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Appearance and photographs of people in flight

A qualitative study of photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration

Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin

Doctoral Thesis in Journalism at Stockholm University, Sweden 2021

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Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Friday 19 November 2021 at 13.00 in JMK-salen, Garnisonen, Karlavägen 104.

Abstract

This study explores photojournalistic practices by investigating how spaces of (forced) migration, as well as the people and objects moving in and across them, appeared in Swedish newspapers in 2015.

Photographs are unique objects of study, as the presence of people in certain spaces becomes directly observable through them. By considering photographs as agentic entities resulting from the many encounters between people involved in the event of photojournalism, the focus is on the social and political relations that emerge from these encounters, which opens up for an examination of questions of citizenship and visibility in relation to photography.

The inquiry scrutinises the traditional ontological framework for discussing photographs and the act of photography related to people in flight, which generally is limited to the content visible within the frame, implying that photographs are the products of one stable point of view – that of the photographer. This thesis offers insights into mediated and mediating ways of seeing and their implications by: (1) examining photojournalism and photographs as a combination of content, practice, and place-making that produces events of photojournalism; (2) linking these to the notion of spaces of appearance and the potential for political action that ensues; (3) providing a specific account of photojournalism as a practice that enables modes of self-presentation; and, (4) reflecting on encounters that unfold in the event of photojournalism due to the fact that photographs, as shareable stories, are reproduced and circulated in time and space.

The analysis draws upon a primarily qualitative, multi-method approach, combining an interview study with photojournalists and a visual analysis of photographs published in four Swedish newspapers in 2015. Through an approach of *watching* photography, the study examines the spatial and temporal dimensions of photographs beyond the stillness imposed by the frame and offers an analysis centred on movement and place. Employing Arendt's notion of appearance in terms of both photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration and others who are moving in and across these spaces, the results indicate that photojournalism, as a space of appearance, potentially stretches beyond the moment of photography. The findings further show that photojournalism practices do not only visualise events of (forced) migration, but they facilitate the appearance of, and encounters with, people in flight. The event of photojournalism offers a space which recognises fleeing as an action. By appearing in photographs, people in flight regain part of the spontaneity that they have been deprived of as stateless individuals, giving them an opportunity to reappear before others as subjects of rights. The thesis concludes that photographs should not merely be construed as representations, but rather as presentations *anew*, with people's appearance in photographs being testimony to their ability to self-present.

Keywords: *Photojournalism studies, photography, critical visual analysis, watching photography, appearance, encounters, photojournalistic practices, space, (forced) migration, flight.*

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For Ingemar

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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2015, the plight of millions of people fleeing war and violence became front-page news across the world as people attempted to cross the borders of Europe. Framed as a "refugee crisis", these events took place in the public eye, in front of the cameras of photojournalists and photographers, but also humanitarian workers and other civilians, security and border personnel, and people in flight themselves. This led to the production of multiple photographs that had the potential to be reproduced and circulated continuously in time and space beyond the events themselves. The camera, once again, proved to be a crucial technology and tool that enabled the appearance of people who had been forced to flee, and photojournalism became a key actor in setting the agenda for public debate on the crisis and the political, ethical, and security implications of the events for Europe (Georgiou, 2018).

Initially, news media reported on the events as a humanitarian crisis, which was managed by individual states and the EU through different institutions such as the European Border and Coastguard Agency (then Frontex), Europol, as well as by the UN - primarily through the UNHCR, and NGOs and solidarity movements. News-media reports focused on groups of people who were moving towards Europe on foot or by boat, fleeing war and violence and in need of humanitarian assistance (Berry et al., 2015; Nikunen, 2016; Zhang & Hellmueller, 2017).

Later in 2015, the political focus shifted towards protecting national and European borders; the idea of a borderless, welcoming Europe was replaced by a tightening of borders throughout the EU and unwanted migrants were expelled and extracted (De Genova, 2017). News media turned to focus on groups of people, primarily men, lingering at European borders, portraying them as a threat to European states and the EU (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

Certain photographs came to persist and have since continuously resurfaced and circulated in different contexts. One example is the photographs of three-year-old Alan Kurdi, whose body was photographed by Nilüfer Demir after his body had washed up on a beach in Turkey. Other motifs became symbols of the crisis, such as the countless photographs of overcrowded and unseaworthy boats and rubber dinghies that had capsized on the Mediterranean Sea. These images eventually became symbolic of the movement of people in 2015 (see for example Chouliaraki & Stolić, 2019; M. Mortensen & Trenz, 2016; Vis & Gouriunova, 2015).

As the photographs often arrived before the people in flight, they came to play an important part in both shaping the European public's social imaginaries of flight and predetermining how people forced to flee appeared to the public, in the process creating a 'strong visual sense of what "a refugee" looks like' (Malkki, in Wright, 2002). When newspapers published photographs and other reports on people fleeing, they provided not only facts about ongoing situations and events but 'the symbolic conditions of possibility under which we are invited to imagine the predicaments' of these people. This in turn affected how the public thought about and felt and acted towards people in flight, giving them a specific status filled with meaning and thus 'inscrib[ing] our relationship with them with specific affect and moral registers' (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017, pp. 617–618).

The terms "refugee crisis" and "migrant crisis" were quickly adopted in public discourse, indicating that the crisis was one of refugees and migrants and their presence in Europe. The events were presented as a problem created by the people in flight themselves – a result of their movement. Similarly, news media rarely made the connection between the underlying causes of flight and the arrival and presence of refugees in European nation-states. By relativising the situation, news media contributed to the establishment of an "us" and "them" mentality, in which the body of the nation became the one violated and the refugee was posed as the wrong-doer, their actions illegalised (Schimanski, 2019)

As people fleeing were photographed in their attempts to reach Europe and these images were published in the news, the photographs contributed to a 'process of appearances, [in which] the European gaze became fixed on the Others' (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020, p. 41). The intense visual coverage of flight and focus on people moving towards and arriving in Europe throughout 2015 and onwards raises questions not only about the visual representation of refugees and migrants in news media, but of photojournalistic practices and the potential of photographs to serve as *spaces of appearance* (Arendt, 1998).

Arendt defines the space of appearance as the particular public space in which people appear to one another, not just as objects or people, but in order to 'make their appearance explicitly'; from this perspective, the public visibility of the space of appearance is conducive to human dignity (1998, pp. 71, 198–199). For Arendt, everyone has the right to belong to a political community, and as stateless people, refugees have left the space in which they had a right to appear, act, speak, and be seen by others. They have lost access to 'a place in the world which makes opinions significant and action effective' and are 'deprived, not of the right to freedom, but of the right to action; not of the right to think whatever they please, but of the right to opinion' (Arendt, 1958, p. 380, 2004, p. 376). They remain publicly invisible until they assume and occupy a position in the world from which they see and are seen by others. As

a consequence of their statelessness, people in flight are excluded from this public space, and become publicly invisible, which is damaging to political life.

Research problem

Questions of citizenship and visibility in relation to photography and photographs have gained increasing theoretical attention, and photographs of people moving across borders have posed questions regarding the 'visual status of the citizen and its other' (Carville, 2010, p. 354). Critical approaches discuss who is able to represent, and who has the right to look and observe. Arguments are often divided between those proposing that invisibility provides protection from nation-state surveillance for people in flight, and those proposing that visibility enables spectators to engage with and act on injustices that occur in situations of flight, and can even promote social change.

The ontological framework for discussing photographs and the act of photography related to people in flight is generally limited to the content visible within the frame, as well as to the role and responsibility of the photographer (see for example Bleiker et al., 2013; Chouliaraki, 2006; Malkki, 1996; Wright, 2002). This assumption tends to imply that the photograph is the product of one stable point of view – that of the photographer.

Photographs are unique objects of study, as the presence of people in certain spaces becomes directly observable through the photograph. While photographs are seemingly static, they are not stable entities and cannot be reduced to their visible content or to any one interpretation. As a result of conventional approaches to photojournalism practices – during events such as the refugee crisis, and a predominant focus on the representation of people in photographs of flight - important perspectives have been overlooked. Just as photographs cannot be reduced to the intentions of the photographer, they cannot be reduced to the interpretation of the spectator.

Critical approaches aim to expose the fact that the photographer's ways of seeing are influenced and determined by dominant discourses in society, including their material conditions, professional routines and norms, and as a result implicate the form, structure, and content of photographs. Critical studies further highlight eventual reproduction and circulation of photographs as well as interpretation by spectators, and point to the potential risks of presenting people in flight as social, political, economic, or security threats or humanitarian victims (see for example Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Wright, 2002).

When practicing photojournalism, particularly in circumstances such as covering events of migration, photojournalists are often required to act independently, interpret different regulations and guidelines, and make quick, case-to-case decisions regarding how to best carry out their practice in order

to get the desired photograph. Photojournalists adapt to the complexity of the environmental conditions in which they perform their practices. This calls for a consideration of place, and thus I intend to establish the significance of place in relation to practice by analysing photojournalism as a place-making practice that opens new spaces of politics and pathways of emplacement. As a result, photojournalists might end up deviating from normative and established journalistic practices (Horsti, 2008). As the findings of this study demonstrate, this is not a linear process, but one that is relational, flexible, embodied, and reflexive.

While it is widely acknowledged that the interpretation and meaning of photographs are contextually dependant, most research has focused on the intentions and motivation of photographers, newspapers, and other visual news producers, or on the interpretations and meanings made by spectators. Even when approaches are critical, they continue to regard photographs as the products of one particular, stable point of view, 'which only differs in being attributed to a body other than that of the photographer' (Azoulay, 2010b, p. 11).

What these two positions share is a lack of attention to the actions of people who appear in photographs, as the dualistic insistence on the photographer and the spectator means that the people appearing in photographs remain passive and invisible beyond the frame. Azoulay (2008, pp. 18–20) argues that these approaches are insufficient as they omit the actions of the photographed. She proposes a consideration of photography as a space in which visibility and citizenship are connected, and the photographed transitions from a mere visible presence in the photograph to being considered as an active actor. This establishes the "civil contract of photography".

In line with Azoulay (2010), I propose an understanding of photographs as the outcomes of encounters between multiple actors in different space-times. This holistic approach not only considers what appears in photographs of people in flight, but extends the investigation beyond the frame to include the multiple encounters that take place as photographs are continuously made, appear, and move in time and space.

Photojournalism practices serves as the point of departure for an investigation of the political potential of photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration. I examine photographs as the outcomes of encounters between people in flight and photojournalists, as well as the potential encounters that take place between photographs and spectators when photographs are published and circulated in news media. Azoulay's (2008) method of *watching* photography allows me to establish an analytical approach focused on the act of photography, and the people involved in this act, in contrast to traditional approaches of focusing on the various uses, meanings, and interpretations of photographs. Watching, as distinct from looking, implies an active engagement with and seeing of photographs that extends beyond what is depicted in the frame, and which is sensitive to the actions and movements of the actors involved. Watching involves inscribing aspects of time, movement, and space

in photographs, not just as these aspects appeared at the moment the photograph was taken but in terms of how they might be imagined or assumed by spectators as they watch photographs.

This approach not only enable an examination of the content as a consequence, application or implementation of the photographer's point of view, but considers the multiplicity of actors that partake in the production, circulation, and spectating of photographs. As a result, this thesis acknowledges that, while photographers frame photographs, they alone do not determine what will be inscribed in the frame.

Research aim

Responding to the research problem presented above, the aim of this study is to empirically explore how photojournalism is practiced in spaces of (forced) migration. By examining photojournalistic practices and photographs published in Swedish newspapers in 2015, I perform an analysis focused on the appearance, movement, and actions of people in flight. Based on this empirical investigation, the purpose of the research is to contribute to a wider scholarly discussion on the potential of photojournalistic practices in creating spaces of appearance that open up different spaces of politics, in which people in flight can appear as subjects of rights.

Research questions

The aim of the research is operationalised by the following research questions:

RQ1: What appears in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration that were published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan* in 2015?

Through a compositional analysis of the visual content, I investigate the appearance of people and objects in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration. This is a question not only of method (that is, the *how* of appearing), but of *who* and *what* is manifested in this appearance. As part of this question I identify *what* appear in the spaces visible in the photographs.

This question primarily directs analytical attention to the *here-now* of photojournalistic practices by examining photographs as the visual outcomes of photojournalistic events

RQ2: What elements constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed? How do they relate their practices to journalistic norms in general, and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular?

Through an interview study focusing on how photojournalism is practiced among photojournalists who publish in Swedish newspapers, I examine the elements that constitute and shape photojournalistic practices and how photojournalists relate their own practices to journalistic norms, including objectivity, detachment, and impartiality. I engage in a discussion on the encounters that take place in photojournalistic events, and the implications photojournalists' presence in spaces of (forced) migration have for the appearance of people in flight in European public spaces.

This question primarily directs analytical attention to the *then-there* of photojournalistic practices by examining the processes that lead up to photojournalistic events, and pays special attention to photojournalists' own practices of seeing.

RQ3: How are action, movement, and encounters between the actors in a photographic event inscribed in selected photographs? How is the appearance of people in flight reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs in the event of photojournalism?

Drawing on the findings of RQ1 and RQ2, in RQ3 I examine selected photographs as shareable stories that emerge from the photojournalistic event in order to investigate action and movement of the photographs beyond their content. By approaching and analysing the photographs through the lens of the event of photojournalism, I address the political potential of photography as spaces of appearance.

RQ3 thus addresses the underlying conditions for appearance by bringing attention to the shortcomings of understanding photojournalism as an institutional practice which produces fixed visual objects. By challenging established ways of seeing photographs, I further invite for an understanding of photojournalistic practices as spaces of appearance with the potential for political action.

This question primarily directs analytical attention to the potential *when-where* of photojournalistic practices by analysing photographs beyond the content of the frames, and exploring the political potential of the event of photojournalism.

With regard to theory, I draw on Arendt to explore the notion of appearance in terms of both photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration and people who are moving in and across these spaces.

I further turn to Azoulay for a consideration of photography as a photographic citizenry, which builds on the idea of 'a civil contract of photography'. Such a civil contract 'enables citizens and noncitizens alike to produce grievances and claims that otherwise can't be seen and to impose them by means of, through and on the citizenry of photography' (2008, p. 85).

By considering photographs as agentic entities (Edwards, 2009) that are the results of the many encounters between people involved in the event of photojournalism, I am able to focus on the social and political relations that emerged from these encounters (Azoulay, 2008). This approach further offers an alternative to the dominant visual regimes of contemporary nation-states, and invites for alternative ways, and practices, of seeing.

Methodologically, this study takes a primarily qualitative, multi-method approach, combining an interview study consisting of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with photojournalists, a questionnaire answered by photojournalists, and a compositional analysis of photographs published in Swedish newspapers. I use Rose's framework of critical visual methodologies and Azoulay's approach of *watching* photography to examine the spatial and temporal dimensions of the event of photojournalism (2008, p. 14; Rose, 2016). Watching photography implies a holistic approach to the analysis of photographs that stretches beyond merely looking at the content. Inspired by Arendt's theory of appearance (1998), my analysis of photographs is centred on movement and place. The spatial and temporal analysis of the event of photojournalism is dependent on an understanding of photojournalistic practices, including the photojournalistic event, which was attained through the interview study.

Empirically, the visual part of the study is delimited to photojournalistic coverage of (forced) migration in the print editions of *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan*, and online editions and other media platforms were excluded. The rationale and reason for this delimitation is that the events that unfolded in 2015 onwards had implications and consequences for Swedish refugee migration politics, photojournalistic practice, the public, and the people who were, and still are, forced to flee. As I was investigating a specific period of time, the paper editions of the newspapers were the preferred unit of analysis, as articles and photographs are neither edited nor replaced after publication, which also limited the possibility of changes in the material occurring during the research process.

I primarily focus on photographs that were made through photojournalistic practice in editorial news settings. This meant that I excluded a large quantity of potentially interesting material, such as illustrations, graphic designs, audience-produced photographs, and other images.

This study is further limited to photojournalistic practices in a Swedish-newspaper context. While primarily concerned with photojournalistic practices taking place in, around, and about spaces of (forced) migration in the

year 2015, the scope is extended both temporally (to events prior to and after this year) and spatially (to other spaces, both off- and online).

While this study focuses on photographs and photojournalistic practices related to Swedish publications, the findings and conclusions are comparable and applicable to other national and international contexts.

It is important to note that this study does not exhaustively review the photojournalistic coverage of neither the events that are associated with the so-called "refugee crisis" in 2015 nor the migration that has taken place since then. Moreover, photojournalistic practices, and consequently photographs, are the main focus of this study, rather than (forced) migration itself. Hence, the object of this study is photojournalistic practices and photographs, which are examined by focusing on events of (forced) migration that took place in 2015. It would surely be interesting to study the reverse – an exhaustive study of all visual coverage would also have provided important insights. I further examine the practices that lead to the taking, making, and reproduction of photographs, without necessarily passing judgment on the ethical and moral implications such processes and practices might have.

The interview study is delimited to photojournalists and other visual news professionals publishing (or having previously published) in Swedish newspapers. Many, but not all, of the interviewees covered events related to (forced) migration and human flight in 2015, but those that did not had experience of reporting on similar events at some point in their careers.

Just over half of the respondents to the questionnaire reported on the refugee crisis. The focus of the interview study was investigating the experiences of photojournalistic practice in general, with a specific focus on spaces of (forced) migration. Combining the findings with an analysis of photographs published in newspapers since 2015, as outlined above, allowed me to delineate the study spatially and temporally. Questions of trustworthiness, including credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, as well as the specific limitations of the study, are discussed in detail in the Chapter 4.

Throughout the thesis I present empirical examples, primarily quotes from the photojournalists, and photographs collected through a mapping process. A selection of photographs is included alongside textual accounts and descriptions in the empirical chapters; as these photographs are pivotal outcomes of photojournalistic practices, they have empirical and analytical value in themselves, and are considered in combination with textual and verbal data. The selected photographs contribute to a deeper understanding of the appearance of places, situations, and people photographed as a result of specific events of photojournalism during the "refugee crisis" of 2015.

Significance of the study

By providing new theoretical and empirical perspectives on photojournalistic practices and modes of seeing, this study focuses on the symbolic power of

photographs in the shaping of social imaginaries on migration and spaces of (forced) migration. In addition, it investigates the role of technologies in the enactment of appearance, borders, and humanitarian responses to migration, as well as the significance of appearance in imagining, organising, and surviving flight.

This study is an investigation of photojournalism as a practice which begins already in the planning of the *photojournalistic event* and includes the photographs themselves, and stretches beyond the frame of the photograph in the form of the *event of photojournalism*. Photojournalism and photographs are considered as a relational practice in this thesis, and the latter are considered to be both the visual material outcomes of practices and a continuous practice in and of itself. The study seeks to provide a robust empirical account of the complexities involved in photojournalistic practices, including the consideration of photographs as continuous events, instead of focusing only on photographs as finite outcomes of these practices. There are, to my knowledge, no existing studies of photojournalistic practices among Swedish photojournalists that have utilised such a holistic perspective.

Swedish news media, the refugee crisis, and the politico-legal context

The following sections briefly lays out the context of photojournalistic practices in Sweden in relation to how spaces of (forced) migration and people in flight appeared in Swedish news media in general, and newspapers specifically, in 2015 and beyond. I further provide a brief background of the politico-legal context as relates to refugee migration, immigration, and asylum-seeking in Sweden. Aspects pertaining to newsroom practices, press ethical rules, and the more specific qualities related to news photographs, such as witnessing and power, are addressed in Chapter 2.

Studies show that the Swedish public have a generally high level of trust in news media – the highest is towards public service media and the lowest is towards tabloids – and that the level of trust has been more or less stable over time (Andersson & Weibull, 2017). According to the Eurobarometer 2016, 77% of the Swedish public deem national news media to be trustworthy, the European average being 53%. According to the same survey, 70% of the Swedish public consider newspapers to be a reliable source of information (European Commission, 2016). When it comes to questions concerning immigration, a 2017 study conducted by the Institute for Media Studies shows that 54% of the Swedish public agreed with the statement 'the Swedish news media does not tell the truth about problems related to immigration' (Andersson & Weibull, 2017). Newspapers have substantial readership in Sweden: two out of three people in Sweden read a daily newspaper on an average day, and

half of the population has a subscription to a daily newspaper in their household. Most read newspapers digitally (Mediebarometern, 2020).

Photographs, particularly those that are published in news media, have a potentially significant influence on public opinion, particularly with regard to reporting on discourses and views on refugees in times of crisis (Bleiker et al., 2013; Szörényi, 2006; Wright, 2002). Coverage of migration has long been on the Swedish news-media agenda, but the quantity and perspective of this reportage has varied over time (Hultén, 2006). Research on media and migration in a Swedish context has generally focused on Swedish news reporting on immigration to Sweden, stereotypical portrayals of immigrants, and the representation of people of colour in media (see for example Brune, 2004; Hultén, 2006; Strömbäck et al., 2017).

Following the events that unfolded in 2015, several studies examining news media in relation to the "crisis" were published (see for example Dahlgren, 2016; Hovden et al., 2018). In a study on Swedish media coverage of the "refugee crisis" in 2015, Ghersetti and Odén (2016) found that refugees were more frequently visible in photographs than in texts published in Swedish media. They also found that refugees were referred to in 70% of segments, but only allowed to actively speak in 10% of segments. Photographs of refugees were used in 20–30% of articles and 58% of television segments. Ghersetti and Odén concluded that photographs were primarily used for illustrative purposes, and do not necessarily relate to who is allowed to speak in news reports (2016, p. 36).

Studies specifically focusing on photographs and photojournalistic practice are few, however Nilsson's (2020b) article on visualising the experience of flight, in which she investigates photojournalistic portraits of refugee migration, makes an important contribution. Analysing entries to the Swedish Picture of the Year contest, Nilsson found that the entries had a humanitarian aesthetic and demonstrated an unresolved tension between showing and shielding young people and children, and that the jury statements discussed the entries in terms of 'a humanitarian rhetoric' and the ability of the entries to evoke emotions of outrage or compassion (2020b, p. 138).

From 2010 to 2015 there was an increase in the presence of immigration and integration on the editorial pages of national newspapers, and the way that newspapers wrote about immigration differed substantially (Bolin et al., 2016). A study by DELMI investigating how Swedish national newspapers reported on immigration from 2010 to 2015 found that most of the articles on immigration that were examined focused on the immigration of refugees, while other forms of immigration (such as family reunification) received considerably less attention in newspapers. The study further showed that news coverage and framing of immigration from 2010 to 2015 was characterised by a strong focus on refugee migration, which was more commonly framed as a negative than a positive. The study concluded that the news coverage and framing of immigration might contribute to a situation whereby the Swedish

public might (1) overestimate the immigration of refugees to the country, (2) underestimate how common different forms of immigration are, (3) overestimate the costs and problems associated with immigration to the country, and (4) underestimate the positive impacts on and implications for Sweden (Strömbäck et al., 2017).

While the above-mentioned report found that negative reports were more common than positive ones, a report on news coverage of the refugee crisis in five European countries commissioned by the UNHCR in 2015 found that Swedish newspapers, while predominantly framing the events in a negative way, still had the most favourable reporting on the crisis of the five examined countries (Berry et al., 2015).

In their 2019 survey, the SOM Institute reported that, according to the Swedish public, migration, immigration, and integration are among the most important problems in society, and between 2015 and 2017 immigration and integration were the most important problems in society (Martinsson & Andersson, 2019). Internationally, Georgiou and Zaborowski's 2017 report commissioned by the Council of Europe, which was a content analysis of broadsheet newspapers in eight European countries, found that there were three phases of news coverage of the crisis in the second half of 2015: The first ('careful tolerance') coincided with mass drownings in the Mediterranean Sea in July. The second, which they termed 'ecstatic humanitarianism', coincided with the death of Alain Kurdi and portrayed Europe as a 'place of (relative) solidarity to the plight of asylum seekers'. The third coincided with increasing 'fear and securitization' following a number of terror attacks in Europe (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

Migration and the politico-legal context in Sweden

In this section, I contextualise the study by providing a brief background of international humanitarian and human rights law related to migration and significant events in refugee and migration politics in Sweden between the years following World War II and the present day. Sweden has generally had a generous and welcoming policy, a long history of tolerance and openness, and among the highest scores on the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), a tool created to cover eight policy areas based on close to 170 policy indicators which map out migrants' trajectories towards full citizenship in EU countries (MIPEX, 2020).

International humanitarian and human-rights laws guarantee everyone the right to life, liberty, and security and freedom from torture and cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment. These laws state that everyone has the right to freedom of movement and to seek asylum, and that human beings should be protected by the rule of law and granted dignity. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) establishes people's right to movement within and across states (art. 13), the right to seek and enjoy asylum (art. 14), and the

right to nationality (art. 15). Human rights are rights that are established and recognised in international UN declarations and conventions and have legal and cultural recognition through the commitment of states, citizens, and members of communities, as well as international and national organisations which advocate for human rights' causes. The legal framework for human rights is structured around conventions of representation and recognition. States are responsible for guaranteeing the rights of their citizens (Hesford, 2011). While Article 2 of the UDHR states that 'everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinctions of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religions, political, or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth of other status', human rights are intrinsically linked to citizenship. The sovereignty of states guarantees rights for citizens, but it also means that states can deny the rights of non-citizens, even though these individuals might reside within their territories. Non-citizens, such as refugees or other undocumented or illegalised individuals, do not have the ability to claim or even enact their human rights.

The Geneva Conventions were agreed on in 1949, and define the basic rights of wartime prisoners, protections for the wounded, sick, and civilians in and around war zones, and the rights and protections of non-combatants. The Geneva Conventions have since been ratified in their entirety, or with reservations, by 196 countries. Building on Article 14 of the UDHR, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was established in 1951 (and revised in 1967), defining who is a refugee and setting out rights for people who are granted asylum, as well as the responsibilities of nation-states to grant asylum. According to the convention, protection should be provided to anyone who:

> Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside of his nationality and is unable or, owning to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside of the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owning to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UDHR, 1951, 1967)

The fundamental principal of this Convention is that refugees have the same rights as the citizens of the nation-state (with some exceptions). Sweden ratified this convention in 1954. Since then, the Swedish *Aliens Act* asserts that political refugees have the right to enter Sweden, seek asylum, reside there, and take up employment.

Since the beginning of the 1960s, Sweden has pursued an active foreign policy with international solidarity as the ideal, and as a relatively small country has strived to be considered to be a moral world power. In the years following the end of World War II, relatively few refugees arrived in Sweden. Most were chosen as part of a UNHCR-run programme (Byström & Frohnert,

2017, p. 33). Refugees from Latin America and the Middle East sought asylum and were accepted in Sweden, making it one of the leading countries when it comes to the reception of political refugees (Byström & Frohnert, 2017). Starting from the early 1970s, refugee and migration policies became more generous. According to Demker and Malmström (1999) this was a result of an active foreign policy that supported international solidarity and respect for human rights. The 1970s was marked by the ideals of multiculturalism, and the state was to take responsibility for different immigrant groups' access to their own languages and cultures. Between 1950 and 1970 labour and family reunion were the main forms of immigration to Sweden, and until the end of the 1960s there was essentially free movement to Sweden. Beginning in the 1970s, the number of conflicts in the world, and consequently the number of people forced to flee, increased. From 1960 to 1980 the number of people fleeing increased from 2 million to 9 million; from 1975 to 1995, the number of refugees under the protection of the UNHCR went from 2.4 million to 27.4 million.

A number of changes in laws and praxis lead to a liberalisation of refugee policy in Sweden throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. In 1975, the parliament unanimously decided on changes to the Aliens Act which extended the grounds for residency. Asylum-seekers were given the explicit right to stay in Sweden unless there were specific reasons against this. In 1976, the government proposed that the definition of "refugee" in the Geneva Convention be incorporated into the Aliens Act, and consequently the new Act (1980) referred to the term 'refugee' instead of 'political refugee' (Utlänningslagen, 1980). The 1980s saw the beginning of a politicised and polarised debate concerning migration and migration politics, in media as well as within political parties. The ideal of multiculturalism drew criticism, and the *All-Sweden-strategy*, was launched, stipulating that all municipalities should be part of the reception of refugees (Regeringen, 2004). Public opinion was split and xenophobic and racist sentiments gained momentum, but the attitude towards immigration was generally positive (Byström & Frohnert, 2017).

New policies were introduced in 1989, and refugee immigration was limited. *Luciabeslutet* ("the Lucia decision") introduced by the social democratic government stopped all refugee migration to Sweden except for those who met the requirements outlined in the Refugee Convention. This essentially meant a complete cease to asylum-seeking in Sweden, as few people met these requirements. This decision was overturned by the next (right-of-centre) government in 1991. A far-right, anti-immigration party called Ny Demokrati ("new democracy") gained popularity at the beginning of the 1990s, and was represented in the Swedish parliament between 1991 and 1994.

Events outside of Sweden impacted Swedish politics in the 1990s; for example, the war in former Yugoslavia, led to Sweden receiving an increase in asylum applications from people fleeing the war in 1992 and 1993. At the beginning of the 1990s there were several changes in regulations that made

immigration to Sweden difficult, but the tradition of allowing family reunion continued as before. According to the UNHCR's mission, refugees should be able to return if they want to; however, it was not until the late 1980s that Sweden introduced a repatriation agenda. In 1994, the government proposed the implementation of temporary residency permits. While several NGOs criticised this proposal, it was accepted by parliament.

Although Sweden was hard hit by the financial crisis at the beginning of the 1990s, the country recovered relatively quickly, and from 1995 experienced a twenty-year period of economic growth. Migration, particularly family union and refugee migration, continued to be high, and increased from 2000 onwards. In 1994, Sweden held a referendum regarding joining the European Union in which the majority of the public voted "yes", and Sweden became a member state of the union on January 1, 1995. With the entry into the Union came a number of new laws and regulations, including freedom of movement. Immigration policies remained up to individual member states, but there was an increasing tendency towards supranationalism. With EU entry, the frameworks for refugee migration changed.

The Schengen Area, which Sweden joined in 1996, increased mobility inside the European Union, while also reinforcing the outer borders of the EU and allowing citizens to freely move and settle in any EU state (EC, 2021; EUR-Lex, 2015). In 1997, the Dublin Convention was established to coordinate the application process for asylum-seekers in EU states by preventing them from applying for protection in multiple states; instead they must apply in the state they first entered, and cannot apply in other states. Simultaneously, the EU developed extensive technological systems of control such as identification and registration protocols, surveillance, and virtual and physical borders that invaded the private space of people moving towards Europe in attempts to seek refuge. As Sweden is geographically far from where people who are seeking asylum generally flee, it can – according to the Convention – reject applicants if they have passed through other member states on their journey to Sweden.

The number of refugees in the world continued to grow due to wars and conflicts in other parts of the world, and more people sought asylum in Sweden. A new Swedish integration policy stressed the responsibility of individual refugees, thus abandoning the multiculturalist ideals of the 1970s. Sweden is among the countries that have received the highest number of refugees worldwide in relation to population size. The active foreign politics that dominated the 1970s and 1980s has been toned down, but Sweden has continued its strong support of the UN and refugee assistance through the UNHCR. It is important, however, to take a global perspective: almost 60 million people are currently fleeing their homes world-wide. 86% of the people who have fled their home nation have been received by developing countries (Andersson, 2016). So, the number of people who fled to Europe in 2015 is only a small

proportion of the people fleeing worldwide. The "refugee crisis", if such a term should be used, is not a European crisis, but a global one.

Extensive investments in external border controls were made, and in 2004 Frontex, an EU border control agency, was established. As a result of reinforced borders, those attempting to reach Europe were forced to resort to other, often more dangerous, routes; attempted migration to the area became more visible and often appeared in news media, leading to a similar "crisis politics" as was later seen in 2015 (Andersson, 2016, p. 12). Border spectacles (see Chapter 3) have taken place at Lampedusa in 2004, Ceuta and Melilla in 2005, the Canary Islands in 2006, the Greek-Turkish border in 2010, Lampedusa once more in 2011 following the Arab Spring, and as a result of the war in Syria in recent years. In 2013, all Syrian nationals and stateless people from Syria were given permanent residency permits in Sweden.

Sweden was one of the EU's main recipients of asylum applications in 2015, before the government decided on reinforcing the inner borders and decreasing the number of accepted applications, and as a result the number of application has been decreasing ever since (Krzyżanowski, 2018; Swedish Migration Agency, 2020). In April 2015, 800 people fleeing died when their boat capsized south of the island of Lampedusa, days after another 400 people lost their lives attempting the same journey (BBC, 2015). A few days later, the European Council held a special meeting concerning the tragic events in which it committed to strengthening its presence at sea, fighting traffickers (in accordance with international law), preventing illegal migration flows, and reinforcing internal solidarity and responsibility (European Council, 2015).

In the summer and early autumn of 2015, the number of people fleeing and attempting to reach Europe, primarily through Turkey and Greece, was increasing. By late August of that year thousands of people had used the so-called "Balkan route" in order to reach Hungary, only to get stuck because they did not have the proper papers to continue their journey into the Schengen Area. According to the Schengen Agreement there should not be any border controls between member states (so-called "internal borders"); however, member states are allowed to temporarily reintroduce internal border controls 'if there is a serious threat to public policy or internal security' (EC, 2021), which was deemed to be the case in 2015 onwards[1]. After a few critical days, Germany and Austria announced that they would ease the EU restrictions, enabling people to continue their journeys. Several states in Eastern Europe enforced their borders with fences, making it significantly harder for people to cross them. Initially, the reactions and responses from the Swedish public

[1] Regulation (EC) No 562/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of March 15, 2006, establishing a Community Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders. Replaced by Regulation (EU) 2016/399 of the European Parliament and of the Council of March 9, 2016 on a Union Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders (Schengen Borders Code).

were welcoming: the government and established opposition parties argued that the right to asylum is absolute, and for that reason there was no limit to how many asylum-seekers Sweden should accept. The Swedish Migration Board mobilised large quantities of resources in order to organise refugee reception, civil society organised relief efforts, and public support for generous refugee policies increased significantly.

In early September 2015, the now-well-known photographs of three-year-old Alan Kurdi were published in news and social media across the world. The publication of these photographs sparked messages of sympathy in Sweden and across Europe; NGOs reported record donations to assist refugees in need of aid, and many people joined the efforts of Refugees Welcome, a grassroots organisation that emerged. At a demonstration organised by Refugees Welcome on September 6, 2015, in Stockholm, the Swedish Prime Minister gave a speech in which he said that 'my Europe receive[s] people who flee from war, in solidarity and collectively. My Europe does not build walls, we help each other in times of need' (Regeringen, 2015). Soon after, the Swedish Police established a *nationell särskild händelse* ("national special event") to organise and control the refugee reception (RiR, 2017).

In mid-September there was a noticeable shift on the political level; despite protests from the Swedish government, Denmark announced that they, contrary to the regulations in the Dublin Convention, would not control or check the documents of refugees wanting to continue their journey to Sweden. Finland and Norway reinforced their borders to Sweden, while Austria and Germany re-assumed their border controls (Esiassson et al., 2016). Throughout October, the number of asylum-seekers continued to increase, and the attitude towards refugee reception shifted, particularly in the southern parts of Sweden. A series of arson attacks on planned accommodation for asylum-seekers was reported by the police and news media (RiR, 2017). On October 23 an agreement concerning stricter rules on refugee and migration policies was reached between six of the eight parties represented in the Parliament, primarily concerning time-restricted residency permits and ID controls along the borders, and signed by both the government and opposition.

In early November, 2015 the government reinforced the border controls at its inner borders for a ten-day period. The controls applied to routes including the Öresund Bridge and ferries from Denmark and Germany. On November 24, the Prime Minister and his deputy announced that in order to have *andrum* ("breathing space") in terms of refugee reception, the Aliens Act (Utlänningslagen 2005:716) would be adapted to the minimum levels in accordance with international conventions and EU laws for a three-year period (Riksrevisionen, 2016). Only refugees that were part of the UNHCR resettlement programme were to be given permanent residency permits, permits, the right-to-residency permit was based on family ties, and the requirements regarding asylum-seekers being financially self-supporting were increased.

Following this the number of asylum-seekers dropped sharply, but remained high compared to the years prior to 2014 and 2015. Temporary identity controls were enforced from January 4, 2016 with the intention of decreasing the number of asylum-seekers to Sweden. The EU and Turkey agreed on a plan to stop the movement of people to Greece; in return, EU member states agreed to accept Syrian refugees from refugee camps in Turkey.

In late 2015 and early 2016 the situation had worsened, not only for those trying to reach Europe across the Mediterranean in unseaworthy vessels but for those who were, and still are, stuck in the borderlands of Europe. According to Eurostat, over two million people registered asylum applications in EU member states in 2015 and 2016 (Eurostat, 2021).

Key terms and issues of categorisation

Categorising a targeted population is often a necessity in research. While it is a practical way of delimiting the unit of analysis, it is also a conceptual and ethical issue that must be dealt with carefully. The labelling of people is not a neutral practice, but rather one that is filled with assumptions and is 'often asymmetrical and always political' (Smets, 2019, p. xlviii). In order to facilitate the reading process, I unpack key terms and definitions as follows:

Photojournalistic practice is conceptualised as all aspects of news-making involving photographs. I consequently use the term photojournalistic practice when referring to the practices of working with photographs in the context of newspapers. This relates to not only photojournalists holding the camera but to photo editors and photo editors in chief, as well as photographs themselves. The term photojournalistic practice is intended to provide a distinction from other forms of visual journalism, such as illustrations, graphics, and design. It should be noted that not all photographs in newspapers are journalistic (such as photographs used in advertisements).

A *photojournalist* is a person who is hired or contracted by a news organisation to visually document situations and events in a journalistic capacity with a camera, making photographs intended for a public audience. Photojournalists adhere to established press ethical rules and have ethical obligations.

Visual news professionals is a collective term for the many individuals who are involved in photojournalistic production (post-photograph) without necessarily being photojournalists. This includes photojournalists and photographers, photo editors, editors in chief, layouters, designers, and – to an extent when relevant – other types of journalist. However, the majority of the interviewees were photojournalists, that is, they are the ones who are travelling, interacting in the field, holding the camera, and creating the photographs.

Space constitutes both physical and geographical localities and imagined realms where the social is constructed. It is produced through the interactions,

histories, and cultures of people, and is perceived differently by each person experiencing it (Harvey, 2009; hooks, 1990; D. B. Massey, 2005; Tuan, 1977). Most spaces are policed – by governments, authorities, or other owners and occupiers of land – and can be modified, regulated, and controlled to fit certain needs, while rarely affecting and impacting people in the same way. There are spaces that are designed to discourage lingering, such as train stations, city park benches, and borders. Other spaces eliminate freedom of movement altogether, such as prisons, detention centres, and refugee camps, essentially producing immobility. In this study, I use Doreen Massey's (2005, p. 9) conceptualisation of space: (1) space is constituted through interactions; (2) without space there is no multiplicity, without multiplicity there is no space; (3) space is always under construction. To summarise, spaces are never blank and open for anyone to enter and occupy; some people have the 'right to belong', while others are singled out as trespassers in spaces that are politically, historically, and conceptually imagined (Puwar, 2004, p. 8). When a space is filled not only with bodies and objects that are familiar but with different practices, it *feels* familiar.

A *place* is made up of people, materials, emotions, affects, movement, and practices, and comes into existence as people orient themselves in space and when space feels familiar (Tuan, 1977). As an abstract concept distinct from locality, places are entities that are in constant change and movement. They do not necessarily have specific qualities to them, or predetermined effects in the world, and are instead made up of qualities of 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005, pp. 140–141; Pink, 2012, pp. 3, 23–24). Places, then, are not limited or bounded localities that are lived or practiced in, but are produced in and through the movement of people, objects, feelings, and emotions, all entangled in one another (Ingold, 2008; Pink, 2012).

Migration is generally understood to be the movement of people from one place to another, and is firmly grounded in the notion that people are supposed to stay in the place in which they enjoy citizenship. In this study, I focus on (forced) migration, which concerns the movement of people who have determined to surrender their citizenship in order to find safety within another nation-state. This is differentiated from other forms of migration such as tourism or moving to another country for work, education, or love. As argued by Khosvari (2010), there is a tendency in the scholarly community to 'rank' migration along a continuum of choice from free to forced, and I acknowledge that this study may contribute to this continuum. I have chosen to bracket the word "forced" to indicate a critique of the common separation between what is considered to be legal and illegal migration, and to oppose the notion of people in flight being represented as without agency. As I argue throughout this study, there is *action* in fleeing, even if flight is the only possible action a person can take.

Migrant, refugee, and asylum-seeker are complex terms that require careful consideration when used in academic contexts as well as others. Terms such

as "refugee", "migrant", "asylum-seeker", and "refugee crisis" are part of ways of seeing rooted in the nation-state system. Using these terms risks imposing on one's ways of seeing photographs and limit one's imagination (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020). Generally, I use the term *people in flight* here as an all-encompassing term to encourage different ways of seeing the actions of those fleeing. I occasionally use "refugees" or "migrants" when referring to media discourses or existing research.

Spaces of (forced) migration is a collective term for spaces that emerge as nation-states and supranational institutions attempt to control people in flight and processes of (forced) migration – in the case of this study, primarily to and within the EU. These spaces include borders, refugee camps, and detention centres, as well as other spaces that are relevant within the scope of this study, such as train stations, boats on bodies of water, and highways across countries. These are potentially contested spaces that are governed by nation-states or the EU, and in which the freedom of movement is potentially restricted for people moving to, in, and across them Public discourse on migration, forced or otherwise, generally takes the border for granted, as a normal, almost nature-given, feature of political and social life (Horsti, 2019b).

The refugee crisis understood as a collective framing of continuous events related to people in flight and processes of (forced) migration that culminated in 2015 and 2016. In line with Zelizer (2010, p. 2), I consider the events that contributed to the refugee crisis to be a series of 'unsettled events'. These events are characterised as 'the difficult and often contested planned violence, torture, terrorism, natural disaster, war, famine, crime, epidemic and political associations at the core of today's geopolitical environment'. In relation to journalism, 'unsettled events' are events that disrupt and challenge daily practices, and often put a great deal of responsibility on individual journalists to make calls regarding *what*, *when*, *how*, *who,* and *where* to report. When necessary for context, I refer to these events collectively as "the refugee crisis".

Structure of the thesis

Including this introduction, the thesis consists of eight chapters. This chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the study and contextualises photojournalistic practices by relating them to spaces of (forced) migration and Swedish refugee and migration politics, as well as key terms and categorisations referred to throughout the study. In this chapter, I have outlined the research problems that motivate the study, and explained how I have responded to them.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the fields in which this study is situated by discussing previous research that has taken photojournalism as the object of study. I review academic literature relating to photojournalism, as well as

smaller sets of problem-, case- and region-specific literature, and identify gaps in previous research which I seek to address in this study.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of the study: an understanding of the relationship between photojournalistic practice and space viewed through the lens of appearance.

In Chapter 4, I outline and discuss the methodological choices I made throughout the research process. I specify how the study was carried out and motivate the methodological decisions taken. I account for the working process, discuss issues of reflexivity, limitations, and trustworthiness, reflect on my own position as a researcher, and address ethical considerations.

In Chapters 5 to 7 I present the empirical findings of the study. I address the research questions, and the findings are continuations of one another, with the findings presented in one chapter motivating the next.

In Chapter 5 I discuss what appears in the photographs of (forced) migration that were published in four Swedish newspapers in 2015 by investigating the visual content in the material and relating the findings of the compositional analysis to the findings of the interview study.

Chapter 6 focuses on the elements that shape and constitute photojournalistic practices by inquiring into the experiences of photojournalists who have published in Swedish newspapers, in and beyond the context of flight.

Chapter 7 focuses on the event of photojournalism by extending the analysis of photography to selected photographs and variations of their motifs, as well as beyond the frame of the photographs. This generates a discussion of the multiplicity of appearance that draws on the publication and circulation of photographs.

Chapter 8 connects the empirical findings in a concluding discussion related to the research problem, aim, and theoretical framework by responding to the research questions. It also states the key theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions of the thesis to the field of photojournalism studies and other areas of research.

Chapter 2: Previous research

While journalism studies is a diverse field of academic research, photojournalism remains an understudied area. As noted by Nilsson (2015), research on photojournalism generally concerns news photographs, and relatively few studies have addressed photojournalistic practices, directing attention to how photojournalists themselves experience and interpret their own practices. In this chapter I position the study within the field of journalism studies by presenting and discussing the literature and previous studies that underpin the study, primarily drawn from journalism and media studies related to other relevant fields such as migration and human-rights studies.

A part of the aim of the study is to contribute to a wider scholarly discussion on the potential of photojournalistic practices in creating spaces of appearance that open up different spaces of politics, in which people in flight can appear as subjects of rights. In relation to this, the literature review evaluates and elaborate on the dominant ontological assumptions that underlie existing theories relating to the act of photography and photographs. This informs the study of photojournalistic practices and the photojournalistic image, and is undertaken by challenging assumptions in order to 'disrupt the reproduction and continuation of an institutionalized line of reasoning'(Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011, p. 32). This problematisation is not an end in itself, but serves as a springboard for contributing and developing theoretical discussions related to photojournalism.

The goal of the literature review is to challenge how photographs are approached in the fields of journalism and media studies by problematising the dualistic assumptions that underlie existing theories and discussions regarding photographs and the role of photographers (Azoulay, 2008, 2010b; Carville, 2010). In relation to the aim and research questions, the literature review focuses on research and studies concerning photographs in relation to witnessing and representation on the one hand, and photojournalism related to ethics and professional norms, the newsroom, field practices, and news values and content on the other hand.

I begin by reviewing studies that examine photographs as part of news media within journalism studies. Next, I review literature concerning the witnessing qualities of photographs and studies on embodied spectatorship. Power, aesthetics, and the politics of representations are discussed in the following section. I then focus the workings of newsrooms, and photojournalists' work

in the field, on ethics and professional norms in journalism, before ending this review by turning to emotions and affect in photojournalism.

Photographs and photojournalism in the wider field of journalism

Photographs help to bring a sense of closeness to journalism, and are a unique force in helping the public to form opinions (Fahmy, 2010; Zelizer, 2007). Photographs are rarely published on their own in news contexts in ways that one might find in museums or photobooks, and are generally accompanied by text – at the very least captions and the photographer's name, but generally there is an article alongside the photograph (Becker et al., 2000). Studies have found that news media tend to reinforce national values, and have substantial power in shaping and defining how places and people are imagined. Furthermore, publics become part of imagined communities by reading, watching, and discussing the news, which establishes a link between the nation and its citizens that is taken for granted as naturally occurring (Anderson, 2006; Mitchell, 2005; Nikunen, 2016). The four newspapers investigated in this study – *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen,* and *Sydsvenskan* – are printed in the Swedish language, clearly intended for a Swedish-speaking public. This promotes a certain level of nationalism.

Previous studies on photographs and photography in journalism have focused on the ideological impact and content of news photographs (see for example Becker, 1992, 2013; Newton, 2009; Rose, 2016). Hall (1981) and Bednarek and Caple (2012c, 2017) have studied how photojournalism and visual content relate to news values, and Caple (2013) has further studied the role of photojournalism and photography in the meaning-making process of news. The ethics of photojournalism have recently been studied by Santos Silva and Elridge II (2020), Lavoie (2010), and Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2010).

Aspects of objectivity and subjectivity in photography have been studied by Mäenpää (2014), Deuze (2005), and Salgado and Strömbäck (2012). More ethnographically oriented studies that point specifically to the experiences of photojournalists and their professional practices as part of the wider field of journalism have been carried out by Caple (2013), Mortensen (2014), and Pantti and Bakker (2009), while research on how photojournalists serve as witnesses to events and situations rather than as actors has been conducted by Zelizer (1998), Andén-Papadopoulos (2008), and Chouliaraki (2006), among others.

Studies focusing on the technological aspects of photojournalism and their relation to the role of photojournalists in a changing news-media landscape have been carried out by for example Becker et. al. (2000), Gill (2014), and Gill and Pratt (2008).

Few studies have investigated photojournalistic practice and photojournalists active in a Swedish context. Nilsson and Wadbring have studied the changes in photojournalism in Swedish dailies from 1995 to 2013 (2016).

Nilsson has also studied the factors that influence the editorial processing of photographs and the impact of photojournalistic practices on these processes in Swedish newsrooms (2017), how Swedish news organisations visualise crises in a digital media ecology (2020a), and how photojournalism addresses refugee migration in Sweden by examining entries to the Swedish Picture of the Year contest (2020b). In her PhD thesis, Andén-Papadopoulos investigated the photographic staging of the Vietnam War in Swedish newspapers (2000), and Lindblom's PhD thesis concerns photojournalism in a market-driven journalistic field (2020).

A handful of studies have investigated the use of photographs in journalism. While newspapers were historically textual and compact in their layout, from the early 1900s onwards photographs gained increasing space in newspapers, and since the 1950s newspapers generally publish a lead photograph on the front page (Becker et al., 2000).

A study on content changes in Swedish newspapers by Andersson (2013) found that visual content, including photographs, now dominates the inside pages, particularly since most papers transitioned from the broadsheet to tabloid format in the early 2000s. The study further found that the number of illustrated articles in Swedish newspapers has doubled since the 1990s (Andersson, 2013). Studies further show that tabloids are more prone to publishing photographs than broadsheet newspapers. In their longitudinal study of Swedish dailies, Wadbring and Nilsson (2016) found that almost all articles published in tabloids included at least one photograph, and that the number of photographs published in Swedish newspapers has increased over time.

Despite this apparent increased momentum for photography, most picture desks at Swedish newspapers have closed or are in the process of closing down, and the visual work of newspapers is currently being restructured (Nilsson, 2017). Newspapers typically only have a few photographers on staff, and there is an increased demand for journalists to be jacks of all trades, rather than having a specific journalistic skillset (Nygren, 2008; Wadbring & Nilsson, 2016). An article published in *Journalisten* in September 2018, showed that out of 5,000 permanent positions in the Swedish daily press, only 60 are photographers (Johnsson & Nesser, 2018). According to the article, Swedish newspapers either rely on their staff members being multi-skilled or have contracts with freelancing photographers or photojournalists. There are, however, some exceptions to the rule; for example in 2018 *Göteborgsposten* hired four photographers on the basis that they saw the value of photojournalism (Nygren & Nord, 2019).

The witnessing qualities of photographs

Studies on the witnessing qualities of photojournalism have largely focused on evidentiary aspects of photographs and their status as witness-bearers to and pieces of evidence for events having taken place. Photojournalists serve as witnesses to events, and photographs have long had an authenticating role in news, likely because of their perceived ability to capture the 'real' (Sontag, 2001; Zelizer, 2007, 2010). However, as Newton argues, 'challenging the credibility of visual reportage is a dodge: If we do not believe an image, we do not have to deal with its message' (2001, p. 124). Photographs can be proof that events have taken place, and further 'mobilize racial, gender and sexual constructs of identity, citizenship, and the nation that ambivalently mediate the conditions through which recognition takes place' (Kozol, 2014, p. 12).

There are some events and situations that end up challenging existing norms and ideals in journalism, and which require photojournalists to act according to their own judgment. Examples of such events include the liberation of the concentration camps in 1945, the Vietnam War, the recent crisis in Yemen, and – as will be evident from the findings of this study – the events of (forced) migration throughout 2015 and onwards. Zelizer (1998, p. 204) has argued that photographs from the concentration camps promoted an 'atrocity aesthetic' shaped by 'agonized collectives of survivors and victims, gaunt faces behind barbed wire, vacant stares of the tortured, and accoutrements of torture'. Photojournalists take on the responsibility of 'transmitting these unintelligible occurrences to the public. Something that was not understood had to be represented' in an effort to help make sense of what is happening in the world (Sliwinski, 2011, p. 88).

A vast number of scholars have engaged in research on the interplay between photography and human rights, and how photographs work in human rights and humanitarian contexts (see for example L. Allen, 2009; Hesford, 2011; Lydon, 2016, 2018; Ristovska, 2016, 2018; Sliwinski, 2009, 2011, 2018). Ristovska has studied how visual knowledge shapes human rights practices (2018). Research on how the public is positioned in a moral engagement with the people that appear in photographs has been carried out by Boltanski (1999) and Chouliaraki (2013, 2006); similar studies have investigated how photographs can mobilise publics to act on human rights abuses and violations (Ristovska, 2016; Zelizer, 1998), and how photographs are made up of ethical and political issues (Azoulay, 2008, 2012; Sliwinski, 2011, 2018). Examples of studies on ethical and moral spectatorship include Chouliaraki and Stolic's study on rethinking media responsibility in the refugee 'crisis' (2017), Mortensen and Trentz's study on media morality and visual icons (2016), *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing* by Kozol (2014) and *Picturing Atrocity* edited by Batchen, Gidley, Miller, and Prosser (2014).

Many of the studies discussed above consider photographs as means of making human rights abuses and violations public, and how photographs can

provoke affective responses and potential action from the public (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Ghosh, 2019; Sliwinski, 2011; Sontag, 2004). However, as argued by Ghosh, the majority of these scholars work with visual representation that concerns 'the liberal humanitarian spectorial tradition of oppressed victims and sympathetic, yet privileged spectators' (2019, p. 328).

As is discussed above, respect for human dignity, privacy, and integrity are key principles of photojournalistic practice. Photojournalists are obligated to report on victims of accidents and crime with great caution and consideration, and suffering should, as a general rule, not be news. However, as argued by Demo (2018, p. 65), the norms that govern 'the creation, circulation and viewing of photographs of the dead speak[ ] to changes in technology and evolving notions of privacy, propriety, and community'.

While newspapers are generally reticent to publish photographs of violence, atrocities, and death, in accordance with press ethical rules, and text-based accounts are often used to draw attention away from imagery, studies show that it is praxis that the farther an event is from "home", the more likely it is that such photographs will actually be published, despite the press ethical rules (Fahmy, 2010; Kim & Kelly, 2008; Zelizer, 2010).

Photographs of dead and wounded people in distant places have been found to hold great news value, and despite going against press ethical rules, photographs from areas of conflict and crises are frequently published in news feeds (see for example studies by Allan & Zelizer, 2004; Sontag, 2001, 2004). Studies show that journalistic ideals are constantly being challenged, particularly during crises (see for example Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013; Deuze, 2005; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013), and photojournalists' own personal and subjective experiences and emotions tend to become mixed up with professional roles and practices in more prominent ways (van Zoonen, 1998).

The circulation of photographs in the world, particularly in crises and conflicts, has been instrumental in establishing an international community of spectators and contributing to the creation of a sense of shared humanity, and it has been argued that photographs have been central in fostering the development of human rights (Sliwinski, 2011).

In *Human Rights in Camera*, Sliwinski (2011) sees the formation of an international community of spectators as she addresses the issues of proximity and distance, both spatial and temporal, between those who are seen and those who see, by focusing on the relationship between mass-produced photographs of disasters, wars, and conflicts and the public responses to these types of photograph. Sliwinski (2011, p. 58) argues that 'the conception of rights did not emerge from the abstract articulation of an inalienable human dignity, but rather from a particular visual encounter with atrocity'.

The presence of photographs in newspapers greatly impacts the ways in which events and situations are perceived and understood by the public. In the context of human rights, photographs have traditionally had a witnessing capacity, and serve as evidence or proof of the fact that abuses and violations of

rights have taken place. According to Hesford (2011, p. 200), news media mobilise certain discourses of vision and engage in the politics of visibility by means of recognition, identification, and witnessing, through photographs that call for an embodied spectatorship, manifesting as 'actions [that] have been subjected to the normative frameworks of human rights law'.

By looking at photographs, the public can see abuse for themselves; according to Zelizer, this evidentiary aspect of photographs, in collecting evidence of human rights violations, helped to legitimise photojournalistic practice during World War II (1998). As Butler argues:

> The regime of truth offers a framework for the scene of recognition, delineating who will qualify as a subject of recognition and offering available norms for the art of recognition […]. This does not mean that a given regime of truth sets an invariable framework that recognition takes place or the norms that govern recognition are challenged and transformed. (2005, p. 22)

For Butler, photographs are an important part of pleas for truth. While photographs that are used as evidence are often supported by textual or verbal accounts, it is the photographs that serve as proof that something has happened.

This relates to the next section of this chapter, which concerns power, aesthetics, and the politics of representations in photojournalism.

Power, aesthetics, and the politics of representation

There is a widespread interest in visual representations and framing of refugees and processes of flight and migration in academic disciplines. Research shows that refugees and migrants are frequently (re)presented as outsiders in European news media. Even when reported on as innocent victims in need of assistance and people the European public can relate to and empathise with, refugees are presented as outsiders in the European political and civic space (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Moore et al., 2012).

Research further shows that when media reports on flight, they tend to frame it as a crisis, as was the case in 2015. Christensen and Titley found that this 'construction of refugees as a near-existential crisis for the EU, has led to the mainstreaming of blatant Islamophobia and xenophobia' (2016). Research into the representation of refugees and flight in news reports during the refugee crisis in 2015 is found in a number of academic fields, such as journalism and media studies, migration studies, sociology, and law (Berry et al., 2015; Chouliaraki & Georgiou, 2017). Studies tend to have 'a strong critical perspective on the language used to represent the refugee' (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 616), often omitting the visual altogether.

A UNHCR-commissioned report from the Cardiff School of Journalism found that there are major discrepancies in how news media in different European states report on migration, particularly in relation to the refugee crisis in 2015. The report, which investigated a number of newspapers in five EU member states, found differences in how reporting on migration was conducted between national newspapers, who was allowed to speak and acted as experts in the articles, what kinds of language were used in each state, and on (Berry et al., 2015). During the investigated period, the researchers found that Swedish and German press used the terms "refugee" and "asylum-seeker" most frequently, whereas Italian and Spanish press used the terms "migrant" or "immigrant" when reporting on people who sought refuge and arrived in Europe during 2015. Overall, the study found that the Swedish press was the most positive towards refugees and migrants in its reporting out of the five states that were included in the report.

In news media, research, and society in general, the events of 2015 were characterised as unprecedented. However, as noted by Horsti (2019b), while this was true in many regards, there are comparable moments in recent European history, such as during the Yugoslav Wars in the early 1990s and in the aftermath of World War II. These histories of migration, emigration, and refugee-creation and -reception were largely excluded in news-media reporting, or at times selectively connected to the ongoing situation.

News reports on flight and people seeking refuge tend to be associated with or compared to natural catastrophes and framed in terms of crises that the public need to protect themselves from. Disaster metaphors such as "floods" or "swarms" are used when reporting on people approaching Europe, and they are often characterised as a kind of force majeure – an uncontrollable force that has the potential to wreak havoc on European ways of being (see for example Berry et al., 2015). In Swedish, the terms *flyktingvågen* ("the wave of refugees") and *flyktingströmmen* ("the stream of refugees") were commonly used to label the movement of people, whereas *flyktingkrisen* ("the refugee crisis") and *flyktingkatastrofen* ("the refugee catastrophe") were used interchangeably to refer to the situation as a whole (Askanius & Linne, 2015). In the material analysed in this study, I found that Swedish news media rarely used terms related to migrants, such as *migrantkrisen* or *migrationskrisen*, to refer to the events that unfolded in 2015.

Previous studies on migration and media have found that news stories on forced migration often make people who are fleeing war and violence and seeking refuge in Europe hyper-visible and describe them in simplistic, binary terms. Two main themes are frequently identified in photographs of forced migration – people being visualised as vulnerable victims in need of protection and humanitarian assistance, or as menacing perpetrators posing a threat to national security and welfare, and thus constituting a crisis for the nation-state (Balabanova, 2014; B. Blaagaard, 2012; Chouliaraki, 2006; Moore et al.,

2012; Triandafyllidou, 2013; Wright, 2002; Zhang & Hellmueller, 2017). According to Malkki (1996) this dichotomising practice of portraying people either as deserving and in-need refugees or as menacing and unworthy migrants is dehumanising. In a study on media responsibility during the refugee crisis, Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017, p. 1162) found that an analysis of news photographs showed that the failure to portray refugees as human beings with lives that matter should compel the public to rethink the responsibility of news media to what they refer to as 'vulnerable others'.

Representations of people in flight found in news media include people visualised in large groups of unidentifiable bodies, or photographed with defeated facial expressions (Wright, 2002; Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013).

Prominent representations include women portrayed as vulnerable mothers with children, children photographed in torn and dirty clothes, and individuals that appear out of focus, particularly obscuring their faces (Rajaram, 2002; Zarzycka, 2013). According to Malkki, women and children are not conceived of as threats to the European public, as women and children have 'a special kind of powerlessness; perhaps they do not tend to look as if they could be "dangerous aliens"' (1995, p. 11).

Other common representations of people in flight include the presence of military, aid workers, or volunteers, deserted or desolate environments, or a lack of an apparent focal point (Bleiker et al., 2013; Szörényi, 2006; Wright, 2002). As Ahmed (2006) argues, these representations are grounded in normative associations and cultural biases, which further dictate how spectators encounter people in flight and crisis.

Journalism and photojournalism are primarily concerned with bringing news stories to the public and informing about events in the world. According to Nikunen (2016), the capacity of the public to imagine places both near and distant is dependent on imaginaries shaped in and by news stories; as a result, she argues, the news has the power to define and shape how placed are imagined. As I have previously discussed, news articles are often how the public first learns about events and situations taking place locally or in more distant areas, and the photographs in these articles are the public's first visual encounter with these events and situations. This is perhaps a clue as to why earlier studies on photojournalism often focused on how news photographs mediate or convey knowledge and conceptions of the world (Nilsson, 2015).

Some photographs evolve into symbols for events and situations, such as the photograph of Phan Thị Kim Phúc running from a napalm attack in Vietnam in 1972 taken by Nick Út, or that of a starving child and vulture during the famine in Sudan in 1993 captured by Kevin Carter. Photographs that transition into timeless symbols are often referred to as "icons". Traditionally, icons and iconography have been linked to religious interpretations, such as seeing the Madonna and child in a photograph of a mother and child; however, this connection is no longer necessarily apparent. What is characteristic of an icon in more recent interpretations is that it has the capacity to summarise an

entire event or situation, and offers an insight into 'universal dimensions of the human condition' (Good & Lowe, 2019, p. 51) in one single frame (Hariman & Lucaites, 2011). How the public interprets these icons is conditioned by cultural, social, and political contexts – it is, as Sontag (2004, p. 14) argues, 'in the consciousness of viewers'. Mortensen (2016, p. 409) suggests the term 'instant news icons' for iconic photographs that transition into frames of reference in news feeds, and seemingly work as symbols without needing explanations. These can be used to study the processes of distribution and meaning-making involved in iconic photographs.

