more sophisticated than young people in the general population (a possible reason to repeat this study using a randomized non-expert group of the same age from the general population).

evidence of the ordinal portion of Part I of this study, in addition to the rankings of images in the nominal portion (discussed below), lends strong support to Hypothesis 2:

- **H2: Experts prioritize and “weight” the most important stimulus qualities of a news image in the same order as non-experts.**

The duplication of ranking qualities suggests that viewers are perceptually more similar than different when assessing *the qualities of news photographs* (not their emotions about them), whether those photographs are “iconic,” compelling or ordinary. Explicit photojournalism training is not required to elicit very similar rankings of stimulus qualities; therefore the ranking behavior may in fact be “automatic.” It may be the case that after 18 years of acculturation, young people think the way adults do when it comes to decide what’s newsworthy, novel, or uniquely disturbing in a photograph.

4.7 Frequency of Top Qualities Cited: “Expressive Mood” Leads

The data of both the ordinal and nominal portions of this study suggest what study subjects, expert or non-expert, male or female, consider important. In the ordinal questions, the numbers of occurrences of discrete stimulus qualities suggests that subjects are ranking image elements according to an order of priority which follows, roughly: 1) expressive impact, tone, or mood; 2) content, i.e., newsworthiness, story clarity, currency, 3) aesthetics (composition, judgment of light, texture, arrangement of figures, image quality, clarity, etc.), 4) clarity of narrative 5) stimulus of memory including the recurrence of images with associated emotional content (viewers may call such images “haunting” or “memorable”), 6) production of

contradiction, contrast, cognitive dissonance (novelty); and finally, moral theme or presentation. The top qualities among both experts and non-experts appeared in the following order:

1. Expressive mood (20 times)
2. Newsworthiness (17 times)
3. Composition (17 times)
4. Aesthetics (12 times)
5. Narrative clarity (12 times)
6. Memorable (10 times)
7. Haunting (7 times)
8. Novel (5 times)

The fact that “expressive mood” tops this list strongly suggests that experimental subjects grasped the emotional and expressive power of these images and ranked their emotive qualities as even more important than the quality of newsworthiness (a measure of currency), composition (a measure of visual structure), or aesthetics (also a measure of visual structure). Ironically, Narrative clarity and interest, a value that places primacy on how well a particular image captures and expresses a story, showing action, cause, and effect, was not among the highest ranked qualities, and novelty—often considered a bellwether of the effectiveness of a news image (Mendelson, 2001)—ranked comparatively low. Non-experts were more likely to use the word “haunting” to describe top qualities (6 out of the 7 mentions of “haunting” fell to non-experts) while experts used the word “haunting” rarely to describe their emotions. Experts, did however, use the moniker “novelty” four out of

five times to describe their impression of an image in the top rankings; they used “memorable” 6 out of 10 times. The rest of the qualities were fairly evenly distributed.

Without overemphasizing a fairly small ordinal sample (22 questions) among 113 experimental subjects, I would suggest that prioritizing alike indicates convergence of feeling and news perception; professionals use the word “memorable” often to describe their emotions; non-experts were not afraid of broaching the term “haunting,” whether they interpreted the meaning to be “scary,” “lingering,” and even “malingering” or “ghostly.” Presumably, images were less “memorable” to non-experts because their memory is shorter and less densely packed; the qualitative recollections of images (Phase II) several weeks after taking Part I was in fact a much more reliable measure of their recall than any self-report during Part I.

4.8 Nominally Ranked Images

4.8.1 No Caption Needed?

Convergence of opinion and perception took other intriguing forms. For example, in Part I of Survey 1, both experts and non-experts were asked which of the first 7 images (all ordinally ranked) could stand alone, a question that speaks to the current Hariman & Lucaites assumption of “No Caption Needed” (even though the authors never describe exactly why no caption is needed) to describe American iconic photographs. The “vote” between experts and non-experts was revealing, since both the experts and non-experts’ top pick was the black and white image of Martin Luther King, which assumes (and gets) broad historical knowledge/context on the part of viewers, both young and old.

Figure 84: MLK Jr., Washington DC August 28 1963 <http://act.mtv.com/files/2011/01/CIVIL-RIGHTS-MLK-Jr-Day-2.jpg>

The second place split between experts' preferences for Image 7 (Haiti rescue) and non-experts' preference for Image 1 (May Day Parade, Jewish Girls demonstrating against child slavery) is intriguing. Experts, both male and female, are solidly behind the newsworthy January 2010 Patrick Farrell photograph of a mother and daughter being rescued and reunited in Haiti (males 27.60%; females 53.80%). But students, both male and female, choose a hundred year-old photo of the May Day Demonstration as a "stand alone, no caption needed." The students, both male and female, repeatedly cite the intensity of the young women's eyes and the compelling nature of the photo's signage and multiple demonstrators (including the young boy with the hat and the mysterious "third girl" standing behind the two major photo subjects) (see commentary). Experts find the photo compelling as well ("Girl on left - eyes are incredible," writes one male photographer), but not as compelling or "stand alone" as the very recent and well-circulated Haitian photograph, an interesting choice given the fact that few news readers would understand the significance of the photo as an *earthquake rescue* were it not for headlines or captions. Many of the students' responses show an openness to new (and even old) photojournalism material that a professional mindset might marginalize for its ambiguities or historical

“anonymity” (meaning, it is not a ‘famous’ photograph). Here are a few select comments on what was most striking about Image #1:

“The sign that says ‘Abolish child slavery’ and the fact that a child is wearing it is most intriguing and striking,” a male student wrote.
“The fact that there is an American flag on the left makes it even more unbelievable that child slavery was allowed,” a male student wrote.
“The two main girls because they are look straight on into the camera, and they are very striking, and the banners in Yiddish and English definitely add to the effect.”
“The girl on the left has very dark and haunting eyes. Her expression is very blank as if child slavery had sucked the life out of her.”

The question following, “Which image in Section 1 rivals or exceeds that of MLK Jr?” also elicited similar responses, though students showed wide differences from experts in the distributions of their image vote.

Table 22: Which images rival or exceed MLK Jr.?

Which images (Part 1, 1-7) rival or exceed MLK Jr.?	Experts	Percentage “vote”	Non-experts	Percentage “vote”
	1. Image 7 (Haiti)	45.9%	1. Image 7	33.3%
	2. None	32.4%	2. None	29%
	3. Im #1,2,3	13.5%	3. Image 1	21.7%

Both students and experts chose Patrick Farrell's Haiti rescue as an image rivaling MLK Jr.'s Washington DC "I have a Dream" image, although the Haitian photo is certainly not an American icon in the traditional sense. One female student commented: "The two figures [mother and daughter] seem archetypal to me – which is not to diminish their emotional impact. It is a powerful image; it's just one of a type that I've seen numerous times before" (Commentary, Survey Part 1, Question #17). Some photographers commented that the Haitian photo might not hold up very well 20 years from now. Interestingly, roughly a third of both groups said that *no image rivaled MLK*, although non-expert males favored the Haitian rescue photo followed by Image #1, the photo of two Jewish girls demonstrating. A third of female non-professionals voted "none," once again confirming their professional allegiance to a historically recognizable icon. Ironically, it was the non-expert males that voted (23.1%) a strong second place finish for the Jewish girls and their May Day Parade while non-expert and expert females avoided the image entirely. Expert males and females showed a strong convergence in their choices; non-expert males and females scored the options differently, again suggesting that the young men may have been more affected by the image of the young Jewish girls than their female counterparts.

4.8.2 Hegemony of Facial Expression and Body Language

Continued convergence of judgment in the nominal portion of the image survey was uncanny. Under Theme II, "Children of Men," for example, both experts and non-experts were asked to choose two factors for each image which were more important to a personal response. The following are aggregated means for all six images:

Table 23: Expert vs. Non-expert Means on Which Two Factors Were Most Important (Images 1-6)

Experts	Means (images 1-6)	Non-Experts	Means (images 1-6)
1. Facial Expression & body language	70.85%	1. Facial expression and body language	62.9%
2. Haunting quality	39.7%	2. Haunting quality	46.0%
3. Historical quality	24.65%	3. Historical quality	26.55%
4. Split-second capture of action	23.5%	4. Split-second capture of action	21.3%

The charts below for non-expert students (left) and professionals (right) show clearly a very similar pattern of responses, indicating that “facial expressions and body language” along with “haunting quality” were the two primary determinants of an image’s force for both groups.

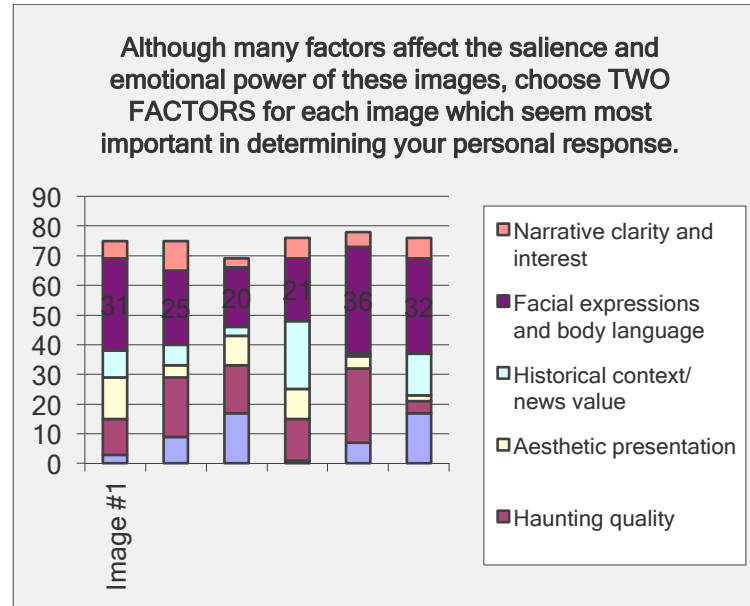
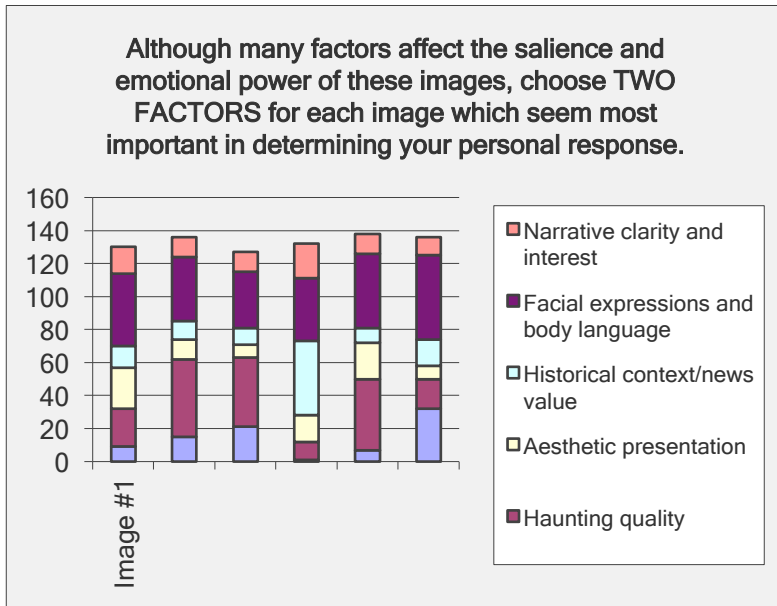


Figure 85: Student results: Top two qualities, Part II Images 1-6

Figure 86: Expert Results: Top two qualities, Part II, Images 1-6

Student survey results (left) and professional results (right). Both groups chose ‘Facial expressions & body language,’ followed by ‘haunting quality’ as the two top factors influencing their response to six images of children in wartime (from left to right). Professionals and students chose “historical context/news value” as the top pick for image #4, Clem Albers’ haunting portrayal of a Nisei child being deported to a World War II internment camp. ‘Facial Expressions’ and body language’ were the professionals’ top pick for 5 out of the six images; non-experts chose ‘haunting quality’ as the top quality for two images (2 and 3) of Iraqi children dying in war. In this question, aesthetics (yellow) and narrative clarity (salmon) came in last. Split-second capture of action (blue) was a distant fourth pick for both groups.

The viewer preferences, “facial expressions/body language” and “haunting,” have strong implications. One is that, despite the faults in this study—for example, a lack of explanation of what a haunting quality meant in the survey—(reasonably, haunting might have many interpretations, including “scariness” vs. “ghostliness” vs. recurrence or persistence of memory) evidently both groups attached enough importance to their own definition of “haunting” to give it second place—a place above “split second capture of action,” a time honored value of photojournalism. In the photographs of children in war, “facial expression and body language” and “haunting” found a place above historic context, aesthetics and even narrative clarity and interest. The primacy of the face has been well described by Bela Belazs in his discussions of micro and macro drama in the cinema. But in the context of Part II’s theme, Children of Men, children suffering pain or death in war—evidently a child’s face captured dying or suffering is the most important factor *in all viewer responses*. The narrative *is* the face—its liveliness, expression, or loss of life and animation. The feeling that the image haunts, recurs, or provides an after image of ghostly innocence and suffering is, in the context of news photography, an underrated quality that should be more thoroughly examined in future research. The strong vote for “haunting quality” also lends credence to the idea that exceptionally powerful images describing an “archetypal” dilemma/drama or plot may in fact produce a haunting sensation, some combination of fright, ghastly recollection and repeating mental recurrence; these images are certainly not the necessary equivalent of photojournalism icons, but can have as much ‘sticking power’ and emotional

resonance for reasons that have nothing to do with mass distribution or audience exposure.

Although there are certainly exceptions, the aggregate message of the survey's data strongly suggest that facial expression and body gestures are key elements in producing compelling news imagery with emotional power. The face and body appear to be more important than composition or aesthetic impression, the apparent image "story," i.e., what exactly is happening in the image, and even a momentary capture of action (e.g., gunfire) during a unique chilling event. Therefore, the H1 appears correct:

- **H1: In non-panoramic news photographs depicting human subjects, *facial expressions and body language* are more important to viewers' overall assessment of the emotional magnetism of the image than factors of aesthetic presentation, narrative clarity, novelty, or split second capture of action.**

It's important to note that split-second capture of action can in fact be the lynchpin of "archetypal" images dependent on that split second for conveyance of a particular meaning (Part IV, Image #6 of the Liberian street execution is an example, as is the famous Eddie Adams' iconic depiction of General Loan executing a suspected Vietcong terrorist (Image #5). However, as a stimulus quality, the expressiveness of face and body appears more important overall to viewer impression, empathy, and involvement than any other factor—a finding that may be instructive to photo editors who gravitate toward "safer" wide or distance shots where situational or "scenic" framing seems to trump a focus on the human face and body in response to crisis.

Overall, facial expression/body language is correlated to other strong stimulus qualities. In this survey (especially sections 2 and 4), viewers' assessments of news image portraiture or "tight" shots of people engaged in do-or-die archetypal plots (e.g., mortal wounding, executions, acts of heroism against frightful odds, or extraordinary acts of bestiality or abuse) in fact show strong correlations between "facial expression and body language," "haunting quality," and "historical context/news value." In the "Abomination" section (Part IV), of the survey, for example, both experts and non-experts voted within a very tight range for these qualities for images 4-8 (see below), suggesting that viewers prioritize these qualities and experience them as bound together:

Table 24: Question 47. For Part IV, Images 4-8, please identify the two factors *that contribute most to each image's magnetic quality* (aggregated percentage means for all images and stimulus qualities):

Experts	Mean	Non-Experts	Mean
1. Historical context/news value	48.42%	1. Facial expression & body language	46.98%
2. Facial expressions & body language	47.3%	2. Historical context/news value	38.26%
3. Split-second capture of action	36.8%	3. Split-second capture of action	38.08%
4. Narrative clarity & interest	34.46%	4. Narrative clarity & interest	31.08%

Conventional wisdom about many of the most iconic photojournalism shots (i.e., Robert Capa’s Death of a Rebel and Joe Rosenthal’s “Old Glory Goes up on Mt. Surabachi,” Eisenstadt’s Times Square Kiss) is that faces are frequently “hidden” within the macrodrama of a split-second capture of action. Ostensibly, when the viewer sees the iconic photograph, s/he can more easily identify with the character whose face is hidden in the picture, but whose body tells all (i.e., the “psychological gesture.”) The evidence of our survey suggests that the fully revealed human face, along with the body and its gestures (or more properly, the showcasing of a full-blown human reaction) are extremely important to human memory, even the “collective memory” of iconic images. The remaining questions in Part II and Part IV also showed substantially similar results (see Appendix B) as those above, with few differences. The enigma—perhaps the surprise—of the study is that two or three images in each section attracted the lion’s share of attention, top ratings, and commentary from experts and non-experts. This shows wide consensus of opinion about the “best images,” those that showcase the archetype and/or the icon.

4.8.3 Dying Child Archetype

Both experts and non-experts rated two non-iconic images of children, Image #2 (Michael Yon’s photo of an American soldier holding a dying baby in Iraqi) and #5 (a Patrick Farrell photo of a father holding a drowned child in Cabaret, Haiti, part of a Pulitzer Prize-winning sequence that was published in *The Miami Herald* in 2009), as the strongest for overall composition and aesthetic presentation, for emotional content and for making the study subjects feel ‘present’ as a witness.

Experts and non-experts flip-flopped continuously between Image #2 and Image #5 on most of the questions. The experts chose Michael Yon's image as the *most haunting* (32.5%), possibly a bow to American feelings of responsibility for



Figure 87: Image #5. American soldier holding dying Iraqi child. Photo by Michael Yon. Reprinted with permission.

civilian deaths (alternately, an image suggesting that 'our boys' are basically kind-hearted), including the deaths of children in Iraq, an avoidable war. The non-experts, on the other hand, selected the black and white image 5

(36.8%) of Franz Samedí embracing his five year old daughter Tamesha Jean, who had drowned in Haiti's floods, as the most haunting.



Figure 88: Image #5 Franz Samedí embraces Tamesha Jean. Photo by Patrick Farrell, *Miami Herald*, 2009. Reprinted with permission.

Possibly, that image was chosen because Haiti's disasters were not only recent and "alive" in young students' memories, but also because the photo amplified a "circle of

grief" of neighbors surrounding Samedí and mourning a child's death. Many students commented that the child seemed she might still be alive and the news of Haiti was very fresh in their minds. However, both expert and non-expert groups chose Image 2, the capture of an American soldier without a face grieving over a child bleeding to death, for "presenting a moral argument most trenchantly" (experts: 52.5%; non-

experts 54.5%), since it referred to Iraq, and for requiring “little or no” textual explanation (Experts: 37.5%; non-experts 36.8%). Roughly 40% of both experts and non-experts chose “none” when asked which image in Part II rivaled Nick Ut’s “Accidental Napalm.” However, 25% of the professionals *chose* Patrick Farrell’s grieving father and dead child (image #5) as a rival, while 26% of students each chose Yon’s soldier embracing the child (26.5%) along with Image #3 (26.5%). Image #3 is a recent AP photo of a two-year old child, Ali Hussein, who was buried alive during

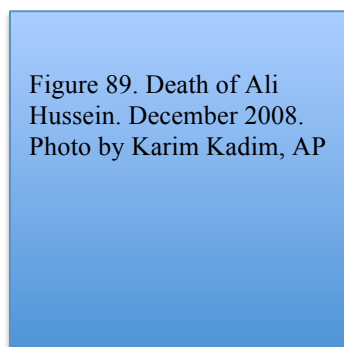


Figure 89. Death of Ali Hussein. December 2008. Photo by Karim Kadim, AP

an attack by American bombers in Iraq in April 2008, and later died in a Baghdad hospital. The image was published widely abroad, but *The Washington Post* newspaper and the *Kansas City Star* website were the only major American news outlets to publish the Ali Hussein image when it was first released (Emmett, 2009).

Another child’s photo that garnered attention was Image #4, ’ classic 1942

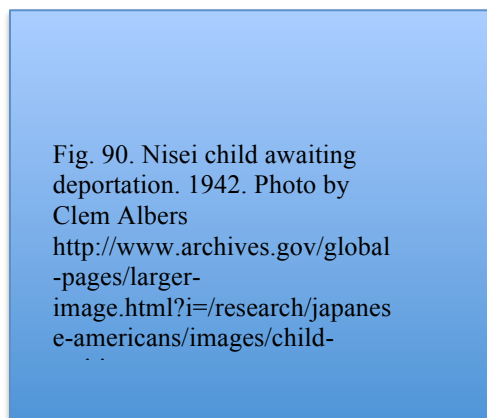


Fig. 90. Nisei child awaiting deportation. 1942. Photo by Clem Albers
<http://www.archives.gov/global-pages/larger-image.html?i=/research/japanese-americans/images/child->

shot of a Japanese-American child sitting on a suitcase and waiting deportation to a World War II internment camp. Professionals voted for image 4 for strongest news value (47.5%) right behind Image 5, Farrell’s Franz Samedi embracing Tamesha Jean (50%). Non-experts

chose images 5 (55.9%), 2 (54.4%) and 4 (45.6%) respectively. While images 5, 2, and 3 won the highest ratings among experts and novices for “the power to make you feel you are a witness,” Image 4, the internment photo, again tied for first place

among the experts for “presenting a moral argument most trenchantly” (52.5%, tied with image #2). Students, on the other hand, placed image #4 third for moral argument (39.2%). Despite the similarity in the votes, then, it seems apparent that some historic images, no matter how potent or aesthetically beautiful to professionals, lose potency and emotional effect as time passes. Images for which non-experts have less personal context produce less emotional resonance and traction as a life lesson.

Repeatedly, the votes in this study suggested that *temporal proximity to the depicted event(s)* has an effect on the viewers’ impressions of the image, and, possibly, their moral and intellectual connection to it, including assessments of newsworthiness (evaluated as an “at the time it was first released” value). It is fair to say that despite a curiosity factor, novices over time will experience *less emotional connection* to most historic images for which they have had neither extensive historical exposure nor personal recollection, either directly or indirectly, through family members, friends, or study through mediated images. Even compelling news images, though perhaps not the most powerful iconic or archetypal ones, have a short emotional half life, in which the effects diminish over time and generations. Such images may seem less newsworthy than images capturing events a viewer recollect from recent history. The students, especially female students, voiced extremely strong reactions to the Haiti image of the father and drowned child in their commentary, but virtually ignored the Nisei girl so beautifully dressed and forlorn as she held her tiny pocketbook and half-eaten apple. The evidence of these and other responses strongly suggests that temporal proximity to a depicted news event *does affect* the viewer’s perception of the image’s salience, newsworthiness, and emotional connection:

- **H6: Temporal proximity to the depicted event in a new photograph heightens viewers' perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and emotionally expressive compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**

A female student's comment on the "Children of Men" Part II series.

"I chose pictures 4 (Nisei child) & 5 (death of Tamesha Jean) *because they were taken at the height of the disaster that occurred*. I think the pictures about the Iraqi children are the most visually appealing. However I did not choose these because of the dates they were taken."

Male student's comment:

"I feel like Japanese children and Iraqis are somehow related because they were both persecuted by the United States."

"I chose Image #3 [Ali Hussein's death]. It is very sad that a child may die from an air Raid...it should not be hidden from the average person's view."

Table 25: News Photography Student Survey - Male Students

Which TWO images have the strongest news value to you? Note: If the image is historical, select it on the basis of its news value at the time.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Image #1	14.8%	4
Image #2	51.9%	14
Image #3	33.3%	9
Image #4	51.9%	14
Image #5	40.7%	11
Image #6	7.4%	2
If you wish, explain your choices		11
<i>answered question</i>		27
<i>skipped question</i>		1

Table 26: News Photography Student Survey - Female Students

Which TWO images have the strongest news value to you? Note: If the image is historical, select it on the basis of its news value at the time.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Image #1	2.5%	1
Image #2	55.0%	22
Image #3	22.5%	9
Image #4	42.5%	17
Image #5	67.5%	27
Image #6	7.5%	3
If you wish, explain your choices		7
<i>answered question</i>		40
<i>skipped question</i>		2

Interestingly, female students in this study voted an overwhelming 72.5% for a strong emotional connection to image #5. By contrast, they reported only a 7.5% emotional connection to the depicted Japanese children from World War II. Male students, by contrast, were much more evenly divided in their emotional attachments to the images, with images 2 and 5 equal (55.6%), and image #4 in the 22% range.

Professional females also showed passionate emotional allegiance to image #5 (75%; see Table 25 below) and virtually no emotional attachment to image #4 (8.3%), while professional males demonstrated strong emotional response to image #5 (64.3%; Table 26 below) followed closely by image #2 (53.6%). The aggregate lesson is that Farrell's recent Haiti depiction of the dead girl, Tamesha Jean, and her father Franz Samedi produced a profound resonance in viewers, especially women; something in the image stuck (more on that later), perhaps the close-up of the dead child in the father's tender embrace along with the entire community of sorrowful faces surrounding them.

The men, by contrast, registered strong emotions (but not as strong as the females for image #5) for four out of the six children's images, three of them from war, one from natural disaster, a suggestion once again that men experience war as a profoundly understood archetypal plot whose climax is the inevitable killing of innocents (and innocence).

Table 27: Revised News Photography Pre-Test for Professionals – Females

Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Image #1	16.7%	2
Image #2	50.0%	6
Image #3	58.3%	7
Image #4	8.3%	1
Image #5	75.0%	9
Image #6	0.0%	0
Explain your choices if you wish		3
<i>answered question</i>		12
<i>skipped question</i>		1

Table 28: Revised News Photography Pre-Test for Professionals - Males

Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Image #1	17.9%	5
Image #2	53.6%	15
Image #3	32.1%	9
Image #4	14.3%	4
Image #5	64.3%	18
Image #6	7.1%	2
Explain your choices if you wish		12
<i>answered question</i>		28
<i>skipped question</i>		1

Table 29: News Photography Student Survey – Females

Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?		
Answer Options	Response	Response
	Percent	Count
Image #1	12.5%	5
Image #2	60.0%	24
Image #3	40.0%	16
Image #4	7.5%	3
Image #5	72.5%	29
Image #6	5.0%	2
Explain your choices if you wish		7
<i>answered question</i>		40
<i>skipped question</i>		2

Table 30: News Photography Student Survey – Males

Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Image #1	3.7%	1
Image #2	55.6%	15
Image #3	37.0%	10
Image #4	22.2%	6
Image #5	55.6%	15
Image #6	18.5%	5
Explain your choices if you wish		10
<i>answered question</i>		27
<i>skipped question</i>		1

4.9 Falling Men

Part III, “Fall and Rescue,” gave all groups an opportunity to ponder a few iconic and lesser known images capturing the 2001 World Trade Center disaster and its aftermath. The first image captured the explosion of the South Tower seconds after it was struck. It proved to be among the highest rated images in the survey. Image #2 and #3 (below) presented two pairs of images that study subjects were asked to select for varying qualities. The image pairs include one in each that has been widely distributed/branded as “iconic” or at least highly representative of the Trade Center

holocaust. The other images, less well-known, were inserted partially as “foils” to help understand how groups would react:

Figure 91: Image #3 Falling man by Jose Jimenez (Primera Hora via Getty Images)

Figure 92, image #2. The Falling Man, by Richard Drew
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Falling_Man

The ‘The Falling Man,’ by photographer Richard Drew (AP), appeared in newspapers worldwide in the days following September 11, 2001. It was then famously abandoned or withdrawn from later US newspaper editions following protests from shocked and angry readers. The image inspired Tom Junod’s September 2003 *Esquire* story on his search for the identity of the falling man. By contrast the photograph by Jose Jimenez (Primera Hora via Getty Images), is less well-known, capturing a man who appeared to be actively jumping or ejected from one of the burning towers which reached a core temperature of 1500 degree Fahrenheit before it collapsed.

Female Students:

“Image number 2 [is most enduring]. I think it has something to do with the simplicity of it—the precise composition of a split-second moment. It’s almost *chillingly cold in its journalistic quality*. It captures a private moment that I don’t feel comfortable having seen.”

“The image of the lone man falling from the sky with the long shot of the tower just stays with you. Having all the fire and smoke being seen almost takes away from the idea of an enduring image.”

Male Students:

“I really find Picture 2 great. That was my first still picture of the jumpers that day that I’d seen, and I still find it beautifully haunting.”

