An Iconography of Pity and a Rhetoric of Compassion

War and Humanitarian Crises in the Prism of American and French Newsmagazines (1967-95)

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The media and humanitarian crises: A growing sense of victimization

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The role of the media in conflicts and human crises is increasingly recognized as a cause of psychological trauma experienced by individuals. The following sections will explore how media coverage of humanitarian crises can affect individuals directly and indirectly, highlighting the ethical considerations involved in reporting such events.

1996: The 1996汕头事件
2006: The 2006 Mumbai attacks

The chapter explores the intricate relationship between media representation and the perception of humanitarian crises, emphasizing the importance of balanced and responsible reporting in shaping public understanding and response.
framing was strengthened even further by the story of Ezzeldeen Abu Al-Aish, a Palestinian doctor who worked in Israel. He lost three daughters and a niece when they were killed by an Israeli shell. While he was providing live reports on Channel 10 every night by phone from the Gaza Strip, his tragedy took place right in front of international viewers on January 16, 2009. It was widely broadcast by international news organizations, thus revealing increased media interest in the collective or individual suffering of others. After the rush of foreign journalists into Gaza immediately following the opening of the border, it even seemed that the war reporting on Gaza was unusually condensed and focused mainly on the human costs of the conflict. The resulting reports were focused on individual, family-scale tragedy, such as this article from Time:

You can measure the destruction in Gaza by the number of bombs dropped or buildings flattened or the price to rebuild it all, but the real cost lies within people like Abed Raba, whose pain and sense of loss are apparent from the moment you meet him. [...] Israel has begun investigating some of the more egregious allegations about civilian deaths, which are multiplying as Gaza picks itself up from the rubble. (Tim McGirk and Jebel Al-Kashif, *Voices from the Rubble*, Time, January 29, 2009)

What is shown by these war ‘anecdotes’ elicits sociological consideration: far more than a man’s suffering, it is the father figure that is being focused on and the loss of his children. While this is hardly unique to this war, as we read in recent studies on the use of children in international news coverage (Moeller, 2002; Wells, 2007), this type of framing reveals a growing concern for children as ‘innocent victims’.

A story that uses children is seemingly transparent in its meaning. Dead children [ ... ] have become too familiar icons at the turn of the millennium. Today’s disasters, which are hard to follow even with a scorecard, are made more comprehensible and accessible by the media’s referencing of children – even if that focus on children is a false or distorted consciousness, a simulacrum of the event. (Moeller, 2002: 37)

The media’s referencing of children is not new and is part of the history of modern humanitarianism. Western sensibilities toward the innocent victims of war were already characteristic of the aftermath of World War I.2 Benefiting from the cover of the mass media, modern humanitarianism has played a controversial role in arousing public awareness and influencing politics (Minar et al., 1996; Robinson, 2001). It has thus contributed to the appearance of the ‘victim’ concept and its representation in the media during the twentieth century, together with the associated images of pain and death.

‘Victimology’ or ‘victimization’ then offers an immediate reading of the various types of people involved in humanitarian crises by dividing them into a simplistic scheme of ‘villains’, ‘victims’ and ‘heroes’ (this refers to humanitarian actors in the field). This has raised the concern of Rony Brauman, a former head of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) who produced a series of documents (Brauman, 1993; Brauman and Backmann, 1996) in which he discusses the concept of ‘the purity of the victim status’:

[The media insist] on the symbolic level of the ‘victim status’ […] this one is considered as a victim only when he or she is seen as an effigy of unfair suffering, of innocence. Victim of a cruel nature, of an absurd war – others’ wars are always absurd – merciless armed gangs, of a bloody dictator, but pure victim, non-participant.7 (Braun and Backmann, 1996: 24)

Trapped in what may be considered an insensitive iconography, the media representations of humanitarian crises insist on compassion ‘ clichés’ that have in fact been perpetuated over time. Therefore, an effort should be made to gain better historical understanding of these types of framing.

This chapter explores the rhetoric of compassion from a humanitarian perspective across space and time. If recent works have shown the salience of a sensational emotional and compassionate discourse in the media reporting of recent conflicts (Moeller, 1999), they still lack a broader understanding of the historical and cultural perspective (Mesnard, 2002). Indeed, if media representations insist on figures innocent suffering, such as women and children, their narratives and images often back on older collective references and memories. The media discourse has thus help sustain the persistence of stereotypes and ‘ clichés’ in social representations of the ‘man’ and the ‘other’.

