Analysing the Visual in the British Quality Press
– The Case of Okinawan Protests and the 2000 G8 Summit –

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to outline methodological approaches for analysing visual images and to illustrate their application in a case study using materials from the 2000 G8 summit in Okinawa. The approaches are grounded in semiotics, critical linguistics and systemic-functional grammar. Focus is particularly placed on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). For the case study, the issue of anti-US base protests has been selected. Focusing on two photographs, the author explores representations, and examines the relationship between written text and visual images and the contribution of both to the development of a preferred reading of the events.

Analysis demonstrates how one of the five source British quality daily newspapers chose to anchor the anti-US military base peaceful human chain protest photograph by texts invoking a script of violence. The following day’s visual maintained this frame with a generic photograph fixed by similar text. This reading of the event differed sharply from those preferred by the other papers.

Keywords: visual analysis, British newspapers, Okinawan G8 Summit

Background

In September 2000 I attended a summer school in Cambridge led by Professor Theo van Leeuwen entitled Reading images. The three day school was an introduction to the theory and methods developed by Kress and van Leeuwen for the analysis of visual images from within a framework of critical linguistics, social semiotics and systemic-functional grammar. The eight participants, from seven countries, brought to the workshop varied perspectives and experiences in discourse analysis. The sessions were a combination of input and discussion, with follow up practical application. I attended the summer school in order to work first hand with a methodology for dealing in a systematic way with the visual component of textual analysis, with the aim of applying it in analyses of image representation and creation in the case of Okinawa.

The aim of this article is to outline methodological approaches to analysing visual images in newspaper reportage and illustrate their application in a case study using materials from the British quality press in its reporting of the 2000 G8 summit in Okinawa. I begin by locating the study within the field of critical linguistics and establishing news reportage as ‘social practice’. I go on to explore why visual analysis is important. I then outline approaches to analysing visual images in newspaper reporting, focusing particularly on the integrated and systematic approach to visual analysis developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (Reading Images, 1996). I finally apply insights from these approaches in the case study.
News: a constructed reality

The discussion of visual images in this article takes place within the context of news reporting. Hence I begin with brief comments on news discourse from the standpoint of critical linguistics. Critical linguistics according to Fowler is linguistic analysis directed towards examining the values implicit in linguistic usage: "an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis" (1991:5).

Fowler argues that news is socially constructed: "what events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection" (1991:2). Selected news is then transformed, through encoding, for publication. Selection and transformation are guided by belief systems within the specific media institutions. Such belief systems serve the interests of dominant groups. Hence, he claims, news is a 'practice' which furthers the social construction of reality. Fowler places his analysis of news within the semiotic framework. Language, as a code of signs, structures experience and provides meaning, categorises the world, and establishes relationships according to the values and behaviour of members of communities. Variations within language codes reflect membership of different social groups and the concomitant different belief systems. Hence choice of language - words, structures - is not random but 'carries ideological distinctions' (1991:4). While he recognises the significance of the visual element in representation in the press and its dynamic interaction with verbal text, he does not suggest a systematic approach to its analysis.

Why study visual images in the media

The importance of the visual

Does visual analysis matter? Cottle replies affirmatively. For him visuals play a special role in "imparting information and inviting affective and aesthetic forms of engagement" (1998:191/2). Either separately or in combination with language he considers they produce "enriched and potentially potent messages" (1998:192). The visual is possibly the most highly valued of the senses. The conflation of seeing and understanding is recognised in metaphors involving, for instance, seeing a point or talking from a viewpoint. Cultural theorists have developed theories of 'the gaze' (e.g. Urry, 1990).