Professional Males:

“Number 3 is a better photo than two in several ways because it combines different elements (fire, destruction, structure, drama, desperation) very effectively. But Number 2 is more haunting because of its stark and very dramatic simplicity: death is solitary experience.”

“Number 2 is famous and number 3 feels tragic.”

Professional Females:

“Image number: too abstract, too little context.”

“Image #3 conveys that it is the man’s intention to secure his own death. He has taken control of his life and death in a situation that is clearly out of control. He has been able to make a decision.”

“I selected #3 as more newsworthy and [superior at] storytelling than #2 because it showed the explosion and was a more complete picture. But #2 is clearly the superior photo.”

Both experts and non-experts were divided on which image was “better” in each quality category, although professionals appeared more evenly divided between the images, voting Image #3, the less famous one, stronger for narrative clarity, newsworthiness, and expressive mood, with votes for emotional response split evenly between images 2 and 3.

On the other hand, non-experts clearly favored Richard Drew’s elegant and comparatively abstract image of a man plummeting headfirst toward the pavement. Unlike the professionals, students rated Jimenez’s image superior in only two categories: newsworthiness and narrative clarity. The contrast in scores suggests that professionals preferred several qualities of #3 because it emphasized “cause” (fire, heat, smoke) and “effect” (jumping man), and even decisiveness within the photograph while the formal purity and seemingly “relaxed” attitude of the Richard Drew photograph seemed more salient—and chilling—to students than the professionals:

Table 31: Part III, Images 2 vs. 3

Which image has --	Experts		Non-Experts	
	Image 2	Image 3	Image 2	Image 3
Stronger composition?	52.5%		63.1%	
Clearer narrative?		67.5%		60.6%
Expressiveness?		52.5%	46.3%	

Most newsworthy?		62.2%	55.2%
Most novel?	51.4%		46.2%
Strongest emotional response	50%	50%	66.7%
Enduring?	60%		56.7%
Haunting?	62.0%		68.7%

Figure 93: Image #4: Carrying Father Mychal’s body from WTC, 9/1/2011. Photo by Shannon Stapleton, Reuters

The subsequent two photographs of the fallen Father Mychal who died while performing Last Rites at the World Trade Center site also produced a similar reaction, but

Figure 93. World Trade Center. Firemen carry out Father Mychal. Photo by Shannon Stapleton Reuters

this time, students appeared less convinced that the “iconic” image of the firemen carrying the fatally injured priest (Image #5) was the best in all categories. Their image #5 vote ranged from 56.7% to 78%, as compared to the experts, whose votes in all categories was 75% to 90%. The somewhat ambiguous and “angry image” (Image #4) of a

fireman pointing a finger at an unseen cameraman or bystander appeared to violate the

Figure 94: Carrying the body of fatally injured Father Mychal, 9/1/2011. Photo by Shannon Stapleton, Reuters. *Philadelphia Weekly* called it an “American Pieta.” http://visibility911.com/ford/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/Father_Michael_Judge_9_11.jpg

professional’s credo of narrative clarity (telling the story directly), whereas 39% of the students thought image #4’s qualities—including, perhaps, its ambiguities and emotion—were attractive.

The groups also diverged in their allegiance to image #6, the James Nachtwey classic of post-9-11 holocaust depicted as a churning cauldron of clouds and smoke, a single fireman rooting through the wreckage.

Professionals showed very strong preference for image #6 as most haunting (77.5%), most novel (60%) and most compelling (87.5%), whereas students showed a much greater variation in their split preferences for images 6, 10, 8, and 7. For overall quality, students chose image 10 (49.3%, a preference reflected in the high female preference for this image) over image #6 (46.3%), whereas professionals chose just the reverse (Image #6: 47.5% extraordinary; Image #10 38.5% extraordinary). Image 8 was very poorly rated by professionals but fared much better among the students. While these

Figure 95: Students chose this 'survivor' image of post-9/11 downtown Manhattan over Nachtwey's more artistic renderings of the World Trade "cauldron"

differences of perception will be explored in qualitative results in the next chapter, the student "spread" of preference suggests greater openness to private visions of Armageddon and appeal of the "everyman." The Nachtwey image is decidedly "artistic" and even reminiscent of an El Greco-style sky boding disaster. Students, on the

other hand, embraced a simpler black and white image (#8) capturing the 9/11 wreckage along with an image of a man standing in a downtown Manhattan street clogged with tower dust and debris. Repeatedly, students described the full breadth of 9-11 images as personal matters of death and survival, not as matters of news or artistic novelty. The overarching message of the surviving man on the street was, for young women especially, more powerful than a lone fireman who seemed virtually incidental to the wreckage landscape.

4.10 Abomination

In Part IV, “Abomination,” all groups applied ordinal rankings to images #1 and E2, the “Incinerated Man” and the iconic shot of “Abu Ghraib” torture victim, respectively, and the rankings converged among all groups (a phenomenon that appears to be common among the highest rated photos): group distinctions apparently disappear into consensual or ‘universal’ response to images such as MLK Jr. or the World Trade Center incendiary photograph; or conversely, an “anonymous” or suppressed image with exceptional news, narrative, and emotionally expressive qualities such as image #10 above. The rankings for Incinerated Man, the fourth highest ranked image in the ordinary portion of the survey, for example, shows a conspicuous agreement among experts and non-experts for image qualities that are primarily emotional and shocking in nature.

However, for the Part IV question asking survey respondents to compare Abu Ghraib images, including the iconic hooded man (#2) and the less famous image #3 of a tortured, naked Iraqi whose knees had evidently been broken or blooded, experts and non-experts diverged again. Students overwhelmingly favored the image of the prostrate nude man. In every quality category—composition, narrative clarity, newsworthiness, moral argument, haunting quality, expressive mood, shock value, overall image quality—students opted for this image, whereas the professionals, once again showed divisions of preference. They voted overwhelmingly for image #3’s expressive mood (72.5%), shock value (62.5%), and overall quality (53.5%) while favoring image #2, the iconic one, in the other categories.

Divisions were also manifest in the remaining questions of Part IV which showed

Fig. 96. Hanging of Russian teen resistance fighters 1941. Photographer unknown

the most graphic and disturbing images of the whole study. All of the images focused on one theme and plot: the persecution and executions of “enemies.” In the first sequence, three images attracted the most attention: Image #7 (a hanging execution of two Russian teenage resistance fighters during the Nazi occupation), image #6 (a seemingly gratuitous street execution in Lagos, Monrovia), shooting an alleged terrorist at point blank range). On many of the questions, non-experts again showed marked preferences for those photographs that most closely mirrored subjects of approximately the same age and gender (e.g., Image #7), citing facial expression and body language as a deciding factor along with the photograph’s historical context/news value. Students deemed image #7 the most haunting. By contrast, the experts once again opted for the “classic” and well-known iconic image of Eddie Adams which, to them, had great historical context and weight (Image #5).

Yet images #7 and #5, one practically unknown and the other arguably overexposed, competed for top slot on the next question: Which two photographs were most stimulating of empathy, fear, and pity? Professionals, presumably older and “closer” to the events of World War II and the Holocaust, overwhelmingly (80%) judged image 7, the Russian teenage hangings, as the one eliciting the strongest emotions. Students flip-flopped, splitting their “fear and pity” vote between the terrors of Adams’ image #5 (54.5%) and image #7 (53%), both of which seem horrifically chilling at the nexus between life and death. The comparative male/female figures in each group are also

instructive: 82% of the expert males and 75% of the expert females voted for Image #7 for its emotional effects; whereas 67% of the student males and 64% of the student females did. The tender age of the Russian victims may have inspired the older groups; somehow the familiar Vietnam image was more terrifying and pitiable to the students.

The overall results of both the nominal and ordinal preferences in the survey strongly suggest the following hypothesis, which will be discussed in the next chapter:

- **H7: The viewer's personal knowledge of the depicted news event and/or a direct exposure to trauma reminiscent of the event will have more impact on the reception (ranking), empathy, and recall of a superlative news image than its aesthetics, composition, or the viewer's perception of its novelty.**

Chapter 5: Qualitative Results

5.1 Gender Empathy, Trauma and the Non-repeatable Moment

Three weeks after the quantitative surveys were completed, I began a series of structured interviews on student and expert reactions to the survey photographs (n1 = 16 students; n2 = 11 professionals). The main object was to ascertain which of the photographs were especially trenchant and memorable. I asked volunteer subjects to recollect one or two of the survey photos in detail—describing exactly what they remembered and why. I also asked each volunteer to do some self-analysis: What might explain a particularly visceral response to an image? Discovering discrete patterns of response, especially among the non-experts, I found that almost all had a story to tell about past traumatic experience, direct recollection, or concentrated exposure to the news event (either through media or “live” witnessing) that apparently “triggered” their current recollections. The experts, on the other hand, appeared keen to distance themselves from personal tales of trauma, instead focusing on their admiration for a particular image’s historical relevance, novel perspective, or the exceptional prowess of the photographer.

I further designed the original sixteen questions in the qualitative survey to fill in the blanks on repeated visual experience—feelings of being “haunted” or disturbed by the image or its figures—nightmare visitations, synesthetic pleasures or pain. My initial research questions asked how we might differentiate an extraordinarily compelling news image (ranked as a 4.5 or higher in the ordinal survey) from an average or ordinary one. In addition, study subjects might themselves describe a character archetype or primal plot that might deepen the image effect.

RQ1: What are the aesthetic, narrative, and emotive qualities of the news image archetype?

RQ2: What are the aesthetic, narrative, and emotive *differences* between a news photo expressing an image archetype vs. a photo of prototypical or ordinary character in the same thematic category?

The interviews were also structured to understand further how the four independent study groups identified themselves *through* the images. Considering the Straussian definition of empathy (2004) and its gendered components: imaginative projection, awareness of other's feelings, and care (see Chapter 2), I suspected that I would see significant differences in the intensity and feelings of empathy projected by males and females, and possibly between expert and non-expert groups. Did an image evoke feelings of pity or joy? Could horrifically graphic photos inspire strong feelings of aesthetic pleasure?

As Arnheim described it (1986, p. 53, cited in Dissanayake, 1992, p. 142), empathy as appropriated by psychoanalysis originally had its form as a response to artistic beauty. Empathy was first described in the emergence of the 19th century German word, *Einfühlung*, which translates as '*feeling [oneself into]*'. Theodore Lipps, a German philosopher, applied the term as early as 1900 to the idea of aesthetic empathy (Dissanayake, 1992, p. 142); it appeared in his essay "Aesthetische Einfühlung." Lipps described this form of empathy as an "inner imitation," which "takes place, for my consciousness, solely in the observed object..." (Spector, 1973, as cited by Dissanayake, 1992, pp. 142-143). Dissanayake describe this application as depending upon "the

capacity of the spectator to project his personality into the object of contemplation.”

Arnheim (1986) more recently described empathy as “the capacity of an individual to feel the needs, the aspirations, the frustrations, the joy, the sorrow, the anxieties, the hurt, indeed, the hunger of others as if they were his own” (Arnheim, 1986, 53, as cited in Dissanayake, 1992). However, empathy may contribute to aesthetic pleasure but need not. Further an emotional bond is not necessarily aesthetic in nature. Still, I suspected that study subjects would show strong feelings of identification with the objects of contemplation—namely the “actors” in the images involved in moments of profound social change, and/or life-threatening predicaments. Study subjects’ vocabulary of description might display “feeling words,” such as *fear, terror, disgust, joy, feeling for, feeling with, recoiling from*, and ample use of the first person and descriptions of physical actions taken while seeing the images (e.g., “I had to close my eyes.”) Recording these interviews, I developed transcripts that might provide evidence of empathy, sympathy, cognitive distancing, and other emotions. I had no instrumentation to measure specific physiologically changes to subjects as they were apprehending the most powerful images, and so I could not make case for *embodied cognition* (Lakoff, 1987). Such studies will be reserved for a later time.

My purpose, therefore, was to ascertain within the limits of my instruments 1) which images were most memorable; 2) whether those most remembered were also the most “emotional” for viewers; and 3) whether being memorable was rooted in some other aspect or impression of the image on a viewer’s part. If “superb” and rare photojournalism images are both memorable and experienced emotionally, what, exactly are the feelings of the viewer? Is it the image, or the viewer’s specific recollection of the

same image in the past, or similar images or events, that trigger recall now? Do we believe the image by suspending our disbelief in the medium? Or by continuing the implied action or story captured in the photograph? Or do we make up separate and individualized stories about the image, providing a mental space to harbor it long-term, while maintaining a certain emotional detachment?

Empathy and emotion are perplexing ideas when they are related to images. Narrowly, empathy can be defined as “feeling as the other feels,” although how the other feels may not be interpreted accurately (Brown, personal communication, November 25, 2010). Empathy may have a relationship to sympathy, compassion, or delight, and even to approval or disapproval of a character or action. For example, we may ‘disapprove’ of a villain and yet make believe we are feeling his or her passions. Empathy may also relate to an impression of vivacity or lifelikeness—for example, the feeling of joy or connection or mystery a viewer may feel gazing into the eyes of the Jewish girl in Image #1 carrying the banner (she was doing so in 1909, 102 years ago). Does a viewer empathize with this girl? Or seek to know what she was like? Is the response more sympathetic than affectively empathetic, as in understanding her “plight,” or the plight of those like her, caring what happens to her, *relating* to her situation, imagining being in her shoes? A rich notion of empathy is frequently assumed when one speaks of *identifying* with a picture subject. But the actual nature of the feeling may vary from “taking the subject’s side” to “feeling as s/he feels.” It was my hope to better understand the nature of these feelings. Would an archetypal predicament produce stronger levels of viewer awareness, concern, or willingness to act? My initial theory was that the few superlative photos with strong archetypal themes and plots (even those that never become iconic), would become

“embedded” and hence, more “haunting” to viewers over time. Although I have attempted to define exactly how these extraordinary images are distinguished, many of these questions remain unanswered.

What the investigations, photo content analyses, and survey data have already determined about these images is as follows (see Intro chapters). They:

- exhibit no single set of compositional or aesthetic values;
- produce compelling presentations of human situations of interest and sufficient newsworthiness that trump purely aesthetic or compositional concerns (the smudgy “Abu Ghraib” amateur digital photographs are a prime example);
- depict expressively—using intense captures of body language and facial expressions to engage our empathic responses;
- at a personal level, appear to connect in some way with situations which we have commonly experienced and found highly traumatic or exhilarating.
- speak differentially to the viewer’s gender and expertise. These attributes make a significant difference in assessments of the image’s aesthetics and composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality.

Beyond these findings, we have also determined that our sense of what is newsworthy, novel, emotionally arousing, memorable, and even haunting may be entrenched in viewing audiences regardless of visual expertise (and to a degree, age and experience), and gender. On the other hand, how an image is *judged* aesthetically, how it

expresses a mood or tone to the viewer, how it presents a moral issue; and how viewers rank its overall quality and effectiveness: All these aspects of viewer reception (as much as what is inspired by the actual content of the image) appear significantly influenced by gender and hence support the idea of a gendered point of view. Professionalism also affects point of view. Cultural, racial, ethnic, educational, and class differences, though not explored in this particular study, may also prove to influence viewer receptivity to images in ways we cannot predict just now.

Although I asked sixteen questions in the original structured interview portion of this study, known as Part II, the most important were the first seven questions which I list below. These seven form the bases of the results and data evaluations in this chapter. From the responses, I have culled not only discrete memories of the “favorite” or “first-recall” photos of the interview subjects, but also the subject’s own personal assessments and stories of why they were chosen. The interviewees also had an opportunity to comment on what distinguishes a superb photo from a routine or average one, and whether the subjects felt emotionally “bonded” to the image(s) they rated highly.

5.1.1 The Qualitative Questions

1. Which photos were most memorable to you in the survey and why? For example, if a photo has exceptional narrative clarity and interest to you, what do you have in mind when you see it? If it is ‘haunting’ to you, describe what ‘haunting’ is to you.
2. How well do you remember it/them? Can you describe in detail exactly what you do remember?

3. How close or 'bonded' do you feel to the subjects in the image? Do you visualize something more than is actually seen here?
4. Is the photo powerful or beautiful in any way to you?
5. If the image is recent, do you think it would have the same compelling power if it were historical or would it be less powerful or meaningful to you? (Another way to put this is as follows: Does your long familiarity to any of these images make you more sensitive, or less sensitive to the photo subject?)
6. How powerful is this image in helping you feel you witnessed the event?
7. Can you tell me what distinguishes a high vs. middle vs. a low quality news photograph?

A number of hypotheses could be gleaned from the answers to these questions, but the four chief hypotheses I wished to test in this portion of the study were as follows:

- **H6: Temporal proximity and exposure to the news event depicted in a photo heightens viewers' perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and emotionally expressive as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**
- **H7: The viewer's personal knowledge of the depicted news event and/or a direct exposure to trauma reminiscent of the event will have more impact on the reception (ranking), empathy, and recall of a superlative news image than its aesthetics, composition, or the viewer's perception of its novelty.**

- **H8: Viewers of either sex will report a ‘haunting’ or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear ‘neutral’ or non-gendered.**
- **H9. The primary visual details of a superlative news photo, including central figures and spatial relationships among figures, will be recalled more accurately than details of either prototypical or ordinary news photos.**

These are difficult hypotheses to prove. One apparent weakness of my quantitative survey is that photos originally selected and tested with professionals as “average” or prototypical of news coverage in actuality provoked more commentary and reflection than I had anticipated, especially those images with gendered subject matter. In other words, the photos appeared to leave a stronger and more provocative impression (even those that viewers judged as “average”) than many of the “place holder” shots that appear routinely in newspapers or news magazines. Once again, facial expressions and body language were noted most often. Both expert and non-expert viewers of both genders tended to comment more on these images than their quantitative rankings might imply.

The perfect example of this discrepancy is manifest in the rich arrays of commentaries on Image #1, *Jewish Girls Demonstrating Against Child Slavery*. The images scored in the “average/prototypical” range for all qualities of all groups (image #1: Grand Mean 3.25). The photograph, which is now featured at the American Museum of Jewish History in Philadelphia, provoked passionate interpretations in the strictly voluntary “Commentary” portions of Part 1. For example, 38 out of 42 female students and 13 out of the 13 professional females wrote comments on the image while 25 out of

28 professional males and 23 out of 29 student males did. In particular, *student females* and *professional males* wrote effusive, positive, and very complimentary observations, several of them suggesting they were highly engaged in the photo “narrative.” These two groups focused primarily on the Jewish girls’ facial expression, use of banners (signs),



and haunting eye contact, but the professional males also commented on secondary figures in the image (e.g., the men). The professional males also offered observations on the photo’s composition, historical significance, and deeper meanings:

Figure 97: 1909 May Day Parade, New York.
Copyright free. Available at
http://www.clipartguide.com/_pages/0512-0701-1818-4801.html

Student Females

“*The eyes of the two young girls are striking*. Perhaps because the photo is in sepia, *the darkness of their eyes lures you in*. The two boys on the right side of the image whose faces are not obscured are also interesting-- although I couldn't say whether or not my interest is piqued by the poor quality of the image itself (blurriness, foxing).”

- “*The wide eyes of both girls relay the seriousness* of this issue to the viewer, although I wish they were not smiling.”
- “The objects are staring at me with their *innocent and appealing eyes*.”
- “The girl wearing *the Yiddish sign, her eyes are piercing*.”

Professional Males:

- “The girl with the *Yiddish sign* because of the *intensity of her expression*.
- “The *two banner wearing girls* and **their expressions** engage the viewer.”
- “Girl on left - *eyes* are incredible.”
- “The unquestioning *stares* of the subjects.”
- “I find the young man in the hat to be the most intriguing. I find *his expression* to be the most engaging.”
- “The *compositional lines* draw to the faces but the *banner lines* also take the eye away. Maybe a bit too centered and possibly more effective slightly farther away so more surrounding are shown.”
- “While the two girls are obviously youngish, they also don't look like children, but older, maybe later teens rather than children a la Addie Laird (Card) or the coal children in some of Lewis Hines' works.”
- “It is hard to separate the age of the photograph from the news worthiness. What is striking is the *direct honest portraiture of the image*.”
- “I like the second figure – the *deep set eyes*, the hair that is becoming unkempt gives you a glimpse of *what these girls as well as many others had gone through for their rights*.”
- “The contrast between the two central girls is *wonderfully representative of different personalities* (like *Sense and Sensibility*).

Student Males

The level of engagement among student males was much lower than either student females or professional males for this photograph. The males almost never cited the eyes or facial expression of the Jewish females, instead dividing their visual attention between the girls (in focus), their banners, and the secondary male characters, boys and men, who seemed most important to many male students. A sampling:

- “The *blurred face* between the two girls adds an interesting effect.”
- “The two girls *with the banners* because of *the message* they are wearing.”
- “The only figure in the photo that is particularly striking is the *boy to the right, for his gaze is one of hope*, whereas everyone else looks similarly bland.”
- “*The man on the right. He steals the focus of the picture. My eye is always drawn to him*, maybe because he is dodged too much and appears very out of ordinary in the photograph.”
- “Although the two women in the center, catch your eyes the fastest (because they are the center piece and are wearing banners), I found *the man behind the left shoulder of the woman with the English banner*, the most striking. I'm not sure why, but his *hat sits at an angle and his expression* has more of an effect on me than anything else.”

Professional Females

Finally, the professional females commented on the Jewish girls for their symbolic importance as artifacts of culture. Professional females identified the image in

holistic and spatial terms, with careful attention to establishing which girl (left or right) left the most striking impression:

- “Gaze of both girls; they convey *different facets of the soul; uncertainty and fear contrasted with empathy and connection.*”
- “The two girls because of the *expression of their eyes.*”
- “The girl wearing the *Yiddish banner* is in my opinion the most striking because of *how she holds her head—her expression, the flag* she is holding... Simply how different she is, *she looks exquisitely different*, and *the Yiddish banner* goes only to emphasize this. At the same time, *she is remarkably relatable*—She has an American Flag.”
- “The little girl *on the right side; her expression makes her look brave, as if she’s proud* to be the subject of a photo.”
- “The Yiddish girl *is striking to me* because of her ethnic appearance. The *contrast of cultures* makes this image very strong.
- “The woman *on the left* because of the clean background around her which helps her figure jump out of the image...”
- “The two central figures are most striking, especially the *one on the left*. The way *they look directly into the camera*, and the way the *light catches their eyes*, is instantly engaging. *You can’t ignore these children.*”

The following were the rating averages for all 12 pictorial qualities for the Jewish Girls (Image1) in Part 1:

Table 33: Mean scores for 12 image qualities, Image #1, all four study groups

Student Females	Professional Females	Professional Males	Student Males
3.53	3.21	3.003	3.29

Figure 98. Winter soldier. Image #2. 1972. Photographer Unknown
<http://newsgrist.typepad.com/underbelly/images/2008/08/04/ps1.jpeg>

The discrepancy between the effusive commentary registering emotional/cognitive engagement in this photograph, especially among student females, professional females and males, strongly suggests that *quantitative ratings do not tell the whole story*.

The “professionalism” standard to which many expert interview subjects adhered—judging an image based on discernible action and newsworthiness is also based on narrative clarity, camera angle, composition, alignment and repetition of forms and figures. In addition, experts may consciously notice the symbolic proximity of figures against each other and the pictorial backdrop at hand—suggests they are “harder” on the image at the elemental level of analysis. However, their commentary also suggests a “softer” side, in which they become engaged in an image by holistic impression. Gender identification appears to be a factor in the qualitative commentary, although professional males “crossed over” by virtue of interpretive empathy (as defined as care and awareness of the sufferings or predicaments of others). Counting the number of comments in all gender and expertise categories, I found that viewers called out *facial expressions and body language* as most salient and striking. Factors such as historical context, split second capture of action, narrative clarity, aesthetic presentation, and even “haunting quality” were far less mentioned than the girls’ bewitching eyes and smiles. Gender identification appears to be especially strong in the Vietnam demonstration image (Image

#2) shown above. Student males, in particular, engaged directly with this photograph at a symbolic and even allegorical level, with 22 out of 29 making comments:

Question: Which figures in the photo are most striking?

Student Males

- “The man right in front of the flag and the man kneeling down in front of him.
The first man *seems to be leading the cause* while the man kneeling down *seems to be worn out by the cause* while asking for the standing man's help.”
- “The men holding the American flag (upsidedown flag) is striking and the *image of almost anti-patriotism*; then the man using the stilts (sic) is symbolic of the war and its ills.”
- “The man holding the flag strikes me the most. His *emotions flow from anger towards the war, anger toward his country, respect for his flag...*”
- “The female in the photo shows pain or sadness [as well as the male below her].
This sticks out to the viewer.”
- “The picture as a whole is most striking. It is stretching it, but *there is a circle of life* aspect to the picture, beginning with the man crouched down on the left to the injured older man on the right. The man in the center *represents the prime age of our lives, the highest point*, which is represented with the flag in his hands. This picture for me, is showing that men, in the prime of their lives, were sent off to war, *and their future is characterized by the man on crutches on the right.*”

Professional Males

Professional males were similarly engaged; 24 professionals out of 29 made direct comments about this image. Although some approached the photograph symbolically, several also noted compositional strengths and flaws:

- “The young man with the headband and mustache hold the flag staff, not because his expression is particularly compelling but because *his face is a focal point of the composition.*”
- “High marks for this image as well, it also *shows the technology of the era, and the difficulties of capturing an image* in low light.”
- “Reminds me of some of Korda's Cuban work, but *fails somewhat composition-wise* for me because the main figure in the photo, flag holder, is not the subject I'm interested in. I find the man to the right on crutches to be more compelling. One *might assume that the crippled man* and the black man were the two to have suffered, while the others are more privileged people who never ‘went.’ Probably not too memorable.”
- “The man in the middle is the strength of this photograph. *His body language expresses strength, assurance and leadership.* This photo *composition* is built around him.”
- “The soldier in the middle who is standing upright holding the flag is very striking. Also the man to his right who looks like he is struggling on crutches.

The photo effectively *hits the heart and tells a deep story of sacrifice.*”

Many of the female students (n=38 out of 42 possible) and professional females (n= 13 out of 13) also engaged in descriptions at the symbolic level. But the professional females, all of whom commented on the photo, were terse and more dispassionate than the males:

Professional Females

- “The central figure is most compelling though *I feel no connection to him*; I can see his eyes and a confusion, disillusion, disappointment with his country yet some moderate amount of *refusal to abandon previous conviction.*”

- “The man in the center because of the look on his face.”

- “The man kneeling in the foreground seems to me by far the most striking. *None of the figures are looking at the camera, suggesting one of two things: either the photo was posed, or it was candid.* The fore-mentioned figure looks genuinely compassionate...

- “The man on the crutches, looking downward, *as if he is trying to keep his physical balance in an emotionally unbalanced situation*”.

- “The male on crutches stands out to me, though *not the main eye focus-he haunts me more than the main character.* He *seems to be struggling* which brings forth a narrative.

Student Females

Female students asked questions of this photograph, demonstrating a somewhat critical view of its ambiguities:

- “It is the guy in the forefront of the photo who I notice first and yet *it is very interesting to note that there is only one African American in the photo*. It makes me wonder why. I'm curious as to whether he is fighting to get by the white man on crutches or whether they are walking together.”
- “The man with the mustache nearest to the upside-down American flag-- he's centrally located and higher than everyone else.”
- “The man holding the American flag and the male on crutches are the most striking characters in the picture. The American flag is a famous icon for history and therefore, with the male's facial features *depicting determination, it becomes a striking figure*. The male on crutches is not as striking but because it seems he is injured, but still standing with the other figures; *he becomes an attention grabbing character*.”

In part 1 of the survey, *Winter Soldier* was rated number 21 by aggregate means for 12 qualities. Here is the breakdown:

Table 34: The ordinal assessments for Winter Soldier were tepid; the commentaries were not

Student Females	Professional Females	Professional Males	Students Males
2.92	2.67	2.91	2.9

The aggregate means, along with the profuse commentary on this image, once again show a discrepancy between quantitative ratings and the urge to comment and

engage empathetically. In this case, (see Results Part 1) gendered subject matter appears to have an effect on emotional and interpretive engagement. Though student females overall deliver the same marks as professional males and student females for the Vietnam image above (image 32), male commentary in particular is marked by stronger diction and direct symbolic interpretation. The males have fewer questions and critiques of the image than the females, especially female students. Female novices struggled more with the interpretation of this image than the males, who appeared to accept it, even with its complexities. Professional women tended to comment less and rated the image less highly than the other groups.