The aim of this chapter is to propose the first results of an exploratory analysis of the narratives and images of war between the 1960s and the 1990s. Four humanitarian crises resulting from armed conflicts were chosen with the intention of drawing on a historical and geographical perspective: the Biafra Civil War and famine (1967–70), the Lebanon War (1975–82), which is limited here, however, to the specific period that involved international military intervention (1982–84); the Bosnian War as part of the general conflict in the Balkans (1992–95); and the Somali Civil War and famine.10

Based on an analysis of ‘framing mechanisms’ (Ghannem, 1996) taken from a sample of major illustrated reports between 1967 and 1993, the analysis will focus on a particular medium that consists of four international and national magazines: Time, Newsweek, Le Nouvel Observateur and L’Express. This empirical comparative study will help us to understand the media representations of civil wars over time (from the 1960s to 1970s to the 1990s) and space (western and African spheres), especially when it comes to conflicts in the Third World.12 This study focuses on the concept of framing as its semiotic application surrounding the visibility of the ‘pain of others’ (Sonta, 2002) in order to underline how collective memory is deeply rooted in the media shaping of international conflicts.
If esthetics are particularly significant in evoking images of pity, the two other topics function as means of labeling persecutors, provoking moral condemnation, encouraging military intervention (the topic of denunciation) and depicting victims and emotions (the topic of sentiment), as has been stated by Choulairaki:

Two dimensions of the spectator–sufferer relationship are relevant to the analysis of the 'eloquence' of pity, its production in meaning. These are the dimensions of proximity-distance and watching-acting. How close or how far away does the news story place the spectator vis-à-vis the sufferer? How is the spectator 'invited' by the news story to react vis-à-vis the sufferer's misfortune – look at it, feel for it, act on it? (Choulairaki, 2008: 374)

Consequently, the following questions derived from these concepts are related to the identification of these specific humanitarian framings:

1. Is there any significance given to the suffering of innocents?
2. Are there any specific visual framings?
3. What about the rhetoric used?
4. Are there any differences between US and French newsmagazines?

The 'Topic of Denunciation': Crises Qualifications and Moral Condemnation

Labeling a conflict with the term 'massacre' or 'genocide' is scarcely insignificant and often recalls a past event that is still present in people's memory. As we have pointed out before, historical parallels play an important role in the way journalists characterize conflicts, parallels that are in fact an essential part of the history of humanitarian action. In his study of the representation of victims in collective memory, the French historian Philippe Mesnard (2002) has identified two memorable and disruptive periods in the history of conflicts during the twentieth century.

The first one is related to World War II and the genocide of European Jews. Absolute symbols of 'total war' and the failure of western democracies to confront barbarism, the large-scale bombings of cities and civilians, the endless sieges and battles, and the massive human losses have been a turning point in the war reporting. Above all, pictures of Nazi concentration and extermination camps and the scale of the Jewish genocide represented a unique moment in history (Zelizer, 1998). As a result of the horror and incredulity this event provoked, any comparison with a previous conflict was made impossible, marking this genocide as the ultimate reference point of atrocity.

The second turning point identified by Mesnard occurred in the late 1960s, somewhere between the Biafra Civil War and the Vietnam War. Both of these conflicts took place at a time when newsmagazines were competing with television, thus marking this period as the golden era of photojournalism. Characteristic of these distant wars was that reports of civilian slaughter formed a memorable point at a time of an impressive social and political activism in western societies. It was emblematic of the appearance of war casualties involving innocent with iconic images of the starving African child and the Napalm girl in Vietnam.

References to World War II and the Jewish genocide are frequent in the reports analyze in this study, both implicitly and explicitly. As the Biafra crisis exploded in media coverage during the summer of 1968, that is, at the height of the famine, the parallels drawn between the situation of Iboos rebels and the Jews were frequent. They were considered 'the Jews of Africa' (Le Nouvel Observateur, February 14, 1968: 14) and have been called the victims of the largest pogrom in contemporary African history' (Martyrdom and Birth of a Nation Le Nouvel Observateur, August 26, 1968: 18–19). At the same time, a discussion of the definiton of genocide arose in political circles in France, mainly due to the activism of young French doctors such as Bernard Kouchner (who will later found MSF). Many pictures, however, focusing on close-ups of starving children gathered along the walls of huts, played on this to the parallels, as this caption in Time indicates: 'In this land, the choice seems to be between starvation and slaughter' ('A Bitter African Harvest', July 12, 1968: 20). The question of genocide will regularly appear later on, especially in the case of Bosnia and the issue of ethnic cleansing.