While a single photograph functioning as an icon can represent or symbolise an entire complex event and run the risk of being reductive, simplifying, or misleading, Hariman and Lucaites (2011, p. 39) argue that icons are tied to political agency and that they contribute to civic discourse by expressing and communicating knowledge in a way that 'exceeds words'. Using photographs to transmit social values to the public, photojournalism often uses stories from individuals to say something about complex societal issues and situations.

In this way, by focusing on individual experiences, photojournalism is able to appeal to and mobilise the emotions of the public in a way that Hariman and Lucaites describe as 'individuated aggregate', which should be considered as a 'new construct of human beings based on an ideal equipoise of the tension within our political culture between personal sovereignty and public authority' (2011, p. 88).

Having reviewed studies that examined photographs as part of news media and in relation to witnessing qualities, aspects of embodied spectatorship, power, aesthetics, and the politics of representation, I now turn the focus to photojournalistic practices in the newsroom and the field.

Newsroom and field practices: news values and the content of photographs

Only a fraction of all events taking place around the world make it into the news cycle. While potential news content is never-ending, journalistic practice is a matter of selecting and deselecting. Existing research show that news media hold great power in terms of shaping people's social imaginaries, and *what* news media pay attention to and *how* they do so, is important for how people perceive reality and form opinions; some issues, events, and situations are brought to the fore, while others go unreported and unnoticed by news media (Strömbäck, 2019). This is most commonly addressed by investigations into different processes of gatekeeping, news values, selection, and framing (Bissell, 2000; Fahmy, 2005; Fahmy et al., 2007; Schwalbe et al., 2015).

An important part of understanding photojournalistic practices and their relationship to place and movement is paying attention to what becomes news

in the first place. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) suggest news content is influenced by factors on five levels: individuals, routine practices, media organisations, social institutions, and social systems.

At the core of this analytical model are the *individuals* who work in news media, such as journalists, editors, and photographers. The normative views, attitudes, and values of these individuals are central in understanding journalistic content (Nord & Strömbäck, 2012). Often considered to be a semi-profession (Nygren, 2008), journalists work according to a number of professional norms and ideals, such as objectivity and impartiality and strive to not be affected by their own biases, values, and opinions.

Swedish journalists are socially and culturally homogenous – the majority are university-educated, and white middle-class, were raised in cities, and have more urban and active lifestyles than the average Swedish person (Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Johansson, 2011). Based on the by-lines of the photographs published in the four newspapers that were examined in this study, this is reflected among photojournalists in Sweden. This homogenous constellation of journalists might lead to similarities in news selection that is representative of the journalists, but not representative of society at large (Ghersetti & Odén, 2016).

Professional norms and ideals are in turn affected by the *routine practices* of news media, which evaluate what events are newsworthy (news values) as well as how editorial processes and relationships with the audience are organised (Becker & Vlad, in Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009).

Routine practices are dependent on the various structures, policies, and goals of *media organisations*[2], including organisational issues such as ownership, organisational structures, financial aspects, and editorial resources. They further involve an understanding of the audience of the news media as well as advertising (Andersson, 2015).

The sum of media organisations can be said to form *social institutions*, which can be considered to be sets of rules and practices embedded within news-media structures. As a social institution, news media interacts with other social institutions, such as parliament, the courts, and the educational system. It is important to bear in mind that journalism never works outside of or independent from the society in which it exists.

At the highest level, news-media organisations are affected by the prevailing *social system* of a nation-state. The social system can be considered to be the sum of all actors, organisations, and institutions of a nation-state, and important aspects of the social system are the norms and values of said nation-

[2] Sweden is considered to have a 'democratic-corporatist media system', characterised by 'a historical coexistence of commercial media and media tied to organized social and political groups and by a relatively active but legally limited role of the state' (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 11).

state (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). This model highlights the fact that individual journalists always act within the frames of the routines and norms of a particular news organisation, and that different news media make up a social institution (Strömbäck, 2019).

While all levels of analysis are important in examining photographs and photojournalistic practices, the main focus here is the relationship between the first two levels outlined above –photojournalists working in news media and their respective and collective routine practices. The study primarily focused on Swedish print news, specifically four daily newspapers: *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan*.

The size of news organisations and the structures of newsrooms are important factors when it comes to which events and situations become news, and how much coverage they get. Larger newspapers, in terms of financial opportunities, revenue, and the number of staff members, with national coverage (such as *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter,* and *Expressen*) are able to make different news selections as compared to smaller news organisations with regional coverage (such as *Sydsvenskan*) (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). As a result, photojournalistic practices not only concern reporting on events and situations but – just as importantly – the construction of news (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

Bednarek and Caple (2017) have found that while newspapers generally have their own editorial structures and processes, most follow a similar process in selecting what is newsworthy. The content of news media is based on a selection of events based on different news value criteria, which are defined according to societal, organisational, and individual conditions for the making of news (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014) and determined according to the relevance of the events and situations to society and the public.

In their 1965 study of how foreign news was reported on in the Norwegian press, Galtung and Ruge concluded that the process of selecting what is newsworthy is based on a number of factors, or values, that guide the editorial process in deciding whether or not to report on an event, and to what extent work should be put into it. These factors included: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, and references to something negative (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). While concluded over 50 years ago, recent studies show that news values are still largely similar in contemporary newsrooms (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a), if adapted to specific contexts. Harcup and O'Neill set out to empirically analyse on the news values of the British press in 2001, and again in 2016. They compiled a list of 10 factors in 2001, which was extended to 15 in 2016 and included a call for photographs and other imagery to be considered to have news value in their own right (for the full list, see Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, 2017).

In a review of studies on news content and news values, Ghersetti and Odén (2016) reached three main conclusions: First, the factors that characterise

events and situations that pass the editorial processes and are published as news are essentially the same; second, these factors remain relatively stable over time; third, these factors are similar, irrespective of the type of media.

Few studies have investigated how news values relate to photojournalism; however, Caple (2013) found that news values are generally applied to text-based journalism, rather than to photographs in the news-selection process. This, she argues, likely depends on the fact that planning processes, articles, and other news stories are generally verbalised before they are visualised. Bednarek and Caple (2017) propose that 'aesthetics' should be added as a news value.

In a study on photo slideshows in online news, Roosvall (2014) found that a distinction can be made between published photographs of an ongoing event and photographs that have a seemingly illustrative purpose. Hall (1981) argues that, while seemingly objective and neutral, the selection process behind the publication of photographs in the news is a highly ideological one. Similarly, Bednarek and Caple propose that a discursive perspective on news values provides a framework for systematic analysis of how news values are in fact constructed in photographs, and argue that such an approach allows researchers to examine how certain events and situations are newsworthy, what values are highlighted in the news, and how photographs can establish events being as more or less newsworthy (Bednarek & Caple, 2012b).

In a study exploring the publication of photographs in a Swedish newsroom, Nilsson (2017) found that routines, publication formats, and resources were key factors that influenced editorial processing and decision-making. Photo editors in particular hold a key function in the photo-selection process, and a lack of routines and visual expertise in the newsroom on weekends lowered the quality of photographs (Nilsson, 2017).

Articles that include photographs have a higher chance of being published in newspapers, and therefore Caple (2013) proposes that photographs, as witness to events, are an important part of research on photojournalism. Researchers who have aimed to broaden the view on news values that are associated with the framing of photographs suggest that photographs are associated with drama and emotion rather than reason (Becker, 1992), and Nilsson (2015) suggests that the textual aspects of an article, such as the use of sensationalist headlines and photo captions, reinforce dramatic readings of photographs published in newspapers.

As is discussed above, the number of employed photojournalists and photo desks in news organisations is decreasing (Allan, 2014; Nilsson, 2017; Ritchin, 2013), which has implications for the visual expertise in newsrooms (Gürsel, in Hill & Schwartz, 2015; Newton, 2009; Schwalbe et al., 2015). Studies have found that newsrooms are increasingly relying on stock photographs, as well as photographs from national and international photo agencies, that illustrate articles and that at times have little to do with the actual story (see for example Machin & Niblock, 2008; Wadbring & Nilsson, 2016).

Studies have investigated the use of photographs taken by non-photojournalists (sometimes referred to as "citizen" or "amateur" photographers) by news organisations, which on the one hand poses ethical challenges for newsrooms (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2011, 2013), and on the other can provide visual witness statements when there are no photojournalists on-site to cover situations and events (Allan, 2014; Mortensen, 2011). However, studies have found that the use of these types of photograph in the news flow is relatively low, and mostly occurs in journalistic reports on unexpected, unusual, and urgent events (Nilsson & Wadbring, 2015; Pantti & Bakker, 2009).

In relation to reporting on events that are unexpected, unusual, violent, or that otherwise disrupt the everyday practices of photojournalists, editorial staff members are often required to rely on case-to-case decisions regarding what to publish rather than following editorial guidelines, routines, or press ethical rules (see for example Zelizer & Allan, 2011). For photojournalists, who are almost exclusively working in the field and in the immediate vicinity of the events they are reporting on, this means that they are left to decide whether or not to photograph an event or situation – a concern which was voiced by the photojournalists interviewed in this study.

One such event which has been widely researched since 2015 is the drowning of the three-year-old boy Alan Kurdi, whose body washed up on the shores of Turkey in early September 2015 and was photographed by the photojournalist Nilofer Demir. The photographs were reproduced in news and social media (see for example Adler-Nissen et al., 2019; Durham, 2018; Mortensen & Trenz, 2016; Vis & Gouriunova, 2015), and within 12 hours of the initial publication the photographs had reached the screens of almost 20 million people around the world (Vis & Gouriunova, 2015).

The publication of these photographs contributed to an existing debate on the value of publishing photographs of death and suffering: On the one hand, it was argued that there is a need to publish this type of photographs on the basis of a moral responsibility and obligation towards the boy and others who have suffered the same fate, to reveal the inhumane situations that people fleeing war and violence are faced with. On the other hand, questions of the dignity of the boy and his family were brought to the fore, as was the potentially traumatic experience of the public in seeing these photographs.

Zelizer (2010) found that, despite that fact that photographs of deaths and atrocities are occasionally published in news media, most news outlets appear to lack actual guidelines that can be applied in this type of visual reporting. When newsrooms reproduce the lives of people who lost their lives they often use family portraits and snapshots (Demo, in Sheehan, 2018); this is affirmed in the visual material I collected and analysed from the four Swedish newspapers investigated in this study.

Photographs similar to the ones of Alan Kurdi, and of floating bodies and capsized boats in the Mediterranean Sea were common in European news reports on (forced) migration in 2015 (see Chapter 5 of this study). Several

newspapers in Sweden published the photographs, many even on the front pages, despite the fact that this went against the press ethical rules of not publishing photographs of deceased individuals. Horsti (2019b) argues that, while publicly grieving dead refugees can establish solidarity with the refugees' families and support the struggles of others attempting the same journey. In her study of entries in the Swedish Picture of the Year contest described above, Nilsson (2020b) found that photographs of children were prominent among the entries. In a close reading drawing on semiotics and compositional analysis, she concluded that there was an 'unresolved tension between showing and shielding young victims of trauma' (Nilsson, 2020b, p. 138).

As reporting on (forced) migration intensified following events in September 2015, several Swedish news organisations allowed their photojournalists to embed in Frontex[3] and other rescue missions in the Mediterranean. In October 2015, *Aftonbladet* and its owner Schibsted even organised their own rescue mission, called *Gula båtarna* ("the yellow boats")[4]. The initiative caused controversy as critics claimed that it was a step away from the principle of impartiality of the press, and towards more involved and engaged forms of journalism (Olsson, 2017).

In another incident in 2016, the actions of a journalist employed by the Swedish public service television company SVT were called into question following allegations that he and his team had helped a Syrian boy to flee from Greece to Sweden in 2015. The team was convicted of trafficking and received a conditional sentence, as well as a heavy fine, in December 2018 by the Swedish Supreme Court. SVT argued that while the team had departed from its journalistic duties and obligations in helping the boy, they did so on humanitarian grounds (SVT, 2018). The coverage of the boy's journey with the team was later included in a documentary series which was broadcast on SVT in 2016.

Dealing with subjective practices is often difficult for individual photojournalists. As is discussed above, the fact that the press ethical rules are vaguely constructed means that, while journalists are influenced and governed by the norms and ideals related to the rules in their practice, the rules themselves place a great deal of the responsibility for interpretation on individual practitioners (Wiik, 2010). These well-established and implemented regulations and traditions might contribute to similarities in news selection, not just within newsrooms but across news organisations as well (Ghersetti, 2012).

In the next section I review literature on the ethics and professional norms of photojournalism.

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[3] Frontex is now called the European Border and Coast Guard Agency.

[4] In October 2015, Schibsted, the owner of *Aftonbladet*, and the Sea Rescue Society, a Swedish NGO, teamed up in a project aiming at rescuing refugees on the Mediterranean Sea. Over a period of six months, two boats (*Gula båtarna*) assisted the Greek Coast Guard. Funds were raised from individuals and companies to pay for the operation (Olsson, 2017)

Ethics and professional norms of photojournalism

The relationship between journalism and democracy is often described as a social contact (Sjøvaag, 2010). On the one hand, journalism is dependent on democracy as it is the only form of government that guarantees freedom and access to the information that is needed for journalism to function. By guaranteeing freedom of the press and freedom of information, democracy is upholding its part of the social contract. On the other hand, democracy is dependent on a two-way system for transferring information. The government requires information about ongoing events in society and the opinions of those who are governed, and the governed require information that enables them to make informed decisions. By providing relevant information, journalism is upholding its part of the social contract in turn (Sjøvaag, 2010; Strömbäck, 2019).

The task of news media can be summarised as informing the governed, criticising the government, and stimulating debate in society by seeking out and circulating news, information, ideas, comments, and opinion, while holding those in authority to account. News media further provide platforms for a multiplicity of voices to be heard and, as I make a case for in this study, appear before and be seen by others.

The responsibilities and duties of Swedish news media are generally considered to be informing, auditing and commenting on what happens in society (Pollack & Allern, 2016). A study on the professional identity of Swedish journalists by Wiik (2010) found that journalists concur with this notion and this was reiterated by the photojournalists interviewed for this study. The most recent survey of Swedish journalists, which was conducted in 2018, shows that journalists see auditing those in power and explaining complicated events to the public as their two most important tasks (Wiik, 2019).

On a societal level, journalism and news media are related to and regulated and affected by legislation, political decisions, and financial conditions. Journalistic practices generally operate within, and are structured by, normative frameworks consisting of editorial and organisational guidelines and routines, journalistic codes of conduct, and ethical rules for conducting journalism. Media laws and financial conditions are affected by political decisions regarding press subsidies, public service, investments in technological infrastructure, a and news production (Weibull, 2016).

In Sweden, in addition to constitutional laws regulating freedom of speech (*Yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen*, YGL) and freedom of the press (*Tryckfrihetsförordningen*, TF), there are two sets of voluntary documents: The Rules of Professional Conduct (*Yrkesetiska regler*) and journalists' professional ethics (*Publicitetsregler*), which are monitored by the Swedish Union of Journalists (SJF) and the Media Ombudsman. Hereafter, all of these rules taken together are referred to as the "press ethical rules". The press ethical rules have been developed and refined by journalists themselves, and serve as protection from

external influences. They can be understood as professional ideals and a representation of how journalists want journalism to be practiced (Wiik, 2019).

The Swedish press ethical rules are universal and apply to all aspects of journalistic practice, including photojournalism. They further promote journalistic integrity as 'crucial for maintaining credibility,' stating that '[t]hose who scrutinise society must also be able to withstand scrutiny' (SJF 2020). The press ethical rules guide journalists in researching, editing, transmitting, and disseminating news, and were developed to ensure the dignity and respectful treatment of the people that journalists encounter in their practice.

Photojournalists are often instructed to avoid negative stereotypes and objectification of people. The press ethical rules call for journalists to 'show due respect when on photographic assignment and when obtaining pictures, especially in connection with accidents and crime', and state that journalists should carefully consider publishing material that might violate people's privacy and integrity (SJF, 2021).

It is further recommended that newspapers abstain from publishing material unless it is a matter of public interest that requires publication (see Nilsson 2020 for a discussion of the ethics of showing). The press ethical rules further state that journalists must always show victims of crimes and accidents the greatest possible consideration, and be careful about publishing names and photographs in order to show respect for victims' families. Journalists should not emphasise a person's ethnicity, gender, race, nationality, political affiliation, or religious beliefs unless these are relevant to the context, and there is a general call to be careful about publishing photographs.

The right to information is the foundation of journalism, and journalists' responsibility to the public is more important than any other responsibility they have and the perceived ability of photographs to show reality has contributed to the use of photojournalism as the main claim of journalistic objectivity (Nilsson, 2017; Zelizer, 2007). Objectivity is a guiding principle that all photojournalists must orient themselves and find their own position with regard to, and the practices of photojournalists are intertwined at every level with questions of their own fundamental moral positions and the codes of ethics they develop (Good & Lowe, 2019). Today, objectivity is more commonly referred to in terms of fairness, detachment, impartiality, and professional distance (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013; B. B. Blaagaard, 2013; Deuze, 2005).

A historical analysis by Santos Silva and Elridge found that the concept of objectivity has transitioned from being considered to be a certain set of characteristics possessed by journalists and the news to a set of useful procedures that can foster news credibility (2020, p. 7). In a study on values guiding Finnish photojournalistic practices specifically linked to the relationship between values and the use of non-professional photographs in the news, Mäenpää found that the ideal of objectivity, or perhaps neutrality, is still prominent. She

suggests that this may be linked to the cultural status that photographs hold in society (2014, p. 92).

Whatever term one uses, objectivity should be regarded as a set of practices that 'provide an ethical evaluation and interpretation' (Blaagaard, 2013, p. 1080). Wahl-Jørgensen argues that 'an institutionalized and systematic practice of journalists narrating and infusing their reporting with emotion' can be valuable, meaning 'that journalistic story-telling, despite its allegiance to the ideal of objectivity, is also profoundly emotional' (2019, p. 130). The idea of the physical presence of photojournalists on the scene of events, documenting a situation as it unfolds without interfering, is largely still the norm in photojournalistic practice (Mäenpää, 2014; Nilsson, 2017; Zelizer, 2007). However, I – supported by the empirical findings presented in Chapters 5 through 7 – argue that this understanding of photojournalists as objective observers who simply document events without interfering must be challenged and developed. In the next section, I review literature on emotions and subjectivities in journalism practices.

Emotions and subjectivities in journalistic discourse and practices

The inclusion of and attention to emotions in journalism is not a new phenomenon. Journalism studies has long focused on the unusual, exceptional, and spectacular (Beckett & Deuze, 2016), which are often associated with emotional responses on the part of the public. When journalists embrace the emotional, they are often criticised for contaminating objectivity, but several scholars disagree with this notion and argue that emotionality has an important place in journalism (Blaagaard, 2013).

While journalism, as a key institution in society, is generally seen as a 'site for impartial, rational-critical discussion of matters of common interest', Wahl-Jørgensen (2019, p. 31) argues that journalistic practices have always been emotional to various degrees. Emotions, she continues, have long been neglected in journalism studies, despite playing a vital role in shaping shared stories and engaging in the news. In exploring the complex relationship between emotions, politics, and media, Wahl-Jørgensen argues for the presence of a 'strategic ritual of emotionality' in journalism (2019, p. 39).

Emotions work on several levels in journalism discourse: Firstly, through the use of emotional language – emotionally charged words, detailed descriptions, and judgments or appraisals of objects, places, and people. Secondly, emotions can be incorporated into stories by personalising story-telling, or creating tension by including opposing views in stories. (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013, p. 135). These "built-in" emotions are sometimes difficult to detect, as they draw on shared, normative ideas and notions that are more or less taken

for granted in a given society and public. Finally, Wahl-Jørgensen (2013, p. 135) points out that emotions are an expected reaction from the imagined audience of news stories.

While Wahl-Jorgensen's study primarily concerns text-based journalism, I argue that a similar logic can be applied to the use of photographs in journalism. News articles with photographs arguably affect and engage more attention from the public than those without photographs (Pantti, 2010). The repeated use of certain types of photograph to report on topics concerning war, conflict, and different forms of migration, such as people in overcrowded boats or lines of people walking along borders, becomes part of an emotional discourse in photojournalism. These types of photograph were also found in the material collected for this study.

In an earlier study on the strategic ritual of emotionality, Wahl-Jørgensen (2013) found that broadsheet press usually claim to be objective and rational, while tabloids focus more on the sensational and emotional elements of events in their reporting (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013. See also Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006, 2013). Emotions and emotionality are often posed in opposition to objectivity and impartiality: emotions are considered to be messy and irrational, while objectivity is rational and professional (see for example Roosvall & Widholm, 2019). Peters (2011, p. 299) argues that by rejecting this supposed oppositional relationship between the objective-rational and the emotional-irrational, and instead focusing on what he terms the 'experience of involvement', it becomes clear that emotions are always present in the (making) of news.

In a study on Finnish and Dutch journalists, Pantti (2010, p. 179) found that emotion did in fact not 'present a challenge to the rationale of factuality and objectivity', and that journalists instead highlighted the different ways and motivations they had for using emotions in their practice.

In her thesis on factual storytelling, Theissen Walukiewicz (2021) places the relationship between storyteller and subject at the centre and offers an examination of ethical and moral issues by using narrative emotional analysis. She argues that the relationship between the storyteller and subject emerges as a trusted relationship where affective signals and emotion management are important aspects of journalistic practices (2021, p. 221).

Few studies have investigated the emotionality of photojournalistic practice specifically, but a number of studies have highlighted the affective and emotional aspects of photographs, suggesting that the ways in which photographs are composed play a crucial role in how the public see and understand the news and which emotions photographs elicit (Butler, 2009; Chouliaraki, 2006; Hoijer, 2004; Sontag, 2004).

In investigating unexpected and unusual situations and events that fall outside the everyday practices of photojournalists, for example conflicts, protests, or attacks, Van Zoonen (1998) and Wahl-Jørgensen (2013) both found that a certain degree of subjectivity and emotional investment is needed to practice

photojournalism. This was confirmed by the interviewees in this study, many of whom discussed constantly navigating and negotiating the borders between their professional roles and their subjective personal identities and practices while reporting on situations that disrupt their everyday practices.

The affective force of photographs has been studied by a number of scholars, including Butler (2007), Campbell (2004), and Sontag (2001, 2004), who have asked questions about how and why some photographs invoke more responsiveness and calls for action than others. Barthes (1993, pp. 26–27, 49) distinguished between the *studium* and the *punctum* of photographs: the former concerns the cultural and historical meanings in photographs that can be comprehended in a quick look by anyone, while the latter is an affective response which is individual and might not become apparent until the photograph is gone.

Feelings and emotions were at the heart of Sontag's seminal book *On Photography*, in which she contextualised photography as an affective medium in order to understand why photographs affect and touch people in the ways that they do. She discusses the moral implications of this affective force, and notes, that in order for people to be affected, they must be offered a context to place their emotions in:

> What determines the possibility of being affected morally by photographs is the existence of a relevant political consciousness. Without a politics, photographs of the slaughter-bench of history will most likely be experienced as, simply, unreal or as a demoralizing emotional blow (Sontag, 2001, p. 19)

In addressing an array of feelings including melancholia, Sontag explores the relationship between moral feelings and ethical responses. In her scepticism of feelings, she questions whether feeling too much can lead to paralysis with regard to ethical action (Sontag, 2001, 2004). In examining the relationship between moral feelings and ethical actions, Azoulay proposes an ethics of spectatorship which takes form through a civil contract of photography (2008, p. 26). I discuss these aspects further in Chapter 3.

Summary of the chapter

This literature review investigated how photography and photojournalism have been studied and understood in media and journalism studies, and highlighted some commonly held assumptions about photography.

I contextualised my research and positioned the study in relation to the field of photojournalism studies. I reviewed international and national Swedish studies related to journalism broadly, and to photojournalism and migration specifically. I discussed the witnessing qualities of photographs in relation to studies on embodied spectatorship and previous research on human rights and

migration. I further reviewed literature and accounted for studies on power, aesthetics, and representation in photojournalism studies related to topics relevant to the scope of this study.

I focused on press ethics, news values, and newsroom practices, and paid particular attention to studies and literature that dealt with news media and the refugee crisis of 2015. Finally, I addressed the place of emotions and affectivity in photojournalism, focusing on events related to migration.

Further, I made a number of theoretical points that informed the remaining analysis and hint at the theoretical direction of the next chapter.

The review showed that photographs are generally understood to be (1) a visual outcome of (2) someone holding a camera, (3) directing their, and subsequently the spectator's, gaze towards a subject. In this process, photojournalists exercise power over subjects, and represent subjects to a predefined audience of spectators.

These assumptions tend to imply that the photograph is the product of one stable point of view – that of the photographer. While it is widely acknowledged that the interpretation and meaning of photographs are contextually dependant, most research has focused on the intentions and motivations of photographers, newspapers, and other visual news producers, or on the interpretations and meanings made by spectators. Even when approaches are critical, they continue to regard photographs as the products of one particular, stable point of view, 'which only differs in being attributed to a body other than that of the photographer' (Azoulay, 2010b, p. 11). Photographs cannot be reduced to either the intentions of a photographer or the interpretation of a spectator.

What these two positions share is a lack of attention to the actions of people who appear in photographs; the dualistic insistence on the photographer and the spectator mean that the people who appear in photographs remain passive and invisible beyond the frame. As will be elaborated on in the next chapter, in line with Azoulay (2010) I propose an understanding of photographs as the outcomes of encounters between multiple actors in different space-times. This holistic approach considers not only what appears in photographs of people in flight, but extends the investigation beyond the frame to include the multiple encounters that take place as photographs are continuously made, appear, and move in time and space.

Photojournalism, then, offers the possibility of bringing the private into the public – or, as framed by Barthes, 'into the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private: the private consumed as such, publicly' (1993, p. 98). In this way, photographs can decrease the distance experienced between events and the public. I return to this discussion in Chapter 3, and elaborate on the relationship between the publication of the private and hidden, of people and events that might not otherwise be visible in society, such as people in flight, and connect these to Arendt's theories of appearance and political action.

Chapter 3: Theory

The term photojournalistic practice assembles a variety of actions that make up the creation, production, circulation, exchange, and seeing of photographs in the news. As a practice, photojournalism is institutionally and organisationally driven, permeated with traditional journalistic ideals of objectivity, impartiality, and detachment, and influenced by photojournalists' individual practices.

Photojournalistic practice is further intimately linked to place, both as locality and as an 'abstract concept distinct from locality' (Pink, 2012, p. 118). It is a practice that is dependent on movement and requires presence – of photojournalists, the photographed, and cameras – in specific places and specific moments in time. Simultaneously, photojournalism is about absence; there is generally an imagined audience of spectators who are absent from the photographic situation. Likewise, the photojournalist, photographed people, and the camera are absent to spectators. However, the photographed appears to be present to the spectator through the photographs, hinting at the presence of a photojournalist holding a camera. While the people photographed cannot see the spectators looking at them through the photograph, they are expecting to be seen, and to appear to someone in the process of being photographed.

Furthermore, photojournalistic practice is about appearance. This is an aspect that is generally overlooked in research on photojournalism, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, tends to focus on the representation of the photographed or the intentions of the photographer. Thus, as I continue this chapter, I elaborate my argument that a theory of appearance is a suitable framework for analysing photojournalistic practice and its implications in spaces of (forced) migration. I accomplish this by drawing on Arendt's notions of appearance and space.

This study is an empirical investigation into the possibilities (and limitations) of photojournalism as a space of appearance by focusing specifically on the actions of photographs and seeing as modalities of appearance.

I begin this chapter by defining and elaborating on spaces of (forced) migration, before introducing Arendt's theories of action and appearance and relating *the active life* to photojournalistic practices and situating these practices in spaces of (forced) migration. Lastly, I establish a framework of appearance which is influenced by both the work of Arendt and Azoulay's concept of the citizenry of photography.

People in flight and spaces of (forced) migration

Nation-states generally control their territories by establishing borders that regulate people's access to them, in the form of passport controls, citizenship, and other forms of membership. Borders therefore symbolise the sovereignty of nation-states, and grant them the power to restrict and control access and migration to and movement within and from their territories (Khosravi, 2010). By controlling people moving in and out of spaces, nation-states also control processes of migration.

In liberal democracies, citizens are generally imagined as being governed by nation-states – a bond established between citizens and the state through structures and ideological mechanisms that further grant states the power to separate some citizens from others (Azoulay, 2008). Nation-states provide protection to those who are considered to be citizens, and discriminate against those who are not. Some people have the 'right to belong' while others are singled out as trespassers (Puwar, 2004, p. 8).

The concept of human rights only extends to those who are recognised as citizens of a nation-state, and collapses 'at the very moment when those who believed in it were confronted with people who had lost all other qualities except that they were still human' (Arendt, 1958, p. 179).

While the UDHR in theory guarantees the right to freedom of movement, international conventions and national legislations essentially deny the existence of refugees and the stateless in the public realm. As a consequence, people in flight are referred to a private, invisible sphere where they, in isolation, risk the loss of their rights and are reduced to "bare life" (Agamben, 1998).

For Arendt, the freedom of movement is 'the substance and meaning of all things political', politics and freedom are identical, and 'wherever this kind of freedom does not exist, there is no political space in the true sense (2005, p. 129). Hence, there is only one human right, which Arendt (1958, pp. 267–302) argues is "the right to have rights". Everyone, she argues should be allowed to belong somewhere. Arendt argues that a fundamental problem of the UDHR is that it is dependent on the nation-state system (1998); as a result, rights only come into existence in a political community. As nation-states are bound to respect human rights only when people come under their sovereignty, without citizenship, people in flight have no nation-state to uphold their rights.

As a historical phenomenon, migration and the movement of people is intertwined with geography, space, and place. While not always noticed, movements are critical in understanding how places are constituted as there would not be any places at all were it not for the comings and goings of people to and from them (Cresswell, 2006). Most spaces are policed – by governments, authorities or other owners and occupiers of land – in one way or another, and because of this spaces are never blank and open to anyone to occupy or move through. Consequently, the freedom of movement for some is only possible through the organised exclusion of others (Cresswell, 2006, p. 233).

Different forms of migration controls and restrictions are used to hinder and stop some people from entering certain spaces, while allowing free passage and access to others (Ahmed, 2006). This makes migration a process of orientation and reorientation in which bodies simultaneously move away and arrive as they inhabit different spaces.

While there are no predefined spaces in which migration, forced or otherwise, take place – no nature-given geographical spaces where people start their journeys from, gather, or arrive at – there are certain places which are especially designed to control the movement of people, such as airports, borders and checkpoints.

Furthermore, some places, such as camps, detention centres, and other forms of confinement, are specifically designed to control people in flight. For this reason, not all spaces affect or impact people in the same ways.

In this study, I refer to the spaces which potentially restricted the movement of people in flight as *spaces of (forced) migration*. What was common to these spaces is that they became borders, either physical or imagined, that people in flight needed to cross as they moved towards European nation-states.

Borders

The borders of nation-states are generally considered to constitute a natural order in many aspects of human life (Malkki, 1995). Visible border closures such as fences, checkpoints, and passport controls, and mediated borders such as those that can be seen in photographs or media reports or on maps, are crucial for the public imagination and understanding of borders.

While appearing to be solid and impenetrable, impossible to break through, borders are often porous, with holes and openings that enable people to pass through, often unseen and unnoticed. Physical borders are often transparent, meaning that it is possible to see through and beyond them, even if the body itself cannot pass through. Furthermore they are expandable, to the point where 'some borders are no longer situated at the [geographical] borders at all' (Balibar, 2002, p. 84).

Borders are generally invisible to those who can move freely within and across them. For example, my own passport allows me to move freely across borders within the Schengen area. When I lived in the Swedish city of Malmö, a train ride across the Öresund bridge took me to the Danish capital of Copenhagen in less than 20 minutes. Prior to 2016, when the Swedish-Danish border was reinforced with increased controls and physical barriers as a result of changing migration policies in Sweden, I passed in either direction without showing any kind of identification.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, previous studies have pointed to migration and flight being constructed as potential threats through different ways of seeing through visual activities of both state and non-state actors. When these

ways of seeing are shared and spread they contribute to securitising human flight (Bello, 2020, p. 2).

Therefore, rather than considering borders to be fixed demarcations of nation-state territories, I understand borders as mobile and fluid productions that regulate human flow and mobility by granting access to certain bodies while denying others (Bigo, 2002; Cuttitta, 2014). I understand borders to be performative places that produce immobility, and they cannot always be seen by the naked eye. As securitised spaces, borders further expand when necessary and convenient; they are constantly moving in different directions and ways for different types of people (Mountz, 2011), and are enacted through the presence of security and military forces and of people attempting to cross them.

Borders are in fact *made* and as such they are ideological, technological, political, social, administrative, and cultural productions (De Genova, 2017; Horsti, 2019b). Border technologies penetrate bodies through surveillance, registration, and fingerprint scanning in order to identify where people "belong" and where they came from. As a consequence, borders 'reduce human existence to binary opposites' in which people are either legal or illegal, visible or invisible, with or without rights (Nair, in Sheehan, 2018, p. 88).

Border spaces occasionally expand, reaching into public spaces in which people generally move freely in their everyday lives. In 2015, nation-states argued that they needed to secure their borders in order to control the movement of people in flight. Train stations, buses, and motorways became potentially securitised spaces that temporarily or permanently stopped the movement of people. During the events in 2015, borders were also produced through humanitarian interventions, 'biometric assessment' and 'satellite surveillance', and other forms of border governance such as entering people into 'a binary system of recognition' that assessed the supposed legality of people's movement (Chouliaraki & Georgiou, 2017, p. 596).

In short, borders are produced and have productive and performative characters and consequences for people.

Nation-states use different strategies to visualise what events and situations are visible to the public, which is especially apparent when it comes to people in flight and the events and spaces of (forced) migration. For example, by saying 'move along! There's nothing to see here!' (Rancière, 2010, p. 37), nation-states are not necessarily censoring events and situations, but by directing attention elsewhere they regulate the processes that define and redefine the perception that the public have of events, and what spaces are available for the public to occupy and see. Practices of directing attention elsewhere are common along borders, and in other spaces and places of (forced) migration such as refugee camps, in which people in flight become visible through the administration and control of the field of vision of nation-states (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020). As a result, practices of seeing flight are influenced by the imagination of states.

Borders are therefore legitimised and normalised through the production, reproduction, and circulation of images. Horsti (2019b, p. 5) argues that the extension of a border into other territories 'blurs the gaze and sense of responsibility for European citizens'. The gaze is not an innocent act of seeing, 'but an episteme determining who/what is visible and invisible' (Khosravi, 2010, p. 77). As Butler argues, 'the visual field is not neutral to the question of race; it is itself a racial formation, an episteme, hegemonic and forceful' (Butler, 1993, p. 17).

It is not just about what these images show, but how they show what they show. The *how*, Butler argues, organises not only images but the public's sensitivities by defining and confining perception. The important thing is not 'to locate what is "in" or "outside"' the images, but what is floating between these two locations and, as a result, what 'becomes encrypted in the images themselves' (Butler, 2009, p. 75).

Refugees and migrants are always imagined in the context of borders (Szörényi, 2006). As borders become normalised and real to the public, they cut through bodies as people are visualised in the process of crossing them, and perceptions and understanding concerning legality and illegality are defined. In this process, the borders themselves become invisible, and in many ways the appearing body becomes the border (Balibar, 2002).

The borders of Europe serve as a threshold between two worlds in which human rights create a space between the atrocities imposed on people in flight and the promise of civic rights in Europe. It is often not until people in flight arrive in Europe that they are visible to the European public, leading to situations that Andersson (2014), De Genova (2005), and others refer to as 'border spectacles'. These are events involving people in flight and borders, and which become the focus of news reporting.

Situating photojournalism in spaces of (forced) migration

One of the most important aspects of journalism, and photojournalism in particular, is making people and places that are far away feel nearer – bringing news stories from "there" to the public that is positioned "here". In order for photojournalists to bring stories to the public they must go travel to different places and so appearing in various places is a necessity and precondition for photojournalistic practice.

While photojournalists, as members of the press and in the case of this study citizens of the EU, should enjoy unlimited freedom of movement to carry out their work (at least in theory), they are frequently restricted from these spaces or limited in their movements within them. For example, entering a refugee camp as a journalist generally requires special permissions and official chaperones while moving around the camp, and when travelling between nation-states photojournalists are subjected to the same controls as any other person who is travelling.

Spectators can only see that which appeared to the photojournalist at the very moment that they took the specific photograph. They cannot see what appeared before or after that moment, or anything that appeared behind or next to the photojournalist during the photojournalistic event. Photojournalists can of course move around a space, change angles and perspectives, and share those experiences with spectators, but that which lays outside of the frame will not be visible or accessible by merely looking at the photograph.

Photographs are then both objects that show something which was once visible, and part of a practice that will continue to unfold as it moves through time and space. Photographs have no finite or predictable end; rather, the photojournalistic event is in fact a new beginning, much like Arendt's definition of action. Photographs act, and in the process make others act, but, in the same way as a person's actions implicate the actions of others, this act is unpredictable (Azoulay, 2008, p. 137).

Photographs can make borders visible to spectators, and by doing so contribute to border spectacles. This has been also been formulated as 'narrated borders' or in terms of the mediatisation of borders (Chouliaraki & Musarò, 2017). Photographs published in the news can visualise violence enacted upon people who are restricted from crossing borders and serve as calls for action from citizens, but could just as easily have the opposite effect by frightening publics.

Photographs have the potential to challenge the ways in which borders are seen and perceived. By photographing people and objects that are made invisible, photojournalism provides narrative frames through which spectators see and locate borders and understand the movement of people across them.

Photographs work on a multitude of levels, across national borders and geographical demarcations, and move between the physical and the cognitive world (Bleiker, 2015). They can visualise thoughts and opinions, establish solidarity and unity, and create proximity and distance between people. Photographs play a crucial role in how people are perceived by others, as well as how people in flight are represented (Zarzycka, 2018).

Photographs, along with words, audio, and other sensory material and experiences, shape the perception that a European public has of those seeking refuge, and linger in the public's memory. This structures the ways in which people see and know what they see, and hence 'meanings are therefore always predetermined by the pre-seen or the collective repertoire of images' (Wenk & Krebs, 2007, p. 30). In 2015, photographs of people who were forced to flee that were published in European news media generally arrived before the people themselves arrived in Europe.

Photojournalism can shape the representation, reproduction, knowledge and understanding of situations and people. In order to understand the circumstances around how photographs are made, it is important to understand what takes place before photographs are taken, in the moments leading up to the

photojournalistic event, and consider the implication of the camera in this setting.

In sum, people in flight are restricted from appearing as they wish; their status prevents, and in fact even disqualifies, them from exercising their right to appear. At times they become hyper-visible through state communication and media reports; at others they are made to be invisible, placed in confined spaces that the public has restricted access to. Appearance demands spectators and 'thus implies an at least potential recognition and acknowledgement [which] has far-reaching consequences for what we, appearing beings in a world of appearances, understand by reality' (Arendt, 1978, p. 46). In this case, appearance yet again becomes closely intertwined with seeing. In the next section, I introduce the right to appear in relation to Arendt's notion of *the active life*.

Arendt and the right to appear

Throughout her work, Arendt highlights the implications of appearance when it comes to power and politics. Arendt's consideration of appearance as political constitute the theoretical foundation for this study. The openness and approachability of her work further encouraged me to adapt her political theories to my examination of photojournalistic practices.

In the prologue to *The Human Condition*, Arendt (1998, p. 3) affirms that 'speech is what makes man a political being'. While the ability to speak could mean that people hold the quality of being political in themselves, Arendt stresses that speech is dependent on more fundamental conditions, namely the presence of other people and a space in which 'I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things, but to make their appearance explicitly' (Arendt, 1998, pp. 198–199; Rae & Ingala, 2018).

The space of appearance comes into being as people act in relation to each other, and by bringing newness into the world a relational and political space is established (Arendt, 1961, 1978, 1998). To Arendt, then, appearance and acting are closely intertwined concepts – it is through action that people appear to others as unique individuals – that promote plurality and diversity.

While agreeing with Arendt on the idea of politics understood as a space of appearance, Butler argues for the importance of considering the power structures that allow some people to qualify for appearance while excluding and dismissing others:

> What we sometimes call a 'right' to appear is tacitly supported by regulatory schemes that qualify only certain subjects as eligible to exercise that right. So no matter how 'universal' the right to appear claims to be, its universalism is

> undercut by differential forms of power that qualify who can and cannot appear. (Butler, 2015, p. 50)

This critique of Arendt begs the question: who *can* appear?

Arendt demonstrates that a consequence of the ideology of modern nation-states is that only those who are born on a specific territory within the borders of a particular nation-state are citizens of that state. Thus, political membership is largely grounded on where in the world a person is born. This makes the ideology of citizenship naturalistic and essentially

> holds the nation to be an eternal organic body, the product of inevitable natural growth of inherent qualities; and it explains peoples, not in terms of political organizations, but in terms of biological superhuman personalities. (Arendt, 1978, p. 213)

While the UDHR was established to protect people in precarious situations, in many ways it has accomplished the opposite. Human rights can only be claimed by citizens, and nation-states are not required to provide a political community to or guarantee rights for people without citizenship. Those who are born outside a specific territory or who lack documentation to support their rights (passports, social security number) are not considered to be citizens even when/if they reside within the territory, and they cannot claim human rights' protection.

People in flight become stateless – they lose or give up their membership in a political community as they flee, leaving behind them spaces in which they had the right to appear, act, speak, and be seen by others. They have lost access to 'a place in the world which makes opinions significant and action effective', and are 'deprived, not of the right to freedom, but of the right to action; not of the right to think whatever they please, but of the right to opinion' (Arendt, 2004). They become invisible to the public and in Agamben's (1998) terms, reduced to "bare life. A great danger that comes out of people having to live outside the common world. Arendt argues

> that they are thrown back, in the midst of civilization, on their natural givenness, on their mere differentiation. They lack that tremendous equalizing of differences which comes from being citizens of some commonwealth and yet, since they are no longer allowed to partake in the human artifice, they begin to belong to the human race in much the same way as animals belong to specific animal species. The paradox involved in the loss of human rights is that such a loss coincides with the instant when a person becomes a human being in general – without a profession, without a citizenship, without an opinion, without a deed by which to identify and specify himself – *and* different in general, representing nothing but his own absolutely unique individuality, which, deprived of expression within and action upon a common world, loses all significance. (Arendt, 2004, p. 383)

In this way, stateless people are excluded from political community and human rights' protection, revealing the naturalism that is embedded in the sovereign nation-state system by virtue of their not having been born within the borders of a specific nation-state. The condition of people forced to flee and give up their citizenship is the opposite of political action and participation in public spaces and the political world (the space of appearance). Deprived of a legal person and the ability to appear in the space of appearance leads to a person being publicly invisible and reduced to *just human*.

In the next section I introduce Arendt's notion of the active life, and further link it to the role of technologies in the enactment of appearance.

The active life and space of appearance

In *The Human Condition*, Arendt revisits the distinction between the contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*) and the active life (*vita activa*).

The active life can be considered to be constituted by three forms of activity: *labour*, *work* and *action*. Labour is linked to the human condition of life itself, work is linked to the human condition of worldliness, and action is linked to the human condition of plurality. Each activity has its own distinct principles.

Labour, Arendt argues, refers to activities that can be seen as being primarily reproductive in nature, never-ending, and sustaining of human life. It is the realm of necessity, and the activities correspond to the biological processes and basic needs of human existence. Labour activities do not produce anything that lasts and they leave 'no permanent trace' in the world (Arendt, 1998, p. 40).

Work is activities that correspond to the unnaturalness of human existence. Work activities create a world which is different and distinct from everything that is naturally given, which is why Arendt distinguishes between the 'the work of our hands' and 'the labor of our bodies'(1998, pp. 7, 136). Work activities relate to the fabrication of an artificial world of objects for human use, have a clearly defined beginning and end, and leave behind durable objects that become part of the world. The artefacts produced through work therefore outlast the act of creation.

Action is how people appear and relate to one another – it is material and embodied and inspired by a theory of speech act (Arendt, 1998, p. 176). These actions are performed in public, among people and exposed to their gaze. Action is shaped by people setting forth to create something new through speech, which actualises people's capacity for freedom. In this study, I make the case that, in addition to speech, action is shaped through appearance in photographs.

It is through action that spaces of appearance are created and politics enacted. The space of appearance is a fundamentally and profoundly relational

and public space. It is a space that exists between people who cannot be regulated or considered in abstract terms, but rather only be enacted.

Arendt argues that the 'most elemental meaning of the two realms indicates that there are things that need to be hidden and others that need to be displayed publicly if they are to exist at all' (Arendt, 1998, p. 73). Hence, Arendt distinguishes the publicness of the space of appearance from the private sphere, and it is only in the space of appearance that visibility is conducive to human dignity.

The private sphere provides a hiding place, a place of protection: 'not only from everything that goes on in it [the common public world] but also from its very publicity, from being seen and heard' (Arendt, 1998, p. 71). The space of appearance therefore can be likened to a stage on which one performs, and in the private sphere there is no such stage; people are just human beings and appearance, at most, only takes place as a passive mode, essentially invisible

In the private sphere people are in a state of 'mere existence, that is, all that which is mysteriously given us by birth and which includes the shape of our bodies and the talents of our minds'. People need this 'dark background of mere givenness' and invisible space formed by their unchangeable and unique nature from which they then appear into the public space of appearance (Arendt, 2004, p. 382). The conditions for political life and the fostering of human dignity are public visibility and private invisibility.

A critique of the Arendtian space of appearance would point to the fact that it excludes private and social spaces from politics; spaces generally associated with marginalised identities and groups of people further mean the exclusion of the undocumented, minority groups, and women from politics. However, in this study – and as will be further explained as the chapter develops – I use the absence of the private sphere to make a point about the rightlessness of people in flight.

In *The Life of the Mind*, Arendt concludes that 'in this world which we enter, appearing from a nowhere, and from which we disappear into a nowhere, *Being* and *Appearing* coincide' (Arendt, 1978, p. 19). To appear is to exist, to manifest your living in the world. In this short statement, Arendt reveals her criticism of the two-world theory which is construed on a hierarchical dichotomy between '(true) Being and (mere) Appearance, and rather affirms the relationality between being and appearing'. The very existence and being of people and objects presuppose a spectator, which is why 'nothing that *is*, insofar as it appears, exists in the singular; everything that *is* is meant to be perceived by somebody' (Arendt, 1978, p. 23, my italics). Arendt identifies appearances *as* being:

> To be deprived of it [the space of appearance] means to be deprived of reality, which, humanly and politically speaking, is the same as appearance. To men the reality of the world is guaranteed by the presence of others, by its appearing to all. (Arendt, 1998, p. 199)

Hence, there is an ontological plurality to people's appearance.

People are not only spectators. They are not just in the world but of the world as subjects and objects, and they perceive and are perceived simultaneously. Living beings depend on an appearing world as a place for their own appearance, and require spectators to acknowledge their existence. In a relational process, people appear as the world and others appear to them, and people themselves appear in the world, to others:

> Nothing could appear, the word 'appearance' would not make sense, if recipients of appearances did not exist – living creatures able to acknowledge, recognize, and react to – in flight or desire, approval or disapproval, blame or praise – what is not merely there but appears to them and is meant for their perception. (Arendt, 1978, p. 19)

Maurice Merleau-Ponty refers to this relational process as 'chiasm' – the fact that as people appear to others those others simultaneously appear to them, and as they see they are at once seen by others (1968). In this sense, appearance is also embodied, and people appear spatially and temporarily in relation to other people and objects.

The space of appearance is absolutely crucial because it is not an ideal, but the human-made is vital to the practice of politics. It is through the relational practice of speech and action that politics occurs, and as a result there is no space for the political before this appearance. Panagia (2016) argues that the space of appearance is not only of speech and action but of images, photography, and other practices. In this thesis I develop this understanding by suggesting that the space of appearance is therefore also a space of seeing and beholding. This makes *appearance* a suitable framework for analysing photojournalistic practices.

In addition to the presence of human plurality in the space of appearance, there is a need for material space in order for people to have the ability to practice politics. Before situating photojournalistic practices in relation to the active life, I discuss technologies and their role in the enactment of appearance.

Technologies and appearance

Technologies play an important role in most people's lives as they facilitate exchanges between cultures. News media enables interactions with cultures, which allow for people to see and experience events in other contexts on a daily basis.

In *The Human Condition*, Arendt (1998, p. 52) uses 'the table' as an analogy for the material space required for the practice of politics. It represents the

space that relates people to one another. In this thesis I use the camera to discuss the role of technology in the enactment of appearance.

Cameras can be imagined as expressing a specific selection of human vision in that they photograph something which captures a photographer's attention for different reasons. Cameras further have a long and complex relationship with migration and flight: they can document, enable, and control the movement of people across temporal and spatial divides and photographs show people's flight from their own nation-states and to new nations (Sheehan, 2018). In doing so, cameras visualise the actions and movement of people, and facilitate their appearance in new spaces.

Action and speech are directed towards the people on either side of the camera, but the camera mediates the ways in which people are presented to others through photographs. In addition, the camera influences the content of action and speech, and relies on storytelling and remembrance. Action itself does not produce durable objects, but stories rising from the space of appearance itself. Arendt does not elaborate on the relationship between action and objects, which is why I turn to Ihde (1990) to situate the camera as a material technology that simultaneously separates and relates the photographer and the photographed from and to each other.

Ihde's approach to technology begins with how people deal with technological artefacts and the practices and interpretations that technologies enable. In attempting to understand the role of technology, his attention is focused on the relationships between human beings and technological artefacts, which is addressed on two levels: experience (inquiries into the role that technological artefacts play in the relationship between humans and reality) and culture (inquiries into the relationship between technological artefacts and culture).

Here, Ihde suggests that human experience should be analysed in terms perception, as perception is key to understanding the relationship between people and the world. Perception here has a two-fold meaning: The first is a sensory perception which is bodily, focused, and immediate, like the act of seeing; the second is an interpretive perception that discloses meaning, and is cultural, hermeneutic, and used to characterise ways of seeing the world (Ihde, 1990, pp. 29–30). Ihde points to three significant elements regarding the presence of tools for people: (1) each tool is related to a context, (2) tools have an instrumental intentionality, and (3) when used in practice, tools are a means of experiencing, not an object of experience (1990, pp. 31–34). He further links the third element to Merleau-Ponty's analysis of the role of objects in people's everyday lives.

For Merleau-Ponty, perception is not an intentional act that one can decide or chose to perform at will, but an existential mode of being (2012). In *Phenomenology of Perception* (2012), Merleau-Ponty offers two examples of how people are related to the world through objects, and demonstrates how people can use artefacts to stretch the spatiality of their own bodies. First, he describes a woman with a feather on her hat who uses the feather to extend her area of

sensitivity towards the world, and who is making sure to maintain a distance such that the feather does not come into contact with other objects and become damaged. Second, Merleau-Ponty describes a blind man who uses his white cane to perceive his surroundings, and thus essentially experiences the world through the white cane. Merleau-Ponty analyses the relations to the world that can emerge based on this presence. Taken together, these points of view derive a structure of perception that Ihde describes as mediation (1990), concluding that there are two basic sets of relationships with artefacts which they mediate the relationships people have with the world.

Mediation strengthens some aspects of the perception of reality while weakening others. A camera enhances human vision, while restricting – or potentially eliminating – other sensory experiences such as smell or touch (Ihde, 1900; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Cameras open up worlds which have previously been undisclosed to the many, allowing spectators to see things they otherwise would not have been able to for spatial or temporal reasons. Therefore, cameras allow the world to be manifested anew.

In addition to human experience, Ihde calls for a consideration of how human-technology relationships relate to culture. He argues that technologies do not exist in themselves but only in relation to people and culture, as people are always and only involved with technology in cultural contexts (Verbeek, 2001). 'Were technologies merely objects totally divorced from human praxis, they would be so much "junk" lying about. Once taken into praxis one can speak not of technologies "in themselves," but as the active relational pair, human-technology' (Ihde, quoted in Verbeek, 2001, p. 133).

In embodied relations people take technological artefacts into their experience in order to extend the area of sensitivity of their bodies to the world. The most central characteristic of embodied technologies is that they possess a certain transparency. Hermeneutic relations in which people involve themselves in the world through artefacts, but the artefact is not transparent.

The technological artefact provides a representation of the world, which requires interpretation in order to communicate something to people about it. Here, the world is not perceived through the artefact, but by using it. Being intrinsically linked to humans-in-culture implies that technologies have no "essence", and that they are only what they are during use (Verbeek, 2001). Technologies are always technologies-in-use. However, this does not mean that technologies lack a significant role in culture and everyday life. Ihde argues that technology possesses a certain 'robustness', which he terms 'technological intentionality' meaning that because technologies provide a framework for human action, they also have influence on actions (Ihde, 1990, p. 141).

Cameras have a certain directionality which shape the ways in which they are used in practice. They do not necessarily have a determining influence on the practice, but evoke certain ways of seeing. Cameras can potentially sepa-

rate the photojournalist from the photographs as the camera is generally positioned in front of the photojournalist's face in the moment a photograph is taken. It further interacts with the person or people positioned in front of it.

Having discussed the role of the camera in the mediation and enactment of appearance, I now situate photojournalistic practice in relation to the idea of the active life.

Photojournalism as active life

Photojournalistic practice can be explored by focusing on the three types of action in the active life: labour, work, and action (Arendt, 1998). Photojournalistic practice is based on a network of relational and interpersonal activities and structural conditions. These conditions are collectively negotiated within a shared community, making practice the active, situated means of relating to and with others in a shared space. This shared space is in turn implicated by historical, social, political, and cultural aspects that can enable or alter ways of seeing in the world (Schuermann, 2019).

On an institutional or organisational level, as part of the wider news landscape, photojournalism promotes and produces normative, journalistic behaviours and encourages and sustains certain journalistic standards. As a societal institution directed at the public, photojournalism is sustained by an idea of an imagined audience consisting of individuals grouped together based on ideals of sameness (often through citizenship) which consumes news content. Organisational and institutional norms are in place to support and guide photojournalists in their practices, and should be enough for them to carry out their labour in a reproductive way, by simply doing what is necessary for the news production to continue and sustain itself, in what Arendt would call labour.

Photojournalists use, and are dependent on, tools and technologies in their everyday practices. They obviously require a camera, but also other objects such as printing presses, mobile phones, and vehicles. The camera, in itself an inanimate object, produces durable objects that are present in the world in the form of photographs, or products of work.

One of the most common approaches to analysing photographs in journalism and media studies is to regard them as representations, meaning that photographs in news stories represent the specific society in which they are published. As such, they are said to reference existing norms, values, and attitudes (see for example Hall et al., 2013). Photographs published in news media further tend to reproduce the cultural and social ideas and understandings of the society they are produced for (Blaagaard, 2012; Said, 2005). As representations, photographs express meaning about events, and in news, one or more photographs are selected to illustrate, frame, and represent complex events in society (Allan & Zelizer, 2004; Fahmy et al., 2014; Nilsson, 2015). However, as is argued in the introduction of this thesis, I expand the definition of what

a photograph is, and argue that photographs are part of photojournalism as practices in their own right.

If normative and institutionalised photojournalistic practices are challenged and become individual action with the potential for change, photojournalistic practices can enable the enactment and achievement of spaces of appearance. As was discussed in the introduction, focusing on photojournalists' subjective practices can be helpful in understanding practices as things that produce both change and stability.

Practices in themselves may not involve acts of resistance, potential for change, and innovation, but they can when they are connected to the backgrounds, cultures, histories, and experiences of individual photojournalists (Pink, 2012). Arendt (1998, p. 177) writes that 'to act, in its most general sense, means to take initiative, to begin […] to set something into motion'. And so, when framed as actions, practices are closely related to, and (inter)dependent on, movement.

Photojournalism, then, as a *place-making* practice, is about creating ways for the public to see and imagine places and situations that they might not otherwise be able to see for themselves (to make place). As a *place-taking* practice, photojournalism potentially enables people, objects, and situations to appear to the public (to take place) that might not otherwise.

Modes of appearance

There are two modes of appearance: appearance as producing place, corresponding to Arendt's idea of fabrication (*poiesis*), and appearance as taking place, corresponding to action (*praxis*). People appear by producing place, a world of objects, but also by taking place, by appearing through action and movement. In this process of self-presentation, the 'disclosure of "who" in contradistinction to "what" somebody is – his qualities, gifts, talents and shortcomings, which he may display or hide – is implicit in everything somebody says and does' (Arendt, 1998, p. 179). Place-making appearance thus takes a more passive shape as people appear 'without any activity of their own in the unique shape of the body and sound of the voice'– in short, they *self-display*. Place-taking appearance is an active and intentional process in which people, in acting and speaking, 'show who they are, reveal their actively unique personal identities' – in short, they *self-present* (Arendt, 1998, p. 179).

Self-display

To be alive means to have an urge to *self-display* – an urge to appear to others – which Arendt likens to a theatre stage and its actors. The stage is common to every living being, but it might seem different to each individual. The *seeming*, or the *it-appears-to-me*, is the mode in which an appearing world is acknowledged and perceived. In the act of self-display people show others *what* they are – they appear in the world as they are perceived by others.

Merleau-Ponty (2012) theorises this in terms of the body-object and the body-subject. In encountering others, people comprehend that they become objects to those others; people appear to others as others appear to them. The body, Merleau-Ponty argues, has a dual role. It is a vehicle of perception, while simultaneously being the object perceived, a body-in-the world, that knows itself through its active engagement in the world. The body is always in place, and always in itself spatial. Merleau-Ponty (2012) argues that bodies should be considered as *inhabiting* space, rather than *being* in time and space. Therefore, the spatiality of the body is not one of position, but of situation.

As people recognise themselves as objects of others' perception, they are also objects of their own perception. People can see, hear, and touch themselves, though never fully. People can never see the point at which they appear, precisely because they are occupying it with their bodies. Instead, they see *from* this place, and it is impossible to fully appear to oneself; in the same way, people can never fully appear in encounters with others, and vice versa.

According to Merleau-Ponty, both *here* and *there* are contemporary in a person's experience, as they, from the place in which they stand (*here*), see something at a distance (*there*), meaning that seeing involves the past and the future. The body's relationship to place is in a dual process of orientation and demarcation: through social activities, the body demarcates its space, orients itself in the space, and leaves traces that are both symbolic and material (Lefebvre, 1991; Simonsen, 2007). Still, people categorise others in encounters, and these categorisations are largely based on appearances.

The social body is created through relationships involving seeing, hearing, and touching other bodies that appear as friendly or strange, involving practices of differentiation. The world is not 'a general world of humanity, but a differentiated world' and the social world is established through 'the effect of being with some others over other others' (Ahmed, 2000, p. 49). Bodies are marked by assumptions about gender, race, ethnicity, age, and so on, and people appear as something to others, as others appear as something in return. Familiar bodies are included through a sense of community, by being with other bodies that appear alike. Stranger bodies are excluded, or expelled from the bodily space.

Appearance is not static; it is always in the eye of the beholder or, as Arendt argues, in the eye of the 'recipients of appearances' (1978, p. 19). As a result, appearance is held and conditioned by others. There are different forms of power at work that allow some people to qualify for appearance, and prevent others from appearing. As people appear in the world, they are categorised by others. These categories are often state-devised and shape people's experiences of the world and both their own and others' bodies (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020). Everyone appears *as* someone or something to others: as women and men, as tall, short, black, or white, as refugees or migrants, as citizens or non-citizens.

It is not always the case that how people appear to others is how they appear to themselves. Categories that are applied to people are contextually constructed and conditioned by history, social and cultural belongings, and traditions, and so appearance is not only about how people and objects look, but how they speak, act, and move as they appear.

Therefore, Arendt argues that to appear is to *seem* to others, and this varies according to the viewpoints and perspectives of spectators (1978). Arendt gathers *seeming* to opinion and judgment, as '[a]ll that existentially concerns you while living in the world of appearances is the "impressions" by which you are affected. Whether what affects you exists or is a mere illusion depends on your decision whether or not you will recognize it as real' (Arendt, 1978, p. 155). Judgment, to Arendt, is the capacity to make meaning in politics, not to determine and rule its limits, and judgment allows actors in the space of appearance to contribute towards world-building. Here, Arendt moves away from perceiving as a passive mode, instead making it an active choice, an act of seeing, and every appearance is actively perceived by a 'plurality of spectators' (1978, p. 21). This brings us to self-presentation.

Self-presentation

As appearances are not permanent or static features or relations, it is possible to change one's appearance (Butler, 1999). In addition to the urge to self-display, this is how living beings fit themselves in a world of appearances; '[*u]p to a point'* people can also *present* themselves to others, in action, in words. (Arendt, 1978, p. 34, italics in original). In this study I argue that people can also present themselves in images.

In this process of self-presentation, people show how they wish to appear and how they are (or are not) seen. This is a an active and conscious choice to present oneself through actions (Assy, 2004). It is through action that people's uniqueness becomes visible – by acting and speaking in different spaces, people reveal *who* they are, and this *who* is constituted in the space of appearance. People, in theory at least, have the possibility to choose how they appear, by approaching or distancing themselves from others and the world. People exist as they appear and uniqueness takes place as people are visible in public.

Speech comes with the possibilities of performance and taking initiative, of revealing and disclosing oneself to others, and is dependent on access to a space of appearance. Through the performance of action (speech or otherwise), people appear; they display themselves in public through speech, and in return they are heard and seen by others.

Through action, spaces of appearance open up, not in the sense of specific geographical locations but as the 'organisation of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together' (Arendt, 1998, pp. 179, 198). Every act, in Arendt's view, means starting something anew, initiating a new beginning, and by revealing oneself in the space of appearance, human beings go from being a *what* to a *who*, a unique and unexpected person.

The space of appearance is a place of politics and intersubjectivity in which people appear to each other, and it can always be recreated as people gather together in different constellations. It disappears not only when 'the politics of people is destroyed – but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves' (1998, p. 199). In the space of appearance people are displayed, and become publicly visible. Being publicly visible means that a person appears, is seen, heard, and experienced by others, and others are seen, heard, and experienced by that person in return. It is intersubjective, and implies both plurality and reciprocity (Loidolt, 2018). There is a need for an actor and an audience of spectators, and people are both subjects and objects (Arendt, 1978, p. 21). And so, in order for appearance to be politically relevant it must be shared with and reciprocated by someone else.