The overall interpretation of these two examples, along with the quantitative data outlined in Results Part 1, lend some support to the gendered portion of Hypothesis 8:

➤ **H8: Viewers of either sex will report a ‘haunting’ or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear ‘neutral’ or non-gendered.**

However, cross-gender identification is also in evidence, especially among professional males who show strong empathy and engagement with female subjects and children throughout the quantitative and qualitative portions of the study.

5.1.2 Cross-gender Identification: MLK Jr. and Haitian Rescue

Both of these images also showed very strong *cross-gender identification* regardless of expertise, lending credence to the view that there is such a thing as a “universally’ inspiring news photograph. The narratives expressed in both the MLK and the Haitian earthquake rescue images are well-understood thanks to media saturation

(Haitian earthquake photos were widely displayed in all outlets of US media for weeks) and historical context. Both images reflect upbeat moments despite terrific adversity, although the King image has the advantage of *looking back* through media canonization (textbooks, films, etc.), personal memory, and even nostalgia for a man and time lost. Said Jenna M., a professional designer and photo editor, “The image keeps alive all his lessons and beliefs, and where we’re going as a country. His photos and voice helped the cause of [hope] alive.” However, the enthusiasm and emotional outpouring for King comes more strongly *from the females* in this survey, although professional females display greater emotional distance and an understanding of the effects of canonization:



Figure 100, MLK Jr. Aug. 28, 1963.
<http://act.mtv.com/files/2011/01/CI-VIL-RIGHTS-MLK-Jr-Day-2.jpg>

Figure 99: Haitian Rescue (Patrick Farrell, Miami Herald) Figure 100: MLK (Getty Images/Agence France Presse)

Question on MLK Jr: Briefly describe the effect of this image and the moral issue it describes.

Female Students:

- “MLK facing fear of the unknown with a smile.”
- “When I saw this picture I got goose bumps. I'm not sure if it is because I am American, and I know the impact MLK and this speech had on our country.”

- “This is such a moving, powerful image. It recalls the grandeur of an icon...[In black and white], the image captures the essential divide of America in the 1960s.”
- “A bittersweet image. It shows a man campaigning for equality among the races and it brings up memories of his speech. It also brings up memories of his assassination.”

Professional Females

- “Power; people coming together to affect change.”
- “The above image quite nicely portrays the work of Dr. King, the passion he had for helping his fellow Americans, to achieve his "dream" of equality that he sadly did not live to see.”
- “Dr. King, with his hand raised in salute to his fellow Americans seems content with the progress, and the speech he recently gave—he is content to relive his dream, by giving it to others, his strive for equality between every man, woman and child, no matter their color. “
- “Any photo of MLK has now achieved iconic quality, so it's really hard (though possible!) to judge the image as an image only. He is now part of the pantheon.”

Male Students (MLK)

- “Great photo. Great leader.”
- “The image has a powerful effect because it captures MLK Jr. in his element, fighting for civil rights.”
- “The image of Martin Luther King Jr. addressing, waving to a crowd prior to his “I have a Dream” speech evokes many emotions, including inspiration.”

- It shows a powerful effect of will and popularity yet a relaxed feeling of Dr. Martin Luther King.
- “I know it describes civil rights, but let’s say I didn’t know who Dr. Martin Luther King is. Then I’d have trouble figuring this out.”

Professional Males (MLK)

- “It does not tell the story because we know the story and the moral issue, which is classic. It illustrates and reinforces the story. It stands as the visual image of the greatness of one man standing above a massive human cause, which is universal.”
- “Knowing the history of the civil rights movement, this image fails to capture the "victory" of the March on Washington day, or any of the emotion of that triumph...”
- The strong pride and compelling throng imply the racial issues of the day and the human outcry.”
- The access, subject, and composition all work well here. Probably why the image has stood the test of time.”

The Haitian rescue image shows similarly strong identification across gender, especially professional males and student females:

Question: How would you describe the key figures in this image?

Professional Males

- “ The woman with her arms raised is triumphant. The other woman looks relieved and grateful to the point of tears.”

- Highly emotional and a Hallelyua (sic) moment, but again without the caption, difficult to tell where it is taken for lack of identifiable location. Is it Haiti, Africa, New Orleans?
- Joyous.
- A gathering celebration of happiness at the survival and rescue of the mother.
- Captures relief, joy, gratitude.”

Student Females

- “The two key figures seem archetypal to me, which is not to diminish their emotional states.”
- “Horried, elated, terrible, sad, relieved. There are too many emotions within this moment, but the photograph captures them all.”
- “A rescued woman was naked and accidentally covered by white cloth like a newly born child.”
- “The mother’s face expresses disbelief and joy over being rescued from the rubble and seeing her daughter again.”
- “Happy to be alive!”
- “I just love their facial expressions, their joy and optimism.”

Student males recognized the exuberance of rescue, but used verbiage suggesting greater emotional distance:

Student Males

- “Facial expression is everything in this photo.”
- “Happiness of freedom. And relief of the mother. Also a community behind the mother and daughter show linked feelings.”
- “The woman on the left is somewhat tattered and torn but yet still thankful. The woman to her right looks pleased and grateful. To me, it is Hope in a sea of despair.”
- “Poor citizens who were adversely affected by the earthquake and they seem in big distress.”
- “A mixture of overwhelmedness, joy and disbelief.”
- “Happy, glad to be reunited. They have gone through trauma and separation but have found each other again.”

Professional females praised the image as newsworthy and emotional, but approached the image more objectively than student females:

Professional Females

- “Realistically joyous.”
- “Relieved/happy/scared.”
- “If I were to describe the key figures in this image, I would argue that before one describes any individual, the viewer must account for the pure happiness expressed. The two figures in the foreground are arguably relieved to see each other after the worrisome time apart.”
- “The man directly behind the women seems elated at the new recovery, showing the

compassion that humans share for each other....These two figures are newsworthy...

Given the situation, the photo is haunting: the woman, perhaps the mother:

‘I’m alive!’ Daughter, weeping with relief. Love it.”

- “The fragility of the arms in air immediate creates compassion for me.”
- “Joyful and hopeful. Look at the man behind them in the center of the photo – it’s almost as if he’s surprised...Lovely photo.”

The discrepancies in ranking judgment vs. the amount and kinds of commentary about Images 1 and 2 do lend support to Hypotheses 8, namely the gendered photographs can inspire (same-sex) gendered empathy. However, the photo responses are complex. The very same sampling seems to undermine the assertion that photographs ranked as “average” “routine” or “prototypical” in overall quality cannot elicit strong personal reactions and ideas. On the other hand, the prolix commentary on MLK and Haitian rescue photos, both highly rated in the quantitative survey, suggest they inspire strong feelings of “universal” and “cross-gendered” empathy, imaginative projection, and care. While the obvious differences in emotional tone are intriguing, they cannot be considered “proof” of Hypotheses 8 or 9. A stronger case, pro or con, might be made by examining more closely the results of the qualitative interviews to which we now turn.

5.1.3 Mosaic of Memory: What the Interviewees Recalled

Many of the top-rated images in the quantitative part of the survey – whether they were rated at or near “extraordinary” (4.3 and higher) in the ordinal rankings or elicited the top slot in the nominal rankings (quantitative sections 2, parts of 3, and 4) did merit attention and first-choice recall during the interviews. The figures in Table 1 indicated that these highly ranked images, in the main, were recalled more often during Part II of the survey than any other images.

I also expected that the top-rated images would be recognized as most trenchant and moving. I believed, given that the most compelling images would express extreme drama and human choice (or no choice whatsoever) symbolically representing a public moment of decision, that individuals, whether expert or non-expert, male or female, would coalesce around a very limited number of the photographs. These images could be described as recurring or haunting (meaning, the image would repeat itself in memory and “come back” to the viewer at various times). I was wrong; interviewees, especially experts, chose almost as many different images as there were numbers of experts; and images were not always characterized as “haunting,” even if they were memorable (The image of Martin Luther King was an example.)

My expectations from the quantitative survey were also that experts would also pick the more classic/iconic images which to them demonstrated the highest aesthetic and professional achievements, including the achievement of a “dangerous,” against-all-odds photo. The non-expert group might demonstrate greater openness to ‘underground’ images that might be deeply emotionally affecting, whether they were famous or not.

Wrong again. Both experts and non-experts chose virtually the same images – some famous, some not. I further expected that the images described through the filter of interviewee’s personal experience or recollection of the (depicted) news event might help me discern patterns of image-to-memory: what constitutes compelling content, implicit narrative (the mental narrative that people develop while receiving an image), novel and newsworthy presentation, along with visual style and expressiveness suggesting “archetypicality” or “archetypal” communication. In this, the interviews were enlightening. I also discovered something of a shock: No one chose an image simply because it was famous, professionally risky, or aesthetically admirable. The image, in effect, had to insinuate itself as a surprising presence—either pleasurable or painful—among mosaics of existing images in memory. And the image had to present a sensation of familiarity (“oh I’ve seen this before”), even if the subject did not recognize the picture or recollect its origin.

5.1.4 The First Three Questions

1. Which photos were most memorable to you in the survey and why? For example, if a photo has exceptional narrative clarity and interest to you, what do you have in mind when you see it?
2. How well do you remember it/them? Can you describe in detail exactly what you do remember?
3. How close or ‘bonded’ do you feel to the subjects in the image? Do you visualize something more than is actually seen here?

Among all the images recalled, the Martin Luther King photo above, taken in the March on Washington, 1963, was most often cited as memorable (i.e., first image recalled as a response to question #1) among expert and non-expert interviewees of both sexes (the “nominations” for MLK were roughly equal by gender; see chart below). The image is a prime example of “ambiguous” familiarity described above, a kind of déjà vu the viewer experiences even though many can’t remember where they’ve seen the particular image before. Both experts and non-experts chose this image with remarkable consistency and none could pinpoint where they had seen it before. Indeed, the image is among an Agence France Press (now licensed by Getty Images) sequence on MLK, taken at the Capitol Mall, that is *not* the most famous or copied from the 1963 March on Washington; nonetheless, interviewees suggested the photo appeared fresh, renewing, and familiar.

“I remember there was a shot of Martin Luther King, [on] a famous day. *I don’t remember seeing that one before*, seeing people out on the mall...but that one really struck me. There is a sea of people and they’re not individuals anymore. They’re so far off the people practically create this texture he stands out against....it’s beautifully composed, a simple composition, really a powerful famous moment. So close to being a normal shot, but the subtle differences make it wonderful.”

-- Dennis C., professor of photojournalism, Iowa State University

“The second [shot I remember] was the Martin Luther King photograph of the march on Washington. That particular angle, that particular shot didn’t stick with me [before]...but this was *interesting because it was another angle on perhaps the more famous photograph*....the one more famous had more going on. [This

one] had a much simpler composition; there was simply him off to the edge, with the crowd off in the background; [not] as clean a composition...*although Martin Luther King's face is much more expressive [than the other shots of the event].*"

-- S.P. News photographer, doctoral student, Univ. of Maryland College Park

"The one that stood out the most was the Martin Luther King photograph speaking to the crowd. It's a bit of an iconic image from history; it carried a moment of unification, a joy, a hope that was of a more positive quality to the emotions...I can't exactly place that image...but he seemed to work the crowd and he was smiling, acknowledging the crowd. It looked as though he had just finished speaking, and there was a tremendous look of satisfaction on his face."

-- Jenna, photographer, graphic designer, Charlotte, NC

"I think that the Martin Luther King photo is one that I remember quite clearly, with him standing at the mall, with people around him, the Washington monument behind him. It's such an iconic photo; it captures citizenship and statesmanship; it's breathtaking ...capturing the most exemplary of humanity....I've seen the permutation [of this photo]. When I saw it, it seemed incredibly familiar to me; it seemed I'd seen it a thousand times before; I must have seen this MLK image before. *But I can't remember specifically when and where that was.*"

-- Graduate Administrator, Philip Merrill College of Journalism, Univ. of Maryland College Park

From the viewer's perspective, a photo like MLK's might produce a recognizable, if not universal pattern of *parsing a photograph*, prioritizing its most important image elements and messages, and instantly responding—first by suspending disbelief (Kendall Walton, 1990), and then by connecting empathetically to the narrative/ symbolic content

at many levels of significance. Certainly the commentary on MLK verifies that each interviewee (two males, two females, and in this case, three experts and one technical “nonexpert”) “saw” the physical details of the image, including the background mall, crowds, and MLK’s face, roughly the same way. This phenomenon of “common seeing” may also be associated with “common context”: every subject in this survey knows who MLK is and virtually all who cited him noted they had a personal and close connection to MLK’s presence in American life—whether through mediated (younger students and experts) or direct exposure (professional photographers who lived and sometimes photographed MLK and the Civil Rights movement). “Common seeing,” or repetition of visual details of a photograph, was in evidence in many of the images tested, though not all (especially where the viewers inserted comments in the quantitative portion of the survey). In gendered examples of photography, women and men often noticed different details of the same photograph. Interview subjects appeared to associate a particular image narrative with a personal recollection or complex of signs, events, and verbal associations highly familiar to the viewer’s experience—for example, Jenna noted she did not learn about King until her 20s, but the impact of that learning produced an “opening” for her to recognize the feelings and importance of this particular MLK image:

“I don’t know if I was alive when he was assassinated,” she said. “I didn’t become aware of Dr. King until I probably was in my 20s when people started to talk about him and his beliefs... [This] image keeps all of that—all the lessons and beliefs and where we’re going as a country are still alive. His photos and his voice helped the cause of keeping these beliefs alive.” --JM

From the photographic perspective, the extraordinary news image may record a discrete moment or situation exemplifying the “about to become” or “about to die” (Zelizer, 2010) or a “this has been” (Barthes, 1980) act of witness, as the King photo amply demonstrates (i.e., social hero triumphantly composed). The best images should produce exceptional, if not extreme expressions of beauty, horror, and/or novelty that the viewer would instantly recognize given the personal backlog of images and verbal knowledge at hand. From a photographer’s perspective, the archetypal news image, at very least, might be the one in a trillion capture of a non-repeatable action—that is, an action performed exactly the way the camera *detects* it—for example, Eddie Adams’ “frozen bullet” photograph of General Loan executing a suspected Viet Cong terrorist in Vietnam during the Tet offensive in 1968. Alternately, the one-in-a-trillion moment might describe Richard Drew’s one-frame capture in a sequence of digital exposures of the now-famous “falling man” as he hurtled toward the pavement outside the burning World Trade Towers (see Junod, “The Falling Man,” *Esquire*, September 2003).

The non-repeatable moment may be a significant element of the extraordinary image (distinguished from an icon, which includes aesthetic “friezes” consisting of many seemingly unique but repeatable moments, many of them rehearsed or re-done for the camera—see Chapter 2.) In the Adams’ photograph, though, the non-repeatable action includes a stop-action visualization of cause and effect: a bullet fired from Loan’s gun as he pulls the trigger *will penetrate or is penetrating* the skull of the “terrorist,” although the actual bullet “path” cannot be seen even in the clearest reproductions of the Adams’ photograph. However, the grimace on the victim’s face, either a paralysis of terror or a clonic aftershock of penetration as the bullet enters his brain, makes the action obvious.

The execution captured on camera might be *generically repeatable*, but Adams' detection is singular; he has made a one-in-a-billion photogenic capture of a speeding bullet that is also a one-in-a-billion photogenic *expression* (depiction) of the most caustic forms of human revenge. From a photojournalism critic's perspective, a "facing death" archetype of this nature might evince an unequivocal turning point (see Moeller, 1989) in a major war of national interest (e.g., Vietnam War /Tet offensive). In this sense, the photograph produces "civic performance" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007) that instantly telegraphs the significance of "now"—even though "now" has long passed. To a cultural critic who believes in iconicity, the Adams photograph presumably expresses both archetypal content and a public "performance" that makes it worthy of adoration; the execution plays out continuously to each successive generation of viewers as a nightmare scenario/drama modeling Americans' seeming revulsion to the quick deaths, no-trial protocols of wartime Saigon. Such moral revulsion apparently echoes "deep norms of our public culture," accessing cultural resources for "public identification" and "civic life" (Griffin, 2009; Hariman & Lucaites, 2007). In addition, a trenchant archetype of the kinds showcased in the survey may also employ throwbacks to classical myths, some with twists of modernity. For example, a male US soldier in Iraq bows his head (face hidden) apparently in grief as he holds a dying child wrapped in a blood-soaked blanket (a transgendered Pieta; Yon says the soldier was actually *talking* to the child after she was fatally injured in a random car bomb attack); a Haitian father holds a drowned girl child upright, her eyes half-open, in an embrace so tender that a viewer suspects the child may still be alive (Lazarus feminized). All of these perspectives might plausibly crop up in a qualitative evaluation of interviews. Presumably, the emergence of "archetype"

would become clearer from patterns gleaned from the subjective impressions of some two dozen viewers.

5.2 Aura and Awe

Many of the interviewees in this survey expressed feelings about remembered photos that might best be described as “awe-inspired enthusiasm” and “awe-inspired fear.” Art critic Walter Benjamin’s *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility* suggested that an aura of originality permeated a true work of art (Benjamin, 1935). The originality produces this “aura” because the artwork derives its power both from singularity/originality and its “embeddedness” within a fabric of tradition. Although Benjamin lamented the loss of aura through any technology that mechanically reproduced the artwork, he did not address directly the uncanny “sticking power” of certain photographs. In the case of the superbly executed “archetypal” theme/predicament displayed in a news photograph, an “aura” might be construed literally as well as emotionally. The one-in-a-billion photograph magnetizes the viewer and creates the “buzz” (attention-getting quality) that contributes not only to the viewer’s recollection of the photo but also its popularity (social aura). In a physical sense, the photograph also expresses a physical aura as a “light tracing” on emulsion; these are the wavelengths from the photographed objects and bodies that are actually “etched” on emulsion as the image (Sontag, 1977). The light is recorded today as a series of digital codes; thus it is an actual “trace” of the physical body as a preserved after image. An “archetypal” rendering might resist the aura-reducing effects of time when it is remembered and embraced within an individual’s lexicon of mental imagery. In theory, such imagery resists the degradation of ceaseless reproduction, and mutation through

copying. In other words, the photo is art itself. It returns to the viewer's mind. It haunts. Art also requires some personal context; the viewer must bring knowledge, experience, sensitivity (if not 'racial memory') to "place" the image within the mosaic of past and current experiences. A mere "average" or routine news photo might require very little of the viewer but a passing glance (it is highly forgettable anyway). A great photo presumably requires more cognitive effort. At the outset of the study, though, I believed that an archetypal photograph should be universally received/shared by masses of people (the visual determinism idea), even if the photograph were not "famous" or "embedded" in collective American memory (as icons are presumed to be). I reasoned that the archetype itself requires a relational unity in order to be an archetype; in other words, there is no such thing as an archetypal "image" in a photograph without the human aptitude and comprehension of it (Jung) as it is being actively viewed and then recalled.

5.3 Image Memories Flawed

With these suppositions as groundwork, I presumed the images that interviewees selected would coincide to those they rated highest in all ordinal and nominal categories. The most outstanding images would be recollected repeatedly and described both on a literal and figurative plane—in the realm of sense-memory and associated narrative outside the frame. On the inside of the frame, I hoped to find patterns of visual organization, content, and/or coding that might reasonably account for the viewers' exceptionally strong emotional responses. In addition, I theorized that a part of the image—a primary focal point or object(s) within the frame, would be the "trigger" that elicited the most primal emotions (an idea I was not able to test explicitly in the quantitative portion of the study). I expected that viewers would recall this "frame within

the frame” with the utmost clarity and accuracy because the perception of a strong archetype is presumably universal. Thus the primary details of the superlative photo would not only be remembered most accurately, but viewers apprehending the image would produce a longer, richer explanation of it than a “typical” or average photo commanding less attention. I was wrong on many counts. Hypothesis 9, for example:

- **H9. The primary visual details of a superlative news photo, including central figures and spatial relationships among figures, will be recalled more accurately than details of either prototypical or ordinary news photos.**

did not prove true. In fact, study subjects, while enthusiastically remembering certain discrete images, nonetheless showed a wide range of accuracy in their recollection of details. One expert, for example, conflated his description of Ali Hussein with the Iraq soldier holding the dying child, both of which were highly memorable to him and the first two he mentioned:

“There were two images from current times that I think were front and center for me. One was a soldier holding a baby up...maybe the baby is being pulled out of the rubble. The baby must be covered in blood. The American soldier is raising it up over his head and maybe the Iraqis are grabbing to get it. It’s a very emotional picture because the baby is dead.” -- Phil D.

In the Ali Hussein image, a lay person, not an American soldier, is holding up the baby. The two-year old is covered in dust, not blood. The Michael Yon image, on the

other hand, shows an American soldier bending over a child held in a blanket and covered in blood.

Another student, Catherine, also “merged” some aspects of the same two images in recall:

“The picture I remember best is a child that someone is having in their hands; there were buildings destroyed, and someone was trying to take the child out.... It was the most innocent child...it seemed like the child was suffering before it died; I remember the expression on the face, but I can’t really remember. The child was being held in the air; he was covered with something white which seemed like cement from the houses that were destroyed; I don’t think the child was wearing anything, but it was covered, and its eyes were closed.”

Ali Hussein was fully clothed in the image she recollected. The child who was naked, and covered, was in the Michael Yon image of the soldier in Iraq holding the “Little Girl.” The same student also recollected from the survey a picture of “a mother holding a child covered in blood who was wounded...the mother was really scared, and she was almost running.” No such image appeared in the study.

Memory among subjects, even for photos enthusiastically recalled, was actually spotty. Parts of an image might be recalled accurately, at least for physical detail, and other parts were completely forgotten. Instead, subjects recalled the *gestalt* and emotional impression of the image; and quite often got the details confused. The aggregate testimony in the qualitative portion of the survey suggests that memory is indeed selective, even for extraordinary images. A further confirmation of this was shown in one of the experienced student’s recollection of the Nick Ut Image, “Accidental Napalm.”

While he recalled “the little girl...essentially naked, and everything else is a figure around her,” he did not mention or call up memories of the boy child screaming in the foreground of image, nor the soldiers and children behind.

5.4. Discrepancies Between Top Ordinal Ratings And Photos Remembered

I also discovered both in the Commentary sections of the initial quantitative survey that short answer ratings of image qualities, even the means of overall ratings, in no way predicted accurately the depth and breadth of attachment to individual images, even some rated as “average” or “prototypical” by study subjects. Nor did a top ordinal rating

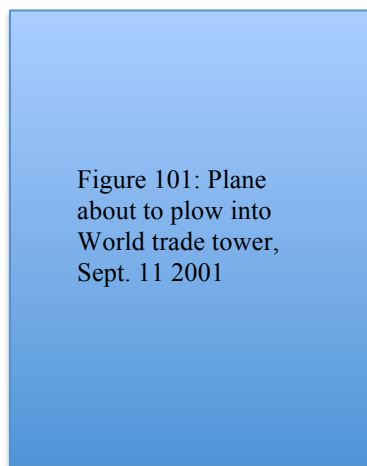


Figure 101: Plane about to plow into World trade tower, Sept. 11 2001

guarantee a spate of spontaneous image recollections weeks later. Indeed, with a few exceptions, the quantitative preference for individual September 11 images, five of them in top slots in the ordinal rankings (grand means), still did not translate into equal numbers of mentions, recollections, or enthusiastic descriptions in the qualitative interviews. Rather, professionals (with a few exceptions) focused on a wide variety of both familiar and hard-to-place photos. They mentioned September 11th only a few times: professional photojournalists Patrick Farrell and James Atherton both mentioned September 11 photographs as a “second most memorable” choice. They highlighted the work of photographer James Nachtwey, the Richard Drew photograph of the falling man, and the image of the jet liner plowing into the South Tower. But the other photographers chose MLK, Eddie Adams’ execution photo, Nick Ut’s Accidental Napalm, the Monrovia street fighter finishing off a victim, the two Jewish girls protesting child slavery, Abu Ghraib’s hooded torture victim, the

Bangkok hanging (Farrell's first choice), the Ali Hussein death photo (April 2008, Washington Post), and the Michael Yon photo of the American GI seemingly weeping over the dying girl, Farah, in a blanket. The latter image received three mentions from the experts. MLK received four. The rest received one or two, and two of the highly decorated photographers, Patrick Farrell (*Miami Herald*) and James Atherton (retired, *Washington Post*) cited various September 11 photographs. The point is that the professionals brought *little to no consensus* to the qualitative response to question 1: *Which image was the most moving, memorable, or salient that you recollect?* Although the professionals' choices were comparatively "safe" (many iconic and well-known images), the images were also extremely similar to the student/non-experts' choices. Roughly a pool of ten images (see Table 35) predominated both expert and student responses to question 1, with MLK most frequently cited. Although no single image dominated during the interviews, the fact that the same images were repeatedly cited among all groups, male and female, expert and non-expert, strongly suggests that superlative, emotionally trenchant images do exist and offer "universal" appeal, although some appear more compelling to certain groups than others. However, an individual's response or recollection of any one particular image or underlying "archetype" is problematic; several factors appear at play, and interviewees frequently recalled several images—a mosaic of images, in fact—rather than a single one. Even when several described the first or second image that came to mind, eventually other images from the survey came out as illustration for various points; and thus it seems that *mosaicism* is an important aspect of photo image "embedding": one memorable image seems to bring up others.

In addition, a virtually ubiquitous phenomenon occurred when non-experts described their “favorite” or “first recalled” survey image. Virtually all cited the image in the context of *a personal experience of trauma*—whether that trauma was accidental or brought about by direct experience or exposure to a significant public event (such as a war or attack). When interview subjects chose positive images (such as MLK), the associated experiences were based directly on knowledge and appreciation of the subject matter gleaned through historical study, videos, and actual recollections of King during his lifetime. In other words, the pattern of selection was not random. While it remains unclear exactly why certain subjects chose the one positive and familiar image (MLK) over the many negatives ones, it is also evident that their experience was just as powerful as those who remembered photos for their horror and bestiality.

1. Which photo(s) were most memorable to you in the survey and why? “Votes” indicate number of mentions during structured interviews.