Analysts have recognised that the word has been privileged over the visual and this is a result of a rationalist dominance in social science wherein rational argument is preferred to appeal to the emotions. Kress and Van Leeuwen speak of the dominance in Western cultures of the verbal/written language over the visual. They trace this historically in the way the verbal form of representation subsumed the visual and the latter's potential for independent representation declined. Writing has become so valued that cultures without it are denigrated as illiterate. Literate cultures do make use of visual communication but since the latter is devalued, it is seen as uncoded replicas of reality, 'literate cultures have systematically suppressed means of analysis of the visual forms of representation' (1996: 20/1). They also talk about the value-laden Western distinction between literate (advanced), and non-literate (primitive) cultures. They see the change towards an increase in use of visual imagery - the
new literacy - in situations previously dominated by written representation as being perceived by some as a threat to cultural values and as a threat to the current dominance of verbal literacy among elite groups (see for instance, Benady, 2000). They claim that the situation is changing, that visual communication is becoming the new order and that it is vitally important that children be equipped with the skills to become visually literate.

Are images problematic?

Is it really necessary to analyse visual images? Aren’t they simply truthful representations of reality? Cultural cliches such as ‘seeing is believing’ and ‘the camera never lies’ illustrate, argues Cottle, that there is ‘widespread faith in the transparent truthfulness of observation and visual representation’ (1998:193). Such a view sees news pictures as simply recording and documenting reality. They are taken at face-value. He describes this view as ‘naïve realism’ and claims that it ‘has failed to interrogate the productive contribution of visuals to the construction of social meaning’ (1998:190). Likewise, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that visual communication is always coded. They disagree completely with, for instance, Barthes (1977) who saw a photograph as a perfect ‘analogon’ of reality and talked about the special status of the photograph as a message without a code. They claim that although they are coded, naturalistic pictures are not usually interpreted as being so that ‘awareness of the structuredness of images of this kind is, in our society, suppressed and not part of “commonsense”’ (1996:31/2). It is clear that photographs can lie. Technical manipulation makes this possible as well as selection and choice of what, where and when to photograph, as will be shown below.

Tools for analysing visual images in the media

The dearth of analytic studies of visual images in the press

In his introduction to methodologies for the analysis of visual images in mass communication research, Cottle (1998) identifies the small number of extant studies focusing on the visual. He positions visual analysis as the ‘poor relation’ in mass communication research, and particularly so with regard to studies of the press and television. He considers this surprising in view of the ‘visuality’ of the TV medium and the role of photojournalism in the press – witnessed by the large amount of copy space devoted to photojournalism, particularly in the tabloid press, and historical changes in the amount of space devoted to images in the quality British newspapers - and also from the perspectives of postmodernism according to which society is being ‘bombarded by media images and signs’ (1998: 191).

He suggests a number of causes for this situation. The first of these is the influence in mass communications research and in social science in general of a behaviourist paradigm which favours lab-based research, survey techniques and market research, and within which visual analysis and its concerns fit uneasily. He claims that a positivist paradigm valuing value-free observation and measurement has contributed to treating visual imagery from a perspective of ‘naïve realism’, in which, as we noted above, images are accepted at face-value, seen as transparent and unproblematic, reflecting and mirroring people and events and, hence, their role in the construction of social meaning goes unnoticed. A further reason is a relative paucity of analytic tools for analysing visual images. Content analysis has limited value
because it breaks up rather than deals with coherent wholes. Visual analysis requires a detailed focus with only a few materials tending to be analysed in depth. Such a focus is incompatible with studies and methods which deal with large-scale representative samples of news data. A further cause is what he sees as an ‘overly rationalist view of social processes and social interactions’, in which ‘the word has been privileged over the image’ (1998:191). Hence there has been little attention paid to the symbolic and ritual qualities of news production for which visual analysis is appropriate.

Analytical approaches

Cottle identifies four general approaches to news visuals analysis that can be found in the literature: analysing news visuals as distortions, as symbolism, as semiotic systems and as epistemological guarantees. The approaches are not mutually exclusive and are often combined in actual analysis. Of these the first three are particularly relevant here.

