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Dilemmas of representation

Organisations' approaches to portraying refugees and asylum seekers

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1 Introduction

From small pop-up online advertisements to full-page newspaper appeals, governmental and nongovernmental organisations use images of refugees and asylum seekers to inform and motivate their audiences. We ask: how and why are these images selected? Within organisations, how are decisions made regarding the representation of refugees and asylum seekers? Existing literature focuses primarily on images, which are treated as documentary evidence of how distant others' sufferings are imagined (Boltanski 1999). Our study investigates the motivations and decision-making processes behind organisations' selection of refugee and asylum seeker images in order to better understand how organisations balance their desire to motivate a wide audience with the need to represent subjects of the images as full agents.

Interviews revealed a shift, evident in the way in which organisations create and distribute images, from 'acting on' to 'acting with' refugees and asylum seekers as organisations seek to incorporate beneficiaries as agents in their campaigns. We argue that this shift stems not only from a change in organisations' relationships with the subjects of photographs, but also from the way in which they constitute themselves as 'brands' and establish relationships with potential supporters and funders (c.f. Seu 2013: 19 on the 'marketisation' of non-governmental organisations, Cottle and Nolan 2007: 864-6 on organisational branding). The relationship between organisations and the subjects of the images they use is in some respects one of exchange, constituting organisations' beneficiaries as agents participating in a reciprocal relationship.[1] Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1987) describes the critical value exchanged between photographed refugees and asylum seekers, governmental and non-governmental organisations, and their supporters or donors. This exchange constitutes organisations' identity formation or branding, in a process comparable to Chouliaraki's description of the creation of 'public identity' through news discourse (Chouliaraki 2006: 11).

Our research builds upon critical academic attention to media-based appeals for refugee and asylum seeker assistance in the past three decades as commentators have sought to understand the political implications of representations of suffering. Sontag observes that photographs of suffering create, through their realistic and apparently 'true' appearance, a sense among their viewers of consensus and complicity as witnesses (Sontag 2003: 5, 23; c.f. Goldberg 1991). Ignatieff similarly argues that televised images of suffering may distort the moral relations between the viewer and the subject by presenting the subject's story as humanitarian drama rather than a complex political narrative (Ignatieff 1998; c.f. Harrell-Bond 1990, 1986), sometimes exacerbating the audience's biases. Kleinman and Kleinman also note that 'imagery of victimisation as the pathology of an individual,' rather than a political or economic system, separates victimisation from its 'lived meaning as moral and political memory' (Kleinman and Kleinman 1997:10).

Finally, it is important to consider the ways that images of suffering may appropriate subjects' cultural or (more broadly) symbolic capital – a concept through which Bourdieu describes the value inherent in personal experience, social connections, and group membership – once these are 'perceived and recognised as legitimate' by others (Bourdieu 1987: 4). Kleinman and Kleinman suggest that in humanitarian appeals and media coverage of disasters and conflicts, 'experience is being used as a commodity' in an essentialised 'cultural representation of suffering' (Kleinman and Kleinman 1997: 2). As commodities are subject to ownership and trade, Kleinman and Kleinman's characterisation of experience as commodified suggests an imbalance of political power between

[1] We acknowledge the imbalance of political and economic power between large organisations and individual refugees and asylum seekers.

(1) the person whose experience is depicted and (2) those who depict it as their 'cultural representation of suffering,' resulting in the appropriation of trauma victims' 'cultural capital' (ibid., 10). Below we will examine the role of symbolic capital in the processes through which organisations generate and distribute images of refugees and asylum seekers, noting the emergence of exchange relationships (Weiner 1992; Mauss 1990) between images' subjects and the organisations that use them. We also analyse ways in which these relationships constitute organisations' identities through branding**.** With these theoretical perspectives in mind, we chose to interview decision-makers in the image production process to examine how representations of refugees and asylum seekers are created and distributed. We first explain our methods, before sharing our results and providing a critical analysis of our findings, and conclude with suggestions for future research.

2 Methods and methodology

Pilot study and intentions

This research project was executed as a pilot study; our findings do not fully represent norms within all organisations that publish images of refugees and asylum seekers. Image selection and publication practices vary depending upon organisations' intended audiences, financial resources, and the cultural context in which they operate. Through this research, we intend to encourage further critical examination of organisations' procedures for creating and publishing images of refugees and asylum seekers as they attempt to raise awareness and solicit donations for their respective causes.