Table 35: Most Memorable Images (Qualitative Interviews, Phase II)

Experts Males	Expert Females	Non-expert Males	Non-Expert Females	Total Image Tally	Quantitative Survey Grand Means Ordinal Ranking
Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP)	Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP)	Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP)	Martin Luther King, 1963	XXXXXXX (7)	6
*2 votes XX	2 votes XX	1vote X	2 votes XX		

Eddie Adams'	Eddie Adams'	Eddie Adam's	Eddie Adam's	XXXXXX (6)	Not ranked
Death of	Death of	Death of	Death of		(nominal
Vietcong	Vietcong	Vietcong	Vietcong		ranking only)
Terrorist 1968	terrorist 1968	terrorist 1968	terrorist 1968		
1 vote X	1 vote X	2 votes	2 votes X		
Bangkok	Bangkok	Bangkok	Bangkok	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked
hanging	hanging	hanging	hanging		(nominal)
1 vote	1 vote	1 vote	2 votes		
Accidental	Accidental	Accidental	Accidental	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked
Napalm	Napalm	Napalm	Napalm		(nominal)
2 votes XX	1 vote X	1 vote X	1 vote X		
Ali Hussein		Ali Hussein	Ali Hussein	XXXX X(5)	Not ranked
Pulled from		Pulled from	Pulled from		(nominal)
Baghdad		Baghdad	Baghdad		
rubble		rubble	rubble		
1 vote X		1 vote	3 votes X		
U.S. soldier			U.S. soldier	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked
cradling dying			cradling dying		(nominal)
girl in Mosul			baby		
3 votes XXX			2 votes XX		

Expert Males	Expert Females	Non-expert Males	Non-Expert Females	Total Image Tally	Quantitative Survey Grand Means Ordinal Ranking
Haitian Dad embracing drowned daughter 1 vote 1 vote X		Haitian Dad embracing drowned daughter 1 vote X	Haitian Dad embracing drowned daughter 2 votes XX	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked
	Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery 1 vote X	Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery 1 vote X	Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery 1 vote X	XXX (3)	15
		"Pictures of injured or dying kids" (G2Images1-6) 1 vote X	Pictures of injured or dying kids" (G2Images 1-6) 2 votes XX	XXX (3)	Not ranked
"Jumpers" World Trade Center			"Jumpers" World Trade Center	XXX (3)	Not ranked

1 vote		1 vote X 1 vote X ('The falling man,' R Drew)	
Grieving	Grieving	XX (2)	8
Widow by	Widow by		
Graveside X	Grave side X		
"Anything by Nachtwey" (G3Image6) 1 vote X		X (1)	1
	Sept. 11 Mashattan strest G3IM10 1 vote X	X (1)	3
Abu Ghraib 'hooded' torture victim (1 vote)		X (1)	5
	Iranian Firefight G1Image 4 1 vote	X (1)	16

Experts Males	Expert Females	Non-expert Males	Non-Expert Females	Total Image Tally	Quantitative Survey Grand Means Ordinal Ranking
			Little girl on stretcher with eyes open	X (1)	Not ranked
			Russian teens hanged by Nazis	X (1)	Not ranked
			Incinerated Iraqi man	X (1)	4
			Photos of Hatu (did not specify which one)	X (1)	Not ranked
		Vietnam demonstrators		X (1)	21
		1 vote X			
			Nazi Shooting	X (1)	Not ranked

	Execution			
	Gold			
		1 vote	X	
Lincoln's	Lincoln's		X (1)	13
Memorial	Memorial			
View of March	View of March			
on Washington	on Washington			
1 vote	X vote	1 vote	X	
	Firefighter and		X (1)	7
	child			
		1 vote		
Liberian			X (1)	Not ranked
Street				
Shooting				
1 vote	X			

Figure 102: *Brutality in Bangkok*. 1977. Photo by Neal Ulevich. APhttp://farm5.static.fl ickr.com/4146/500012 0044_bf0db2d9ff.jpg

The most obvious difference in this list is the discrepancy between “most often mentioned” (i.e., “votes” counted in the chart) during interviews and the aggregate means rankings of the images in the quantitative portion, Part 1. Apparently, September 11th did not fare well as a first-mention, but several iconic and top rated images (see nominal chart) in Part 1 did, including the Bangkok hanging, which was favored overwhelmingly by 63% of the professionals and 75% of the students as *most haunting* in group IV

(Abomination). The Bangkok hanging also earned 70% of the vote from professionals for inspiring “greatest emotional response,” (fear, pity, empathy, disgust); students exceeded 75% on the emotional response question. So the correspondence between both survey parts for these images was strong. Faring just as well in the interviews were Karim Kadim’s April 2008 AP image of the smothered Ali Hussein pulled from the Baghdad rubble along with Michael Yon’s superb photograph of an American soldier cradling a Mosul child who died in his arms after an Iraqi car bomb attack on a US patrol (according to Yon, the 2005 photo was voted *Time* magazine’s Photo of the Year by viewer poll).⁵⁹ Patrick Farrell’s rendering of Franz Samedi embracing his drowned daughter, Tamesha Jean (part of his 2009 Pulitzer Prize Haitian sequence), also received top mentions in the survey.

⁵⁹ Yon, an independent war photographer, described the scene on his website, <http://www.michaelyon-online.com/little-girl.htm> as follows: Mosul. Major Mark Bieger found this little girl after the car bomb that attacked our guys while kids were crowding around. The soldiers here have been angry and sad for two days. They are angry because the terrorists could just as easily have waited a block or two and attacked the patrol away from the kids. Instead, the suicide bomber drove his car and hit the Stryker when about twenty children were jumping up and down and waving at the soldiers. Major Bieger, I had seen him help rescue some of our guys a week earlier during another big attack, took some of our soldiers and rushed this little girl to our hospital. He wanted her to [have American surgeons] and not to go to the Iraqi hospital. She didn’t make it. I snapped this picture when Major Bieger ran to take her away. He kept stopping to talk with her and hug her.” The reaction to my photo of Major Bieger cradling Farah, the little girl who died in his arms, provoked a flood of messages and heartfelt responses from caring people around the world. I have spent the last several days trying to read every message, and respond to as many as possible, but the flow has finally outpaced me, much as the swiftness of a river will finally defeat even the most determined swimmer. <http://www.michaelyon-online.com/little-girl.htm>. Retrieved November 6 2010.

5.5 Role of Traumatic Memory in Non-Expert Recall

What unites all these images as memory “markers?” With the exception of MLK in an uncharacteristically satisfied, triumphant moment, along with the two Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery, all the other images highlight the presence of children (and, in a few cases, young adults) facing *pitiabile death*. In the top images, pitiable death is a “this has been” witnessing experience [e.g., Bangkok photo] or an “about to be,” such as “Death of a Vietcong Terrorist.” The students’ responses to these images—and the first question, which image(s) do you remember and why?—were visceral.

“It was the hanging in Thailand. MLK was the most obvious, and everybody knows that speech...although honestly I don’t know if I’ve seen that photo before. But the one in Thailand went through me [as a] physical shock: the angle of the neck, and the neck was elongated, the aesthetics of it; it really captured the brutality and I remember the crowd in the background with their apathetic faces; the guy swinging the chair who was really passionate about it...The man who was hanging was really low to the ground.... *As an African-American*, it’s a lynching and it strikes a chord.” – Taylor (broadcast journalism major, freshman).



Figure 103: “Little Girl.” 2005 by Michael Yon. Reprinted with permission.

“The American soldier holding the child and his head was bent toward the child...beautifully shot. With soldiers [their image] is always perfect; they’re always depicted as very strong. But when it comes to emotions, [here is] someone lost to the world... the

soldier's expression [meant] much more to me because he was bending down and breaking down. I don't remember much about the child because the child was dead." --G., economics major, Sri Lanka.⁶⁰

Figure 104: Incinerated Man, Iraq (date unknown)
<http://media.onsugar.com/files/2010/09/36/5/1092/10924820/56/wul45f.jpg>

"The one I definitely remember the best was the man who was burnt in Iraq: his charred figure. It was just such a gruesome, compelling thing that can't help [but] stick in your mind. You usually don't see [that kind of picture] in the newspapers; and I'd never seen this one before. I remember one of the scariest

things was that you could still make out the man's facial expressions—but he was charred. *It was a terrifying view of pain; the cameraman focused on the face....*" --Erin, freshman, journalism.

"One was the Vietcong terrorist, where they're on the street and he was about to execute someone. I'd seen other pictures of Vietnam, but I hadn't seen this exact picture...it was interesting because if *he was not actually shooting, he was about to...it was violence but not blood and gore.*" --Brian J., freshman journalism.

"The one of the father holding up the dead child...I'd seen that one before...that one definitely sticks with me. Also, the soldier holding – you can hardly tell it's a person – [the child] has stripes of blood, and I think Haiti and Katrina were important too; [there's a] black and white picture of the man holding the daughter." --Brian H, senior, journalism.

"As a Vietnam veteran, one of them is totally iconic for me, the little girl running away from the napalm attack. It's a photo never really far from your mind. Just to speak in general, people are going to respond more to images of people who are *experiencing suffering and who are especially helpless*—[for example], *a child*

⁶⁰ Note: In actuality Michael Yon noted that the soldier was *talking* to the child while running to take her to an American hospital; he stopped several times to talk to her and embrace her. "He wanted her to [have] American surgeons and not to go to the Iraqi hospital. She didn't make it. I snapped this picture when Major Bieger ran to take her away. He kept stopping to talk with her and hug her," Yon wrote (2005).

incapable of understanding the context of her suffering. I'm more inclined to respond to the image of a child or an animal because they're less likely to understand why [the situation] isn't happy. It makes them especially vulnerable and blameless." --W., doctoral student, media studies.

"Most of the pictures with *injured or dying kids were memorable* because of the theme; I kind of clumped them together. There was one picture of protests in Iran; a car on fire, people with masks. I liked the pictures because fire adds something cool to a picture. I guess I remember that one *because of my [Iranian] family.*" -- Alan, philosophy major, undergraduate.

"There were two little girls wearing sashes and I forget – one was written in Hebrew, one in English. I really loved that picture...I remember the facial

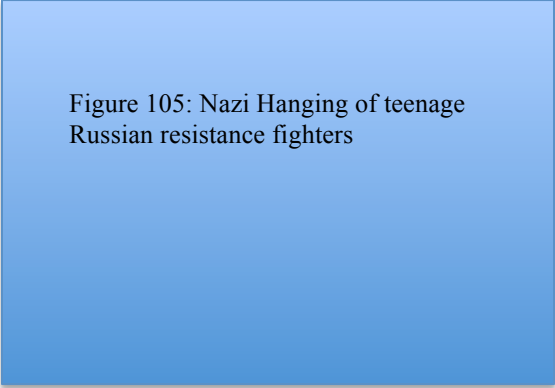


Figure 105: Nazi Hanging of teenage Russian resistance fighters

expressions of the two little girls; they weren't grim, but they had a somber look about and grabbed my attention. Their eyes me a lot. There was a big crowd, and everything was flowing except for them. Another memorable one was the two SS soldiers shooting resistance fighters into a pit. That stuck for me. *I'm Jewish, and both of*

them hit home. I find pictures from the Holocaust and World War II to be particularly disturbing and interesting. " --J. senior, journalism major.

"The two young [Russian] people who were hanged touched me. Their faces—the girl just closed her eyes, and the young man who is about to be hanged didn't show any kind of fear. He was very neutral. It represents me a kind of dignity of the human, even knowing his death is near." --E. doctoral student, Journalism & Public Communication/New media.

The bottom line for impromptu remembrance (which can also be interpreted as “highest salience”) among non-experts appears to be a “trigger”—a *palimpsest event*, and generally a dramatic one of high emotional impact, that either overlays or resembles the image in question. The trigger apparently produces recollections or at least feelings associated with past exposure to events or characters (MLK is an example), some newsworthy, some not, which experimental subjects describe as “real” through direct witnessing or mediated exposure. In essence, an image may trigger feelings associated either with deep familiarity or the reverse—novelty—in effect, a *lack of experience* with a particular event or dilemma communicated through the photograph.

The Sri Lankan student G., for example, explained she had become so accustomed to brutality and war in her native country that a photograph of an American soldier tenderly attending to a dying child immediately struck her. In a similar way, G. also recalled (as a second mention) the Haitian father Franz Samedi photographed by Patrick Farrell. Again, she cited a quality of masculine tenderness she found so elusive in her own culture. “From my background you don’t see the father breaking down; he’s always the strong one, so that image had much more impact for me,” she said. On the other hand, Taylor, an African-American woman, acknowledged that the Iraqi images barely affected her. “I could handle them; there was blood, but I was desensitized.” Yet the Bangkok lynching became a lightning rod for her own sensitivities about racism and senseless, inhumane violence. “It struck a historic chord,” Taylor said. In a similar way, Taylor recollected that she emotionally “bonded with the 9/11 images because I remembered it happening; and I’ve seen the documentaries of people jumping out of the

windows. For me, [an image] doesn't register unless I've actually experienced it [as a real event]; with 9/11, I can remember it...history is more personalized for me."

A graduate student who had been exposed to violent deaths and suicides of former college classmates in South Korea, produced a narrative of remembrance marked by trauma and cultural tragedy. Her first recollection of a memorable image during the interview was the two young Russian resistance fighters hanged by the Nazis. "When I was at university, I read this book that wasn't a novel but was really based on a true story, about a resistance fighter in Germany who was initially a Hitler youth, but converted to resistance and was also hanged. That was in my 20s; although the period [described in the image] was totally different from my college years, the situation was very similar to my college years." She declined to comment further, noting that the untimely deaths of college friends affected her deeply. As a parent, E. also recollected the Haitian photograph of Samedi who "grabbed his daughter" who was lifeless: "It reminds me of a different feeling [than the hangings] because I am a parent," she said. "He cannot help his little daughter; he survived, but his daughter is gone; that is a combination of humiliation as a father—"I couldn't save my little daughter *and I survived.*" In Korea, when parents lose their little ones, the parents say, 'I have to die; why am I alive? I'm ashamed of myself' [to be alive]."

The length and depth of interpretive stories interviewees volunteered about their favorite images *support Hypotheses 7 and 8*, namely that traumatic (momentous) experience reminiscent of a news event, and/or direct exposure to the news event have a powerful impact on recall memory; and that certain very high caliber images related to

trauma or direct exposure produce haunting “loopbacks”—retreads or revisits of the image cognitively and visually (i.e., formation of mental imagery).

- **H7: The viewer’s personal knowledge of the depicted news event and/or a direct exposure to trauma reminiscent of the event will have more impact on the reception (ranking), empathy, and recall of a superlative news image than its aesthetics, composition, or the viewer’s perception of its novelty.**

- **H8: Viewers of either sex will report a ‘haunting’ or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear ‘neutral’ or non-gendered.**

Regarding Hypothesis 8, though, the question of whether people respond more strongly to gendered subject matter when they report “haunting memories” requires further study. Some images, regardless of gendered or non-gendered subject matter, are sufficiently apocalyptic to haunt millions of individuals. September 11th imagery is an example. The current study does confirm that participants tended to produce more complex narratives and verbal descriptions of images they rate very highly.

These “high recall” or “memory images” also capture a moment of drama—generally a climax in a narrative arc of events demonstrating a “this has *just* been” or “this is about to be,” signaling transitional moments (and often uniquely captured frames that are non-repeatable) of public significance. The micro-drama of the face is probably as important as the macro-drama of the scene. Facial expression and body language appear to be the most emotionally expressive to viewers (corpses long dead are not terribly expressive or mobile). The top-rated images also inspire strong verbalized emotion—empathy, sympathy, fear, disgust, and joy. During the interviews, these images

appeared to produce longer, more complex symbolic narratives about their first-recalled photo images, and their stories were embellished throughout the questioning in a series of looping “revisits” [see Table 36]:

Hypothesis 7 and 8 can also be explained by invoking cultural and family background. Many students, for example, cited family, culture, and ethnicity as playing a major role in their ‘first recall’ choices of images. For example, Jewish women chose the Jewish girls demonstrating against child slavery in the 1909 May Day Parade (Group 1, Image 1). An Iranian student recalled the chaotic Iranian firefight. Vietnam veterans chose iconic Vietnam photos, including “Accidental Napalm,” as did an American undeclared undergraduate who had visited Vietnam and volunteered at an orphanage for children of Agent Orange. Several of the male students who described themselves as “children of divorce” clumped together the several images of suffering children; one male student noted he came from a large family and that since “I’m used to being around kids, seeing the one picture with the baby being held up, where you see such a limp body, and you’re not used to seeing a child like that,” deeply affected him. “People who haven’t been around kids wouldn’t be thrown off by the laying out of his body: how his head and legs were completely relaxed. But I have a little nephew exactly that age, and I think my personal belief in my feelings of innocence towards children [gave me] even more sympathy than the average person. My parents were divorced, so I have sympathy for kids who have suffered...[especially] the suffering individual who hasn’t done a bad thing in his life...their innocence cut through to me.”

5.6. Expert Recall

For the experts, Jenna a professional designer, described her choice of MLK as carrying a “a moment of unification, of joy, of hope that was a more positive quality to the emotions” (Jenna M., personal communication, 4/14/10). She continued with a long, non-linear recollection of her learning about MLK and his impact on civil rights in her 20s, long after King’s death, and the effect that his life personally had on her. The positive quality of this image was salient in a sea of negative survey images, she noted. Lona and Dennis, both experienced professional news photographers, also cited the black and white MLK photograph as inspiring the warmest recollections—not haunting, but ebullient. Their narratives were long and aesthetically astute combining commentary from their direct memories of MLK’s life along with critique of his visual representation in photographs. Professionals, especially, had a strong feeling of nostalgia and admiration for this particular image’s nuance and wide-angle perspective. Said Lona:

“I don’t remember whether I had seen that particular image, but I felt I had, and I felt a sense of empathy with it right away. I’d say it resonated for me, I was alive then, and I remember where I was when I heard he had died. I was already into the picture as soon as I saw it.”

Said Dennis: “I don’t remember seeing this image of MLK before, but this one really struck me. MLK is [standing before] a sea of people, but they’re not individuals anymore. They are so far off that the people practically create a texture that he stands out against. It was beautifully composed and a simple composition; a really powerful famous

moment, and captured very well, and the expression on his face. He was surveying rather than attacking.”

Lona further linked the MLK image to great photography, which she characterized as the clarity and completeness of an image narrative: “A great photo has to tell enough of the story [so viewers] can understand what is going on,” she said. “Some of the photos [in the survey] did not carry the story. When I was a photographer, I was always hoping that the photo we took at that time, at that place, would be that historic, iconic image. That’s why you go under things [as a photographer]. As a viewer, that’s what I respond to—the facial expressions, body postures.”

5.7 Non-Expert’s Recall of Haunting Images and Déjà Vu

Among non-experts, C., an adult graduate student coordinator, described the MLK image as “haunting.” “I remember quite clearly, with him standing at the Mall, with people around him, and the Washington monument behind him; it’s such an iconic photo, it captures citizenship and statesmanship. It’s breathtaking.” C. also mentioned the Richard Drew “Falling Man” from September 11 as haunting, too, and virtually in the same breath. “The photos are almost polarized in what they’re setting out to do and what they capture,” she said. “The man falling is the most abject of all the images; the MLK was the most triumphant, capturing the most exemplary of humanity....I remember the photo of *The Falling Man*; it turned my stomach, it made me feel ill. [I thought] I shouldn’t be looking at the pictures anymore, but it transported me to that day.... the story that needs to be told.”

The MLK image, though triumphant, C. said, stimulated a feeling of déjà vu, even though (as mentioned earlier) she could not place exactly where she had seen the image before, a recurring phenomenon among all the study subjects who recollected (and raved) about the photo. C. was not alive when MLK died. Yet the image, she suggested, was strangely familiar, as though she had witnessed *him* instead of a photograph that had appeared randomly, without a published photographer's name attached to it. "You look at it and say 'I've seen this before somewhere, and it's indescribable to you. I know I've seen that photo, but I can't put my finger on it. It's a disorientation. *Accidental* Napalm is the same way. It's a feeling of me being disturbed by how I can't quite place my connection to it."

Disorientation may in fact occur during repeated mental "visitations" following the trigger stimulus of an exceptionally affecting photograph. Whether or not an interview subject is able to recollect exactly the origin of exposure to a particular image, the kinesthetic-emotional experience associated with it may be sufficiently strong to sustain the *feeling* that the subject has seen the exact same image before, whether or not he/she did. The repeated testimony regarding the King image—"can't exactly remember where I saw it, but I know I saw it"—strongly suggests that exposure to a great image, given strong contextual background, will become embedded in sense memory almost immediately. When the image is embraced and processed, it may become conflated with feelings of timelessness even when the image is witnessed, in actuality, for the first time.

This phenomenon may in fact describe the feeling of *being* haunted/disoriented/ or experiencing déjà vu through an image. In effect, the image becomes a welcome (or unwelcome) visitor in the mental projection booth. Wendy H., a professional designer

and photo editor, instantly recollected a series of horror photographs which she had seen numerous times: “The young naked girl from Vietnam (Nick Ut), the [Bangkok] lynching one, the black and white one of the guy with the chair, and 9/11, that picture of the guy falling next to the skyscraper.” Wendy recollected her physical sensation of witnessing September 11th bodies falling from skyscrapers—a media-induced memory that was more potent any single image. “When it happened, I couldn’t look at it. There was video that went around, and when it got to that part of people falling from the skyscrapers, I had to close my eyes. I *still* have to close my eyes. It’s not the artistry or lack of artistry, it’s what it’s depicting... man’s inhumanity to man.”

Table 36: Experts: Selected Commentary, Questions 1-7

Q1 and Expert Response	Q2	Q3	Q4
<i>Question #1 Which image and why?</i>	<i>Question #2: What exactly do you remember? Describe.</i>	<i>Question #3: How close or ‘bonded’ do you feel to the image? Did you visualize more than was actually seen there?</i>	<i>Question #4: Was the image powerful or beautiful to you in any way?</i>
Jenna, prof. Designer: Chose MLK for “a moment of unification, of joy, of hope....a positive emotional quality....”	“The crowd was very small...I don’t think I could distinguish anyone in the crowd because the faces were too	“Yes, I’ve had that experience [of being bonded]; I don’t know if I can isolate it...they would be black and white images, not color.”	“The MLK image was black and white...for some reason, black and white images convey more emotion to me; sometimes my mind is

	<p>small...”</p> <p>MLK had a tremendous look of satisfaction on his face...</p>		<p><i>distracted by color; with b/w I get to the heart of the photo quicker...even of it's blurry or grainy.”</i></p>
<p>Jen F., professional newspaper photographer:</p> <p>Chose: “Two girls with the sashes protesting child slavery.”</p> <p>Unusual subject matter...I suppose it was child labor for low wages.” [The reason for recalling an image] “has more to do with the viewer and the viewer’s background and the image itself...because I have Jewish background. They looked like they might have been members of our family...you can identify yourself in that image.”</p>	<p>“The expressions on their faces...I felt they looked a lot older. I thought they were ten or eleven; they speak to me too; I would have wanted to know more about them. I remember two girls wearing dresses with sashes. One of the sashes on the right was in Hebrew; the sash on the left was in English; their hair was tied back; they were surrounded by adults...that were ringing them.”</p>	<p>“There were a couple of images that I did sort of invent some stories about...the one of the Nazi soldiers killing someone over a grave and the young kids who were hanged....[the fact that I got involved in it] because of the callousness of it; it was shocking to me of people so callously disposing of other human life.” The African guy...he looked angry.”</p>	<p><i>“The Haiti one [didn’t specify] probably would be the most beautiful...but I also loved the Vietnam street execution... The photographer knew it was coming and couldn’t believe it was coming. He thought the general was a good guy until it happened.”</i></p>

<p>Wendy H., art director, designer: The iconic image of the girl from Vietnam, a child obviously in fear and naked from 25 to 30 years ago. The second was the black and white one of the lynching [in Bangkok]. The third was the guy falling next to the skyscraper. When it happened, I had to close my eyes....I still have to close my eyes right now. It's not the artistry or lack of artistry, it's what it's depicting."</p>	<p>"The lynching one...there's a guy hanging from a tree, and there are a bunch of Vietnamese men standing around almost laughing, and there's a guy with the chair hitting him, with trees on the right hand side and the guy hitting him on the left."</p>	<p>2) "I probably ['bonded'] to the ones involving the children...probably the little Iraqi girl, the GI with the child...I think that I have had kids and raised them, and know how little they're able to protect themselves when they are so young. I don't really visualize more than is actually seen."</p>	<p>3) The one with the GI holding the little Iraqi child...I think <i>because of the composition, you don't need a caption to know what's going on. It tells the story. it's a tender kind of moment...it doesn't matter that it was an Iraqi...the photo would not be better if you could see the GI's face...It pulls the reader or viewer in...it leaves something to your imagination. There's enough in it that it isn't explicit...That's what separates</i></p>
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			<p><i>reporting from art...I think what separates art from reportage is that the viewer is required to supply something whereas in reportage you just have to look, and everything is supplied to you ...”</i></p>
<p>Dennis C. Professional News photographer: Chose MLK. I don't remember seeing that one before, seeing people out on the mall... I imagine that's a fairly [typical] image of the day...that one really struck me. "It was beautifully composed, simple composition; it's a</p>	<p>"One with Martin Luther King, [I saw that sea of people; they're not individuals anymore. They are so far off [in the distance] that the people practically create this texture he stands out against."</p>	<p>"The ones that stand out and are really powerful for me; they have to catch me with something the first time; they have to have enough impact that it stops me from turning the page the first time; or on the second time, I see something new. If I see an image Monday morning, but Friday I still recall it...I</p>	<p>1. Martin Luther King is so close to being the normal shot, but the subtle differences make it wonderful; the one of the cemetery has that emotional power, but it doesn't have the emotional power</p>

<p>really powerful famous moment, and captures very well the expression on his face.”</p>			<p>and the subtleties that the King photo had; it struck me as beautiful; it was a quiet reflective moment in definitely what wasn't a reflective day; it was fresh...</p>
<p>Patrick F., News photographer: Bangkok hanging: “ I can remember the Bangkok photo...smashing [a chair] over the head...the joy of the faces; it was just horrifying to me. Anything from 9/11. There were three or four similar images; and any photo by James Nachtwey (Group #3Image 6)</p>	<p>In the 9/11 photo sequence (group 3) , there were different views of one falling body; it was the language on the body and the juxtaposition of the building. It was one of those lasting images. It would stand the test of time more than anything else.”</p>	<p>When I had children, I became a different person...I understood the responsibility of children. As a person with a camera...for years I'd go abroad., and we'd slowly go from place to place and never spent time in one place, and I felt I wouldn't need to bring back ID's. I had an editor that once told me. ‘It would be nice if you had gotten the name of this person or that person.’</p>	<p>Frantz Samedi...he was raising that child for a sister; he was raising that child...he said this is our baby, I left there knowing this man had raised his child; it was hard for me to control myself half an hour as a computer in the park</p>

		<p>Since then the process of going to Haiti and central America and Guatemala [changed my perspective.]</p> <p>In Haiti, I liked Frantz Samedi and his daughter...I think about that [incident] all the time...that father's despair..."If I ever lost one of my children, I don't know how I would handle it."</p>	
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Expert	Q 5	Q6	Q7
Jenna – professional designer	<p>Question #5</p> <p>Does your long familiarity to any of these images make you more sensitive, or less sensitive to the photo subject?)</p> <p>"I'd say images tend to gain power through time; some, and there are probably a ton of photos of the Japanese</p>	<p>Question #6</p> <p>How powerful is this image in helping you feel you witnessed the event?</p> <p>"Witnessing...there was an image of someone getting assassinated, with the bullet going through his head: My mind tends to shut off when I'm</p>	<p>Question #7</p> <p>Can you tell me what distinguishes a high vs. middle vs. a low quality news photograph?</p> <p>High quality: "The cameramen have to put themselves right into the scene of the subject or subjects; they don't stay on the outside but go in;</p>

	<p>intern camps...[but only a few] withstand the time; and they become more powerful with time. Now we see images of Iraq and Afghanistan...a lot of those images in 50 years time will be weeded out.”</p>	<p>feeling a part of it in a negative way.”</p>	<p>you have to keep the objectivity, but you have to get close to the subject to get the story.”</p> <p>Poor photo: “The poor photo is not so well composed; it’s taken on the fly; they just didn’t put enough effort into getting the right moment...didn’t spend enough time in the scene to understand what was going on.”</p>
<p>Jen F. Professional news photographer</p>	<p>“The guys hanged on the bridge at Fallujah...that image impacted me, but I think it was immediate. If the image were old, I would think that was something that used to happen.”</p>	<p>“The Fallujah bridge photo...the guy with the super intense expression on the lower left of the Fallujah photo...the camera angle made you feel as though you were there...as for Vietnam [Eddie Adams’]...part of the narrative power of</p>	<p>“What elevates a photo from average to extraordinary...good composition, sense of the moment (this moment is important for a particular reason)...interesting subject matter, use of color...All these things are one time.”</p>

		<p>the Vietcong street execution...[is] because you're [seeing it] head on.</p>	
<p>Wendy H. professional graphic designer</p>	<p>"Time is a factor in response...The Haiti [earthquake] images wouldn't be as salient if it were 20 years earlier; to me it's a matter of context; to me it's the current context—you want information about what's happening in the world right now; the historical context is one where the passage of time has given weight to photographs of certain people because they had historical impact; that would be like the Martin Luther King photos; the one of him on the Washington Mall. If you didn't</p>	<p>"I think I can't get rid of a sense of separation from the actual event...to me it's a depiction, a moment caught in time, but I'm very aware that I was not there...that creates an automatic separation for me...I find video more compelling than news photographs..."</p>	<p>"To be an effective news photographer, it has to grab the attention of the readers, whether it's through color, strong composition, or strong darks and lights. The story in the photo has to be clear enough that if it's not self-explanatory, it's intriguing enough to make the reader stop and read the caption."</p>

	<p>know that was Martin Luther King, that picture [wouldn't have as much impact.]”</p>		
Dennis C.	<p>“I think timeliness is pretty important for news, but what I'm looking for in images are those that go beyond that so that 20 years from now they're still important; they still have this emotional impact on people [even with] the passing of time.”</p>	<p>“I think if the photographer manages to make me feel I'm there, then they really did a good job...I'll tell you one that shocked me...the hanging of two children from World War II, it grabbed my attention; there was another hanging shot from Bangkok; I'd seen that lots of times, but that other one of the two young people and the German soldier preparing a rope...that was way beyond...because you have different expression; one she's probably dead, and the German concentrating on the rope; and the boy; I felt I was</p>	<p>Middling photographs capture nice moments. They may have texture and unity; the mundane ones are lacking in those aesthetics; they might illustrate a point; they showed what the event looked like. “a great photo creates narrative in the viewer that may be different from the facts of the photo; you want to engage people [above all else.]</p>

		there practically there	
Patrick F.	<p>“I think the historical power vs. [the power of a] recent shot depends on the image; there will be some images that were great moments that year, but maybe a couple of years down the road, [the photo will just be a moment.]. All the people standing on the wings of the plane on the Hudson River, for example, I thought that was hands down was going to win the Pulitzer last year...but I don’t think it will be as powerful 20 years from now.”</p>	<p>“I was haunted by the one where the guy was swinging [the chair] at [the corpse]. The people were laughing...people cheering an event like that. ‘I’m probably haunted more by stuff I’ve experienced. The Nick Ut picture of the girl running from the napalm. You can say ‘napalm’ and that’s what I think of...you say “war” in the 60s or 70s; that’s what I think of...”</p>	<p>Composition and exposure lead to quality...if the photographer is able to capture that image [for example] of a burning building [with a fireman and a baby], and you understand exactly what is going on...[the photo will work]. Like the Bangkok picture; without the crowd it would tend to be a gratuitous photo (a poor one). You get the feeling in this situation that the photographer intruded [and that made it a good photo].”</p>

5.8 Questions of Beauty, Witnessing, and Timelessness

The last four questions of the qualitative survey confirmed common wisdom.