By approaching visuals from the viewpoint of distortion, analysts have documented the diverse ways in which visual images can be manipulated so as to radically alter or affect the meaning of a photograph. These can include camera position and angle, picture framing, lighting, image selection, photographic retouching, digital image alteration, editorial cropping and final juxtapositioning on the page. There have been examples of falsification, but he suggests that the border between deliberate falsification and alteration and journalistic story selection and framing is fuzzy. In order to analyse visuals in this way the analyst needs access to alternative data - other comparable visuals or, for instance, being present at the scene when the photograph was taken. Production-based studies using participant observation methodology, in which the analyst accompanies photojournalists in the field and then observes the subsequent selection and production processes, are one way to do this. One tendency noted by such analysts is for news visuals ‘to emphasise drama and conflict through the selection of close-up shots of crowd members in some form of dramatic action’ (Cottle, 1998:196). Cottle illustrates this from his study of an anti-Salman Rushdie demonstration (1991). The positioning of the camera provides viewers with a particular perspective too. For instance, depending on where the camera is located, the viewpoint is that of the demonstrators or that of the police. Of course, readers may question or challenge the way visuals are used but it is the case that visuals often invite a particular interpretation of the news event.

In focusing on the symbolism of news visuals, the approach is to examine their metaphorical (what they stand for) and metonymic (concretising the image, part stands for whole) aspects, to examine how visuals express abstract ideas, and to analyse their affirmational, aspirational and emotive aspects. Visual images can be very powerful in appealing to or mobilising ‘deep-seated feelings, hopes and fears’ (Cottle, 1998:199) and analysis of this type can deconstruct the symbolic values of image elements. Symbolism is reinforced by its iconic, or concrete, reference to the actual scene. News photos can contain simultaneously iconic, indexical (causal connection) and symbolic aspects.

Work on demonstrations and protests has shown how a single image can become a symbol of a news story and construct a certain view of the event. In the case of a 1968 anti-Vietnam war demonstration, a photo of a demonstrator kicking a policeman in the head was used in most
British papers at the time. It projected a view of protest as a violent attack on political order (e.g. Halloran, Elliot & Murdock, 1970), while a photo of a masked man was used by the Daily Mail in 1981 in reporting inner city riots to invoke 'two established sets of popular imagery: violent crime and terrorism' (Hansen & Murdock, 1985:254). Once the symbolic images have been created they can be used in subsequent reporting. Symbolic analysis emphasises the central symbols in images. Semiotic analysis is more detailed and looks at how representations mean what they do as well as what the meanings actually are. Theorists have established meanings (signified) for certain shots/moving images (signifier) in photography and film.

Before turning to the final tool discussed here, I will look at the relationship between visual images and written text in newspaper reports. While accepting that there is connection to verbal text, Kress & Leeuwen argue that the visual component is not dependent on it; it is an independently organised and structured message. Though this is true, the 'leaky nature' of visual images has to be acknowledged. For Barthes the polysemous nature of images requires them to be fixed by text. Fixing is by relay when the text extends or adds to the image meaning or vice versa, and elaboration when the same meaning is restated or interpreted by the text or vice versa. In elaboration, illustration is the case when the text comes first and the image elaborates the written, exemplifies and authenticates it, and anchorage is the case where the image comes first and the written text fixes or specifies the image (as in photo captions). Cottle claims that studies show that news visuals are predominantly anchored by the text, and that relay is rare (1998). Surrounding headlines, subheadings, words within the images and captions fix or guide the interpretation of the images. The complex interrelationship between visual and text needs to be recognised and examined. At the level of a story, the relationship between visual and text can extend beyond a single page. I shall look at this further in the case study.

Kress and van Leeuwen: the grammar of visual design

Kress and van Leeuwen locate their research within social semiotics and see their work as contributing to a broadened critical discourse analysis; broadened in that they claim critical discourse analysis has chiefly been confined to verbal text. Their approach to communication, 'starts from a social base.... Given that societies are not homogeneous, but composed of groups with varying, and often contradictory, interests, the messages produced by individuals will reflect the differences, incongruities and clashes which characterize social life' (1996:18).

The use of the term grammar in describing their approach — the grammar of visual design — is of key importance. They claim that most accounts of visual semiotics have focused on the iconographical (denotative) and iconological (connotative) significance of the objects, places and people in visuals, that is the 'lexis' of images. They focus, in comparison, on the way these elements combine to form a meaningful whole, that is the 'grammar' of images. The approach to grammatical description that informs their grammar of visual images is a grammar which incorporates experience and social action — Halliday's systemic-functional grammar. They use the analogy of language in a general way. Visual structures and linguistic structures both realise meanings. These in part overlap between the two modes but are also different; some things can be said only visually, others only verbally. The way in which meanings are realised
will be different: language choices are between, for instance, word classes, tenses, and semantic structures; visual choices are between, for example, colours, camera angles, and compositional structures.