In developing our methodological approach, we searched existing literature for research gaps and previously successful methods. Ultimately, we determined that interviewing decision-makers directly would be the best way to address these gaps. We adopted an interpretivist research approach to examine how image selectors view their roles in publicising refugees' and asylum seekers' experiences.

Formulating the questionnaire

We conducted semi-structured interviews to facilitate open-ended discussions. By allowing interviewers flexibility, we were able to adapt to the amount of time allotted and the information shared by each interviewee. We relied primarily upon open-ended questions to encourage detailed answers (c.f. Newell 1993: 102-103). We began with questions on the context in which images appear (e.g. fundraising appeals and information campaigns) and forms of dissemination (e.g. physical media such as pamphlets and bumper stickers or social media and other digital platforms). We developed a rapport with interviewees before posing more subjective questions and asking for anecdotes and personal experiences. See Appendix B for the questionnaire.

Interview process and selection of interviewees

We used snowball sampling to contact and interview eight individuals representing seven organisations with offices in Oxford and London. Most of these organisations were selected through existing relationships between interviewees and research group members and suggestions from staff of the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. Primary inclusion criteria included publishing images of forced migrants in order to draw attention to organisational causes, inform viewers, or solicit donations. We spoke with both intergovernmental and nongovernmental

organisations (some engaged in pro-refugee and asylum seeker activism and human rights advocacy). These organisations range from locally-operated activist groups that primarily seek to raise awareness (rather than to solicit donations) to internationally recognised organisations with large donor bases and broad humanitarian goals. We targeted representatives from these organisations who are directly involved in the image-selection process between mid-December 2013 and mid-February 2014. Group members conducted interviews in person, via Skype, or by telephone. See Appendix A for a complete list of participants.

Challenges and limitations

Recorded, face-to-face interviews yielded more insightful conversations and allowed interviewees to refer to media as examples. However, not all interviewees could meet in person, and telephone and Skype interviews were used instead. In these cases, notes were typed in real time and some details were inevitably lost in the process.

Time constraints were another challenge. Most representatives were only available to speak for approximately thirty minutes; the longest interview lasted ninety minutes. These time constraints occasionally kept us from revisiting or asking for clarification of ideas. Time constraints also prevented us from discussing individuals' previous professional training, which would have contributed to our understanding of the experiences that shape how individuals select images.

Finally, the scope of some interviews was limited by the sensitive topics and vulnerable groups involved. Interviewees are bound by their organisations' ethical guidelines and non-disclosure principles, which meant that relevant information was occasionally restricted. Some interviews were conducted in public office settings, which may have affected participants' responses and willingness to discuss controversial decisions. To address interviewees' concerns regarding the sensitivity of information discussed, we offered complete anonymity to both the interviewees and the organisations that they represented. Each organisation has been randomly assigned a letter to protect their identities (Organisation A, B, C, etc.).

While examining interview results we noticed two shortcomings in our methodology. Snowball sampling and time constraints limited the number of organisations that we could interview; consequently, most of the organisations interviewed were contacted through existing connections. Nevertheless, we feel that our sample is broadly representative of organisations working with refugees and asylum seekers and using their images in the UK.

3 Findings

Our findings are informed by interviews conducted with representatives from seven intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, all of which use images of forced migrants in their work for the purposes of advocacy, fundraising, or awareness-raising activities. The organisations have diverse target audiences, including members of the general public, national and international officials, students, academics, and humanitarian activists. Interviewees' positions included Director, Communications and Web Manager, Photography Officer, Joint Organiser, and Publication Editor. Recurrent themes in interviews included ways that organisations build and maintain relationships with their audiences; organisations' ethical obligations toward subjects of photographs; and the imperative to develop their brand, thus distinguishing themselves from organisations with similar humanitarian goals.