Those questions pertained to the subject’s perception of beauty of particular photographs,

the temporal “power” of the image (whether the photo seemed more powerful after many exposures over time or just one or two more recently); whether the photo actually replicated the experience of witnessing the event (the testimonies above suggest this is true for some photographs), and whether subject’s emotional engagement in what was ranked as a “superb” or extraordinary news photograph differed from an average or poor one:

4. Is the photo powerful or beautiful in any way to you?
5. Does your long familiarity to any of these images make you more sensitive, or less sensitive to the photo subject?
6. How powerful is this image in helping you feel you witnessed the event?
7. Can you tell me what distinguishes a high vs. middle vs. a low quality news photograph? [Some of the criteria that both visual experts and non-experts came up with has been discussed in Methodology]

5.8.1 Question 4: Views of a “Terrible Beauty”

The non-experts’ view of beauty recognized the coexistence in the news photograph of negative content, aesthetic force, and fierce emotional power. The oxymoron, “terrible beauty” was not foreign to any of them. For example, C., the graduate coordinator, described photographs like Yon’s “Little Girl” or Nick Ut’s “Accidental Napalm” as “terrible in its beauty...feeling the tangible suffering of war.” Taylor, an undergraduate broad journalism major and French minor, identified the “Iraqi girl in the hospital” (Group2, Image1) as beautiful because, “I’m really drawn to eyes in

art.” Children’s suffering eyes, she continued, were more tangibly beautiful to her than images of the dead, a sentiment shared by several other students. While Catherine F., an Italian journalism major, described the “soldier carrying the child” as “impactful,” it was the black and white image of MLK looking at the crowd that inspired her, as it inspired Jenna, the professional designer, to describe an exceptional story in synesthetic terms. “The black and white is more beautiful [because] it reminds me to go back into history,” Catherine recalled. “I remember that when I saw it [the MLK image], I also remembered *listening to his speech* about the dream, [as though] *he were talking* to the crowd again. I recalled the way he spoke, speaking every sentence, the way he repeated the phrase, ‘Free at last, free at last, Thank God I’m free at last!’”

Sarah, who initially replied that Eddie Adams’ “Death of a Vietcong Terrorist” and September 11th photos were both memorable and haunting (“Haunting is a good word; these are images that stay with you. They made me sad for days after I did your survey”), chose the James Atherton photo of Lincoln’s “view” of the March on Washington as most beautiful (a choice made by a few of the other students). “It was beautifully composed, the angle was unique [and] I’m a total history dork,” she said. Sarah also described the fine line between beauty and empathetic engagement in photo narratives, allowing her mentally to “finish” the photo story, completing the trajectory of action no matter how terrible:

“When an image compels you, you become so involved that you almost need to piece the rest of the story together. For example, the Eddie Adams’ image: I see the Vietcong man shot and falling into the street. For September 11 and the “jumpers,” I see

them hitting the ground. You finish the [action], they're action shots, and it's easier [mentally] to go forward from your starting point than to go backward.”

Julie, another student, described the image of the fireman trying to resuscitate the baby (Group5, Image4) as “beautiful” because of the subject matter. “There was so much caring in one photo; I saw that coming through in the picture. It was more than the firefighter getting his job done. It was the expression, the split-second capture of action.”

Brian, another student, described the superlatively beautiful news photo as beyond “aesthetically pleasing and prototypical. It also captures an emotion at a pivotal time.”

The experts, as well, focused on pivotal moments and a “no caption needed” quality to some of the best photos. But many of their comments focused on aesthetic achievements, the direct connect to a “universal”/viscerally felt archetype; and the camera as an “implausibility” engine capturing the non-repeatable moment.

An example: Jen F., the photographer for the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, described Patrick Farrell’s image of Franz Samedi holding his drowned daughter as both aesthetically beautiful and timeless. “I remember that the bodies looked sculptural and reminded me of a Renaissance era painting, [especially seeing] the grief on the father’s face. The grief was universal. It seemed that the body language transcended that particular event; the people’s expressions and body language would have been the same no matter what [grieving] event it was.” At the same time, Jen F. embraced the Eddie Adams’ photo for its serendipitous capture of a primeval moment. “I saw Adams speak about it: he knew it was coming but couldn’t believe it would happen. Before that he thought General Loan was a good guy.” *Chicago Tribune*’s Torry Bruno cited James Nachtwey’s series of *Inferno* (1999) war crime images as “absolutely beautiful,” along

with his display of dead bodies that were “absolutely peaceful.” And Bruno described several of the best “memory images” (his term) as expressing haunting and archetypal qualities:

“The soldier holding the baby bleeding to death was a haunting one. The faces and circumstances haunt you...it keeps on coming back. The man incinerated in Iraq...human mutilation adds to the haunting...any of these acts emphasize man’s inhumanity to man. Any of those are haunting to me, when you see people mutilated by others and killed—these are seriously haunting—but it depends on how well it’s shot.”

Bruno describes the great photo in the same terms that Henri Cartier-Bresson described it: capturing the *decisive moment*. He believes the photo is the trigger for memory.

“I agree that there are qualities you can’t explain,” he said. “Photographs trigger something [and] there’s also a deep archive [of images] genetically. I would think that all of our reactions are not necessarily from our intellect, but they are more visceral than that. Photos are very good at bringing that out.”

Wendy H. and Dennis C., both professional visual artists, pointed to the importance of *active viewer dialogue* with the photo and its quality of implicit narrative extending beyond the frame.

“The one with the GI holding the little Iraqi child [was beautiful],” Wendy H. said. “I think because of the composition, you don’t need a caption to know what’s going on. It tells the story. It’s a tender kind of moment. The photo would not be better if you could see the GI’s face. *The image [without the face] pulls the viewer in; it leaves something to your imagination.* There’s enough in it that it isn’t explicit. That’s what

separates reporting from art...I think what separates art from reportage is that the viewer is required to supply something whereas in reportage you just have to look, and everything is supplied to you..."

By the same token, Dennis C. described that beautiful photo as communicating at level beyond the facts:

"Middling photographs capture nice moments," he said. "They may have texture and unity; the mundane ones are lacking in these aesthetics; they might illustrate a point. They show what the event looked like. But a great photo creates narrative in the viewer that may be different from the facts of the photo. It must engage the viewer."

5.8.2 Questions 5, 6, 7

Both experts and non-experts repeatedly cited the *sensation* of witnessing the event through the great photograph (question 5). There were few differences in gender response to this question; virtually everyone agreed that a great image enables viewers to suspend display and feel they are *present* at the scene. By the same token, the interviewees' criteria for great vs. middling (average or prototypical) vs. low quality photos were quite similar across genders and expertise in the qualitative survey. Aside from mentioning technical aspects of photographic achievement (lighting, framing, cropping, capturing action, mood, facial expression, etc.), students hungered for a news photo that was "real" as a baseline. As G. A., an economics sophomore from Sri Lanka, put it, "High quality photos are realistic: it's a *real* thing that happened, it's not put on or Photoshopped," a sentiment expressed throughout the student interviews. Experts like Steve R., a professional nature photographer and biologist, cited "emotional beauty" and

surprise (a rough equivalent to novelty) as especially important. For him, even the Vietnamese demonstration photo (Group1, Image 2) showed surprise in the evocation of the man on crutches and the black man. “I [initially] downplayed the image as tritish (sic) and hippish,” he said. “But...the guy on the right with crutches and the black man were the surprise of the picture. And the various lines of the picture are drawn, as I point out in my photo class, to draw you into the middle of the image from the edge.”

To the experts, the great photo produces interior narrative and/or monologue and also drops viewer directly *inside* the scene (“Photographers at *The New York Times* don’t stay outside the subject or subjects but go in...they have to keep their objectivity yet get close to the subject of the story,” said Jenna M.) Lona O., a long-time newspaper photographer for *The Palm Beach Post* and *The Detroit Free Press*, described the classic documentary photograph as “having a sense of the referent driving the impact,” as opposed to the photo’s overt artistry. “Then in the case of Diane Arbus, for example, the image takes on lives of its own.” But the news photo is a referential experience the experts agreed. The importance of authenticity over aesthetics or composition cannot be emphasized enough. Witness the recent “shock” photos of Abu Ghraib and Neda (the Iranian woman shot during the June 2009 elections). These images became famous worldwide, said Marty K., a long-time Detroit Free Press journalist and arts critic. But they were blurry and taken serendipitously by amateurs with digital cameras or cell phones:

“I think the high-performance shot has to act like a headline,” MK said. “I said this in my classes: a good headline draws you into the story. A great headline saves you the trouble entirely. These pictures are like great headlines. You don’t have to know a

whole lot of the story. However, the exception is that Abu Ghraib picture that doesn't communicate immediately that someone has been mistreated, but given the context, it does assume the headline quality; and it's an example of a great picture"⁶¹

Context, shocking effect, timelessness, witness: these elements are tied to the great news photograph. At the same time, experts agree that a middling picture is principally expository and "gets something of the story across" (Bruno), although not enough to communicate across long periods of time. A 'middling' or 'average' news shot may inspire interest in view of the currency of the event; it may be more than adequate technically, but does not inspire interior contemplation, narration, or strong emotion. Stanton P, a news photographer and doctoral student, described photojournalism as a "science and art," he said, but with strong gradations to the art. "With the science you can control the image and get it 100 percent right: a few of the photos in the survey didn't have that, like the Iranian protest which was crooked and blurry vs. the soldier and baby that was sharp and clear and had lots of megapixels," he said. "But when you move into the art of photojournalism, there is no right and wrong....the average photo hits the science part, it's got the basics and reports the news of the day; it's a visual headline or a visual lead paragraph, but doesn't go beyond that. The exceptional photo goes way beyond, while the poor photo doesn't quite live up to the science part."

Students struggled more with definitions of middling and poor photos.⁶² Many agreed that middling photos were acceptable but forgettable because there is nothing

⁶¹ Other critics might argue that there has to be a distinction between a photo whose impact is derived simply from the information it supplies and one that achieves the archetypal criteria discussed in previous chapters. Abu Ghraib's torture photos, in particular, have forced critics to examine the various factors that contribute to headline character. Obviously an amateurish shot of a torture scene depicting scandalous mistreatment, couched in a "mock-Gothic form" that might remind one of a twisted Inquisition torture scene, can "do the trick" and become iconic if it graphically exposes a level of US government hypocrisy in a way that has not quite been illustrated before (Brown, personal communication, December 3, 2010).

particularly unique or novel about them. “I’m not a journalism major or a photographer, but I imagine that a middling or poor photograph shows something more common, like taking a picture of a sign,” Katrina said. “A poor picture doesn’t have any taste; it can be really vulgar or disgusting.” Most students, though, agreed with experts that poor photos don’t even illustrate a story. They often contain such confusing content that readers/viewers don’t understand what they’re looking at. Alternately, the content is banal that the photo image seems gratuitous. “A great photo is something that strikes you emotionally, like the images of the suffering children in the survey,” said Catherine. “The picture has something new or innovative.... by contrast, ‘a middling picture like many of the pictures of 9/11 had nothing special to them. I know there was a tragedy, but the images were not particularly affecting to me. Bad quality is when you see the image [and know there’s a tragedy] and just forget about them.”

The one exceptional difference between experts and non-experts in Part II was their perception of our photosensitivity over time. Students, in the main (there were exceptions), said that images are more powerful if they are current and “lived through.” The student data support Hypothesis 6, namely that direct exposure/proximity to a news event in place and time increases interest and engagement in the image of the event. Older, historical images did not have the same traction as those experienced in a living context. Further, repeated exposures did not seem attractive to the students. “I would

⁶² Comments on the question, “Can you tell me what distinguishes a high vs. middle vs. a low quality news photograph?” inspired generic explanations, especially among students. Many of the comments alluded to tepid levels of viewer involvement, newsworthiness, and clichéd depictions. The interviewees offered very few specific descriptions of the less well-rated (aka “mediocre”) photographs seen in the survey, which again, supports the idea that mediocre is forgettable and hence unarrayed with symbolic interpretations or “triggers” that produce recollections of the past. [However, as a point of methodology, I did not probe interviewees’ responses specifically to photographs rated prototypical or routine in Part I, the most relevant evidence to show qualitative response to these images was not from the interviews, but the ad hoc Comments that were recorded in the Survey Part I.]

become desensitized to the images that are older,” said G. “You’d grow out of them, it’s not the same seeing the image day in and day out.” Catherine agreed. “If you see an image several times, and keep on seeing it again and again, it gets less powerful,” an observation that photo critic Susan Sontag also made. Shannon, a student and office coordinator, noted that even some famous historical images do not hold any magnetism for her. “There are some I can’t relate to, like the World War II ones. But since I’ve lived through 9/11, and the Berlin Wall, historically, I believe these images will have an effect on me, even when they become historical.” Brian, a journalism student, noted that the image of an event “as it becomes history, fades in effect. But it’s always there. If you look at the pictures, the events come back to you.”

Whether the reason is life experience or affection for the past, professionals tended to look more favorably on the power of images to register emotionally over time. “The power would depend on the actual photo,” said Jenna, “but I’d say [great] images tend to gain power through time; for example, there were probably a ton of photos of the Japanese-American internment camps, but there are a few that withstand [the test of] time...A lot of images of Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, 50 years from now will be weeded out. In 50 years time we’ll have more perspective on those events.” “The really good photos keep coming at you; and doesn’t necessarily diminish over time,” agreed Torry Bruno. “The more symbolic they are, the more they last; you may tire of a simple image faster.”

Virtually all the experts agree that superb images of events will resonate long after the events are over. “It depends on the size of the historic event,” said Martin F, the

arts critic and reporter. “Those pictures will always resonate, whether today or fifty years from now...the referent is more important than the image,” he claimed.

“I think if the photographer manages to make me feel I’m there, he or she has really done a good job,” said Dennis C. “In news, timeliness is pretty important. But what I’m looking for in images are those that go beyond that so that 20 years from now they’re still important; they still have this emotional impact on people. If the photos that hit both emotions (intense qualities of timeliness and witnessing), they’re going to have strength later.” (This claim could be tested.)

The paradox that experts like Dennis C. identify, of course, is that timeliness and timelessness can be closely related. Superb images go beyond currency to historicity. Direct exposure becomes a piece with personal and collective memory. Content—reference—in photojournalism imagery becomes “king.” But just as important is the utter uniqueness and “non-repeatability” of an archetypal moment in the narrative arc. As time passes, current generations will neither recollect nor emote over the vast majority of still photographs from World War II, even the “great ones.” Generations yet to be born may feel nothing about Abu Ghraib, although they may recoil or experience pity and fear on seeing the shattered face of Neda in the now-famous cell phone photograph.

Therefore, while H6 cannot be definitively supported in this study, the data suggest that distance in time does in fact lower emotional sensitivity, even to the archetypal photograph:

- **H6: Temporal proximity to the depicted event in a new photograph heightens viewers’ perception and emotional sensitivity toward the image as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.**

5.9 Why News Photos Count

The most important direct conclusion from the qualitative portion of this research is that still news photographs perform the vital function of *stimulating interest* in the outside world; photographs are not simply “dramatic performances” intended to control crowds or stimulate patriotic emotions (these are often cited as important functions of iconic photographs). Indeed, the most significant legacy of news photo archetypes may not be emotion at all, but the ability to trigger cognitive attention, reflection, and thinking—*how and why*—in viewers of any age, gender, visual background and culture in which they live.

If the photograph confers awareness—for example, if its capture allows a viewer to become immediately aware of a threat or to understand the implications of a predicament that happens to others—then the photograph itself has social value. If the photograph encapsulates forcefully a predicament or situation that triggers enlightenment, then the viewer has the additional opportunity to *explore* an idea not just through visual stimulus, but through feeling, imaginative projection, and memory.

I will explore Hypothesis 10, the prediction of *archetypes of content and predicament*, in the final chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1. Fault lines and Fractures in the American Iconic Canon

This foundational study has produced a granular, “bottom up” examination of aesthetic, narrative, audience, and content factors affecting the perception and memory of powerful news photographs. Many of these photos, by content and emotional inflection, fall outside the American iconic “canon” identified by the authors Robert Hariman & John Louis Lucaites (2007), among many other media critics strongly influenced by social constructionism.

The aggregate results of this study strongly suggest that superb news images, whether iconic or archetypal according to the definitions and proofs I have laid out, elicit far more complex, variegated responses among viewers than a top-down approach theorizes. The notion of the “collective we,” even “collective memory,” demands further study. The abstract conceptualization of an American mainstream and even an “iconic” mainstream receiving pictorial ideas that “drive” public opinion and concepts of civic participation and attitude has been deconstructed in this study through active viewer research, both quantitative and qualitative. These viewers – male and female, visual experts and non-experts, and, in many cases, viewers with different racial backgrounds and ethnicities – produced a rich, diverse fabric of narrative responses to the images in question. Their candid interviews cast doubt on a strictly social constructionist view that photographic icons represent the “zenith” of liberal-democratic photojournalistic communication, or that such icons construct a “main wave” of societal response by inscribing hegemonic power relationships and openings for participation defining what it means to be a citizen.

Instead, the four study groups I examined (n=113) converged and ranked as “best” many offbeat (but very powerful) news photographs that told alternative stories. Prompted by recollections of these photos, survey participants recognized and told their own stories of trauma and personal exposure to war, violence, and even political suicides of classmates that were related, in their minds, to the depicted events in particular images. Interviewees also told stories about witnessing public news events both exhilarating and horrific, expressing shock, surprise, disgust, fascination, aesthetic pleasure, pain, and strong empathy for the most abject photo subjects in the survey images, especially children. Virtually every visual non-expert, both male and female, conveyed feelings of being “haunted” by particular survey images that reminded them of their own pasts. None described the events or “message” of the images they favored or recalled first in political or ideological terms.

The combined data from testimony and survey, therefore, indicate that *multiple factors*, including *temporal proximity to the news event*, *gender*, *professional training and judgment*, and *family background* (including, possibly, a viewer’s ethnicity and religion), are at work in helping viewers decide which news images are most trenchant, memorable, and valuable to them. Moreover, several of the highest-ranked images in this survey were *not iconic* or “canonic” in the Hariman & Lucaites sense (meaning “famous” news photos that are widely disseminated and copied by mainstream and populist media sources). Consequently, the following study hypotheses appear strongly supported:

- **H6: Temporal proximity and exposure to the news event depicted in a photo heightens viewers’ perception of the image as important, newsworthy, and**

emotionally expressive as compared to depicted news events that are more distant in time.

- **H7: The viewer's gender and personal knowledge of the depicted news event will have more impact on the emotional arousal (empathy) and recall of the image than its aesthetics or the viewer's perception of its novelty.**

The implications of the above hypotheses are many. One is that “iconic” news photos expressing moments of national crisis are likely to fade or gain “distance” in viewer memory with time. Meanwhile, other archetypal images may come serendipitously to the fore and become “viral” or “generational” icons, especially with the advent of citizen journalism and the instant upload capabilities of the internet.

In this survey, the age of the image appeared, at least partially, to tarnish its relevance, especially to visual non-experts (mostly young students). All viewing groups ranked only one World War II photograph (Walter Hahn's 1945 image of a stone angel overlooking a bombed-out Dresden) in the top ten among the “best,” images, and its position was number 10 (mean = 3.8425, SD = .08482; see page 149). The “top ten” list was dominated in the quantitative survey by images from recent headlines: September 11, 2001, the Iraq and first Gulf Wars, and the Haiti earthquake. In the qualitative portion of the survey, the oldest and most popular “first recalled” image was that of Martin Luther King Jr. (1963), standing before thousands of supporters (one of the few positive images in the survey, but ranked only 6 or 7 in the quantitative portion). The other most popular “first recalled” images came from 1960s and early 1970s Vietnam (two icons: Nick Ut's Accidental Napalm [1972] and Eddie Adams' Death of a Vietcong Terrorist [1968]),

along with three more recent archetypal images (not iconic) from Bangkok, Iraq, and Haiti (see pp. 283-284).

The visual language and locations of these most favored and remembered images are telling. Many of them depict news events and situations outside of US borders; virtually all produce humanistic and “universal” statements of life-and-death struggle and tragedy that place them squarely within the world of archetypal news imagery rather than the politically constructed iconic world. As I have defined it in this dissertation, the archetypal news photo fulfills three criteria: 1) it is authentically shot (no restaging); 2) it exemplifies the highest levels of photographic achievement; 3) it produces a rare, emotionally trenchant capture of an *actual* life-and-death predicament of such magnitude and seriousness that it warrants public attention. For example, Neal Ulevich’s *Brutality in Bangkok* (1977), one of the most “popular” and first recalled news photos, shows a man in the throes of bashing a chair on the head of an already-lynched left-wing student as a crowd of youth laughs and cheers. The image is an archetype of extreme human cruelty. Moreover, it is captured at a “tipping point” in the narrative arc (the body is *about to be bashed*), compelling viewers to imagine its horrific conclusion. One professional participant described the photograph as an archetype of “man’s inhumanity to man” (Wendy H. personal communication, April 10, 2010). The photograph evinces no particular political ideology, even with a caption; neither does Patrick Farrell’s beautifully executed image of the Haitian father tenderly embracing his drowned five-year old daughter. Survey participants took these most popular images as is, giving them emotional interpretation. And by “vote” in the nominal portions of the survey, all viewing groups noted that facial expression, body language, and gesture were *as or more*

important to the emotional effect of the image than its narrative, aesthetic appeal, or split-second capture of action (haunting effect and historical context were, in some images, also highly rated). Therefore, Hypothesis 1 seems well supported, although further study on the impact of facial expression and body language is warranted with an eye toward extend this finding as a ‘teaching point’ to photo editors of the future:

- **H1: In non-panoramic news photographs depicting human subjects, *facial expression, body language, and gesture* are more important to viewers’ overall assessment of the emotional magnetism of the image than factors of aesthetic presentation, narrative clarity, or split second capture of action.**

The fact that panoramic images from September 11th and its aftermath occupied the three top slots in the quantitative survey (but not in the qualitative “recall” survey) strongly suggests that the most *extreme* archetypal images are “anonymous” – they subsume facial expression and body language in the imagined horror of millions of faces and bodies consumed in Armageddon, everyone’s worst nightmare. The explosions of September 11, 2001 (and their top rankings in this survey) are salient examples of how powerful and personal images of apocalypse can be.⁶³ The archetypal image, therefore, does not appear to require close-ups of the face and body to be effective, especially if the viewer’s exposure to the trauma depicted is recent. But for those non-panoramic news images in which humans carry the action, either currently or in the historic past, the “dance” and drama of faces and bodies in motion appears to be the essential carrier of

⁶³ The images of “mushroom clouds” over Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the Armageddon archetypes of World War II. If a survey had been taken at the time, the ‘mushroom clouds’ might have been voted as the top-ranked “icons” of the era; by contrast, the “archetypes” of human faces and bodies seared in the blasts were hardly ever seen, and only published in American media in the 1950s.

information eliciting both *pathos* and empathy. At the same time, the danger of “memory fade” and lack of viewer context requires more than ever that textual captions accompany even the greatest news photographs. Even if certain generational “icons” become clichés, viewers eventually will grow “young enough” to forget or confuse what the originals were all about. Therefore, “no caption needed” is not a viable option either for image archetypes or icons if they are to remain true to the photojournalistic principles for which they are intended.

Two other research hypotheses (H8 and H9) related to 1) effects of gendered subject matter on image recall (including the ‘haunting effects’ of gendered pictorial subject matter); and 2) the *accuracy* of image recall for the most salient images both require additional study. Though both qualitative and quantitative results suggest that gendered subject matter does indeed elicit strong feelings of empathy and concern, including cross-gender empathy in many instances, a new study should be conducted with a greater range of images and larger sample sizes. The importance of gendered response *could be* a key finding for the theory of news photo archetypes. At present, though, the effect of gendered subject matter on image recall cannot be confirmed or rejected:

H8: Viewers of either sex will report a ‘haunting’ or lingering effect in memory more frequently for high quality news images with *gendered subject matter* than those that appear ‘neutral’ or non-gendered.

By the same token, the evidence of the qualitative survey is not sufficient to affirm or reject Hypothesis 9.

- **H9: The primary visual details of a superlative news photo, including central figures and spatial relationships among figures, will be recalled more accurately than details of either prototypical or ordinary news photos.**

As detailed in Chapter 5, several survey respondents confused or conflated the visual details of their “favorite” or “first recalled” images. However, they remembered the *gestalt* of the image, capturing an overall emotional impression that appeared indelible to them. Further research may be required to ascertain whether the image ‘archetype’ is more clearly recollected than ordinary news photos of routine or strictly informational character. Again, if the archetypal image is recalled more clearly than ordinary photos and is viewed as more emotionally compelling, news directors and photo editors might aim for greater exposure of such images in the “prime real estate” of news websites and printed publications. Since the photo has been documented as a clear and compelling “entry point” for viewers of textual stories – Poynter Institute research shows that 90 percent of readers enter a story through large photos, artwork or display type, and that readers are three times more likely to read at least some text if a visual element accompanies it (Moses, 2002), the positioning of archetypal news images could be a more critical communications element than ever.