In approaching visual design as something structured, providing a coherent meaning, they reject views (e.g. Barthes, 1977) that realistic photos are messages without codes — an approach called by Cottle, as we saw above, 'naive realism'. They suggest that representational pictures are indeed structured, but that 'they are not usually interpreted as such, that awareness of the structuredness of images of this kind is, in our society, suppressed and not a part of "commonsense"' (1996:23-4).

Just as grammars describe rules underlying culture-specific verbal communication, they suggest that the values and meanings attached to key elements of visual space are culturally specific; while similar elements will be used, their values and meanings will differ from culture to culture. They, therefore, clearly state that their methodological claims apply to Western visual design, but hope that some of their ideas and concepts can be useful to studies of non-Western visual images.

They structure their methodology around three metafunctions (from Halliday) which serve communicational requirements; the ideational — or the ability of a semiotic code to 'represent objects and their relations outside the representational system'; the interpersonal — the way relations between producer, viewer and represented objects are projected; and the textual — the capacity to form coherent wholes, as realised through composition. I shall briefly outline each of these.

First the ideational metafunction: represented participants (people, places, things) can be related in terms of how they interact or in terms of classification. The former involves narrative processes, the latter conceptual processes (attributes, taxonomical relations). I will concentrate here on their approach to narrative representation, since this is most relevant to the case study. In narrative representation the focus is on how the participants are represented. Using functional semiotic theory, analysis focuses on the roles of participants — as actors and goals — and on the transaction, or the relationship in which an actor does something to a goal. Relationships are realised by vectors (like action verbs) that link them, and are formed by oblique lines or alignments such as directions of gaze, lines of bodies and tools, and lines of buildings or roads. Transactional action processes involve two or more represented participants. The action originates from the actor and the vector is directed towards the goal. Interactors have the double role of actor and goal. An actor is more salient, and salience can be realised by, for instance, size, colour, saturation, sharpness of focus, and location in the composition. They compare this vector to a transitive verb. Like an intransitive verb, a non-transactional action has only one participant.

In reactional processes vectors are created by the direction of gaze or glance. The type of reaction is indicated by facial expression. They can be transactional or non-transactional. In the latter, a participant looks at something beyond the frame of the picture. Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that often women look out into the middle distance, 'as if mentally withdrawn', while men look into the far distance. Since it is left to the viewer to decide what the participants are looking at, this type of shot can create strong empathetic feelings. However, it
is a shot which can also be manipulated by editors; they may crop the image and suggest in a caption what the participant is looking at.

In the interpersonal metafunction the focus is on interactions between represented participants and interactive participants - viewers - and how they effect each other. The key element here is gaze - the gaze between viewer and participants. Interactions differ according to whether the participants look directly at the viewer or not. A vector, which can also be a gesture, connects the two. The vector has two functions: it creates a visual form of direct address - a demand — like demanding to be in an imaginary relationship, with facial expression specifying the nature of the relationship; and it creates an offer — a participant looks indirectly and is subject to the gaze of the viewer and becomes an object of gaze. They suggest that whenever people are depicted, a choice has to be made between demand or offer. The choice reflects different relationships with others. Based on their research they show how members of one's own culture are often depicted in a demand relationship, with immigrants and 'others' in an offer relationship.

The choice of depicting represented participants as closer or further away from the viewer - long, medium or close-up shot - affects the social distance between them, just as spatial distance in social interaction depends on social relations between speakers. In photographs, participants are shown as if they were friends or strangers according to the shot. Camera angle, angle of view or perspective, is used to depict a point of view, that is to express subjective attitudes to represented participants. Whatever point of view is selected by the image maker is the one the viewer is subjected to. Establishing the vanishing points in an image identifies the initial camera position. Horizontal angle can vary from frontal to oblique. Kress and van Leeuwen consider this dimension to represent degree of involvement: frontal view represents involvement, oblique detachment. So, for instance, an oblique view of people can mean 'they are not of our world', 'they are "other"'. Choice of vertical angle depicts power relations between viewer and represented participants. High angles make participants look small and insignificant and the viewer is placed in a position of power over them. Low angles give participants symbolic power over the viewer. However, the exact nature of the power relationship is not always specified. Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that in this case the analyser should refer to a concrete situation by asking, for instance, who would see the scene from this angle or position.