In taking up space, bodies move through it and are affected by the *where* of that movement, and it is the same movement that generates the shape of space and bodies. Taking up space becomes an act of *finding our way* or of *feeling at home*; consequently, it is an ongoing negotiation between the familiar and the unfamiliar (Simonsen, 2007). Appearing politically as a subject, according to Arendt, requires one to be physically present, and demands that one appear to others in a specific time and place.

In this study, I make a case for expanding Arendt's requirements for appearance to include photographs as potential sites of appearance by investigating the appearance of people in flight in photographs of spaces of (forced) migration published in Swedish newspapers.

I further argue that flight is in itself a mode of self-presentation. People who choose to give up their citizenship, flee, and seek refuge in other states are undertaking an action[5]. Rather than being passive victims people in flight become political agents in their own right. To borrow Butler's minimal definition of agency: '[u]nder certain conditions, continuing to exist, to move, and to breathe are forms of resistance' (2016, p. 26). These people not only have the urge to appear but show the *need* to appear elsewhere, in other spaces, which is a form of resistance. Photojournalism then has the potential to be a space of appearance which stretches beyond the photojournalistic event.

In discussing the role that photographs have in the conception and development of human rights discourses, Sliwinski (2011) argues that the fact that photographs are in fact *taken* and *captured* suggests the violation of rights, and concludes that capturing, documenting, and responding to photographs of human rights violations and abuses are activities that are part of the violations themselves and the conditions pertaining to them. While recognising the potential power imbalances that exist in the photographic encounter, I, similar to Fanon (1967), argue that those who are seen in photographs (who Fanon refers to as "the oppressed") do not necessarily seek recognition from those who see

[5] In *We Refugees* Arendt (1943, p. 274) writes that through their actions, stateless people 'represent the vanguard of their peoples'.

the photographs ("the oppressors"); rather those who are seen express the power to make their own meaning, and to appear in public.

It is only when something is exhibited to the public that it has political relevance by emerging from invisibility. People who are invisible can become visible through action. People are invisible until they assume and occupy a position in the world from which they see and are seen by others. For stateless people, visibility and invisibility are turned around, making the public space a sphere of invisibility and the private space one of visibility, both of which are damaging to political life.

Photography can be used to register and expose these forms of exclusion. Photographs can capture people who are 'out of place', sometimes in contrast to those who 'belong' in a place. In the next section I elaborate on Azoulay's political theory of the citizenry of photography.

Azoulay and the citizenry of photography

In this study, *appearance* provides a conceptual framework wherein photojournalism is defined as an event, which encompasses more than a profession, a role, a person with a camera that records a situation, or a technology that produces photographs.

Appearance – that is, the act of being in the presence of other people – guarantees reality through interactions between people in the world. The world consists of human-made objects that are spatially located, that separate and join people in different ways. It is further a public space that guarantees the existence of people. Each public space has its own political and cultural traditions and structures that guarantee the conditions for its members.

Drawing on the theories of Benjamin, Kant, and (especially) Arendt, Azoulay (2008) builds a framework for understanding the politics of photography as a civil contract that binds photographers, the photographed, and the public together. The civil contract of photography is an attempt 'to anchor spectatorship in civic duty towards the photographed persons who haven't stopped being 'there,' towards disposed citizens who, in turn, enable the rethinking of the concept and practice of citizenship' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 17).

Azoulay terms this *the citizenry of photography*, in which ethics are bound to a 'civic duty towards the photographed', and photography is more than what is visible in the photograph as it 'bears the seal of the photographic event, and reconstructing this event requires more than just justifying what is shown' (2008, p. 14, 16). It takes all participants in photographic acts into account – the camera, the photographer, the photographed, and the spectator – approaching the photograph 'as an unintentional effect of the encounter between all of these' (2008, p. 23).

This consideration of the photographed as an active person –as someone who is not seeking recognition for their appearance but engaging in the act of appearing in photographs – is part of an event in which power and politics are established, and informs the framework of appearance.

Azoulay (2008, p. 17) argues that, as the photographed addresses the spectator, they are in fact claiming citizenship in photographs and in the process cease to appear as stateless. Defining photography as an event, Azoulay argues that while *the photographic event* might pass in a moment, *the event of photography* has the potential to continue indefinitely as it is made up of an 'infinite series of encounters' (2012, p. 13). By focusing on the relationships that emerge in these encounters, Azoulay develops 'a political ontology of the many, operating in public, in motion' in which she engages with Arendt's plurality. She further approaches photography as a 'certain form of human being-with-others in which the camera or the photograph are implicated' (2012, p. 18).

Azoulay's theories on photography as a civil contract aided me in defining and distinguishing between two modes of appearance in photojournalism: *the photojournalistic event*, which takes place when a photojournalist is documenting a situation in a specific place at a specific moment in time, and *the event of photojournalism*, which is not necessarily linked to a specific place and is instead an event that is continuously appearing and re-appearing as photographs travel in time and space.

It should be noted that Azoulay, especially in *Civil Imagination,* argues that in order to develop an understanding of the politics of photography, researchers must focus less on the perspectives and intentions of those producing photographs. This could be why she does not engage with photographers and photojournalists in her later works, arguing that the meaning and interpretation of a photograph is not 'sealed' by the intention of the photographer, but continuously developed through encounters (2012, p. 225). I argue, however, that one can include and engage with photojournalists' experiences in order to understand how photojournalistic practices shape politics without necessarily focusing specifically on photojournalists' intentions and perspectives. Moreover, I argue that one should not neglect other aspects – such as the content of photographs, spectators and their encounters with photographs, and the implications of photojournalistic practices – in the process.

Photojournalistic events and the event of photojournalism

The photojournalistic event (corresponding to Arendt's *poiesis*, or fabrication) is conditioned by at least three aspects – a photojournalist, an imagined spectator, and a photographed person. It is an 'apparatus of power that cannot be reduced to any of its components' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 85), and an event that is immersed in absence and presence. The photojournalistic event is charged in

many ways – by ethical concerns, emotional relations, and levels of engagement between those involved in the process. It is a situation which poses many challenges for both photojournalists and the people that they intend to photograph, and photojournalists have responsibilities and obligations that influence what they include or exclude when photographing. Furthermore, photojournalistic practices can potentially (re)produce social distance between people, creating a sense of *us* and *them*, in which the latter appear as strangers, something which is different from that which usually appears to the public of specific places.

The event of photojournalism (corresponding to Arendt's *praxis*), is an activity or action that focuses on the relations that emerge in the *doing* of the activity – that is, the encounters that take place between the photojournalists, photographed people, the camera, and the public (Azoulay, 2012, pp. 52, 17). This study's investigation into the event of photojournalism is less focused on photographs as material objects, or the 'outcome of an encounter', and instead considers a photograph as 'the locus of appearance where an encounter between people is registered that is neither closed not completely defined at the time the photograph is captured' (Azoulay, 2012, pp. 54, 225). As the locus of appearance, it is crucial to analyse the contents of photographs, which I address in Chapter 5.

The event of photojournalism takes place as an encounter between people, between people and the camera, and between the photograph and people. It is, much like appearance – an ongoing, non-linear process, without a finite beginning or end. During the event of photojournalism, photography produces a 'special form of encounter between participants where none of them possesses a sovereign status' (Azoulay, 2012, p. 18). The event of photography consists of relations between spectators, photographed, and the camera. Spectators and actors are situated in the world, encountering one another through the event of photography, which bears a striking resemblance to Arendt's space of appearance. While Arendt does not explicitly include photographs in her concept, Azoulay afford photographs with action that take place in the space of appearance. For Azoulay, photography as a history and a practice produces a particular event of encounter between people that can be characterised in the same way as Arendt defines action. Azoulay essentially expands Arendt's space of appearance by including the event of photography, merging the two into one space in order to demonstrate the political character of this space.

Through photographs, spectators can encounter and recognise spaces of (forced) migration without having actually experienced them in person. Photographs facilitate the appearance of places, people, and objects that are not physically near the public. While photographs of people and objects are taken by specific photojournalists who were present at the same time and in the same place as the people/objects, they are inevitably reproduced and re-performed in different platforms (not only in news media), meaning that photographs are

not locally fixed. In fact, journalistic photographs of (forced) migration are rarely reproduced in the localities they originated from.

The public sees photographs from a distance, both spatially and temporally. Photographs also concern the anticipation of appearance. Photographs of people seeking refuge can be seen as an indication of their movement – that they will soon appear *here* in person. In this way, photojournalism to an extent shapes how the world and events taking place within it are imagined by the public. Photographs are often imagined, and limited to the role of capturing the past. While they do of course document a past that is over, they also allow spectators to see this past. They suspend time, and in the process open time. In this way photographs preserve a part of history, and in the process offer the potential for different outcomes, for spectators to imagine another future. No amount of historical context (newspapers, eyewitness accounts, documents) can fully explain photographs. This is because photographs do not show the past as frozen, nor do they freeze time in the past. Instead, they keep open several outcomes that never unfolded, and offer no indication of what might happen before or after the photograph:

> [P]hotographs are so powerful not because they document the past but because they keep open for the viewer the possibility of another future. And it is this possibility to think of a different future, and to imagine the future differently, that is the condition for political action (Baer, 2009, p. 242)

It is precisely because photographs keep the past open for spectators to continuously encounter that I make the case for an understanding of photojournalism as a form of active life. This approach accounts for the encounters that make up the event of photojournalism.

Encounters between photojournalists and people in flight

The widespread use of cameras has generated much more than a seemingly endless stream of photographs; it has created new forms of encounter between 'people who take, watch and show other people's photographs' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 24). This has opened new possibilities for political action, as well as establishing new conditions for the visibility of this action. In any encounter between people there are power relations that position people in relation to one another. People can be equals, and power can be distributed equally between them, but the camera automatically creates distance between people – putting a camera between the photographer and the person being photographed creates a barrier that needs to be crossed (Becker et al., 2000). At the same time, the camera facilitates proximity, as in order to report on an event or situation photojournalists are required to go near in order to get the shot.

Several scholars have discussed the potential power imbalance that might become a concern when a photojournalist attains power over the photographed

people (see for example Good & Lowe, 2019). The actions of people in a space of appearance produce power, and power is subsequently that which 'keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence' and 'what keeps people together after the fleeting moment of action has passed [...] and what, at the same time, they keep alive through remaining together' (Arendt, 1998, pp. 200–201). As such, the space of appearance is a source of power.

When people act together, a common language and understanding develops, enabling them to make claims about human and political rights. This power manifests as recognition and agency; as people are able to appear to one another, the public space become a stage on which the individual performs, and their actions can be seen, heard, witnessed, and remembered. A non-public life is one of invisibility and, being invisible, people lose their ability to act, move, and establish human relationships. They are deprived 'of a place in the world which makes opinions significant and actions effective' (Arendt, 1958, p. 296).

Power is not the property of an individual, but of a plurality of actors coming together for a political purpose. It is a human creation and outcome of collective engagement based on consent and rational persuasion. It is a product of action. Power, Arendt argues, is 'what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence', and it is always potential and not an unchangeable, measurable, or reliable entity like force or strength; rather, it 'springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse' (Arendt, 1998, pp. 200–201). Power is 'what keeps people together after the fleeting moment of action has passed […] and what, at the same time, they keep alive through remaining together' (Arendt, 1998, p. 201). Based on this understanding of power, I argue that photographs can be imagined as agentic entities that carry power, even after the photographic moment has passed.

Photographs bring together people who are separated in both time and space to create a triad – the people photographed, photographer, and spectators – and therefore photographs have a rather unique ability to embody temporality and spatiality. As the camera shutter is depressed, a moment is simultaneously made eternal and gone forever. When looking at a photograph, one is confronted by a feeling of *having-been-there*, serving as a testament to the existence of a specific person or object at a specific time and place that can be seen, but not touched. At the same time, the moment that is visible in the photograph will never be possible to photograph again, as it is already in the past. Photographs become testaments to things that are absent to the people who are looking at them; they are representations of things that once were in front of the photographer but may not be any longer.

Many postmodern theorists, such as Barthes, Baudrillard, and Sontag, proclaim that the increasing number of horrific photographs circulating in the

world has resulted in a form of image fatigue, and that spectators will eventually simply stop looking at photographs (Azoulay, 2008).

Photographs are never innocent; they are always constructed through practices, technologies, and knowledge (Rose, 2016). Photographs are important in how people establish, shape, and maintain relationships between themselves and other people. As the product of photojournalistic practice, they can be seen as spaces of 'affective human attachments' (Pantti, 2013). This means that the ways in which people react to photographs establish a way of seeing that is, to some extent, normative, cultural, and shared among – and at times across – communities (Schlag, 2018). Who has the power to decide which events and situations are worth showing and which not – what is made visible and what is left invisible – is an important question to consider. For this reason, it is important to ask questions of who can appear, and who cannot, who can move freely and who is restricted. The right to appear, Butler argues,

> is tacitly supported by regulatory schemes that qualify only certain subjects as eligible to exercise that right. So no matter how 'universal' the right to appear claims to be, its universalism is undercut by differential forms of power that qualify who can and cannot appear. (Butler, 2015, p. 50)

It is important to pay attention to the ways in which photographs affect the public's understanding of (forced) migration and of people forced to flee; as Malkki argues 'pictures of refugees are now a key vehicle in the elaboration of a transnational social imagination of refugeeness' (1996, pp. 377–404). In the reporting on migration events in 2015, there was a tendency in news media to make people fleeing hyper-visible as either victims – often women and children – in need of humanitarian assistance or menacing threats – often lone men or groups of men – that posed a threat to the public. The representation of people in a news context can be conceptualised as a moral distance between two extreme positions; hyper-visibility and invisibility. This *proper distance* is not a physical distance, but a moral one, and can be considered to be

> the more or less precise degree of proximity required in our mediated interrelationships if we are to create and sustain a sense of the other sufficient not just for reciprocity but for a duty of care, obligation and responsibility, as well as understanding. (Silverstone, 2007, p. 47)

Proper distance, then, cannot be found in advance, and is always relational to specific situations. People are positioned in relation to one another, both distant and near, and this proximity requires, or even demands, a moral response – an idea that comes from Lévinas. The invitation to look into the face of another is an obligation, and a sign of people's fundamental responsibility for human beings. Lévinas considers this responsibility to be the ethical site of morality and humanity (1987). This responsibility can also be understood as a

response-ability – that is, the ability or act of responding to the appearance of another in a space of appearance.

Photographs of people in flight constitute what Ahmed terms 'objects of feeling', which people feel love, anger, pity, or fear towards (Ahmed, 2014, pp. 8–9). These emotions can be collective or individual and established historically and culturally, and are manifest in responses to events in what Ahmed calls 'emotional economies' (Ahmed in Gregg & Seigworth, 2010, pp. 29–51). Photographs also relate to the anticipation of appearance: those that are circulated and reproduced in news media can lead to people being judged and perceived as dangerous before they physically arrive in a certain space.

Ahmed argues that it is necessary to focus on 'the histories that come before subjects' in order to understand how 'the immediacy of bodily reactions are mediated' (2014, p. 212), which is why it is important to consider the fact that, as a practice, photojournalism is an activity carried out by people with histories that are shared with the people being photographed as well as with the intended spectators, just as the people that are being photographed by photojournalists have histories themselves.

However, Azoulay argues that, while photography may seem to consist of moments of 'visual immobility' and appear to be distinctive objects of the contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*), it is 'deeply embedded in the active life' (*vita activa*). Photographs, she continues, 'always engage in an ongoing present that challenges the very distinction between contemplation and action' (2008, pp. 94–95).

In the next section, I address the distinction between looking at, seeing and watching photographs and relate this to aspects of storytelling.

Seeing and watching photographs

To Arendt, the world is a 'common meeting ground of all', and it opens up to each person differently: 'Only where things can be seen by many in a variety of aspects without changing their identity, so that those who are gathered around them know they see sameness in utter diversity, can worldly reality truly and reliably appear' (Arendt, 1998, p. 57).

Photographs have a specific audience and established ways of interpretation, and so the seeing of photographs always takes place in a specific social context that mediates its impact and in locations with their own particular practices (Rose, 2016, p. 52). Newspapers provide a framework for engaging with photographs by 'embodying a "presence" of the past' (Edwards, 2009, p. 149). Through different ways of seeing, the public repeatedly produce and reproduce the imagination of places of migration and the people and objects that reside within and move through them.

Seeing entails someone doing or practicing the seeing, which makes seeing a performative act and 'a moral way of disclosing the world that is perceivable to the senses and socially shared' (Simonsen, 2007, p. 54). Seeing requires the appearance of someone or something, and – in the case of this study – the appearance of someone or something before a camera and 'being publicly visible makes seeing a practical affair with social ramifications' (Schuermann, 2019, p. 54). A concrete bodily visibility is the condition for social visibility, and being part of a community with common norms, beliefs, demands, and interests, such as citizenship of a state, is the basis for the ways of seeing that dominate in that shared community and rule how members see themselves and others. Seeing makes it possible to react to how the visible world is socially structured, and as a practice means being related to other people, even if they are not always present to us, through photographs published in newspapers, for example.

The visible world is structured by elements such as depth, relations, surfaces, and outlines, which Schuermann (2019) argues can be imagined as the grammar of seeing. Here, perception differentiates these elements into an organised unit, although there is of course more to seeing than merely adding up individual elements. Seeing involves a broad spectrum of actions, from intended and deliberate observation of an event and looking at someone standing in front of you with intent to distracted, absent-minded gazing through a window.

All forms of seeing are part of and embedded in the social contexts that give seeing meaning (Schuermann, 2019). Berger uses the expression 'ways of seeing' to explain the fact 'we never look at just one thing: we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves' (1972, p. 9). Drawing 'distant inspiration' from Berger's expression, Sturken and Cartwright (2009, p. 4) argue that the act of looking at images is more complex than what is suggested by traditional understandings of seeing, as the eye only sees that which is static and frozen in a photograph. Moreover, one must also take into consideration how photographs are seen by spectators who look at photographs in specific ways.

The gaze has long been used as a metaphor to conceptualise abstract thought. As she moves the gaze from the realm of *vita contemplativa* to *vita activa*, Azoulay proposes that the gaze is 'an inalienable part of action' and, drawing on Arendt's distinction between the three forms of action in the active life, differentiates between three forms of practical gaze or modes of seeing (2008, p. 95, 2012).

The first mode of seeing is an orientating and identifying gaze that corresponds to *labour*. Like labour, it constitutes a condition for our being in the world as it is used to navigate, identify, orient, and locate oneself (Azoulay, 2012, p. 67). This gaze is primarily descriptive, and relates to observing what

is visible and identifying objects, people, and other beings that are encountered, as well as attempting to understand the intentions, opportunities, and dangers involved in these encounters.

The second mode of seeing is a professional and deliberative gaze that characterises professionals such as photojournalists and researchers and corresponds to *work*. With this gaze, people organise and control the visible world around them through accumulated knowledge. It is not fundamental to survival, and instead is used to regulate certain forms of action, analyse situations and events, and process data (Azoulay, 2012, p. 68).

These two modes of seeing – the identifying gaze and the professional gaze – are the primary concerns in research and studies on photography. As was discussed in Chapter 2, research tends to look at the content of photographs or the actions and consequences of their producers. Azoulay argues that the existing ways of theorising and knowing photographs reduce photography to the photograph itself, wherein the gaze is exclusively focused on identifying what or who is photographed. This gaze, she argues, 'takes part in the stabilization of what is seen, in making it distinct, accessible, readily available, easy to capture, and open to ownership and exchange' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 14).

Azoulay proposes that rather than looking at photographs, spectators must start watching them. Watching entails dimensions of time and movement that must be reinscribed in the interpretation of photographs. Particularly when the photographed person is someone who has been violated or suffered any kind of injury to their person, a watching of photographs 'reconstructs the photographic situation and allows for a reading of the injury inflicted on others' as a civil skill rather than an 'exercise in aesthetic appreciation' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 14). Corresponding to *action*, Azoulay (2012, p. 121) proposes a third mode of seeing, namely the civil gaze.

The civil gaze, Azoulay argues,

> enables the spectator to use the reconstruction of the situation photographed in order to become aware that the photographer does not stand opposite the figure photographed on his own, nor does the spectator herself confront the photographed figure alone. The spectator also comes to realize that she does not stand outside the regime within whose framework the photographic encounter becomes possible. Civil intention allows the spectator to recognize the presence of those absent from the frame, extending awareness to all those who took part in the production of the visible, and allowing all participants populating the civil space of the photograph to meet on the same plane, even if only momentarily, and to ratify their inclusion within its space. (Azoulay, 2012, p. 121)

The event of photojournalism, then, is a space of appearance, and photographs weave the entanglements of space together and become events that spectators can participate with and engage in. The civil gaze is activated the moment a spectator understands that citizenship is not merely a status possessed by citizens, but a tool to be used in a struggle or an obligation to fight

on the basis of injuries inflicted on others. The civil spectator, Azoulay argues, has 'a duty to employ that skill the day she encounters photographs of those injuries – to employ it in order to negotiate the manner in which she and the photographed are ruled.' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 14).

Photographs bear the seal of the photojournalistic event, and in order to reconstruct a particular event, spectators much engage with more than merely identifying the visual elements within the frame. Simply looking at the content of photographs impedes spectators' understanding of the encounters that have taken place. There is always a part of photography that extends beyond the action of the photographer. No photographer can claim full ownership of that which appears in the photograph, and so every photograph bears a trace of the encounter between the photographer and the photographed. Neither of these individuals can determine how this encounter will be inscribed in the eventual photograph (Azoulay, 2008).

Returning to spaces of (forced) migration, in which some people are restricted from moving and appearing as they wish, photographs have the potential to open new spaces of politics and action when they are considered as events of photojournalism. The categories and labels that are applied to people through state policies, such as "refugee", "stateless", and "migrant", are not visible in photographs. It is impossible to know anything about the citizenship status of a person who has been photographed just by looking at it. The event of photojournalism challenges spectators to engage with practices of seeing, which Azoulay refers to as the civil gaze. This implies an active engagement with what appears *within* photographs, rather than practices of looking, which involves engaging with the content as it is depicted. Azoulay refers to this approach as *watching* photographs, by which she urges spectators to engage in dimensions of time and movement as they make interpretations of content (Azoulay, 2008). She contrasts the civil gaze with the 'identifying' (looking) and 'professional' (assessing technical or artistic skill) gazes. The third mode of seeing, the civil gaze requires, an 'interpretative effort' as there is 'nothing given in advance of the photograph' (2012, p. 121).

To Arendt, storytelling is about political action, linked to human desires to create, shape, and leave traces behind in the world (Arendt, 1998). Arendt defines storytelling as the process through which people's experiences are transformed in order to be presentable in public to others. "Public", to Arendt, has two meanings: First, something that appears and which can be seen and heard by others; second, something that people have in common, and which is separate and distinct from private life (Arendt, 1998, pp. 50–51).

The space of appearance is a space that exists between people, no matter where they are, and can emerge anywhere and at any time people are together (Arendt, 1998, p. 55). Storytelling implies appearing before others and making oneself seen and heard in a public space, a shared space of '*inter-est*' which binds people together (Arendt, 1998, p. 182). In this space people simultaneously act and are subjected to the actions of others. Storytelling therefore is a

spatial practice that requires an audience of spectators because it is by telling stories that people make themselves seen and heard by others.

Stories take place, relate to, and are organised around the '*inter-est*' that lies between people (Arendt, 1998, p. 182). Arendt implies that people can never be the sole authors of their own life stories, as stories are often fragmented, spontaneous, and plural (1998, p. 191–192). Stories further enact realities, as to act is to take initiative, to begin something anew (Arendt, 1998, p. 177). In *Giving an Account of Oneself*, Butler (2005) criticises this perspective and suggests that action should be considered to be performative. According to Butler 'the "I" has no story of its own that is not also the story of a relation' (2005, p. 8), but is entangled with the world and other people and objects (Butler, 2004; Barad, 2007).

Butler (2009, pp. 80–81) argues that photographs have a way of framing reality, and that there is a relationship between the photographer, the photographed, the scene, and the camera. The scene is framed by the photographer, but without the camera there would not be a photograph. Azoulay expands this idea and argues that a 'virtual community' is created through this relationship, in which she also includes the public. She argues that the omnipresence of cameras and photographs in the world establishes this community, a public sphere in which people take, show, and see photographs in a collective manner. This in turn causes new forms of political action to appear, offering new conditions for visibility (Azoulay, 2008).

Photographs subsequently bear the traces of a 'plurality of political relations' that are actualised through watching, transforming, and circulating what is seen 'into claims that demand action' (Azoulay, 2008, pp. 25–26).

Whereas nation-states territorialise citizenship, photography de-territorialises it by reaching beyond the conventional boundaries of citizenship and 'plotting out a political space in which the plurality of speech and action (in Arendt's sense) is actualised permanently by the eventual participation of all the governed' (Azoulay, 2008, p. 25). Because there is no sovereign in the space of photography, participation is equal: everyone involved knows what is expected of them, and what to expect from others in return. This fosters a particular set of civil skills that are not subject to nationality but to borderless citizenship (Azoulay, 2008, p. 26).

Arendt argues that 'without spectators the world would be imperfect', and that 'the meaning of what actually happens and appears while it is happening is revealed when it has disappeared […] in the form of a story' (Arendt, 1978, pp. 132–133). In line with Arendt's argument, I argue that photojournalism produces shareable stories that are 'the results of action and speech' (Arendt, 1998, p. 184). In this study, I have made these stories the main component of the space of appearance.

Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical framework that underpinned the study. I have discussed Arendt's theories on the space of appearance, and situated photojournalism in relation to *the active life.*

I further established two modes of appearance that can be found in the space of appearance, *self-display* and *self-presentation*, and related these modes to people in flight and movements in and across spaces of (forced) migration as they appear in photographs.

Inspired by Azoulay's theoretical understand of the citizenry of photography, I have elaborated on the photojournalistic event and the event of photojournalism.

Finally, I have clarified how photographs should be approached as both material visual objects that are the outcomes of photojournalistic practice and part of photojournalistic practices that continuously unfold through time and space, in the form of the event of photojournalism. People, objects, and places are imagined and re-imagined depending on the contexts in which they appear. Photographs travel through time and space, and as they do the event of photojournalism is continuously changing.

In the chapters that follow, I examine photographs as the outcomes of encounters between people in flight and photojournalists, as well as the potential encounters taking place between photographs and spectators when the former are published and circulated in news media. Photojournalistic practices serve as the point of departure for an investigation of the political potential of photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration.

Chapter 4: Methods and materials

In this chapter I present and reflect on the choice made related to methods and materials, and reflect and elaborate upon the methodological considerations and decisions taken in the study. In the first section I affirm my choice of a primarily qualitative approach and research design, which was made in order to address the research questions from the theoretical perspectives introduced in Chapter 3. In the second section I introduce and justify the methodologies I employed, and describe the process of collecting and selecting the material that I analyse in Chapters 5–7. I then describe my approach to the analysis and interpretation of the data, the process of transcribing and communicating the findings before reflecting on research process by addressing ethical considerations, the limitations of the study, my own positionality and reflexivity as a researcher, and the trustworthiness of the study.

The approach was primarily qualitative, and involved an interview study with photojournalists who have published in Swedish newspapers and an analysis of photographs of (forced) migration published in four Swedish newspapers in 2015.

The aim of this study was to empirically explore how photojournalism is practiced by investigating how spaces of (forced) migration, as well as the people and objects moving in and across them, appear in Swedish newspapers. The purpose was to contribute to a wider scholarly discussion on the potential of photojournalistic practices to create spaces of appearance that open up different spaces of politics in which people in flight can appear as subjects of rights.

I analysed the photographs of (forced) migration with a focus on the appearance, movement, and actions of people in flight in spaces of (forced) migration. The study was designed to answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1 and restated here:

RQ1: What appears in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration that were published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan* in 2015?

RQ2: What elements constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed? How do they relate their practices to

journalistic norms in general, and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular?

RQ3: How are action, movement, and encounters between the actors in a photographic event inscribed in selected photographs? How is the appearance of people in flight reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs in the event of photojournalism?

I continue this chapter by providing an overview of the principles that guided me in the process of collecting and selecting the material analysed in order to address the aim of the study. I further present the development of the research process by describing and reflecting on the methods and materials used and analysed.

Research approach

In investigating photojournalistic practices and visual objects, the study required a reflexive approach that took the particular qualities of each object of study into account, and allowed me to be attentive to my own ways and practices of seeing in the research process. For this reason, I chose a primarily qualitative approach on the basis that this facilitated a focus on context and processes, while including people's experiences and understandings as part of the object of study (Bryman, 2016).

Following Rose (2016), I adopted a framework of critical visual methodologies. To Rose, there are three criteria which are crucial to a critical approach to visual research: (a) taking images seriously as objects of study, (b) thinking about the social conditions and effects of images and their modes of distribution, and (c) considering one's own ways of seeing images and the implications they have for the research (2016, pp. 53–54). Rose further considers visuals in terms of four different sites: *the site of the image* (content), *the site of production* (where the image is made), the *site of circulation* (where the image travels), and *the site of audiencing* (where the image encounters its spectators). These sites each have three modalities that can contribute to a critical understanding of images: *technological* (any device made to create or enhance images), *compositional* (the material qualities of images), and *social* (practices through which images are seen, interpreted and used) (Rose, 2016, p. 57).

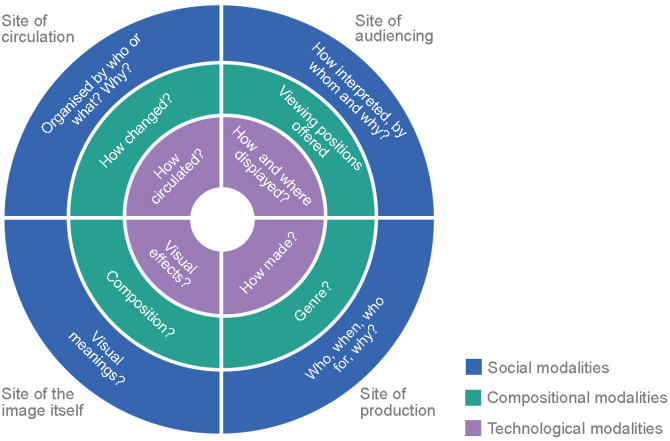

Figure 1. Diagram adapted from *Visual Methodologies*, showing the four sites and three modalities for interpreting visual material (Rose, 2016, p. 57).

The first aspect concerns how images make visible (or invisible) social difference. In looking carefully at images, one must consider how they offer particular visions of certain social categories (including race, ethnicity, and gender) – that is, what appears within the frame (Rose, 2016).

The second aspect concerns how images are looked at (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009) and the ways of seeing that images eventually invite for (Berger, 1972, p. 9).

The third aspect concerns a consideration of who is able to see and how and where they are able to this, as well as the implications of this (Mitchell, 1995). So while images are always dependent on ways of seeing, the implications of this seeing are embedded in various social and cultural practices and take place in particular contexts and locations and further depends on where the image appears (Rose, 2016).

The fourth aspect concerns how, why, and with what implications images circulate, and pays attention to the various places that they appear in (Rose, 2016).

The fifth aspect concerns the agency of images (2016). While images are often published alongside other forms of media, most often with text or other forms of representation that affect how spectators see the images and make meaning from them, it is important to consider what images *do* on their own as well.

In sum, Rose argues that in order to study the complexities of images, there is a need to establish a critical methodology that considers the agency of images and the social practices and implications of their circulation and viewing, and that reflects the specificity of that viewing by audiences and the implications of different ways of seeing. Drawing on Azoulay's (2008, p. 95–96) practical gazes, I examine three ways of seeing offered by the material; the 'identifying gaze', the 'professional gaze', and the 'civil gaze'.

This study thus constituted a multi-method investigation into photojournalistic practices related to (forced) migration appearances, undertaken by combining an interview study and a mapping of photographs with an analysis of selected photographs beyond the content of the frame. The empirical objects of analysis consisted of a mixture of *found* materials (photographs) and *made* materials (interviews and questionnaire responses).

In order to demarcate the study, data was collected through a mapping of photographic content in four Swedish newspapers and an interview study with photojournalists who had published in Swedish newspapers, combining semi-structured interviews with an online questionnaire. The collected data was analysed through compositional interpretative analysis, thematic coding, and a close analysis of selected photographs beyond the content of the frame (Azoulay, 2008). (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Rose, 2016). This critical approach to news photographs considered the agency of photographs as visual objects and the photojournalistic practices behind their production, publication, and circulation, and reflected on the ways of seeing that the event of photojournalism invites for.

The remainder of this chapter has three main sections. In the first, I present the processes of collecting and selecting the empirical material. In the second section, I establish the analytical framework. In the third and final section I reflect on the research process.

Collecting and selecting the material

Two sets of material were investigated in this study, collected from four different sites: the site of *the image*, the site of *production*, the site of *circulation*, and the site of *audiencing*. Three modalities (compositional, technological and social; Rose, 2016), were engaged with.

The first set of materials, which primarily concerned the site of the image but also those of circulation and the audiencing[6], consisted of photographs (and articles) published in four Swedish newspapers; two broadsheet newspa-

[6] The site of audiencing, following Emma Dahlin, is understood to be 'the process through which audience is *achieved*', rather than focusing on who or what the audience is and how it reacts or responds to photographs (2018).

pers, *Dagens Nyheter (DN)* and *Sydsvenskan (SDS)*, and two tabloid newspapers, *Aftonbladet (AB)* and *Expressen (EXP)*. The second set of materials, which primarily concerned the site of production, consisted of the outcomes of the interview study. Before embarking on a more detailed account of the methods used and material generated for analysis, the empirical material generated and collected consisted of the following:

- 516 photographs from *AB*, *DN*, *EXP* and *SDS*.
- 17 semi-structured interviews with photojournalists and other visual news professionals.
- 45 questionnaire responses.

In this section, I first address the visual material investigated by answering the following questions: What news media were studied, what time period was studied, what cases were studied, what articles and photographs were studied, and what was investigated in each photograph?

Set I: Photographs

What news media were studied?

The selection of the four newspapers was based on the following considerations: First of all, I wanted to have a mixture of tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. The chosen tabloid papers are single copy-sold newspapers, whereas the chosen broadsheet papers are primarily subscription-based morning newspapers. This influences the ways in which the newspapers address their readers, in that single copy-sold newspapers tend to have stronger language and visuals in order to attract readers. The reasons for including tabloids were that they have national coverage and use visual elements in a prominent way.

Of the four newspapers included, the two broadsheet newspapers – *Dagens Nyheter* and *Sydsvenskan* – can be considered to offer primarily local coverage, while the two tabloids – *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* – have national coverage; however, *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, and *Expressen* all have a wide geographical readership. There are a number of reasons as to why I chose these four newspapers.

The choice of broadsheet newspapers was partly based on their circulation and readership. Further, both papers have a strong normative position within the media sphere in Sweden, and news published in these is often used in other media as well. *Dagens Nyheter* is a Stockholm-based newspaper, and *Sydsvenskan* is based in Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, located in the south of the country. *Sydsvenskan* was selected due to its geographical proximity to the Swedish border to Denmark, and the fact that Malmö was the city with the highest count of refugee arrivals in 2015.

Further, I selected the newspapers based on the fact that they have a picture desk, photo editors (or other individuals in charge of photographic material), and/or staff photographers.

The selection of the four newspapers involved certain limitations. With the exception of *Sydsvenskan*, the production and majority of the staff members of the newspapers are based in Stockholm. Many of the events included in the material investigated took place outside Sweden, meaning that the newspapers generally had to rely on the reporting of one or two reporters and photographers, freelancers, or agency-produced material.

Further, three of the newspapers (*DN*, *EXP*, and *SDS*) are owned by the Bonnier Group, and *Dagens Nyheter* and *Sydsvenskan* in particular utilise much of the Group's foreign news coverage. However, I was not primarily interested in making comparisons between the four newspapers, but rather in what appeared in photographs of (forced) migration in the newspapers.

The goal of the mapping was to collect photographs that were published in the four newspapers; however, because it is difficult to systematically collect photographs from specific newspapers, I decided to collect articles instead.

The material from the four newspapers was collected through Retriever Mediearkivet[7]. As I was investigating a specific period of time, the paper editions of the newspapers were the preferred unit of analysis, as articles and photographs are neither edited nor replaced after publication, which also limited the possibility of changes in the material occurring during the research process.

Online editions generally feature more photographs than their print counterparts, for example in slide-shows (see for example Roosvall, 2014), and are often continuously revised and changed, which could have had implications for the sample analysed. Further, similar to archives, printed newspapers "lock" photographs into "specific narratives" for example through the ways that photographs are placed (in genres or vignettes), ordered, and sized in each paper (Edwards, 2009). While it is possible to flip past pages or start at the end or middle of the newspaper, the overall structure of the newspaper remains.

What time period was studied?

The main mapping of photographs was limited to the year 2015. Through an archival search in Mediearkivet I sampled articles published in two out of the four weeks of March, June, September, and December of 2015 using a systematic sampling strategy (Neuendorf, 2017; Rose, 2016).

In total, 56 days throughout 2015 were sampled (eight Mondays, eight Tuesdays, and so on). Having conducted a pilot study, I knew that (visual)

[7] Retriever Mediearkivet, hereafter referred to as Mediearkivet, is a Nordic news database collecting printed and online newspapers, television, and radio media. Mediearkivet covers the Nordic countries and collects articles from 100,000 international media outlets.

reporting was most frequent from September onwards. While I did not intend to generalise based on the findings, I wanted to have an even spread of sampled weekdays throughout the year. As newspapers tend to have cyclical content, I further wanted to make sure that all weekdays as well as different seasons throughout the year were included in the sample. For example, the reporting during the summer months and on national holidays is quite different from the reporting during spring and autumn (Krippendorff, 2013; Rose, 2016).

	MARCH	JUNE	SEPTEMBER	DECEMBER
Week 1 Days 1-7	●		●	
Week 2 Days 8-14		●		●
Week 3 Days 15-21	●		●	
Week 4 Days 22-28		●		●

Table 1. The sampled weeks and days for each investigated month.

There are advantages and disadvantages to collecting material through a database. One of the most obvious advantages is that it is a time-efficient process, and much faster than travelling to a physical archive and reading through newspapers manually, for example. It probably would not have been possible to perform the study according to the design presented in this thesis using a manual approach. One of the disadvantages of the approach, however, is that the search is limited by the content of the database. However, as I performed a manual check of the samples for September 2015 in 2020, I am confident that any material that was potentially excluded is not a result of material missing in the database, but rather human error.

What cases/topics were studied?

In order to collect articles relevant to the study, I used the search string migra* OR flykt*. The purpose of the search was to capture all relevant articles published in the four newspapers in which (a) the main topic and focus of the articles was (forced) migration and (b) (forced) migration was taking place within the European Union, neighbouring countries, and international water bordering the EU.

What articles and photographs are studied?

The search left me with 1,914 articles. Each articled was then downloaded and organised in an Excel sheet, and by manually eliminating articles that were not relevant the number of articles was reduced to 725. Having eliminated articles with false positives, I identified articles that included relevant photographs using relevance sampling.

The criteria for relevant photographs was that they depicted individuals or objects identified as being in flight. The material does not include (a) photographs of elite sources (politicians, celebrities), (b) photographs of non-refugees (aid workers, citizens of the EU, etc.) appearing alone in the photographs, and (c) non-photographic visual material such as maps, illustrations, and graphs.

To determine whether a photograph was relevant, I consulted captions and, when needed, other text in the article. The reason for not including photographs of elite sources, apart from the fact that they are not fleeing, was that they have often undergone media training, and in general have more space and power in negotiating their participation. This would be an interesting topic to study, of course, but fell outside the scope of this study, which was the appearance of people in flight in spaces of (forced) migration.

Articles that did not include photographs, or included photographs that were not relevant to the scope of the study, were eliminated from the sample, leaving me with 216 articles. In the end, I identified 516 photographs published in these 216 articles. The vast majority (434) of the photographs in the sample were published in September 2015.

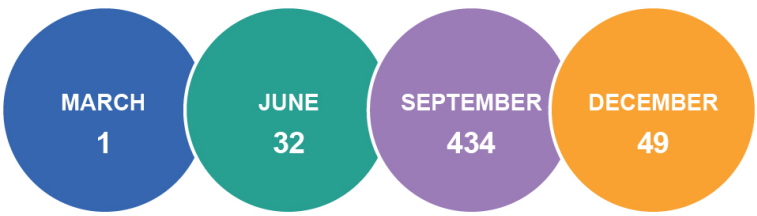

Figure 2. Number of photographs published in each publication.

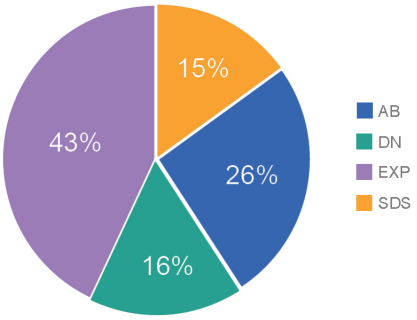

Figure 3. Number of total photographs published in each investigated month.

What was examined in each photograph?

Once I had collected the photographs I designed a coding schedule to organise and analyse the sample. As discussed above, all photographs in which one or more people (or objects) in the process of (forced) migration appeared were coded. Photographs were coded and analysed individually, even if one article included two or more photographs, guided by Rose's (2016) method of compositional interpretation (which I refer to as "compositional analysis" hereafter, and is further introduced below).

I first organised the photographs primarily according to the use and placement of the photographs in the newspaper and social and technological modalities. I categorised the photographs based on (1) the title of the article, (2) the newspaper, (3) the date of publication, (4) the page number, (5) the genre, and (6) the number of other photographs that appeared in the same article.

Where possible I also categorised (7) the name of the photographer, (8) the name of the photo agency, (9) and the caption in Swedish, and (10) wrote a five-word summary in English. Finally, I organised the photographs according to (11) whether the photographed people were attributed by name and (12) whether the photograph was in colour or black and white. I also (13) included a thumbnail of the photograph and (14) determined the size of the photograph in relation to the page.

Extended photo search

I worked from the assumption that photographs begin before and stretch beyond the photographic frame, extending to each encounter that takes place after the photojournalistic event. The meaning of a photograph therefore does not come only from *what* appears within the frame of the photograph; instead, it is continuously created by anyone who is included in and engages with the event of photojournalism. This means that, in addition to paying attention to

the content of the photographs and the photojournalistic event itself, one should also pay attention to the ways in which photographs are placed in newspapers, how they are captioned and otherwise contextualised to the public, and how and to whom photographs are circulated in time and space, both off- and online.

From the large sample of photographs collected, I selected one photograph to analyse in-depth (see Figs. 19, 37, 38, 39). In order to follow the spatio-temporal movement of this photograph, I first used Mediearkivet to search for the names of the main individuals that appeared in it. As I wanted to obtain Swedish and international publications, I set the time period to 'All dates' and first searched all language categories, after which I limited the search to Swedish news media. Both online and offline articles were included. Because of the limitations of Mediearkivet, where one is only able to search for articles using words, the searches did not generate articles that included the photograph but omitted the names of the people that appear in it.

To complement these searches, I used the TinEye image search engine. Here, one can enter a URL or upload a photograph and carry out a reversed search to ascertain where (and when) photographs appear in various online spaces. TinEye does not allow for a time period to be set, but it is possible to manually filter out different publication spaces to an extent. I further complemented the TinEye search with a Google Reverse Image Search, which essentially performs the search in the same manner. This combination of searches was not exhaustive, and does not account for or map *all* of the spaces in which the photograph was published. This was not, however, the intent of the procedure, and the approach allowed me to follow the photograph in time and space.

It is important to ask questions regarding the contexts in which photographs are created and which structures dictate not only the photojournalistic event, but the event of photojournalism. For this purpose, I conducted an interview study.

Set II: Interview study

All photographs are *made* objects and the circumstances of production can be used to explain the implications that photographs have (Rose, 2016). To gain insights into how photojournalists relate to and engage in their practices, as well as how they express and visualise experiences, feelings, and beliefs in their practices, the interview study drew on both ethnography and phenomenology (Roulston, 2010) and consisted of two methods: semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire. In this section I present them separately, beginning with the semi-structured interviews.

Interviews

Interviews were chosen as a research method based on the idea that the photojournalists' experiences, feelings, and beliefs could reveal significant aspects of photojournalistic practices. Interviews are shaped by the relationship that is established between myself as a researcher and the people that I talk to, and we become entangled in diverse and complex histories and politics (Elliott & Culhane, 2017).

Following Pinsky (2015, p. 282), I approached the interviews as 'observational interactions' that, in addition to retrieving verbal data, were also activities of selection and interpretation, further influenced by emotions and other non-verbal cues such as prolonged pauses and the use of air quotes and eye rolls by both myself and the interviewees. There were other sites of interaction prior to and after the actual interview session that were felt to be worthy of consideration, such as emails and phone calls, and these were documented and made use of. However, only quotes expressed in the formal interview are included in the thesis. The interpersonal and collaborative meaning-making aspects of this approach were the main reason I chose to work with interviews.

The choice of a semi-structured approach allowed me to be flexible throughout the interview process, pose open and effective follow-up questions, and change the direction of the conversation when I felt that this was necessary (Creswell, 2007). As I did not aspire to interview a random sample of people in this study, I used purposive sampling when identifying interviewees, and eventually also snowball sampling as interviewees would, unprompted, suggest other potential interviewees to me (Bruhn Jensen, 2002; Bryman, 2016, pp. 408–415). It should be noted that I did not know any of the interviewees personally prior to conducting the interviews.

I had not decided on a sample size before commencing the study, and found few guidelines or studies that indicated how many interviews would be needed for the study to be trustworthy. For a phenomenological study Creswell recommends between 5 and 25 interviews (1998), whereas Morse argues for at least 6 interviews (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). According to Rubin and Rubin it might not be necessary to speak to a lot of people, but those spoken to should have knowledge and experience relevant to the scope of the study (2005).

Who is interviewed

Finding photojournalists who were interested in participating in the study was easier than I expected, and the project was met with curiosity and encouragement. Only one person declined to participate due to a conflict with their schedule, and two people agreed to participate but the interviews fell through due to scheduling issues and geographical distance.

I interviewed 17 photojournalists and other visual news professionals with experience of working in a Swedish newspaper context. The majority of the interviewees (14) considered themselves to be photojournalists, while a small

number (3) primarily work as photo editors or photo editors in chief (some had overlapping experiences and assignments). 10 of the interviewees primarily worked as freelancers at the time of the interviews, working with news and reportages. Half of these also took other forms of assignment (for example in advertising) or worked on personal projects.

The interviewees all either covered events related to flight in 2015 (in Sweden or internationally) or had experience of covering similar events and topics. The constellation of photojournalists in Sweden roughly reflects that of the global constellation (Hadland & Barnett, 2018); in general, Swedish journalists are typically born to Swedish parents with civil-servant or academic backgrounds, and often have higher education themselves (Wiik, 2010, 2019).

I aspired to be attentive to the backgrounds (including aspects of gender, race, ethnicity, age, and years of experience) of potential interviewees in the selection process, and as a result the histories of the interviewees are varied. Some were self-taught while others had formal training from college or university. Some were born in Sweden and others abroad; some resided in cities and others in the countryside. Some had experienced war and conflict personally, some had migrated to Sweden for school or work, and some were raised in Sweden. Some had just graduated from photojournalism school, while others had over 30 years of experience.

Interviewees with extensive experience of covering events of (forced) migration provided the study with a longitudinal perspective, which was useful considering the continuous changes and developments in the field of journalism.

It should be noted that no one was approached and asked to be a part of this project for the sake of me ticking a box in my research agenda; however, I do believe that it is crucial to consider how the histories of the people I selected to include in this study influenced and impacted the findings. The social composition of the press corps is important to consider as social representation is a fundamental democratic issue. Social mobility is a cornerstone of democracy, and it is a democratic problem if a certain profession or group is exclusively constituted by a single social group, whether that is based on gender, race, ethnicity, or class (Wiik, 2019).

What questions were asked?

An interview guide was designed and used during the interviews, serving as a memory aid that I referred to throughout the sessions (Bryman, 2016, pp. 469–477). The guide consisted of six clusters of questions related to different thematic areas.

The first cluster was mostly descriptive and concerned the interviewees' work environment and the occupational freedoms they have in their practice. The questions focused on the interviewees' personal backgrounds and current position and employment status, as well as contextual details about editorial and journalistic frameworks.

The second cluster concerned the power and influence the interviewees felt that they have over their practice, focusing on stories about their own movement and appearance in certain spaces at certain times.

The third cluster dealt with the role of photographs within the wider field of journalism.

The fourth cluster was structured around the interviewees' relationship to journalistic norms and ethics, including their motivations for practicing, and highlighted ethical and moral considerations and implications. The fifth cluster concerned the interviewees' views on their encounters with the people that they photograph, and the sixth cluster focused on the relationship between the interviewees and emotions in their practices.

Some of the questions were rooted in theory and previous studies, such as ones concerning definitions and motives for their practice, while others served a more explanatory and contextualising purpose, such as the descriptive aspects. The questions were adjusted to each interviewee and developed as the interview study progressed. I tried to avoid imposing on the fluidity of the conversations, which is why the sequence of the questions also varied from session to session (Bryman, 2016; Pickering, 2008). However, the interview guide was helpful in eliciting the interviewees' stories.

The interview sessions

The interviews were conducted either face-to-face or, when this was not possible, over the phone. Of the 17 interviews, 14 were conducted face-to-face in coffee shops or at the interviewee's place of work. I encouraged the interviewees to pick the locations for the interviews. As the interviews were not only about collecting verbal data, I hoped that leaving the choice of location up to them would establish a relaxed and easy-going atmosphere in which the interviewees felt safe and comfortable enough to speak freely and open up to me.

The interviews that took place in coffee shops often ran longer than those that were carried out at the interviewees' places of work, and the latter tended to be more formal and structured. The three phone interviews were quite different from one another; one was the shortest interview and another was the lengthiest and quite chatty, while the third was short and to the point.

As I listen back to the recordings, I hear my own voice saying 'and it's on' as an introduction to the interview, which felt somewhat ceremonial, or performative in nature. Following the first interview, which took place during an exhibition of the work of one of the interviewee, I decided to take photographs with me to the interviews when possible and use them as a form of photo elicitation (for more on photo elicitation see for example Collier & Collier, 1986; Pink, 2007; Rose, 2016).

When the interviews were undertaken over the phone, I would refer to specific photographs instead. In addition to increasing the relevance of the discussions concerning how the photographs were made and how they related to other photographs, using photographs further helped to ground the interview

questions, provided a meaningful context for the conversations, and served as a memory aid for the interviewees in terms of remembering different events and situations they had reported on.

Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and two hours; all were conducted in Swedish, audio-recorded, and transcribed[8] and later translated into English by me. While I had introduced myself and the study in broad terms in the email requesting the interview, I began each session by re-stating the scope of the study, the research interest, and the reason I had reached out to them specifically, before providing details about how the data would potentially be used. I obtained their consent to use the data generated from the interviews in the study, as well for permission to record the interview, to which everyone agreed.

Almost all of the interviewees asked why I had chosen to contact them, and while some of the questions were seemingly arbitrary and generic, I found that once I had shared details about my own background as a practitioner the atmosphere eased up and we spoke more freely. My background (further explained on p. 107) turned out to be an asset in connecting with the interviewees, and made the process of interviewing feel organic; the fact that they did not have to explain terminology might have increased the fluidity of the interviews.

Questionnaire

The second part of the interview study was a questionnaire which was constructed with the purpose of relating the findings of the semi-structured interviews to a broader group of photojournalists.[9]

What questions were asked?

The questionnaire was designed using a secure software provided by Stockholm University (Survey & Report), and contained a mixture of quantitatively and qualitatively oriented questions. Having already completed the majority of the semi-structured interviews was helpful in designing the questions. While open-ended questions provide freedom for respondents to express themselves and choice as to how to answer questions, potentially generating a richer data set (Allen, 2017), I opted to use closed questions with multiple-choice answers and the possibility to add comments after each question as I already had a rich data set from the semi-structured interviews.

Closed questions take up less time for the respondents, and the answers were more time-efficient for me to analyse; moreover, the resulting data was

[8] I received funding to transcribe some of the interviews and outsourced the transcription of three interviews, but soon realised that I lost a great deal of the non-verbal content as a result of this and noted a disconnect from the material. Consequently, I decided to re-do the transcription of the three interviews myself.

[9] See Appendix C for the full questionnaire.

easier to code (Fink, 2002). The choice to add a comments section, which was moderately used by the respondents, meant that those who wanted to take the time to write freely could, and I gained insights, perceptions, opinions, and personal experiences which complemented the closed questions as a result.

The use of closed questions runs the risk of eliciting certain responses, even in cases where respondents lack knowledge or considered opinions. To avoid this, the questions were carefully constructed, and tested on three people with experience of working in a visual news context to ensure that the sequence of questions was clear and comprehensible, and that all were answerable by all of the potential respondents in the group.

It is generally recommended that questionnaire language be simple and jargon-free (Julien, 2008); however, as all of the members of the group work (or have worked) as photojournalists or press photographers and share a particular skillset and background, it was important to keep the language professional and at times resort to jargon.

Who answered the questionnaire?

I identified potential respondents using convenience sampling (Bruhn Jensen, 2002; Toepoel, 2016). I approached the chairperson of *Pressfotografernas Klubb* (PFK), a Swedish national organisation for press photographers, and the questionnaire was eventually shared in in a closed Facebook group for members of PFK, and open to respondents for a period of three months. The group is only open to paying members of PFK; at the time the questionnaire was shared it had 419 members, of which 45 responded.

What questions were asked?

The questionnaire included questions concerning the respondents' professional titles, types of employment and what genre they primarily work in, as well as their geographical location. It further asked whether or not the respondents covered the refugee crisis in 2015, if they had any experience working in developing countries, war, and conflict areas.

The questionnaire further gave the respondents the option of disclosing their age, gender and providing their contact details should they be interested in participating in an interview.

Like the interview guide, the questionnaire was structured into six clusters of statement. The first cluster concerned the interviewees' work environment and occupational freedoms in their practice. The second cluster concerned the power and influence the interviewees have over their practice. The third cluster dealt with the role of photographs within the wider field of photojournalism.

The fourth cluster was structured around the interviewees' relationship to journalistic norms and ethics. The fifth cluster concerned the interviewees' views on their encounters with the people that they photograph, and the sixth cluster focused on the relationship between the interviewees and emotions in

their practices. There was a comment section after each cluster of questions. The responses were summarised into a report using an existing feature in the survey software.

In this section I presented the interview study and the two methods used: semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire. Next, I present the analytical method.

Analytical method

In the following sections I elaborate on the analytical approach used for each part of my multi-method examination of the collected material. The empirical material analysed consisted of interviews, transcriptions, field notes, photographs, and questionnaire answers, as well as the memories, feelings, and experiences expressed by the interviewees. In short, the material is a mixture of textual and visual accounts, all of which point to the entanglement of interactions; what I investigated is what emerged as a result of these interactions.

I used a partially inductive approach to analysing the empirical material I collected, which allowed me to be attentive and responsive to the material. As was described above, I used Rose's framework for a critical visual methodology as the underlying structure (2016). To recall, Rose argues that five aspects are crucial for a critical examination of the 'social effects of images': visualising social difference, (2) how images are looked at, (3) differentiating visual cultures, (4) how images are circulated, and (5) the agency of images. Rose further proposes that there are four different sites at which the meaning of images is made. These are *the site of the image* (content), *the site of production* (where the image is made), *the site of circulation* (where the image travels), and *the site of audiencing* (where the image encounters its spectators). These sites each have three modalities that contribute to a critical understanding of images: *technological* (any device made to create or enhance images), *compositional* (the material qualities of images) and *social* (practices through which images are seen, interpreted and used) (2016, p. 57).

I engaged analytically in all four sites outlined by Rose and, while I was primarily concerned with the social aspects of photojournalism, this study also related to technological and compositional aspects. I also considered the three criteria that Rose identifies as crucial for a critical approach to visual research: (a) taking images seriously as objects of study, (b) thinking about the social conditions and effects of images and their modes of distribution, and (c) considering my own ways of seeing images and the implications they have for the research (2016, p. 53–54).

I combined Rose's framework for a critical visual methodology with Azoulay's methodology of *watching* photography in order to establish an analytical approach that focused on the *act of photography*, and more specifically on

people who are involved in photography, in contrast to various uses, meanings, or interpretations of photographs (Azoulay, 2008, 2012; see also Campt, 2017; Reichgelt, 2020 for uses of Azoulay's concept of watching photography in different areas of study). As suggested by Campt (2017, p. 6) watching photographs rather than simply looking at them is a 'conscious decision to challenge the equation of vision with knowledge'. Watching photographs thus implies a practice of seeing that extends beyond what is depicted in photographs, and that is sensitive to the actions and movements of photographed people (and objects) in relation to their appearance in the photograph, the photojournalistic event, and the event of photojournalism. To clarify, *looking* implies an identifying mode of seeing a photograph, capturing a moment. *Watching* implies an active and engaged seeing of a photograph.

In line with Azoulay, I drew on Arendt's distinction between the three modes of the active life (*vita activa*) to characterise and formulate three different modes of seeing photographs – modes that Azoulay refers to as 'practical gazes' (2012, p. 66). These are the 'identifying gaze,' (labour), the 'professional gaze,' (work), and the 'civil gaze' (action) (Azoulay, 2008, pp. 95–96).. These gazes are examined in the three empirical chapters.

The analysis takes place in three parts, each corresponding to an empirical chapter, each chapter building on the former.

In the first part, the analysis addresses the content of the visual material by focusing on what appears in and can be seen and apprehended by looking at them, addressed through a compositional analysis as well as watching the photographs (Azoulay, 2008, p. 96; Rose, 2016). I examine the material from the perspective of the identifying and the professional gazes.

In the second part, the analysis addresses the elements that constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed, and how they relate their practices to journalistic norms in general and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular. Here, the main unit of analysis was accounts of photojournalists and other visual news professionals. I examined how their professional seeing shapes their practices, addressed through a thematic analysis (Azoulay, 2008, p. 96), addressed through a thematic analysis.

In the third and final part, I address photographs as part of an ongoing event that continuously unfolds as photographs are encountered again and again by different people in different spaces and at different moments in time. This was undertaken through an analysis that used Azoulay's approach of watching photographs to examine the potential of the civil gaze in the visual material(2008, p. 96).

In short, I watch photographs through a lens of appearance, as I examine different modes of seeing that can be discerned by engaging in the material at four different sites and through three different modalities. Each part of analysis is described in greater detail in the following sections.

Approaching the photographs through compositional analysis

The compositional analysis was designed to examine what appeared in the 516 photographs of (forced) migration published in four Swedish newspapers in 2015. As is discussed above, the primary unit of analysis here was photographs; however, captions, headlines, and occasionally body text were used for contextualisation when needed (Neuendorf, 2017).

In the first part of the analysis I examine the site of the image itself. Following Rose (2016, pp. 56–57, a compositional analysis allowed me to systematically categorise the photographic content into smaller components according to three modalities (social, technological, and compositional). I focused on "content", "spatial organisation" and "expressive elements".[10]

The starting point for the analysis is looking at the content – what is it that appear within the visual demarcation of the photographs? It might seem as a simple enough question, and in some photographs, this might very well be the case. The purpose is to examine what can be discerned in the photographs through an identifying gaze.

The starting point for the analysis was looking at the content – what is it that appears within the visual demarcation of the photographs? This may seem like a simple question, and in some photographs is the case. In other photographs, however, the content is more difficult to discern. Spatial organisation concerns how space and the people (or objects) within it are organised within the photograph, and may offer a particular viewing position for spectators. Expressive content can be described as the mood or atmosphere of a photograph, which can be difficult to explain and systematically categorise; however, it is a crucial part of compositional analysis (Rose, 2016). I address these elements by relating the photographs to my theoretical framework, and existing studies on affective and expressive visual content.

A compositional analysis, according to Rose, 'claims to look at images for "what they are", rather than for, say, what they do or how they were or are used' (2016, p. 57).

In the following three sections, I account for the three aspects of compositional analysis outlined above: content, spatial organisation, and expressive elements. These aspects are entangled and often overlap in the photographs analysed, but need to be temporarily separated in order to establish analytical categories. Through this approach, I was able to discern and analyse different elements in the photographs, enabling me to answer RQ1, which focused on the content of the photographs.

[10] See Appendix E for the full coding schedule and instructions.

Content

The categories were designed inductively to examine *what* appeared in the photographs – that is, the aspects that could be seen when I looked at the content of the photographs. I started by categorising the main focus of each photograph and the number of people visible. This meant determining whether the main focus of the photograph was a "person" or an "object". For individuals, I further categorised them as "adults", "children", or – when this was not possible to discern – "other". The number of people was counted and categorised as either from 0 to 9 or 10 or more.

The next set of categories was more interpretative, and required me to apply a more directed mode of seeing to analyse the content, drawing on what has been found in previous studies and relating these to the theoretical toolbox I was using (Bryman, 2016, p. 293).

Spatial organisation

According to Rose (2016) all photographs organise their space in some way, and perceived proximity is an important aspect of compositional analysis of spatial organisation. Aspects related to spatial elements were determined inductively using three categories, which described how close the photographed was to the camera: "distant", "near", or "close-up". People (or objects) that appeared to be far away and whose facial features or other identifying aspects (see for example Fig. 10) were impossible to distinguish were categorised as "distant". People (or objects) whose full bodies were visible and whose facial features were distinguishable (see for example Fig. 12) were categorised as being "near". Finally, photographs in which more than half of the bodies of the photographed people (or objects) were not visible due to the frame being zoomed in and that were generally in a portrait style, with the upper body and face in focus (see for example Fig. 40), were categorised as "close-up".

I further paid attention to width, depth, and distance, as well as perspectives offered, including how people and objects in the photographs were positioned in relation to spectators and whose perspective the photograph is seen from. Other elements of importance included the orientation of figures, gaze, and point of tension, all of which are connected to action and movement. The findings were used to consider the perceived (social) distance between the photographed and the spectator. These aspects could be discerned by applying a identifying mode of seeing, which is also the mode of seeing most people apply in their everyday lives as their orient themselves in the world through vision (Azoulay, 2008, pp. 95–96).

Next, I determined whether the photographed person or people were making eye contact with the camera by simply noting down "yes" or "no", as well as the perceived proximity of the main person or object to the camera.

Expressive elements

Rose (2016) argues that a separate consideration of expressive elements is necessary because breaking down a photograph into its component parts (main focus and other content, spatial organisation) does not necessarily capture the look or feel of a photograph.