6.2 Fulcrum of Percepts: Effects of Gender & Expertise

One of the underlying themes of this study pertains to the complexity of how viewers actually perceive and prioritize news images and their salient qualities. Again, a

bottom-up analysis of actual viewer rankings and preferences appears to be more instructive than abstract theories of audience response. In the ordinal portion of this study, in which viewers examined 21 news images for 12 different qualities, the four study groups showed a surprising “split decision” in both the perception and ranking of photographic qualities (see Figure 108). Moreover, that split decision showed statistically significant differences when factored by gender and expertise (see pages 162-163). Several image qualities appear to be perceived “universally,” with strikingly similar rankings across all study groups (these qualities include *newsworthiness*, *emotional arousal*, *memorable quality*, *novelty*, *haunting quality*, and *narrative power* and *moral issue*, which show larger, though not statistically significant differences in the comparative sampling groups). By contrast, image qualities pertaining to news photos’ aesthetics (i.e., “beauty”), composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality, the latter often a strong indicator of emotional effect on the viewer, were *rated variably by expertise and gender*. For example, independent samples t tests (see p. 162) show statistically highly significant differences in *expert vs. non-expert* judgments on news photographs’ aesthetics (Sig. = .000), composition (Sig. = .007), expressive mood (Sig. = .006), and overall image quality (Sig. = .000). For gender, statistically significant findings were also found for aesthetics (Sig. = .001), composition (Sig. = .019), expressive mood (Sig. = .030), overall image quality (Sig. = .023) and narrative clarity and interest (Sig. = .033):

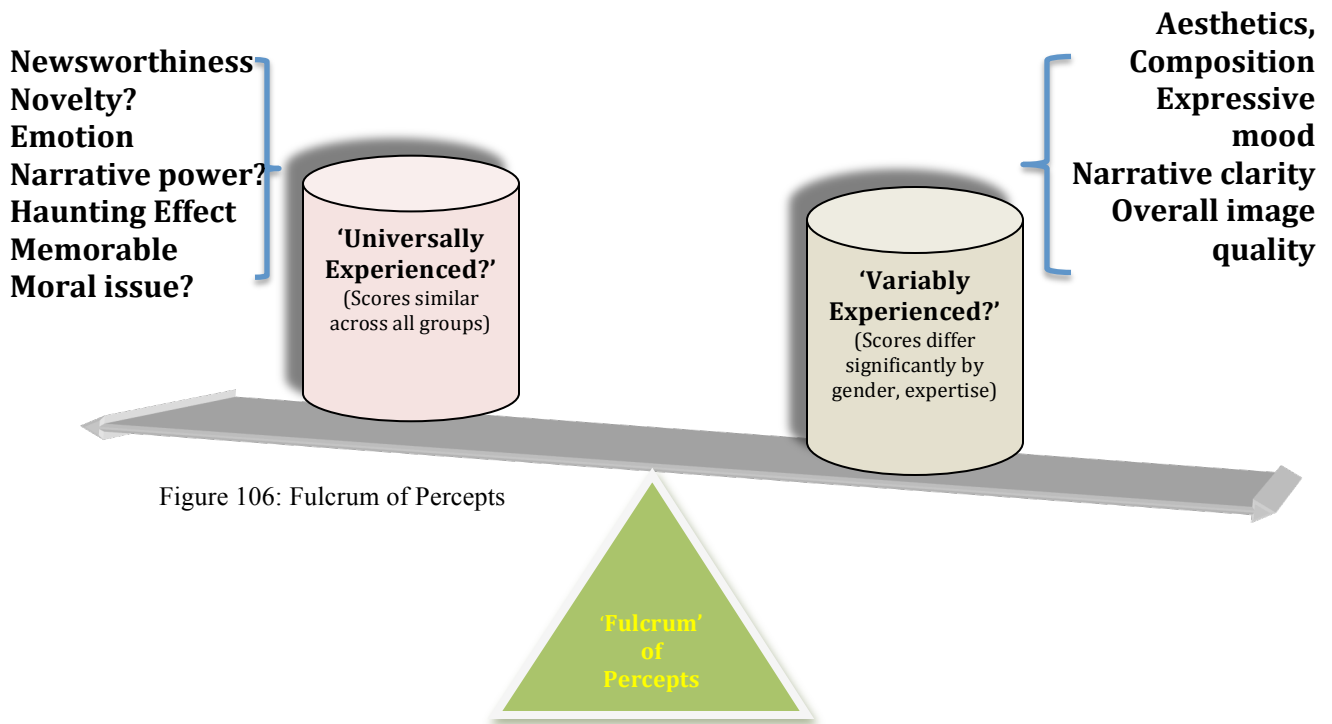


Figure 106: Fulcrum of Percepts

The “see-saw” effect is intriguing and should be investigated again with larger sample sizes to corroborate or adjust the “fulcrum.” However, the data of this research show clearly that perception of news images and news image qualities is neither uniformly “universal” nor uniformly “variable,” but selectively one or the other. Certain characteristics do appear universally shared among viewers in all study groups; other characteristics centering on the emotionally expressive, aesthetic, and “holistic” quality of the photographs appear “variably” experienced.

Moreover, the apparent disparity in aesthetic, expressive, and holistic judgment between visual experts and non-experts is easier to explain than the one for gender. Experts by nature are ranking images and image qualities through the eyes of professional visual practitioners who compete with each other for assignments and accolades, many of them were male in this survey. In most but not all ordinal assessments of the news photographs tested, female visual experts judged the character and quality of these images more closely to their male counterparts than to female non-experts. Hence, a strong divide in perceptual results between visual experts and non-experts.

In addition, visual experts, male or female, may have interpreted the ranking equivalencies of the Likert scale (1 – 5, poor to superb or ‘archetypal’) more rigorously than non-experts. In other words, they may have been “tougher” on the images’ aesthetics, expressive, and overall (holistic) qualities. A review of individual images in Chapter 4 shows how the “professional ethic” played out with lower scores than the non-experts, except for a few distinctly “gendered” images with subject matter appealing to

the professionals (example, Vietnam war demonstrators – appealing to male professionals, and soaring lone pilot in the sky over Wake Island – appealing to female professionals).

Non-expert females, however, consistently ranked the majority of survey images and their discrete aesthetic, composition, and expressive qualities much more highly than males (either expert or non-expert). They “saw” these qualities more favorably and were quick to express enthusiasm and admiration for the best images. Their differences were highly statistically significant for aesthetics, narrative clarity and interest, expressive mood, and overall image qualities. The research literature thus far has not presented a robust or empirically convincing case ascribing greater overall empathy or enthusiasm among women for photos/pictorial subjects (Strauss, 2004). However, the weight of evidence in this foundational study indicates that gendered differences in perception do exist for certain qualities – among them aesthetic judgment and overall image quality, expressive mood and, particularly, narrative clarity and interest. Females judged the “stories” of the images as clearer, richer, and more compelling than the males. These findings lend support to Hypotheses 3, 4 and 5, as follows:

- **H3: Differences in gender and expertise *do not* produce significant differences in the perception and ranking of such news image properties as newsworthiness, novelty, moral issue presentation, and memorable effect.**
- **H4: Differences in gender and expertise *do* produce significant differences in the viewer’s rankings of news images properties such as aesthetics, composition, expressive mood, and overall image quality and effect.**

- **H5: Females of any level of expertise will judge and rank the aesthetic, expressive, and narrative qualities of news images differently from males, expert and non-expert.**

The current study suggests that female non-experts *do exhibit a highly developed sensitivity toward news image aesthetics* that approach archetypal or iconic quality. For reasons unknown, that level of sensitivity appears more acutely developed than that of novice males. The question of whether females experience the power, moral message, and emotional arousal of news photographs more acutely than males remains open. Certainly the aesthetic and expressive qualities are experienced very differently; and young males especially seemed indifferent or “colder” to many of the photographs. A more granular investigation of exactly which emotions and empathetic responses are elicited in both females and males of varying ages is warranted as part of an ongoing examination of *real* news audience reception and behavior. The current study did not attempt to measure either gendered or expert vs. non-expert differences in affective vs. cognitive empathy while encountering the photos in question. But future research should, especially because too many cultural critics have assumed that news audiences respond to visuals in a uniform way.⁶⁴

⁶⁴Many of the novice males, though, scoring the images generally lower in the quantitative portions of the test, nonetheless spoke movingly and effusively about certain images in the qualitative portion of the survey. Are males being desensitized to news images of violence through such practices violent video game playing or watching R-rated movies? This study does not seek to establish any causal link, although follow-on research could certainly explore gender differences in image perception and emotional response using a larger and more historic profiling of male and female preferences for media and entertainment.

6.3 Uncanny Convergence: Prioritizing the most Salient News Image Qualities

The current research contained an unexpected surprise: While all viewing groups exhibited variable perception of aesthetic, expressive and overall image qualities, apparently all groups, regardless of expertise, identified the most *salient* qualities in each news image in virtually identical order of priority. The uncanny convergence of rankings across male/female, expert and non-expert supports Hypothesis 2 (see pages 198-202).

- **H2: Experts of both sexes prioritize and rank (ordinally) the most important stimulus qualities of a news image in the same order as non-experts.**

The evidence further suggests that people of different backgrounds and levels of visual training appear to know which elements are most important or prominent in a news image regardless of its content or level of professional achievement. Consequently, experts and non-experts alike, completely unaware of the opinions of their peers, chose the same two or three “top qualities” for each ordinally ranked image simply by rating those qualities the highest. Even with discrepancies between expert and non-expert viewing groups, the ordering of the top qualities was virtually identical for all 21 images evaluated, with few deviations by gender. I’ve attempted to explain this uncanny convergence of ranking with a cultural explanation (i.e., learned heuristics for prioritizing what is “newsworthy” or expressive). The ability to prioritize what is instantly important in a news image may also have roots in biology/cognitive behavior (p. 196). One argument is that archetypal images showing life-and death predicaments may operate biologically to teach and enable faster cognitive processing and recognition of threatening faces and scenarios. Another plausible explanation is that many of the

conventions of news image presentation are already well understood by the time most media-literate teenagers reach young adulthood, and thus “parsing” the image for salient qualities becomes a common, learned skill. None of these explanations appear exactly right. Follow-on research with larger sample sizes and more variable news imagery would be required to confirm and possibly elucidate this finding. However, the fact of common prioritizing registers once again the complexities of ‘universal’ vs. ‘subjective’ understandings of percepts and whether or not disparate viewing groups are in this regard more similar than different.

6.4 Icons as a Form of Celebrity Worship

Hariman & Lucaites have mounted an ambitious argument to elevate the status of certain famous news images over others, identifying them as national “icons,” much in the vein of presidential historians who liken greatness to the images carved on Mt. Rushmore. Influenced by social constructionism and its belief in images that promulgate “consensus narratives” among the liberal-democratic mainstream, Hariman & Lucaites have led the vanguard in offering a top-down analysis of a very limited number of news photographs they claim exert hegemonic and long-term impacts on American public culture. These images ostensibly “work” by binding the mass public through common visual touchstones that model civic participation and performance. Such images are thought to fuel the *collective memory* of a society principally conceived as a “collective we.”

Icons are further thought to produce “constructions of viewer response” and “management” of American rhetorical culture (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007). The list of news icons cited by Hariman & Lucaites is short (they discuss only 9; they theorize that

at most a dozen or two images have been iconic in all Western culture). All but one of the photo icons in their top list have been produced by American photographers (the exception is a picture of an unidentified man standing before a tank in Tiananmen Square). Icons, they further argue, appeal to middlebrow sensibilities, showing historic turning points while providing visual motifs and codes (e.g., flags, fireworks, screaming women, soldiers at war) that communicate values such as heroism, patriotism, (acceptable expressions of) dissent, calamity, and stoic survival. Moreover, iconic photographs are deemed *exclusive* to the photojournalism of liberal-democratic societies because their power is supposedly magnified by continuous reproduction, interpretation, and parodying by both established media and populist sources.

However, Hariman & Lucaites do not corroborate their claims for icons through empirical research on viewing audiences. Their theoretical “proof” lies in their own highly elastic, values-driven interpretations of these images and their offshoots.⁶⁵ For example, the Kent State massacre, photographed by John Filo (1970), is interpreted implausibly as a statement *both* against anti-war movements *and* against established American mainstream powers.⁶⁶ The critics strain the limits of credibility by offering a naïve and elaborately sexist reading of the Kent State image as a “gendered” emotional display leveraging the stereotypically inarticulate screams of a woman (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, pp. 141, 142).⁶⁷ This and other interpretations in *No Caption Needed*

⁶⁵ The list of nine iconic photographs Hariman & Lucaites examine in detail include Dorothea Lange’s Migrant Mother, flag raisings at Iwo Jima and Ground Zero, Filo’s Kent State, Nick Ut’s Accidental Napalm, Tiananmen Square, and the Hindenburg and Challenger Explosion photos.

⁶⁶ “Their social mediation of the image directs the viewer to be critical of military action at home and, by extension, abroad, while it construes the antiwar movement as a paramilitary action that also should be stopped” (p. 142)

⁶⁷ “Not only is it considered more appropriate and more natural for a woman to cry in response to distress or loss, but women also are the standard vehicle for representing emotional response in public...the cry has stereotypically become more legitimate as a public act when coming from a woman, who becomes the sign

appear especially far-fetched because the authors never asked or recorded what viewing audiences *actually* felt or thought by examining these same photographs. The authors' greatest weakness is to assume that all audiences think and feel *exactly like them*. They neither test their interpretations among real viewing audiences, nor do they question even once their assumption that iconic image power resides exclusively in the photojournalism experience of Western liberal democracies and specifically, American democracy.

In fact, icons have been generated throughout 172 years of photographic history by regimes autocratic, democratic, socialist, and communist. The abundant numbers of politically inspired icons across cultures – from Marx to Hitler to Mao Zedong, from the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto to the sacrificed children of Cambodia's Tuol Seng prison – strongly validate the idea that icons can be trans-cultural and certainly not the exclusive property of liberal-democratic societies alone.

The focus of much of social constructionist criticism is how American media maintains the status quo. But the status quo cannot be neatly maintained if news consumers interpret and offer “oppositional readings” to those materials ostensibly described as “dominant” and hegemonic. Therefore, an instructive follow-on study might be to take the very same icons that Hariman & Lucaites propose and subject them to recorded interpretations by a variety of viewing groups. Only then would the authors' analyses enjoy a true test, and the media critics would get to see how viewing audiences actually respond to these image “celebrities.”

of both domestic order and its collapse” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, pps. 141, 142). The commentary proceeds to interpret the presence of long-haired male students caught in the action as a paean to unfeeling masculinity. “Like the other men behind him, his stance matches that of the National Guardsmen standing outside the frame: alert, calculative, focused on the enemy” (p. 142)

6.5 The “Icons + Archetypes” Model

As a cornerstone finding, viewing audiences in my study recalled and ranked highest several comparatively “unknown” archetypal news images that fell *outside the iconic canon*. Even more, few of the participants described these images in any terms reminiscent of mainstream ideologies or political values (although a few were critical of American involvement in recent wars). What emerged instead was an empathetic sharing of memory and, quite often, alternative, idiosyncratic, and, occasionally, “oppositional” readings to what was shown. Though some images did not move participants at all, and many were deemed interesting curiosities or pictures too graphic to handle, participant testimony was filled with lyrical and oxymoronic descriptions of “terrible beauties,” and with memories of watching September 11th unfold and worrying about parents working downtown; along with emotion-laden stories of resistance, pity, and fear for those who suffered in war and other natural and manmade calamities.

In all, the news photos that my survey participants ranked as “the best” in nominal and ordinal portions of the survey proved to be a combination of relatively famous and widely distributed news photos, two of them apocalyptic visions from September 11th (a third, from the same period, was ranked #2 but was not a “famous” or iconic photo), along with several lesser-known, superbly executed news photos that were more intimate and facially expressive (these included the photos by Michael Yon, Patrick Farrell, and several unidentified photos of war and rescue). I have described the reasons why this latter category of news image “archetypes” can be so emotionally trenchant. Given the three possible theorized outcomes for study subjects ranking all images (see pages 149-151) which were described in my Methodology (see pages 113-118), the

combined data support Hypothesis 10, outlining the emergence of an “icons + archetypes” convergence model of image reception, as follows:

- **H10: A consistency of ranking, memory, and viewer choice of just a few extraordinary images across all groups strongly suggests that archetypes of content and predicament do exist, producing a greater emotional effect on viewers than ordinary or average news images without this content.**

This model supports the idea that viewers *generally* agree on the best and most moving photographs, although the ranking order is not exactly the same for each group. The “top” photos ranked both for excellence and memorable character consist of a wide range of image archetypes, some iconic, some not. The findings strongly suggest that iconic imagery is a political construction; in effect, it is as much a measurement of cultural dissemination and copying as of personal or community relevance, emotional traction, authenticity, or aesthetic and narrative excellence. The findings of this study also suggest that icons are “made,” not born (Perlmutter, 1998). We might therefore consider an expansion of the iconic image ‘canon.’ And, if we are to take this survey data as evidence that news photos count, emotionally and intellectually, we must look more carefully at the images that mainstream and alternative media *do* show, along with those images that are overlooked or suppressed.

Condition #3: Universal Consensus on Diverse ‘Archetypal’ + Iconic Images

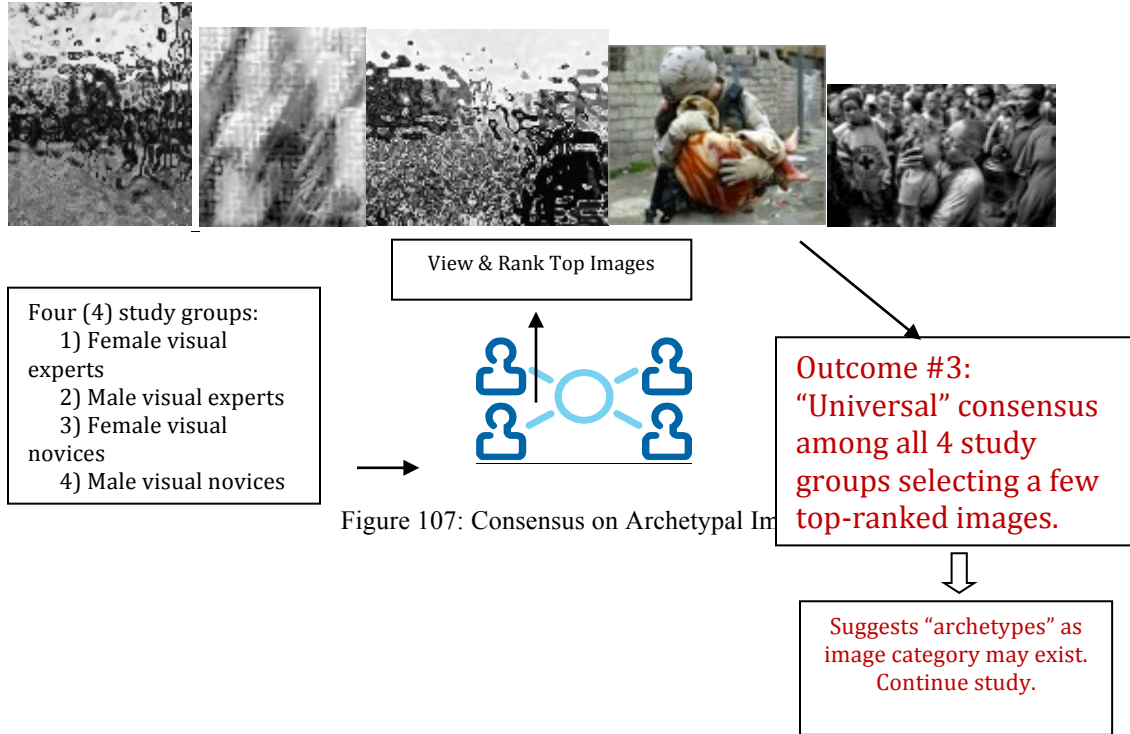


Figure 107: Consensus on Archetypal Images

6.6 The Archetype as a Warning System

“The image as shock and the image as cliché are two aspects of the same presence,” wrote Susan Sontag, one of the great critics of photography (2003, p. 23).

“The hunt for the more dramatic (as they’re often described) images drives the photographic enterprise, and is part of the normality of a culture in which shock has become a leading stimulus of consumption and source of value” (p. 23). Photojournalism today represents the accidental tourism of cameras that fix and “sell” images of calamity from worlds away, enabling anyone, anywhere to regard other people’s pain with just enough psychological distance to withstand the initial shock—and then to put it away, she asserts. “Wars are now also living room sights and sounds,” Sontag wrote (2003, p. 18). Those sights and sounds, easily muted with a push button remote, are the unfortunate consequence of mediated technologies in which direct experience has been replaced by

photographs and film, “to which the response is compassion, or indignation, or titillation, or approval, as each new misery heaves into view” (p. 18).

While Sontag’s view represents a legitimate lament of the war weary, I would argue, based on the results of this study, that great photographs have at least two other purposes: instruction for survival and community building—early alert, in other words—along with “making special,” the conveyance of joy and beauty (Dissanayake, 1998). The key to this argument is two-fold. In Chapter 4, pp. 193-195, I have reviewed some of the cognitive processing literature indicating that faces are processed holistically, unlike other visual objects, to promote instantaneous recognition (Yovel & Kanwisher, 2004). Further, a pre-attentive level of visual processing segregates regions of a scene into figures and ground so that a subsequent attentive level can identify particular objects more rapidly and efficiently (Triesman, 1986). Humans display a seemingly effortless ability to perceive meaningful wholes in the visual world; however, this ability depends on a complex assembly process in the brain that proceeds along a “features, then objects” visual orientation. Faces, though, appear to be processed instantaneously. As I stated before, facial processing operates more efficiently than the cognitive processing of other ordinary objects (Yovel & Kanwisher, 2004), lending support to the idea that recognizing faces (friend or foe) in life and death predicaments--*archetypal predicaments, in other words*—has a developed, evolutionary purpose.⁶⁸ We may be able to distinguish and

⁶⁸ Evidence that perception of faces is mediated by special cognitive and neural mechanisms comes from fMRI studies of the fusiform face area (FFA) and behavioral studies of the face inversion effect. Here, Yovel and Kanwisher (2004) reported that they used two methods to ask whether face perception mechanisms are stimulus specific, process specific, or both. Subjects discriminated pairs of upright or inverted faces or house stimuli that differed in either the spatial distance among parts (configuration) or the shape of the parts. The FFA *showed a much higher response to faces than to houses*, but no preference for the configuration task over the part task. Similarly, the behavioral inversion effect was as large in the part task as the configuration task for faces, but absent in both part and configuration tasks for houses. These

parse the features and then objects of an image in rapid succession, but the human face is something we receive first and instantly—its expressions, its intent to heal or harm. The face in the context of bodily expression (psychological gesture) produces in the viewer an impression—the *gestalt* of emotion to which we take heed. Is the face a threat? Is it evil? Will it do harm or good? Do we fly, stay, or fight? In milliseconds we are making these decisions based on the visual information we receive.

Dennis Dutton (2009), Ellen Dissanayake (1998), Di Dio (2007), and others argued for the biological, evolutionary, and survival advantages of the “art instinct.” But what of *archetypes* in photojournalism? Even at the pre-attentive level of visual processing, the archetypal photograph appears to be an especially efficient carrier of visual information related to life-and-death struggle. It is not simply a form of drama. It is, at least in one sense, a warning system, with an occasional promise of relief, satisfaction, or fulfillment. If the archetypal photograph is indeed the instantaneous communication of a human predicament of the utmost *seriousness* and magnitude; if it conveys a critical juncture or plot point in a narrative arc of human life (or the life of human groups in community); if it relies principally on *facial expression and body language* to communicate its meaning; and if it displays with great aesthetic clarity the elements of tragedy impending or past (*hamartia, anagnorisis, peripeteia, and pathos*), it is very likely to command our attention—possibly again and again.⁶⁹ Allport (1989) has argued that our attention span and allocation of cognitive resources are actually quite limited due to the problems of competing cognitive domains (e.g., perceptual-motor

findings indicate that *face perception mechanisms* are not process specific for parts or configuration *but are domain specific for face stimuli per se*.

⁶⁹ Panoramic photos likely command attention by showing an event that is bound to involve unseen expressions and gestures, as in the World Trade Towers and the Hindenburg conflagration.

domain) and restricted information processing resources in the brain.⁷⁰ The archetypal image provides a competitive advantage. Inundated by visual information—news photographs, films, real-world events—people are much more likely to “stick with” an image that emulates persuasively the “friend or foe,” “fight or flight,” or “defeat or triumph” predicaments and threats that have shaped our life chances from the beginning. Certainly, while every archetype is not a direct relay of conditions of threat or immediate survival, the quality of great photographs provides the most instantaneous communication of what is, what was, and what could be—fuel for the mind, engagement of the senses, and contemplation of our social role and our will to act.

6.7 The Archetype of “Making Special”

And what of “making special?” Dissanayake (1998) has argued that the human impulse for beauty and “dressing up” is an innate and biologically advantageous aspect of human inheritance. In the archetypal image, “making special” is a matter of memory preservation—assigning priority to a particularly cogent, distressing, or pleasurable image and the message(s) that go with it. When a moment provides aesthetic and even cognitive instruction or pleasure (the Martin Luther King Jr. image is an example), it may also “make a space” within the limited resources of memory that we do have. It may force us to compare the moment captured in the image to the reality of all that has passed since. King’s beguiling smile in that image, standing before a tapestry of thousands,

⁷⁰ Allport (1989) identifies problems in the integration and coordination among different cognitive domains in the overall control of behavior. He also adopts David Marr’s imperative: that we need a clear, explicit formulation of a computational theory that states the overall purposes or goals of a given category of cognitive processes (1982). What would this theory be like? Many theorists in recent years have been inclined to conceptualize attention and attentional selectivity as essentially the consequence of limited or insufficient processing resources or processing capacity in the brain. Much of the empirical research on attention has been concerned with identifying the nature of system limitations and their within the cognitive architecture. Allport details the issues of behavioral coherence and univocal perceptual-motor control in determining the nature of attentional selectivity.

perhaps a million faces, is the “making special” that constitutes our greatest survival advantage: optimism and hope.

But even if the biological argument for a category of superlative photography—archetypal photography—proves to have no basis in advancing human survival, certainly its cultural advantages to community are beyond dispute. As I stated earlier in my definitions, an iconic photograph—a widely popularized and distributed photograph—may indeed show the characteristics of the archetypal predicament, both theme and plot. The question is whether media criticism’s focus on the icon has actually undermined belief and attention to the “the other images” —the category of superlative (but not iconic) “archetypes” I’ve described in some detail. Though social constructionism arises from some insights into the role of socialization in image reception, its approach to news photographs should not be nearly so elevated or dominant or autocratic or ideological as its proponents represent it as deserving. The data collected even in this comparatively limited study on gender and expertise difference in the responses to news photographs strongly suggest that there is not one “audience” or one “viewer group,” all happily consenting and interpreting icons equally. There are many interpretative communities; and to each of them, photographs of political and possibly “iconic” import communicating “consensus narratives” are not all created equal.

So, do archetypal images exist? The combined data of this study show the convergence of opinion regarding the most salient photo qualities and the “top-ranked” images. In the top ranks, many lesser-known images depicting powerful, emotional predicaments were chosen, along with a few of the certifiable American icons. The variety of choice strongly suggests that Hypothesis 10 has merit:

Table 37: Recap of Top-Ranked Images of 4 Viewing Groups

Image	Female Students		Female Professionals	Rank	Male Students	Rank	Male Professionals	Rank
World Trade Attack	4.49	1	4.3	3	4.25	1	4.24	2
Lower Manhattan Post 9/11	4.45	2	4.42	2	4.15	2	4.04	5
Ground Zero 9/11 (Nachtwey)	4.38	3	4.58	1	4.04	4	4.39	1
Hooded Man Abu Ghraib	4.29	4	4.27	4	4.0	5	3.84	8
Fireman rescuing baby	4.29	4	4.06	9	3.86	6	4.08	4
Incinerated Man	4.28	5	4.19	7	4.08	3	4.17	3
Martin Luther King Jr.	4.22	6	4.22	5	4.0	5	3.86	7
Haiti Rescue	4.09	7	3.88	12	3.79	8	3.82	9
Mourning	4.015	8	4.21	6	3.83	7	3.91	6

Table 37 shows that while viewing groups did demonstrate some difference in exact preference and order of ranking, the panoramic archetype of Apocalypse and survival in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 predominated. Other top-ranked images included the icon from Abu Ghraib and many lesser known images from September 11,⁷¹ the Iraq war, a fireman’s rescue of a baby, and, of course, the inspirational Martin Luther King Jr. and Haiti images. In the qualitative interviews, a mixture of “icons” and superbly executed “archetypes” were also selected and discussed as “first remembered.” These included the images of Martin Luther King Jr. (7 “recollections”), Eddie Adams’

⁷¹ The Abu Ghraib image is memorable for its documentary force, but not for its excellence as a photograph.