When it comes to urban and guerrilla fighting, such as in Beirut during the Lebanese War the parallels were obvious between the situation in Beirut and the famous city sieges and the brutality of World War II. Indeed, at the beginning of the Israeli surprise offensive on Beirut in the summer of 1982, the city was seen as 'the new Stalingrad' ('Beirut: The Palestinian Apartheid', Express, June 25, 1982: 62–3). At the time of the slaughter in Sabra and Chatilly in September 1982, parallels with the atrocities of 1939–45 were re-enforced, and the Palestinian refugee camps were compared with 'ghettos', the 'indiscriminate massacre of women, old people and children' with a 'pogrom' ('For the Honor of Israel ... Le Nouvel Observateur, September 24, 1982: 38'), and persecutors even tried to erase evidence of the events: 'And when it was over, they attempted, in a manner reminiscent of World War II, to destroy the evidence by bulldozing the bodies into makeshift common graves' ('The New Lebanon Crisis', Time, September 27, 1982: 8–12).

It seems that this explosion of violence is not understandable in the late twentieth century, which has also seen the rise of human rights and the end of long-lasting conflicts in western societies. For European readers, this violence cannot be explained and brings humanity back to its primitive origins, such as it appears again in the massacres and ethnic cleansing during the Bosnian War: 'Many of Sarajevo's 300,000 remaining residents are wondering why outside powers are permitting such primitive violence to unfold on the very doorstep of a postmodern Europe that has supposedly outgrown it' ('The Siege of Sarajevo', Newsweek, July 6, 1992: 22–3).

Witnesses, particularly aid workers who are sometimes witnesses of daily killings in the field, are not sparing with the parallels, sometimes unbelievable, they draw to the past, when barbarism was common in the practice of war, long before any law of war had been
The topic of sentencing: Toward a Typology of Victims and Offenders

have been cited as a source of data for the development of a typology of victims and offenders. The typology is based on the recognition that there are different types of victims and offenders, and that these differences can be useful in understanding and addressing the criminal justice system. The typology is divided into four categories: (1) the victim who is a target of crime, (2) the victim who is a witness to crime, (3) the victim who is a perpetrator of crime, and (4) the victim who is a bystander to crime. Each category is further divided into subcategories based on specific characteristics, such as age, gender, and socioeconomic status. The typology is intended to help law enforcement and the criminal justice system better understand the needs of different types of victims and offenders, and to develop more effective strategies to address crime and its impact.
the closer they are to Europe, the better chances they have to solicit a response from the western publics and its pity. There is also a defined hierarchy in the sociology of the victim; age and gender play an important role. Men are usually taken as potential combatants and are rarely used in pictures used to illustrate civilian casualties. Women have less opportunity to fight and therefore embody the female incarnation of softness, motherhood and fragility. Weakness is also an attribute of old people, their tired bodies appearing to the cameras. But as Brauman (1993) comments, purity is deeply connected with victimology. Thus, who can be purer or more innocent than a child? ‘This iconicity means that in war reporting, images of children are critical sites on which narratives about the legitimacy, justification and outcomes of war are inscribed’ (Wells, 2007: 55).

Because of this, Biafra offers an interesting case study. As the first massively covered African famine, it is because of the appearance of iconic images of starving African children and their associated attributes, such as swollen bellies, blonde hair due to kwashiorkor and skeletal bodies. They embody the slow ‘agony’ of the innocents and the ‘living-dead’ at the height of the famine in August 1968 (‘ Martyrdom and Birth of a Nation’, Le Nouvel Observateur, August 26, 1968: 18–9). Depicted as a ‘child’s war’ (‘Agony in Biafra’, Time, August 2, 1968: 19), the conflict in Biafra called upon the will of western citizens to endure this tragedy and maybe act to put an end to the injustice. As Wells (2007) argued, representations of children have a very specific place in the iconography of war. Unlike images of adults that are inscribed into discourses of moral blame and political calculation, images of children may be fitted into a universalizing discourse. In such a discourse, ‘the world’s children’ should be protected from the conflicts of adults (extending from parental conflict through to international conflict), and deserve the care and concern of any adult, regardless of their national or political allegiances. (Wells, 2007: 66)