By using a primarily inductive approach, I assigned up to five indicators to each photograph, focusing on spatial and expressive elements (Collier, 2004; Pauwels, 2020). This included interpretations of the photographed's expression, such as whether they looked joyful, affectionate, or disturbed (see for example Fig. 19), as well as the spatial orientation of the photographed in the photograph, such as whether they were placed for a portrait or appeared to have been caught in the act of doing something, such as playing or walking. These indicators served as a foundation for identifying the themes of migration, mobility, and place, as elaborated on below.

I further applied indicators corresponding to the photographed's mode of movement, such as train, boat, or bus (see for example Fig. 10), as well as aspects of non-movement such as confinement, waiting, and forms of restriction and fencing (see for example Fig. 13). These indicators served as the foundation for the analysis.

While there are certainly spatial elements to people's movement – that is, how they appear to be moving within the frame – the focus here is rather on how elements of movements are "expressed" in the photographs, and how the appearance of people in flight is implicated in their presence in spaces of (forced) migration.

In determining the migration theme, I used indicators to ascertain whether people (or objects) appeared as "securitised" or "humanitarian". The reason for applying two exclusive categories was that, as the literature review demonstrated, there are two hegemonic categorisations of people in flight in relation to visual coverage of migration: the nonviolent, passive refugee, and the aggressive, menacing migrant. Photographs in which the photographed were encircled by uniformed personnel or seemingly immobilised at borders or fences or in camps were categorised as "securitised" (see for example Fig. 13). Photographs in which people appeared to be being rescued or as recipients of aid or medical assistance were categorised as "humanitarian" (see for example Fig. 14).

The indicators were used to determine the modes of movement or non-movement in the photographs. I primarily examined what I refer to as the "mobilising elements" of the photographs, which include the directionality of people and elements in the photographs and the focal point. Photographs of vehicles, such as cars, boats, or bikes, in motion and people who appeared to be moving by for example walking or playing, were categorised as "movement" (see for example Fig. 17). Photographs of seemingly still vehicles or of people who appeared to not be moving because they were either posing for

the camera or being kept still by force, such as at borders, fences, or other barriers, in camps or encircled by uniformed personnel (see for example Fig. 8), were categorised as "still".

To determine the types of places that people appeared in within the photographs, I used the indicators to look for geographical markers. I identified obvious spaces such as train stations, beaches, and borders, and I settled on three main analytical themes or "points of appearance": "borders", "water", and "camps" (see for example Figs. 13, 14, 15). I further established an "other" theme for photographs that did not fit into any of these three categories in cases where it was not possible to determine a place (primarily the case with portraits).

In addition to what has been outlined above, time is a crucial aspect of photography, and integral to many of the categories and themes that I have presented here. Photographs require an investment in time in order to transform them into spaces of analytical exploration.

All of the themes and analytical categories were compared and contrasted with the findings of existing studies and research on photographs of flight published in news media, as discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2. As I had conducted a pilot study I had some expectations regarding which categories and themes might emerge from the analysis, which facilitated the process.

The analytical method I constructed here, which brought together several tools, offered practical and insightful ways of describing the content, spatial organisation, and expressive elements of the photographs. The approach was useful as a first step in understanding the photographs of spaces of (forced) migration published in the four newspapers examined, as well as in describing the visual impact of these photographs. By paying attention to spatial organisation it was possible to begin to say something about how the photographs potentially implicate ways of seeing, which I developed in the third part of the analysis.

Notes on captions and other textual elements

In addition to looking at the photographs, I examined textual elements. Headlines, captions, and body text in the articles often described what appeared in the photographs. Newspapers apply categories to the people who appear in photographs – in this case they appeared as "refugees" or "migrants", and are rarely presented with other attributes. Assumptions regarding age, gender, and ethnicity could be made by looking at the photographs, but captions were important for the coding process as it is next to impossible to know what a person in flight "looks like" by simply looking at a photograph (Malkki, in Wright, 2002).

Captions are crucial to the encounters that spectators have with photographs. Sontag wrote that 'all photographs wait to be explained or falsified by their captions' (2004, p. 10) and Butler argues that captions must be clearly

stated, although she rejects the idea that photographs are interpretations in themselves (2009, p. 71). However, captions are not the only, or last, description of what appears in photographs. Furthermore, I cannot know whether the caption of a photograph that appears in my material is the one that was originally used for that photograph, or if it has been changed.

On a final note, compositional analysis does not encourage discussion or suggest that attention be paid to the production of photographs, other than with regard to their technological or compositional modalities. Some social aspects of the production of the photographs were included in the categorisation, such as in which newspaper a photograph was published, article titles, publication dates, whether a photograph was attributed to a photographer or provided by a photo agency, and on which page and under which vignette it was published. However, these could not be identified by analysing the photographs in isolation, and were instead examined in the context of the newspapers, or through interviews with photojournalists.

Because of these limitations of the compositional analysis, and following Rose, I combined this approach with another set of material and other analytical approaches. Through the interview study I was able to examine the social dimensions of the photographs, which enabled me to understand the practices of photojournalists and how their modes of seeing implicate the creation of photographs. This was the focus of the second part of the analysis.

Approaching the practices of photojournalists through thematic analysis

The second level of analysis dealt primarily with the material that emerged from the interview study, and was important in order to gain an understanding of the conditions that are involved and implicated in photojournalistic practices, and that enable the taking and publishing of photographs in newspapers and affect which stories are told and shared and which or not. The analysis focused on the experiences of the interviewed photojournalists and on how they relate to the elements that constitute and shape their practice. The findings were further related to the findings of the first part of the analysis. This enabled me to discern what contributed to the photojournalists' modes of seeing – their professional and directed gaze – and how this is applied in their practices.

The analysis of the interviews began as early as during the interview sessions: as the interviewees answered my questions, I took notes, made connections to earlier interviews, theory, and previous research, and adapted questions and formulations for the next interview. As noted by Bryman, material collected from interview 'typically take the form of a large corpus of unstructured material' (2016), which is often messy and nonsensical at first glance. To deal with this I applied a thematic analysis, which allowed for a reflexive

approach to the material. A theme is a category that is identified by the researcher, relates to the research focus and questions, and builds on codes that are found in the material (Bryman, 2016, p. 584). The themes provided me with a foundation for a theoretical understanding of the data. Three main themes emerged from the material: navigating visual technologies, place-making, and emotional engagement in photojournalistic encounters.

Following each interview, I sat down and went through my notes before transcribing. Transcribing is not a straightforward task: the interviewees sometimes spoke quite softly, and their voices were at times drowned out by the busy background chatter of coffee shop. At other times the microphone of the recorder was directed the wrong way, or the interviewees kept moving papers around, covering their words. These issues aside, I also paid attention to my own role in the process, as I was concerned that the choices I was to make during the transcription might lead to self-fulfilling analyses. What should I include or omit? What political implications will those choices have on the thesis?

As argued by Bucholtz (2000), a responsible practice of transcription requires the transcriber to be aware of their own role in the creation of the text, and the political and ideological implications of the final product. I strove to keep the language as close to the spoken accounts as possible and, in contrast to common practice, did not attempt to 'clean up' speech to make it more readable or grammatically correct.

As I transcribed the audio, I started the coding by noting down keywords, codes, and themes along with time stamps in order to facilitate the analytical process. Some of the themes that emerged in the interview were expected, as the questions were prepared and asked by me, and many of the themes are in fact a direct result of me asking questions in a certain way. Being aware of this, I aimed to ask questions as openly as possible, and adapted the wording in interviews as needed.

There were other themes that I noticed during the interviews and wrote down in my notebook, or identified during the compositional analysis. As I continued the analysis of the interviews, I realised that I wanted to return to the audio files to fully recollect the experience of the interviews, rather than simply reading from the transcripts. While texts can certainly be useful for organising material thematically, audio is useful for accessing the non-verbal cues and emotions that emerge during interviews. Hearing the nuance in people's voices, the tap of someone pointing to a specific photograph with their finger, or the length of a pause is difficult to translate into text. Furthermore, transcription is an act of interpretation and representation, and therefore also an act of power (Bucholtz, 2000), which is also why I found it useful to return to the audio files.

I have not eliminated myself from the interviews and at times include my own questions – partly as these might be needed for context, but also as a reminder for the reader that I was there, have interpreted the interviews, and

played a part in generating the data. I was particularly attentive to *how* the interviewees practice photojournalism and *what* they do in their practice, rather than what it *means* to them.

The intention of the interview study was to find an adequate number of individual experiences that say something interesting about photojournalistic practice, and not necessarily to find a sample of interviewees that speak to the totality of these experiences. The material had commonalities and differences that were analysed as themes that emerged in the material. Because the interviews focused on individual practice in relation to both professional practice and to the people that the photojournalists had encountered in the photojournalistic event, I did not aim – or even expect – to achieve saturation in the material. Rather than aiming to come up with statistical generalisations, my goal was to use a qualitative approach to present a number of analytical generalisations that could be used as guides in further studies within my area of research (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018, p. 147; Yin, 2009, pp. 43–44).

Through the interview study, I was able to examine the social dimension of photographs, enabling me to understand the practices of photojournalists and how their modes of seeing implicate the creation of photographs, and subsequently how their professional modes of seeing implicate which photographs can be seen by, and are presented to, spectators. I eventually discerned three main themes that contribute to the shaping of their directed seeing: how they navigate human-technological relationships in the enactment of appearance, how they relate to place in their practice, and emotional engagement.

In the next section, I propose the use of Azoulay's civil gaze to establish a mode of seeing photographs beyond content.

Approaching the event of photojournalism

In the third part of the analysis, I primarily analysed one photograph from the material collected – a photograph of Laith Majid taken by the photojournalist Daniel Etter. However, I related the findings of this analysis to other photographs, both from my own data set and found in other places. The photograph of Laith Majid appeared three times in the collected material and was published on different dates and as part of very different narratives. The extended photo search revealed that the photograph was widely published in international news media, both as the main story and as an illustration for stories of flight.

The findings of the compositional analysis and the thematic analysis of the interview study served as a foundation for an exploration of the potential of the civil gaze, which was conducted using Azoulay's notion of watching photographs (2008).

The practice of re-using photographs raised a series of questions: Why do we keep returning to these photographs? Why do we keep using them to tell stories about people in flight? What happens if we examine the spatial and

temporal conditions of the photojournalistic event and extend them beyond the visual demarcations of the frame?

Above, I addressed the relationship between photographs as outcomes of photojournalistic practice and photographs as part of ongoing events that are unfolding and which are encountered by different actors in different spaces and at different moments in time. In this section, space is investigated as a space of appearance, in which the camera, photojournalist, photographed, and spectator all attribute meaning to photographs.

I apply Azoulay's methodological approach of watching photographs, which was developed based on Arendt's distinction of the active life, wherein Azoulay characterises watching as a civic gaze that corresponds to Arendt's action (Arendt, 1998; Azoulay, 2008). Azoulay suggests that watching photographs 'entails dimensions of time and movement that need to be reinscribed in the interpretation of the still photographic image', wherein the aim is to reconstruct the photojournalistic event from the surface of the photograph (2008, p. 14, 305).

Azoulay suggests that watching photographs 'entails dimensions of time and movement that need to be reinscribed in the interpretation of the still photographic image' and the aim is to reconstruct the photojournalistic event from the surface of the photograph (2008, pp. 14, 305). "Watching" further implies a practice of looking at what is *within* the photograph, in addition to looking *at* it. Through the lens of appearance and mobility, I engaged the analysis beyond the stillness imposed by the photographic frame, and analysed the actions, movement, and encounters that can be found in photographs of (forced) migration published in newspapers.

To reiterate, Campt (2017, p. 6) suggests that watching photographs rather than simply looking at them serves as a 'conscious decision to challenge the equation of vision with knowledge'. This means that watching photographs implies a practice of seeing that extends beyond what is depicted in photographs, and that is sensitive to the actions and movements of photographed people (and objects) in relation to their appearance in the photograph, the photojournalistic event, and the event of photojournalism.

While observing the photographer's professional mode of seeing, I simultaneously broke free from their gaze by applying the methodology of watching, and followed the photograph as it moved across various platforms online. By using the republished photographs of Laith Majid I was further able to trace the movement and actions of Laith Majid and his family, as new and more recent photographs were published.

While observing the photographer's professional mode of seeing, I simultaneously broke from this gaze, enabling me to consider the many encounters that followed the movement of the photograph.

By "clipping" the photographs from the pages of the newspapers that formed my initial material and viewing them in new constellations, I reorganise the ways of seeing that were proposed by the newspapers. Following the

photographs as they moved through various times and spaces online, I opened them up to new perspectives and potential interpretations. The act of watching implies fixing one's gaze on a photograph for a period of time in order for the visible to unfold, similar to how one would approach moving images (Azoulay, 2008, p. 342). This approach focuses on the photographed – in this case people in flight – as acting people who appear in the photographs, contradicting the common notions of passive representation.

Summary of analysis and interpretation

In the first part of the analysis, which was descriptive in its intent, I focused on what appeared in the photographs. By approaching each photograph as a unique object, but simultaneously relating it to the wider contexts of photographs published throughout 2015, I was able to detect patterns and similarities between, as well as differences among, the photographs.

Each photograph constituted a specific moment in time and space, but when analysed as part of a wider situation the photographs in my material could be used to triangulate different reference points, through which I was able to develop an understanding of what happened in these situations, and create a space in which the implications of photojournalistic practices in the situations and spaces could be further analysed and discussed. I operationalised space as what was seen and observed in the viewfinder of the camera, and thus visible in the photographs that I collected from the four newspapers. Thus, while space is limitless and multidimensional – at least in theory – it was two-dimensional in terms of the first part of the analysis.

The second part of analysis focused on human presence – behind and in front of the camera, and in front of the photographs, someone must have been in the spaces photographed and see the spaces that are (made) visible. The analysis focused on the elements that constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed, and further how they relate their practices to journalistic norms in general and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular. The main unit of analysis was accounts of photojournalists and other visual news professionals, and so I examined how their professional gazes shape their practices (Azoulay, 2008, p. 96) through a thematic analysis. The findings were further related to the findings of the first part of the analysis. This enabled me to discern what contributes to photojournalists' own modes of seeing – their professional and directed gaze – and how these are applied in their practices.

In the third part of the analysis, I addressed photographs as part of an ongoing event that is continuously unfolding as photographs are encountered again and again by different people in different spaces and moments in time. I examined the potential of the civil gaze by tracing and watching a photograph as it moved across various platforms online, opening up for new perspectives and potential interpretations.

In sum, I watched photographs through a lens of appearance, and examined different modes of seeing that could be discerned by engaging in the material at four different sites and through three different modalities.

Finally, I chose to analyse the material on three levels following Azoulay's three forms of gaze. Azoulay concludes that: 'The practical gaze takes into consideration the possibility of multiple gazes converging on a photograph – whether that of the spectator or those of other participants' (2012, p. 67). By applying different forms of gaze to the analysis, I was able to demonstrate the limitations of conventional approaches to photography, as well as how these forms can be beneficial in analysing photographs beyond the frame.

Having elaborated on the analytical process which took place in three different, interrelated parts, I now comment on a several aspects that were approached in a similar manner. In identifying themes, I looked for repetition – photographs, foci, or topics that appeared over and over again, along with similarities, differences, and patterns in the material. I further noted that which was not said in the interviews and which did not appear in the visual material. I related the findings of the compositional analysis to the interview study and the findings of the semi-structured interviews to the questionnaire, and vice versa, as well as to the theoretical framework and previous research and studies.

The themes that I identified in both the interview study and the visual analysis were developed in interaction with the theoretical framework, which meant that as I developed the methodologies and as the analysis progress, the theoretical approach was enhanced, and as the theoretical framework became more specific my understanding of photojournalistic practices became more complex and nuanced.

As I read the transcripts and listened to the interviews, I often stopped midway through in order to find and look at a photograph that was being discussed in an interview and then relate this to theoretical ideas (Feyerabend, 2010; Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this way I attempted to understand the photojournalistic practices of the photojournalists, and their experiences of reporting on issues relating to (forced) migration. Through this the theoretical ideas and empirical material were developed in relation to each other in an abductive process. The theoretical framework helped me to put into words what I saw in the material, and to further fine-tune my arguments. The empirical material in turn aided in concretising and developing the appearance framework.

Because of the plurality embedded in appearances (Arendt, 1978, 1998), I decided not to use any specific research software to analyse the data, as I feared that it would be to reductive with regard to the purposes of this study. For the interviews I wanted to include non-verbal communication such as body language and expressions of emotion in the analysis, which would be difficult in word-based software. For the questionnaire I utilised the report-making feature in the software to summarise the findings. For the photographs I entered all of the data, including the thumbnails of the photographs, into an

Excel sheet, in which I also created all of the graphs presented in this thesis. While this was quite time-consuming, I found that manually going through the material enabled me to have an open approach to the themes and categories I developed. It also allowed me to understand the complexities that practices entail, and to be attentive to my own practices of seeing as I approached the material.

Writing up

Having elaborated on and justified the choice of methods and approaches for the analysis of the material that I collected, I now move on to describe the process of writing up this study. This is of course difficult to separate from the process of analysis, but nevertheless important to highlight on its own.

I use of 'I' and 'me' throughout the text, avoiding the use of a passive voice, is primarily a personal preference, as I prefer reading texts with first-person narratives; moreover, it highlights the fact that these are my experiences of the research process, and that writing is not a detached, neutral process. I added direct quotes from the interviewees into the text as a way of letting the empirical material speak for itself, and by occasionally including my own questions I aimed to highlight the fact that research is a collaborative endeavour.

As this study is not concerned with drawing conclusions based on cultural explanations, I omitted information regarding the genders, race, ethnicities, nationalities, sexual orientations, and ages of the interviewees and respondents. However, these categories might be considered to be important by the interviewees and respondents, and thus are reflected in their quotes and replies. The reason for not disclosing these categories in the interview study is simply that this study focuses on the *whats* and *hows* of photojournalistic practices, and less on the *who*. In the empirical chapters, I distinguish between interviewees (semi-structured interview participants) and respondents (questionnaire participants).

The empirical chapters are organised to reflect the analytical process, and answer each of the research questions in turn. The first empirical chapter (Chapter 5) focuses on what appeared in photographs of (forced) migration appeared published in 2015. There, in addition to describing what appeared in the four newspapers investigated by identifying the dominant themes, proximity of appearance, and movement in spaces of (forced) migration, I analyse three spaces of (forced) migration (*points of appearance*) that emerged during the compositional analysis of the photographs: border spectacles, bodies of water, and encampments.

Throughout the chapter, the findings of the compositional analysis are related to the findings of the interview study. The main concern of Chapter 6 is

the experiences of photojournalists. The chapter deals with how the interviewees related their own practices to journalistic ideals and norms by focusing on three main themes: emotion, technologies and the enactment of appearance, and place-making related to encounters.

Chapter 7 brings together the two preceding chapters to investigate how the appearance of photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration implicate the appearance of people in these places, and further how photographs move through different times and spaces online in the form of an event of photography.

Notes on anonymity

I have spent a considerable amount of time considering the question of anonymity with regard to this study in relation to both the photojournalists that I interviewed and those who are visible in the photographs I have reproduced. I have chosen to keep the interviewees anonymous, and to further anonymise them have used the singular *they* and *them* as pronouns when referring to interviewees throughout the thesis.

When interviewing people in a professional capacity, there is a risk that the interviewees provide answers that they think they should, or that they think that their employer might prefer they give (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). I noticed that freelancing photojournalists were more comfortable speaking their mind, while those employed by a news organisation were slightly more hesitant, despite the fact that I ensured their anonymity.

After deciding to anonymise the interviewees, I chose not to generate or invent names for the interviewees, primarily as I did not want to pick unsuitable or misrepresentative names. I also chose to omit other identifying markers such as age, gender, and other histories. One could of course make the argument that knowing the histories of the interviewees would contribute to a better contextualisation of the quotes that I am including; however, I do not believe that is the case for this study. While this is partly an exploration and investigation of individual photojournalistic practice, it is not necessarily about specific individuals; rather, the focus is how individual experiences can say something about how these practices relate to journalistic norms and ideals. I prefer that readers engage with the quotations as openly as possible, and make their own interpretations based on what the interviewees say, rather than a context I might have ascribed to them prior to giving the interviewees a chance to speak.

This brings me to the reproduction of photographs in my study. In reproducing photographs of people, I run the risk of reinforcing the very structures that I am criticising, and there is a risk of representing and objectifying people. I concluded that the best approach was to direct attention to the experiences of perception (Merleau-Ponty, 2012), rather than to the individuals in question.

I understand that why I chose not to include the voices of these people in this study might be questioned, and that I could be accused of reproducing images of faceless migrants (Papastergiadis, 2006). I do not claim to speak or account for the experience of the migrating people that have been photographed by photojournalists and who are reproduced in my study.

That said, I believe that there is a tendency in research to assume that people – and in the case of this study people in flight – do not understand the circulation of photographs in the world, and that by not publishing photographs researchers make their informants invisible. This being a thesis on photojournalistic practices, and photographs being part of those practices, I include photographs of migrating people. The study is an exploration of appearances and movements in relation to flight, rather than a study of people migrating. In the next section I reflect on the research process and discuss ethical considerations, limitations, and self-reflexivity before ending the chapter by considering the trustworthiness of the study.

Reflections on the research process

Throughout this research processes I have asked myself, and at times, others, so many questions. Why am I doing this? Is this topic appropriate? Am I asking the right questions? Should I reproduce this photograph, or this? Can I write a thesis on (forced) migration and not include certain voices? All of which are important questions to ask oneself when conducting research that is potentially harmful to others.

Ethical considerations

Ethically grounded choices were made throughout this study with regard to collecting, generating, and analysing the material and disseminating the findings moving forward. There are a number of crucial ethical concerns when conducting a study in which people and their photographs and experiences are the main source of information, as well as ones regarding my own position as a researcher and my relationship with and obligations to the people that I included in the study. This relationship is in many ways similar to those which photojournalists have with those they are photographing, and these obligations and responsibilities form the core of journalistic practice.

To help researchers to do research that is ethically driven, Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) identify four considerations that can be used to reduce the risk of harm: informed consent, confidentiality, consequences, and the role of the researcher.

As is discussed above, all of the interviewees (and respondents to the questionnaire) were given a brief introduction to the project and the purpose of the

interview (and questionnaire) and provided with information regarding potential publications and other forms of dissemination of their accounts (such as use in teaching, participation in panels, etc.).

I ensured that I answered any questions that the interviewees had, was attentive to any hesitation, and offered to send their quotes to them prior to publication. I further informed them about the ethical standards I work according to, as defined by the Swedish Research Council in *God forskningssed* (*"*good research practice"). All of the interviewees gave informed consent verbally, and none of the interviewees objected to having the interviews recorded.

As semi-structured interviews run the risk of becoming informal, I tried to be transparent about the fact that the interviews were always on the record, while at the same time ensuring them that I would omit any details that might reveal their identity, such mentions of places of work or issues with employers. Interviews that took place in less formal settings such as coffee shops tended to get chatty at times, and as a way of reminding the interviewees about the situation I would glance at the audio recorder every now and then or scribble something down in my notebook. Considering their line of work this might have been excessive, as they are quite used to the interview situation, but I thought it was better to exercise caution with regard to this issue.

I worked on the assumption that the interviewees (as well as the respondents to the questionnaire) were truthful in their answers and comments, and my experience is that they were also quite reflective about their practice throughout the interviews.

As in any human interaction, challenges emerged in the interview situations themselves. One concerned sensitive and ethically charged topics, while another related to the emotional issues that emerged in the interviews, such as personal hardship that interviewees had dealt with in their practice when working in high-tension areas. While I had done thorough research before meeting each person, I could not possibly know about previous hardships. The interviewees often touched upon safety training and their personal security, and how they train for assignments in high-tension areas. Many of the freelancers expressed a lack of engagement from those they work for with regard to their mental health when on assignments. It was important for me to bear in mind that, while I was interviewing them in a professional capacity, we are human beings first, and the ways in which many of the interviewees spoke about photography and the people they had met in their practice felt at times personal and intimate.

For the questionnaire, I ensured that the privacy of the respondents was protected using a secure survey software provided by Stockholm University. The questionnaire was anonymous, but the respondents had the opportunity to leave their contact details if they wanted to participate in an interview, which was clearly stated as optional. All of the answers and personal information that were generated in the interviews and questionnaire were handled according to GDPR.

Researching, analysing, and reproducing photographs of violence, suffering, and death are difficult, and there are several ethical considerations that should be made in relation to visual analysis. These include informed consent, the source of the photographs, copyright, the context in which photographs were taken, and the safety and wellbeing of those who appear in the visual material (Bryman, 2012; Pink, 2007). These concerns are perhaps even more important in relation people in flight, who may or may not have had a say in the making and reproduction of photographs.

While flipping through the pages of newspapers when collecting my material – or, perhaps more accurately, scrolling through them on a screen – the photographed people often looked back at me. This act which raised numerous questions with me. Who are they looking at? Who do they see? Why did they agree to have their photograph taken in order for me to look at them?

Azoulay suggests that thinking about these questions facilitates a rethinking of the civic space of the gaze, and the interrelations within it:

> The consent of most photographed subjects to have their picture taken, or indeed their own initiation of the photographic act, even when suffering in extremely difficult circumstances, presumes the existence of a civil space in which photographers, photographed subjects, and spectators share a recognition that what they are witnessing is intolerable. (Azoulay, 2008, p. 18)

Hence, by considering photography as a civic space, I depart the understandings of photography which focus on the intentions of photojournalists or spectators – in which the photographed is considered to be a passive subject – and engage the photographed as an actor in the citizenry of photography.

The encounters that come about as a result of publishing photographs in a thesis also have ethical implications: In this study, I chose to include photographs after careful consideration. In pondering the question of whether to publish certain photographs, ethical dilemmas arise; these relate to the right to appear, look, see, and be seen, (as discussed in Chapter 3, and will be further discussed throughout the empirical chapters).

In outlining an 'ethics of the spectator', Azoulay proposes an understanding of the unique status of photographs as the products of encounters between the photographed, the photographer, and the camera, in which all partake on equal terms. Furthermore, a consideration of time and movement is the foundation of this ethics, and is based on the assumption that photographs do not speak for themselves. Merely identifying what appears in a photograph does not excuse the spectator from *watching* the photograph (Azoulay, 2008, pp. 137–186).

Legal aspects pertaining to the actual publishing of photographs in the study, such as the intellectual rights to the photographs and copyright, were discussed with the legal department at Stockholm University, and all photographs are republished in accordance with Swedish copyright law (SFS

2021:357, 2021). Permission to use screenshots of articles and photographs was obtained from newspapers and photo agencies.

I have reproduced photographs that were available and circulated in the public domain. The photographs that I have included in this study feature people who had no say in being included in my research. However, by addressing photographs of (forced) migration I make an intervention in their history, shedding light on the conditions for refugee appearance in European spaces.

Limitations

Law and Urry argue that methods in social sciences and related disciplines deal poorly

> with the fleeting – that which is here today and gone tomorrow, only to reappear the day after tomorrow. They deal poorly with the distributed – that is to be found here and there but not in between – or that which slips and slides between one place and another. They deal poorly with the multiple – that which takes different shapes in different places. […] And such methods have difficulties dealing with the sensory – that which is subject to vision, sound, taste, smell; with the emotional – time-space compressed outbursts of anger, pain, rage, pleasure, desire, or the spiritual […] the pleasures and pains that follow the movement and displacement of people, objects, information and ideas. (Law & Urry, 2004, pp. 403–404)

This study is concerned with the fleeting on several levels. I examined photographs in newspapers and, without archives (be they on- or offline), such photographs would literally be "here today and gone tomorrow", and next-to-impossible to study unless one made a particular effort to collected them. I also analysed the appearance of people in the process of (forced) migration within these photographs, and without these appearances being captured I would likely never have known of these people at all, or of the spaces of (forced) migration in which they encountered photojournalists. Throughout the research process I aimed to address the concerns expressed by Law and Urry: By applying a multi-method approach I was attentive to the strengths and weaknesses of each method, and when required complemented one method with another (Bleiker & Hutchison, 2018). A number of limitations affected this study, however.

One practical issue that emerged following the first interview was that while I have written this thesis in English, the interviews were all conducted in Swedish. I decided that I would translate the interviews after all of the interviews had been concluded and transcribed. Spivak (1993) argues that there are politics involved in the process of translation, and it was a challenge to not only make sure that my translations into English were true to the voice of the interviewee but that I did not do too much "cleaning up" of the quotations. I decided to leave these in a colloquial and messy style where this was the case

in Swedish, including with regard to my own speech, and trust that it is clear enough for the reader to comprehend – or perhaps even more so.

A point should be made regarding the selection of the interviewees. Whose stories am I including in this study? And why are they important, and not others? As I stated in Chapter 1 and developed in Chapter 3, photojournalistic practice does not exist without a person holding a camera, someone or something, standing before the camera, and someone seeing the final photograph. In this study I only discuss photojournalists and photographs as factors in performing photojournalistic practice. This is not to say that an investigation into other factors would not be worthwhile; instead, it serves as justification for the choices I have made. I am certain that interviews with people who migrated and were photographed by photojournalists would make this thesis richer, but this activity would fall outside the scope of the study.

Compositional analysis proved to be the most suitable method of collecting and analysing the content of the photographs which appeared in the selected newspapers. It is straightforward to use, systematic, and easy for readers to follow if instructions are written out clearly. That said, there are limits to the applicability of the method: Due to the fact that it is descriptive in its intent, for example, there is a risk that the material is taken for granted.

First of all, photographs do not exist in a vacuum, and analysing them by only examining the content means neglecting the ways in which they are produced, interpreted, circulated, and seen through the lens of different social practices. Furthermore, the social is not something that comes only after a photograph has been taken; instead, it is involved in social practices from the beginning (Rose, 2016). I dealt with some of these shortcomings by combining the compositional analysis with other methods, such as Azoulay's approach of watching photographs to analyse movement within the photographs, as well as an interview study, which provided me with the opportunity to address social aspects.

I searched for articles containing the words 'flykt* OR migra*' in the first step of the collection process, simply because there are few alternatives to retrieving images in newspaper archives. These words can have multiple meanings in Swedish, not all of which are relevant to the topic of migration. A large number of articles found by the search turned out to be irrelevant to the study, such as articles about birds migrating or people fleeing the law. These were removed from the material.

As I am focusing on (forced) migration in the EU, I excluded articles about so-called "privileged migration" (with a focus on tourism or work and study-related migration, for example), as well as stories about EU migrants[11]. Letters to editors were also excluded on the basis of their not being journalistic material as such, but rather the voice of the public. A challenge that arose in the

[11] *EU migranter* in Swedish; a term commonly used to describe Romani people in Swedish media and politics.

collection of the visual material (the photographs) was that the newspapers I collected from used migration terminology arbitrarily, and often used terms interchangeably and at times incorrectly. I consulted with a representative of the UNHCR in cases where I was unsure of the interpretation of terminology in order to further strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings.

Much research and scholarship on (forced) migration and journalism takes borders, as a necessary part of the state, for granted. Wimmer and Glick-Schiller refer to this as 'methodological nationalism', as a form of 'naturalisation of the nation-state by social sciences' that rests on 'the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world' (2002, p. 301, 304). According to Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, scholars who share this orientation assume that nation-states are 'the natural unit of analysis for comparative studies, equate society with the nation-state, and conflate the national interests with the purposes of social science' (2003, p. 576).

They further argue that when, studying questions of migration, it is crucial to avoid both 'extreme fluidism and the bounds of nationalist thought' (2003, p. 576). In this study, rather than naturalising the nation-state, I highlight how nationalism and the conception of the nation-state as a natural formation implicates the movement of people. This includes a sample of news-media outlets and visual news professionals who are largely implicated by the nation-state, which is relevant in relation to the structures of the news-media market and the international politics of migration. As will be evident in the coming chapters, nation-states implement borders, either virtual or physical, along their territories, and sometimes beyond and within them. These borders, or spaces of (forced) migration, are the focal point of further analysis.

Positionality and self-reflexivity

Following England (1994) I see research as a shared space which is shaped by myself and the people involved in the research: the interviewees, my supervisors, and the greater scholarly collegium. Even my friends and family have contributed, even if this has primarily involved hearing about my struggles and coming up with advice on how to recover.

How do I position myself in relation to the social, cultural, and political context of the study? I belong to the majority population in Sweden. I am a first-generation academic with a background in journalism, communication, international development, and foreign politics. As a researcher, I do not see myself solely as a tool or instrument in the research process, and I embrace my subjectivity, knowledge, and experiences.

Having a background in journalism, photography, and high-tension areas turned out to be an asset for me in the interview study, for example. My position affects every step of the research process, and my responsibility will not necessarily end when the research is completed. Everything from how re-

search questions are posed to how the final thesis is disseminated and the research potentially re-used, referenced, appropriated, and received in other fora are important considerations to keep in mind.

Often framed in outsider-insider perspectives, researchers often share what Rowe terms 'dimension[s] of relatedness' (2014, p. 628), such as gender, class, race, age, political leaning, and so on. Without exception, I shared one of more of these dimensions of relatedness with the interviewees, and when the interviews were concluded I realised that I had played to the common denominators during the interviews, and likely avoided discussing those that set us apart in an attempt to establish rapport.

The primary objective of this study is to investigate photojournalistic practices, particularly in moments and spaces of (forced) migration. The photojournalists that I interviewed work in these or similar situations, and they meet people who are often marginalised by societies and states in one way or another. It was important to remember and be aware of the fact that I was carrying out a study that had the potential to highlight issues of difference, which can potentially lead to further marginalisation of groups of people (hooks, 1990). I had to consider and work to avoid the ways in which my questions and interactions might influence the responses and reflections that the interviewees had regarding their practice.

Lastly, being aware of my positionality and bias is not a get-out-of-jail card that I can play to be released of responsibility. The research process is a creative and politicised endeavour in and for which I am fully implicated and responsible, and I must continue engaging in reflexivity even after I conclude this thesis.

Trustworthiness

Four criteria are considered to be components of ensuring the trustworthiness of the study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

In order to strengthen the *credibility* (internal validity) of the study, I have strived to maintain an open and transparent approach in my writing, be open about the research process and interview situations, discuss the pros and cons of my choices, and reflect on my status and position as a researcher. I have further explained, discussed, motivated, and argued for the theoretical and methodological choices that I have made in an attempt to allow the reader to understand the foundation of my reasoning. The qualitative aspects of the research have been carried out according to good practice.

I have aimed to produce rich accounts based on the experiences of a group of people who share similar characteristics (photojournalistic practice), and by relating to the findings from the compositional analysis have come to an understanding of the contextual uniqueness of photojournalistic practice in Sweden. By being detailed and transparent about the research process

throughout this chapter, I have provided the tools needed to make judgments regarding the *transferability* (external validity) of the study into other fields of research and contexts. Creswell (2014) argues that triangulation further strengthens the validity of the study as the researchers is able to approach the object of study from different angles. I have strived for a multidimensional understanding of the object of study by selecting a wide range of materials and methods.

The *dependability* of the study (in more strictly quantitative research referred to as "reliability") was ensured through the use of what Creswell (2013, pp. 248–249) and Seale (2004, p. 78) refer to as 'thick' and Silverman (2006, p. 287) refers to as 'rich' descriptions, which permeate the study. This means that the goal was to be as thorough and particular as possible in the rendering of the methodological and interpretative steps that I have taken, in order to ensure that the compositional analysis of the photographs, thematic analysis of the interview material, and tracing and watching of the photographs can be followed and understood.

Furthermore, in qualitative research, the researcher often keeps records of the different phases of the research process (Silverman, 2005). I have documented all procedures and kept field notes since I started (which are now five notebooks of reflections), electronic documents, copies of material that I have chosen not to include in the study, earlier drafts, audio files, and transcripts of the interviews – and continuously returned to these resources. The visual material in this study consists of photographs published in four Swedish newspapers. As all publications in Sweden must be archived, I was able to conduct a control of the material in June 2020, making sure that the material that I have analysed is still available. The possibility for myself and others to return to these records is useful in determining the dependability (or reliability) of the study (Creswell, 2013, p. 253).

The compositional analysis further benefitted from applying a certain sequencing of the steps taken during the process. While it may be necessary to backtrack and modify the coding frame, the steps and sequencing as described in this chapter remain the same (Schreier, 2014), enabling others to audit my data. By being systematic throughout the study, I have avoided seeing the material I collected only in relation to my assumptions, biases, and expectations. In particular, the third part of the analysis relied on my own interpretations; however, by using thick and vivid descriptions I ensured the dependability of the study.

Lastly, the overall presentation of this chapter, and the overall study, establish the *confirmability* (objectivity) by showing that I have acted in good faith and not been influenced by personal bias or altered the findings in order to fulfil theoretical inclinations.

Although it was undertaken systematically, the aim of the collection of the photographs was not to come up with a representative selection of what appears in photographs of (forced) migration in Swedish news in general, or

even to create a representation of the totality of photographs published in the four newspapers in 2015. Instead, the systematic approach was a way of ensuring that another researcher would be able to collect the same material as I did, thus increasing the trustworthiness of the study.

In sum, there are a multitude of ways one could have approach the topic of this study, all with their own possibilities and limitations. Reiterating the point made earlier, I never intended to generalise the findings beyond the scope of this particular study in an attempt to find an absolute answer; rather, as Gibbs (2007) suggests, the intention was to focus on the particularities of photojournalistic practices in a Swedish newspaper context. I have not interviewed all photojournalists active in Sweden, and so cannot say something about everyone; likewise, I have not analysed all photographs published on the topic of (forced) migration during 2015, hence I cannot say something about all photographs that were published.

It is quite possible that someone with a different background from mine would have made different interpretations and analytical choices, and these would not have been better or worse, but simply different. However, if given access to my material and data (Yin, 2009), I hope that other researchers would not object to my findings, even if they were to disagree with the interpretations I have made, on theoretical or other grounds. By offering a rich and detailed analysis focusing on a specific issue – (forced) migration – at a specific time – 2015 – through the lens of practice, I hope that this study will provide new insights into photojournalistic practice and ways of seeing that benefit the development of theoretical ideas.

Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have outlined the research approach and methods used and justified the methodological choices and considerations made during the conducting of this study.

Two sets of material were collected. The first set was collected through a mapping of photographs published in four Swedish newspapers (*Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan*) in 2015. The second set of material was generated through an interview study consisting of semi-structured interviews with 17 photojournalists who have published in Swedish newspapers, and a questionnaire answered by 45 photojournalists.

I combined Rose's (2016) framework for a critical visual methodology with Azoulay's (2008) approach of watching photographs, in order to establish an analytical approach that focused on the act of photography, and more specifically on people who are involved in photography, in contrast to various uses, meanings, or interpretations of photographs. In line with Campt (2017) I argue that watching photographs rather than simply looking at them is an active

choice that challenges the idea that seeing is the same as knowing. Watching photographs thus implies a practice of seeing that extends beyond what is depicted in photographs, and that is sensitive to the actions and movements of those photographed in relation to their appearance in photographs.

The collected material was analysed in three parts, each corresponding to an empirical chapter: (1) by approaching the photographs through compositional analysis I examined identifying and professional gazes, (2) by approaching the practices of photojournalists through thematic analysis I examined what shape photojournalists' professional gaze, and (3) by approaching photographs as an event of photojournalism I examined the potential of the civil gaze.

Lastly, I reflected on the research process, discussed ethical considerations, limitations, and reflexivity, and argued for the trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter 5: Appearances in spaces of (forced) migration

In this chapter I draw analytical attention to photographs of (forced) migration that were published in four Swedish newspapers in 2015, and in the process, I answer RQ1:

What appears in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration that were published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan* in 2015?

This chapter primarily deals with the content of the photographs – that is, what appears in the photographs as one looks at them. In order to answer the first research question, I collected photographs from the four newspapers outlined above, and examined them using a compositional analysis inspired by Rose (2016) in order to find out *what* appear in the photographs[12].

As has been noted previously, the compositional analysis was limited in the sense that it did not necessarily account for the various social processes in image production. In order to access latent content, it was important to understand the processes that are involved in the production, selection, and publishing of photographs that are included in newspaper articles, and throughout this chapter I relate the findings of the compositional analysis to those of the interview study that I carried out with photojournalists and other visual news professionals.

The chapters that follow this one all relate to the findings presented here. Chapter 6 focuses on the elements that shape and constitute photojournalistic practices, and more specifically how the individual practices of the photojournalists interviewed for this study relate to existing norms in journalistic practice when reporting on 'unsettled events', as well as how the appearance of photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration are implicated in the appearance of people in flight in photographs. Chapter 7 focuses on the actions and movements of people in photographs of (forced) migration, as well as the encounters that follow their continuous publication and circulation. Finally, the three empirical chapters are discussed jointly in Chapter 8.

[12] See Appendix E for the coding schedule and instructions used in the compositional analysis.

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to the findings of the compositional analysis of the visual material collected for this study. It is organised by categories and themes identified in the photographs. First, I present different modes of appearance in terms of who or what appears in the material, before identifying the dominant migration themes in the photographs, specifically as concerns humanitarian or securitised appearances. Next, I address the social distances that appear in the material, before focusing on aspects of movement of the people and objects that appear. I then move on to presenting the prominent points of appearance that emerged during the compositional analysis. Finally, I address the temporality of appearance, focusing on the re-appearance of refugees in the material.

Modes of appearance: who and what appears

Photographs have certain structures which can be considered in terms of spatial relations that provide a certain view and orient the public in the movement in, out, and within the photographs (Rose, 2016). The compositional analysis provided me with a systematic approach to understanding and unpacking these structures. In this section I deal with a number of questions regarding the appearance of people and objects in the material.

What appears to the spectator as they look at the photograph was the first issue I tackled in the analysis of the photographs. I found that people were the main focus of the photographs in the sample, and only 19 of the 516 photographs collected depicted only objects; most of these depicted bags, and were published next to a portrait of the supposed owner of the bag in articles concerning what people in flight had brought with them on their journeys towards Europe. Other objects included, but were not limited to, seemingly empty camps, ships, and refugee detention centres, often taken from a distance.

One can of course imagine the presence of people in the camps or on the ships, but I was not able to distinguish any people in the photographs, primarily as most (15 out of 19) of these photographs were quite small. These findings can likely be explained by the focus on "human stories" in journalism in general, as well the processes that go into selecting photographs for publication (Bednarek & Caple, 2012c). As was discussed above, one of the conditions for a photograph being included in the sample was that it included at least one individual (or occasionally an object) in the process of (forced) migration.

In addition to identifying the main focuses of the photographs, be they people or objects, I determined the number of people that appeared in each of the photographs, ranging from 0 to 10 (or more). As is shown below (Fig. 4), one third of the photographs (172) in the sample depicted one individual, and these generally took the form of a portrait. The majority (129) of these photographs

were stamp-sized – a format which is commonly used for portraits that are included to illustrate someone who is quoted in an article. In most of these photographs, people were attributed with at least their first name. It should be noted that one article in *Expressen* featured 104 portraits, which makes up close to two-thirds of this category.[13]

In almost one third (152) of the 516 photographs, 10 or more people are visible. Most of these photographs show crowded boats or trains, or long lines of people walking on motorways or along physical borders such as wired fences or solid walls. In these photographs, people generally appear as homogenous groups of refugees, and not as individuals attributed with names (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Esses et al., 2013). According to the press ethical rules, people who appear in photographs should be attributed with their name, particularly if they are recognisable. However, only half of the photographs attributed the people photographed with at least a first name.

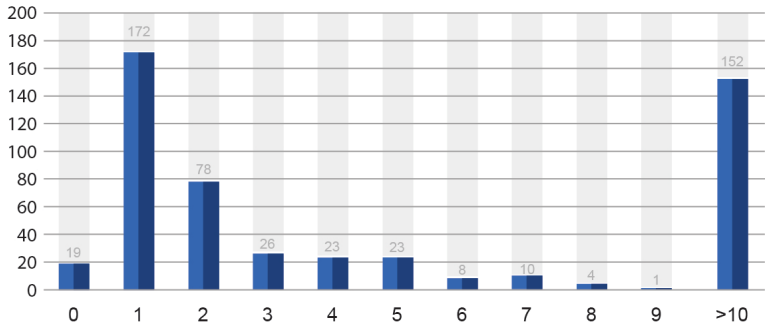

Figure 4. Graph showing the number of people visible in the photographs.

As is discussed above, a condition for a photograph being included in the sample was that at least one individual (or object) was visible and in the process of (forced) migration. Figure 4 shows that people generally appear alone or in larger groups in the photographic material.

I then examined what else appeared in the photographs. Uniformed personnel such as police officers, border guards, and other forms of authority appeared in 76 photographs in the sample, whereas aid workers including medical staff appeared in 29 photographs.

Surprisingly, despite research showing that the events engaged people across Europe (see for example Hemer et al., 2020), civilians only appeared

[13] See Chapter 7 for a discussion of these photographs.

in eight of the photographs in the sample. A likely explanation is that articles about demonstrations and other civic events did not include photographs of people in flight, and hence were not included in the sample.

In the next section, I focus on two aspects that are crucial to discuss when examining appearance: hypervisibility and invisibility.

Hypervisibility and invisibility

Some events and situations are reported on by news media, while others are excluded and remain invisible to the public. The photographs in the sample typically focused on non-Swedish bodies moving, or more commonly being stopped in the process of moving, towards something – most often Europe or Sweden.

Among the spaces that frequently appear in the material are beaches, open water, spaces of transportation such as train stations and boats, spaces of security such as borders and other fenced-off areas, and spaces of confinement such as refugee camps and reception centres. The photographs rarely show the places which people are moving away from, nor do they contextualise the reasons people have for fleeing their homes and seeking refuge. The photographs also do not show or tell stories about internally displaced people who are fleeing but remain in their state of citizenship, or a neighbouring state.

The only time that people in flight are visible in the material is when they had reached or were already present within the borders of Europe and/or the EU. At all other times, and in other spaces, they were absent from the material, and subsequently made invisible to the public. The analysis shows that people in flight only became a matter of public interest as they appeared in European spaces. In the next section I discuss one case of hypervisibility – the photographs of three-year-old Alan Kurdi.

Alan Kurdi

Certain photographs tend to gain more momentum than others, and have been termed "iconic photographs" or "icons". Sontag argued that one single photograph can serve as a 'memory freeze-frame' as photographs have 'a deeper bite' than other imagery, such as television or video (2004, p. 22). Such photographs, then, serve as cultural references for the public, as 'iconic photographs' (Hariman & Lucaites, 2011) or 'instant news icons' (Mortensen, 2016) that people immediately connect to certain events and situations. Examples include the photograph of Phan Thị Kim Phúc running from a napalm attack in Vietnam in 1972 by Nick Út, and that of a starving child and vulture during the famine in Sudan in 1993 photographed by Kevin Carter.

The now well-known photographs of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old boy who drowned during his family's attempt to reach Europe, quickly became a symbol of the refugee crisis when they were published and reproduced in early

September 2015. As has been concluded by a number of studies, the photographs of Alan Kurdi were an important part of the photojournalistic coverage of events of (forced) migration in the second half of 2015 (see for example Adler-Nissen et al., 2019; Aiken et al., 2017; Durham, 2018; M. Mortensen & Trenz, 2016; Vis & Gouriunova, 2015). The sample of photographs I collected included 35 photographs of the boy. Most of these were the photographs taken on the beach in Turkey by the photojournalist Nilüfer Demir, although she is rarely credited. This is likely a result of her having sold the photographs to photo agencies, who in turn distributed them to their subscribers all over the world.

Eight of the 35 photographs were private, family-style portraits, and one of these was used on the front-page of *Aftonbladet* on September 5, 2015. Additionally, four photographs were taken at the boy's funeral, and showed a man carrying a small body wrapped in a white cloth; one photograph was of a small coffin, which according to the caption, carried the boy.

Two different photographs of Alan Kurdi on the beach that were taken by Demir were more widely circulated in news and social media across the world. In one of the photographs, the boy is lying on the beach, his face down in the sand and his hands along the sides of his body (Fig. 5). A uniformed man is looking down at the boy, turned away from the camera and towards the water. The uniformed man appears to be holding a notepad or mobile device in his hands, documenting the event. In the second photograph, the same uniformed man is carrying the boy, slightly hunched over, towards the right of the frame, away from the water (Fig. 6).

These two photographs speak to the two dominant migration themes that I have identified in the sample: *humanitarian* and *securitised* appearance. In the first photograph, the boy is lying abandoned on the beach; the appearance of the boy is securitised through the presence of a uniformed man who is looking down at the body, seemingly taking notes, and observing from a distance without engaging with the boy or the situation. In the latter photograph, the boy's body is being carried by the uniformed man; it is literally being taken into his arms and, had we not known that the boy was deceased, it would have appeared as if the man were carrying the boy to safety, away from the water. In this photograph, the boy's appearance is humanitarian. This is the focus of the next section.

To conclude, I argue – in line with Horsti (2019b) – that one specific photograph does not possess iconicity and become symbolic of an event; rather, several photographs of the same or similar people and objects have the potential to become what Sontag (2004, p. 22) refers to as a 'memory freeze-frame' appearing to the public, which then contributes to the social imaginary or visual understanding that the public has of (forced) migration and people in flight. This is further exemplified in Figure 10.

Figure 5. Photograph of Alan Kurdi, published in *Sydsvenskan* on September 4, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

Figure 6. Photograph of Alan Kurdi, published in *Dagens Nyheter* on September 5, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

Migration themes

There are two categorisations that are dominant in relation to photojournalistic coverage of (forced) migration: refugees, and migrants being portrayed in terms of either victims or threats. I have chosen to term the two dominant themes of migration that I identified in the material, and am able to organise the events that were reported on according to, as *humanitarian appearance* and *securitised appearance*. These terms were chosen to show that these are categorisations that are imposed on people in flight, and are not a status or identity that they hold. The main reason for organising the material into these two exclusive categories is the general tendency of news media to frame issues of migration in binary terms: existing research strongly asserts that news media frequently frame refugees as innocent victims in need of humanitarian action, while migrants are framed as menacing threats that the nation-state needs to protect itself and its citizens from (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020; Wright, 2002).

Through the compositional analysis I found that humanitarian appearances were dominant with regard to the people in the photographs, and relatively few people appeared in the photographs as threats (i.e. were depicted with weapons or appeared to be aggressive or disturbing). This is why I chose to use the term "securitised appearance", as the people who appear are implicated by the spaces (and people in authority) in which they move (such as checkpoints or border crossings) or the presence of authorities. Close to two thirds (327) of the photographs in the sample were categorised as humanitarian appearance, and just over one third (189) of the photographs were categorised as "securitised appearance".

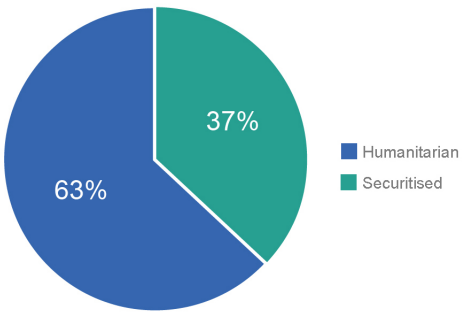

Figure 7. Pie chart showing the categorisation of the photographs of the sample into humanitarian and securitised appearance.

The findings show similarities to Georgiou and Zaborowski's regarding the different phases of news reports of the events of 2015. The majority of the people in the photographs published in September were presented with a humanitarian appearance, whereas people in the photographs published in December appeared as securitised (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

As the literature review showed, previous studies on migration and media have found that people fleeing war and violence and seeking refuge in Europe often appear as either vulnerable victims in need of protection and humanitarian assistance, or as menacing perpetrators posing a threat to Europe in news stories on forced migration (see for example Balabanova, 2014; B. Blaagaard, 2012; Chouliaraki, 2006; Moore et al., 2012).

The presence of military and other forms of security forces and prison-like environments are often used to frame people in flight as illegal or criminal, regardless of their actions or purpose for fleeing (Bleiker et al., 2013; Wright, 2002). Among the photographs analysed, security forces or other forms of uniformed personnel were present in one in six photographs.

Women and children are prevalent in photojournalistic representations, especially when these concern humanitarian issues, and Malkki argues that this is because women and children are not conceived as threats to the European public; they have 'a special kind of powerlessness; perhaps they do not tend to look as if they could be "dangerous aliens"' (Malkki, 1995, p. 11). This was also concluded by a study on press coverage of the refugee crisis in the EU by Berry et al. (2015), and also the case of the photographs examined in this study. Below, I present three examples of how people in flight appeared within a humanitarian or securitised context.

Securitised appearances

Give us our freedom

On September 4, 2015 *Aftonbladet* published an article titled *Ge oss vår frihet* ("give us our freedom"). In one of the four photographs included in the article (Fig. 8), a woman is lying on her back on train tracks embracing a baby. A man leans over her and is holding onto her arms while simultaneously being pulled away by uniformed officers wearing helmets and other protective gear.

Surrounding them are more uniformed people, as well as a person with a video camera who appears to be filming the event. The photojournalist who took this photograph is positioned in front of the situation, and takes the perspective of an observer or witness.

Figure 8. Article published in *Aftonbladet* on September 4, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

The photograph is opening itself up to the spectator, suggesting that the photojournalist is taking a space in the circle of people surrounding the people on the tracks. The caption informs the reader that the man and woman are throwing themselves on the tracks in protest and the uniformed officers are removing them by force, to ensure that they do not continue their journey.

The man and woman are positioned as threats that must be forcibly removed from the situation, and the caption reads:

> Throwing themselves on the tracks. Desperate to escape the war in Syria, the family lay down on the tracks when they realise they will not be able to move on. The photograph of them being pulled away by police is a symbol of the incapability of the EU to find a reasonable solution. (AB, 2021)

The visual impression, however, is slightly different. The appearance of the man, woman, and baby are securitised by the presence of the uniformed people, and the man's facial expression is one of agony, not evil. As securitised spaces, borders expand when necessary and convenient, and they are constantly in motion, moving in different directions and ways for different types of people (Horsti, 2019b; Mountz, 2011). In this photograph, the border is invisible to the naked eye, but is enacted by the presence of uniformed officers who are communicating that the man, woman, and baby do not belong in the space.

Neither the man nor the woman are engaging with the camera, and they are not attributed by name in either the caption or the article it was published in. Because they appear in the photograph, they display themselves to the world; however, under these circumstances and conditions, they merely appear as a *what* and not a *who* – they appear in the world as they are perceived by others, as securitised refugees (Arendt, 1998).

Humanitarian appearances

The yellow boats on location in Greece

In 2015, the owner of *Aftonbladet*, Schibsted, teamed up with the Sea Rescue Society, a Swedish NGO, as part of a rescue mission on the Mediterranean called *Gula båtarna* ("the yellow boats"). The operation was launched in October 2015 and ran until the Spring 2016, and consisted of two boats aiding the Greek Coastguard. The operation was financed by donations from the public, and journalists from two of Schibsted's daily newspapers – *Aftonbladet* and *Svenska Dagbladet* – joined the crew of volunteers. They were instructed to focus on rescue first and journalism second, which in itself raises a number of ethically challenging questions in terms of both the photojournalists and the people they were there to rescue (Olsson, 2017). In the material collected for

this study, seven photographs from the operation were published in two articles in *Aftonbladet* on December 24 and 28, 2015 respectively; all of these were taken by in-house photojournalists at *Aftonbladet*[14].

The two articles focused primarily on the experiences of the photojournalists and the success of the operation and, while they contextualised the operation and situation in the Mediterranean Sea, both omitted information about the people who were eventually rescued.

In a report written by the journalist Petra Olsson in collaboration with Polis, an international journalism think-thank at the London School of Economics (Olsson, 2017), one of the photojournalists who was onboard the boats explained that, in addition to hand-held cameras, they used GoPro cameras attached to their bodies.

All seven of these photographs in the material are attributed to the same photographer, and I have not been able to ascertain whether any of these photographs were captured using a GoPro camera. That said, one of the photographs is showing a woman and child in extreme close-up, and it appears to be of lower quality than those generally produced by the cameras used in photojournalism. Furthermore, it appears as if the camera is positioned on the chest of someone who is reaching towards the woman who is visible in the photograph. This would of course raise questions of attribution. Does wearing a GoPro camera that captures images automatically make you the photographer, just by wearing it?

Furthermore, none of the people who appear in the photographs are attributed by name, despite most of them being fully recognisable to the spectator. The caption describes one woman as having a weak pulse and as having been going in and out of consciousness. Spectators are able to look at the woman in an exposed and compromised position, without her knowing, raising questions of informed consent and the right to look (Lutz & Collins, 1993). The people who appear in these photographs are displayed to the world as a *what*, and their appearance is conditioned by their status as refugees who are in need of humanitarian assistance.

In the next section, I address the perceived distance between the appearing people and spectators.

Proximity of appearance

Existing research has demonstrated that camera distance and eye contact have relevance to how spectators encounter and experience those who appear in photographs (Becker et al., 2000; Lutz & Collins, 1993; Nilsson, 2020b). With the objective of determining how people and objects appear to the public, I

[14] I have chosen not to include the photographs here, but they can be found through a search on Mediearkivet.

categorised the perceived distance, or proximity, of the photographed people or objects to the camera as follows: (1) distant, (2) near, and (3) close-up.

People or objects that appear to be far away, unrecognisable, and indistinguishable were placed in the first category, and photographs in this group were difficult to comprehend without reading the captions. Photographs in which people or objects appear in full and are distinguishable to spectators were placed in the second category. Lastly, zoomed-in photographs (more than half of the upper body, as in the case of portraits) were placed in the third category.

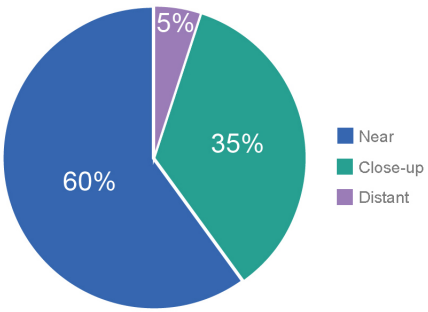

Figure 9. Pie chart showing the perceived proximity of the photographed people or objects to the camera in all photographs of the sample.

In close to two thirds (312) of the photographs, people appear to be *near* to the spectator; just over one third (178) of the photographs were categorised as *close-ups*. Only 26 photographs in the sample were categorised as *distant*, meaning that photographs were taken from such a distance that any people in them are indistinguishable and unrecognisable to spectators. Most of these are photographs of crowds of people on boats on open water that were taken from an aerial perspective (see Fig. 10).

According to the press ethical rules journalists should pay particular attention to how the publishing of names might harm people, and the publishing of a photograph should be avoided if names must be omitted from the article. Despite this, and as is discussed above, in just over half of the photographs people were attributed with at least a first name. This raises questions regarding what it means to be recognisable and to whom one is recognisable. These aspects are difficult, if not impossible, to determine by looking at the content of photographs, and require an engagement with the social practices of photojournalism.

I determined whether or not the people in the photographs made eye contact with the camera (yes or no). In two thirds (325) of the photographs the people who appeared are not looking into the camera. Most of the photographs (183 out of 191 photographs) in which people are looking into the camera are traditional portrait-style photographs of one person, and occasionally two people. Eye contact and perceived distance influence how spectators experience and connect with people who are photographed, and research shows that when people in flight are photographed as large, homogenous, anonymous masses, spectators are less likely to react with empathy and compassion than they are if they see photographs of people who are recognisable and attributed with a name (see for example Becker et al., 2000; Lutz & Collins, 1993).

Some of the photographs shown in Figure 10 were published in the four newspapers in 2015, and were taken from a distance. They are quite similar in terms of composition and the angles and perspectives used. In fact, I found that a few appeared to be identical, despite the fact that they were published in different articles about incidents which took place on different dates. All of the photographs shown in Figure 10 were provided by wire services such as AP or the Swedish Coastguard.

According to the press ethical rules, people who are photographed should be visible and attributed with their names when these photographs are published in news articles. This is, of course, difficult in situations such as reporting on boats sinking and people on board potentially losing their lives in the process of seeking safety in Europe. Taking photographs from a distance is one way of working around this issue.

One of the photo editors that I interviewed recognised these processes in their own work:

> It should be difficult, that's how you know you're on to something, it shouldn't be easy. In many cases, about what you said [about boats carrying refugees and migrants], if that was how it looked, in general, I experienced that too. I recognise the photographs you're talking about, and I have seen them 10,000 times, there is a sense of recognition. And that might be what you want to achieve, it sounds as if that was the case. I'll use this one, that's easy. It's when it's hard you know that … I think that this particular image, I don't have that particular photograph but I can imagine what it looks like, and I understand your point. And I think it has been used because you don't want to kind of name and shame anyone [referring to publishing photographs where people cannot easily be recognised in order to avoid the need to publish names, etc.] but it can definitely have the opposite effect. It can become the exact opposite, which is not good (Interviewee 15).

Figure 10. Photograph of an overcrowded boat, published in *Aftonbladet* on September 6, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

When photographing people from a great distance, it is near-impossible to recognise one person from a crowd. While the people on the boats are hypervisible as they are trapped on a boat on open water, each individual is in fact at the same time essentially hidden in the crowd. This creates a dilemma that the news desks and editors have to deal with when they are selecting which photograph to include in a news item. The photo editor quoted above had experienced this dilemma in their work with photojournalists:

> Interviewee 15: I find that super interesting, I have also experienced this. If you want a photograph of a child for instance. We [the newspaper] don't publish photographs of children without parental consent and they [photojournalists] say "but the girl [in this photo] is from China" and I'd say "well yes, but it's still a child". I think a lot about this, and I'd say, as a photographer, I think the same way. On how to portray suffering in Sweden versus in another country. As a photographer it's difficult to compare since I never portrayed suffering in that way in Sweden. Of course, I have photographed suffering in different ways, but not acute suffering, such as malnutrition, the way I have in other countries, or someone who is about to die. So, it's hard to compare. […] But I hope that if I put my photographs next to each other, and explain why and how I have made the choices I have, I think that I have [approached and photographed people the same]. I'm probably not as good as I'd like to think, but I hope.
>
> RBL: It's easy too, you get into a routine, do things by intuition, with regard to those choices…
>
> Interviewee 15: You could put it this way, if it's in a refugee camp and there are two children walking in the distance, I'd publish.
>
> RBL: But you might have done that, at like a kindergarten in Sweden too?
>
> Interviewee 15: No.
>
> RBL: No? Not even from a distance?
>
> Interviewee 15: No, their parents would've called. That's how it is these days.
>
> RBL: But how do you reason around that, as a photo editor, or a photojournalist; their parents might not be able to call, they might not even be alive?
>
> Interviewee 15: No, exactly. I think that as a photographer I hope that, and I can only speak for myself, but I think others here [at the newspaper] would say the same thing, that I'll always take all photographs. I'd take the one of Swedish children in the kindergarten from a distance too, if they're unrecognisable. I'll take the shot. Then it's about what you deliver.