An additional dimension of the second metafunction of their system is modality. This refers to the truth value or credibility of the image. They suggest that modality is interpersonal rather than ideational in that it `does not express absolute truths or falsehoods; it produces shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others. It serves to create an imaginary "we" (1996:160). In visual design, just as in social interaction, modality is marked by modality cues which a given cultural group recognises as guides to the reliability of messages. In language such cues include auxiliary verbs (could), adjectives and adverbs (possible, certainly) and methods for attributing ideas (stating sources, contrasting verb time, selecting between high/low modality lexis). In visual design modality cues about the reality or truthfulness of images concern the degree of naturalness of images.

Whilst accepting that there can be concurrently different standards of realism, they suggest
that the dominant standard of visual realism in the West is photo-realism. Images can be perceived as hyper-real if they are over saturated in colour, tone or detail, and less than real if they are less saturated, and similarly with perspective and depth. Low modality, they suggest, signifies fantasy, promise or what could be. High modality signifies higher reality value. Modality markers they identify include colour, contextualisation, representation, depth, illumination and brightness. With contextualisation, lack of a context (a setting) reduces modality. By removing the context, represented participants become generic (typical examples) rather than the particular associated with a particular location and a specific moment in time.

The third metafunction in their system is composition, or ‘the way in which the representational and interactional elements are made to relate to each other, the way they are integrated into a whole’ (1996:181). Key concepts here are informational value, salience and framing and they suggest that they can be applied to single images, composites, whole pages and multimodal texts. The informational value of elements is determined by their position relative to each other in terms of the right/left, top/bottom and centre/margin zones of an image. Kress and van Leeuwen’s analysis of visuals in many media has led them to identify the values. For instance, in English, given and new information progresses structurally in a left to right sequence. Similarly in images there is a horizontal arrangement of left and right; with left signifying given and right new.

Salience refers to the degree to which participants attract the viewer’s attention. Salience can be achieved though, for instance, relative size, colour, foregrounding, and differences in sharpness and focus. A hierarchy of importance between elements can be created in which, for instance, the given is more salient than the new. Framing refers to devices such as lines which serve to show the separateness or connection between elements. As framing becomes stronger, so does the depiction of separateness.

This brief introduction to Kress and van Leeuwen’s methodology for analysing visual images has aimed to focus on points which will be illustrated in the case study.

Case Study
The issue: Profile of the data

The materials used in this study are a subset of the 45 texts and 30 visual images that formed the total reportage on the G8 summit in five quality British national daily newspapers from 20th July to 24th July 2000. For this case study I have selected the issue of the anti-US base protests which took place concurrently with the G8 summit and of which the most visible was the human chain around Kadena air base on July 20th. The protest issue was reported in seven of the written texts and was the focus of nine visuals. Table 1 shows the distribution of the visuals by paper and date.
Table 1 Visual image captions (by date and paper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visual type</th>
<th>Paper/date</th>
<th>Caption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Photo*</td>
<td>DT21J</td>
<td>‘Americans go home’: Okinawan women in traditional dress join a human chain around Kadena air base to demand the removal of US forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo*</td>
<td>FT21J</td>
<td>Protesters form a human chain round a US military base on Okinawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo*</td>
<td>T21J</td>
<td>Japanese women in traditional dress at the base protest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>I21J</td>
<td>Japanese demonstrators gather in a human chain around the US airbase at Kadena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>I21J</td>
<td>The Futenma base which America has agreed to vacate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>I22J</td>
<td>Japan 2000 Foreign members of Jubilee 2000 with anti-G8 placards join in the protest at the Kadena US base in Okinawa demanding its closure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>DT22J</td>
<td>Helmeted and masked Japanese students protest at President Clinton’s summit arrival in Okinawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>G22J</td>
<td>Japanese protesters shout anti-Clinton slogans during a demonstration yesterday against the US military presence in Okinawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map</td>
<td>G22J</td>
<td>(Map of bases on Okinawa Island)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: DT = Daily Telegraph, FT = Financial Times, G = The Guardian, I = The Independent, T = The Times; * = same photo though changed in size

Visual analysis

Of the photographs dealing with protests, four focused on the human chain around Kadena air base, two on student marches and one on Jubilee 2000’s protests. Since three papers used the same photo of the human chain protest, I will focus on this visual.