A similar media representation is decisive for conflicts in Europe. At the beginning of 1982, Time had published a special issue on the case of ‘Children of War’ (January 11, 1982: 16–39), its correspondents having visited war-torn countries such as Cambodia, Ireland and Lebanon to meet more than 30 children and their living conditions. Perfect apolitical incarnations, these children at the same time embody the future of a nation: ‘Children are a synecdoche for a country’s future, for the political and social well-being of a culture’ (Moeller, 2002: 39).

As a consequence, when Operation Peace of the Galilee started in June 1982, Time was tempted to track down those Lebanese children who were used in its first report in January, to illustrate their lives under a siege. ‘The hope was to find these children alive after three weeks of war; if not to meet them face to face, then at least to learn of their whereabouts’ (‘Seven Days in a Small War’, July 19, 1982: 14–19).

The result was a six-page report, written as a diary, which on a daily basis followed the lives of four children in a ruined city, boys and girls, some grieving their dead parents, others playing soldier, one of them being wounded. Through this individualization, their tragedies in fact personify the future of every child trapped in a situation of violence and ac on western viewers at an emotional level. In order to do so, the media choose to position children’s injuries as an exceptional, unforeseen and certainly unintended outcome of war. While the agents of ‘our side’s’ military violence are routinely erased in representations of war, ‘our’ agency in rescuing the child from these unintended consequences is highlighted in more or less dramatic ways (Wells, 2007: 66).

The choice to write this war report as a diary is quite interesting: more than simply at external account by a journalist-witness, it offers a very specific focus on individualization thus enhancing the readers’ capacity to get to the very heart of the story and questioning the moral justification of a war: ‘the human presence of the sufferer […] ranges from the undifferentiated mass of “miserable”, […] to an individual with a personal biography and cultural history’ (Chouliaras, 2008: 383).

The same result was produced by the story of the ‘Child of Srebrenica’ in May 1993. The boy, called Sead Bekric, was photographed as blinded, covered in blood, lying on a stretcher. The picture was widely broadcast and made the front cover in publications such as Newsweek (May 10, 1993: cover). The boy became a sort of icon, an innocent target of adults’ savagery. In discussing his story, L’Express explained the necessity of showing such pictures (May 6, 1993: 5) by remaking the whole circle from the ‘bombed child, the blinder child, the saved child’ to the ‘exhibited child, as if the focus on an individual’s tragedy would be the perfect alibi for refusing such tragedies on a larger scale: ‘Some people fear that this image will trivialize the unbearable. On the contrary, it shows it, and writes it into collective memory. And, without the picture of the wounded child, Srebrenica would have risked being erased’.

Yet such an increasing focus on the figures of innocence embodied by children must no suppress the fact that civilians, no matter how old they are, are regular targets in armed conflicts:

The de facto hierarchy is expressed in how the media report on war crimes, for example. Crowned by the most innocent, the hierarchy begins with infants and then includes, in descending order, children up to the age of 12, pregnant women, teenage girls, elderly women, all other women, teenage boys, and all other men. (Moeller, 2002: 49)

Lebanon consecrated the framing of civilians as the first casualties in war, trapped in a city siege under bombardment and taken as the ‘spoils of war’ (Time, June 28, 1982: cover) or as hostages (‘The Dark Days of Yasser Arafat’, Le Nouvel Observateur, July 3, 1982: 34–6). This mise-en-scène was even strengthened by pictures of complete destruction, old women crying in the midst of the ruins of the buildings. The story of Beirut later influenced the story of the Sarajevo siege during the Bosnian War, something quite obvious when one compares the covers from French and US newsmagazines in 1982–83 and with those in 1992–95. A corresponding recurrence can be seen in the use of language, with the increase in religious semantics during the Bosnian War and the famine in Somalia: civilians are being ‘crucified
world. These social representations often evolve over an extended period of time, some events suddenly crystallizing as absolute reference points in collective memory, as Mesnard (2002) has shown for World War II, Biafra and Vietnam.