Here, the interviewee touched upon something crucial; repertoires in news production. As is discussed above, overcrowded, broken boats were a prominent theme among the photographs that I analysed, and the same photograph occasionally reappeared in new articles, presented in different contexts and situations.

While they might seem to be generic vehicles that carry people across water, boats are also performative spaces and, as argued by Horsti (2019a, p. 62), performativity further moves across spaces, 'making new and unexpected interpretations and encounters possible'. These boats, which are often deemed

unseaworthy by authorities, symbolise the precariousness of (forced) migration today. In a way, resorting to travelling on boats that are unsafe in order to avoid solid borders and other barriers on land is a form of counter-movement. Appearing in spaces other than those that have been assigned to you is a form of resistance.

In the next section I address the different places that appear in the photographs in the material.

Points of appearance

As the final step in the coding process, I identified which places, or *points of appearance*, emerged in the photographs in the sample. Initially, the photographs were categorised into several categories, which included specific sites which I referred to as "spaces of (forced) migration", such as beaches, train stations, borders, and countries such as Serbia, Greece, and Sweden. All of these sites were then compiled into three main categories, or *points of appearance*: *border* (189), *camp* (44), and *water* (54). Photographs that did not fit in any of these categories were categorised as *other* (229).

While the "other" category was seemingly quite large, most of the photographs placed in it were portraits, in which it was next to impossible to determine a place as the body of the photographed person fills almost the entire frame (183 photographs in the sample were classified as "portraits").

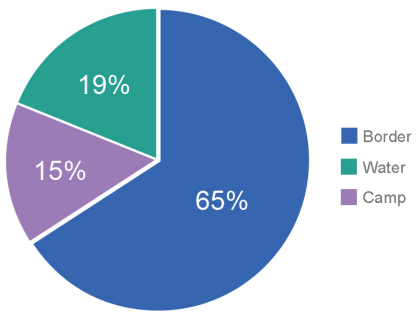

Figure 11. Pie chart showing points of appearance identified in the sample, excluding the photographs categorised as "other" (229 photographs).

The photographs in the material visualise spatial manifestations of rightlessness in a variety of ways. The findings of the analysis show that (forced) migration was primarily reported on from a number of specific geographical locations in Europe: Sweden, Hungary, and Greece. Given this was a study of

photographs published in Swedish newspapers, the prevalence of Swedish locations is to be expected. Greece and the island of Lesbos appeared particularly frequently during September and December, as many people arrived there by boat from Turkey. In Sweden, the most frequently visible places in the photographs were train stations, refugee detention centres, and various forms of housing for refugees and asylum-seekers.

In the next three sections I present findings corresponding to the three points of appearance, starting with borders (and the related phenomenon of border spectacles). Under each subheading I analyse one photograph, selected on the basis that the people or objects which appear in them are all recognisable in relation to a familiar visual discourse on (forced) migration.

Border

Spaces of (forced) migration such as borders are legitimised and normalised through the production, reproduction, and circulation of photographs and other images such as maps and graphs. Through photographs, spectators can see, consume, and visually experience these spaces.

The practice of borders relies on imagery that privileges certain images of migration, for example photographs that frame borders as a necessity and reality. Not necessarily as a collection of images, but through the performance of images. These practices become what De Genova and others term "border spectacles" (see for example R. Andersson, 2014; De Genova, 2002, 2013). Borders are suitable, if not ideal, spaces for European states to stage spectacles of their politics, and to exercise power over both their citizens and non-citizens who are attempting to reach their territories (Cuttitta, 2014; De Genova, 2002).

A border spectacle generally takes place in two acts: the first is the hypervisibility of people migrating in a humanitarian framing, in that they need to be rescued. In the second act, migrating individuals are visualised as anonymous masses of menacing people who are illegally making their way towards Europe. I have provided examples of these acts above. The death of people migrating and trying to cross treacherous waters in their attempts to reach Europe is a more compelling story in the eyes of the public, than say, someone overstaying their visa.

The reinforcement and erecting of material borders is often irrelevant, as people who choose or are forced to flee for their safety from violence and war will move regardless of the obstacles in their way. However, the erection of borders and barriers has consequences for those trying to pass them. The harder it is for people to pass border controls, the more dangerous the routes people are forced to seek out. States use natural formations such as water, mountains, islands, and forests to demarcate their territories where there is no need to build material, designed borders. This makes the border itself seem "natural" and pre-existing.

In addition, these natural formations make movement difficult and dangerous for people who are not able to move freely across allocated border crossings. States frequently expand their migration management into other territories through either extra-territorial areas such as international waters, in which they then hold migrants, or by pushing migrants back the way they came (Hyndman & Mountz, 2007).

Borders, whether they are visible (as in Fig. 13) or invisible (as in Fig. 12), attract different kinds of activities: people trying to cross without permits, activists demonstrating the unfair treatment of people trying to move, detention efforts carried out by border-control personnel, the trafficking of refugees, and journalists reporting on these events and activities who at the same time become part of the border spectacles. The so-called "Balkan route" gained a great deal of news coverage in 2015, and contributed to the imagery of the movement of people seeking refuge in Europe.

Of the 189 photographs in the sample that were categorised as relating to borders, people in flight generally appear to face border (see Fig. 13) or are walking towards something outside the frame of the photograph (see Fig. 17). The camera, and photojournalist, are frequently positioned on the same side of the (imagined) border as the people who appear in the photographs. The security practices that take place at borders in the European Union make visible, and even turn the focus on, those people trying to pass both solid and imagined borders, in the process making the 'illegality' of migrants 'spectacularly visible' (De Genova, 2013, p. 1181). Photographs showing people at borders and visualising their attempts to arrive safely in Europe have the potential to fuel border spectacle, of course.

The refugees arrived too late at the border

The photograph (Fig. 13) was published in *Sydsvenskan* on September 16, 2015, in the "World News" section. It was published as part of a spread, together with another photograph of the same size. The headline reads: *Många kom för sent – nu är de fast vid gränsen* ("many arrived too late– now they are stuck at the border"). The photograph was taken by a staff photographer at *Dagens Nyheter*.

A young child is the main focus of the photograph: they are standing with their arms outstretched, facing away from the camera and seemingly not acknowledging the presence of the photojournalist. The child is standing in front of a barbed-wire fence, their gaze fixed on something in the distance, beyond the barbed wire. The photojournalist is positioned in the same space as the child, but the perspective is suggestive of an observer looking into the scene. The child is identified by name, and the caption says that they are fleeing from Afghanistan with their father. In the background of the photograph more than 10 adults and children are visible, sitting with their backs to the camera and the fence.

A12

VÄRLDEN

FLYKTINGKRISEN

Stängda gränser kritiseras

Flyktingar hittar nya vägar in i EU

A13

VÄRLDEN

Figure 12. Article published in *Sydsvenskan* on September 17, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

A10 Onsdag 16 september 2015 SYDSVENSKAN

VÄRLDEN

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SYDSVENSKAN Onsdag 16 september 2015 A11

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Paris: Magnus Falkehed Peking: Torbjörn Petersson Rio de Janeiro: Henrik Brandão Jönsson Rom: Kristina Kappelin Washington: Sanna Torén Björling

VÄRLDEN

FLYKTINGKRISEN

Fyraåriga Mahsa Hossein har flytt tillsammans med sin pappa Hossein Hosseini från Kabul i Afghanistan. På grund av Ungerns nya flyktinglagar sitter hon nu fast i ingenmansland. FOTO: LOTTA HÄRDELIN

Ungersk polis barrikaderar gränsen till Serbien. Flyktingarna skrek "öppna gränsen" och började igår kollektivt att hungerstrejka. FOTO: LOTTA HÄRDELIN

Hossein Hosseini vill vidare till Berlin i Tyskland, där hans bror finns. FOTO: LOTTA HÄRDELIN

FAKTA

Schengenavtalet

■ Schengen-samarbetet trädde i kraft den 26 mars 1995. Avtalet ger medborgare i 22 EU-länder samt Norge, Island, Schweiz och Liechtenstein rätt att resa fritt mellan medlemsländerna utan gränskontroller.

■ Vid särskilda tillfällen kan länder dock tillfälligt genomföra gränskontroller, normalt inte i mer än trettio dagar.

■ Det kan göras vid oro hot mot säkerheten, exempelvis vid demonstrationer, terrorism eller större idrottsevenemang. Länderna ska informera EU-kommissionen vid ett sådant beslut.

■ De senaste dagarna har Tyskland, Österrike, Slovakien, Tjeckien och Ungern infört tillfälliga gränskontroller. Danmark skärpte kontrollen vid gränsen mot Tyskland förra veckan. TT

Källa: NTB, Ritzau, AFP

SLOVAKIEN
UNGERN
Budapest
Horgos
RUMÄNIEN
KROATIEN
SERBIEN

Många kom för sent – nu är de fast vid gränsen

■ Ungern införde undantagstillstånd i de södra delarna av landet igår samtidigt som den nya skärpta flyktinglagstiftningen trädde i kraft. Det ledde till att hundratals, desperata flyktingar blockerade gränsövergången mellan Serbien och Ungern och inledde en hungerstrejk.

"Inget vatten, ingen mat – öppna gränsen", ljöd talkören som studsade mot det höga stängsel som skilde de nödställda från Ungern.

Containerns vita dörr är porten till friheten. Det hoppas åtminstone den 29-årige skräddaren Hossein Hosseini när han beslutsamt stegar in genom dörren med sin familj i släptåg.

Klockan är elva på tisdagsförmiddagen.

Innan han går in har han berättat om livet hemma i Kabul, Afghanistans huvudstad.

– Bomber exploderar varje dag, vi har varit i krig sedan den ryska ockupationen för mer än trettio år sedan.

En halvtimme senare kommer han ut genom samma dörr med något svart i blicken. Med raska steg går familjen mot den motorväg i ingenmansland som förbinder de serbiska och ungerska gränsövergångarna.

Han tar sin fyraåriga dotter Mahsa i famnen och ansluter sig till de andra flyktingarna som satt sig på vägbanan i protest. Snart formas talkören "inget vatten, ingen mat – öppna gränsen".

De tömmer vattenflaskor och bygger upp ett berg av plast framför sig. Av Ungern ser de bara den portabla vägg toppad med taggtråd som polisen rullat ut på körbanorna.

Hossein Hosseini har fått känna på den nya flyktinglag som trädde i kraft igår. Asylärenden ska kunna avgöras på löpande band i kontorscontainrar direkt vid gränsen.

För att komma in i Ungern var Hossein Hosseini tvungen att lämna sina fingeravtryck. Han vägrade. Han vill vidare till sin bror i Berlin, inte fastna i Ungern.

De allra flesta har också bojkottat containern denna dag, de hoppas i stället att deras gemensamma protest ska få fördämningarna att brista och öppna vägen till Tyskland. Där har såväl afghaner som syrier goda möjligheter att få asyl, det gäller bara att komma förbi Ungern.

"Min familj är beroende av att jag kommer till Tyskland, att jag får ett jobb och kan skicka hem pengar."

Abbas Mandegar och hans familj flydde från Afghanistan till Iran. Nu vill han vidare till Tyskland.

Abbas Mandegar, 17 år, kommer lite senare till vägbanan i sin blå keps och vita T-shirt, han fungerar som tolk och talesperson åt den lilla afghanska grupp som bildats spontant under färden. Han talar en perfekt engelska med amerikansk accent.

– Jag kan inte vända tillbaka nu när jag är så nära. Vi har gått igenom alldeles för mycket farligheter under resan och min familj är beroende av att jag kommer till Tyskland, att jag får ett jobb och kan skicka hem pengar, säger han.

Under talibanernas styre flydde hans familj till Pakistan, när hans far återvände för att se till sin mark blev han dödad av talibanerna. Nu lever familjen Mandegar som flyktingar i Iran. Det blev yngste sonen Abbas som fick ge sig av på den långa resan västerut.

Nu har han haft otur, hans grupp kom fram till gränsövergången vid Horgos klockan ett på natten till tisdagen.

– Vi visste att det var bråttom, vi kom ändå en timme för sent. Övergången var stängd, berättar han.

Ett ställningskrig utbryter på den stekheta vägbanan, fler och fler flyktingar anländer söderifrån.

De första tälten slås upp, vägbanan börja likna ett flyktingläger.

Från andra sidan kommer en anonym megafonröst utan ansikte som på arabiska uppmanar alla att lämna vägbanan. Några köer har dock inte bildats, trafiken har letts om till en annan övergång.

Frågan är om det finns andra vägar till väst.

Den ungerska utrikesministern Péter Szijjártó berättade igår att regeringen överväger att stoppa den möjligheten med ett stängsel även längs den rumänska gränsen.

Ett annat alternativ är att ta sig via Kroatien till Schengen-landet Slovenien.

Naim och Hakim, två bröder och affärsmän från Kabul, funderar över det alternativet där de sitter en bit bort från tumultet.

En ungersk flyktingaktivist varnar dock för att gränsen mellan Serbien och Kroatien kan vara minerad sedan Balkankriget.

Storebror Hakim, 31 år, himlar med ögonen. I Kabul försökte talibanerna att mörda dem eftersom de arbetade åt utländska bolag. Nu står de här i ingenmansland och vet varken ut eller in.

TEXT: JAN LEWENHAGEN

Figure 13. Article published in *Sydsvenskan* on September 16, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

Another photographer is present in the photograph; they can be seen standing up, slightly hunched over, taking photographs of the group of people. No one is interacting with the child, except for the photojournalist who took this particular photograph. On the other side of the fence a white building is visible, as is part of a white truck which is parked next to the fence. While the border is clearly visible and impenetrable for the child, it is also transparent, and thus possible to look beyond, into a territory that is not open to them.

The border cuts through the photograph; it starts and ends outside of the frame presented here, clearly separating the inside from the outside, spatially isolating one side from the other. The photograph tells a personal story; by appearing before cameras at the border, people fleeing are challenging 'an international system of interception' which is designed to prevent their visibility and preserve the distance between them and the European public (Naimou, 2016). Borders further actualise and politicise appearance, as they are essentially about regulating appearance in specific places.

Water

As access to spaces of borders and asylum (Mountz, 2011) was reduced as a result of the reinforcement of solid borders on land and increased control of airways, people resorted to boats as a mode of transportation in their attempts to reach Europe across the Mediterranean. This quickly became one of the focal points of news reports on (forced) migration in 2015 (Mannik, 2016). The Greek island of Lesbos came to symbolise the emergent state of migration and re-militarisation of European borders, and photographs of people crammed into small rubber dinghies and boats were frequently published in newspapers. These reports focused on the risks and dangers people faced as they tried to cross the Mediterranean in search of refuge. In 2015, more than 3,700 people lost their lives trying to cross the Mediterranean (IOM, 2016). These boats emerged as 'memory freeze-frames' (Sontag, 2004, p. 22), and were reproduced in news media and other areas of society, such as academic research, the political arena, and public debates.

Boats are important vehicles of migration and mobility and are potential spaces of migration, particularly because the borders of Europe extend across international waters. They are also common visual tropes in news reports on forced migration (see for example Álvarez, 2016; R. Andersson, 2012; Hoffman, 2016; Horsti, 2019b), and this was the case in the four Swedish newspapers investigated in this study, which were prone to publishing photographs of people in overcrowded rubber dinghies and other types of boat in news stories on (forced) migration and people who were forced to flee. These photographs came to represent the refugee crisis as a whole.

Världen

Eldsjälar.

"Det kunde ha varit vi som var på flykt"

Volontären Igor Kubát följer ett kall

Figure 14. Article photograph published in *Dagens Nyheter* on December 27, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

When analysing the photographs in my data pool, I found that the majority of the 54 photographs that showed boats and water were generally attributed to wire services or the Swedish Coastguard, rather than in-house or freelance photojournalists.

Furthermore, these photographs were almost exclusively shot at a significant distance, and the people onboard the boats were often too far away to be recognisable (at least to others than themselves). The photographs were generally published in stories about "refugees" and "migrants" as anonymous groups which described injuries and deaths on the Mediterranean, or discussed the "crisis" as an event. The articles never focused on the people shown in the photographs, and these people were never attributed with names. There were a couple of exceptions – as shown in Figure 14, which was shot by an in-house photojournalist at one of the newspapers, and was part of a story on volunteers who assisted people in flight arriving in Greece. The main person visible in this particular photograph is a volunteer, and they are the only person who is attributed with a name in the caption.

The increased visual attention on boats and Mediterranean islands in 2015 was a result of the increased presence of militaries, state actors, governmental and non-governmental humanitarian actors, and news media. As in the example of the "yellow boats" described above, news media play a role in the border spectacle. In the next section I focus on another form of enclosed borders: encampments.

Camps

Refugee encampments[15] and other places in which people who are moving are required – or even forced – to dwell until decisions regarding their future are made are systems of control, both material and intellectual. Camps are places of regulation and confinement in time and space, and the management of refugees' stories, histories, and bodies is strictly controlled.

Camps are performative in the sense that they create and sustain practices in order to control and regulate the possibilities and opportunities of action and movement for the people residing within them. This is carried out through technological and physical objects that are carefully designed to hinder the movements of people in unwanted directions.

Arendt argues that 'camps are meant not only to exterminate people and degrade human beings, but also serve the ghastly experiment of eliminating, under scientifically controlled conditions, spontaneity itself as an expression of human behaviour and of transforming the human personality into a mere thing' (Arendt, 1958, p. 438). She continues: '[t]otal power can be achieved and safeguarded only in a world of conditioned reflexes, or marionettes without the slightest trace of spontaneity' (2004, p. 457).

[15] Hereafter referred to as "camps" in the interest of brevity.

In the photographs that were categorised as *camp*, people generally appear to be still and passive, giving the impression that they have given up on moving.

The first night in the tent camp

The photograph shown in Figure 15 was published in the news section of *Sydsvenskan* on December 12, 2015. The headline reads *Första natten i tältlägret* ("the first night in the tent camp"). The article also featured three smaller photographs; two are of the same men, and the third shows the tents from the outside. The photograph was taken by a staff photographer at *Sydsvenskan*.

In the photograph, five men are the main focus. They appear in a large tent in which camping beds are visible. Two are standing; one of them is at the front, facing the camera, his arms behind his back, while the other is standing at the back next to a bed, holding a piece of clothing. Three men are sitting on beds; one has his face buried in his hands, the chin of the second is in his left hand and he is looking away, and the third is facing the camera. The photojournalist is positioned in front of the men, and two of the men are looking directly into the camera while the other three are not engaging with the photojournalist at all.

The men are attributed with names – Younus Al Shamary, Aws Aidhlkra, Ahmad Amin, Noure Aglone, and Dhyaa El-Oqeli – but it is unclear which name belongs to which man. The article is about asylum-seekers living in tents at the Revinge camp in Southern Sweden. The text is a news piece, with narrating text and quotes from three of the men that appear in the photograph. Journalists are mostly absent from the article, but through the description of the camp there is a sense of presence.

The arrival of the five men in the camp is contrasted with the developments occurring in contemporary politics: in one section it is mentioned that in recent weeks Swedish refugee politics had focused on the image of Sweden that should be communicated to groups of refugees and migrants moving across Europe. This came alongside suggestions that reinforcing borders and checkpoints, introducing temporary residency permits, and tightening the rules regarding family reunification, the Swedish government had tried to make refugees stay in their "home countries" or seek asylum in other countries. The text states that the government's plan had worked, and that the number of asylum-seekers had been reduced to half, although without stating as compared to what.

The text upholds ideas of Swedish nationalism: It is written from the perspective of the state, and the men in the photographs appear as outsiders to Sweden in that they are referred to as "refugees" in the caption. In the body text, three of the men are referred to by name and quoted.

NYHETER

FLYKTINGKRISEN

Younus Al Shamary, Aws Aldhikea, Ahmad Amin, Noure Aglone och Dhyaa El-Oqeli är de första flyktingarna sedan Balkankriget som fått sova i tält i Sverige.

Younus Al Shamary och Dhyaa El-Oqeli jobbade båda som journalister i Irak.

Sjutton tält står redo. Men än så länge bor endast tolv flyktingar i Revinge camp.

"Det finns inte mycket att göra men personalen här är snäll och hjälpsam", säger Dhyaa El-Oqeli.

Första natten i tältlägret

REVINGE

För första gången sedan Balkankriget bor asylsökande i tält i Sverige. Sydsvenskan har träffat de första övernattarna på Revinge camp.

– Jag känner tacksamhet även om vi får bo i tält, säger Noure Aglone från Syrien.

Sjutton tält, 204 sängar men bara tolv asylsökande. I Revinge camp syns mer personal och journalister än asylsökande. De tolv män som bussades hit under torsdagen fick alla plats i samma tält.

– Vi sov helt okej i natt. Du vet, vi har gått genom tio länder och knappt sovit på tre dagar så när vi kom hit igår gick alla och lade sig direkt, säger Dhyaa El-Oqeli från Irak.

Det kylslagna regnet smattrar mot tältduken. Men här inne är det varmt. Lite för varmt, tycker Dhyaa El-Oqeli och stänger av den röda värmefläkten. Det dröjer bara någon minut innan kallraset är ett faktum och fläkten sätts på igen.

De senaste veckorna har svensk flyktingpolitik handlat mycket om vilken bild av Sverige som ska förmedlas till de flykting- och migrantgrupper som är på väg genom Europa. Genom att införa gräns- och id-kontroller, tillfälliga uppehållstillstånd och hårdare regler för familjeåterförening, har regeringen försökt få flyktingarna att antingen stanna i hemländerna eller söka asyl i andra länder.

Planen tycks ha fungerat. Det dagliga antalet asylsökande till Sverige har redan halverats. Och kanske förstärks signalerna ytterligare av att tältlägret i Revinge öppnar.

"Jag hoppas bara att vi inte är en börda för svenska folket. Jag känner tacksamhet till svenskarna även om vi får bo i tält."

Noure Aglone.

– Det är klart att sådana signaler påverkar människor. Men folket i Syrien och Irak är väldigt drabbade av konflikter i hemländerna. Och den som drömmer om tryggheten i Sverige kommer att försöka, oavsett vilka hinder som sätts upp, säger Noure Aglone.

Irakiern Younus Al Shamary instämmer.

– Att bo i tält var inte riktigt vad jag hoppades på, men det viktigaste är att få skydd och stabilitet. På Migrationsverket sa de att detta är provisoriskt men också att det kan ta ett eller ett och ett halvt år innan vi kan få ett nytt boende. Jag hoppas inte att det blir så, säger han.

Intervjun är över och vi ska strax lämna tältet. Noure Aglone hejdar oss. Han vill säga en sak till.

– Jag hoppas bara att vi inte är en börda för svenska folket. Jag känner tacksamhet även om vi får bo i tält.

TEXT: JENS MIKKELSEN

FOTO: HUSSEIN EL-ALAWI

Figure 15. Article published in *Sydsvenskan* on December 12, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, April 2021.

One of the men describes how they slept the previous night, and states that they had walked through 10 countries. Another says that living in a tent was not what he had hoped for, but that the most important thing is to have protection and stability. He also mentions that the Migration Agency said that the situation was temporary, and that it can take one to one-and-a-half years to receive better accommodation. The third man says that he hopes that they will not be a burden on Swedish society, and that he feels grateful (to the Swedish people) even if he is living in a tent.

This is a story of waiting. The men are temporarily suspended in both time – they are being held by the still photograph – and space – they are enclosed by the walls of the tent, and there is no exit visible within the frame. This is reinforced by what the men are reported as saying.

The photograph is directly linked to the personal stories of the people shown in it, and shows the clash between the power of the nation-state, which encloses the men, and their immobility within this space. There is no sense of movement in the photograph.

Camps are intended to be temporary, but are given a 'permanent, spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order' (Agamben, 1998, pp. 169–170). While opportunities to participate in photojournalistic events are limited when a person is held in a refugee camp due to the fact that they are often forcibly held, there is some space for autonomy, action, and spontaneity within the camps. In most spaces of migration, such as refugee camps and along borders, states impose restrictions on freedom of movement, and furthermore limit the freedom of movement of the press in order to prevent them from carrying out their work. One photojournalist reflected on their experience of visiting a refugee camp in Turkey in 2015:

> It's a place that should be open, but it's actually closed. I know other journalists who were rejected [from entering the camp] because they didn't have the proper papers. As I moved around the camp, people kept pulling me into their housing to tell me their stories and show me how they were living, and how their lives were regulated in the camp. (Interviewee 8)

The task of camps and other forms of refugee and migrant confinement is to separate citizens from non-citizens, and in this process make non-citizens within the walls of the camps invisible. Walls and the fencing-off of certain people from nation-states deprives these people of the possibility for action.

However, within the camps there a degree of freedom of movement; while people in camps are surrounded by walls and monitored by surveillance cameras and camp personnel, they are generally free to move within the walls of their confinement. One of the photojournalists that I interviewed covered the situation in a temporary refugee camp in Hungary in 2015, and recalled that time, or rather urgency, was an important factor in deciding which events and situations to report on. Time was crucial in establishing a relationship based

on respect and trust with the people they were photographing, but it was not always possible to ask for consent prior to taking photographs.

> It's more important to document the abuse without consent than to not photograph at all. As I edited the photographs on the bonnet of my car afterwards people would come up to me and tell me I needed to document and report on this and that, that I needed to spread the news. I took that that as collective approval. (Interviewee 8)

While individual consent is a priority, at times collective consent can be justified. I asked the photojournalist I spoke to during Interview 8 whether they had ever felt that they had overstepped in approaching situations and events in this way – whether they had invaded the privacy of individuals, or felt that they had exposed people unnecessarily:

> RBL: Do you ever feel as if you're taking something from the people you're photographing, and that you should give something back?
>
> Interviewee 8: Absolutely. That's when I take a step back, and be a human being in the situation. As journalists we wallow in people's misery in a way, that's how we make a living. But we need to tell stories in order for things to get better. As journalists we're often the only link between a situation or event and the rest of society. (Interviewee 8)

Refugee camps are geographically marginalised, and often located in isolated areas that are excluded from the normal order of nation-states. The people who are assigned to these camps are deprived of access to public, private, and social life. Camps are, according to Arendt, 'the most consequential institution of totalitarian rule', and gather together groups of people who no longer enjoy the protection of states and are 'treated as if they no longer existed' (1958, pp. 441, 445).

In the next section I address aspects of movement (and nonmovement) in the material.

Movement in spaces of (forced) migration

Movement (or non-movement) in the photographs was determined by looking at various spaces in the photographs and how people and objects appear to be moving to, within, and from these spaces (Rose, 2016). Photographs of vehicles, cars, boats, people that are seemingly in motion in form of walking, playing, and so on were categorised as depicting movement. Photographs of people who are seemingly still, because they are either posing for the camera or being kept still by force (by fences, barriers, or other people), in camps or encircled by uniformed personnel were categorised as depicting non-movement.

Three quarters of the photographs were categorised as depicting non-movement, and one-quarter of the photographs were categorised as depicting movement. The analysis of the photographs showed that movement is a constant mode of appearance, and I quickly realised that these categorisations might be insufficient for deeper analysis.

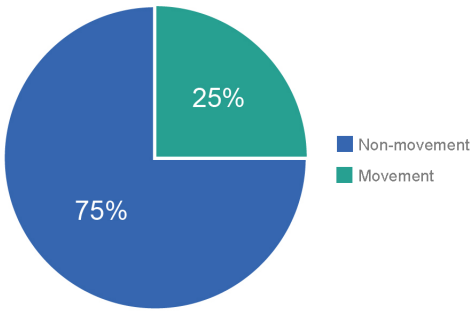

Figure 16. Pie chart showing the perceived movement of the photographed people and objects in the sample.

The photograph showed in Figure 17 was published on two occasions in the examined material, both times on the front page of *Dagens Nyheter*. On the first occasion, September 15, 2015 the headline reads *Krisen hotar att slå sönder EU* ("the crisis threatens to break the EU") and on the second occasion, December 28, 2015 the headline reads *Året som gick. Flyktingkrisen och terrorhotet dominerade* ("the year that passed. The refugee crisis and terror threats dominated").

The photograph is of a man walking along a train track and he is carrying a small child across his shoulders. The captions of the two photographs both informs the reader that the man's name is Mohammed Khalil and that he is from Syria. The child is named as well and identified as Mohammed Khalil's daughter. In the background there are three people visible, but they are out of focus and indistinguishable to the spectator.

The photograph evokes movement. The man is photographed in what looks like the middle of a step, and he is walking in a direction out of the frame. He does not appear to acknowledge the presence of the photojournalist, and his gaze is focused past the camera. The child, however, is looking straight into camera.

DAGENS NYHETER.

TISDAG 15 SEPTEMBER 2015 ● SVERIGES STÖRSTA MORGONTIDNING ● GRUNDAD 1864 ● PRIS 30 KRONOR

Mohammed Khalil Ihsain från Syrien bär sin förlamade sexåriga dotter Line på väg mot den ungerska gränsen.
Foto: Lotta Härdelin

Krisen hotar slå sönder EU

● DN:s Annika Ström Melin: En omskakande påfrestning ● Flera gränser stängs runt om i Europa

Runt om i Europa stängdes flera landsgränser under måndagen. Gränsen mellan Ungern och Serbien var inget undantag.

På måndagskvällen kom beskedet att EU-länderna ska fördela ytterligare 120 000 asylsökande. Men hur det ska ske är oklart.

"Människors flykt till och genom EU utsätter samarbetet för en omskakande påfrestning. Det som sker visar att flyktingpolitikens nuvarande regler inte klarar en kris. Att EU-stater införr tillfälliga gränskontroller kan ses som en logisk följd av att unionens system för flyktingmottagning bryter samman", skriver DN:s korrespondent Annika Ström Melin.

Nyheter 8–9, Stockholm 4–5

7 358101 003001
Nr 258

Figure 17. The front page of *Dagens Nyheter* on September 15, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

The captions further inform the reader that Mohammed Khalil is on his way towards the Hungarian border, and in the second publication the caption lets the reader know that he was only 50 metres from the border at the moment the photograph was taken. The border itself is not visible within the frame, and therefore the photograph forces spectators to imagine it.

Movement can be evoked in a photograph of a boat on the sea or, as in the case of the photograph above (Fig. 17) of a man walking, but because of the stillness that is imposed on photographs, examining moving elements is a difficult task.

While the boat might be in motion the mobility of the people onboard is restricted as a result of border regimes or the simple fact that the people on the boat are not themselves moving. Furthermore, there is an act of movement in turning and positioning your body towards the camera for a portrait. Even though you might be standing still in the moment the photograph is taken, you have performed an action in choosing to direct yourself towards, and appear before the camera. This is further discussed in Chapter 7.

Next, I address aspects of temporality in the material.

Temporality and re-appearance

Migration, forced or otherwise, is a temporal event that is either fast or slow depending on where in the process you are. It can take as long as a walk across Europe or a boat ride across the Mediterranean. Refugee status in itself is, or at the very least should be, a time-limited designation. However, it is a status that is hard to shed, and can re-emerge at different times and in different places, which became evident during the collection process for this study.

Among the photographs in the articles I initially collected, a couple showed former refugees who have been Swedish citizens for a long time. These photographs were almost exclusively used to contextualise the existence of "successful" refugees who had become Swedish citizens and adapted to the "Swedish way of life", and in the process re-appeared as refugees.

The article shown in Figure 18, which was published in *Expressen* on December 12, 2015, describes a Swedish Minister visiting a newly built refugee camp in the south of Sweden.

The headline reads 'From tent camp to Minister and back. Aida Hadzialic was living in tents when she arrived in Sweden as a refugee in 1992 – here she is visiting the new camp in Revinge', indicating that she has come "full circle". Interestingly, none of the photographs used in the article show the politician as a refugee. The smaller portrait of her as a child is, according to the caption, of her as a young child and was taken one year before she fled, while the other photographs are contemporary.

32 EXPRESSEN EXPRESSEN SVERIGE LÖRDAG 12 DECEMBER 2015

LÖRDAG 12 DECEMBER 2015 EXPRESSEN SVERIGE EXPRESSEN 33

BAD LUCK! Wala Ab-Hossein (i mitten i mössa) och de andra männen i tält A1 skojar om hur oturen gjort att just de har råkat bli de första som får bo i tältläger i Sverige. De blir allvarligare när de oroar sig för att det ska regna in i tältet.

Från tältläger till minister och tillbaka

Bilden på Aida Hadzialic är från 1991, året innan hon flydde till Sverige.

Aida Hadzialic bodde i tält när hon kom till Sverige som flykting 1992 – här besöker hon det nya lägret i Revinge

149 000 människor har sökt asyl i Sverige hittills i år. Det är den högsta årssiffran någonsin.
10 000 nyanlända i veckan kom till Sverige i början av november. Sen dess har regeringen infört flera åtgärder för att begränsa antalet som kommer hit. Det har mer än halverat flyktingsströmmen. 3 500 per vecka är den senaste siffran.
48 000 asylsökande kommer från Syrien, det är den största gruppen.

MÅLET: 110 000 TÄLTPLATSER
▶ Migrationsverket har gett Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap i uppgift att ta fram 110 000 tältplatser.
▶ Men det saknas mark där tälten kan sättas upp, det finns inte tillräckligt många tält i lager, de tält som finns är inte brandsäkra, och det tar lång tid att få bygglov för tältläger.
▶ De enda tält som bebos av flyktingar i dag är tillfälliga tält i Revinge utanför Lund som inte kräver bygglov.

AIDA OCH AIDA. En är nu minister och en enhetschef på Migrationsverket.

LASTPALLAR I LERAN. Lastpallar gör det lättare att ta sig mellan tälten i lägret i Revinge utanför Lund. Gymnasie- och kunskapslyftsminister Aida Hadzialic var första minister på plats efter att flyktingar flyttat in i ett av tälten.

REVINGE. I ett tält på en skånsk leråker sitter tolv män från Syrien, Irak och Afghanistan och hör regnet smattra mot tältduken.
En som vet precis hur det känns är vårt yngsta statsråd, Aida Hadzialic, 28, gymnasie- och kunskapslyftsminister.
Hon bodde i tält när hon kom som bosnisk flykting till Sverige 1992.
– Språket var nyckeln för mig. Den svenska skolan var helt avgörande för den resa jag har gjort.

”Givet den bakgrund jag själv har så känner jag självfallet för dem som är på flykt

YNGSTA MINISTERN. Aida Hadzialic, 20, trivs bland eleverna som jobbar med att göra julgodis på Restaurang- och livsmedelsprogrammet på gymnasieskolan Vipan i Lund.

”Jag tror att de som ska bo här kommer att bli väl omhändertagna

Britta Svensson TEXT

Martin von Krogh FOTO

Figure 18. Article published in *Expressen* on December 12, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2020.

Figure 19. Article published in *Aftonbladet* on September 6, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2020.

Another set of photographs was published in an article headlined 'Now and then. The 90s refugee crisis has a lot to teach us' (Fig. 19) – a retrospective piece comparing the movement of people fleeing the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s to the movement of people in 2015. In this case I decided to include the photographs as they satisfied the criteria. Again, the photographs were used to contextualise the events in Europe in 2015, and the people appear only as refugees, regardless of whether the photographs were taken *now* or *then*. None of the people who appear in the photographs in the *then* part of the article are attributed with their name, and so their only identifiable marker is that of the refugee.

The two examples above affirm that the process of (forced) migration, like photographs, has multiple temporalities. Even 25 years later after they have fled, people can still (re)appear as refugees.

One interviewee related the historical aspects of photographs to their own purpose as a photojournalist:

> I think we can make a change. We're documenting this time and period in human history, it's a very important purpose we're serving. It's almost more important than a writing reporter. A photograph is a photograph. A text is easier to alter. A photograph can touch people more. (Interviewee 8)

The idea of photographs as part of history was affirmed by the respondents to the questionnaire; 33 out of 45 respondents answered *agree* (another eight answered *mostly agree*) in response to a statement asking whether photograph is a historical document.

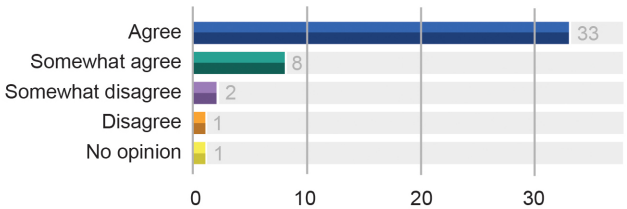

Figure 20. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs are historical documents".

This further relates to the quality of photographs as historical documents, and speaks to their evidentiary status as witness-bearers to events.

Time is always embedded in photographs. Barthes argues that looking at a photograph makes the spectator aware that they are witnessing *here-now* what happened *then-there* (1977, p. 44). Even if a photograph is published within seconds of it being taken, it can only show a moment in the past. However, photographs are often presented to the spectator as being *now*. Photographs reveal to spectators, who are firmly situated in the present, what happened in the past moment framed in a photograph, and in this process photographs themselves become proof of the temporal gap between the spectator and the photojournalistic event.

The photographs discussed above demonstrate that photographs are not only objects or acts but events that are ongoing, and that have the potential to continuously go on as they are encountered again and again by spectators in different times and spaces.

Summary of chapter

In this section, I have presented the findings of the compositional analysis, in which I have analysed the content of the photographs, primarily addressing the content in order ascertain what appears in photographs produced in spaces of (forced) migration. I presented the findings in six sections, addressing (1) what appears in the photographs, (2) aspects of humanitarian or securitised appearance, (3) the proximity of this appearance to the camera and spectators, (4) the points of appearance in spaces of (forced) migration, (5) how notions of movement appear in the photographs, (6) aspects of time and re-appearance.

For Arendt, what decides whether something or someone, has political relevance is the ability to emerge from invisibility, become visible, and enter public life. The people that appear in the photographs in the studied material are already visible but, due to their status as stateless – as people in flight – they are privately visible, and therefore cannot emerge from invisibility. They stand out because they do not "belong". Their non-belonging is the very reason for their appearance in the photographs. This is, of course, based on the presumption that only those who are born within the borders of a nation-state "belong".

In answering RQ1, I have analysed what appears in photographs of (forced) migration published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan* in 2015. The findings of the compositional analysis show the following:

First, people appear alone in one third of the photographs in the sample, most often in a portrait. In almost one third of the photographs, 10 or more people appear together, and most of these photographs show crowded boats or trains or long lines of people walking on motorways or along physical borders such are barbed-wire fences or solid walls.

Second, nearly two thirds of the photographs were categorised as having a humanitarian appearance, and just over one-third of the photographs were categorised as having a securitised appearance. The main reason for the use of these two exclusive categories was the tendency of media to frame issues of migration in binary terms, where refugees are innocent victims in need of humanitarian aid and migrants are menacing threats that the nation-state needs to protect itself and its citizens from (see for example Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020; Wright, 2002).

Third, I found that people made eye contact with the camera in one third of the photographs in the sample. Most of these photographs were traditional portraits of one person, or sometimes two people. In close to two thirds of the photographs people were positioned near the camera, and one third of the photographs were categorised as *close-ups*. Only 26 photographs in the sample were categorised as being *distant*, that is taken from such a distance that the people appearing in the photographs were indistinguishable and unrecognisable to the spectator. Most of these were photographs of crowds of people on boats taken from an aerial perspective

Fourth, I examined the places in which people and objects appeared, and compiled three *points of appearance*: *border*, *camp*, and *water*. Those photographs that did not fit in any of these categories were categorised as *other*. While a seemingly large number, most of the photographs placed in this category were portraits, wherein it was next to impossible to determine a place as the body of the photographed person fills almost the entire frame. Spaces of (forced) migration are designed to prevent people from moving across, entering, acting within them. Photojournalistic practices make places for people in the process of (forced) migration to appear.

Fifth, three quarters of the photographs were categorised as depicting *non-movement*; one quarter depicted *movement*.

Finally, time emerged as an important factor, not only in photojournalistic practices but with regard to people migrating, although I did not initially code for it. Migration, whether forced or otherwise, is a temporal event that is either fast or slow depending on where in the process one is. Refugee status in itself is, or should be, a time-limited designation. However, it is a status that is hard to shed, and can re-emerge at different times and places. The was evident in the material analysed. Two sets of photographs were used in articles which affirmed that the process of (forced) migration, like photographs, has multiple temporalities. Even 25 years later after they have fled, people can still (re)appear as refugees. These photographs show that photographs are not only objects or acts but events that are ongoing, and that have the potential to continuously go on as they are encountered again and again by spectators in different times and spaces.

The analysis of the content of photographs of (forced) migration can only show *what* appeared in a particular place and at a particular time, and in some instances *who* appears. Patterns in the visual materials and interviews show

that photographs were generally used in two ways: as illustrations of the main topics of articles, and to show what happened in a specific time and place. In addition, and as has been argued throughout this thesis, photographs are constituted of social relations that result from their production, reproduction, circulation, and encounters with spectators in the form of the event of photojournalism (Azoulay, 2012). This means that photographs are more than records of the specific times and spaces in which they were taken, and that the power of photographs is stretched well beyond the photojournalistic event.

In the next chapter, I examine the practices of photojournalists to investigate the conditions for appearance.

Chapter 6: Photojournalistic practices

In this chapter, I take photojournalism as it is practiced in a Swedish newspaper context as the point of departure and, by exploring the experiences of photojournalists, answer RQ2:

What elements constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed? How do they relate their practices to journalistic norms in general, and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular?

In answering this question, I explore the practices of photojournalists who have published in Swedish news. Throughout this chapter, I explore the activities and choices that make up photojournalistic practices in a Swedish newspaper context, having asked the interviewees about the conditions that shape their practices and how these conditions implicate and are implicated by their individual practices.

By examining the social processes that go into photography I engage with the actions that are needed in order to obtain a fuller and more holistic understanding of the photographs that were analysed through compositional analysis in Chapter 5. Three themes, or components of practice, emerged and are addressed in the sections that follow: *navigating technologies*, *making and taking place*, and e*motional engagement*. I end this chapter by discussing *photographs as practice*, which is continued in Chapter 7.

To start this chapter and provide a contextual framework, I share the reasons the interviewees gave for working as photojournalists, and how they perceive themselves and their place in a wider journalistic context. Starting the chapter with this is a first step in moving towards a deeper understanding of photojournalistic practices in general and practices in spaces of (forced) migration specifically.

When highlighting the interviewees' experiences, I introduce readers to individual narratives and allow for a contextualisation of how different photojournalists active in the Swedish newspaper context see themselves and understand their own practices, and how this fits within, and possibly outside, the dominant norms and ideals of journalism. During the interviews I asked the photojournalists to describe in detail how they carried out their practice. They were generous with their time, and shared many interesting, valuable

stories and experiences: what photojournalism and photography mean to them, their experiences of practising photojournalism, meeting and photographing people while on assignment, and much more. All of these have shaped, and continue to shape, their practices. Some of these stories are retold in the study, as quotes or integrated into my texts, but it should be noted that these are only a small selection of the stories that were shared with me during the nearly 20 hours of recorded interviews. It should also be noted that not all of the interviewees covered the topic of (forced) migration during 2015; however, all had experiences of working in and photographing similar situations and "unsettled events" in the past.

As is discussed in Chapter 4, in addition to the verbal accounts I paid attention to various manifestations of emotion throughout the interviews, including both verbal and non-verbal expressions such as changes in voice pitch, body language, pauses, and hesitations. In line with Ahmed (2014, p. 4, 208), I regard emotion as the place of embodied meaning-making and social ordering.

A drive to tell stories about others and connect with people was a common denominator among the interviewees:

> People are one of the reasons, to uhm, to get close to people, to see something in people. Then also it's purely aesthetic, that there's a satisfaction in taking great photos. You end up in situations that you haven't been in before. It's an outlet for curiosity, hehe. It's exciting, you know, to explore situations and people. And the contrasts to, eh, my own life, or how should I phrase it, to get a perspective on that. (Interviewee 17)

> What is photojournalism to me? It's when you tell a story in a visual way, [you] tell a story visually, and in a way that is intriguing. Make people recognise themselves, or maybe something to identify with. Maybe make it more understandable, the story you're telling. Say you're telling a story about politics, and you have to boil it down to the human aspects in some way. Sometimes, when I'm heading out for a job and tell my friends about it, they're like "how the hell will you manage that?" It's important that the story you're telling, that you can make it concrete, and maybe that people can embrace it and identify with it, or be moved by it. That's how I think about photojournalism. To show things, show other parts of the world, other types of, like, not sure the normative, but also show that this is how it can be, or like that. (Interviewee 13)

> I started because I wanted to show [a specific minority] society. Often these issues and topics aren't raised (in the news]. They're not considered relevant. (Interviewee 12)

> My job as a photojournalist is to show how things are, not just what people *want* to show. [If that's what they want] they might as well send out press photos, that's not difficult. [To show] the truth I guess, from what I experienced in a place. […] There's really a difference between being a good photographer and being a proper photojournalist. It's one thing to snap a good photo. It's something completely different to when you're working until you find *that* thing.

> And you can't do that unless you have enough time. I also think that large newspapers, they're vain; [photographs] have to be pretty, then they're good. I've seen so many photographs of climate [change] that show nice landscapes, but they don't make me feel, I can't feel what's going on. Same with war photographs. Great light, fire, and, hmm, there was someone who won Swedish Picture of the Year– there was smoke, fire, and a person throwing stones in the middle, yeah, it looks nice, but I don't understand the conflict, I don't feel it, I can tell you it's a good photograph, it's dramatic, but I don't feel it. (Interviewee 5)

These examples show that photojournalists are tasked with sharing stories about people and the world to the wider public, but also see this as a personal ambition. This corresponds to what are generally perceived to be the duties and responsibilities of journalists (Wiik, 2010), and further demonstrates the understanding of photographs as shareable stories (Arendt, 1998). In the next section, I discuss and relate the interviewees' experiences of practising photojournalism in a Swedish newspaper context with the norms and customs that permeate journalism in Sweden, specifically as related to unsettled events.

As part of the compositional analysis which helped me to organise the photographs thematically, I made notes about the people, objects, and spaces that appear in the photographs, as well as how these elements are oriented and positioned in the photographs in relation to me as a spectator.

Through the interview study I gained insights into the various elements that constitute and shape photojournalistic practice but might not be visible in the photographs. These elements include, but are not limited to, photo-editing practices such as selecting one photograph over another, discussions between editors and photojournalists regarding which photographs are best suited for a certain article, and how photojournalists inhabit and navigate different spaces when they are on assignment, including aspects that appear to photojournalists during photojournalistic events but do not appear in photographs.

For example, one photojournalist described their initial experience of reporting from the Greek islands in 2015 and struggling to photograph boats arriving for a number of reasons:

> I tried [taking different photographs] but the problem was that the "good[16]" boats came at night, carrying women and children, and they were hard to photograph. The best time to photograph is at dawn, and at the beginning the boats arriving were often broken and carried young men, which made them easier to photograph. (Interviewee 8)

This demonstrates how both the temporal and spatial environment implicate the photojournalistic event. Further, as is demonstrated by the next example, the desire or unwillingness of people to appear before the camera further implicates photojournalistic practices:

[16] The interviewee made air quotes when they described "good" boats, which is difficult to translate into text.

> In that particular situation, on Lesbos, many [refugees and migrants] who arrived didn't want their photograph taken. Almost half of the people who arrived didn't want me to photograph them. I don't know why. (Interviewee 10)

These examples demonstrate that what and who appears to the public through photographs in newspapers is dependent not only on photojournalists but on other factors. The desires and agency of people who appear before the camera, as well as those who decline, along with the temporal and spatial environment that photojournalists practice in – including the physical space, weather, time of day, other timing issues, and technological limitations of the camera and other tools used for taking photographs – all have implications for what eventually appears to photojournalists, and subsequently to the public through the circulation and reproduction of photographs.

Further, newspapers themselves condition how and whether an event or situation will appear, and what the public eventually gets to see, through different processes which take place on editorial boards and in newsrooms. In addition to being assessed based on news values, the context of photographs is defined based on genre sections in newspapers, the size of photographs, which captions are used, whether photographs are published online or only in hard copies (or vice versa), and the day of the week on which specific photographs are published, for example.

The photojournalists I interviewed described struggling with these conditions at times, especially those that they had little or no control over:

> Sometimes you need a lot of photographs; if you're working conceptually it's hard to tell a story with just one [photograph], but then there's only space for one in the layout. Then it's meaningless. (Interviewee 9)

This section focused on the reasons the interviewees gave for working as photojournalists, and how they perceive themselves and their place in a wider journalistic context. The next section concerns the role of technologies in the enactment of appearance.

Technologies and the enactment of appearance

In this section I investigate the role of technology in photojournalistic practices, paying particular attention to the relational interaction between humans and technologies – primarily that between people, photographs, and cameras. Technologies are involved in photojournalistic practices in many ways, and consequently played an important role in how (forced) migration appeared in Swedish newspapers in 2015. This relates to the use of cameras, mobile

phones, computers, the printing press, and other technological artefacts that are crucial in the making of news.

While all of these aspects are important and of relevance to further study, the main focus here is the camera, on the basis that without this there would be no photograph. Generally speaking the reverse is also true – there would not be any photographs without someone holding the camera, which is a testament to the relational character of practices and technologies.

Global mobility has increased as people and technology are able to move, but this is not experienced by everyone in the same way. Some have the privilege to travel at will, while others are forced to move. Pointing to the power inequalities of space, Massey (1991, p. 26) suggests that while some are in charge of time-space compressions – 'those who are both doing the moving and the communicating and who are in some way in a position of control in relation to it' – others are doing the physical moving but have close to no control over the process.

The relationship that photojournalists have with their cameras and other equipment that they use in their practice is important to consider as it speaks volumes about photojournalists' approach to their practices and the encounters they have with others within these practices. As one interviewee stated, the camera can be used to shield or protect photojournalists, validate their presence in certain spaces and situations, or establish proper distance between the photojournalist and the people they are photographing:

> Interviewee 17: Before I started out in photography, I was extremely shy. So, [the camera] became a tool for me to, I guess, connect with people, and get access to different places.
>
> RBL: The camera became a tool for you to approach, to get close to people?
>
> Interviewee 17: Definitely. At the same time, [the camera] protects you when you're behind it – you don't have to be as good at chitchat, because you can fiddle with the camera instead, hehe.

Another interviewee highlighted the fact that the camera often gave them a sense of purpose during situations, particularly accidents or other stressful environments and situations:

> The camera can be a way of distancing yourself. It's easier to be at a car crash, for instance, as a press photographer than as a bystander. If you're ambulance staff then you're doing something, you do what you know. As a photojournalist you're doing what you can to tell a story, or have the possibility to tell a story in order for it to not happen again. (Interviewee 5)

As technological artefacts, cameras can be used in a number of ways, the most obvious being of course the actual taking of photographs. The practice of photojournalism, however, is much more than the picking up a camera and the pressing of a button. The findings show that the camera mediates particular

ways of being present in different spaces and that photojournalists lend their directedness to the unfolding of presence (Ihde, 1990). Photojournalism practices become means of enacting relations to the world. The camera further shapes action. One photojournalist recounted the experience of photographing the birth of a child, during which they used the camera to narrow the distance they felt in being present during such a private moment, as a virtual stranger to the parents:

> RBL: Are you using the camera, then, to get close to people that you don't know?
>
> Interviewee 17: That's what's fascinating about the profession, I mean, these are the moments I find the most interesting. Because they are challenging, I'm pushing the line for how close I can get in one way or another.

The camera facilitates a sense of proximity between the photojournalists and the photographed. This proximity, whether that is physical or emotional, to the people they are photographing can have an impact on the comfort, awareness, and senses of authenticity or credibility of the latter. The choice of lens determines the physical proximity that a photojournalist can have to the person or object they are photographing, and Nilsson and Wadbring (2015) argue that the choice of camera mode can further implicate the suitability of the content. Long (120–300 mm) lenses are usually used to take photographs from a distance, which means that the photojournalist can be further away from the people they are photographing and have less interaction with the photojournalistic event. Short (24–50mm) lenses are generally used for portraits, but several interviewees said that they use short lenses as a way of getting closer, in order to establish intimacy and a connection with the people that they photograph:

> I'm a typical 28 mm photographer – that is, I'm physically close to the people that I photograph, it's about […] objectivity is about the distance you have, the [physical] distance. We [people] have borders, like a circle around us [… and] I like to step into that circle. I talk about photographing from inside out, rather than from outside in. If you work with a 28 mm lens you have to get really close. (Interviewee 7)

Another interviewee said that:

> When I need to get closer, for reportages or similar styles, I'll definitely use a short lens. I try to recall how I have photographed in different contexts, uhm, yes, shorter when I want to get closer. I rarely go over a 50 mm lens when I photograph people. (Interviewee 14)

A third interviewee said:

> It often gets a bit uncomfortable [using a short lens during photojournalistic events], but that is also what it is. It's almost better to, like, stand too close than too far away, I think. (Interviewee 11)

This section highlights the importance of technologies in photojournalism, and the relational processes that take place between humans and technologies during the photojournalistic process. The empirical examples discussed thus far have indicated that photojournalism is an embodied and emotional practice that is facilitated by technologies. In the next section, the focus is on the camera as a crucial part of the appearance of photojournalists in photojournalistic events, and touches upon the implications of such appearances.

The visibility and presence of photojournalists

Photojournalists are often highly visible and noticeable when they arrive and work in different places. Their bodies occupy space, and they generally move around the scene a great deal, looking for different angles and viewpoints in order to get the best shot possible.

The camera is perhaps the most distinct mark of the photojournalist, and makes them recognisable to civilians and authorities alike. Many photojournalists carry at least one camera around their neck and another in their hands, and they often carry a bag with equipment in addition to the camera. Their presence is amplified by the sounds that they make as they move around spaces: even with technological developments, cameras make a distinct noise when the shutter button is depressed.

> I think that when I'm out on assignment it's obvious that I'm, you can tell that I'm taking photos. Then I think that, of course, I always ask for consent if I get really close, but with the people in the background, I think I just assume that they'll see what I'm doing and if they don't want to be in the photo, they'll let me know. It happens that people come up to me when I'm working and tell me that they don't want to be in the photos, then I'll just leave them out. So, I'll ask the people that I'm focusing on, but with the people in the background, as long as I stay visible, and show what I'm doing, [I assume] they'll let me know. (Interviewee 13)

Several of the interviewees said that they used their cameras and camera bags to signal their role when reporting in different situations, including spaces of (forced) migration. This exemplifies how the embodied experiences of the photojournalists is mediated by the camera, and speaks to the intentionality of the photojournalists. They use the appearance of the camera to show that they are in a specific place as members of the press, and to distinguish themselves

from other people working in these environments, such as volunteers and activists – especially in high-pressure and urgent situations.

> I always show the camera, unless in certain situations it'd be dangerous to have it (Interviewee 8)

Even during planned and pre-confirmed assignments and photo-sessions and interviews, photojournalists maintained that it is important to stay visible, as a way to remind the person that they are photographing why they are there:

> I've always tried to be clear about what 'm up to, what I'm doing, so that there isn't any confusion afterwards. So that they [the person photographed] can't say that they forgot that I was taking photo. I often carry two cameras with me, and the camera bag, so it's really impossible to miss. I'm very clear about that. They always have the right to say no, and then I know that. That way I won't have to have any discussions afterwards. (interviewee 16)

In addition to aiding photojournalists in their practices by visibly signalling their purpose and presence, carrying cameras places expectations on photojournalists with regard to the situation and potential outcome of their presence in specific places.

> If people know that I'm there as a photographer, they expect me to take photographs. (Interviewee 17)

Being dependent on different types of technology, such as cameras, requiring a stable internet connection in order to send photographs to news desks, and having to travel to places can restrict, limit, and control the possibilities of practising photojournalism. States impose specific ways of seeing and control the field of vision (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020). Particularly during what can be referred to as "times of crisis" or unexpected situations, states impose restrictions on both citizens and non-citizens.

Ways of seeing are established through photographs, and photojournalism thus orients the public and directs its attention to events and situations taking place. These ways of seeing, or practices of seeing, Trinh argues, mean that '*what* one sees in an image is a manifestation of *how* one sees it' (2016, p. 132, my italics), and both constitute and are constituted by power relations (see for example Chow, 1993; Kozol, 2004; Sturken & Cartwright, 2009). During pandemics nation-wide curfews might be enforced; in the case of forest fires people might be evacuated from their homes against their will; and in cases of terror attacks people might be advised, or even forced, to remain indoors until situations are resolved.

In 2015, borders throughout Europe were temporarily reinforced and/or closed in attempts to keep people from moving across them. The EU reinforced its borders with walls, barbed-wire fences, and barriers, restricting the

movement of not only those attempting to move towards Europe but members of the press, some of whom appeared in the material analysed in Chapter 5. All of the interviewees who covered (forced) migration in 2015 experienced these kinds of restriction to some degree.

> I was restricted in my practice, I couldn't always move freely. For example, in a refugee camp or a fenced-off area, or when there was military or police presence. So, I was restricted. Then there are situations when there's less time to discuss with authorities what kind of rules apply to specific areas, but if the situation is somewhat under control, there there's often a good chance to discuss [with those in charge] what's reasonable for me to do as a photographer. (Interviewee 2)

The interviewees who covered the events of 2015 primarily in Swedish spaces of migration, had been restricted in their practices in different ways.

> I did this job [pointing to a photograph taken inside a refugee reception centre in Sweden] with a colleague. We did a story on "a day at the Swedish Migration Agency". [The employees at the centre] showed us around, and people were standing line, waiting for their turn. I understood what they were saying, so I exchanged a few words with them. They were frustrated, that we were in there, taking their photographs, and that the staff [at the centre] weren't helping them. They told me they were hungry, hadn't slept well. I told them what we were doing there, apologised for taking their time. They were understanding and allowed me to take their photographs. It's about establishing a connection. (Interviewee 1)

The interviewees frequently reflected on the opening and closing of different spaces, and these were not only those that are regulated by nation-states or other authorities. Some of the interviewees talked about the opening and closing of spaces and shared their own experiences of coming from, going to, or being in places that they felt they did not belong in, either as a result of personal experience of migration and arriving in new environments or in terms of travelling to new and unfamiliar places to report on events.

They spoke about their bodies as being out of place in a way and moving into and out of places that were not their own and that they did not know particularly well. Some found that being able to orient themselves and find their ways in these spaces was an important part of their practice. One interviewee placed their own body in relation to others as they reflected on their experience of working in a particularly stressful situation in Hungary in 2015, in which they felt that their safety was threatened.

> I always made sure to have an escape route in case a rock or something was thrown at me. I needed a clear path to escape. Kept my back clear. In order to be a photojournalist, you need to be committed, or you just won't make it. (Interviewee 8)

So, what are the implications of photojournalists appearing in spaces of (forced) migration? Photojournalists not only take photographs but partake in the appearance of people in flight. In uprooting their lives and giving up their citizenship of a nation-state, they take political action. Through photographs, they demand to be seen by others, and in this process they reject the invisible mode imposed on them and being regarded as part of a faceless group of refugees. The actions of photojournalists, directing their camera and of looking at people in flight through the viewfinder, demonstrates an enactment of embodied intentionality and reveals how the photojournalists are direct to and oriented in the world in particular ways.

Photographs offer a sense of presence for spectators and establish relationships between people that are political. The events depicted in the photographs explored in this study focus on the relationship between EU citizens on the one hand and refugees and (forced) migrants on the other. Azoulay argues that this relationship between photojournalists, people in flight, spectators, and cameras offers a new form of equality that establishes a 'citizenry of photography' (Azoulay, 2012).

This citizenry comes into existence as people watch photographs rather than looking at them, and through this practice 'a civic skill' instead of undertaking 'an exercise in aesthetic appreciation' (Azoulay, 2012, p. 14). A more actively engaged seeing requires contemplation, and occurs in public spaces of plurality 'within which every participant not only contemplates what can be seen but is also, herself, exposed and visible' (2012, p. 96).

In the event of photography, the spectator goes from being a passive receiver of the photograph, to an active respondent. In this study, photographs are approached as agentic objects that spectators respond to and interpret. Each spectatorial encounter with a photograph extends an invitation for reinterpretation, and the outcome of this encounter is a re-writing of history – not of *what* took place, but of *how* it took place. By stepping beyond an understanding of photographs as representations of something that once was and approaching a consideration of photographs as events which are shaped by and through a multitude of encounters, it is possible to uncover the power relations that photographs are woven into.

This section has focused on technologies, the implications of photojournalists' presence and appearance in different places, the experiences of photojournalists in different places, the interviewees' bodily experiences of being in and reporting from spaces of (forced) migration, and their feelings as regards not belonging in these spaces. In the next section, the place-making aspects of photojournalism are discussed and developed in greater depth.

The making and taking of place

Place, Creswell argues (2004, p. 39), 'provides a template for practice – an unstable stage for performance'. He suggests that thinking of place as performed and practiced can be useful when considering place in radically open and non-essentialised ways, where it is constantly struggled over and reimagined in practical ways. Place, he argues, 'in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure ontological thing rooted in notions of the authentic' (2004, p. 39). As has been established and demonstrated in the preceding chapters, photojournalism is a place-making practice, and involves creating ways for the public to see places and situations that they might otherwise not be able to see and experience. Consequently, photographs implicate the ways in which people see and know the world.

In the questionnaire, I posed a question as to whether photographs impact people's view of the world. Just over half of the respondents (24) *agreed* with the statement, and one third *mostly agreed*. Three respondents felt that they *mostly disagreed*, whereas one *disagreed* and two respondents had *no opinion.*

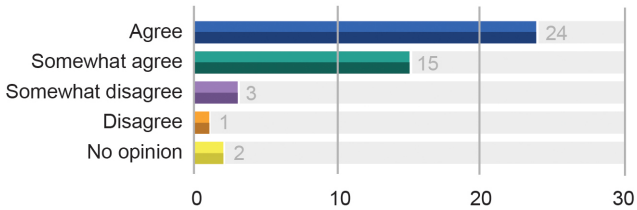

Figure 21. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs impact people's worldviews".