The photo (Figure 1 in the Appendix) depicts on the left, rising vertically from below the bottom frame and extending beyond the top frame, the wire perimeter fence of Kadena air base. At the top, three rows of barbed wire are visible at an 45 degree angle to the top of the fence. Perspective provides a vector running from the top of the fence to the bottom ending in people and buildings in the indistinct background. The fence foreground is in sharp focus. A lone palm a few feet outside the fence mirrors (parodies) the angle of the barbed wire. The base of the fence in the distance and the line of the palm tree draw the eye to the line of people standing a few feet outside and facing the perimeter fence. The oblique angle of the shot produces a vector formed by the line that runs from top right of the photo to the fence in the bottom left background.

The depicted members of the human chain vary in age and gender, and are wearing traditional Okinawan dress or casual clothes. They stand in silence – mouths closed – hand in hand. Those closest to the camera are in clear focus. They look in front of them though it is not clear whether they look at the fence or through it. Some look straight ahead, one down and several upwards. The gaze of these latter creates a vector which leads us back to the towering fence and hence to the relationship between the fence and the people. The gaze and the camera angle which emphasise the height of the fence signify through the power relationship, the powerlessness of the members of the chain. The composition of the photo with the fence on the
left demonstrates the given fact of its existence; the protestors are placed on the right in the new position, a position of challenge. The vertical line of the fence forms the left hand frame of the photo and we cannot see beyond it. The photo shows a section of the human chain and hence represents the entire chain in a metonymic relationship. The focus is on individuals, for the participants are clearly shown close-up and in detail despite being in an offer relationship with the viewer, at an oblique angle and hence ‘other’ than the viewer. The woman on the right of the picture holds not only her neighbours’ hands but also a placard bearing slogans in Japanese. The pale background with contrasting lettering makes the placard salient in addition to its position at the front right of the picture. The slogan reads: — ‘No to bases. We are given something that no one else wants. We won’t accept it!’\(^3\). The forceful wording is in contrast to the apparent calm of the overall scene.

What is the relationship of this visual image with the related written text on the same page and with the other visuals and texts which comprise the coverage of this issue? The caption for this visual in the Daily Telegraph identifies who the people are (Okinawan women), where this is taking place (Kadena air base), what they are doing (standing in a human chain) and what the purpose of the chain is (demanding that Americans go home). The purpose is provided first: ‘Americans go home’. The phrase is placed in inverted commas, suggesting it is a citation and therefore has a source. Yet what that source is, is unclear. Clearly, as the translation above demonstrates, the source cannot be the placard. The demand here is not for Americans per se to leave, but for US military bases to be removed. This is a distinction that is important in Okinawa.

The headline spanning the article and the photograph states: **Protestors hijack G8 summit** in large bold lower case letters across the 6 columns of the photo with text to left and below. This is the preferred position for main article and main visual in the five newspapers sampled here and corresponds to the findings of Kress and van Leeuwen. The text goes on to describe the numbers of protestors and expand upon the who, where and why of the caption, the extent of the bases on Okinawa, reasons for protests and attitudes of the Japanese and US governments. Several other banners are directly cited in translation. Both the headline and the first phrase of the photo caption are aggressive. The choice of the word hijack is striking; it suggests crime or illegality and the script engaged is of violence, terrorists, with connotations of desperate people. Looking at it in another way, to hijack the summit means to divert it from its course, to cause it to fail to reach its original goal. Is the intention here to refer back to protests in Seattle and other grassroots protests at recent international conferences where violence has erupted? This reminds us of the points made by Halloran et al. and Hansen and Murdock in their studies of demonstrations of the 1960’s and 1980’s, that were mentioned earlier. In this case, however, the situation is reversed - despite the calm projected by the visual, the textual anchorage appears to be projecting and invoking the popular imagery of violence and terrorism. Could there be a reference back to the Japanese Red Army’s past hijacking actions? The point was also made earlier, in connection with their studies, that once images have been created they can be subsequently called up and used. I will come back to this in the analysis of the second visual from the DT reporting of this issue.