Organisations' relationship with audience

The use of images requires aid organisations to develop relationships with their photographs' subjects, similar organisations, and perhaps most importantly, the viewer. The organisations we interviewed have different motivations and target audiences for their images. In a statement issued via email, a representative from Organisation B summed up how the communications team determines which images are most effective. Their approach underscores themes common in our interviews:

> *The underlying message that we are looking for in pictures is consistent with most of [our] corporate communications messaging – that we understand what is going on a specific area; that we are emotionally engaged and care about the outcome; and that we are taking action to improve the situation'.* (Emphasis in original)

Organisation C, a small non-profit working to raise awareness of the challenges that UK asylum seekers face, seeks to move viewers to protest in solidarity rather than to donate, and their image selection process differs from those of larger and donor-reliant organisations. The respondent from Organisation C emphasised instant engagement: 'If you're putting something on the street or in a poster, it has to provoke an immediate response.' He explained that 'we ask whether or not the image supports what we're trying to say' and that the organisation's small size and financial independence allows them to convey more provocative messages. Interestingly, Organisation C's representative spoke most about images printed on t-shirts, posters, and other physical media, rather than through digital outreach.

In contrast, the much larger Organisation D, which operates in over forty countries and solicits donations, relies heavily on social media and other digital platforms to disseminate images. Organisation D's representative explained that staff select images reflecting their work's tangible impacts on refugees and asylum seekers in order to generate donations. When asked what the organisation hopes to achieve through images, the representative elaborated:

> *I think it is about raising awareness but also about garnering support for the work we do; that is, not just in the sense of ultimately raising funds but also creating a consensus that this type of work is necessary and important. I think to do that, it is necessary to create a response where people are engaged by the photo and as a result want to take action.*

She reflected, 'You know, in many ways raising awareness is the first step to raising funds so the two go hand-in-hand…Showing images of our work on the ground and the impact it has is one of the best ways to do that.' Organisation D also sought to create a sense of familiarity between subjects and viewers and reflexivity among viewers: 'I think, in terms of eliciting emotion, we would like it to be, 'This is really important; I need to pay attention to this and I need to do something about it." Meanwhile, a representative from Organisation F offered a balanced response, noting that emotional responses frequently originate in the subject's intense pain, and that often the most powerful images are not used. 'You're going to be more drawn into it; you're going to give it more time, more attention, but ultimately someone in the equation is suffering for it to be emotionally charged.'

A representative from Organisation G pointed out that the intended viewer also informs which images will be selected, suggesting that someone in government might have a different reaction from a member of the general public. However, the ultimate goal is the same:

> *You want to be able to tell them a story, a human story, with an image. You want to give them facts...to give them information. But you want to affect how they feel and what they think about the situation...you want the images to be truthful.*

Though organisations varied in the intended impacts of their images on viewers, they share the common goal of inspiring humanitarian action on behalf of refugees and asylum seekers.

Organisations' relationship with subjects of images

All interviewees emphasised their commitment to respecting the 'dignity' and 'agency' of individuals represented, as well as the efforts made to obtain consent of the people in the images. Although organisations varied in their definitions of what constitutes 'valid consent', the respondents repeatedly suggested that the relationship between their organisations and the individuals represented was one of cooperation. This collaborative approach appears in interviewees' use of personal reflection to guide them in selecting images.

Respondents continually noted that their organisations work to preserve and encourage migrants' 'dignity' and 'agency'. These concepts were mentioned specifically in five interviews; this repetition exemplifies their concern for the ethical selection of images. A representative of Organisation G insisted that she 'would never use a picture that is undignified… You don't campaign for people's dignity but then sacrifice their dignity when it comes to images.' The director of Organisation A similarly described her organisation's concern to 'show people in a way that's not paternalistic.' Another respondent insisted that 'the voice of the beneficiary… [should be] at the centre of everything that we communicate… with a view… that they feel empowered and dignified' (Organisation D). This concern also held true for Organisation C, which does not have elaborate image use protocols, but nevertheless noted that 'one guideline is to maximise the agency of the migrants.'

The importance of respecting subjects' agency was underscored by interviewees' focus on obtaining consent, which echoed many organisations' formal guidelines on image production and use. Organisation D stated that they 'use informed consent for everything that [they] do,' while Organisation G's representative said that they 'would never publish a picture without getting someone's consent either verbally or in writing or on the phone.' Organisation E explained that consent is a 'moral rather than legal' consideration. While the need for consent was a recurrent theme in interviews, obtaining consent was recognised as problematic: the representative from Organisation F acknowledged that 'in most international situations, consent is incredibly hard to validate.' Organisation G's representative, while not addressing the validity of consent, did acknowledge that gaining consent 'is not a perfect process' and that obtaining consent for all possible future uses of the photograph may be impossible. She acknowledged the difficulty of obtaining and using 'effective' images while maintaining the subject's ownership and control. Organisation H's guidelines admit, 'Getting official consent from each beneficiary photographed...is not realistic.' Representatives of Organisation E described problems in predicting and obtaining informed consent for future image uses, noting that when they used photographs obtained from press agencies, 'there was no way really to know that that person could have given full consent, forever, given all the technologies.'