Consequently, in the four newsmagazines chosen for this study, we have found a recurrence of cultural, traditional codes for western societies, both in pictures and in terms of semantics. These codes function at several levels; first, they act as classification categories, in particular by defining what is a 'massacre' or what is 'genocide'. Second, they indicate a gradation in the distinctiveness and scale of the event and do by the extensive use of a connoted vocabulary, which makes use of references to the Judeo-Christian roots of western societies and the religious semantics (charity) of modern humanitarianism. Finally, they label a crisis by choosing quick shortcuts to past events, thus acting as simplifying summaries: 'Formalized coverage of similar types of crises makes us feel that we really have seen this story before. We've seen the same pictures, heard about the same victims, heroes and villains, read the same morality play' (Moeller, 1999: 13). As Moeller has emphasized, this simplifying scheme often functions by using an archaic triangular relation between the victim ('the good one'), the persecutor ('the bad one') and the hero ('the savior').

The limit of sensibility in the West has developed strongly since the beginning of the twentieth century, revealing new concerns for justice and the well-being of mankind. It is related to what the English sociologist Geoffrey Gorner (1955) has called 'the pornography of death' or the unbearable witness of 'the pornography of pain' (Halftmann, 1995). The risk of victim status can also be explained by the fact that civilians have become the principal casualties in conflicts since World War II, though a trivialization with regard to certain situations has led to 'compassion fatigue' (Moeller, 1999).

Nonetheless, the victim remains an undefined element. It changes depending on the type of crisis involved: while the focus was largely on children during the Biafra crisis, they appear alongside old women in Lebanon and Bosnia and combine with a crowd of all ages in Somalia.

How can we explain a particular focus on a certain kind of victim at a given time? There are still few answers to this question, although some hypotheses can be put forward. Focusing on an individual's career, instead of on an anonymous crowd, emphasizes the 'propositions of commitment' made by the reader (Boltanski, 1993: 215). Thus, they allow identification with, or even indignation concerning, their poor condition. We can see this, for example, in an article of Newsweek published during the Bosnian War in which a multitude of refugees are drowned in the same anonymous voice: 'All we can do is suffer: the plight of Yugoslavia's 1.5 million refugees' (May 25, 1992: 10–1).

How do I make the suffering of a people mine? How do I confront an individual's tragedy with which I can identify? This approach differs radically from the Time article 'Children of War' or the story of the 'Child from Srebrenica'. This seems to be a privileged angle in the media representations of very recent conflicts, as we saw in the case of the war in Gaza at that moment in the media coverage when the conflict had ended, when it seemed there was only place for laments of the innocent and for rebuilding lives that had been torn apart.

In spite of the ethnic differences and their impaction on the visibility of victims, this typifying frame is quite often chosen in media representations of humanitarian crises as soon as the lives of civilians are at stake, when the international community is called upon because of trampling of fundamental human rights: meanwhile, the fate of the victim (or victims) hangs in the balance. The categorical status of the victim, as Brauman (1993: 150–77) point out, is instrumental in the construction of an 'international event' that would command the attention of a mediated public. The ideal, authentic victim is pure inasmuch as he or she has been deprived of their basic rights and meaningful agency. Moreover, the victim is public insofar as the conditions of his or her existence have become an object of discourse (DeChaine, 2002: 362). The more victims are deprived of their rights, the more their innocence is affected, the more they call out for an injustice to be corrected. By headlining 'Belgrade's injured innocence' (June 22, 1992: 12–3), Newsweek chose a metaphor that includes a city and all of its inhabitants, who were trapped in a fury beyond understanding, while the story was illustrated with the picture of a woman ripped open, as all of the ethnic cleansing, local nationalisms and atrocities on all sides could be embodied in this hopeless victim.

Such stories focus on a feeling that the international community had neglected the civilians and its own ideals of liberty, democracy, security and peace: 'How Dare You Leave Us Alone to Die?' (Le Nouvel Observateur, December 9, 1993: 76–8). This feeling is even heightened when children are depicted, victims of men's fury and adults' abandonment:

Key themes of the discourse of childhood, including the family as the ideal site of childhood, converge so that the image of the lone child symbolizes abandonment. Cutting off of the frame the adults and other children who surround the child places the viewer of the image in the role of these missing carers. Children on their own are abstracted from their culture and society. [...] Rather, if lone children are not rescued then they will be abandoned to their fate. (Wells, 2007: 63–4)

The focus of victims' representations involves imbalances, but it reveals a social imagery concerned with the relief of suffering, based on universally shared values, at the risk of falling into reductive schemes: NGOs have been attacking some of the media, accusing them of sensationalism and trivialization. Such criticism was largely initiated by MSF, though it had itself used media hype in its spectacular humanitarian operations at the end of the 1970s. Despite this, MSF has recently been appealing to the Seven Agency, a renowned photographic agency of famous war photographers, in order to inform people about the forgotten crisis in Congo. One result of this was a photo exhibition called 'Democratic Republic of the Congo: forgotten war', with endless pitiful scenes in black and white, close-ups of skeletal bodies and mothers watching over their dying children.