That place and place-making are important parts of photojournalistic practice, and that being physically present at photojournalistic events is a condition for a photograph to be taken, are well-established. Photojournalists are required to travel to different places, and in relation this one interviewee talked about the potential of making places anew:

> I find a place, a scene, that's what you need to do as a photographer, you must find a way to find a scene, or create a scene that you give meaning to, that's what's most important. (Interviewee 7)

This aligns with Arendt's argument that stories enact realities, and that to act is to take initiative, to begin something anew (Arendt, 1998, p. 177). However,

being present in the place of an event might not always be enough. The need to experience places and get a feel for them, was something that several interviewees brought up in the interviews:

> To me, a photograph is something that, when I see it, I experience the place within the photograph. I want the spectator to experience that place, as if they were there themselves. (Interviewee 1)

In connection to the notion that spectators are able to see and sense what a place was or is like by seeing their photographs, one interviewee reflected on their own role in the making of the places that emerge in the photographs they take:

> The limit is between what's arranged and not, and that's something I think about a lot, if a spectator knows the difference between a fancy reportage where they've used a lot of flash and arranged, or if it's a "we tagged along", that a photographer was there and didn't say anything. Do you know the difference? But I think in later years I have started to feel more and more that it's okay to steer a bit, in order for there to be images. If there's time too, that's often what happens. (Interviewee 11)

In this case, the interviewee reflected on the place-making aspects of their practice – how they at times feel that they need to direct the scene, in terms of both the place itself and the people within these places, in order to be able to take the photographs they need and deliver them to the news desk. Another interviewee addressed the issues that sometimes occur when photojournalists travel to places that are unknown to them:

> When people from here [Sweden] go to a new place, they often have a preconceived idea that they're looking to confirm, while photographers that actually live in this place, have a whole other picture, but it becomes secondary, or simply not interesting, because it doesn't meet the expectations and image we have, and want confirmed, and this is problematic. Why don't we look for photographers on-site? Why do we always have to fly people in? (Interviewee 6)

While, as is discussed above, photojournalists tend to be highly visible and easily identified in the field, there is a tradition of considering photojournalists, and journalists in general, to be "flies on the wall" who objectively observe events from both a physical and emotional distance as they unfold before them. This is of course linked to traditional journalistic ideals and the norms of objectivity, detachment, and impartiality. Most of the interviewees rejected this idea of merely observing events from a distance:

> It depends completely on the context. Sometimes I don't want to be seen, other times I was there, very much. If it's an interview of some sort, me and the reporter are a team, and we're there as journalists and both doing the same amount

> of work, so then I try to be involved as much as possible, ask a question, learn about the topic. So, it really depends, from time to time, and from job to job. (Interviewee 14)

This suggests that the interviewee considered objectivity in line with Blaagaard, who uses it for ethical evaluation and interpretation (2013). While I mostly used, and prefer to use, open-ended questions in the interviews, I resorted to somewhat leading questions occasionally, in order to elicit more nuanced answers and obtain an understanding of the interviewees' own appearance and presence in unsettled events such as those that took place in 2015.

> RBL: Do you think your presence affects the space, or do you try to stay as "invisible" as possible?
>
> Interviewee 12: It's impossible to be invisible, you affect events either way, it's a lie if you pretend that you're just a fly on the wall, you can't be. So, you have to be aware of it, that "okay, people might just have done this because of the fact that I'm here". If you're going to an event and there's no chance to speak with someone first, you have to keep that in mind. (Interviewee 12)

> RBL: How do you think about your own presence in the spaces in which you're taking photographs?
>
> Interviewee 11: Of course, you affect [the space] whether you want to or not, that's what I think. And I think that I have more and more realised that because I entered [the profession] with the ideal of being a fly on the wall. (Interviewee 11)

The risk of interfering with situations that they are covering was frequently posed in opposition to attempts to stay out of the way and remain distanced, if not objective. One interviewee reflected on this oppositional relationship, saying that a consequence of photojournalists affecting spaces by appearing in them could be framed as a form of distortion of the situation:

> Which, for example, when I'm in a room, I distort the situation, because that situation wouldn't have happened otherwise. Then we can speak about soft manipulation, and then there's manipulation. But lying, or removing something, or adding something digitally to the photograph. Or distorting the images so much that they don't correspond to reality. If I organise a situation, and ask someone to pose, or if I shot conceptual ideas. You do that often, 20 minutes to fill the pages after interviews, but then it's important that it doesn't come across as super-documentary, so that people don't think that it's "captured in the moment". (Interviewee 4)

In addition to the process of relating to events and navigating unfamiliar spaces in their practice, along with relating to people in these spaces, unexpected, stressful, and pressured situations were brought up as another part of photojournalistic practice that requires careful consideration and attention.

> It can be tough with kids sometimes. After a while, you get kind of tired and want to move them out of the way, but you can't, it might ruin everything. I think you have to be persistent and try, especially with children, maybe play with them for a few minutes, take a few photos, and then try to move on. Make people accept, that I become part of their everyday lives, then and there. So that they don't think about my presence. That happens often, that I, and it can be anywhere, a funeral or in a hospital, to try and blend in, and not be seen. Still, I try to show that I am there, with my camera, that I'm there to take photos. I point at my camera. Most of the time it goes well, and I'm accepted. (Interviewee 10)

The quote above points to yet another crucial aspect of photojournalistic practice expressed by the majority of the interviewees: time. The interviewees referred to the temporal experience preparing for, and taking photographs. In relation to stressful situations and places in particular, the interviewees expressed that they require time to ask for consent and navigate new and often continuously changing situations and locations. It was further expressed that having sufficient time can be used as a tool in the process of earning trust and establishing relationships with the people that they photograph:

> RBL: Is time an issue, do you have enough time?
>
> Interviewee 10: It's a dilemma, there's almost never enough time. Even if you're there for two days, in one place, you go through the photographs and think you'd need another two days. I don't know, sometimes the time might be enough, most of the time not. (Interviewee 10)

> It also depends on being under pressure, when you're working as a press photographer, which I did for many years. You're pressed for time, there's not enough time to get as much done as you want. That's also a problem with the image, that if you just get enough time, it will be much, much better. (Interviewee 16)

> It's really important [to have enough time], but it can also impede you; you get the feeling that "wow, I've got more time than usual, then the photographs should be amazing". And that's not always the case. (Interviewee 17)

> What is typical me is that I want the photograph to happen. I don't like it when I get 5 minutes, take a picture. I'm great at directing, but something needs to happen. (Interviewee 5)

All of these considerations and reflections regarding the temporal aspects of photojournalistic practice were further reflected among the respondents to the questionnaire; 38 out of the respondents found it to be *very important* (21) or *important* to have enough time to plan and research a situation or event prior to covering it.[17] Four felt that it was *not especially important* and six felt that

[17] This particular statement was responded to by 44 respondents.

it *depends on the situation*. Similar replies were given regarding having enough time during photojournalistic events. Four out of five respondents felt that this was *very important* (22) or *important* (14). One felt that it was *not especially important,* and eight that it *depends on the situation*.

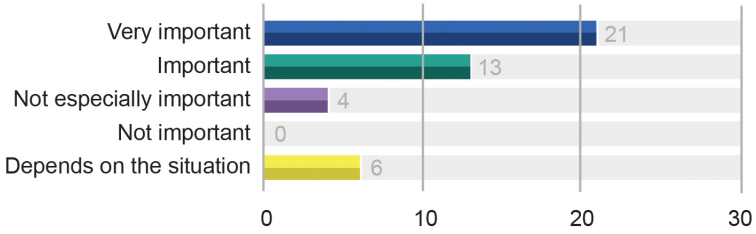

Figure 22. Questionnaire responses to the statement "it is important to have enough time to plan and research prior to a photojournalistic event".

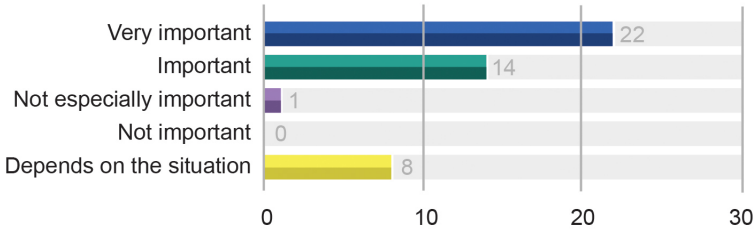

Figure 23. Questionnaire responses to the statement "it is important to have enough time during the photojournalistic event".

This again points to the need for a certain amount of reflexivity to be part of the practice, and the idea that each situation is a unique encounter with people who have different needs; having sufficient time eventually facilitates this.

> RBL: What would you say are the most important parts of the relationship with the person you're taking photographs of?
>
> Interviewee 12: I think the most important part is that I prefer using a lot of time before so that we feel safe with each other, and that I explain the angle I have. There might not always be room for it, if I'm supposed to be investigative in some way, but in that case, at least I tell them who I am, why I'm taking

> photographs, and if I take many photographs [while I'm working], I try to explain that "you're not doing anything wrong" and so on.
>
> Become accepted by interacting with people, not just take photographs. Time gives access. It's simple – those who want to be photographed will allow themselves to be photographed. Then of course, 6- or 7-year-olds might not understand how and where the photographs will be published, I understand that. (Interviewee 7)

Time is thus used to establish a connection with the person or people who are being photographed, to make them feel comfortable about the process. This temporal aspect is hard to notice and see when looking at a photograph. One interviewee felt that they needed long-term projects to complement the quick-paced news format which they generally worked on.

> I work slowly, and for longer periods of time. I always have long-term [projects] going on, I mix fast and short jobs, to clear my brain. A lot of research, reading, and trying to understand at the same time, let the person with the story have the power. It's not my place to have opinions, about what they say or anything else. (Interviewee 4)

Another interviewee pointed to the fact that different types of photograph requires different amounts of time:

> Interviewee 13: I do a lot of portraits. Sometimes you work for a long time, meet them several times, and you kind of get to know the person, in-depth, and that gives me more satisfaction; then there's jobs where you're taking photographs of superstars and you get five minutes. There's a difference with those jobs I think. Then I feel that I've gained a different depth, but then on the other hand I have to say that it's not always for the better. At times, a great image, you happen to get great lighting, even though you only spend a minute on it. Uhm, but generally speaking I think that the image will be better if you work in-depth, and journalistically, than if you do something in rush and get lucky with lighting.
>
> RBL: What do you think about, if you, if enough time is most important, what else is important in the encounter with people, regardless of where they are in life? What does it take for you to feel?
>
> Interviewee 13: A connection.

Connections and relationship between time and place were highlighted as important in the photojournalistic event and the encounters with people that the event subsequently brings with it, and these required being conscious of one's surroundings when practising, as well as being attentive to how people who are photographed fit into those surroundings:

> Then there's the thing about place. Where you are and all that. How much time you have. It is easier with public figures or with people where you feel that you

> are doing something positive and take a little extra of their time. Private individuals are always a little more difficult. I usually always try to be more careful, especially when it's a sensitive topic or someone who's been exposed to something, you don't want to force someone into something that is uncomfortable. It feels important to, uhm, it has to be a positive experience. (Interviewee 11)

The fast-paced character of news-making and journalism was brought up as sometimes being disruptive to the photojournalistic process. Interviewees recall having to resort to posing and arranging photographs in order to get the job done as quickly as required in order for photographs to fit into the news cycle:

> I had the idea that as long as you get enough time you can get the perfect image, but I have realised more and more that people arrange photographs quite a lot. (Interviewee 11)

However, having the time to walk around and get to know the places and people in photographs can also distract photojournalists in their practice, as well as the person being photographed:

> I'd spend time just being there, and talk. Then take some photographs, at a short distance. I prefer getting close, but at times they might need time to adjust first, but it's a balance, between "now it's too much", if you take too many photos they might think "now you've taken enough photographs". (Interviewee 12)

This section highlighted the place-making aspects of photojournalistic practices, how photojournalists relate to time and space in their practice, and as how temporal aspects relate to space and the building of relationships and trust with this practice. In the next section, I direct focus to different points of appearance.

Points of appearance

The point of appearance, that is the spaces in which a photojournalist appears to the people they photograph and people appear to them, is, of course, subject to change. At times, this space is already decided upon, for example by the news desk which assign its photojournalists to certain places to cover events. In 2015, one interviewee was given an assignment by their news editor, and sent to a train station in Sweden to photograph people in flight arriving:

> The instructions were quite stereotypical, they wanted photos of arriving refugees at the station, focal depth, no movement. I said no, I don't think that works, it's the same as every other photo, there's no value to it. I suggested something else, that we focus on a feeling of agency as opposed to victims. That is really important to me, never to portray someone as a victim. Even if someone is in a vulnerable situation, I want them to come across as strong, bring out the

> strength. That's how it is, if you're in a vulnerable situation, you're fighting a fight, you're a person, not a victim. You might be in an inferior position, but you're still an actor. That's what I wanted to bring out. (Interviewee 6)

By changing the point of appearance, the photojournalist challenged perspective requested by the editor and in this process took action against the reproduction of stereotypical images of people in flight. In proposing new perspectives, the interviewee opened up the photographs to new ways of seeing people arriving in Sweden. A similar situation occurred for another interviewee who, having spent time in the spaces assigned by the news editor, proposed another angle:

> First, we went to different places in which arrival take place. They [the refugees] had recently arrived. They were living in school sports halls. I don't think that they [the refugees] felt the photographs were theirs. But they wanted Swedes to see them, and many wanted to look sad [in the photos]. I usually don't like to exploit it in that way, but if someone tells me "I want you to take a photo when I cry" then I say, sure, it's your photograph. What happened in those situations was that, how we experienced it, they wanted to speak to us, be seen. They wanted to be seen. That was what was of value in that project. (Interviewee 5)

Photojournalists, who are often more visible than writing journalists because of the visibility of their equipment, are often able to seek permission from people before taking photographs, even in moments of distress and hardship. The interviewees said that at times it was enough to show the camera to people, and they would nod in consent. The camera, and subsequently photography, becomes a way to connect with and understand people around them:

> Photography is just really an excuse to first understand something, understand a problem, or a situation, or to understand a person's situation. So photography is just an excuse connect with people that can explain this. (Interviewee 7)

> The photographs create a connection. People must trust me in order for a photograph to happen, in order for me to get close. (Interviewee 1)

In this section I have accounted for and discussed photojournalists' presence in spaces of (forced) migration in terms of points of appearance – a term which, in short, refers to the places in which the photojournalistic event unfolds. In the next section, I direct attention to emotional engagement in photojournalistic encounters as I discuss emotions as part of photojournalistic practices.

Emotional engagement in photojournalistic encounters

The empirical examples presented in this chapter thus far have demonstrated that emotions are an important part of photojournalistic practices, particularly when it comes to individual practices. Emotions have a social component, and it can be fruitful to conceptualise this in terms of 'the experience of involvement' (Peters, 2011, p. 297).

Emotions circulate and sometimes 'stick' in encounters between people (Ahmed, 2014), which is why it is crucial to address emotions when examining photojournalistic practice. This section deals with photojournalists' emotional engagement, primarily in relation to the photojournalistic event and the subsequent encounters photojournalists have with the people that they photograph. First, I look at the relationship between emotions and practice, then move on to relate this to encounters between the photojournalists and the people that they photograph and discuss the relational process of both appearing to each other and establishing relationships.

Emotions and practice

As argued by Theissen Walukiewicz (2021), emotion management is an important aspect of moral conduct in journalism. In the context of this study, this relates to establishing relationships between photojournalists and the people that they encounter and potentially photograph in their practices. One interviewee described using their own feelings to understand how they should and could position themselves during a photographic event, and the role they should take in relation to the person they are photographing:

> It's very important to get a feel for the situation I think, that is, to talk things through before, what kind of role they [the person they are photographing] want me to take. Do I need to be social, talk, or just keep quiet? Do they have any ideas around that, or anything else? Otherwise, I tend to stay quiet rather than be talkative. (Interviewee 17)

Similar sentiments were expressed among the respondents to the questionnaire, which showed that emotions *always* or *most often* play a part in the practices of 20 out of 45 respondents. Another 19 respondents stated that emotions *occasionally* play a part in their practice. Additionally, 19 respondents stated that they *always* or *most often* are emotionally affected by their practice, while an additional 21 respondents stated that they are *occasionally* emotionally affected by their practice.

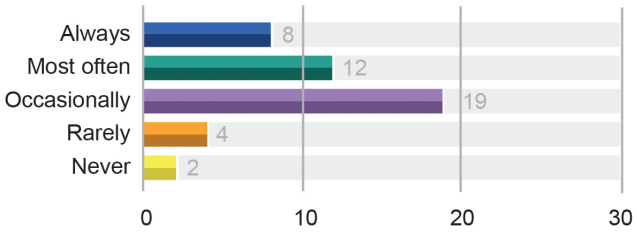

Figure 24. Questionnaire responses to the statement "my emotions play a part in my practice".

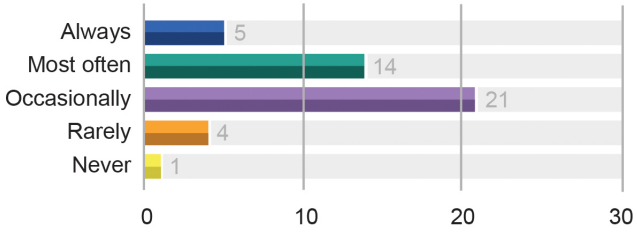

Figure 25. Questionnaire responses to the statement "I am emotionally affected by my practice".

Among the interviewees, these sentiments were more common among younger and/or less experienced than older and /or more experienced photo-journalists. The former group tended to reflect more on their own emotions, feelings, and experiences in their practice, while the latter appeared to be more concerned with how their practices and photographs affect people, and expressed themselves in a more matter-of-fact manner.

> What do I want? Well, I want to touch people in some way. (Interviewee 13)

Some of the interviewees felt that it was crucial that they themselves *felt* at specific moments in order to be able convey that feeling to spectators. As in the case of the interviewee quoted above, just over two thirds of the respondents to the questionnaire (32) stated that they *always* want people to be touched by their photographs. Another eight stated that they *most often* want people to be touched by their photographs, whereas five stated *occasionally*.

A similar statement was "it is important that my photographs convey a feeling", and had a slightly more ambiguous response. Half of the respondents (23) stated that it is *always* important that their photographs convey a feeling,

whereas 17 respondents stated that this is *most often* the case, and five respondents stated that it is *occasionally* important.

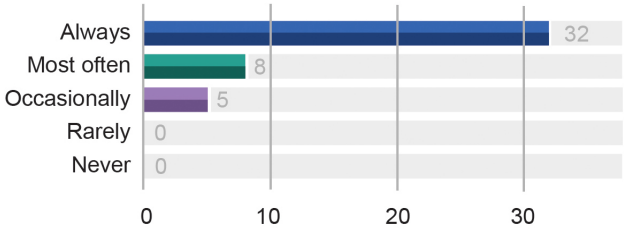

Figure 26. Questionnaire responses to the statement " I want to move people with my photographs".

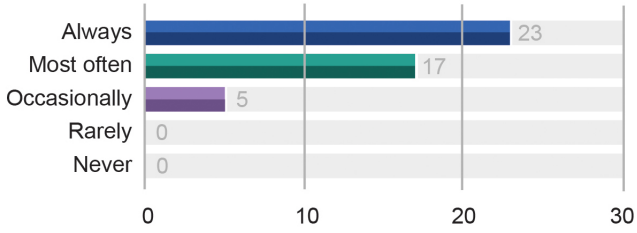

Figure 27. Questionnaire responses to the statement "it is important that my photographs convey a feeling".

Whether it is about making the public or themselves feel something, the interviewees repeatedly returned to questions of emotionality and affect throughout the interviews. They talked about being wrapped up in their person and histories, and referred to their practices as almost a way of life. Some of the interviewees even spoke about their practices as if they were a sort of vocational calling, that they were more or less "living" their practice. One interviewee connected their practice to their own sense of being, relating it closely to their own experience of being-in-the-world.

RBL: What does photography mean to you?

Interviewee 10: A lot. Personally, it is a way for me to express myself, almost to the point where it reflects the mood I was in at times. My photographs, I can be anywhere in the world, but I can almost look back at them and see how

I was feeling at the time. I can see it in the photographs. Photography, it's my job, my life. It's my family's life. My everything, almost.

Using their practices as ways to express themselves, open up, and interact with the people that they encounter in their practice in ways that they might not were they not carrying a camera were recurring themes, as was a sense of responsibility towards the people that they photograph. These are exemplified by the three following quotes:

I'm generally not the kind of person who takes up a lot of space. I'm interested, or I can get interested, in just about anything. Especially if I know that it'll be given a lot space [in the newspaper], then I know it has to be good, and I pay more attention to the assignment. I wouldn't say that I'll take up a lot of space. Let's say that I'm there [on assignment] with a reporter, and I talk, it's natural to talk in order to get a connection. Being photographed is uncomfortable, so I need a connection before I get started. I believe that a genuine interest, and being nice, that gets me a long way. I tell them what I have in mind, if I have any ideas or thoughts, or suggestions – and I don't always, but then I have to be open about that. As a private person I don't take up a lot of space in a room, but I feel that it's easier for me as a professional. I find that interesting, that at times I can even be a bit annoying [with the camera]. (Interviewee 13)

It is very important to get a feel for the situation I think, that is, to talk things through before; what kind of role do they want me to take? Do I need to be social, talk, or just keep quiet? Do they have any ideas around that, or anything else? Otherwise, I tend to stay rather quiet than talkative. (Interviewee 17)

I try to be an ordinary person, I introduce myself as a photographer, but my aura signals that of an ordinary person, interested in this particular person. I ask how they're doing, and so on. I don't go into it like a robot, that's the last thing, that's not good. For the result, but also for the connection, the ethical and morality, [you need] to meet at the same level. (Interviewee 6)

It became clear from the interviews that emotions are an integral part of photojournalism, whether in the form of the photojournalists' own feelings or those of others. Many of the interviewees referred to relying on their intuition or gut feeling as an important part of their practice and with regard to navigating new situations and spaces.

RBL: You mentioned emotions before, is that something that you, are they an important part of your image-making and practice?

Interviewee 12: Yes, I think that a lot of this comes intuitively, and then you have to check once you, when you use…

RBL: Do your own emotions play a part in the image-making?

Interviewee 12: I think they do.

RBL: In what way, could you [explain]?

> Interviewee 12: You can't remove yourself from the process; even if you're objective, you're there. It depends on the situation you're in. But you can also use it in a way so that people understand how others would react in a situation, or show emotions, that way you also get closer to the one you're photographing too – you're a fellow human being first of all, you know.
>
> When I meet up with someone I usually try to get a feel for how it is [the situation], but there are also other things [to consider] if I work with a reporter, I think about how they act and their, uhm, working methods. The goal is to be able to talk to them [the people I am there to photograph] as much as possible. (Interviewee 11)

Interviewee 8 was one of many who, while reflecting on their physical and emotional wellbeing after having reported from southern Europe in 2015, expressed a hope of feeling less emotional in their future practice of photojournalism:

> I think that there's a risk that you get less affected with time, I almost hope so, because it's fucking hard. Getting emotionally involved in every story you tell, it'd break you. (Interviewee 8)

One interviewee embraced their own history and experiences as part of their practice, and in doing brought these aspects into photojournalistic events in order to establish connections with the people they photograph.

> Then I can "feel" where the image will be. I'm often in other places than other photographers, but when I have to direct, I try to understand people's feelings. When you have shallow knowledge, you can write in a certain way, but when you have both deep theoretical [knowledge] but also practical knowledge and experience, the photograph will be something else. I think about this with images, that if you have shallow knowledge, like taking a photograph of someone breast-feeding, the light will fall beautifully on the side of the mother's face, and it's tender and recreates something you've seen. If you have breastfed yourself, been around women that breastfeed, and shared their problems and experiences, you can find something else. (Interviewee 5)

Using their previous experiences of photojournalistic events and other fields of work allowed the photojournalists to adapt their approaches to relationships and encounters to specific situations. Being able to relate to the people that they encountered in each photojournalistic event helped them become to better photojournalists. Interviewee 5 reflected on the embodied aspects of photojournalism in terms of embodying and capturing someone else's pain in photographs:

> I wouldn't say that I want to be in someone else's pain, and I always question everything that I do. Why do I do this, is there a point to it? But, and that, this is at the core, I want the person that I photograph, if they give me something, I

want them to feel empowered by it, in some way. Through me seeing them, to get their story out. It might not help them, but surprisingly many who have suffered difficult traumas still want others to not have to experience the same thing. It's something amazing about people; you may have been held and tortured in Assad's prison, and when you get out the trauma will never heal, but you wouldn't want someone else to end up there. I think that's how you cope. (Interviewee 5)

This clearly relates to storytelling as a form of political action, linked to human desire to create, shape and leave traces behind in the world (Arendt, 1998). Arendt defines storytelling as the process through which people's experiences are transformed in order to be presentable in public to others. Storytelling implies appearing before others and making oneself seen and heard in the space of appearance, which binds people together (Arendt, 1998, p. 182). In the next section, I address the role of encounters in photojournalistic practices.

Encountering people

Photojournalism is of course not only about photojournalists' own feelings and emotions. Paying attention to the feelings and emotions of others while working was highlighted by the interviewees as an equally important part of their practices.

The interviewees also stressed the importance of being attentive to cultural and contextual aspects when working in difficult, unexpected, or pressured situations (similar to Zelizer's understanding of 'unsettled events'; 2010, p. 2) such as events of (forced) migration in Sweden or internationally in 2015. One interviewee recalled their experience of reporting from a train station in Sweden in September 2015 with a writing journalist:

Interviewee 6: I handled most things. I had a reporter with me, who wrote everything down. I decided who to talk to, initiated contact, I was essentially everything but a journalist. Writers can be a bit square, ask questions in a certain way, which makes people insecure or nervous. I talked to these people [the refugees] as I would anyone, as if we knew each other. It felt good to me, that we had something in common. The language, and the fact that I also fled a war. It made a big difference. We felt safe with each other, I asked them carefully if I could take photographs, if they had any questions, and so on. It's a process. The photograph is really the last thing [that happens], we talked for a long time.

RBL: Did you get a sense that they [the writing journalist] understood that process?

Interviewee 6: My feeling was that the writer wasn't as present mentally, there was a distance, the language, it's hard to connect and feel a sense of belonging. That's the difference, it might have been a completely different story if I hadn't been there.

RBL: Can that be seen in the photograph, this…?

> Interviewee 6: A lot of it has to do with trust, that's the difference between fast-paced journalism and slow, documentary journalism. The fast-paced journalism we see today, you write about what's happening [in real time]. The documentary, the slow – you can tell stories about why something is happening. That's interesting. Even with the portraits [referring to a previous job], it was an interesting job to do, but I was thinking the entire time: how can I make this in a way that it feels as if I've known these people [the refugees] for a long time? It happened by speaking in a way that was down-to-earth, and that we could relate to one another.

The interviewee felt that their own background was central to their encounters and interactions with people who had recently arrived in Sweden, and – in relation to interacting with these people in such a way as to invite them to appear to the photojournalist in return – the interviewee touched upon the importance of breaking from normative journalistic behaviours and ideals and acting in accordance with their own moral compass and judgment.

In the questionnaire I asked about the importance of having an understanding people's situations when photographing. Three quarters (34) of the respondents that stated it as *very important*, 10 stated that it was *important*, and one felt that it was *not especially important*.

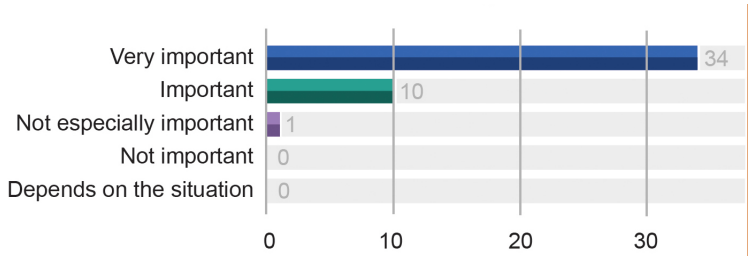

Figure 28. Questionnaire responses to the statement "having an understanding of people's situation is important".

One interviewee stressed the need for photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration to understand why they are there and taking photographs, and for what purpose. They highlighted this as one of the most important aspects to keep in mind when encountering people that they want to photograph, regardless of the situation, but particularly in situations that involve uneven power dynamics:

> Several aspects are important. One of the most important aspects is that they must know why I'm there, what it's about. That we're doing journalism for a newspaper, know what it's about, how it works. That it will be published, and that others will read it, that it's not just between us and them, that more people will see it. Because they, they have to feel at ease and safe in my presence, the worst-case scenario is that someone would feel assaulted in some way. That when I leave, they'd feel uneasy about it, then I want them to be able to get in touch with me. It's difficult. Because I think that, as we talked about before on power relations, I don't think that someone who is not on the same power level as me, would actually get in touch, that's why it's particularly important that when we meet I'm careful and attentive and notice if the person is not comfortable, or get an indication as to this. At that point I stop what I'm doing and make a choice. Talk more, share more, describe more, listen more? Or should I simply not carry out the job? (Interviewee 15)

Another interviewee brought up the need to establish connections with the people that they encounter during their practice:

> That you, that you make, create a connection, uhm, and that you're very humble, as you're stealing time from them [the photographed people]. It's possible, when you're photographing a politician or similar, you can just walk in and take some photos, but if you're taking photographs of an elderly person in a small village somewhere, you can't just come barging in and push the camera in her face. You have to show her the camera, put it on the table and have a cup of coffee, so that she gets used to your presence. I make a distinctive difference there. I get the connection I'm looking for, and then she or he feels, a bit calmer. There are different encounters with different people. (Interviewee 16)

With regard to the most important things to consider when photographing individuals in precarious situations:

> You shouldn't lose your humanity as a photographer, you're not more than human. (Interviewee 4)

Most of the interviewees spoke about how they approach the individuals they met and photographed while working in precarious situations and other unsettled events such as those that took place in 2015. They talked about how they positioned themselves as photographers and fellow human beings in the field, and how they tried to balance these two positions in their practice. On approaching individuals in exposed and vulnerable situations, one interviewee said that:

> I approach them as I would any other individual, there is no difference due to the fact that I have a camera; it doesn't matter if you're fleeing a war-torn country or are in jail for a crime, it is about the human meeting, and I try not to think about the camera between us. […] First and foremost, I am there as a fellow human being and I have an assignment – and the people that I meet normally

> understand this. If I notice that there is any kind of uncertainty regarding who I am, what I am doing, or what the purpose of me taking photographs is, I allow myself time to explain this. I try to keep a dialogue, explaining my role at the specific site and the purpose of me taking photographs. (Interviewee 2)

The interviewees often reiterated that they did not work or act differently when covering unsettled events or photographing people that can be considered to be vulnerable than in more routine circumstances:

> Take photographs as usual, think about how I approach them [people in precarious situations]. They can always approve the photographs, if there's time for it, especially if it's sensitive [the situation]. But I can't be afraid either, sometimes I just have to photograph, dare to take space, even if it's sensitive. I must dare to take the photograph. Then I have to judge whether or not to publish. I have to photograph everything. Otherwise I won't get the photographs that are the best. (Interviewee 8)

As is stated above, most of the interviewees had experience of working both in Sweden and internationally; several frequently work in conflict areas, and expressed that they use these experiences and apply them to their practice when unexpected and violent events take place in Sweden or neighbouring countries.

Existing research show that the further away from the home country of the media outlet an event takes place, the more likely it is that photographs will be published, especially in cases where violence, atrocities, and even death are shown (Fahmy, 2010; Zelizer, 2010). One interviewee recalled a terror attack unfolding in a country near to Sweden and being among the first international photojournalists on-site.

> RBL: Would you take different photographs at home than when on assignments in other countries?
>
> Interviewee 10: That's a hard question. When I was in [country X], I was the first photographer on site, there were [national] photographers, but they didn't dare to take the photographs that I did. It might be that when it is too close to home it's harder to take the photographs, I probably would not take the same photographs of dead people, of injured people, in Sweden as I did in Yemen or Syria. I haven't been exposed to that [in Sweden], but I feel at this point that I wouldn't have done it [taken photographs of injured or deceased Swedish nationals].

This speaks to the importance of the geographical distance between photojournalists and newspapers and the events that are eventually reported on. The further away that violence and atrocities take place, the more likely it is that that newspapers will show photographs of people who are in distress, injured, or even dead (Hanusch, 2012). Nilsson found that, in the visual reporting on the terror attack on Drottninggatan in Sweden in 2017, newspapers tended to

use implied or masked photographs of death, in which the deceased were depicted in body bags or covered by blankets rather than showing full bodies, as in the case of the Alan Kurdi photographs (2020a).

In this section I have discussed the findings of the analysis of the interviews in relation to encounters in photojournalism, including the importance of being attentive to cultural and contextual aspects, and of people in spaces of (forced) migration understanding why photojournalists appear in these spaces. The next section focuses on the relationships that are established during these encounters.

Establishing relationships

Different power relations shape photojournalism and determine how, when, what, and where someone or -thing appears. These power relations, Silverstone argues, are embedded in practices of exclusion and inclusion and visibility and invisibility, and are operationalised through proper distance (2007). Reflecting on a situation in which they photographed children in a non-European country, one interviewee said that:

> It's a skewed power relationship. It was under-aged girls, simply, that were supposed to tell, uhm, and how much do we want them to tell us, because how could we then deal with the trauma? And I mean deal with it and then we leave them? They share their story with us, and then we leave? (Interviewee 15)

The presence of photojournalists in certain places might be harmful to the people who are photographed.

> Yes, and that you don't put others, or the people you are taking photographs of, at risk. Because you might, just by being there. That was the case in the Ukraine; people didn't dare to be photographed because they were worried, and you have to understand that. Because it's easy to forget that you might put someone at risk just by being there. It is quite impossible to go under the radar somewhere, you can't really do that. (Interviewee 11)

This demonstrates the importance of being aware of and attentive to the power relationships that emerge in photojournalistic encounters, as well as in determining and judging what and when to photograph. In any encounter there are power relations that position people in relation to one another. It has been said that the camera automatically a creates distance between people, putting a camera in between the photographer and the person photographed, in the process creating a barrier that needs to be crossed. At the same time, the camera facilitates proximity, and in order to report on an event or situation photojournalists have to go near in order to take a photograph. When asked if there was anything that they would not photograph, one interview said:

Interviewee 12: It depends. What's behind it, what's the intention, who's the audience? If someone presents it as "just go out and photograph this just because it's there", being prejudiced and not open to the possibility that there might be something else, then I'm a bit sceptical. If there's an openness to the idea that there are different things, for example if you are depicting misery, there are many ways of doing that. You have to be open to the process, and see what the intention is.

RBL: And what would you say, how do you make that call? Is it just a feeling, or like "this is something we shouldn't photograph?". A common understanding, like what you said about misery […] what is the determining factor for you: your intuition or normative rules about how it's supposed to be done?

Interviewee 12: I think it's about me as a person, what medium I'm representing. And in what power position I am related to those I'm portraying. If I see something happening to someone and I walk over to them and take a photograph and then leave, that wouldn't feel good. In order to depict such topics, you have to see each other in some way. I find it hard to, like, just take a picture and run, you know. I think that to be able to depict addiction, you have to allow yourself to be in the situation, be aware of the way you're doing it. And that you have a dialogue with someone afterwards, so that you don't carry it yourself. You get so absorbed by the experience that you don't see how others are experiencing it.

RBL: Sometimes it's hard to make that call, when you're in the middle of it, if feels alright, and then you have some distance from it, you realise that you were a bit too close…

Interviewee 12: No, in theory, you think that you never, if you show respect for the person you're photographing, you'd never limit yourself then and there, but then what you end up using is another thing. You can limit that, but it's difficult.

While I have demonstrated the need to establish relationships with people, one interviewee stressed that the relationships that they made affected and implicated their ability to practice at times.

> It's hard when you have established a relationship with the person you're photographing. It's easier when it's something you don't have as much of a connection to. (Interviewee 8)

A cornerstone of journalism is consent – the explicit or implicit contract that people give when they agree to their participation in news media – in this case consent to be photographed (SJF, 2021; Deuze, 2005). According to several interviewees this can be a challenge, and particularly so when working in stressful situations, such as in spaces of (forced) migration:

> You go on these foreign trips and feel that you might, you might push the boundaries a little, uhm, I haven't. I don't think I did anything that felt a bit off, but of course, I've published photographs from that trip that show people who I didn't ask – what they are called and so on. So, there I made those choices.

> They weren't in any vulnerable situations, though. So, I'd probably have made the same choice here [in Sweden]. (Interviewee 11)

Reflections like this regarding the process of attaining consent prior to the publication of photographs was generally reflected among the respondents to the questionnaire: only seven of the 45 respondents felt that consent must *always* be given before a photograph is published. Another eight felt that this should *most often* be the case, while half stated that consent must *occasionally* be given prior to publication of a photograph and 12 respondents stated *rarely*.

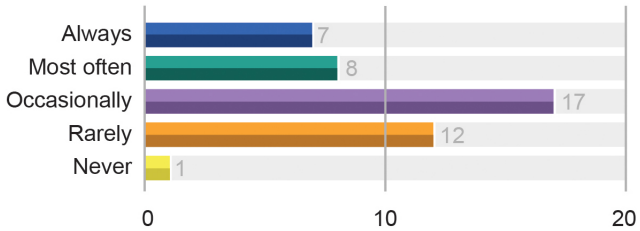

Figure 29.Questionnaire responses to the statement "there must be consent before a photograph is published".

Existing research shows that there is a tendency to publish simplistic, stereotypical photographs in reports on humanitarian crises (Good & Lowe, 2019). Famine, for instance, is represented by small children with swollen bellies, and people in flight are represented as innocent victims or menacing threats. Women and children are prevalent in photojournalistic representations, especially with regard to humanitarian issues and topics, as they are not conceived as threats to the European public (Malkki, 1996; Rajaram, 2002).

Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) argue that that the failure to portray refugees as human beings with lives that matter should compel the public to rethink the responsibility of news media to what they refer to as 'vulnerable others'. Photojournalists always run the risk of reinforcing stereotypes and misrepresenting or labelling people – or in the case of this study, reducing them to their status as refugees or (forced) migrants. This, according to one interviewee, comes down to different expressions of power:

> It's about power structures and power relations – it's uneven. If a person of colour person came here and took the same photographs of white children, people would, it'd be chaos. You're not critical until the position of the privileged is being threatened. (Interviewee 6)

When people act together, a relationship is established and a common language and understanding develop, and these enable people to make claims about human and political rights (Arendt, 1998). This power manifests as recognition and agency, as people are able to appear to one another; the public space becomes a democratic stage on which the individual performs, and their actions can be seen, heard, witnessed, and remembered. The potential power imbalance that might become a concern when a photojournalist attains power over photographed people has been discussed at length by the scholarly community (see for example Good & Lowe, 2019).

In the questionnaire I included a statement that explored the idea of whether photographs promote democracy and diversity. Of the 45 respondents, 20 found that this statement was *true* and another 20 respondents felt that it was *mostly true*; two respondents found the statement to be *hardly true* and three respondents had *no opinion*.

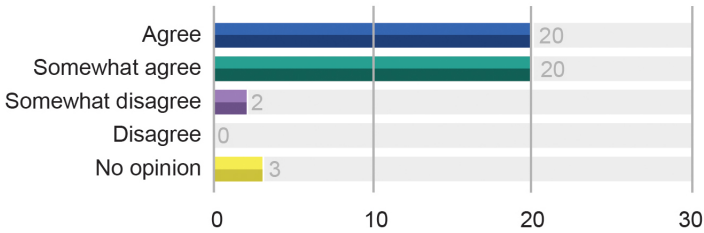

Figure 30. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs promote democracy and diversity".

According the press ethical rules, journalists should not emphasise a person's ethnicity, gender, race, nationality, political affiliation, or religious beliefs unless these are relevant to the specific context of the article in question, and there is a general call for journalists to be careful about publishing photographs, especially those taken in precarious situations.

The press ethical rules were developed to preserve human dignity and guarantee the respectful treatment of the people that photojournalists encounter in their practices, and photojournalists are often instructed to avoid resorting to negative stereotypes and the objectification of people. This is a challenging aspect for photojournalists, as it is difficult not to show certain aspects of people during the act of depicting them. One interviewee reflected on working in a non-European country:

Interviewee 9: [Stereotypes] are used a lot, when photographing children for example, but then you have to try and do it in a reasonable way, give them [the children] the same space, treat them as adults when you're photographing them. For example, photographs of children photographed from above with big eyes for an NGO photo. I don't get it. I understand that it is easier to photograph in that environment, with a unicoloured background, like the ground, rather than a multicoloured sky, but then you have to be creative. Photographers often choose the easy route, and then use that as an excuse to present something which is not good or imaginative.

RBL: They are "grateful" people to photograph, children, often happy, curious…

Interviewee 9: I often have 20-30 kids running after me, wanting me to take a group picture, so I take one and show them and they're happy. A problem is that I have to send all of the photographs that I take to my employer; I'm not allowed to delete any photographs. It might be that they then choose to use an unedited photograph. They have ended up using photographs that I have taken in passing.

RBL: And your employer is fine with the fact that you might not have a signed release for participation from the guardians of the children?

Interviewee 9: Yes, since it's a reportage and not to be used for commercial purposes. I'm meticulous, but sometimes it's not possible [to get a release].

RBL: Where do you draw the line, then, for what's not possible?

Interviewee 9: Well, if you have a photograph with 20 people, should you have consent from everyone? If it's a panoramic photograph of a stadium full of people, how can you know?

RBL: But it's often like that, in foreign news, photographs of a mother and child, without a name. I wonder, did you not speak to this person?

Interviewee 9: I reacted to the title of the winner of this year's World Press Photo; the photographer did have the names of the family and the child. Why is the photograph called "the crying child"? You have her name, use it. Write something neutral. As soon as you call it "the crying child" I can tell by looking at this photograph that you don't have the same respect as someone else. It's hard, because no one remembers these names, but that's our job. We should use the names as many times as needed for you to know who we're speaking about when I say that name.

A concrete action that photojournalists can take with regard to avoiding reinforcing stereotypes is to make sure that they submit a variety of photographs to news or photo desks. With regard to a statement that explored the question of whether sending different types of photographs to the desk can counteract the reproduction of stereotypes, the responses varied among the respondents: 13 felt that this is *very important* and 15 that it is *important* (15), while four found it *not especially important* and three thought that it was *not important*. Ten respondents stated that it *depends on the situation*.

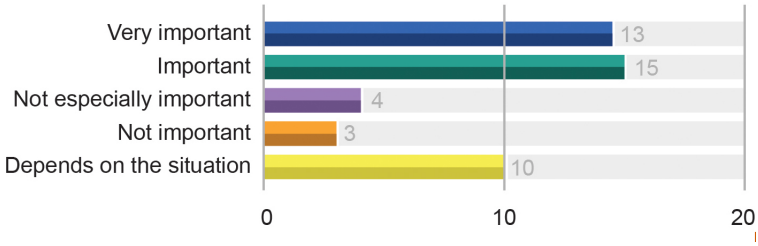

Figure 31. Questionnaire responses to the statement "it is important to counteract the reproduction of stereotypes by sending different photographs to the desk".

This brings me to another aspect of photojournalistic practice that is important to consider: who gets to tell a story. One interviewee questioned the fact that newspapers and other media outlets send their staff across the world for stories, and suggested an alternative approach:

> In my opinion, valuable journalism would involve having freelance reporters who are from the areas that are reported on. (Interviewee 7)

Another interviewee, whose main motivation for becoming a photojournalist was to cover stories about a specific minority community, shared their thoughts regarding stereotypes and access to the profession as follows:

> Interviewee 12: It's important to show that, all different nuances, I think that's important. And the more I work, I realise that publishing choices are made based on knowledge, and the people in charge are often based in Stockholm. You're influenced by the education you have, or didn't have. That's why it's important that people from the whole country, or other places, are allowed to be storytellers or that there's at the very least a dialogue that leads to self-education, and acknowledgement that there are different ways of seeing and thinking.
>
> RBL: Do you think there's a risk that, that you become a representative, or the one who's always assigned jobs about this community. Is there, do you see a problem with that, or are you okay with that? Like you say, it's important to highlight different nuances, and you have insight, or an inside perspective, so might be able to cover it in a way that someone from the outside wouldn't be able to.
>
> Interviewee 12: I still think that it's better that someone with insight into the topic depicts the event than someone without. When people don't have the time to sit down and do research about different spaces, then it's better that someone with specific cultural knowledge does it, instead of them spending a month on it. Then on the other hand it's not great if you become a representative for the minority and end up only doing that – the editor has a responsibility to make those calls, regarding who they assign the jobs to.

In a similar vein, the interviewee quoted below questioned male dominance in the photojournalistic field:

> If a [story] is about a group of women, why should a man do that story? It's still the men that get the jobs. This might be my own image of things, but we're so used to being the only woman on-site that we feel threatened when another woman comes. It's crazy, that we're stuck in that way of thinking. (Interviewee 9)

These examples drew my attention to the relationship that many photojournalists and photojournalistic practices appear to have with social change. I posed the following statement in the questionnaire: 'Photographs promote social change'. One in four (11) respondents found this statement to be *true*, while 25 respondents found it to be *mostly true*. Two respondents found it *hardly true*, while two respondents felt that it was *not true*. Five of the respondents had *no opinion* on the matter.

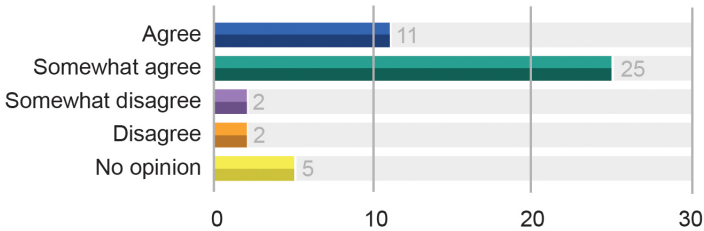

Figure 32. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs promote social change".

Issues of stereotyping are grounds for debate and discussion within the photojournalistic profession. As it is a relatively small community in Sweden, the interviewees expressed that they at times found it hard to be openly critical of their peers, their ways of practising photojournalism, and the kinds of photograph they take, and struggled to initiate discussions. One interviewee even hinted at a "pecking order" within the community:

> When you criticise something which is celebrated by a lot of people, it clearly shows how deeply rooted this [the problem of ethics] is, and that it is a structural problem, and the racism in it. So-called "well-meaning racism". The person most likely has good intentions and thinks that what they're doing is good, and wants validation. They lack perspective, coming from a place where they don't

> understand. That's how we're taught to act, to save everyone; victims are not white, they're darker than us, and should be grateful. (Interviewee 6)

Having publicly questioned the publication of a photograph depicting a dead child, both in news articles and entered into the Swedish Picture of the Year contest, the interviewee was met with defensiveness from the photojournalist who had taken the photograph. They had argued that the boy's family had asked them to take the photograph, and that they only acted according to family's wishes:

> That was the photographer's motivation, that the family asked them to take the photo, and of course, a lot of people in that situation would think that here's a photographer, from a big newspaper, and many times you'd ask them to take a photograph, and think that it will lead to a change. At the same time, it is the worst motivation. This family is experiencing a huge trauma, what they experiencing in that moment is not something, they might not stand for that a year later. Just because they ask for pictures to be taken, doesn't necessarily mean that the photographs should be published. To be published, there's a lot work that goes into it, there needs to be a lot of thought, and packaged in the right way. And that's hard, I have tried to come up with an argument or way of though, learn where the limits are, in a situation like that. What's my responsibility? (Interviewee 6)

Discussing different work approaches, another interviewee had a similar approach:

> The essence is being able to work with what we do, many of us. It's not to win picture of the year, or show photographs, or pat each other on the back, even if the jobs that you've done, much is about whether we're privileged enough to travel and meet these people, regardless of whether it's a vox-pop in Gothenburg or a village in Uganda. But all the people who can't meet them, sitting with their mobiles or computers, must have the opportunity to gain the insights that we have as photojournalists. Of course, part of my goal is to make us less racist, and that can only be done through comprehension and understanding. (Interviewee 9)

Working in precarious and stressful situations and other forms of unsettled event, such as spaces of (forced) migration, can take its toll on photojournalists. Meeting people and understanding their situations, often in relation to larger societal issues, places a great deal of responsibility on individual photojournalists. What is needed, then, to be successful a photojournalist – to be able to carry out different assignments according to the directions they are given by editors? What is required to make good photojournalism?

> It's often simple – it requires curiosity, either you have it, or you don't. I look for something, but I haven't really found it. Ask what people want to share. It's not so weird if you just start from yourself, about what it is that you want to understand, then it'll fall into place. That's how I work, I want to understand; I'm curious, and that's how I approach it. (Interviewee 7)

Another interviewee, in addition to discussing the importance of being open and curious in encounter with people they photograph, said that it is important that people understand the roles they have as photojournalists, and that participation in photographs is not the final stage but part of an ongoing process.

> Interviewee 5: I want people to recognise themselves in my photographs, and maybe also if you make a deeper dimension of it, to feel validation; that they think "this might not be the prettiest photograph of me, I don't look like Greta Garbo, but I look like me, I'm in the photograph and that's beautiful". That it's, even if I don't place value on it, it is part of the process. I take a photograph of someone who is not their most beautiful self for an exhibition, aesthetically speaking, but that they [the photographed] strongly feel is a photograph of them.
> RBL: What is important in the collaboration?
> Interviewee 5: They can always back out, and that I, I think that I don't look at people in a judging way. I can feel when I have my photograph taken that the photographer has an aesthetic idea, and move my head here and there depending on how the light or shadows fall, and I get uncomfortable. There is a constant valuation. I don't valuate people.

Photojournalists have different tools that they use in their practices. One is, of course, the camera. Others are of a more social character. The interviewees stressed the importance of the ability to put people at ease during photojournalistic events:

> Quite often you crack a joke, many [photographers] do that to connect with people. Taking a photograph is often quick but it's hard before, that can take time. Granted you want to do a good job. If you just walk in and snap a photo, it [the image] won't be good, but sometimes you have to do that. But it's not a good photograph. (Interviewee 16)

In this section I have addressed the relationships that are established in encounters between photojournalists and the people that they meet when they are photographing, discussed power relations and stereotyping in photojournalism, and related this to the encounters that photojournalists have with different people in their practices. In the next section, I address appearances as they take place in photojournalism in spaces of (forced) migration.

Appearing to each other

Traditional journalistic norms and values such as objectivity, detachment, and impartiality can be challenged in unexpected and extreme ways during disruptive circumstances. In 2015, the idea of journalists as impartial and detached observers was perhaps challenged more than it had been previously. When appearing and reporting in spaces of (forced) migration, photojournalists were often the first people on-site, and were called to help in relatively direct and hands-on ways that went beyond merely reporting on events from a distance. In the interviews, the photojournalists shared stories about helping the people that they met in many different ways, from buying water to offering lifts and establishing contacts for people's continued journeys across Europe.

Making judgments and making decisions regarding when it is necessary to stop practicing photojournalism, and to instead be emotionally there for the person being photographed can be difficult, as can someone asking a photojournalist to stop taking photographs. On the one hand photojournalists are often under pressure from news desks to deliver photographs to their editors; on the other, many of the interviewees in this study said that they are 'not more than human', and that they continuously think about this in their practice.

> RBL: Is it important to actually be able to put the camera down when the situation demands it, and be a fellow human being?
>
> Interviewee 17: I think so but I don't have a clear line; sometimes I think afterwards "why did I do that"?

> RBL: Have you ever put down the camera?
>
> Interviewee 1: Yes, many times. Often big assignments don't have a tight deadline; you're on location and people are given an opportunity to talk, you're building trust. The photograph is always sensitive. I explain what the photograph means to the reader, what kind of affect it will have. It's about making a judgement there. Show the image, explain what it'll be used for. That normally breaks the ice. When people understand that I'm aware of the situation, and how it'll be used.

> RBL: Is there anything you wouldn't photograph?
>
> Interviewee 8: I don't think so. It depends on the situation, it's difficult to say. You feel it. As long as I can live with myself.

Ambitions for social change and the protection of human rights were brought up by interviewees as important aspects of their practices. Existing research shows that there is a strong connection between photojournalism and human rights, as well as aspirations for contributing to positive change in the world (see for example Andén-Papadopoulos, 2017; Ristovska, 2018). There were recurring themes of wanting to "do good", tell stories of social-political importance, and highlight issues that are often marginalised in the news.

One interviewee pointed to the need or urge to act and, as they phrased it, *do something*, as one of the driving forces behind their decisions to travel to spaces of (forced) migration in 2015 in order to document the events that unfolded.

> Interviewee 8: I was in Kos when the Alan photograph [see Figs. 5, 6] was published. I felt that I didn't want to just sit at home, I wanted to go and help, and photograph. I had heard about a couple of people that were going down [to Hungary] to volunteer, so I joined them. I got in touch with a newspaper before leaving and told them I was going, that I was doing a story on Swedish volunteers who were going to Hungary. We arrived in Röscke two days before the borders closed, slept in the car. At that time, I was really deep into it, no [aid] organisations made it there, it was chaos. I did take photographs then, but when I didn't take photographs I helped out, bought water, helped people – a child that couldn't walk, one woman had a heart attack, I couldn't take photographs of that. It didn't feel good. If I had been following them for a longer period of time I might've been able to, but then and there it didn't feel good. If I had received consent before, then it would've felt okay, but not in this kind of vulnerable situation, I just couldn't.
>
> RBL: It must be hard in that situation, being torn between being a fellow human being and thinking, it sounds like, correct me if I'm wrong, but it sounds like you're driven by engagement, wanting to document things that are going on from…
>
> Interviewee 8: Sure. I also have a connection to it, through one of my parents. I don't know Arabic very well, you know dialects are really tough, but I can get by. I can talk to kids, it's easier, use signs and stuff. It's really often enough to get by. I really felt with these people fleeing, some of them felt like they could be me, or I them […] I was often mistaken for a refugee in the refugee camps. Had to show my passport and so on, but I could move freely.

Paying attention to their own histories stood out as an important aspect that many of the photojournalists described incorporating into their own practices. Many interviewees highlighted their own experiences and backgrounds, and felt that they were formative in terms of the type of photojournalist they had become and the jobs they preferred to do and have access to. This was particularly the case for those who had a personal connection to migration through either their own experience that of their parents or other family members. One interviewee said that:

> You write and take photographs starting from your own person. I'm convinced of it. (Interviewee 16)

One interviewee said that their cultural and social background played a significant role in their ability to do their job when photographing people arriving at a train station in a Swedish city. This next section is a rather long extract from the interview, but I have chosen to reproduce it in its entirety to highlight the back-and-forth of the conversation.

Interviewee 1: I generally go very quiet during interviews; I try to observe the place, look for what they're saying in order to find an image in that environment. The [train station] jobs, I was there with a reporter and another photographer, and when we met this boy, my colleagues didn't speak Arabic, I was the only one who could communicate with him. We met him here in [the train station], I went into the human-to-human role, met him by speaking in Arabic. He was shocked and said that no one had spoken to him as a human being. There was a connection and trust, I created a connection to that boy. The role of the journalist is to get close to people, establish trust.

RBL: I think is something that's often forgotten, that trust needs to be built, that it doesn't just "poof" and we're done, that there's something more. Especially in these times we're living in, when images are just, everywhere. A lack of understanding of the job, in establishing these relationships, between the photographer and the photographed, there's a lot of respect and trust, in that work.

Interviewee 1: It's a lot about, today we rarely have the time to sit for a duration of a two-hour interview, which is good and bad. We have to do, like, three jobs at once. For me as a photographer to come into a room for five minutes, establishing a relationship with the person I'm photographing, to make that person trust me, eye contact. Many people say it's in your bones, and that's true, but it's hard to establish a connection with someone in just a few minutes. In my professional role I need to be able to build relationships in a short amount of time in order to be able to photograph someone. I would've been terrified if someone came around for five minutes to take my picture. Sometimes I wonder that, like how the hell could he agree to that? What did I do to make him say "sure, what do you want me to do, where should I stand"?

RBL: Yeah, I'm also thinking that often when you're in, in a vulnerable situation, if you understand what I mean, that you´re, for example, that a camera is documenting you might mean that, in a lot of situations that means that you're being registered for something. I'm thinking that, the state has really integrated, almost all states have integrated the practice of taking people's photos, giving them a number and name, and that's how we know who you are, and if someone comes by and just [snaps a photograph] without saying, who they are, and that… Is that something that you think about when you, for instance, go to a train station, one of the photographs here? [pointing to a photograph that I had brought with me] This, for example, at this time, there were a lot of people arriving, a confused situation, people didn't know where they were going, what they should do, many political refugees are afraid of being documented. How do you work as a photographer in those situations?

Interviewee 1: I had an advantage, I knew the language. It was enough that I said two, three words, and I gained their trust. A lot of my colleagues thought it was difficult to get a connection to people. I have lived through war, I know this, I mean I don't know this, but I have an idea of what it's like. My role in this, I feel with these people. I always have the camera visible, but I never take a photograph, even if I see a great shot, before I have established a relationship. This photograph here [the one I pointed to before], the reporter told me to just ask if we could take a photograph. I told him no, that's not how I, I'm not an interpreter, it's not my job, I'm a photographer. At the same time, I want to

make eye contact with a person in order to approach, I want confirmation from the person, for them to invite me in. In this case, this girl [shows a photograph] approached me, grabbed me, and I started talking to her, asked her name, and where she had come from. That opened up for a conversation with the family, and they told me that they had just arrived, that they had just gotten off the train. I told them I was from the newspaper, what we wanted to tell a story about, that we wanted to tell their story, and that opened the door. The connection, the language, the knowledge – I have the key to accessing this group of people.

RBL: Could it potentially be problematic to meet these people, if you don't have any kind of connection? Language is a huge barrier, of course, and many photographers are white men, which can cause problems in some circumstances, entering certain rooms and…

Interviewee 1: I've seen many photographs, I don't know if it's the role of the photographer, that's up to someone else to judge, if it had been Swedes escaping to Denmark, would Danish photographers stand there like vultures and take photographs, how would that have made us feel? Without asking? I treat people the way that I want to be treated. I want eye contact, I want to be able to sit with them [the refugees], explain what I'm doing. Some people say that I'm losing the photograph [if I sit with them], but the image is always there. It doesn't go anywhere. They sit there, with their bags. What can happen? They'll go to the train – well, then I'll go with them and take the photograph there. If I'm in that situation, and someone just takes photographs without me understanding, or explains their purpose. I put a lot of emphasis on that, showing respect for people, rather than just thinking about the photograph. If I show respect, I'll get the image. A much better image, more eye contact than If I just snap away.

Welcoming "others" into our social world means creating the conditions necessary for them to be seen, heard and understood – essentially establishing the conditions required for appearing in public (Arendt, 1998). The actions of people produce power, and power is consequently that which 'keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence' and 'what keeps people together after the fleeting moment of action has passed [...] and what, at the same time, they keep alive through remaining together' (Arendt, 1998, pp. 200–201).

A non-public life is one of invisibility, and in being invisible people lose their ability to act, move, and establish human relationships. They are deprived 'of a place in the world which makes opinions significant and actions effective' (Arendt, 1958, p. 296).

That which is visible and can be seen in newspapers is not more important than that which is not seen, that which is made invisible. In this understanding, and based on Arendt's writing, power here is not the property of an individual, but of a plurality of actors coming together for a political purpose. It is a human creation and an outcome of collective engagement based on consent and rational persuasion. It is a product of action, and supports my argument that photographs are agentic entities that carry power, even after a photographic moment, or the photojournalistic event, has passed.

In the section I address the question of appearance in photojournalism in spaces of (forced) migration, and discussed how the histories of photojournalists have implications for the encounters they have with the people that they encounter in these spaces.

I further make a case for a consideration of photographs as shareable stories. Before summarising this chapter, I present how the findings of RQ1 and RQ2 can be combined to create a holistic understanding of photographs as practice.

Photographs as practice

The objective of this section is to provide an understanding of photographs as practice based on the findings of Chapters 5 and 6, and to apply this understanding to an analysis of photographs through the lens of appearance. This is achieved using empirical examples from the interview study related to the theoretical framework.

> Photographs are of course, artifacts. But their appeal is that they also seem, in a world littered with photographic relics, to have the status of found objects – unpremeditated slices of the world. Thus, they trade simultaneously on the prestige of art and the magic of the real. They are clouds of fantasy and pellets of information (Sontag, 2001, p. 69)

One question that I asked the interviewees was "what is and does photography do to you?" By asking this question I wanted to learn about how the interviewees ontologically approached the term "photography"[18]. The replies were varied and demonstrated a breadth on the part of the interviewees in terms of how they interpret and approached photography, and the multiple ways in which photographs and photography can be understood.

> It's not, uhm, it used to be more of a witness, but it doesn't need to be that, today. It's rather more like, how to put it, an interpretation of a situation. (Interviewee 17)

> A connection, it's the connection. That I get, that I feel that I've been able to get close, behind the scenes. A connection that just makes you feel, that you get some kind of, yeah, a connection I'd say. (Interviewee 13)

> The photojournalistic image is always an assessment, the work in itself is an assessment of something, as a photographer I can take a photograph, but I'd say I never just make a photograph, I find it difficult to think "oh, I just want a nice portrait", I find that boring. (Interviewee 5)

[18] The question, in Swedish, was: "Vad är och gör fotografi för dig?" In Swedish, the word *fotografi*, can be used to refer to both a photograph (object) and photography (practice).

Here, photographs are addressed in terms of their ability to provide interpretations and potential to serve as witnesses and establish connections to events and situations. It soon emerged that the interviewees considered photographs to be part of their practices, in addition to being material objects.

They frequently spoke about photographs in terms of photography – that is, as an active process that starts long before the taking of photograph itself and ends after the photojournalistic event. One interviewee framed this relational process as:

> The photograph is always the last thing. It is so much more before, everything from the person, the case, trust, ethics, morals. The photograph is really the last aspect. It's the product of the process. The photograph can never be more important than the process. (Interviewee 6)

The interviewees emphasised the need for contextualisation, focus on the person being photographed, and providing enough information for spectators to comprehend the situation. This points to the importance of paying attention to the histories of the people being photograph, which the interviewees generally felt to be one of the most important parts of their practices.

By considering photograph as part of the event of photography that involves several actors, it is possible to see and discern the different discourses that strip people who are fleeing of their rights. The event of photojournalism is shaped by encounters. Photographs make it possible to see how individual people appear and engage in and interact with spaces of (forced) migration.