Reflexivity was another key aspect of organisations' relationships with the subjects of images used. One interviewee questioned whether she herself would like to be pictured in a certain way: 'Do I really need this picture of a woman on a dirty bed somewhere?...You know, I wouldn't want a picture of me in my bed when I'm sick…published all over the world' (Organisation G). A representative from Organisation D similarly stated, 'I think you sort of have to think about how

you'd feel if these were images of your friends when deciding whether using a certain image is appropriate.'

Interviewees' responses demonstrate that the relationship between their organisations and the refugees and asylum seekers portrayed in images is strongly influenced by concepts of 'dignity' and 'agency.' Furthermore, the relationship is characterised by emphasis on consent and the decision-maker's personal reflection in the image selection process.

Organisations' branding and self-definition

In deciding how to portray themselves publicly, organisations discuss the ethical and marketing constraints they negotiate during the image selection and branding process. As they attempt to launch effective fundraising and advocacy appeals, they must simultaneously maintain a respectable, non-exploitative public profile. Achieving this balance is perceived as a challenge in designing appeals; respondents said that 'hard-hitting', 'impactful' images are important parts of campaigning, but that publication of 'exploitative' images reflects poorly on an organisation's identity. As Organisation G noted, 'You want to show the harsh conditions.' However, using 'distressing images' is generally felt to be counterproductive in public campaigns, as the target audience will eventually respond with 'compassion fatigue' (Organisation F; c.f. Boltanski 1999 and Moeller 1999).

In describing their efforts to avoid alienating potential supporters, thus protecting and improving the reputation of their brands, most representatives noted that their organisations' portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers have evolved significantly over time. Some respondents criticised prominent organisations that continue to publish what one representative called 'morally-bankrupt' photos (c.f. Hammock and Charny 1996). Organisation D said, 'Seeing starving children with flies on their faces - yes, we definitely try to avoid that. We're aware it is an issue for potential supporters.' Thus, as other organisations noted, it is an issue for their own branding objectives.

Large, recognisable humanitarian organisations have responded to these challenges by creating formal protocols for selecting and publishing images of refugees and asylum seekers. Entire departments exist to brand their organisations in ways that distinguish them from competitors in the oversaturated 'humanitarian marketplace' (Crisp 2010: 75). The spokesperson for Organisation F clarified:

> *We're one of many. That's the thing with brand, you're trying to separate yourself from other people, you're trying to do it through imagery and design…when you open your paper on a Sunday, you see the same picture ten times but just with a different charity there. So it's in the power of an image to separate.*

Furthermore, all of the large organisations we interviewed referenced binding guidelines that must be followed to ensure compliance with senior management's vision of how the organisation's mission should be communicated visually. 'The creative department has to sign off in terms of brand consistency in terms of how things look and feel,' explained one representative from Organisation F. He continued:

> *[Our guidelines] differentiate us from some of the other charities, because their fundraising departments use really high impact, distressing images, and it's a problem…we show a contrast with warmth and understanding.*

These procedures are especially necessary when producing ethically sensitive emergency appeals, which organisations consider to require immediate, evocative images of affected areas. In such situations, organisations compete to distinguish their brands visually in the first hours of a crisis, hoping to fundraise 'without sensationalising the disaster' (Organisation F).

Small organisations in this study were similarly sensitive to the ethical implications of representing refugees and asylum seekers, while also expressing concern for modes of representation as a type of branding. However, these organisations faced a different set of challenges than larger agencies: their branding efforts focus primarily on local advocacy and assistance campaigns rather than international or nationwide fundraising campaigns. The director of Organisation A, who is in charge of selecting and approving all images used, explained that pictures used in campaigns needed to:

> *show the work that we do and the participation of local people...Specifically, we're trying to get new donations in and are reporting to funders from the community by demonstrating what we've done…by positioning ourselves as a particular type of organisation.*

This respondent explained that the organisation had previously given disposable cameras directly to young asylum seekers in order to document scenes from their lives, but that the resulting images 'weren't great – not the best composition; some of the photo subjects were throwing hand signs like rappers do and it didn't really convey the message we wanted.' While this exercise increased migrants' agency in representing themselves, Organisation A chose not to publish the photographs in order to preserve its public image as a professional, humanitarian organisation.