‘Hijack the summit’ is commuted in the article into ‘overshadow official events’. None the
less, other words and phrases with negative connotations are used – ‘an inauspicious start’, ‘prompting fears that protests may overshadow official events’, and ‘seized the opportunity of the summit’ – which extend the metaphor or tie in with it. The overall calm and peaceful appearance of the members of the human chain in the photograph contrast sharply with the aggressive headline. The people depicted do not correspond to images associated with a hijack script. In this respect the visual and its written anchorage are contradictory. However, there is a sense in which the hijack image is appropriate – but in a subversive interpretation. Turning the pun on the connection between an air base and a hijack around, what a subversive reading of the visual could suggest is that the presence of military bases has hijacked the Okinawans and the development of their country – in the meaning of diverting them from their goal or destination. If we consider what is strikingly missing from the textual contribution to this reportage, it is the absence of any mention of ‘peace’; whether referring to the peaceful nature of the protests or the peace versus war issues that inform Okinawan opposition to the presence of the military bases. The photograph does make this contribution, and in doing so sets up an opposition to the written text.

Before continuing with analysis of the DT reporting, I would like to examine how the image is used in the other papers. The FT ran the same photograph on the same day. It is reduced in size but the wire perimeter fence occupies more space proportionally. The accompanying caption, as can be seen from Table 1, objectifies the people depicted. They become ‘protestors’, no longer Okinawans as in the DT. Similarly, Kadena becomes ‘a US military base on Okinawa’. The headline, however, re-individualises the protestors, and the body of the text elaborates on numbers of demonstrators, cites the same banners as did the DT, and gives reasons for the opposition to the bases on Okinawa. It also mentions the ‘peaceful’ nature of the demonstrations.

The Times also ran the picture on the same day with a related text as a secondary story to the main one of star wars. Placed beneath the main text and visual, the small photo (2 columns) is unusually on the left of the text. It is cropped so that we lose the person on the extreme right and the fence becomes narrower. The caption refers to the represented participants as ‘Japanese in traditional dress’ and creates, through the choice of definite article, a strong cohesive link to the body of the text. The headline refers to activists; a choice with less pejorative connotations than protestors. The body of the text again specifies numbers of activists, identifies the base in question, and cites the same banner slogans as the DT and FT. It also quotes the voices of individual organisers. While it does not mention peace issues specifically, it does cite a protest banner against war. Neither of these two papers seeks to invoke the images of violence and aggression that are achieved by the DT.

Returning to the coverage in the Daily Telegraph, how are the contradictory elements present in the reporting on the 21st continued in subsequent reports? Reporting of the G8 summit on the 22nd focused on third world debt relief, with the lead article referring briefly to debt relief protestors at previous summits but with no mention of anti-base protest or the human chain. However, there is one visual image about the issue (Figure 2 in the Appendix). It is a medium sized photograph towards the bottom of the page, in a central location, on the left of one of the Canadian Prime Minister on a scooter and below one of a replica of Clinton’s house.
and another of the Miyazaki super dome. The photograph is a 90 degree oblique shot of several parallel lines of men, of which only the line closest to the camera is clearly visible. The men are dressed in white or dark trousers, sneakers, T-shirts over which are over-blouses bearing slogans very little of which can be seen, white helmets with dark symbols on the front, and white towels or scarves tucked into the helmet straps, covering part or all of the lower face. Who they are is unclear because they look ahead or downward and are obscured by the scarves/towels. By their figures they appear to be young. They each have their hands on the hips of the person in front and their knees are slightly bent. Where they are or what they are doing is unknown because the figures completely fill the shot, from head to foot. It is not clear whether they are silent or vocal. The expression on the one face that is visible is unclear, though it may be a smile.