Storytelling

Storytelling is central to photojournalism and the idea of photographs as shareable stories that enable the creation of spaces of appearance. As shareable stories, photographs are agentic entities that carry power, even after the photographic moment has passed. The political, emotional, and aesthetic qualities ascribed to photographs are not mere traits of the photographs themselves, but actions that make up the photographs. The space between the photographer, the person photographed, and the public 'might become political space where people gaze at each other, speak and act away from disciplinary or governmental constraints' (Azoulay, 2010a, p. 252).

The ability for photojournalists to tell stories through photographs was a prominent theme throughout the interviews. Below are four examples from the interviews that affirms the presence of stories in photojournalistic practices:

> Most important, when you take photographs, is to tell a story. It's much easier to do that in news media. The most important aspect is that you tell a story, it's as simple as that. You try to tell a story about something that the person looking can absorb, and that makes you feel something, whatever that something is, that's important. (Interviewee 14)

> As I see it, you can't tell the story of a person's life without telling the story of what happened before the photograph. (Interviewee 7)

> In my experience, no one can look at a photograph of themselves in a completely neutral way. And if you start showing photographs you've put yourself in a tricky situation because then, that happens at times. Some people have like a phobia when it comes to getting their photographs taken, and then they might get to see the photograph before it's published. And if they feel bad about how it would look in the paper, then I don't feel like... (Interviewee 13)

> For me it's about the ability to tell a story. I'm not all that interested in technology, not interested in cameras or hanging out with just journalists. I'm uninterested in that whole [focus on] technology that surrounds this profession, not interested. I'm interested in telling stories about issues that feel relevant to the society we live in. And I'm, I'm better at telling stories in photographs than words. That's why I work as a photographer (Interviewee 2)

The interviewees frequently referred to their photographs as being precisely that – stories about other people that are worth sharing, indicating that they recognised an active, and possibly re-active, aspect to photographs.
Among the respondents to the questionnaire, the majority (31) stated that they *agree* that photographs tell a story; another 13 stated that they *mostly agree*. Only one respondent stated they *disagree*.

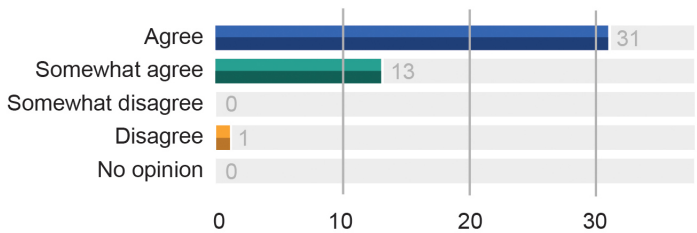

Figure 33. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs tell a story".

Finding new and unique angles and perspectives on stories is an important part of photojournalistic practice – that is, finding something which has not been photographed before.

> It also depends on what you're depicting. But I think it's wrong if you're being this completely, I think that then you're not open to seeing new perspectives or learning from the people you're meeting or the encounter, whether it's positive or negative. (Interviewee 12)

Photographs could themselves be further situated as storytellers, due to their potential temporal position (in the past, present, and future). To Arendt, storytelling is not just about temporal aspects – that is, the act of telling a story *after* action – but aspects such as the position of the actor and the spectator. The spectator will eventually transition into the one who tells the story of the actor and the actions that have been taken.

Experienced truthfulness

As was discussed in Chapter 5, photographs can have illustrative qualities, and in the Swedish newspaper context are rarely published on their own; there is always, at minimum, a caption that provides textual information that is hard to obtain by merely looking at a photograph.

Sometimes photographs are the main focus, such as on the front page or in an article, and in such cases the photograph is taken specifically for that purpose. At other times they are merely published in articles to illustrate the textual elements of an article, in which case the photograph is generally taken from the archives of the newspaper (see for example Fig. 10). The general sentiment among the interviewees was that they preferred to not work with illustrative photographs, for a variety of reasons.

> I think that's where a reader can have problems, judging when a photograph is a part of the story and when it's just something illustrative. (Interviewee 3)

> It's interesting. A photo that is descriptive, it's uninteresting, and that's often the case with photojournalistic photographs. (Interviewee 6)

Interviewee 3 brought attention to issues relating to how a spectator would understand a photograph published in an article solely to provide a visual illustration of the text, and not to contribute to the story itself. Interviewee 6 connected this to their personal point of view, and held that photographs that are merely descriptive are uninteresting.

Another important aspect in establishing photographs as practice in this study is considering the relationship between photographs and photojournalism and the journalistic ideals of objectivity, detachment, and impartiality, which are closely associated. The interviewees frequently returned to this relationship in different ways during the interviews, and the questionnaire respondents emphasised it. Regarding the question of what you see in a photograph, one interviewee said that:

> You see a small part of reality when you're looking at an image, that's really how it is. (Interviewee 11)

The interviewees generally felt that photographs, at least to a certain extent, *show* reality, and that they further have elements of truth and realness to them.

Speaking about the responsibility that they have as a photojournalist, one of the interviewees said that:

> My responsibility is to tell a truth, of course, if we're talking about news media. Then my responsibility is to tell the truth, and not, not offend someone in any way, not portray someone in the wrong way, that could happen. (Interviewee 14)

Here, the interviewee was rather ambiguous; first they said that their responsibility was to tell *a* truth, and then *the* truth, showing the subjective relationship that most people have with the concept of truth. Most of the interviewees struggled to pinpoint exactly how these aspects of truth were manifested in photographs, and how they were implicated in their practices. When I realised this, I tried to provoke the interviewees to produce definitions by posing leading questions that they could agree or disagree with.

> RBL: Do photographs tell the truth you experienced then and there?
> Interviewee 17: Ah, they can, definitely [tell the truth you experienced then and there] even if it's an extremely, just straightforward, documentary image of an event is a cut-out of a situation, a choice of the person who turned the camera that way. It's always subjective in some way. And, uhm, many times the image itself is maybe not a truth, but it needs some kind of text and context.

> RBL: Do photographs always tell the whole truth?
> Interviewee 14: Definitely not. No. That's the thing. It's up to me to learn about the topic in order to get as true and good an image as possible. The less I know, or the less informed I am, the greater the chance that the image doesn't speak any truth at all. Or maybe I'm lucky and get a great image that tells the truth without me even knowing it. That has happened. But then, it's different. Everyone reads images in different ways. And so, uhm, an image is not the same for everyone, it's never been that way. It changes, from person to person.

After the change in my approach, I noticed that most of the interviewees separated the ideas of reality and truth. They argued that photographs could have elements of realness and still not be trustworthy, and related this to their own practices, to the fact that they are in fact the creators of photographs.

> Photographs can't be trusted either, there's a sender, someone who has a certain way of working; you have to look into that as you look at the material. (Interviewee 7)

Another interviewee continued along the same line and reflected further on their own practices, highlighting the importance of being transparent about the

methods they employ in their practice, both as a photojournalist taking photographs and as a photo editor who is responsible for selecting the photographs to be published alongside specific articles:

> I think that definitely, you strengthen the – what should I call it – the authenticity of the photograph. I think that, that you're transparent about what you're doing. If you start using photographs of police cars from an event last week, then you have to be explicit about the fact that it happened last week. If you aren't, then I think you shouldn't use that specific photograph. Not that type of photo, that's wrong. You'd never start an article writing that there was a shitload of police cars and police cordons, and then write further down in the article that it was last week. That's how I think about photographs, just because of the credibility, and to avoid alarmism. (Interviewee 15)

In *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Sontag argues that there is no such thing as an objective photograph; a photographer's intention can never determine how a photograph will be seen and understood (2004). However, the examples above demonstrate that the photojournalists interviewed for this study are aware of their role, and reflect on the impact of their practices in creating photographs that are published in the news. This is important to consider when establishing an understanding of photographs within the scope of this study.
I used to the questionnaire to discern what respondents understand to be the *being* and *doing* of photographs. Rather than asking open-ended questions, as I did for the interviews, I presented a number of statements regarding what photographs *are* and *do.*

Just over 90% of the respondents responded that they *agree* or *mostly agree* with the statement "photographs show the truth". Nearly all of the respondents responded *agree* or *mostly agree* to the statements "photographs show how things look" and as well as 'photographs are representation of reality".

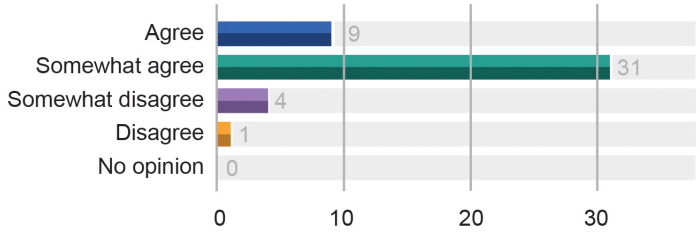

Figure 34. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs show the truth".

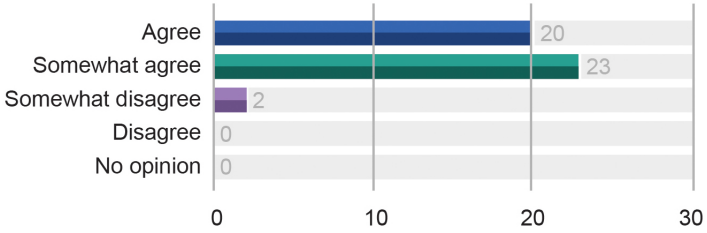

Figure 35. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs are representations of reality".

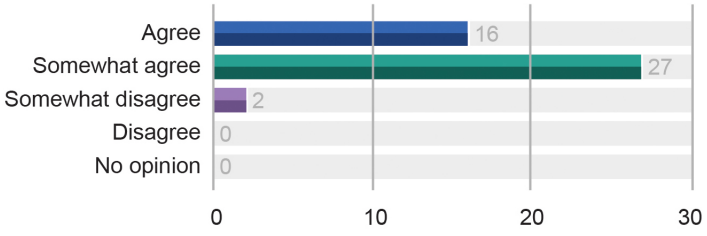

Figure 36. Questionnaire responses to the statement "photographs show what things look like".

The findings of the questionnaire aligned with those the interviews: some of the respondents questioned the idea of the truth and reality of photographs, and focused on the importance of being open to the affective possibilities that come with their practices and experiences in the field.

Possibilities of affective engagement

As has been argued above, photographs are never innocent, but come into existence through practices, technologies, and knowledge. They are influential in how people establish, shape, and maintain relationships between themselves and other people, and as such can be understood as spaces of 'affective human attachments' (Pantti, 2013). This means that the ways in which people react to photographs establish a way of seeing that is, to some extent, normative, cultural, and shared among – and at times across – communities (Schlag, 2018). Photographs are something that spectators can relate to.

> Interviewee 7: In one way the photograph is strong, without necessarily becoming evidence of something; you don't say that this is it, this person, in this place. That's built into the photograph. The strength of the photograph is that it's more open, it more immediate than a text. The text is also portraying [*gestaltande*] but it requires you to sit down and read, while a photograph is more like "baaam".
>
> RBL: Would you call them affective aspects?
>
> Interviewee 7: Yes, photographs are loaded.

What I further drew from the interviews is that many of the interviewees consider photography to be a sense-making tool for themselves. They use photography to understand their surroundings, establish connections with other people around them, and tell stories about – and with – people. Moreover, emotionality is an integral part of this practice.

> What's fascinating with photographs is that they're a very concrete and direct way of communication, which I find exciting, still, after over 30 years in the business. […] A lead can always be changed, you have to, I have internal phototraining for new staff members, about how they should think about the image, and our reporters often add photographs to texts, all texts are visualised [through photographs]. What's important to consider is that when you read, you can stop reading a text if you don't find it interesting, without finishing the text. You read a photograph in a very short amount of time, and the viewer impression is strong, and will stay with you for a long time. You remember an image long after you forgot about the text. That type of communication is really interesting in my opinion. (Interviewee 3)

Towards the end of the session with the Interviewee 3 (who is a photo editor), the conversation returned to the instantaneous reaction that spectators have when they are looking at, and seeing, photographs, particularly within the context of newspapers:

> I think that most people aren't aware that they are obtaining information from an image. I believe this is because the interpretation of the image is digital, whereas the text is analogue. We handle this in different parts of the brain. I try to make our reporters aware of this, when they illustrate texts. When you read a text, you take a number of characters and out them together according to rules that you have learnt, into a text, which you also learnt mean *something*, and that you make references to. You cannot break down an image in the same way, because you read it all at once. You get an image in your head. It could take 10 minutes to read a text, a second to take in the photograph. It's hard to break-down the meaning-making elements of an image. It's hard to read, but I think you need to be aware of this. It's important. You can interpret events taking place in the image, but how you see it doesn't change (Interviewee 3)

The interviewee highlighted the fact that as a photo editor, they and their staff need to be considerate of how the public might look at and be influenced by ways of seeing certain photographs, and consequently consider how the public are affected by these photographs.

Another interviewee argued that affecting the public was something that photographs should do in order to make people stop and engage in them:

> First and foremost, the photograph should affect you, it's like any other piece of art, an image or a painting. If you're not affected, if you're just flipping past. If you get angry, scared, pissed off, aggressive, anything. If you can affect someone, then any photograph works the same. It's this enormous flow of images today, there has to be something special for you to react and stop to look at an image, in a newspaper for instance. A constant flow of images. A good image has to affect you in some way. (Interviewee 16)

It is important to pay attention to the ways in which photographs affect the public's understanding of (forced) migration and of people forced to flee; as Malkki argues, 'pictures of refugees are now a key vehicle in the elaboration of a transnational social imagination of refugeeness' (Malkki, 2005, p. 238). In the reporting on events of migration in 2015, there was a tendency in news media to make people fleeing hyper-visible, either as victims (often women and children) in need of humanitarian assistance, or as menacing threats (often lone men or men in groups) to the public. One interviewee mentioned that there is always risk involved in the selection of photographs to use in articles, as photographs are so immediate in their communication:

> A danger in photography is that the photograph is so direct. If you choose the wrong photograph, there can be a problem. You build stories based on the photograph, sometimes without reading the text, which makes genre photographs difficult. (Interviewee 3)

When photographs are published as illustrations, there is a great deal of responsibility placed on news desks when it comes to which photographs they select to illustrate articles, as well as on photo agencies in selling and archiving photographs. This is particularly important when it comes to issues related to (forced) migration.

As the literature review (Chapter 2) demonstrated, newspapers often use photographs that reinforce stereotypical depictions of people in flight, portraying them as innocent victims or menacing threats (see for example Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi, 2020; Wright, 2002). One interviewee considered that texts also contribute to spectators' and audiences' imagination of events and situations, but argued that photographs work differently from text:

> I think that the images, they tell us how to feel. When we read a text we also create images, we are in control, based on experiences and so on. Or what we can associate with. Not as direct [as images]. It [the text] doesn't force us into a corner. A text can be detailed. (Interviewee 6)

Photographs allow spectators to see concrete images, whereas a texts forces one to imagine images instead. This directness of photographs was linked to emotionality by the interviewees:

> There's another level, and that's the strength of photography, that it's more, it's like a scent. If you smell a scent here it can remind you of your childhood kitchen, or your grandmother. Photographs work kind of like a scent; they're strong and identifying. A photograph on its own can tell a story about just about anything, but it awakes something in the spectator. That works strongly emotionally – it touches you in a different way than text. Text is abstract in that way, it demands more from the reader than a photograph does. A photograph can only move you, you're only moved. (Interviewee 7)

> RBL: Are you saying photographs are more affective and emotional?
>
> Interviewee 8: In order to touch people, you need to have the facts. If you just show a bunch of bloody images, it won't touch you anymore, but everyday things can strike a chord. One photograph is enough. You can engage because you can relate and recognise.

It is well-established that photographs have affective qualities to them, and that they impact spectators in different ways (see for example Barthes, 1993; Bleiker, 2018; Sontag, 2001). Most people have an affective connection to photographs in their everyday lives, either actively or passively. People keep photographs in family albums, take photographs of important events in life to remember them, and follow other people's Instagram accounts and "like" the photographs they post.

People interact with photographs through advertisements and in the news. It can at times be hard to understand the context a photograph is published in if it passes by quickly. News media commonly use family-photo-album-style

photographs to represent the life of someone who has died rather than publishing photographs of the person's body, as was the case in articles on the death of Alan Kurdi (Demo, 2018).

While the newspapers investigated in this study all republished the photographs of the boy laying face-down in the sand or being carried by security personnel, some also published family-photo-album-style photographs that were provided by his family. As one interviewee stated:

> If you write "10,000 dead", it doesn't say anything. But show a photograph of a dead person, it's more of a punch in the gut. (Interviewee 8)

Photograph are widely used to highlight the immediacy and urgency of events and situations, particularly in critical situations, and influence the ways in which events and situations are seen, perceived, imagined, and understood. As was demonstrated in Chapter 5, the events of (forced) migration in 2015 were no exception to this.

Photographs move and mobilise spectators, allowing them to travel through time and space and be in multiple places at once. What constitutes a great photograph is difficult to pin down, but one interviewee presented the following criteria:

> It needs to have that, of course content, all the technical aspects, no need to go into that. A photograph to me, when I see the photograph, I want to experience that particular place through the photograph. I try to make the reader, or spectator, feel as if they are there, in that place. It's hard to know if I succeed in that. (Interviewee 1)

Here, the interviewee highlighted the importance of place in photojournalism. "Place", following Doreen Massey (1994, 2005), is a clash of relations, stories, and trajectories which, to borrow Massey's term, is created in 'throwntogetherness' (2005, pp. 149–152). Space and place, then, are not just about geographical locations, but about the relations between people – and between people and objects – that make space and place political. Space becomes place once one orients oneself in it. One of the key responsibilities of journalism is to inform the public by telling stories about events and situations happening in society, and it is often through news media that the public first learns about issues of public importance. This means that journalism is important 'for our orientation in the world' (Silverstone, 2007, p. 6) and shapes what appears to the public and how, when, and where this takes place.

Photographs are used in different ways by different actors. I save photographs of loved ones in family albums to remember times that have passed. Companies use photographs to display and sell their products, while a prosecutor might use photographs as evidence of a crime.

News media use photographs to show the public events in the world and the people involved in situations and events. Regardless of how and for what purpose photographs are used, they have an undeniable affective quality – they can influence and move the person seeing them. This affective quality, or appeal, can be quite different or even contradictory depending on who sees a specific photograph.

Photographs of open water and beaches for me symbolises my childhood home, openness, and calm. To others, the same photographs could symbolise disruption to their sense of security and wellbeing, death, separation, or even a threat to their very existence. It is important to keep in mind that photographs are created out of multiple relations, stories, and trajectories, and that photography is a space of representation and appearance.

Photographs are products of technologies that are mediated by human action, and one can say that photography is constituted at the intersection of human practices, technologies, and their respective agencies. Photographs are tactile, touchable objects that exist in an economy of images, and that can be afforded agency on their own. They operate between the descriptive and the imaginative, the seen and the invisible, and the included and the excluded. Photographs work both spatially and temporally, as they condense events and situations happening at specific times and in specific places into mobile artefacts that, in a way, last forever.

In sum, the purpose of this short section was to highlight the diversity and multiplicity that is present within photojournalism, present how the interviewees and respondents understand and regard photographs, and clarify the approach I take to photography, wherein photographs are simultaneously material objects and practices. What and who is made (or not made) visible and when, where, and how is this is done plays a key role in informing collective ways of knowing, understanding, and seeing the world. This determines not only which, but how, photographs are taken, published, and circulated, and therefore the conditions of how and when people in flight are visible (Wenk & Krebs, 2007), but how they appear to the public through photographs.

Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have investigated what shapes and constitutes the practices of the photojournalists that I interviewed for the study. The goal of this was to understand in what ways these elements relate to journalistic norms, and to explore the social processes that go into photojournalism practices.

I investigated which elements are most important to consider in terms of how the photojournalists interviewed encounter people in their practice. The three elements that stood out related to technologies, places, and emotions.

While the centrality of emotion to photojournalism has traditionally been rejected on the basis that they compromise traditional journalism ideals of objectivity, impartiality, and detachment (see for example Beckett & Deuze, 2016 and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019), the empirical examples presented in this chapter demonstrate that photojournalists not only deal with emotions but consider them to be an integral part of their practices.

The chapter also highlight the importance of technologies in photojournalistic practice, which is enacted as human and technologies interact. The camera is not only a tool that captures photographs but an object that facilitates human interaction and enables relationships between photojournalists and those they photograph. Paying analytical attention to technology enabled me to highlight the importance of material practices and their implications for the making of photographs, and consequently the appearance of people in flight.

The interviewees reaffirmed my argument that photojournalism is a place-making practice. Being physically present during event and situations is a condition of photojournalistic practice, and requires that photojournalists travel to different places in order to create photographs. The interviewees highlighted that time in these places was crucial in order for them to experience places and get a feel for the situations and people they were supposed to photograph.

Time was further suggested to be a useful tool in the process of earning trust and establishing relationships with the people being photographed. In addition to the process of relating to events and navigating around unfamiliar spaces in their practice, the interviewees talked about relating to people in spaces, particularly with regard to unexpected, stressful, and pressured situations, which the interviewees felt required careful consideration and attention.

In their encounter with others – and for this study, others who have been stripped of their ability to appear in the public space – the practices of photojournalists transition from Arendtian *work* to *action*.

Lastly, I established an understanding of photographs as a practice, and further applied this understanding in order to analyse photographs through the lens of appearance. I highlighted the diversity and multiplicity present within photojournalism, how the interviewees and respondents understand and regard photographs. In answering RQ2 I identified three elements which constitute and shape photojournalistic practices – emotions, technologies, and places – as well as how these relate to traditional journalistic norms. I have further situated photographs as shareable stories within an appearance framework.

We carry these finding with us as we move into Chapter 7, in which I, in answering RQ3, examine how the appearance of people in flight is reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs as part of the event of photojournalism

Chapter 7: Exploring events of photojournalism

In this chapter I draw attention to the event of photojournalism in order to answer RQ3:

How are action, movement, and encounters between the actors in a photographic event inscribed in selected photographs? How is the appearance of people in flight reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs in the event of photojournalism?

In previous chapters I operationalised photographs as material visual objects that can be analysed as the outcomes of photojournalistic practices (Chapter 5) and as part of photojournalistic practices (Chapter 6). In this chapter, drawing on the findings of previous chapters, I analyse photographs *as* practices, in and of themselves as I explore the underlying conditions for appearance, and brings attention to the shortcomings of understanding photojournalism as an institutional practice which produces fixed visual objects.
. While photographs are often referred to as objects with political, emotional, and aesthetic qualities, I have argued that they should further be considered to be acts in and of themselves – acts which include many actors. This understanding does not stand in opposition to either of the other understandings that have been presented, and the three are to be considered as a multiplicity of modes that take place as part of simultaneous and relational processes.

And so, in this final empirical chapter, I suggest an understanding of photojournalism as a space of appearance with the potential for political action. This question primarily directs attention to the yet-to-be-determined *when-where* of photojournalism by investigating photographs beyond the content of their frames. The focus moves away from the questions of how photographs are made and how they construct and represent reality to what photographs are and do when they are (re)published and circulated on a multiplicity of platforms and reveal the political potential of the event of photojournalism.

Chapter 5 provided an overview of the ideas of appearance, proximity, places, and movement that can be discerned by examining photographs through identifying and professional modes of seeing, as well as what can be concluded from this examination. This chapter elaborates on this by exploring the actions and movements inscribed in photographs and encounters that take place during the photojournalistic event.

Newspapers publish photographs with an imagined audience of spectators in mind, all of whom see the content of these photographs from the same perspective: the point of view of the camera. Spectators see photographs from the same perspective that the photojournalist was situated in – that is, the physical place that the photojournalist occupied with their body during the photojournalistic event. This speaks to nationalist structures embedded in news media (Anderson, 2006), and to the imagined spectators being a homogenous group of Swedish citizens. Photographs and photojournalism practices are expressions of photojournalists' embodied point of view, and have the capacity of communicating something to spectators.

The world, according to Arendt, is essentially reality seen from different perspectives. It is never the exact same as physical spaces, as these can almost always only be seen from very specific points of view and from the position of each and every spectator. A place that appears in a photograph is seen from the same perspective by everyone who sees it, but likely looks quite different to the people who were physically present in that place at the time the photograph was taken.

Further, the circumstances of the events are already framed in the case of this study and its context of a refugee crisis. There are certain expectations with regard to what people in flight look like, and these preconceptions can be reinforced or challenged through the publication of photographs in newspapers (Malkki, 1996).

Most of the photographs that were analysed using compositional analysis and presented in Chapter 5 depict people at the edges of Europe and the European Union, or Sweden. People appear in various places: on the beaches of Turkey and Greece, at train stations in Malmö, Budapest, and Berlin, and along reinforced borders in Serbia and Hungary.

In this section, I focus on one of these photographs – the photograph of Laith Majid taken by the photojournalist Daniel Etter for the *New York Times*. It was published in *Aftonbladet* in three different articles within the examined timeframe: *En bild av vår skuld* ("an image of our guilt") was published on September 1, 2015; *Nu och då* ("now and then") was published on September 6, 2015; and *Bedragare låtsas hjälpa flyktingar* ("imposters are pretending to help refugees") was published on September 16, 2015.

I follow this photograph as it moves through different temporal and spatial sites, and further relate this particular photograph to other examples taken from my set of materials. The analysis is based on a combination of compositional analysis and Azoulay's methodological approach of *watching* photographs, and focuses primarily on temporal and spatial elements in the photograph.

This photograph was selected for the following reasons: First, it was one of the photographs that recurred in the material I collected. Second, it is a widely circulated photograph that came across on several occasions in different settings, both prior to and after collecting the material. Unlike the photographs

of Alan Kurdi, for example, I knew neither the specific circumstances of its publication nor when it was taken. Third, the photograph captures the movement of people in flight, and was likely not taken at the request of Laith Majid himself. This makes this photograph particularly interesting for an in-depth exploration of the entanglements of action, movement, and encounters, as the photograph reappeared in different spatial and temporal contexts.

The photograph

In this first section, I present the analysis of the photograph, which was conducted using a combination of compositional analysis and watching.

The initial compositional analysis concerning the content and spatial organisation in the photograph showed that the main focus is a man facing the camera, carrying one child and embracing another. Both children are turned away from the camera. The man's facial expression signals distress; his eyes appear to be teary. Both children are turned away from the camera.

In the background four people in life jackets are visible, and they are carrying objects away from what appears to be a boat. The small group of people that can be seen in the background is not identifiable, but they do not seem to be intentionally obscured. They appear to be unloading and carrying bags from the boat, while the man is holding on to the children.

In terms of the spatial organisation, the photograph is an extreme close-up of the man; the upper half of his body takes up half the frame, similar to a portrait. While, the photojournalist and the man appear to be close enough to touch in this photojournalistic event, the man looks straight past the photojournalist and into the distance, and thus the photojournalist is positioned at a distance from the people in the photograph.

With regard to the expressive elements of the photograph, the boat is surrounded by dark, shallow water. The composition of the photograph is dramatic, emphasising expressive elements, with the dark water framing the man. His body appears to be tense and his facial expression signals distress; his eyes appear to be teary. While the people in the photograph appear to be still, the photograph captures the movement of people in flight, and as such their appearance in spaces of (forced) migration.

While generally a prominent theme in photographs of "arrival" on the shores of Europe (see for example Álvarez, 2016; Horsti, 2019b; Mannik, 2016), there do not appear to be any military personnel or aid workers present in the frame, at least based on what can be discerned from looking at the photograph. No one in the photograph appears in a securitised manner.

Foto: DANIEL ETTER/NYTIMES

En bild av vår skuld

Det var första gången.

Daniel Etter hade aldrig tidigare gråtit när han fotograferat.

Men där och då i den morgonkalla grekiska sanden, med Laith Majid i kameralinsen, kramandes sina barn, kunde inte ens den hårdkokte pressfotografen hålla emot.

Han visste inte att den syriske fyrbarnspappan hade sålt allt han ägde och betalat nästan 85 000 kronor för att fly krigets Syrien.

Först hade familjen förts till Turkiet. Där hade de, mitt i natten, trängts ner i en redan överfull gummibåt. Avsedd för tre. De var tolv.

Efter bara någon timme ute till havs hade luften börjat pysa ur gummibåten. Vatten forsade in. Det var mörkt. Lilla Nour, 4, grät hela vägen.

Daniel Etter visste ingenting om detta, han visste bara det han kunde se i sin kameralins: en genomblöt frusen man som knappt kunde stå upp, som halv fem på morgonen kommit i land med en sladdrig gummibåt, som korsat ett hav, som höll sina barn i famnen och bröt ihop.

Men det sa allt.

Möjligen är det förhastat att redan tala om fotografiet som en framtida klassiker. För tidigt att placera det bredvid Nick Uts bild av napalmflickan i södra Vietnam eller Kevin Carters foto av gamen som sitter bredvid en svältande pojke i Sydsudan och väntar på att hungern ska göra sitt.

Jag brukar säga att tusen ord säger mer än en bild, men den här sommaren har orden mest skymt sikten.

Omskrivningar. Förskjutningar. Människor som Laith Majid har kallats "lykkesökare" i Norge, hans gråtande barn har blivit till "volymer" i Sverige, hans sjunkande sladdriga gummibåt har i Storbritannien blivit en del av den "tsunamivåg av migranter som hotar Europa".

Vi har blivit blinda. Förväxlat privilegier med rättigheter.

I torsdags hittades en övergiven lastbil vid en österrikisk motorväg. Sjuttioen flyktingar låg därinne, kvävda till döds. Siffran flimrade liksom förbi. Sjuttioen döda. Det är två fler än på Utøya.

I lördags skrev Danmarks största tidning Jyllands-Posten att "de gamla europeiska nationerna är i färd att begå kollektivt självmord, vi är vittnen till en hel civilisations frivilliga kapitulation".

Artikelns högtravande ton var kanske på sin plats.

För visst är det så att historien skrivs här och nu.

Och sedan ungefär hundra år tillbaka tenderar historien att skrivas i bilder. Kan Daniel Etters fotografi bli ett sådant fotografi vi bär med oss?

Till skillnad från lastbilen i Österrike, till skillnad från alla fotografier av drunknade småbarn i fotbollströjor och foppatofflor, är Etters bild åtminstone möjlig att ta till sig: en pappas lycka och skräck i samma förvridna ansikte, hopp och förtvivlan.

Men om den nu skulle bli en av de där bilderna som definierar vår tid – vad kommer den säga oss om tio år?

Tjugo år?

Kanske kommer den säga, om vi lyfter blicken något, en del om en modern europeisk paradox.

En kontinent som å ena sidan hungrar efter människor – men som å andra sidan bygger så höga murar att människor dör på vägen hit.

Länge har demografer varnat för en stundande europeisk kollaps. Vad Jyllands-Postens stöveltrampare än tror har den ingenting med invandring att göra. Tvärtom. De låga födelsetalen kommer snart leda till att Europas arbetsföra befolkning utgör en minoritet.

Peter McDonald, professor i demografi, har använt Italien som exempel. Sett till 2009 års födelsetal kommer Italiens befolkning ha minskat med 86 procent vid seklets slut.

"The low fertility trap" beskrivs som en spiral. Allt färre kvinnor som föder allt färre barn. Allt färre unga som ska försörja allt fler gamla.

Sverige omnämns i det här sammanhanget som ett föregångsland. Generös föräldrapenning, hög invandring.

Experterna är överens: Europas behov av ung arbetskraft är en förutsättning för kontinentens framtid.

Ändå är murarna intakta. Ändå drunknar småbarnsfamiljer i gummibåtar på väg till Grekland. Ändå tvingas tonåringar klamra sig fast under långtradare för att komma in i Storbritannien.

Förra året sökte sammanlagt 626 000 människor asyl i EU-länder. Långt färre människor än vad som behövs för att trygga vår egen framtid. Ändå alla dessa rasistiska partier, all denna rädsla.

Om tio eller tjugo år kommer Daniel Etters pressbild inte bara visa en fyrbarnspappas smärta och rädsla. **Den kommer också rymma berättelsen om oss.**

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Figure 37. Article published in *Aftonbladet* on September 1, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.


Foto: NY TIMES/TT

PENGAR STRÖMMAR IN *Syriske fyrabarnspappan Laith Majid kramar barnen efter att ha kommit i land i Grekland. Efter de senaste rapporteringarna har pengar strömmat in till människor på flykt. Polisen vill inte avråda folk från att skänka pengar men säger att man ska vara uppmärksam och kolla upp den organisation man ger till om man inte känner till dem sen tidigare.*

Bedragare låtsas hjälpa flyktingar

Mannen ringde runt och låtsades samla in pengar till flyktingar – men pengarna gick till hans eget företag.

Nu manar polisen människor att vara uppmärksamma.

– Att utnyttja en hemsk situation för egen vinning, det är väldigt tragiskt, säger Hebbah Elgindy, vars organisation utnyttjats av mannen.

Med anledning av flyktingkrisen i Europa har pengar strömmat in till hjälporganisationer de senaste veckorna.

Men nu uppmanar polisen människor att vara uppmärksamma på vart man skickar sina pengar.

Anledningen är ett bedrägeri som uppmärksammades under tisdagen.

Enligt polisen ska en man ha ringt runt till svenska företag och bett om pengar till flyktinghjälp. Mannen sa sig komma från organisationen "Våga hjälpa".

Men det kontonummer som mannen angav går till hans falska företag – MSP Trading. Företaget är registrerat i Finland och varningslistades redan i måndags av organisationen Förenade bolag.

■ Tog själv pengarna som företag skänkt
■ Polisen: Var uppmärksamma när ni ger

Använde deras namn

Polisen lyckades på ett tidigt stadium spärra kontot, men tror att mannen fick in några tusen kronor på bluffen.

– Många är generösa och vill hjälpa människor som är på flykt. Det finns bedragare som vill utnyttja det här. Vissa människor har inget samvete, säger Anders Olofsson, brottsförebyggare vid polisens nationella bedrägericenter.

Hebbah Elgindy jobbar på organisationen "Våga hjälpa", som arrangerar bakning och fika för människor som befinner sig i utanförskap. Hon blev chockad när hon hörde att mannen använt sig av "Våga hjälpas" namn för att få in pengar.

– Det är väldigt obehagligt. Vi är en gräsrotsrörelse som försöker göra något bra och så händer det här.

"Väldigt tragiskt"

Organisationen har nu polisanmält händelsen.

– Att utnyttja en hemsk situation för egen vinning, det är väldigt tragiskt, säger Hebbah Elgindy.

Polisen manar nu människor till valsamhet. Anders Olofsson understryker att han inte vill avråda någon från att skänka pengar.

– Men man ska veta vart de går. Om man inte känner igen organisationen kan man googla den och försöka hitta mer information. Sen kan man ringa upp och se till att kontonumret stämmer överens med det man har fått, säger han.

Jan Olsson på polisens bedrägeritrotel håller med om att givare bör ta reda på så mycket som möjligt om organisationerna.

– Är man riktigt orolig ska man vända sig till organisationer som har 90-konton, säger han till SVT Nyheter.

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Figure 38. Article published in *Aftonbladet* on September 16, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

Even in the short time between the publications of the photograph in *Aftonbladet*, the context in which the photograph was presented changed: the first article was a news chronicle that posited the photograph as an image of 'our collective guilt', the second article was a comparison between contemporary events and those of the 1990s (see Fig. 19), and the third article concerned people posing as humanitarian volunteers to trick Swedes into giving money, ostensibly to help refugees.

None of the articles in the material were specifically about Laith Majid, and he is only mentioned by name in the first article as an example of the suffering of refugees; he is not mentioned anywhere except for in the caption in the other two articles. This photograph is presented to the public as an illustration, and provides little information about who Laith Majid is and the circumstances of his flight.

While the photograph of Laith Majid lives up to the expectation of what refugees "look like" (Malkki, in Wright, 2002), and as such mediates "refugeeness", it also challenges the norm of how people in flight, and men more specifically, are generally portrayed in news media, and does not align with the conventional, dominant themes found in existing research, which tend to focus on vulnerable mothers. Instead, this photograph shows a father embracing his children, and his visibly distraught face is the focal point of the image, emphasising fatherhood.

According to Malkki there is a 'tendency to universalize "the refugee" as a special "kind" of person, not only in the textual representation, but also in their photographic representation' (Malkki, 1995, p. 9). Existing research shows that visual depictions of people in flight tend to focus on unidentifiable masses of people as "waves" or threats, which could also be found in the material analysed in this study (see Figs. 10, 12). These representations are argued to dehumanise refugees and lessen the ability of spectators to feel compassion and empathy for people in flight (Bleiker et al., 2013; Esses et al., 2013).

Another photograph in the material also highlighted fatherhood, albeit in another setting (Fig. 17). In this photograph, a man is walking along train tracks carrying his daughter, who is unable to walk by herself.

Photographs of Alan Kurdi's father, Abdullah, also highlighted fatherhood, but from another perspective. In the material there were seven different photographs of Abdullah Kurdi, and descriptions of the father's grief over the loss of his two sons accompanied photographs of Alan's body on the beach. In one of the photographs he is holding the wrapped body of his son at the funeral. In four of the photographs he is visibly distraught, crying into his hands. He is not facing the camera, and thus allowing spectators to meet his gaze, in any of the photographs.

These photographs thus challenge the normative representations often used in photographs, such as men being portrayed as illegal and menacing. In contrast, both of the photographs described above focus on men's protective and nurturing sides as child-carers.

The photograph of Laith Majid was intended to visualise the flight of people to newspaper readers, and as a result classifies the people who were photographed as refugees and migrants rather than individuals. Spectators are left with no information about what happened either before the photograph was taken or after. However, approaching the photograph using Azoulay's methodology of *watching* opens it up to different imaginaries relating to both the past and the future.

Seeing beyond the frame: the event of photojournalism

As argued by Azoulay (2008, p. 14), photographs bear the seal of the photographic event, and in reconstructing and analysing this event I must do more than merely identifying what is shown in the photograph. By *watching* the photographs, I was able to examine the appearance and movements of people as I traced the movement of photographs through time and space. When the person photographed is someone who has suffered an injury, or in the case of people in flight has lost their 'right to have rights', Azoulay argues that watching photographs becomes a civic skill, not an exercise in aesthetic appreciation (2008, p. 14).

In this way, I challenge the notion of photographs as representations of passive refugees, and instead propose a view that focuses on the actions (such as the act of fleeing) embedded in the appearance of refugees in photographs, and how the event of photojournalism expands these actions. I argue that photographs not only facilitate the appearance of people in flight but offer the opportunity to conduct an analysis of the appearance of refugees in photographs and their movements into, across, and out of spaces of (forced) migration.

I further expand the analysis to tracing the movement of Laith Majid and his family as they reappeared in different photographs, as well as to the appearances of the photograph as it moved across various online platforms. In focus here are the actions of the photograph itself and the people shown in it through their appearance; less in focus are how the photograph was used by different newspapers and people and the meaning that can be inferred from the publication of the photograph.

More concretely, the analysis of the photograph was carried out by examining the temporal and spatial dimensions in which Laith Majid (and eventually other members of his family) appear, move, and interact, within the photograph(s), as well as how these actions stretch beyond the frame. I analysed the movement of the photograph of Laith Majid and his family as it travelled through various sites and dates. Of course, a photograph can be watched without necessarily being traced across different sites; however, the event of photojournalism has elements of tracing in it.

Through an extended search using Mediearkivet, I found that the photograph was first referred to in Sweden in an editorial in *Aftonbladet* published on August 24, 2015. The editorial discussed how the refugee crisis was a collective responsibility but did not include the photograph; instead, Laith Majid was mentioned by name and a link to an article in the German tabloid *Bild* was included. The first time that the photograph appear in Swedish news was September 1, 2015, again in *Aftonbladet*, in a column titled *En bild av vår skuld* ("an image of our guilt"), and it later appeared across multiple platforms. All Swedish newspapers mistakenly claimed that Laith Majid and his family had fled from Syria; none of the 20 articles discovered by the Mediearkivet search correctly identified the family as being from Iraq.

As I continued my analysis through a reversed image search using TinEye and Google Reverse Image Search I found that the photograph of Laith Majid was one of many that Etter had taken on that day[19]. On Twitter he shared some of these photographs, and gave a description of what he experienced that day:

> Before sunrise on 8/15/15, I waited on a beach and tried to spot refugee boats on the horizon. This was the first one I saw. As it got closer, I realized that it was close to sinking. The day before, I had called the coastguard on another boat in distress to no avail. Neither was the rubber boat built for a journey like this, nor for more than a dozen people. Luckily, they made it. Locals, who were there that morning, pulled them on the beach. Certain that everyone was safe and getting the help they needed, I photographed the arrival. A visibly shaken man left the boat. As soon as he reached safety, his emotions took over and he gathered his family around him. That is when I took the now famous photo. There was a lot of crying and hugging (involving me). By far the most emotional day of my career. (2020).

On August 21, 2015, *the Guardian* published an opinion piece on the photograph written by Etter in which he reflected on his experiences, titled 'I have never been so overwhelmed by a moment that I was lucky enough to witness, and lucky enough to capture'. The caption identifies Laith Majid by name, again making claims about his 'tears of joy and relief that he and his children have made it to Europe' (*the Guardian*, 2015). At this point in time, Laith Majid himself had not spoken to news media nor had the chance to comment on his flight.

The photograph was widely published around the world in news media and beyond, both as the main story and as part of the general narrative of the refugee crisis. The BBC, for example, included the photograph among nine others in an article titled *10 moving photographs of Europe's migrant crisis* on September 4, 2015 (BBC, 2015). Appearing as Number 8 on the list of photographs, the extended caption identified Laith Majid as a Syrian man holding his son and daughter in his arms after arriving on Kos, Greece. On September

[19] The photograph can be viewed here: https://twunroll.com/article/1294545251550584833.

9, 2015, CNN published the photograph among 41 others in an article titled *The week in 42 photos*. Here, Laith Majid is identified only as a refugee holding his son and daughter, and is not attributed by name. The caption further makes claims regarding his emotional state, stating that he 'cries tears of joy after their boat arrived at the Greek island of Kos' (CNN, 2015).

On the same day, BuzzFeed published a story on the family's arrival in Berlin, Germany titled *Iraqi family whose photograph went viral describe their harrowing journey from Bagdad to Berlin*. This article includes Etter's photograph, as well as a family portrait taken in Berlin by the BuzzFeed photographer Judith Vonberg (BuzzFeed, 2015). The caption reads 'Majid and his family landed in the Greek island of Kos in August and recently made it to Germany'. This was the first time that Laith Majid and his family members were represented with an active voice in the examined news reports.

On September 8, 2015, *Aftonbladet*, *Expressen*, and SVT published articles on the family's arrival in Berlin, publishing the photograph together with a new portrait of the family. *Aftonbladet* used the headline *Nu kan Laith skratta igen* ("now Laith can laugh again"); SVT's headline reads *Laiths mardröm fick ett lyckligt slut* ("Laith's nightmare has a happy ending"), and *Expressen's* headline reads *Berörde en hel värld – nu är familjen framme* ("Moved a whole world – now the family has arrived").

While the first photograph shows the drama of flight and the border spectacle and visualises the anxiety and horror of fleeing for one's life, the second photograph paints a very different scene and different circumstances. If the first photograph appears to have been taken in a passing movement, the second clearly demonstrates an active participation on the part of the Majid family. In this portrait-styled photograph, the family is standing close together, arms around one another. Laith Majid face's is in profile as he is looking at his family members, who are all facing the camera. Everyone in the photograph is smiling, and their bodies are relaxed.

The photograph is light and the colouring is bright, and as the family takes up most of the frame the background is indistinguishable, making it difficult to discern any elements potentially "foreign" to the spectators (Ahmed, 2014; Bleiker et al., 2013), thus eliminating any obvious markers of "refugeeness".

Placed next to each other, the two photographs demonstrate how the event of photojournalism stretches beyond the frame of a particular photograph. It is a space that includes photographs, but is not necessarily limited to any specific photograph. The movements inscribed in the photographs are quite different; in the first, the movement across the Mediterranean Sea from somewhere else is dominant, as is movement from the boat onto the beach.

The second photograph reveals the family's movement following the photojournalistic event in Kos in August 2015, calling attention to their arrival in Germany, where they appear to have found a safe haven.

Figure 39. Photographs of Laith Majid and his family from the Europe says OXI Facebook page which was published on SVTs website on September 8, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2021.

The second photograph is significant as it shows the movements of people in flight that survive the treacherous journey across the Mediterranean, and arrive safely elsewhere. As the findings of Chapter 5 demonstrated, most of the photographs investigated in this study focused on the flight itself, and people caught in the middle of it. The second photograph also implies was actively engaged in both of the photojournalistic events, as they agreed to be photographed once more.

The two photographs together, then, facilitates engagement and imagination of the family's movements in time and space, as something which started *there* and ended *here*. This highlights the importance of paying attention to the temporality and spatiality of the people that appear in photographs, rather than focusing solely on the content.

The photograph of Laith Majid was shared on social media, often together with sentiments of shock or calls for followers to do *something*. While I will not further discuss the implications of appropriating photographs made for the news and publishing adapted versions on various social media platform, in the process potentially creating new narratives, it is worthwhile to look at two examples which reposted the photograph, seemingly unaltered but with different text compared to captions found in the examined newspapers. Both posts were posted by verified accounts.[20]

The first example was posted on August 18, 2015 and reads:

> An entire country's pain captured in one father's face. Syrian refugee family arrive at Kos. Pic by @DanielEtterFoto (Twitter, 2015)

The second example was posted on August 29, 2015 and reads:

> Imagine that you were the one with your child in your arms… bit.ly/1Mxl3lY (Twitter, 2015)

In the first post, the author assigns 'An entire country's pain' to Laith Majid's facial expression and misidentifies him as Syrian, indicating that he symbolises the pain caused by the war in Syria. The author of the second post, which was posted two weeks after the photograph was first published, urges followers (and spectators) to 'imagine that you were the one with your child in your arms', and includes a link. This post mentions neither Laith Majid nor Etter by name.

Photographs of people who were identified as refugees in news media were widely used in political debates and at rallies and protests. The photograph of Laith Majid arriving in Kos was showed by the Swedish MP Magda Rasmusson in a parliamentary debate in connection with the refugee crisis.

[20] The blue "verified" badge on Twitter shows that an account of public interest is authentic (Twitter, 2021).

In their address, Rasmusson referenced the book series *The Emigrants* by the Swedish author Vilhelm Moberg. The book is a portrayal of the emigration of Swedes to the USA during the 1850s, and describes the hard journey across the Atlantic of Karl-Oskar and Kristina, who leave their home in rural Sweden in search of a better life. Showing the photograph of Laith Majid, Rasmusson posed a question:

> If a new book is to be written, who would be the Karl-Oskar and Kristina of our time? Maybe it is the people who are seen in this photograph I am showing. It spread across the world a few weeks ago and shows Laith Majid and Neda Adel from Iraq. (Riksdagen, 2015)

Rasmusson continued by describing the circumstances of the Majid family's arrival in Kos and their continued journey to Germany, before turning to the photographs that were published showing them residing in Berlin. The MEP then stressed that Laith Majed and Neda Adel are not the only ones who have attempted this journey, and connected their flight to those of others around the world. The photograph was further used to make connection to the Swedish past. In this address the MEP used one of the photographs of Laith Majid to address the political concerns of the past, present, and future.

In the same debate, a second MP, Johan Helin, also made a reference to photographs – in this instance those depicting Alan Kurdi, taken by the photojournalist Nilüfer Demir:

> It is easy to feel hopeless when you see horrible photographs of a lifeless child at the water's edge. (Riksdagen, 2015)

A third MP, Christina Höj Larsen, also referenced the photographs of Alan Kurdi, but with a focus on the impact of the photographs on humanitarian actions in Sweden:

> Sweden is full of people who want to make a difference. Through language cafés, asylum committees, and groups organising people in the suburbs for community and security. A few weeks ago, these efforts joined in a movement that became one voice. The photograph of a lifeless child on a beach was the trigger. (Riksdagen, 2015)

By following the photograph in time and across various spaces, I was able to see how information about who appears in the photograph changed over time. In articles published on September 8, 2015 I learnt that the woman in the photograph, who is not visible in Etter's photograph, is married to Laith Majid, and her name is Neda. I further learnt that they have three sons, Mustafa, Ahmed, and Taha, and a daughter named Nour, all of whom undertook the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean. The content of a photograph alone cannot tell us what is true. Photographs in a sense become interventions in

history, and as such are much more than representations of past events (Azoulay, 2012, p. 222).

By tracing the movement of the family via photographs as they continued their journey through Europe, eventually arriving in Berlin, I was able to watch their actions as they continued to allow their visibility in news media. Their urge to self-display (Arendt, 1978, p. 155), to appear to others, is demonstrated through their consent to be photographed.

Together, the photographs further demonstrate the actions taken by the family in their flight, and how they were able to change how they appeared to spectators (Butler, 1999). In the next section I discuss how these actions can be considered as modes of self-presentation (Arendt 1978, p. 34) in relation to place-taking and photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration.

Taking place through self-presentation

In this section, I address questions of place-making and place-taking in relation to photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration, analysing the photograph and paying particular attention to how modes of seeing implicate the self-presentation of people in flight.

Acting involves taking initiative and beginning something new, setting something in motion. It is not a beginning of the world but of somebody, and the world opens itself up to each person differently. When understood as 'the meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it, and the location of one can no more coincide with the location of another than the location of two objects' (Arendt, 1998, p. 57), the world is a public space that guarantees the existence of people. It is not what is given, but what is created by people and that will outlast them. Photographs reveal that there is no absolute relation between the physical work of objects around us, and meanings that are made are different to everyone in it (Baer, 2009, p. 243). Therefore, photographs teach us that the world, as a network of relations and connections that allows us to make meaning, does not necessarily coincide with our physical surroundings as we know them.

So, rather than being made up by the physical environment people exist in, the world is made up of the meanings that are made from and ascribed to the objects and other people in it. Visible objects and people are only politically relevant once someone has made a deliberate choice to present them to others. As people present themselves, they can participate in public spaces.
By becoming publicly visible, and in Arendt's terms beginning something new, people take political action through the act of self-presentation. How, then, is a photograph an act of self-presentation?

It could be discussed at length whether or not to appear in the first photograph was an active choice or an unintentional act of self-display by Laith Majid. However, those who appear in photographs are not necessarily seeking recognition from spectators, and may be seeking to express the power to make their own meaning by appearing in public. Through the continuous circulation of the photographs and the creation and circulation of other photographs of the family's flight and eventual arrival in Germany, appearances in photographs were shown to facilitate acts of self-presentation.

Just as Arendt argues with regard to speech, I argue that appearance comes with the possibilities of performance and taking initiative, of revealing oneself to others. However, this is dependent on the existence of a space in which one can appear. I argue that the event of photojournalism establishes such a space. As Laith Majid and his family took action, not only through their flight but in consenting to participate in the event of photography, they presented themselves in a space of appearance (Arendt, 1998, pp. 179, 198).

While looking at photographs implies enforcing a stillness to the frame, applying an identifying mode of seeing a photograph which captures a moment and freezes it in time and space – watching photographs implies a practice of seeing that extend beyond what is depicted in photographs, and that is sensitive to the actions and movements of the people photographed.

In order to further explore acts of self-presentation, I now turn to another set of photographs found in the collected material.

Another article in the first set of material stood out as an example of self-presentation (in the terminology of Arendt; 1978, 1998). Published in *Expressen* on September 6, 2015, a vox-pop-style article titled *Alans pappa och 101 andra rop på hjälp* ("Alan's father and 101 other cries for help") includes 102 portraits of people in flight (see Fig. 40). The article spanned over 10 full pages in the print edition under the vignette *flyktingkrisen* ("the refugee crisis"). The photographs are not attributed to any specific photographer, but a box on the first page of the article lists a number of staff members who contributed, although none are identified as photographers. The photographs included in this one article (102 in total) make up one fifth of all of the photographs in the material collected for this study, and the style of the article stands out among those analysed.

While the headline speaks to conventional representations of refugees as victims in need of humanitarian assistance (Malkki, 1996), the photographs tell – or rather show – a different story.

Portrait- style photographs often use shallow depth of field, which means that the background is often out of focus; frequently the frame is mostly filled by the body of the person being photographed, which is also the case in among most of the portrait photographs collected for this study.

Figure 40. Article published in *Expressen* on September 6, 2015. Screenshot by Rebecca Bengtsson Lundin, 2018.

This style of photography makes it difficult to discern elements that are potentially "foreign" to spectators, and is a strategy commonly used by newspapers to illustrate and depict events of migration and flight as being *there*, as distinct from life as it is lived *here* (Bleiker et al., 2013). Removing these potentially foreign elements of the place in which the photograph is taken could make a photograph more universally recognisable to spectators, and in the process limit the risk of reinforcing notions of otherness.

The compositional analysis, which focused on content, spatial organisation, and expressive elements, showed that the majority of the individuals who appear in the photographs are facing the camera, their gaze directed at the spectator. While most of the portraits are stamp-sized, almost every person appearing in the photographs is clearly visible. They face the camera with their gaze locked on the lens, essentially meeting the eye of the audience. Their facial expressions range from joyous to grave and serious.

Each portrait features responses to the questions "where are you?" and "where are you going?" and a quote from the photographed person, presented in first-person narration; here, then, the person who appears in the photograph "speaks" in the text. While most of the portraits are stamp-sized, almost every person in the photographs is clearly visible, facing towards the camera, their gaze locked on the lens of the camera. Their facial expressions range from joyous to grave and serious. By looking straight into the camera, they present "who" in contradistinction to "what" they are, (Arendt, 1998) and as such they self-present.

Close to everyone is attributed with at least their first name, age, and place of origin. Attribution of names is part of press ethics, but can also be used to counter reductionist terminology, such as "refugees", "immigrants", or "migrants", commonly used to describe individuals in movement and flight (Sajjad, 2018). There is a 'tendency to universalize "the refugee" as a special "kind" of person, not only in the textual representation, but also in their photographic representation' (Malkki, 1995, p. 9). These stereotypes, often drawing on iconography, are reproduced through various media, including the news. "Refugeeness" entails people in flight living up to expectations of what a refugee is and looks like.

A common way of distinguishing people in flight is by placing them in environments that are foreign to spectators and emphasising visual aspects such as torn clothes, creating a distance between the people being photographed and spectators and reinforcing deep-seated racist notions of "the other". These types of photograph might also exemplify opposite but potentially equally damaging concepts, such as victimisation and helplessness, as is the case with photographs of abandoned children in dirty clothes who appear to need rescue.

I argue that in the *Expressen* article, despite the textual aspects of the article casting people in flight in the role of refugees and the fact that they might look like "others", their appearance is not necessarily burdened by the expectations

of refugeeness – they are not forced to perform refugeeness through the photographs (Khosravi, 2010). This enables them 'show who they are, reveal their actively unique personal identities' (Arendt, 1998, p. 179). The photographs in the article in Figure 40 and those of Laith Majid present the individuals photographed in ways that highlight their vulnerability in a relatable and respectful manner.

The process of fleeing one nation-state is in itself an action which is actively discouraged by the actions of other nation-states. While territories and borders are essentially considered to be natural formations, they matter because they are ascribed meaning by citizens and leadership, and the right to access these spaces comes with citizenships of nation-states. What follows is that non-members are without rights. People who are stateless are prohibited from entering public spaces, and when they attempt to they are categorised as "rightless" and reduced to "bare life" (Agamben, 1998); in the process they become publicly invisible, while privately visible (Arendt, 1998). Through their position as refugees, and through the act of fleeing the nation-state in which they had citizenship, people become stateless, and as a result privately visible and publicly invisible.

Appearing in photographs can be a way of resisting this imposed public invisibility and reclaiming public visibility, which is the condition for political life and human dignity. As demonstrated by the findings of the compositional analysis of the photographs, people tend to become hyper-visible through the publication of photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration – that is, they are visible because they stand out, based on their appearance. One example is the photographs of Alan Kurdi that were circulated widely and appeared 35 times in the collected material; another is the photographs of Laith Majid and his family.

Their visibility is, however, conditioned by the spaces and nation-states in which they appear. The spaces of (forced) migration that appear in the material analysed during this study are generally spaces that are designed to keep people inside them, or ensure that they stay in transit. Refugee camps are designed not only to keep non-citizens in, but to keep citizens out.

Photojournalists and other members of the press are generally given access to spaces of (forced) migration in order to report, but this often comes with restrictions, as was stated by the interviewees:

> I couldn't always move freely. For example, in a refugee camp or in a fenced-off area, or when there were military personnel or a police presence. (Interviewee 2)

The interviewee said that, rather than debating with the authority or security personnel, they adapted to the situation, possibly at the expense of their practice.

Being stateless, people in flight generally do not enjoy access to public spaces, and as a result they lack not only the right to a private life but access to the rights of citizens. By appearing before the camera, they demand to be seen, and their act of flight is made visible. They present themselves to not only the photojournalist but an audience of spectators that they imagine will eventually see them, at some point in the future. In the process, both actors and spectators are joined in a space of appearance which has the potential for political action.

World-making through photographs as spaces of appearance

As analysing photographs entailed a consideration of the actions and movements of photojournalists, this section takes as its starting point encounters and interactions during photojournalistic events, with a particular focus on questions of (in)visibility. This was undertaken by connecting stories and themes from the interview study to the theoretical framework, delving further into the theoretical threads that are actualised.

Arendt argues that all people are invisible until they assume, or demand, a position in the world, and it is only at that point that they become fully and publicly visible. The common world that Arendt speaks of is not a geographical site, but is made up of the possibility of being visible and seen by others. Despite existing in spaces in which they are deprived of public visibility, appearing before the camera is a demand for public visibility on part of the people in flight.

As demonstrated in the sections above, by consenting to being photographed during a photojournalistic event, people take a place in, and consequently present themselves to other participants during, the event of photojournalism.

The interviewees talked about how some people would urge them to document the events that took place and share their stories with the world. This further speaks to an action of self-presentation – of ridding themselves of the public invisibility enforced upon them in their flight. Others wanted their photographs taken to send to their families, to let them know that they were, if not safe, then at least alive.

As people in flight were moving in and across spaces of (forced) migration they were well aware of the presence of news media, not least in terms of the presence of photojournalists, photographers, and other media professionals in the spaces they move through. Many of the refugees who appeared in these spaces declined to participate in photojournalistic events. One interviewee said that that almost half of the people that they encountered on the Greek island of Lesbos did not want to have their photograph taken. This was an implied absentee presence of spectators in the photojournalistic event (Azoulay, 2008, p. 28).

It should be noted here that abstaining from participation in a photojournalistic event does not necessarily imply that people did not wish to self-present. As I have not spoken to any of the individuals who appear in the photographs, and have to my knowledge not encountered any of the individuals that declined to be photographed, I cannot make claims about their intentions and actions.

The interviewees agreed, in line with journalistic norms, that they do not take photographs of people who do not want to be photographed. But in this case surely the people who did want their photographs taken expected these photographs to be seen by others in return?

People appear in photographs from their own point of view of the world, and they might assume, or hope, that others who sees the photographs share that worldview. The photographs of those who chose to appear before the camera made their way across the world through newspapers, other forms of news media, and social media platforms.

Not all of those who arrived in spaces of (forced) migration during the investigated period wanted to have their photographs taken. Not all go through the journey alive. Alan Kurdi, for example had no choice with regard to the publication of photographs of his lifeless body. Laith Majid expressed to the BBC that he hoped never to see the photograph again: 'It brings back the distress and suffering I experienced with my wife and children when we nearly died.' (BBC, 2015).

Those that make the choice to appear before the camera "force" the spectator, in a way, into a relationship with them – a "social contract" is formed between the public and those photographed which opens up for political action (Azoulay, 2008). The intentions and points of view of photographers and photojournalists influence what spectators see, of course, as do their mere presence in spaces of (forced) migration.

When photojournalists arrive at an event or situation, their presence affects and alters the situation. As people become aware of the camera, their actions and behaviour might change. This could be because people assume that they should behave in a certain way, or that they believe that photojournalists have an agenda or end-game. These expectations are very much amplified by the institutional power of the news. In photojournalism, and journalism in general, it is common to speak about people being photographed as *subjects*, and there is an idea that, in the moment a photographer takes out the camera, the power dynamics change and become less equal. Photojournalists' political views are manifested in the photographs they take, the aesthetic choices they make, what they choose to include or exclude, and their use of colour or black and white.

All choices made during a photojournalistic event – by both photojournalists and individuals photographed, and whether conscious or arbitrary – as well as after, leading up to publication, have implications for how the people photographed are represented, and say something about how photojournalists see other people. Herein lies much of the power, as photojournalistic ways of

seeing are disseminated to others and seen over and over again by members of the public. Moreover, because of the institutional power of the news, which is often considered to be neutral and objective, the public might accept these photographs as truthful representations without realising that the narratives of which the photographs are part have been shaped by someone else.

This understanding largely absolves the public from responsibility for their own seeing. There are power imbalances within photography – in fact, it is crucial to acknowledge these imbalances in any aspect of life. Photojournalists must be aware that their presence implicates events and situations and that they may have power over those they encounter, particularly in situations in which the relationship between them and the people they are photographing is built on the fact that the latter are rightless.

In this section I have addressed questions of place-making and place-taking in photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration by paying particular attention to how modes of seeing implicate the self-presentation of people in flight.

In the next and final section, I address the political potential of the event of photojournalism as a space of appearance, and call for a mode of seeing that reaches beyond the frames of photographs by connecting past, present, and future.

Connecting past, present, and future

Photographs are often said to be moments frozen in time or, as Sontag argues, 'memory freeze-frames' (2004, p. 22). While photographs might preserve a specific moment in history, the photojournalistic event, in the form of a visual object, does not itself freeze time. Photographs travel towards the future, both in time and space, and the comprehension of photographs and the events that are captured have the potential to effect change.

In the photograph of Laith Majid – and in fact in most photographs in the examined material – people appear at the borders of a world to which they do not 'belong', and to which they do not have access as a result of their lack of citizenship.

Borders are human constructions represented on maps, and found in human imaginations, and are given physical presence through constructed walls. There is also a physicality to borders that makes them more than socially constructed, which is painfully clear to anyone who has attempted to move past them without having the 'proper' documentation (Tuck, 2015). However, borders are not always visible: Although there are no physical borders visible in the photographs discussed in detail in this chapter, the invisible border that separates those who "belong" from those who do not is revealed. Photographs in particular show this kind of exclusion in a powerful and striking way. If

photographs are understood as mere frozen moments or evidence of events taking place in the past, an opportunity is lost.