By completely removing donor interests from media campaigns, Organisation C, a small advocacy group, avoids involvement in competitive marketing campaigns. Instead, decision makers are encouraged to select images that 'give subjects the most agency' – those which 'invite participation in and anger towards what's going on' but may not create a specific identity for Organisation C as such. The representative, who relies on twenty years of experience as a lead volunteer to guide his selection of images**,** explained, 'We're not trying to raise money, so we don't have to make people happy. [We use] whatever works best – whatever communicates that something is wrong with this system and that it needs to be stopped.'

These findings demonstrate that organisations balance different considerations when designing their public brands through publication of images depicting refugees and asylum seekers. Respondents emphasised the importance – or lack thereof – of ethical and branding considerations, most markedly as a response to their organisations' size, campaign objectives, and competition for attention with other organisations.

4 Discussion

In the last thirty years, the humanitarian aid sector has begun moving from objectification of suffering to a greater emphasis on the photographed subject's dignity and capacity for agency (Benthall 1993; Boltanski 1999; De Waal 1997; Harrell-Bond 1986; Kennedy 2009; Nissinen 2008; Sontag 2003). The results of our interviews reflect this shift in discourse from aid organisations 'acting on' to 'acting with', as subjects of photographs move from a passive to a more active role as agents of exchange. We suggest that images can function as a medium of exchange between the photographs' subjects and organisations working with them, whose public identity is constituted in

the exchange itself through the exercise in 'branding' discussed above. Our analysis is informed by Chouliaraki's observation that the description of discourse becomes, 'at the same time, a description of acts of identity' (Chouliaraki 2006: 11). As the privileged public is constituted by its detached relation to suffering others in Chouliaraki's discussion, our analysis suggests that organisations working with refugees and asylum seekers are constituted or branded by the way in which they relate to their beneficiaries through their images. The importance of this branding process is evident in organisations' concern to distinguish their public profile as both unique and uniquely respectful of refugees' dignity, with representatives of some organisations explicitly associating their respectful attitude with the preferences of potential donors.

How, then, do organisations relate through images to the refugees and asylum seekers with whom they work? Weiner's anthropological approach to 'exchange' (Weiner 1992; Mauss 1990) offers a useful analytical perspective from which to address this question. For Weiner, there is no possible gift – whether of goods or of consent – without the creation of a social relationship and mutual obligation. The 'gift' is not alienated from the giver in the act of giving, but rather 'returns' to him or her in a manner implicit in the type of gift. Gifts are not free; what might appear to be freely given is in fact loaned with an understanding of eventual return, whether or not participants acknowledge this debt explicitly. Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital' (1987: 3) usefully describes the value that is subject to exchange in the relationship between a refugee or asylum seeker beneficiary and an aid organisation. We understand symbolic capital to mean the value or credibility inherent in personal experience, social connections and group membership, once these are 'perceived and recognised as legitimate' by others (ibid., 4). Acquiring symbolic capital can enable individuals or groups to manipulate culturally understood symbols into effective messages.

Organisations' ability to promote their causes through dignified, active representations of refugees and asylum seekers depends on organisations' relations of exchange with the images' subjects, who participate in the image creation and provide consent for its legitimate use, usually receiving (directly or otherwise) the organisation's assistance in return. One representative (Organisation F) addressed this uneasy exchange directly in an interview, expressing his worry that 'people might feel forced to give consent if they're getting aid.' The representative of Organisation G had clear misgivings about her perceived failure to reciprocate in the exchange relationship with refugees whose images were used for fundraising. She explained:

> *This is why we specifically ask people if we can use [their images] for fundraising… your image is not going to be used alongside the story of the refugee camp you're at, as a campaign to resettle you, but completely out of your context, about telling people about [organisation name]. There may be a caption, but is that ethical? Should I be using your images apart from an effort to resettle you from the camp?*

The representative further noted that she felt uneasy about the fact that she could not give money directly to refugees and asylum seekers when they requested it of the organisation, but then used the person's image to fundraise, describing the situation as 'a bit tricky, ethically. On the other hand, you need to fundraise to survive.'