Death of a Vietcong Terrorist (6), Neal Ulevich’s Brutality in Bangkok (5), Nick Ut’s Accidental Napalm (5), Karim Kadim’s Ali Hussein being Pulled from the Rubble (5); Michael Yon’s Soldier Embracing a Dying Child (5); and Patrick Farrell’s Franz Samedi Embracing his Daughter, Tamesha Jean (5).

Table 38: Recap of First-Recalled Images by Study Group

Experts Males	Expert Females	Non-expert Males	Non-Expert Females	Total Image Tally	Quantitative Survey Grand Means Ordinal Ranking
Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP) *2 votes XX	Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP) 2 votes XX	Martin Luther King, 1963 (AFP) 1 vote X	Martin Luther King, 1963 2 votes XX	XXXXXXXX (7)	6
Eddie Adams’ Death of Vietcong Terrorist 1968 1 vote X	Eddie Adams’ Death of Vietcong terrorist 1968 1 vote X	Eddie Adam’s Death of Vietcong terrorist 1968 2 votes	Eddie Adam’s Death of Vietcong terrorist 1968 2 votes X	XXXXXX (6)	Not ranked (nominal ranking only)
Bangkok hanging 1 vote	Bangkok hanging 1 vote	Bangkok hanging 1 vote	Bangkok hanging 2 votes	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked (nominal)
Accidental	Accidental	Accidental	Accidental	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked

Napalm	Napalm	Napalm	Napalm		(nominal)
2 votes XX	1 vote X	1 vote X	1 vote X		
Ali Hussein		Ali Hussein	Ali Hussein	XXXX X(5)	Not ranked
Pulled from		Pulled from	Pulled from		(nominal)
Baghdad		Baghdad	Baghdad		
rubble		rubble	rubble		
1 vote X		1 vote	3 votes X		
Haitian Dad		Haitian Dad	Haitian Dad	XXXXX (5)	Not ranked
embracing		embracing	embracing		
drowned		drowned	drowned		
daughter 1		daughter	daughter		
vote		1 vote X	2 votes XX		
1 vote X					

Even with these preliminary results and a wide range of mitigating factors, the presence of a rich and varied “new canon” of archetypes (many of them poignant, trenchant, and negative) is surely evident. Some images obviously registered differently among the groups for gendered content and aesthetic (photographic) achievement. Some photographs registered strongly among the young because they were recently taken. But the overall “picture” of this study is that the best and most emotionally provocative images, several of them “non-iconic,” rose to the top among all the groups. This confirms that the superb photograph depicting both tragic and optimistic human events can contribute immeasurably to our lives. Further, this insight suggests that a shift in media priorities would be beneficial. News photographers and editors can look much more discerningly at the images they do record and publish, realizing that audiences do

appreciate a full range of truth and dilemma beyond the visual cliché. The notion of an archetype is really the notion of what is worthy of deep appreciation. We must use it as a guide, as a warning system, and as a “making special” of moments that give us our best hope for survival.

-end-

Appendix A: Sample Survey

1. News Photography Professional Survey Part I

1. This is a professional photographer/photo editor's survey of the aesthetic and emotional impact of news photography. You will be asked to judge aspects of individual photographs for composition, newsworthiness, novelty, and whether or not the photographs are particularly memorable or compelling to you -- and why?

As part of the survey, you will be asked to judge and compare the selected images for their narrative clarity and interest -- i.e., is the story "captured" on film in a visually rich and truthful way? Some of the photographs will seem ambiguous, but we have added short captions to help create historical context. Some images present a trenchant and even haunting demonstration of a moral issue or theme.

The survey should take 45 minutes to an hour. You must complete all the required answers on each page before going onto the next (Press "NEXT" at the bottom of each page when you are finished.) Your comments in each section are optional.

There are five parts to this survey overall.

Your personal information will be confidential. Please provide contact data below for our records. Thank you!

2. Please fill in your contact information.

Name:
Company:
Address:
Address 2:
City/Town:
State:
ZIP/Postal Code:
Country:
Email Address:
Phone Number:

3. Check the appropriate box below.

- Female
 Male

Each set of images will be displayed in units that describe a general theme. The first theme: "Hope and Heroism." You will be asked to rate the images on a sliding scale.

Image #1

Subject: Two girls wearing banners: "ABOLISH CHILD SLAVERY!!" in English and Yiddish. Estimated date: May 1, 1909 labor parade in New York City.



*** 4. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest (how clear and "rich" is the story it tells?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Which figure(s) in the photo are most striking, and why?

*** 5. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Does this photograph suggest a 'moral issue'? What is it??

Image #2

Winter Soldier (1972 Documentary on Vietnam)



*** 6. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Which figure(s) in the photo are most striking, and why?

*** 7. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or Ordinary	Average/"Prototypical"	High/.Compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, upset etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. How does this photo suggest a 'moral issue'??

Image #3

Clashes between injured police and Iranian election protestors. Tehran June 15 2009



*** 9. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

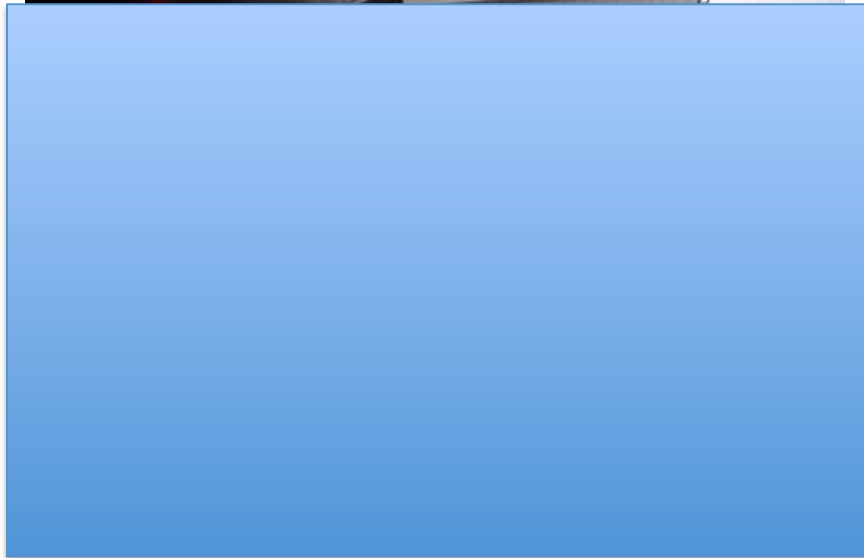
	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 10. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or Ordinary	Average/"Prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, upset etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Image #4

Riots in Tehran after Iranian elections. June 13 2009



*** 11. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

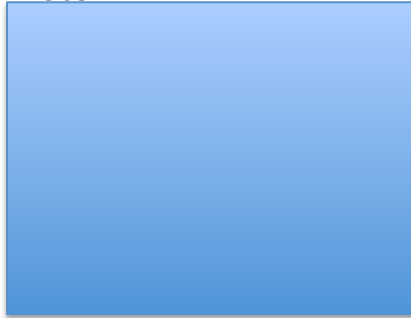
*** 12. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or Ordinary	Average/"Prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, upset etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Comment on the photo if you wish

Image #5

Dr. Martin Luther King, "I have a dream" speech, Washington DC August 28, 1963



*** 13. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Superlative/"archetypal"
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 14. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, anger, upset, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Briefly describe the effect of this image and the moral issue it describes.

Image #6

US Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bomber over Wake Island, 1943



*** 15. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Memorable image?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 16. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image narrative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Briefly describe the effect of this image if you wish.

Image #7

Gladys Louis Jeune is pulled from Haitian earthquake rubble and reunited with her daughter. Port-au-Prince, Jan. 14, 2010.



*** 17. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Memorable image?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How would you describe the key figures in this image?

*** 18. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 19. You've been given the general captions to these photos. However, are any of these images so powerful they "stand alone," without the need for captions or explanations?**

	1. Stands alone; no caption needed.	2. Requires captions and/or other photos to fully explain importance.	3. Requires viewers' historic knowledge to comprehend importance.	4. Options 2 & 3 together.
Image #1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20. Which images, if any, rival or exceed the quality and emotional resonance of Image #5 (MLK) which is well-known?

Choose none, any, or all that apply

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #6
- Image #7
- None

END OF PART 1. Click "NEXT" below and go to Part II

2. News Photography Professional Survey Part II

The theme of this section is "Children of Men." You will be asked to evaluate a series of pictures of children in various states of pain, confrontation, life, and death.

Image #1

Child injured in Iraq conflict. Est. date: 2003.



Image #2

GI and dying Iraqi child. Est. date: 2006



Image #3

Ali Hussein, a two-year old Iraqi child mortally wounded in American bombing raid April 29, 2008



Image #4

Japanese-American child awaiting deportation to internment camp. 1942



Image #5

Frantz Samedi holds 5-year-old daughter, Tamesha Jean, who died when floods from Hurricane Ike swept children from their homes in Cabaret, Haiti. Sept. 7, 2008



Image #6

Iraqi man holds a child wounded in the attack by the U.S.-British Coalition on Basra, south Iraq. March 22, 2003



*** 1. Although many factors affect the salience and emotional power of these images, choose TWO FACTORS for each image which seem most important in determining your personal response.**

	Narrative clarity and interest	Facial expressions and body language	Historical context/news value	Aesthetic presentation	Haunting quality	Split-second capture of action
Image #1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you wish, comment on the factors producing your emotional response

*** 2. Which images show the strongest overall composition and aesthetic presentation? The weakest?**

Rate each image using the following scale (1 = Weakest presentation; 5 = strongest presentation)

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	Strong/compelling	Extraordinary
Image #1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Which TWO images have the strongest news value to you?

Note: If the image is historical, select it on the basis of its news value at the time.

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6

If you wish, explain your choices

4. Which two images elicited the strongest emotional response in you?

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6

Explain your choices if you wish

*** 5. Which two images present a moral argument or theme most trenchantly?**

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Image #1 | <input type="checkbox"/> Image #4 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Image #2 | <input type="checkbox"/> Image #5 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Image #3 | <input type="checkbox"/> Image #6 |

Why? Explain .

*** 6. Which two images do you find most haunting?**

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Image #1 | <input type="radio"/> Image #4 |
| <input type="radio"/> Image #2 | <input type="radio"/> Image #5 |
| <input type="radio"/> Image #3 | <input type="radio"/> Image #6 |

Explain your choices if you wish.

*** 7. Rate each image for its overall power to make you feel present as a witness to the event and able to appreciate the significance of the event. (Rating 1 = weakest; 5 = strongest)**

	Poor/Low Performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Image #1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 8. If we are to recognize one image in this group that will stand the test of time, requiring little or no textual explanation, which is it?**

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6
- None of the above

If you wish, explain why you made your choice

Image #7 "Accidental Napalm." Vietnam 1972.



9. Do any of the images in this section (Image #1-Image #6) rival or exceed in emotional power and quality the famous "Accidental Napalm Attack" image by Nick Ut, 1972?

Please list any and all candidates.

- Image #1
- Image #2
- Image #3
- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6
- None

If you wish, explain your choices

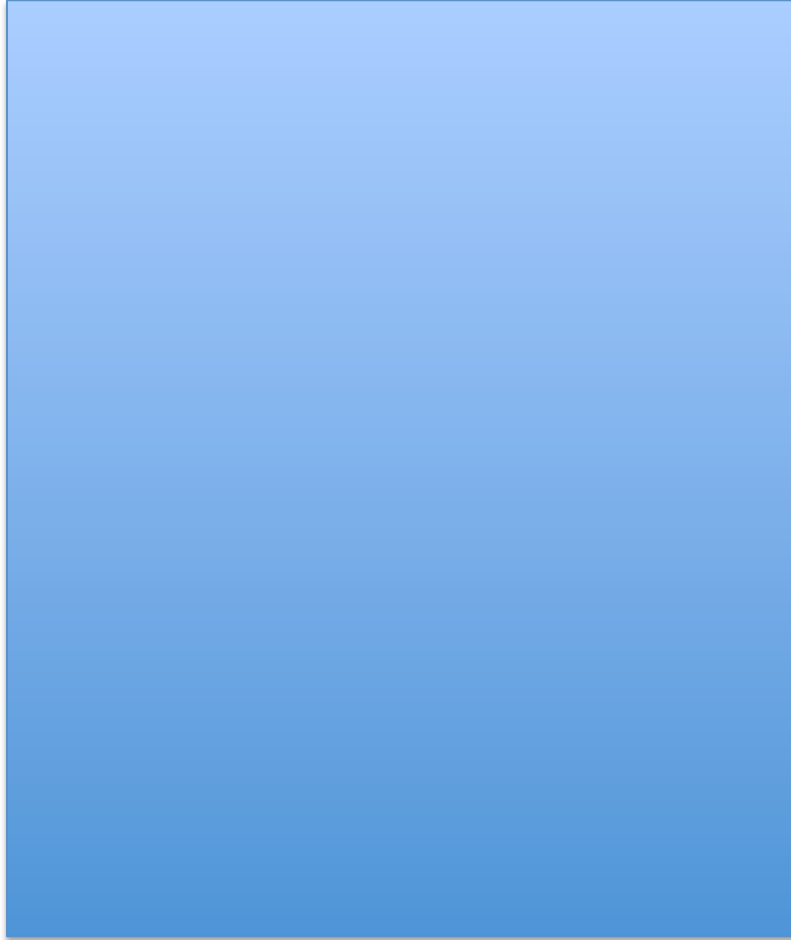
End of Part II. Please click "Next" to go onto Part III.

3. News Photography Professional Survey Part III

The title of this section is "The Fall and Rescue."

Image #1

9/11 Attack on World Trade Towers



*** 1. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/Low Performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative qualities (does it tell a story?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 2. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Briefly describe how the image underscores the moral issue

You will be asked to compare and contrast the effects of the next set of pictures. Look at each before answering the questions.

Image #2

"The Falling Man" from the World Trade Towers, 9/11/2001

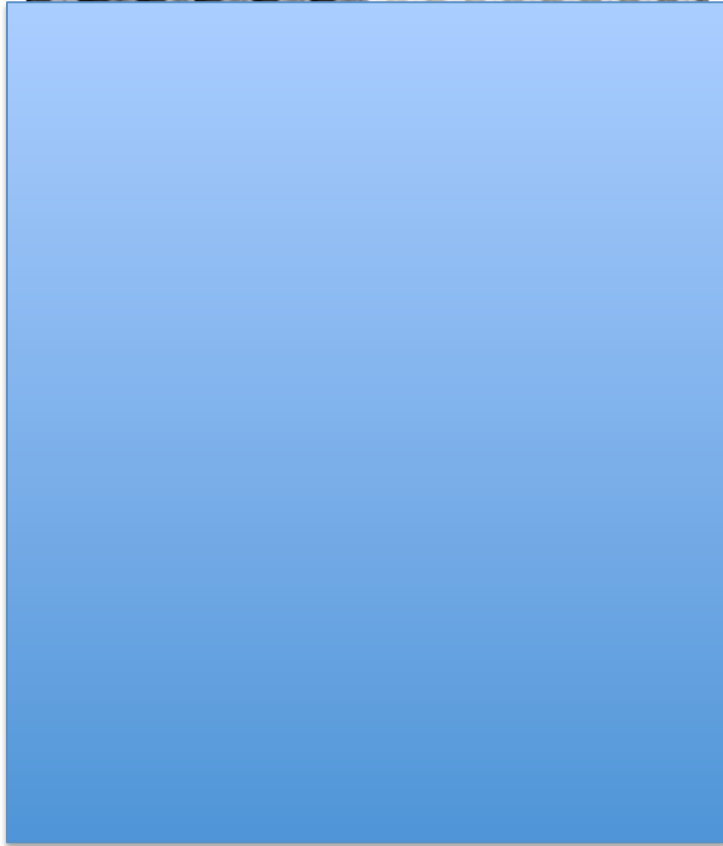


Image #3

A "jumper" falling from the World trade Towers. 9/11/2001

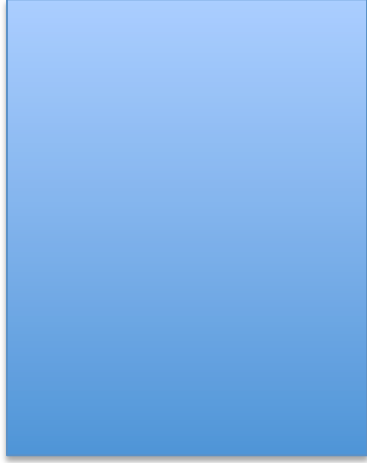


Image #4

Rescue team at World Trade Center wreckage. 9/11/2001

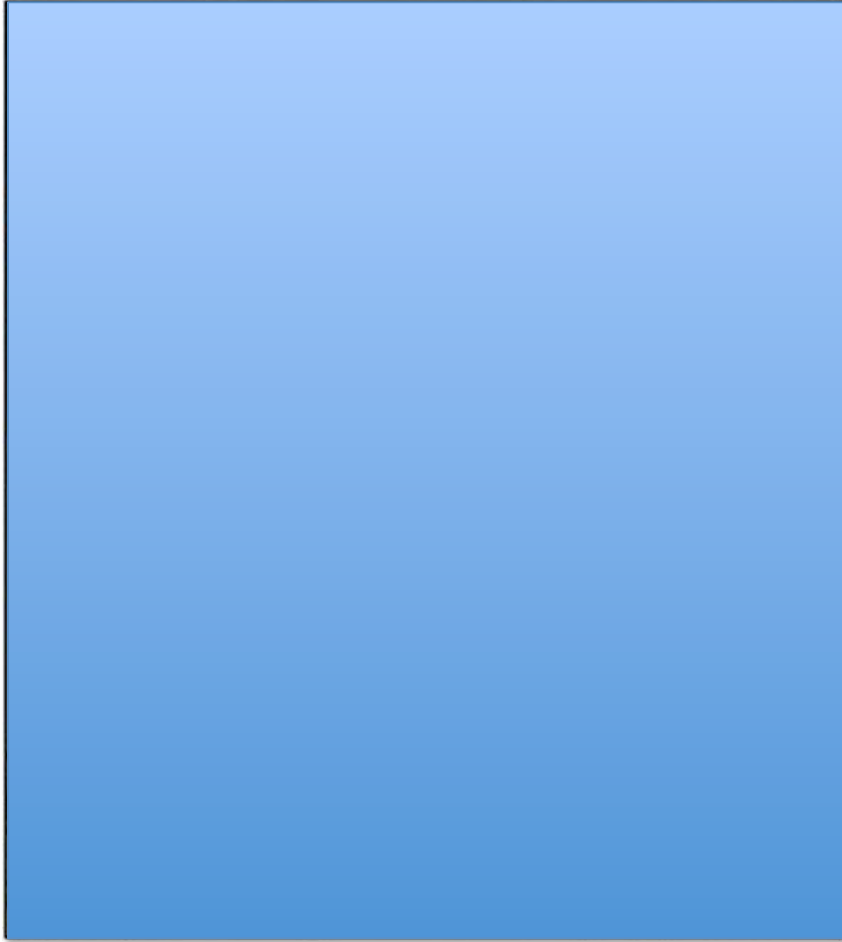


Image #5

Rescue workers carry fatally injured Chaplain, Father Mychal Judge, from one of the World Trade Center towers in New York City, early September 11, 2001.



*** 3. This question pertains to direct aesthetic and narrative comparisons between Image #2 and Image #3; also compare Image #4 and Image #5. You may mark TWO choices on each answer line, indicating which image in each pair is the strongest, according to the question. Rate each pair for the following:**

	Image #2	Image #3	Image #4	Image #5
Which one in each pair has the stronger composition?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which image "story" (narrative) seems clearest?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which demonstrates the most expressiveness in mood?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which is the most newsworthy?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which shows the most novelty?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which arouses the strongest emotional response?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which seems the most compelling?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which of the pair is the enduring image?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Which seems the most haunting?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments welcome

4. If you wish, describe why the one particular image you chose seems to have a more enduring quality than the others.

Image #6

New York, 2001. "Ground zero."



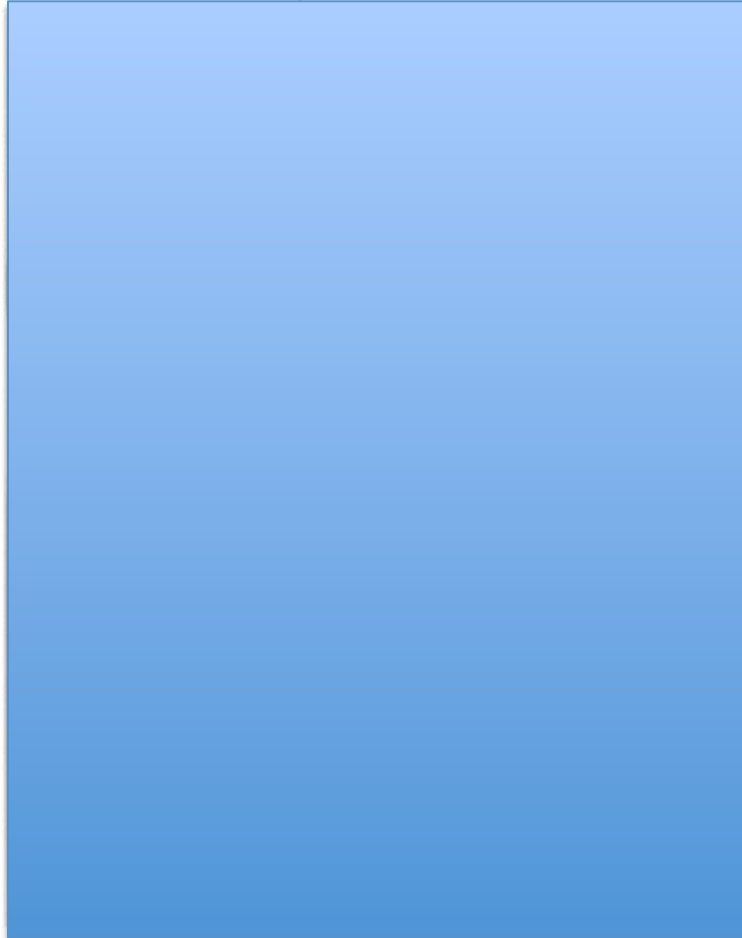
Image #7

New York excavation team after 9/11



Image #8

Ground Zero. New York, after 9/11



*** 5. Images 6, 7, and 8 have common themes and subject matter. Which image is the most haunting to you?**

- Image 6
- Image 7
- Image 8
- All about the same
- None

*** 6. In images 6, 7, and 8, which image displays the greatest novelty?**

- Image 6
- Image 7
- Image 8

7. Which of images 6, 7, and 8 would be most compelling for news readers?

- Image 6
- Image 7
- Image 8

Image #9

New York. Streetside Memorial Remembrance of 9/11 rescuers

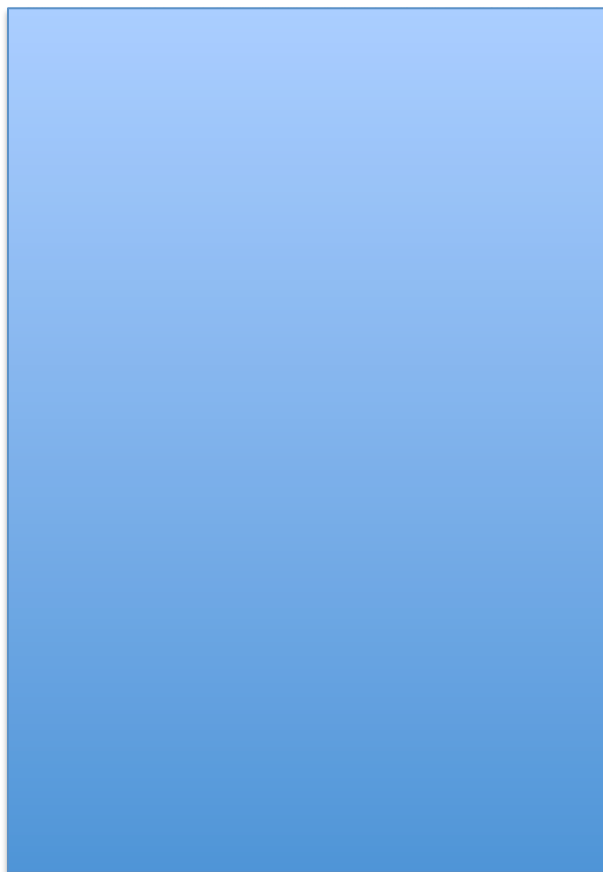
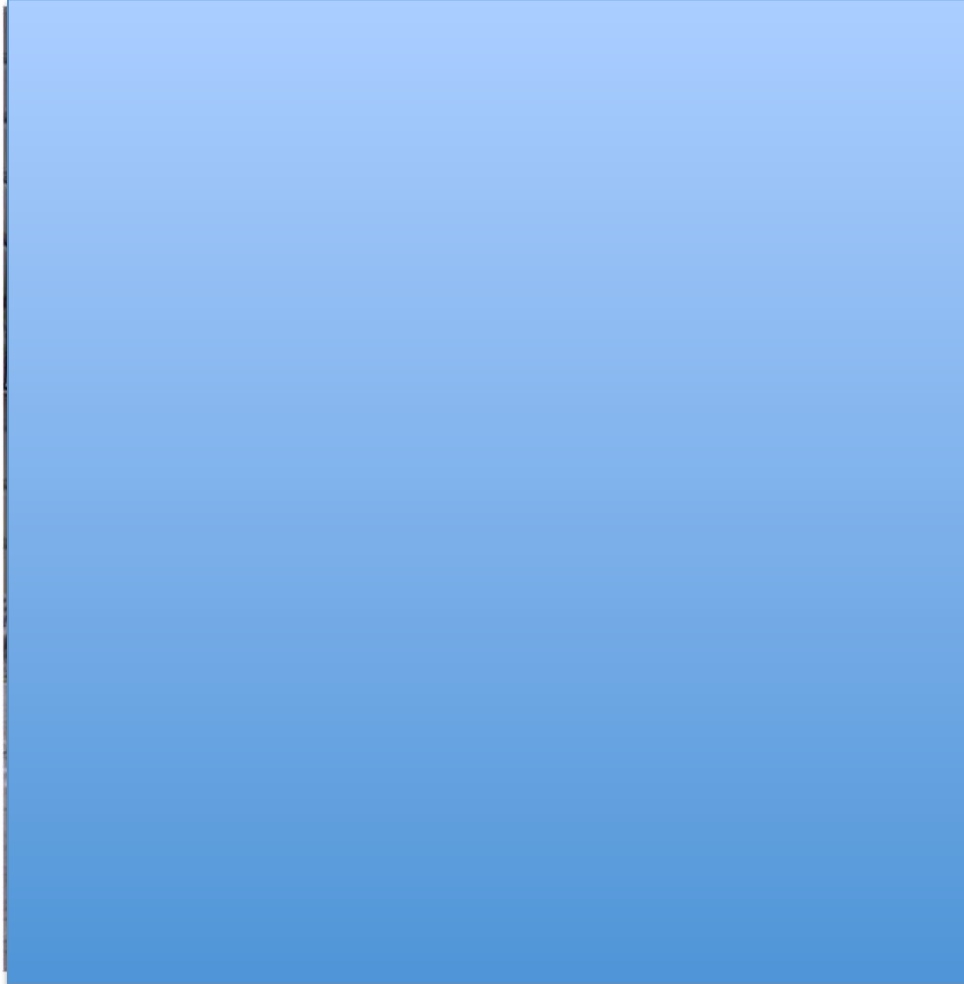


Image #10

New York. Lower Manhattan after 9/11/2001



*** 8. Rate Images #6-#10 above for overall quality and impact:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Image 6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image 7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image 8	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image 9	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image 10	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. Which image are you most likely to remember? And if so, why?

You have completed part III. Click "next" for Part IV

1. News Photography Professional Survey Part I

1. This is a professional photographer/photo editor's survey of the aesthetic and emotional impact of news photography. You will be asked to judge aspects of individual photographs for composition, newsworthiness, novelty, and whether or not the photographs are particularly memorable or compelling to you -- and why?