It shows that the imagery of the victim, which can act both as a mobilizing tool and as a reductive one, is far from being outdated and demands that we redefine how we view and categorize others.


Notes

1 Called Operation Cast Lead, the Gaza War started on December 27, 2008 and ended on January 18, 2009, with a unilateral cease-fire.

2 Egypt and Israel have had limited access to Gaza since November 2008. Even if the Israeli Supreme Court ruled on December 29, 2008 that foreign journalists should be granted access to Gaza when the border was opened by the military, the IDF refused to comply.

3 These were journalists who were in Gaza before the military operation started. They were mainly reporters for international broadcast television stations, such as Al Jazeera and the BBC, and for international news organizations. General access for foreign correspondents was only granted on January 18, 2009, when the cease-fire was declared.

4 The article relies mainly on the story of Abed Rabu, a father who had two daughters who were wounded and a third one who was shot dead during the war.

5 For example, several charity organizations involved in helping war orphans were founded immediately after 1918, such as the Save the Children Fund (1919).

6 Also called Doctors without Borders.

7 Translated by the author from the original French text: '[Les médias insistent sur] le niveau symbolique du "statut de la victime" [...] elle-ci ne prenant véritablement corps qu’à la condition de pouvoir être vue comme une effigie de la souffrance injuste, de l’innocence martyrisée. Victime d’une nature cruelle, d’une guerre absurde – les guerres des autres sont toujours absurdes, de bandes armées impitoyables, ou d’un dictateur sanguinaire, mais victime pure, non participante.'

8 Also known as the Nigerian Civil War, this conflict was the result of an attempted secession of the southern provinces of Nigeria, which are mainly inhabited by the Ibo tribe.

9 Also known as the First Lebanon War, it started with the IDF invasion of southern Lebanon after violence erupted between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel.

10 It started after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia into independent republics, the rise of nationalism in the former country and the increase in ethnic tensions.

11 It started after the ousting of President Sad Barre, resulting in instability among local warlords.

12 In this chapter, we choose to consider Lebanon as a westernized country. Although it is situated in Middle East, its history, culture and civilization have deep ties with the West, especially the country that colonized it, France (a large percentage of the population speak French). Moreover, the results of this study have shown that Lebanese society and its citizens are included in the same media framings as people of European background. As a result, the media seem to disfavor geographical perspective when it is a matter of establishing a connection between the cities and white citizens of the Middle East who live according to western standards and European societies and their citizens.

13 Translated by the author from the original French text: 'L’action n’est pas dissociable de la représentation, au point que celle-ci est un des déterminants de celle-là. Secourir une victime, ou plus modestement, donner pour que des vies soient sauvées, ou bien recourir aux médias pour dénoncer ce que des civils subissent, me demandent de convoquer au seuil de l’action, avant de l’entamer. Puis durant son déroulement, un ensemble de représentations – y compris de représentations de moi-même – qui étaient ma décision, guident ma pratique et fournissent à celle-ci la présence nécessaire à sa reconnaissance, à mes yeux comme à ceux des autres.'

14 Translated by the author from the original French text: 'Le spectateur est, par rapport aux médias, dans la position [...] de celui à qui est faite une proposition d’engagement. Un autre spectateur, qui lui rapporte une histoire et peut se présenter comme un reporter [...] transmet des énoncés et des images [...] Ces énoncés et ces images ne sont pas n’importe quoi. [Ils mènent] une description de la souffrance et l’expression d’une façon particulière dont être concerné, ils proposent au spectateur un mode défini d’engagement émotionnel, langage et convaincre.'
Women in Germany, the Media, and War

The Representation of Women in German Broadcasts Between 1980 and 1990

Chapter Three

Women, the Media and War

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