The oblique angle signifies the represented participants as ‘other’, in an offer relationship. Their destination is unknown and can therefore be imagined by the viewer and manipulated by a producer. The shot recalls Cottle’s study of the Salman Rushdie demonstration, where he reports that close-up shots of demonstrators gave the impression that the event depicted was much more typical than it actually was, and further, that side shots were selected to create a sense of urgency and possible threat through a sense of movement and pace (1991). In this photograph no context is provided; the ground is invisible and the background is indistinct between the heads. I identified contextualisation as a modality marker in Kress and van Leeuwen’s methodology and noted that removal of context makes represented participants become generic and unrelated to a specific moment or place. On the scale of contextualisation this image is zero and the effect is to create a pattern-like image rather than a representational image. The image is wide open to interpretation and rich in symbolism and metaphorical possibilities. Because of this, as an image it is very ambiguous. To fit it to the preferred ideology implicit in the DT’s coverage of this issue, it has to be fixed. The caption does this admirably. It reads: ‘Helmeted and masked Japanese students protest at President Clinton’s arrival in Okinawa’. Because of the genericness of the image it can much more readily be fixed than the first visual I examined. The words helmeted and masked once again invoke images of violence and terrorism. They reiterate the hijack image from the previous day. Deep seated memories may be tapping of the violent Japanese student demonstrations of the past. The caption links the images of violence with Clinton and the possible implication that there will be physical danger for him. If the first visual image in the coverage of this issue was too ‘leaky’ to convincingly contribute to the underlying violent motif, this second is much less so. However, it too contains enough ambiguity, such as the non-aggressive behaviour and demeanour of the participants, to also be subversive to the underlying message. Nevertheless, as the final contribution to the protest issue, it leaves a negative impression. The promise of violence rather than peace is the message we are left with.

Concluding remarks
This analysis of several images from British newspaper coverage of the G8 Summit in Okinawa has been brief. It is hoped, however, that, in conjunction with the short review of available tools for visual analysis that has been provided, it has demonstrated the ways in
which images are coded and how, based upon social semiotic frameworks, analysis can deconstruct these codes.

In conclusion I would reiterate the opinions of the researchers on whom I have focused here that visual analysis is an important field in a changing world where technological advances make visual images a daily part of our lives. We need to be able to critically evaluate the messages representational images contain and develop a sophistication in both producing them and educating others about them that goes beyond a naïve trust in their transparency and truth value. We need to embrace the new ‘visual literacy’.

Footnotes
(1) He suggests that this view of news is, since the work of Glasgow University Media Group and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies, current among media scholars and sociologists (Fowler, 1991).
(2) In Japanese: ‘kitchiNO taraimawashi iyadaf I am grateful to Tomoko Shinjo for assistance with translations.

References
イギリスの新聞記事の視覚イメージ分析
—沖縄での先進国八ヶ国（G8）会議の記事を事例として—

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要 約
本論の目的は、視覚イメージを分析するための方法論を紹介し、次に、2000年7月に沖縄で開催された先進国八ヶ国（G8）会議についてのイギリスの主要五大新聞を事例研究としてとりあげる。視覚分析は、記号学、言語学、組織一構造文法を方法論の土台としている。この論文では、クレス（Kress）とバン・リーウェン（van Leeuwen）（1996）のアプローチを用いる。イギリスの新聞に掲載された「沖縄の基地反対」の記事をとりあげ、この記事が表象しているものを紹介し、テキスト（本文）と写真との関係を分析する。Daily Telegraphの記事では、写真のイメージが強く、「平和」よりも「暴力」のイメージが強くみられた。

キーワード：視覚分析、イギリスの新聞、沖縄先進国八ヶ国（G8）会議
Figure 1 'Americans go home': Okinawan women in traditional dress join a human around Kadena air base to demand the removal of US forces (Daily Telegraph, 21 July 2000)
Figure 2: Helmeted and masked Japanese students protest at President Clinton’s summit arrival in Okinawa (Daily Telegraph, 22 July 2000)