As part of the survey, you will be asked to judge and compare the selected images for their narrative clarity and interest -- i.e., is the story "captured" on film in a visually rich and truthful way? Some of the photographs will seem ambiguous, but we have added short captions to help create historical context. Some images present a trenchant and even haunting demonstration of a moral issue or theme.

The survey should take 45 minutes to an hour. You must complete all the required answers on each page before going onto the next (Press "NEXT" at the bottom of each page when you are finished.) Your comments in each section are optional.

There are five parts to this survey overall.

Your personal information will be confidential. Please provide contact data below for our records. Thank you!

2. Please fill in your contact information.

Name:
Company:
Address:
Address 2:
City/Town:
State:
ZIP/Postal Code:
Country:
Email Address:
Phone Number:

3. Check the appropriate box below.

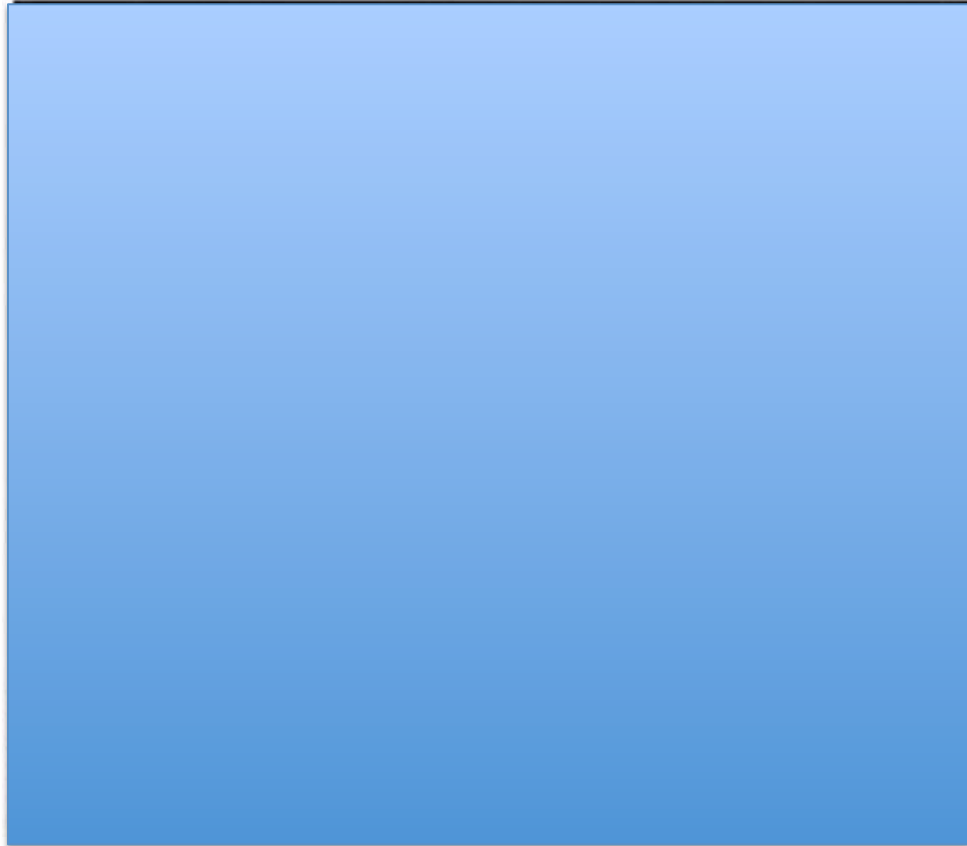
- Female
 Male

4. News Photography Professional Survey Part IV

The theme of this section is "Abomination," and most of these photographs are well-known. The images are graphic.

Image #1

Incinerated body of an Iraqi soldier on the "Highway of Death," the road from Mutlaa, Kuwait, to Basra, Iraq. 1991



*** 1. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 2. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low Performance	Routine or ordinary	average/"prototypical"	Strong/compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image narrative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, anger, fear, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you wish, briefly describe how the image represents the moral issue

Image #2

Torture of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib Prison. Baghdad 2004



*** 3. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 4. Rate the image above for the following (1=poor performance; 5=superlative performance):**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High /compelling	Extraordinary
Power of the image narrative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant presentation of a moral issue/theme	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arouses strong emotion (empathy/sympathy, fear, pity etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Image #3

Torture of Iraqi detainees. Abu Ghraib prison. 2004



*** 5. Image #2 and #3 shown directly above were taken under similar circumstances and have similar themes.**

Choose the stronger of the two images in the following categories:

	Image 2	Image 3
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trenchant Presentation of Moral Argument	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Shock value	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Why is image #2 considered "iconic"?

The next questions pertain comparatively to images #4, #5, #6 #7, and #8

Image #4

Nazi execution of prisoners. World War II.



Image #5

South Vietnamese Nguyễn Ngọc Loan executes suspected Viet Cong, 1968



Image #6

Street execution in Monrovia, Liberia, 1996

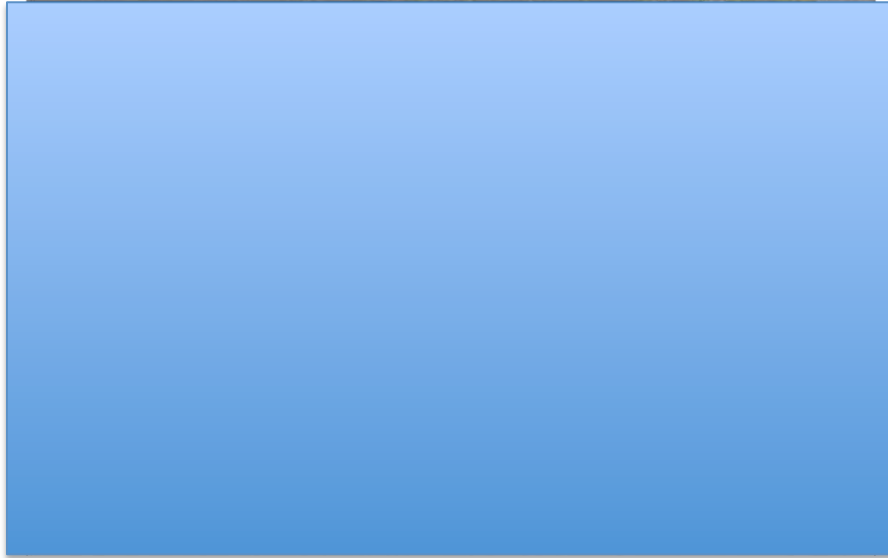


Image #7

Nazi public hanging of 17 year old Masha Bruskina and 16 year old Volodia Shcherbatsevich, members of Minsk resistance movement, October 1941

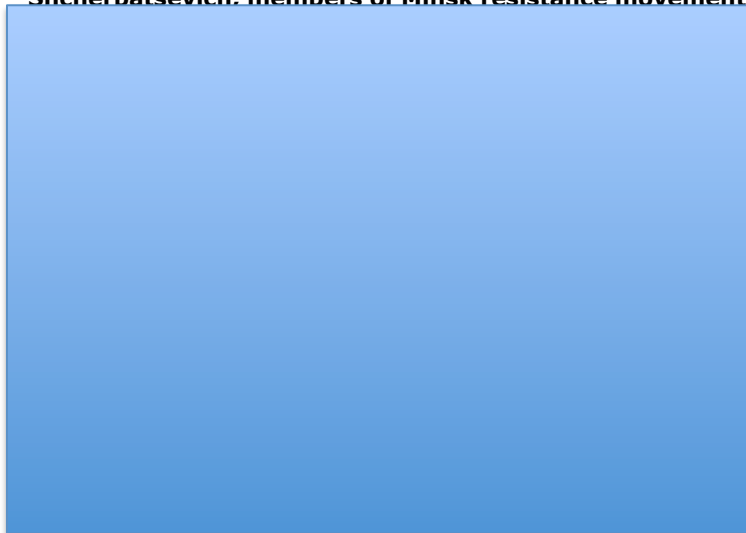
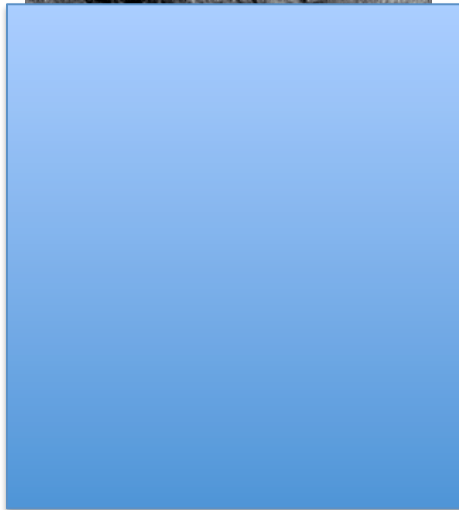


Image #8
Execution in Asia. Undated.



*** 6. Choose TWO of the five images which have the most haunting quality to you.**

Image 4

Image 7

Image 5

Image 8

Image 6

*** 7. Which TWO images inspire the greatest feelings of fear, pity, or empathy?**

Image 4

Image 7

Image 5

Image 8

Image 6

Comment if you wish

*** 8. This question pertains to direct aesthetic and narrative comparisons among Images #4, #5, #6, #7, and #8.**

You may mark two choices on each answer line, indicating which two images are the strongest, according to the question:

	Image #4	Image #5	Image #6	Image #7	Image #8
Strongest composition?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trenchant presentation of moral issue?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
News value?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Narrative qualities (does it tell a story?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Novelty?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Authenticity?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Emotional Impact?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haunting Effect?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shock value?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*** 9. Although several factors account for the salience and emotional power of these image, please identify the TWO factors that contribute most to each image's magnetic quality.**

	Facial expressions and body language	Aesthetic qualities	Narrative qualities (does it tell a story?)	Historical context/news value	Split-second capture of action	Spiritual/emotional "bond" with subject matter
Image #4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #7	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #8	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*** 10. Rate each image for its overall power to make you you feel present as a witness to the event and able to appreciate the significance of the event. (Rating 1 = weakest; 5 = strongest)**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Image #4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #7	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #8	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*** 11. Rate each image for its overall aesthetic presentation and mood.**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Image #4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #8	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 12. Although every image can be enhanced with textual explanation, which image(s) can stand alone for overall "imprint" and archetypal quality, no caption needed?**

(You may choose more than one option)

- Image #4
- Image #5
- Image #6
- Image #7
- Image #8

Which of these images is most memorable to you and why?

The last three images in this unit involve crowd scenes.

Image #9

Cross burning, Ku Klux Klan rally. Undated.

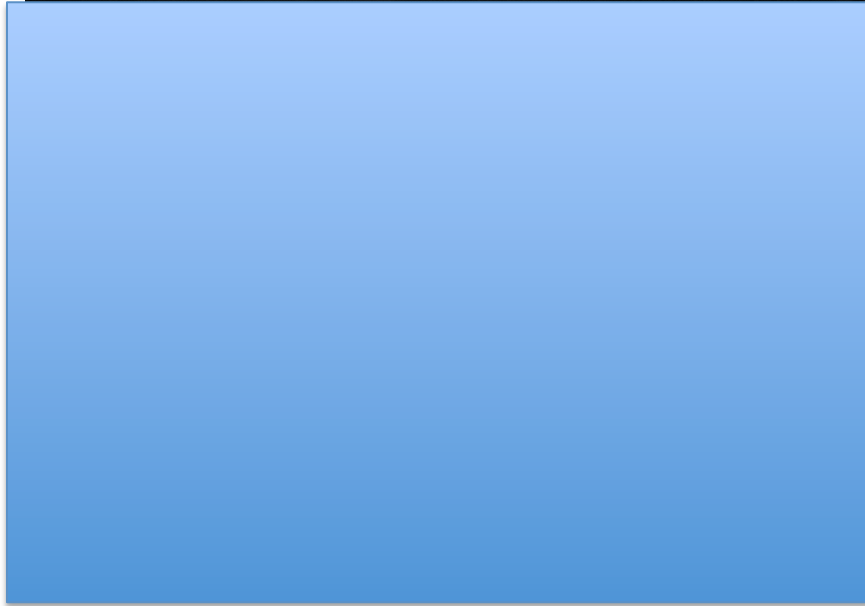


Image #10

Hanging of American contractors in Fallujah, Iraq, 2004



Image #11

Crowd lynching. Southeast Asia. Undated.

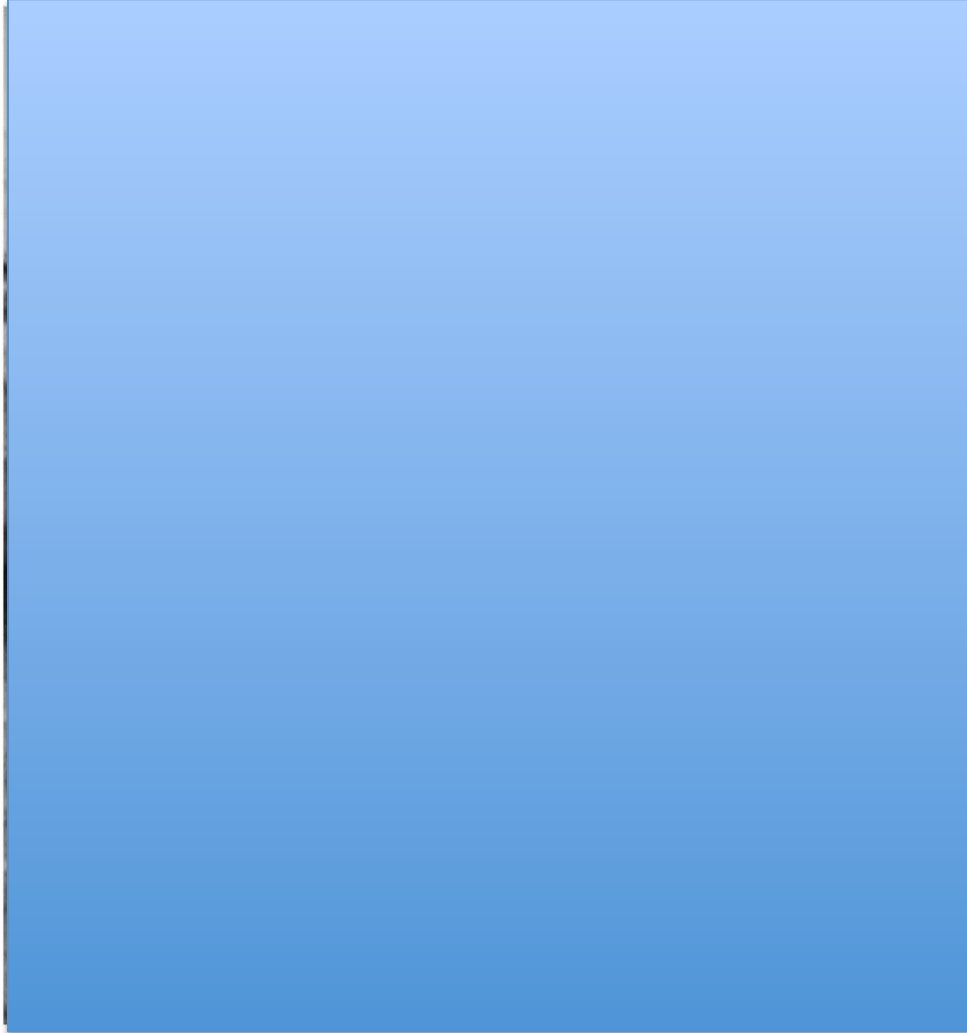


Image #12

Execution of Kurds in Iran, 1979



*** 13. Which of these images has the most haunting quality for you?**

- Image #9
- Image #10
- Image #11
- Image #12

*** 14. Which of these images inspires the greatest emotional response in you (e.g., fear, pity, empathy, disgust, etc.)?**

- Image #9
- Image #10
- Image #11
- Image #12

Comments welcome

*** 15. Rate each image for its overall power to make you feel present as a witness to the event and able to appreciate the significance of the event. (Rating 1 = weakest; 5 = strongest)**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"Prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Image #9	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #10	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #11	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image #12	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 16. This question pertains to direct aesthetic and narrative comparisons among Images #9-#12.**

You may mark TWO choices on each answer line, indicating which images are the strongest, according to the question:

	Image #9	Image #10	Image #11	Image #12
Strongest composition?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aesthetic effect?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expressive mood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Narrative clarity and interest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Novelty	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shock value	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trenchant presentation of moral issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haunting effect?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is it Memorable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*** 17. Although many factors affect the salience and emotional power of these images, choose TWO FACTORS for each image which seem most important in determining your personal response.**

	Narrative clarity and interest	Facial expressions and body language	Historical context/news value	Aesthetic presentation	Split-second capture of action
Image #9	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #10	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #11	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Image #12	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you wish, comment on the factors producing your emotional response

*** 18. Although every image can be enhanced with textual explanation, which image(s) can stand alone for overall "imprint" and quality, no caption needed?**

Image #9

Image #10

Image #11

Image #12

Which of these images is most memorable to you?

5. News Photography Professional Survey Part V (Final)

This final unit is entitled "Redemption"

Image #1

At Lincoln Memorial: Looking out on March on Washington, 1963.



*** 1. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 2. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image narrative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How does this image suggest a 'moral issue'? What is it?

Image#2

View of Dresden, Germany after firebombing. 1945



*** 3. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

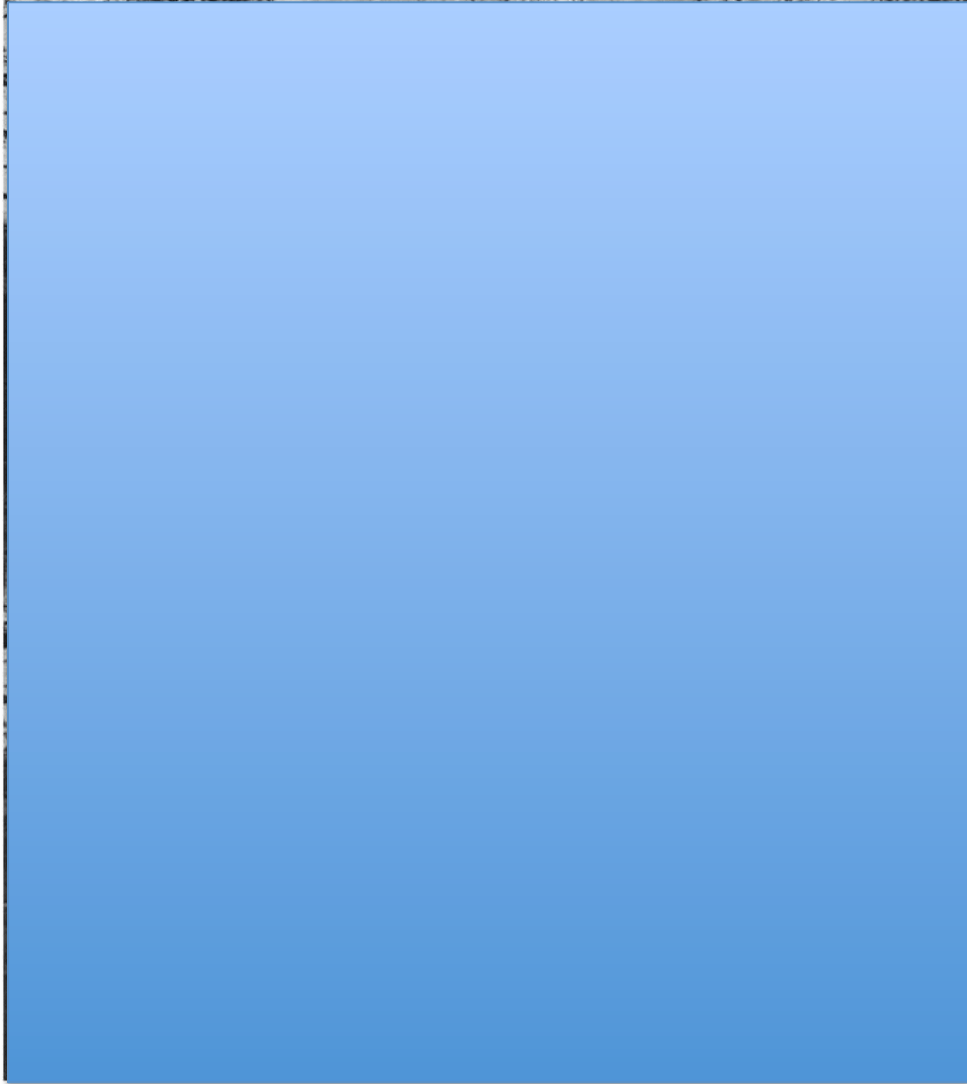
*** 4. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How does this image suggest a 'moral issue.'

Image #3

Sleeping GIs with boy in foxhole. Undated.



*** 5. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

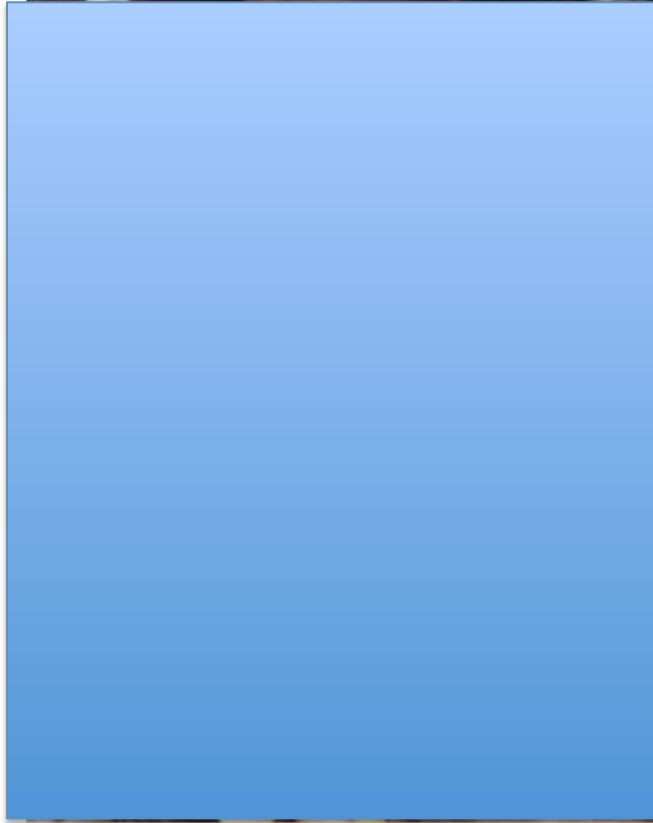
*** 6. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	Compelling	Extraordinary/"archetypal"
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Are you likely to remember this image? If so, why?

Image #4

Fireman attempting resuscitation of baby. Undated.



*** 7. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

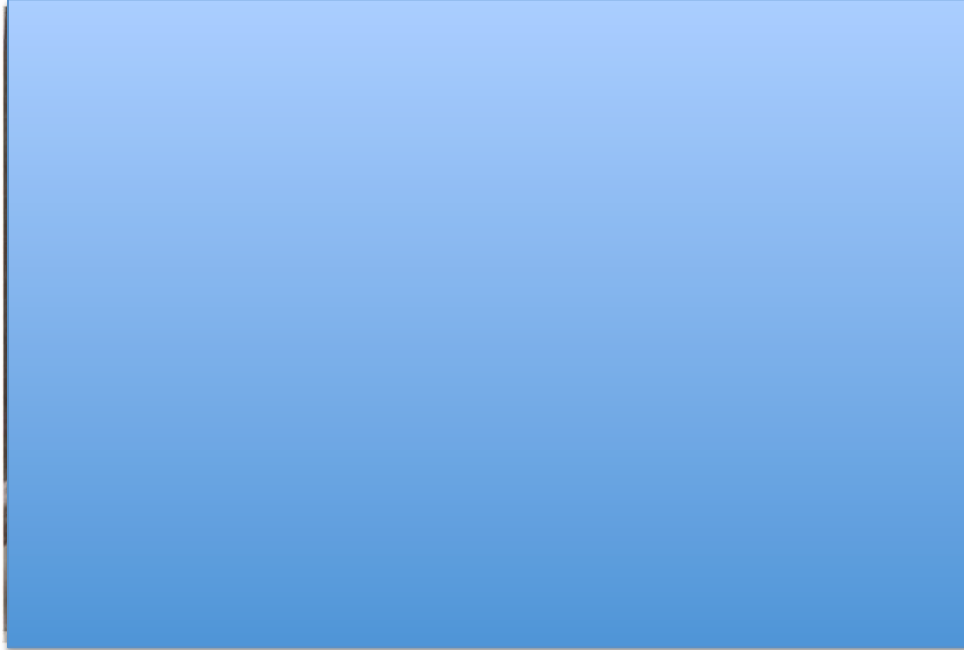
*** 8. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Describe how this photo treats the 'moral issue.'

Image #5

Stephen, after 3 years at Christ Child House, Detroit, says goodbye to Jill Horn, administrator, as he prepares to leave with a new family. 2008.



*** 9. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

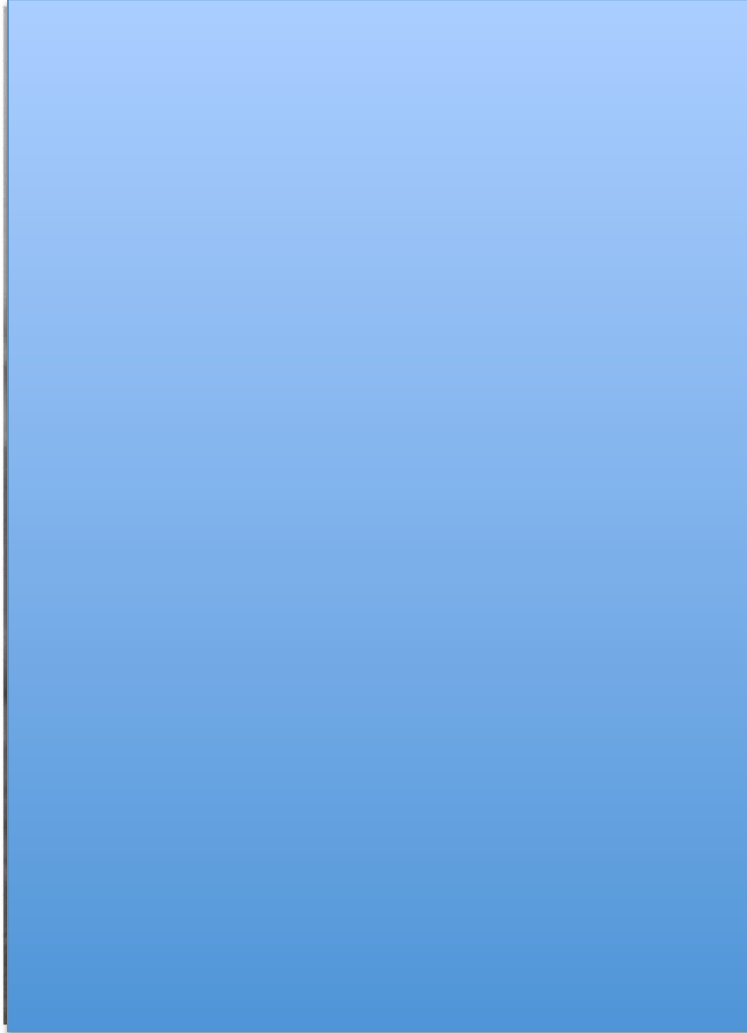
*** 10. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Describe how this photo treats the 'moral issue.'

Image #6

Widow grieves at her husband's graveside. Undated



*** 11. On a scale of 1 (lowest performance) to 5 (superlative performance), please rate the photograph above for the following qualities:**

	Poor/low performance	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
Strength of composition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aesthetic effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressive Mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Narrative Clarity and Interest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Newsworthiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Novelty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haunting Effect	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is it memorable?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 12. Rate the image above for the following (1 = poor performance; 5= superlative performance):**

	Poor	Routine or ordinary	Average/"prototypical"	High/compelling	Extraordinary
1. Power of the image "story" (narrative)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Trenchant presentation of a moral issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Arouses strong emotion (empathy, sympathy, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Overall image quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Describe the photo's most compelling qualities

Thank you for your time and attention! I will call you shortly to set up a follow-up interview!

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