> Seen from the viewpoint of man, who always lives in the interval between past and future, time is not a continuum, a flow of uninterrupted succession; it is broken in the middle, at the point where 'he' stands; and 'his' standpoint is not the present as we usually understand it but rather a gap in time which 'his' constant fighting, 'his' making a stand against past and future, keeps in existence. (Arendt, 1968, p. 11)

The *having-been-there* qualities of photographs often place the events and people that have been photographed in the past, as situations which have already happened. This can, of course, be the case. If people read the past through photographs, photographs are made into mediators of memory and potential witnesses of history. However, it can also lead to an annihilation of the importance of the spectator from the photograph, because if the event has already happened there is no need to (re)act to it. Here, Azoulay suggests that the only way to explore the affective power of photographs is to radically rethink the temporal limits of photography itself. She therefore urges spectators to recognise and acknowledge that the event of photography is ongoing, and not cemented in the past (2008, pp. 14–16).

Photographs deal not only with the past but with the anticipation of appearance. Photographs that are circulated and reproduced in news media can lead to people being judged and perceived as dangerous, even before they physically arrive in a certain space. As Ahmed argues,

> To recognise somebody as a stranger is an affective judgement: a stranger is the one who seems suspicious; the one who lurks. I became interested in how some bodies are 'in an instant' judged as suspicious, or dangerous, as objects to be feared, a judgement that can have lethal consequences. There can be nothing more dangerous to a body than the social agreement that that body is dangerous. (2014, p. 211).

During the analysis of the visual material, it became clear that the photographs did not only show events of (forced) migration that occurred in the past. They were clearly inscribed with movement – specifically the movement of people in flight towards Europe. This suggests that the photographs published in the four newspapers not only showed the events as ongoing and continuing but expressed sentiments of anticipation, clearly directed at the future.

This is why it is necessary to open up the analysis of photographs to the movements, events, and histories that came before the photojournalistic event and the appearance of people in photographs. Such an analysis facilitates an understanding of how 'the immediacy of bodily reactions are mediated' (Ahmed, 2014, p. 212). People 'live between the past and the future' (Arendt, 1968, p. 11), and when simply looking at photographs time is experienced as

being in the present. Photographs show spectators who are present *here* and *now* or things that took place *then* and *there* (Barthes, 1977). A watching of photographs expands the experience of time, as something that is ongoing or as something that could potentially happen in the future. Seen from this perspective, photographs themselves become testament to the temporal gap between the spectator in the present, the photojournalistic event in the past, and the possibilities of the future, acting as a bridge between these temporalities.

In encountering photographs, spectators become aware of the fact that while they are witnessing the event, they are too late to respond to it. As spectators see the photograph of Laith Majid arriving on the beach in a broken-down rubber dinghy, they are too late. They can never be *there*, in that specific place, at that specific time. Photographs are seen from the same unknown and imagined future. While the people photographed and the photojournalists who create the photographs can imagine who the spectators might be, doing so involves just that – an imagination of unknown others.

There is of course a risk that it is assumed that everyone who sees a photograph will react in the same way. This is partly true. If the public as a community is imagined as a *we* which shares a common citizenship, specific ways of seeing are established, particularly with regard to photographs. The *we* know *how* to react.

I recall a moment when I was moderating a panel debate on the works of Susan Sontag at the Museum of Modern Art in Stockholm, and one of the presenters showed photographs from the *Ceasar Report*[21] (showing people executed by the Assad regime in Syrian prisons) without warning. The reaction of the audience was instant. As soon as the first photograph appeared on the screen, almost half of the audience stood up and left the room in a way which almost felt rehearsed. A few dared to question why the presenter was showing the photographs altogether. It made me wonder why seeing these photographs was so difficult: Where does the idea that some photographs are too horrific to see come from? Can this be a result of photographs being managed by 'state-thought' and states' monopoly on violence, as discussed in Chapter 3? If people are trained to look away, face away, from violence, does the violence then not exist? If we are never given the opportunity to see, how can we *see differently*?

I understand the action of walking out, as a manifestation of a particular way of seeing that has been established and embraced by the predominantly Swedish public. We do not look at suffering people or the violently dead. Similar ways of seeing are promoted in Swedish news media, and this applies to the four newspapers examined in this study.

The Swedish press ethical rules state that journalists should 'show due respect when on photographic assignment and when obtaining pictures, especially in connection with accidents and crime', and that journalists should

[21] https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/12/16/syria-stories-behind-photos-killed-detainees

carefully consider publishing material that might violate people's privacy and integrity. According to the Swedish press ethical rules, photographs of deceased or injured people should as a general rule not be published (SJF, 2021).

In many ways, the public appear to be given a free pass when it comes to seeing photographs on the basis that spectators are considered to be passive receivers of visual information communicated by news-media outlets. Normative ways of seeing are contextualised by the dominant social, political, and cultural influences in society, and are informed by pre-existing worldviews. As a result, an ill-informed public will look at photographs by applying the ways of seeing offered by a particular context.

However, as have been argued throughout this thesis, photographs can show different things depending on how the person seeing perceives the people or objects that appear in them.

Practices of seeing require spectators to engage in the seeing process, to be active. As spectators see photographs in terms of modes of appearance, they actively engage in practices of seeing and thus the space of appearance opens up for politics.

Photographs are agentic objects of power, and 'sharable stories' that temporarily weave together the entanglements of the space of appearance, allowing the space to travel and re-open to new people. In order to understand the power that resides in the event of photojournalism, it is important to consider the potential power and agency of those who appear in photographs. One cannot separate the act of looking at photographs from the political, as the political is an integral part of the event of photojournalism.

The realisation that one is not in time for the events, violence, and actions that are shown in photographs does not mean that one is free of the responsibility to act on what is seen (Azoulay, 2008, p. 142). Looking at photographs is not a passive act, but an act of seeing and engaging in the stories of others.

To become a spectator implies an active relationship with photographs, as opposed to being a passive receiver (Azoulay, 2008); seen from this perspective, photographs are events that spectators participate in and engage with. The findings presented in Chapter 6 showed that photojournalists and news media use photographs of events which occurred in the past to engage the public with the present. This contradicts the idea of the audience as passive receivers of information, and argues for a more active interpretation. As photographs finds a spectator, they call for the spectator to take part and demand their engagement.

Photographs unfold over time, and the temporal aspects of photographs are crucial as they inform the frames that shape how spectators sees them in the past and in the future; moreover, these temporal aspects make new frames for understanding and interpreting possible. The time that passes shapes and changes how one understands the circumstances and interpretations of photojournalistic events. The time that passes between a photojournalistic event and

the publishing and republishing of photographs in newspapers allows space for reinterpretation.

This was evident in the publication and republication of the photograph of Laith Majid (see Figs. 19, 37, 38, 39). Once photographs have been published they can be republished in news settings and contexts that invite for different interpretations. While photographs show what happened at the moment the photograph was taken during the photojournalistic event, they cannot show what will happen in the future and so open up a space for imagining different futures.

Moving from looking at photographs through identifying and professional gazes to an active form of watching through a civil gaze, I am able to discern elements of movement and action within the frames. This allows me to understand the actions of Laith Majid and other people in flight as they appear in photographs as modes of not just self-display but self-presentation. I see who they present themselves to be and how they make themselves visible to me – a spectator and participant in the event of photojournalism – and appear as political subjects of rights.

Power related to the photojournalistic event, the spaces that emerge between people who have rights and those who do not, people who appear before the camera and those who do not, those who make calls on publication and reproduction of photographs: these considerations, which extends beyond the photograph, invites for alternative ways, or practices, of seeing that challenge existing power relations and open up for ways of seeing differently.

Agamben argues that only in a world in which the spaces of nation-states have been deconstructed and when citizens can recognize and accept non-citizens, refugees, the stateless and undocumented, 'only in such a world is the political and survival of humankind today thinkable' (2000, p. 37). Photographs, when approached through the event of photojournalism, could offer such a space, in which people in flight can self-present, and through this appear to others as others potentially appear to them. This can take place in spaces of appearance which are characterised by openness, multiplicity, and plurality – spaces which are, as Arendt (1968) argues, the precondition for humanity in every sense of the word.

Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have argued that photojournalistic practices facilitate the emergence of spaces of appearance with the potential for political action. I have primarily focused on the yet-to-be-determined *when-where* of photojournalistic practices by investigating photographs beyond the content of their frames, on the basis that photographs are published and circulated on platforms, and unfold their political potential during the event of photojournalism.

While photographs are often referred to as being political, emotional, and aesthetic objects, the answer I have produced to RQ3 suggests that they should also be considered to be acts which include many actors.

The main analysis in this chapter was carried out by examining the temporal and spatial dimensions in which the photograph of Laith Majid appears, moves, and interacts, as well as exploring the movements inscribed in it beyond the frame. By applying Azoulay's (2008, p. 14) approach of *watching* the appearance and movement of people in a photograph, I expanded the concept of watching to encompass the appearances of the photograph of Laith Majid as it moved across different platforms online, as well as the movements of Laith Majid and his family themselves in terms of their appearance in different photographs. By *watching* the photographs, I challenged the notion of photographs as representations of passive refugees subjected to spectators' gaze, and instead proposed a view that focuses on the actions embedded in their appearance within photographs and how the event of photojournalism can expand this action. I argue that photographs not only facilitate the appearance of people in flight but offer the opportunity to conduct an analysis relating their appearance in photographs to their movements in, across, and out of spaces of (forced) migration.

In answering RQ3, how the appearance of people in flight is implicated by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs as part of the event of photojournalism. I found that the photographs not only showed events of (forced) migration that occurred in the past but were clearly inscribed with movement – specifically, the movement of people in flight towards Europe. This suggested that the photographs published in the four newspapers not only presented the events as ongoing and continuous, but expressed sentiments of anticipation clearly directed at the future.

People, as Arendt writes, live between the past and the future. Time is experienced as being in the present. A photograph shows a spectator who is present *here* and *now* something that took place at a specific time *then* and *there* (Barthes, 1977), but that appears to be ongoing, or will potentially happen in the future. Photographs are themselves testament to the temporal gap between the spectator in the present and the photojournalistic event in the past.

In identifying the civil gaze, a civil mode of seeing, watching the photographs enabled me to discern movement and action within the frame – specifically, that of people in flight. Hence, I was able to experience their self-presentation, as they made themselves appear during the event of photojournalism, as political subjects of rights.

Chapter 8: Reconsidering appearance in photographs of flight

Having addressed the research questions by presenting and analysing the empirical data in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I conclude this study by bringing some of the arguments made earlier in the text to the fore. First, I return to the theoretical framework in order to highlight the most significant findings from the analysis of the photographs of people in flight in view of the theoretical framework. Second, I relate these findings and conclusions to findings from the interviews with photojournalists, which modifies and deepens the knowledge retrieved from the study. Findings from the elaborations concerning action and movement in and of photographs that were made in Chapter 7, are intertwined in these accounts and add further layers to the understanding of the event of photojournalism, particularly as related to spaces of (forced) migration.

Drawing on this, I present the overall conclusions and point to the contributions this study makes with regard to future research in the field of (photo)journalism.

Returning to the aim and research questions

By investigating the appearance of people in flight in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration in 2015, this study aimed to explore the potential of photojournalistic practices in creating spaces of appearance where people fleeing war zones can appear as subjects of rights. The aim was operationalised through three research questions:

RQ1: What appears in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration that were published in *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, and *Sydsvenskan* in 2015?

RQ2: What elements constitute and shape photojournalistic practices according to the photojournalists interviewed? How do they relate their practices to journalistic norms in general, and when working in spaces of (forced) migration in particular?

RQ3: How are action, movement, and encounters between the actors in a photographic event inscribed in selected photographs? How is the appearance of people in flight reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs in the event of photojournalism?

The first research question (RQ1) addressed appearance in relation to photographs of flight taken in spaces of (forced) migration by directing attention to the *here-now* of photojournalistic practices. The second research question (RQ2) addressed elements that constitute and shape photojournalistic practices and how photojournalists relate their own practices to journalistic norms, including objectivity, detachment, and impartiality by directing attention to the *then-there* of photojournalistic practices. The third research question (RQ3) addressed the appearances that emerge from photojournalistic events as well as the conditions for these appearances in relation to the findings from RQ1 and RQ2 by directing attention to the potential *when-where* of photojournalistic practices.

As this study progressed, I probed a variety of issues concerning the making and taking of photographs of people in flight and the social and political values that photojournalistic practices (and photographs) reveal. I used the notion of appearance to bring together a range of theoretical perspectives in order to construct a more holistic, innovative and insightful approach to photojournalistic practices and photographs. By considering photographs as agentic entities resulting from the many encounters between people involved in the event of photojournalism, I explored the social and political relations that emerge from these encounters, which, in return, called for an examination of questions of citizenship and visibility vis-à-vis. photography.

The ability of people to appear to others is closely linked to one's citizenship, and is facilitated or restricted by the legislations of nation-states. People in flight, who are moving in search of refuge, lose their ability to appear to others at will, as their movement is governed by national jurisdictions and legislation which limit avenues of human encounter and appearance. Appearance and acting are closely intertwined concepts that promote plurality and diversity. It is through action that people appear to others as unique individuals. To become a political subject requires one to be physically present and appear to others in a specific time and place. The space of appearance is constituted as people as people i*nter*act with each other –directly or by association— and a relational, political space is established as people embody and make visible their uniqueness.

Appearances in photographs

In order to pursue the aim, I investigated how, when, and where people in flight appear and what appears to them in the photojournalistic event. Photographs of people in flight are traditionally viewed as representations that focus on the passive victimisation or active vilification of the people captured by the camera. I examined people's appearance in various spaces of (forced) migration through a compositional analysis which showed that photographs served different purposes. While some were published to illustrate ongoing events and show what happened in a specific place at a specific time, others were used as visual representations of people in flight. For example, photographs that served an illustrative purpose were often taken from a distance, and the people that appeared in these photographs were either obscured or positioned too far away for spectators to be able to see them clearly. People in these photographs were not named in the captions or the text accompanying the images. When photographs were used to represent refugees or migrants, or the process of (forced) migration, people who appeared in the photographs were rarely given an active voice, nor were they mentioned in the journalistic text.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed that people appeared either on their own, or in crowds of 10 or more. The photographs in which people appeared alone were mainly portraits, in which the person photographed was framed from the waist up, and their body occupied most of the frame. In contrast, photographs of 10 or more people were photographed from a distance, and other elements, such as dark water or borders dominated the visual composition of the photographs. While the latter findings (i.e. photographs of crowds that anonymise people in flight)) echo findings presented in existing research on media and migration, the former findings (i.e. portraits that humanise) were unusual as people in flight are often made publicly invisible through international and national legislation, and news media often present them as passive and lacking agency.

In contrast to this, the findings demonstrated how photographs and photojournalism allow people in flight to become the focus of analyses of their actions and movement. Their appearance in photographs speaks to their ability to self-present to the world. A significant example of this was an article in *Expressen* which presented over 100 portraits of people in flight, where nearly everyone was attributed with at least their first name.

Related to this, I analysed how people's appearance was either securitised or humanised –i.e. presented from a humanitarian perspective— depending on the visual elements in the frame. Nearly two thirds of the photographs were categorised as humanitarian appearance, and just over one third were categorised as securitised appearance. A major finding revealed that the circumstances for appearance are quite different depending on the presence of other people (and objects) in the photojournalistic event. For example, the presence

of military or other types of uniformed personnel lead to a securitised appearance.

The visual analysis reveals that people in flight appear in various spaces of (forced) migration, including specific sites such as beaches, train stations, or cities and countries, which I categorised into three points of appearance: boats, borders and camps, out of which the border, either physical or evoked, was the most common point of appearance. The findings reveal that people in flight generally appear as facing or walking towards a (imagined) border outside the frame of the photograph, and the photojournalists were frequently positioned on the same side of this border. Spaces of (forced) migration such as borders are legitimised and normalised through the production, reproduction, and circulation of photographs and other images such as maps and graphs. Through photographs, spectators can see, consume, and visually experience these spaces. A conclusion drawn from the examination of photographs is that borders reify and politicise the appearance of people in flight, as they essentially regulate people's movement within and across these spaces.

As a visual analysis of photographic content can only offer insights into part of the event of photojournalism, it is essential to interview practicing photojournalists in order to add context by learning how their experiences, feelings and beliefs influence the elements that shape and constitute photojournalistic practices. The interviews enabled me to examine how photojournalists (including other visual news professionals and photo agencies) contribute to political economies of visual knowledge production through the various systems of photojournalistic production and circulation. The insightful accounts of these photojournalists are embedded in the conclusions drawn in this study. Three key elements that shape and constitute photojournalistic practices were identified through the interview study: emotions, technologies, and places.

Emotions

As photojournalists use practical knowledge in their practices, the findings show they relate to the press ethical rules as tools that assist them in their practice, rather than considering them to be rules to be obeyed and followed blindly. I found that photojournalists frequently challenge normative approaches to photojournalism as they find their own ways of practicing and seeing, deviating from the professional gaze, while covering unsettled events. As a result, photojournalists continuously re-interpret and adapt the press ethical rules to each specific situation, highlighting the need for a reflective approach to their photojournalistic practice. A conclusion drawn form this is that in these circumstances, photojournalists apply a civil gaze – one that is active and engaged – as they navigate the photojournalistic event and these actions in turn have implications for the visual construction of news. The findings suggest that photojournalists' individual practices create micro-ruptures in the normativity that govern photojournalistic practices and that these occur most

frequently when photojournalists are reporting on unexpected situations and events and when they have to make fast decisions regarding their practice while under pressure, such as when reporting in spaces of (forced) migration. An important conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that these micro-ruptures contribute to the development of and changes in photojournalism as a field of practice.

Technologies

The findings further highlighted the importance of technologies in photojournalistic practices, which are enacted through the interaction of humans and technologies. It became clear through the interviews that the camera is not merely a tool that captures photographs, but an object that facilitates human interaction and enables unique relationships between the photojournalist and the photographed, particularly when working in situations that force them to depart from normative journalistic conduct. Photojournalists regularly used their cameras both as a shield to create the necessary distance for them to carry out their practices according to the press ethical rules and as a means to approach, get close to, and connect with the people they photographed. Another important technological aspect turned out to be the use of different types of lenses during the photojournalistic event. The photojournalists interviewed stated that they prefer to use short lenses which require them to be physically near the events and people they photograph.

Moreover, the findings point to the fact that materiality, as a precondition of politics and political action, is contingent on technologies and as a result appearance takes shape, and place, through that very materiality. The camera allows people to see the ongoings of the world, and awards them the ability to imagine the world anew. The content of action and, as demonstrated in this study, photographic content, are targeted towards the spectator. The camera, in the hands of photojournalists, thus has the ability to mediate the ways in which people present themselves to others through their actions and appearances. While Arendt does not elaborate on the role of technologies in the enactment of appearance, a conclusion drawn from this study is that in addition to action being understood as a capacity that reveals agency, technologies and material objects impose a directionality that shapes action, in this case by evoking particular ways of showing and seeing. Just as much as it affords action through appearance, technology can also facilitate the manufacturing of certain other gazes, perceptions and inclinations. Technologies involved in the reproduction and recirculation of images also carry crucial material and symbolic implications and thus have theoretical significance. While beyond the scope of this study, the mediating power and contradictory role of technologies in photojournalism and how these are related to appearance are worthy of academic attention.

Places

As people in flight move towards territories organised to uphold the nationalistic ideals of nation-states, their presence make visible the physical and imagined borders of these territories. Related to this, I have argued for the place-making qualities of photojournalistic practice and the examination of photographs in combination with the interview study, which demonstrated the importance of place-related considerations.

The input from the interviewees and respondents of the interview study highlighted the fact that photojournalists, by moving to, through, and within spaces of (forced) migration, not only take photographs but partake in the appearance of people in flight; in this process, spaces of (forced) migration become the stage on which the photojournalistic event is performed. Including and engaging with photojournalists' experiences further facilitated an understanding of how photojournalistic practices shape politics, without necessarily focusing solely on photojournalists' intentions and perspectives. While other aspects, such as photographic content, spectators and their encounters with photographs, and the implications of photojournalistic practices are crucial to study, the context/s that surround photojournalistic practices, as revealed through the interviews, are equally significant. Taken together, the merger of the three key elements discussed above – emotions, technologies and places – in combination with the findings from the compositional analysis demonstrated empirically how such an expansion of the space of appearance can be imagined.

The potential of the event of photojournalism

By analysing photojournalistic practices as photojournalistic events that unfold in spaces of (forced) migration, I made a case for a consideration of photographs as shareable stories and agentic entities that travel through time and space in the form of the event of photojournalism. I further argue that photojournalistic practice can potentially facilitate how people in flight appear as subjects of rights. As stateless people, the actions of people in flight cause them to appear in what this study refers to as spaces of (forced) migration. This means that there is action in fleeing, even when flight is the only possible action a person can take. Fleeing then means holding life dear and showing that life is worth living outside war zones, only for this right to be denied as soon as people reach a border.

In this study, I have argued for an expansion of Arendt's notion of appearance to include photographs as potential sites for political action, established in the form of the event of photojournalism. I demonstrated how photojournalism can open a space of political relations that operate beyond the dominating structures of nation-states.

Through action (appearance, speech, or otherwise), people appear and present themselves in public through speech, and in return they are heard and seen by others. Every act means starting something new and initiating a new beginning. By revealing oneself in the space of appearance human beings go from being an *anyone* to a *someone*, a unique and unforeseen person. Through action, spaces of appearance open up, not in the sense of specific geographical locations but as people organise themselves as communities. And so, appearance come with the possibilities of performance and taking initiative, of revealing oneself to others. However, this is contingent on the availability of a space in which one can appear. I argue that the event of photojournalism establishes such a space as photojournalistic practices, including the photojournalistic event and the event of photojournalism, provide a platform to question citizenship, particularly with using photography to display the dynamics that govern people in flight. By appearing in photographs, people fleeing actively disclose themselves as unique individuals and challenge the dominant perspectives about the world, and particularly their own position within it.

In order to apply appearance as a theoretical tool, I utilised different modes of seeing in my approach to the material. The three modes of seeing applied here were adapted from Azoulay and corresponds to the three activities of active life. Arendt linked appearance to action, and in this thesis, I equated seeing with action to understand *how we see* and *how we ought to see*. Approaching photojournalism in this way allowed me to challenge the notion of photographs as representations of passive refugees, and instead propose a view that focuses on the actions (such as the act of fleeing) ingrained in the appearance of people fleeing in photographs, and how the event of photojournalism serves as an expansion of their actions. I have argued that photographs not only have the ability to facilitate the appearance of people in flight but constitute a site to analyse their movements into, across, and out of spaces of (forced) migration.

Photojournalism produces shareable stories that are the results of actions and images, and make these stories the main component of a particular space of appearance. As shareable stories, photographs are not limited to the status of representations (if considered as "re-presentations"), but can serve as *presentations anew*. When photographs are circulated, reproduced, and encountered, they enact realities, because they originate from action. To act is to begin something anew, to take initiative, regardless of the form this action takes. People can never truly be the sole authors of their own life stories, as stories are often interrupted, intervened and fragmented. They can be plural and spontaneously emerge in different places, making storytelling an essentially spatial practice.

By considering photography as civil space, my analysis demonstrated a departure from conventional understandings of photojournalism that focus on the intentions of photojournalists or spectators – in which the photographed is considered a passive subject. Instead, I engage with the photographed as an actor in the citizenry of photography. The appearance of people in flight is

reinscribed by the continuous publication, reproduction, and circulation of photographs as part of the event of photojournalism. A conclusion drawn from this study is that the photographs not only show events of (forced) migration that occurred in the past, but they are clearly inscribed with movement – specifically, the movement of people in flight towards Europe. This suggests that the photographs published in the four newspapers not only presented the events as ongoing at the time, but conveyed sentiments of anticipation clearly directed at the future.

The empirical findings further support my conviction that photographs should be considered to be acts in and of themselves – acts which include many actors. This understanding does not stand in opposition to other understandings that have been presented. While the publication of photographs runs the risk of fuelling "border spectacles", I argue that the appearance of people in flight at a border and other spaces of (forced) migration in photographs reifies and politicises their appearance.

Contributions

While primarily placed within the field of (photo)journalism studies, the interdisciplinary approach of the study lends itself to other academic fields, such as the wider field of media and communication studies, migration and refugee studies, and visual studies. The study contributes to the existing body of literature by addressing the potential and limitations of photojournalistic practices. Studies on photojournalism often have a strong empirical focus, and a tendency to focus on either the content of photographs or the perspectives and intentions of photojournalists. I developed a framework for analysing these aspects as entanglements, woven together in spaces of appearance.

In relation to journalism studies, this study contributes empirically with a detailed account of the complexities of photojournalistic practices and appearance. The focus here was photojournalism and photographs as an ongoing process, rather than photographs as the mere finite outcomes of these practices. The findings presented in this study primarily concern photojournalistic practices in a Swedish-newspaper context, related to the implications of photojournalists' presence in spaces of (forced) migration and *what* appeared in four Swedish newspapers at specific moments in time (and *how* and *why* this occurred). However, I argue that the conclusions drawn and presented herein are also relevant for other forms of news content and journalistic contexts.

By applying an appearance framework based on Arendt's political theory on empirical material, the study sought to make an original contribution to journalism studies and scholarship on photojournalism. I designed a theoretical framework around two intertwined concepts: action and appearance. Action is shaped by people setting forth to create something new though speech

and, as I argue in this thesis, through appearance. Appearance demands spectators, and is intrinsically linked to seeing. Combining useful analytical tools adapted from the fields of visual culture with Arendtian notions of appearance and an understanding of photographs as agentic entities and shareable stories, this study brings the political potential of photojournalistic practices to the fore. Linking practice to a framework of appearance centred on movement and action, it contributes to a critical agenda for theorisations and research that takes the actions of actors during the event of photojournalism into consideration and puts people in flight at the centre.

By adopting this approach, I engaged in a critical exploration of and reflection on the ways in which traditional approaches to analysing photographs reproduce identifying and institutionalised ways of seeing people in flight. We are obliged to see these photographs, and we must use our ability to watch photographs; we must focus not on the representational narratives that are established through news media, but on seeing individuals as participants in the event of photography. As we apply this mode of seeing, the civil gaze, people in photographs can appear as subjects of rights. The responsibility then, I argue, lies not necessarily in the act of looking, but in the experience of seeing, as a means of civil-political engagement. The findings of this study show that photojournalistic events unfold into spaces of appearance as spectators encounter photographs and engage in them through a civil gaze. An important contribution of this study is thus that it reveals the often-overlooked potential of photojournalistic practices to offer a possible space for people in flight to appear as subjects of rights, as photographs are considered to be shareable stories and agentic entities that travel through time and space in the form of the event of photojournalism.

By applying a multi-method approach, I weaved together a compositional analysis which focuses on the outcomes of photojournalism practices (photographs) and an interview study with photojournalists in order to examine photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration. This approach meant that I abandoned the idea that all methods must work according to the same logic and follow the same rules and instead, I used each method for its unique strengths and qualities, and combined them in order to limit their weaknesses and limitations. Applying a holistic methodological approach that considered photographs as both material objects and immaterial practices – things which are *here-now*, while continuously unfolding into something potentially different – facilitated an investigation into photographs *as* practices, and showed the possibilities and benefits of combining two approaches that are generally utilised separately. Several of the findings and contributions of this study can be attributed to this approach. Neither of the two methodological approaches is novel in journalism studies but – as I made a case for in Chapter 4 – the use of methods that have both qualitative and quantitative qualities allowed me to operationalise the research aim in a way that contributed novel results and discussions.

Another significant contribution of the study is the fact that it showed that Swedish photojournalists often rely on practical knowledge in their practice, particularly in what can be referred to as precarious, vulnerable, and unexpected situations, when they are often required to make fast and ethically conflicted decisions regarding whether or not to photograph. The findings show that photojournalists often apply a professional way of seeing to their practice, which is institutionally and contextually structured by editorial guidelines, selection, and press ethical rules. These rules arrange and control what is made visible to spectators through the publication of photographs and influence which activities and events are considered to be newsworthy. The findings further suggest that photojournalists can use another form of seeing in their practice, which is linked to the use of practical knowledge, often obtained through previous experience, and related to theoretical frameworks such as the press ethical rules. In this sense, the press ethical rules are part of photojournalistic practice, without necessarily dictating this practice.

Furthermore, this thesis shows that in encounters with people in flight, who have been stripped of their ability to appear in public spaces, the practices of photojournalists have the potential to transition from *work* into *action* in the diction of Arendt. This points to the importance of adding practical knowledge into discussions on journalism. Many of the discussions taking place in journalism today are largely theoretical, and start from ethical guidelines and editorial policies. The experiences of photojournalists, and "gut feelings" in particular, should be considered to be esteemed parts of photojournalistic practice.

Finally, the study showed that photojournalism, as a visual practice, not only visualises events of (forced) migration for the public but facilitates the appearance of, and encounters with, visual stories about situations and people who are often pushed to the margins of the law and nation-states. In seeking to provide rich empirical detail of the complexities of appearance and people in flight, rather than focusing on the photographs as the end product, this study also speaks to a lack of thorough investigations of the elements that shape and constitute photojournalistic practices, and how these allow spaces for photojournalists to transition from *work* to *action*, in Arendt's diction.

Limitations of the study and future research

This is not an exhaustive study of all photographs published everywhere; it was limited to photographs published in the print editions of four Swedish newspapers. I do not claim that all photographs published in newspapers can establish a space of appearance in which people appear as unique individuals. As was demonstrated by the findings presented in Chapter 5, many photographs are only reproduced as illustrations of on-going situations. What I do argue is that all photojournalistic events inherit the *potential* to become events

of photojournalism as photographs are continuously encountered by spectators. I chose not to conduct a comparative study between the four newspapers investigated here, however, I see great potential in undertaking such a study, and further to expand the scope to an international context. This would enable researchers to explore what visual aspects overlap or differ among the different publications. While newspapers offered the site to analyse photographs in the clearly delineated spaces of the newspapers, future research could broaden the scope to include other news outlets such as television and online newssites. In terms of exploring the social imaginaries of flight, exploring how radio reproduce photographs using audio would be fascinating to investigate. I did not examine the potential negative appropriations of these photographs in alternative media or various memes and posts shared on social media platforms.

Furthermore, another obvious limitation of this study is the lack of engagement with one of the main actors in the photojournalistic event – people in flight. While the focus here was not to find out who or how people in flight are, including the life histories of people fleeing and an analysis of their experiences of appearance would likely have added important insights and provided "flesh" to this study. Future studies would benefit from conducting visual ethnographic work engaging in people's experience of being photographed in flight.

Final remarks

An aim of this study was to contribute to a body of research that acknowledges the potential of photojournalistic practices in creating spaces of appearance that open up for different spaces of politics, in which people in flight can appear as subjects of rights. I posed appearance as something that can be won or lost, by examining who appears in photographs taken in spaces of (forced) migration, and further explored the conditions for and implications of their appearance. I addressed the reciprocal qualities of appearance – as I appear to someone they appear to me. Expanding Arendt's politics of presence to include an absentee-presence, I conclude that the event of photojournalism allow people to appear before each other, in different time-spaces in ways that are conducive for human dignity.

This thesis offers insights into mediated and mediating ways of seeing and their implications by: (1) examining photojournalism and photographs as a combination of content, practice, and place-making that produces events of photojournalism; (2) linking these to the notion of spaces of appearance and the potential for political action that ensues; (3) providing a specific account of photojournalism as a practice that enables modes of self-presentation; and (4) reflecting on encounters that unfold during the event of photojournalism

due to the fact that photographs, as shareable stories and agentic entities, are reproduced and circulated in time and space.

By providing new theoretical and empirical perspectives on photojournalistic practices, this study has emphasised the symbolic power of photojournalism in the shaping of social imaginaries on migration and spaces of (forced) migration, the role of technologies in the enactment of appearance, securitised and humanitarian responses to migration, and the significance of technologies in imagining, organising, and surviving (forced) migration.

My ambition is that, through this study of a specific set of photographs of people in flight, I furthered the understanding of the complexities of appearances in relation to photojournalism practices. Having practiced, studied, and taught journalism in higher education contexts and other, informal settings, I have experienced a tension – a strained relationship – between theory and practice. I have noted this with students, teachers, colleagues, and practitioners alike; at times it has been hard to pin down, but it is always present. I hope that this study can help to bridge the gap between theory and practice, and provide a starting point for a dialogue which will further develop photojournalism as a practice and a theoretical approach, and inspire further studies in the field.

Sammanfattning

Introduktion

Framträdande och *handlande* är sammanflätade begrepp – det är genom handling som människor framträder inför andra som unika individer – vilket förutsätter pluralitet och mångfald. För att kunna framträda politiskt som ett subjekt inför andra krävs temporal och rumslig närvaro. När människor handlar tillsammans uppstår politiska och relationella rum i formen av det som Arendt benämner som *framträdelserum*.

Människors förmåga att *framträda* inför andra är nära kopplad till deras medborgarskap och kan underlättas eller begränsas av nationalstaters lagstiftning. Människor på flykt förlorar sin förmåga att framträda inför andra eftersom deras rörelse är under nationell jurisdiktion och lagstiftning, vilket i sin tur begränsar deras möjligheter till mänskliga möten och framträdande.

Genom att ge nya teoretiska och empiriska perspektiv på *bildjournalistiska praktiker* och *seendesätt*, fokuserar avhandlingen på fotografiers symboliska kraft vid utformningen av sociala fantasier om migration och rum av (påtvingad) migration. Avhandlingen undersöker även teknologiers roll vid framträdande, hur gränser konstrueras och föreställs genom fotografier samt betydelsen av framträdande för att människor ska kunna föreställa sig, organisera sig och överleva flykt.

Bildjournalistik och fotografi ses här som en relationell praktik, där fotografier ska ses både som ett materiellt resultat av bildjournalistiska praktiker och som en kontinuerlig praktik i sig själv. Studien är en undersökning av bildjournalistiska praktiker som har sin början redan i planeringen av *det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket*. Detta inkluderar fotografierna i sig, och sträcker sig bortom fotografiets ramar som en del av *den bildjournalistiska händelsen*.

Studien granskar traditionella angreppssätt för att diskutera fotografier och bildjournalistiska praktiker relaterade till människor i flykt. Enligt dessa traditioner är fotografier begränsade till det innehåll som är synligt inom bildens inramning och produkter av fotografers intentioner.

Syfte och forskningsfrågor

Avhandlingen har som syfte att undersöka hur olika *rum av (påtvingad) migration* framträder i fotografier publicerade i svenska dagstidningar under

2015. Avhandlingen undersöker även hur människor som rör sig inom och genom dessa rum framträder i de publicerade fotografierna. Ett ytterligare syfte är att utforska hur bildjournalistiska praktiker potentiellt kan skapa framträdanderum där människor på flykt kan framträda som rättighetsbärare.

Tre forskningsfrågor har utformats för att uppnå syftet:

Fråga 1: Vad framträder i de fotografier tagna i rum av (påtvingad) migration som publicerades i Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen och Sydsvenskan under 2015?

Fråga 2: Vilka element utgör och formar bildjournalistiska praktiker enligt de intervjuade bildjournalisterna? Hur relaterar de sina praktiker till journalistiska normer i allmänhet och till när de arbetar i rum av (påtvingad) migration i synnerhet?

Fråga 3: Hur är handling, rörelse och möten mellan aktörerna i bildjournalistiska ögonblick inskrivna i utvalda fotografier? Hur framträder människor på flykt på nytt genom kontinuerlig publicering, reproduktion och cirkulation av fotografier i den bildjournalistiska händelsen?

Teori

Arendts politiska teorier hjälper mig att utforska både bildjournalisters framträdande i rum av (påtvingad) migration och hur människor som rör sig inom och genom dessa rum framträder i fotografier. Genom att tillämpa ett ramverk med utgångspunkt i Arendts politiska teori om framträdande och *det aktiva livet* (Vita Activa) på ett empiriskt material ger studien ett originellt bidrag till studier inom bildjournalistik.

Vidare vänder jag mig till Azoulay för att utforska idén om fotografi som ett fotografiskt medborgarskap där fotografiet ses som ett socialt kontrakt som binder människor tillsammans. Fotografier betraktas här som objekt med agens som härrör från de många mötena mellan människor som är inblandade i händelser av bildjournalistik. Fokus är på de sociala och politiska relationer som uppstår i dessa möten. Detta öppnar upp för en undersökning av frågor kring medborgarskap och synlighet i förhållande till fotografi (Azoulay, 2008).

Metod och material

Studien har ett primärt kvalitativt, multi-metodiskt tillvägagångssätt där en intervjustudie med bildjournalister kombineras med en visuell analys av fotografier. Intervjustudien består dels av fördjupade, semistrukturerade intervjuer med bildjournalister aktiva i Sverige, dels av en enkät besvarad av medlemmar i Pressfotografernas Klubb.

Den visuella analysen består av en kompositionsanalys inspirerad av Roses (2016) ramverk för kritiska visuella metoder. Vidare applicerar jag här Azoulays (2008, s. 14) metodologiska ansats i att *se fotografier* genom att undersöka rumsliga och temporala aspekter av den bildjournalistiska händelsen. Analysen är inspirerad av Arendts (1998) framträdandeteori och fokuserar på begreppen rörelse och plats.

Genom en kompositionsanalys av det visuella innehållet undersöker jag genom Forskningsfråga 1 hur människor och föremål framträder i fotografier tagna i rum av (påtvingad) migration. Forskningsfråga 1 riktar i första hand analytiskt fokus på aspekter av här och nu i bildjournalistiska praktiker. Det görs genom att utforska fotografier som visuella resultat av bildjournalistiska ögonblick.

Genom en intervjustudie med fokus på hur bildjournalistik praktiseras bland bildjournalister som publicerar sina fotografier i svenska tidningar, granskar jag i Forskningsfråga 2 de element som utgör och formar bildjournalistiska praktiker och hur bildjournalister relaterar sina praktiker till journalistiska normer, med avseende på objektivitet, oberoende och opartiskhet. Forskningsfråga 2 riktar i första hand analytiskt fokus på aspekter av där och då i bildjournalistiska praktiker genom att undersöka de processer som leder fram till bildjournalistiska ögonblick och ägnar särskild uppmärksamhet åt bildjournalisters egna sätt att se.

Med utgångspunkt i resultaten av kompositionsanalysen och intervjustudien undersöker jag genom Forskningsfråga 3 några utvalda fotografier på djupet. Detta görs genom att se på fotografier som framträdanden som uppstår i *det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket*. Vidare ämnar jag att utforska de villkor som finns för dessa framträdanden genom att undersöka bildjournalisters praktiker, samt utforska fotografierna bortom dess inramning för att förstå den politiska potential de har som framträdanderum. Forskningsfråga 3 riktar i första hand analytiskt fokus på aspekter av när och var i bildjournalistiska praktiker genom att analysera fotografier bortom deras innehåll samt utforska den politiska potentialen för *den bildjournalistiska händelsen*.

Empiriskt är den visuella delen av studien avgränsad till bildjournalistiska skildringar av (påtvingad) migration i Aftonbladets, Dagens Nyheter, Expressens och Sydsvenskans tryckta utgåvor.

Jag fokuserar främst på redaktionella nyhetsbilder, vilket innebär att jag utesluter en stor mängd potentiellt intressant material, så som illustrationer, grafiska mönster, medborgarskapade fotografier och andra bilder. Studien är

vidare begränsad till bildjournalistiska praktiker i en svensk tidningskontext, framför allt i relation till praktiker som ägde rum inom, runt och om rum av (påtvingad) migration under 2015, även om undersökningen i visst hänseende utökas temporalt (till händelser före och efter detta år) och rumsligt (till andra rum och platser). Även om studien inriktar sig på fotografier och bildjournalistiska praktiker relaterade till svenska tidningar är resultaten och slutsatserna jämförbara och tillämpliga på andra nationella och internationella sammanhang.

Intervjustudien är i sin tur avgränsad till bildjournalister som publicerat fotografier i svenska dagstidningar. Många, men inte alla, av dessa intervjupersoner rapporterade kring flyktingkrisen och om människor på flykt under flykt 2015. Drygt hälften av de som svarade på enkäten rapporterade om flyktingkrisen vid något tillfälle. Intervjustudiens fokus var att undersöka bildjournalisternas erfarenheter av yrket i allmänhet, med ett särskilt fokus på deras arbete i rum för (tvungen) migration.

Genom att kombinera resultaten från intervjustudien med den visuella analysen av fotografier som publicerats i svenska dagstidningar kunde jag rumsligt och temporalt avgränsa studien.

Jag vill poängtera att studien inte uttömmande granskar den bildjournalistiska rapporteringen av vare sig den så kallade ”flyktingkrisen” 2015 eller all migration som har ägt rum sedan dess. Vidare är det bildjournalistiska praktiker, och följaktligen fotografier, som är huvudfokus, inte (påtvingad) migration som fenomen. Jag undersöker vidare de praktiker som leder till att ta, göra och reproducera fotografier, utan att nödvändigtvis göra bedömningar av potentiella etiska och moraliska konsekvenser av dessa praktiker.

Diskussion och slutsatser

För att uppnå studiens syfte undersökte jag hur, när och var människor på flykt framträder, och vad som framträder inför dem i det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket. Studien tar därmed avsteg från traditionella tolkningar av ögonblick där fotografier av människor på flykt ses som representationer av passiva flyktingar eller hotfulla migranter som har fångats av kameran.

Min analys visar att publiceringen av de undersökta fotografierna fyller olika syften i tidningarna. En del fotografier används för att illustrera pågående skeenden, och andra för att visa vad som hände på en specifik plats vid en viss tidpunkt. I vissa fall användes fotografierna som representationer för människor i flykt. Fotografier som användes för att illustrera skeenden var ofta tagna *på* avstånd och människorna som framträder var antingen skymda eller befann sig för långt bort för att kunna identifieras. I andra fall tillskrevs de inte

namn vare sig i bild- eller brödtext. När fotografierna användes för att representera flyktingar eller migranter, eller flykt, hade individerna som syntes i fotografierna sällan en aktiv röst, eller omnämndes inte i artiklarna.

Undersökningen visar att människor framträder antingen enskilt eller i grupper om 10 eller fler personer. De fotografier där människor framträdde enskilt är huvudsakligen porträtt där deras överkropp upptar större delen av ramen. Nära hälften av de undersökta fotografierna var porträtt, vilket var ett överraskande resultat, då tidigare forskning visat att nyhetsmedier tenderat att porträttera människor på flykt som passiva och utan handlingsförmåga. Resultat från denna studie visade snarare att människor på flykt framställs som handlande individer, och deras närvaro i fotografierna blir ett uttryck för deras förmåga att framträda och *själv-presentera* sig i världen. Ett betydande exempel på detta var en artikel i Expressen som bidrog med över 100 porträtt av människor på flykt där i princip samtliga nämns med åtminstone sitt förnamn.

De fotografier där 10 eller fler personer är synliga är oftast tagna på avstånd och det visuella uttrycket domineras ofta av andra element, så som mörka vatten eller gränser. Dessa resultat är tydligare kopplade till vad tidigare forskning har kommit fram till.

Jag undersökte också hur människors framträdande ramas in som antingen *humanitärt* eller *säkerhetiserat* beroende på fotografiernas visuella uttryck. Ett betydande resultat är att förutsättningarna för framträdande är olika beroende på närvaron av andra människor i det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket. Till exempel leder närvaron av militär och annan säkerhetspersonal till ett *säkerhetiserat* framträdande.

Intervjustudien möjliggjorde att undersöka vilka element som formar och utgör bildjournalistiska praktiker. Bildjournalisternas insiktsfulla redogörelser bidrog till flera av studiens slutsatser. Tre nyckelelement som formar och utgör fotojournalistiska praktiker identifierades genom intervjustudien: *känslor*, *teknologier* och *platser*.

Betydande resultat visar att bildjournalister ofta använder praktisk kunskap i sin praktik. Jag fann att bildjournalister relaterar till snarare än betraktar de pressetiska spelreglerna som något som ska följas blint. En slutsats som dras är att bildjournalister ofta utmanar normativa tillvägagångssätt för bildjournalistik när de hittar sina egna sätt att praktisera och se, vilket till viss del avviker från en *professionell blick*, särskilt när de rapporterar i osäkra och oroliga situationer. Därmed tolkar och anpassar de kontinuerligt de pressetiska reglerna till varje specifik situation, vilket lyfter fram behovet av ett reflekterande förhållningssätt till bildjournalistiska praktiker. Jag menar att bildjournalister i dessa omständigheter tillämpar en *civil blick* som är engagerad och aktiv och med hjälp av denna navigerar de det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket. Dessa handlingar har vidare konsekvenser för hur nyheter konstrueras. Resultaten visar att bildjournalisters individuella handlingar och praktiker leder till mikro-avbrott i normativa bildjournalistiska praktiker och dessa uppstår oftast i oroliga och osäkra situationer, som under den så kallade flyktingkrisen.

Dessa situationer kräver att bildjournalisterna handlar och tar beslut snabbt. En betydande slutsats som kan dras av dessa resultat är att dessa mikro-avbrott bidrar till utvecklingen av och förändringar av bildjournalistiska praktiker.

Resultaten av intervjustudien betonade vidare vikten av teknologier i bildjournalistiska praktiker, då kamera inte bara sågs som ett verktyg som tar fotografier, utan även underlättar mellanmänsklig interaktion i skapandet av relationer mellan bildjournalister och de människor de fotograferar. Jag fann att kameran kan användas dels som en sköld för att skapa ett nödvändigt avstånd mellan bildjournalisten och den fotograferade, dels som ett sätt att komma nära andra människor. En aspekt av fotograferandet som stod ut var användningen av olika objektiv i det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket, där de flesta av de intervjuade bildjournalisterna föredrog att använda objektiv med brännvidd runt 50 mm, vilket kräver att de befinner sig fysiskt nära de situationer och människor de ska fotografera.

Kameran förmedlar alltså de sätt på vilka människor presenterar sig för andra genom sina handlingar och framträdanden. Även om Arendt själv inte utvecklar teknologins roll vid framträdande, drar jag slutsatsen att förutom att förstå handlingar som en kapacitet som avslöjar agens, så har teknologier och materiella objekt en *direktionalitet* som formar handlingar, i fallet här, genom att framkalla särskilda sätt att *se*. Genom min undersökning av fotografier tagna i rum av (påtvingad) migration i kombination med intervjuer med bildjournalister har jag visat på vikten av att beakta bildjournalistikens platsskapande egenskaper,

Bildanalysen avslöjade att människor på flykt framträder på specifika platser så som stränder, tågstationer eller städer och länder, som jag organiserade i tre utseendemönster: båtar, gränser och läger, där gränser var det mest frekvent förekommande motivet. Resultaten visar på att människor i flykt i allmänhet framträder vända mot en (imaginär) gräns utanför fotografiets ramar, och att bildjournalisterna ofta var placerade på samma sida denna gräns. En slutsats som dragits av undersökningen är att gränser aktualiserar och politiserar människors framträdande på människor, eftersom gränser i huvudsak reglerar människors rörelse inom dessa rum.

I avhandlingen argumenterar jag för att bildjournalistiska praktiker kan underlätta hur människor på flykt framträder som rättighetsbärare. Flykt är i sig själv en handling, även om det är den enda handlingen dessa människor har möjlighet att göra. Intervjustudien belyste det faktum att genom rörelser mot, inom och genom rum av (påtvingad) migration, tar bildjournalister inte bara bilder utan deltar även i människors framträdande och därigenom förvandlas rum av (påtvingad) migration till en scen där det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket utspelas.

I studien argumenterar jag för en utökning av Arendts krav för framträdande som inkluderar fotografier som potentiella platser för politisk handling. De tre nyckelelementen som identifierades genom den tematiska analysen av

intervjustudien – känslor, teknologier och platser i kombination med den visuella analysen – bidrar empiriskt till att visa hur Arendt framträdanderum kan utökas till att inkludera fotografier i formen av den bildjournalistiska händelsen.

Genom att framträda får människor möjlighet att agera och ta initiativ och i den processen visa sig själva inför andra. För detta krävs ett framträdanderum. Människor framträder genom att handla och visa upp sig och samtidigt höras och ses av andra människor. Varje handling innebär att skapa något på nytt, och genom att framträda i framträdanderummet har människor möjlighet att gå från att vara ett *vad* till ett *vem*, en unik och oväntad person.

Jag menar att bildjournalistik skapar framträdanderum, där det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket och den bildjournalistiska händelsen skapar ett sätt att förstå frågor kring medborgarskap, särskilt i relation till människor på flykt. Studien drar slutsatsen att bildjournalistik har en potential att skapa ett framträdanderum som sträcker sig bortom det bildjournalistiska ögonblicket. Eftersom livet självt är ändligt, söker människor odödlighet genom sina handlingar, och lämnar sin historia efter sig att berättas vidare.

Genom att se på bilderna utforskar studien olika dimensioner av tid och rum i bilderna bortom den stillhet som påtvingats av dess inramning, med fokus på de rörelser och platser som kan urskiljas. Resultaten visar vidare att bildjournalistik inte bara visualiserar händelser av (påtvingad) migration, utan de underlättar uppkomsten av och möten med människor i flykt. Den bildjournalistiska händelsen erbjuder på så vis ett rum som erkänner flykt som en handling. Avhandlingen drar slutsatsen att fotografier inte bara ska tolkas som representationer, utan snarare som presentationer-på-nytt, med människors framträdande i fotografier som ett bevis på deras förmåga att presentera sig. Genom att framträda i fotografier återvinner människor på flykt en del av den spontanitet som de har fråntagits i egenskap av att bli statslösa individer. Detta ger människor möjlighet att åter-framträda inför andra som rättighetsbärare.

Avhandlingen ger insikter om medierade och medierande sätt att se och implikationer genom att: (1) undersöka bildjournalistik och fotografier som en kombination av innehåll, praktik och platsskapande som ger händelser inom bildjournalistik; (2) koppla dessa till begreppet utseende och möjligheterna för politisk handling som följer; (3) tillhandahålla en specifik redogörelse för bildjournalistik som en praxis som möjliggör självframställningssätt; och, (4) reflektera över möten som utspelar sig vid bildjournalistik på grund av att fotografier, som delbara berättelser, återges och sprids i tid och rum.

Studiens bidrag

Studien ger en robust empirisk redogörelse för den inneboende komplexiteten i bildjournalistiska praktiker. Vidare betraktas fotografier som kontinuerliga

händelser snarare än att förstås som ändliga resultat av dessa praktiker. Det finns, såvitt jag vet, inga befintliga studier av bildjournalistiska praktiker bland svenska bildjournalister som tar ett sådant grepp.

Medan studien främst är inriktad på det journalistikvetenskapliga området kan det tvärvetenskapliga angreppsättet med fördel appliceras inom andra discipliner, till exempel medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap, migrations- och flyktingstudier samt visuella studier. De resultat som redovisas rör främst bildjournalistiska praktiker i ett svenskt dagstidningssammanhang, och tar upp konsekvenserna av bildjournalisters närvaro i rum av (påtvingad)migration.

Studien bidrar till den befintliga litteraturen genom att utforska potentialen och begränsningarna för bildjournalistiska praktiker. Bildjournalistiska studier har ofta ett starkt empiriskt fokus och en tendens att fokusera på antingen bilders innehåll eller bildjournalisternas perspektiv och avsikter.

Handling formas av att människor ges möjlighet att skapa något nytt genom tal. Jag menar i denna avhandlingen att detta även formas av framträdande. Att framträda ställer krav på en åskådare. Därigenom kopplas framträdanden och sätt att se samman. Genom att relatera bildjournalistiska praktiker till framträdande bidrar studien till en kritisk agenda för teoretisering och forskning som tar hänsyn till aktörers handlingar i den bildjournalistiska händelsen och sätter människor i flykt i centrum. Jag hoppas att jag genom denna studie visat på vikten av att ta hänsyn till människors framträdande och handlande i rum av (påtvingad) migration, särskilt i relation till bildjournalistiska praktiker.

Nyckeltermer

Bildjournalistiska praktiker	Photojournalistic practices
Civil blick	Civil gaze
Den bildjournalistiska händelsen	The event of photojournalism
Direktionalitet	Directionality
Framträda	Appear
Framträdande	Appearance
Framträdelserum	Space of appearance
Handlande	Action
Humanitärt framträdande	Humanitarian appearance
Professionell blick	Professional gaze
Rum av (påtvingad) migration	Spaces of (forced) migration
Seendesätt	Ways of seeing
Själv-presentera	Self-present
Säkerhetiserat framträdande	Securitised appearance

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of interviewees

Interviewee 1	In-person
Interviewee 2	Phone
Interviewee 3	In-person
Interviewee 4	Phone
Interviewee 5	In-person
Interviewee 6	In-person
Interviewee 7	In-person
Interviewee 8	In-person
Interviewee 9	In-person
Interviewee 10	Phone
Interviewee 11	In-person
Interviewee 12	In-person
Interviewee 13	In-person
Interviewee 14	In-person
Interviewee 15	In-person
Interviewee 16	In-person
Interviewee 17	In-person

Additional information about the interviewees

Age range	Youngest: 21 years old Oldest: 69 years old
Interviewees identifying as female	8
Interviewees identifying as male	9
Interviewees with self-proclaimed experience of trans-national migration, either forced or privileged	6
Interviewees with one or more parents born in a country other than Sweden	8

Appendix B: Interview guide

	Cluster	Question focus
1	Work environment and occupational freedoms in their practice	Concerning the interviewees' personal backgrounds, current position, and employment status as well as contextual details about editorial and journalistic frameworks
2	Power and influence over their practice	Focusing on stories about their own movement and appearance in certain spaces at certain times
3	The role of photographs	Focusing on the role and purpose of photographs in the wider journalism field
4	Journalism ethics	Their motivations for practicing, with a focus on ethical and moral considerations and implications
5	Encounters	Focusing on the interviewees' view on the encounters they have with the people they photograph
6	Emotions	Focusing on the relationship that photojournalists have with emotions in their practice

Appendix C: Questionnaire

1	Title
2	Work-related data such as type of employment and primary genre
3	Primary work location
4	Experience of covering events of (forced) migration in 2015
5	Experience of working in developing countries and war and conflict areas
6	The option was given for respondents to disclose their age, gender, and contact details should they be interested in participating in an interview, but this was not required.

The questionnaire included six clusters of statements related to the respondents' views on the following topics:

	Cluster	Response options
1	Work environment and occupational freedoms in their practice	*Always*, *most often*, *occasionally*, *rarely*, *never* or *not relevant*
2	Power and influence over their practice	*Great influence*, *strong influence*, *moderate influence*, *little influence* or *no influence*
3	The role of photographs in journalism	*Agree*, *mostly agree*, *mostly disagree*, *disagree* or *no opinion*
4	Their relationship to journalism ethics	*Always*, *most often*, *occasionally*, *rarely*, *never* or *not relevant*
5	Their view on encounters with the people they photograph	*Very important*, *important*, *not especially important*, *not important* or *depends on the situation*
6	Their relationship with emotions in their practice	*Always*, *most often*, *occasionally*, *rarely*, *never* or *not relevant*

Appendix D: Coding schedule and instructions for collecting articles

ARTICLES		
	Variable	**Value**
1	Year	Year of publication
2	Month	Month of publication
3	Title	Title of article
4	Newspaper	AB, DN, EXP or SDS
5	Date	Date of publication
6	Page	Page number in newspaper
7	Relevant content	Yes or No
8	Photograph	Yes or No
9	Type of photograph	Portrait (P), Illustrative (I) or On-site (O)
10	Relevant photograph	Yes or No
11	Genre	Editorial (E), News (N), Foreign/World News (W), Chronicle/Column (Ch), Culture (Cu), Sports (S), Debate (D), Interview (I), Front page (F), Letter to editor (LN), Other (O)
12	Keyword	Migra* or flykt*
13	Comment	Useful comments regarding the photographs

Coding instructions for articles

(1) Year
Enter the year the article was published.

(2) Month
Enter the month of publication.

(3) Title
Enter the title of the article.

(4) Newspaper
Enter the name of the newspaper.

(5) Date
Enter the date of publication.

(6) Page
Enter what page of the newspaper the photograph was published on.

(7) Relevant content
Enter whether the content is relevant within the scope of the study.
Values: Yes or No

(8) Photograph
Enter if a photograph is included in the article.
Values: Yes or No

(9) Type of photograph
Enter what type of photograph is included.
Values: Portrait (P), Illustrative (I), or On-site (O).

(10) Relevant photograph
Enter if the photographs are relevant.
Values: Yes or No

(11) Genre
Enter what vignette the photograph (and article) was published under.
Values: Editorial (E), News (N), Foreign/World News (W), Chronicle/Column (Ch), Culture (Cu), Sports (S), Debate (D), Interview (I), Front page (F), Letter to editor (LN), Other (O).

(12) Keyword
Enter what keyword was used in the search to identify the article.

Values: flykt* or migra*

(13) Comment
Enter any comment that would be useful for continued analysis.

Appendix E: Coding schedule and instructions for photograph analysis

PHOTOGRAPHS			
	Variable	**Value**	**Modality**
1	Article	Title of article	Social
2	Newspaper	AB, DN, EXP, or SDS	Social
3	Date	Date of publication	Social
4	Page	Page number in the newspaper	Social/technological
5	Genre	Editorial (E), News (N), Foreign/World News (W), Chronicle/Column (Ch), Culture (Cu), Sports (S), Debate (D), Interview (I), Front page (F), Letter to editor (LN), Other (O)	Social/technological
6	Number of photographs	Number of photographs in the article	Technological
7	Photographer	Name of photographer	Social
8	Photo agency	Name of photo agency	Social
9	Caption	Swedish caption	Social
10	Caption summary	Summary of Swedish caption in English	Social
11	Attribution of name	Name of person(s) who appear in the photograph	Social
12	Colour/black-white	Colour or black/white	Compositional (colour)
13	Photograph thumbnail		Compositional
14	Size of photograph	Full page, 2/3, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/6, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, or stamp	Technological/compositional

Coding instructions for organising photographs

(1) Article
Enter the title of the article.

(2) Newspaper
Enter the name of the newspaper.
Values: AB, DN, EXP or SDS.

(3) Date
Enter the date of publication of the article.

(4) Page
Enter what page of the newspaper the photograph was published on.

(5) Genre
Enter what vignette the photograph (and article) was published under.
Values: Editorial (E), News (N), Foreign/World News (W), Chronicle/Column (Ch), Culture (Cu), Sports (S), Debate (D), Interview (I), Front page (F), Letter to editor (LN), Other (O).

(6) Number of photographs
Enter the number of (relevant) photographs included in the article.

(7) Photographer
If applicable: enter the name of the photographer.

(8) Photo agency
If applicable: enter the name of the photo agency.

(9) Caption
Enter the Swedish caption that accompany the photograph.

(10) Caption summary
Enter a summary of the Swedish caption using up to five keywords in English.

(11) Attribution of name
If applicable: enter the name(s) of the people that appear in the photographs.

(12) Colour or black/white
Enter the colour of the photograph.
Values: Colour or black/white.

(13) Photo thumbnail
Enter a thumbnail of the photograph.

(14) Size of photograph
Enter the size of photograph relative to the full page using eye measurement.
Values: Full page, 2/3, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/6, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, or stamp.

Coding schedule for compositional analysis

1	Main focus	Person, Adult, Child, Object, or NA + activity	Compositional (content)
2	Number of people	0-9, or 10 or more	Compositional (content)
3	Eye contact	Yes or No	Compositional (spatial organisation)
4	Proximity	Distance, near or close-up	Compositional (spatial organisation)
5	Indicator(s)	Up to five (5) codes	Compositional (content, expressive content)
6	Migration theme	Humanitarian or securitised	Compositional (expressive content)
7	Place	Borders, Water, Camp or Other	Compositional (spatial organisation)
8	Mobility	Movement or still	Compositional (expressive content)

Coding instructions for compositional analysis

(1) Main focus
Enter the person(s) or objects that are the main focus of the photograph.
Values: Person, Adult, Child, Object, or Other.

(2) Number of people

Count each person that appears in the photograph, from 0 to 10 or more. At least the upper body and face must be fully visible in the photograph. Enter the value 0 if only an object appears the photograph.
Values: 0-9 or 10 or more.

(3) Eye contact
Determine if the person(s) is making eye contact with the camera.
Values: Yes or no.

(4) Proximity
Enter the perceived proximity of the person(s) or object(s) that appear in the photograph. Person(s) and object(s) that are perceived as being far way, unrecognisable or undistinguishable are to be categorised as distant. Person(s) and object(s) that appear in full body and are recognisable to the public are to be categorised as near. Lastly, zoomed-in photographs (more than half of the upper body) are to be categorised as close-up.
Values: Distant, near or close-up.

(5) Indicator(s)
Enter up to five (5) codes.
Values: Portrait, Grave (expression), Joy, Rescue, Security, Crowd, Waiting, Confined, Train, Fence, Boat, Walking, Death, Disturbed (expression), Solitude, Motorway, Affection, Restriction, Togetherness, Greeting, Play, Aerial, Bags, Food, Fire, Bike, Bus, Car, Vehicle, Landscape.

(6) Migration theme
Enter the main theme of the photograph. Use the indicators in Category 5 for reference.
Values: Humanitarian or securitised.

(7) Place
Enter the main place identified the photograph. Use the indicators in Category 5 for reference.
Values: Border, Camp, Water, Other.

(8) Mobility
Enter the perceived mobility or immobility of the person(s) or object(s) that appear in the photograph. Photographs of vehicle such as cars, boats and bikes, as well as people who appear to be in motion in the form of walking, playing, and dancing, for example are categorised as movement. Photographs of people who are seemingly still, either by posing for the camera or being kept still by force (such as by fences or barriers) in camps, or encircled by uniformed personnel, are categorised as still.
Values: Movement or still.

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This study explores photojournalistic practices by investigating how spaces of (forced) migration, as well as the people and objects moving in and across them, appeared in Swedish newspapers in 2015.

Employing Arendt's notion of appearance in terms of both photojournalists in spaces of (forced) migration and others who are moving in and across these spaces, the results indicate that photojournalism, as a space of appearance, potentially stretches beyond the photojournalistic event. The findings further show that photojournalistic practices do not only visualise events of (forced) migration, but they facilitate the appearance of, and encounters with, people in flight. The event of photojournalism offers a space which recognises fleeing as an action. By appearing in photographs, people in flight regain part of the spontaneity that they have been deprived of as stateless individuals, giving them an opportunity to reappear before others as subjects of rights. The thesis concludes that photographs should not merely be construed as representations, but rather as presentations *anew*, with people's appearance in photographs being testimony to their ability to self-present.

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