The exchange relationship between refugee and asylum seeker beneficiaries and organisations may be asymmetrical and tense. Despite concerns such as those described previously, beneficiaries need not literally consent to being photographed in order to receive assistance, whereas organisations depend on images to generate donations and campaign support (c.f. Kleinman and Kleinman 1997 on the commoditisation of suffering). Conversely, organisations' policies may prevent their

representatives from compensating photograph subjects directly. As in Weiner's discussion of exchange (Weiner 1992), an unequal exchange implies the creation of a debt and is difficult to reconcile with organisations' strong emphasis on dignity and agency among beneficiaries. This basic tension remains unresolved, despite organisations' efforts to move beyond the victimising or 'paternalistic' attitudes conveyed in images of refugees and asylum seekers in the past.

Through donation campaigns, the cultural capital exchanged between refugee and asylum seeker beneficiaries and aid or advocacy organisations may be converted into other types of value, and here Chouliaraki's concept of 'post-humanitarianism' is particularly relevant (Chouliaraki 2011: 364). Chouliaraki examines the degree to which an appearance of 'humanitarian' disinterest expressed through consumerism can itself generate value. Rather than being truly disinterested, post-humanitarianism 'tends towards the self rather than the vulnerable other as the cause for action' (ibid., 363; c.f. Silverstone 2006). Chouliaraki suggests that while 'solidarity' or the 'imperative to act towards vulnerable others without the anticipation of reciprocation' has traditionally been a cited motivation for humanitarian action (c.f. Slim 1997), a 'paradigm of solidarity as irony' is emerging in which the apparent absence of interest in reciprocation can guarantee reciprocation in cultural capital (Chouliaraki 2011: 363). Our interviews revealed this process at work, as interviewees commented on the public's greater receptivity to more dignified images of refugees and asylum seekers and the role that this preference played in organisations' image choices. Exchange of cultural capital through the medium of images simultaneously asserted the dignity of those depicted and contributed to organisations' continued financial and social viability, defining the images' subjects as independent, dignified agents while also endowing the organisations' brand with the valuable cultural capital of humanitarian disinterest. The refugee and asylum seeker beneficiaries whose images appeared in organisations' materials were in fact their partners in a complex exchange relationship.

5 Conclusion

Previous scholarship has explored the politics of publishing and viewing images depicting suffering others, including refugees and asylum seekers. Much of this literature focuses on humanitarian appeals and ethical dilemmas inherent in fundraising and advocacy campaigns that rely on images of distress and need. Our research investigates organisations' motivations and procedures for publishing images of refugees and asylum seekers. Our seven semi-structured interviews revealed four key findings:

1. Organisations consider target audience and campaign objectives (e.g. fundraising or advocacy) when selecting photograph types (e.g. intentionally provocative or sensitive imagery).

2. Organisations are committed to respecting the 'dignity' and 'agency' of refugees and asylum seekers when choosing images for publication; respondents reflected on how they themselves would like to appear in published images.

3. Most organisations emphasise both the importance of securing the informed, written consent of individuals being photographed and acknowledge challenges in meeting this goal.

4. While small organisations rely on informal guidelines for image publication, large organisations use formal protocols to construct their public 'brand' through images and to enhance their position in relation to other organisations in the humanitarian marketplace.

Interviews reflected tension between (1) ethical representation of refugees and asylum seekers, and (2) fundraising and advocacy needs. Notable too is the importance of image selection in creating organisations' public identity and the benefits of this branding for the organisations themselves. Organisations generally seek to convey more active and optimistic images of refugees and asylum seekers, for both ethical and strategic reasons. Future research might explore organisations' techniques for obtaining publication consent, image subjects' understanding of how their pictures are used, and subjects' motivations for consenting to their images' use in different contexts. Ultimately, portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers in the media continue to evolve in response to audience preferences, organisations' relationships with individuals depicted, and organisations' branding strategies.

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7 Appendices

Appendix A

Code	Organisation description	Position of person contacted	Mode of initial contact	Interview method	Date of interview
A	Local non-profit that provides services for forced migrants	Director	Phone (introduced through professor)	Phone	February 4, 2014
B	Intergovernmental organisation with offices in over 150 countries	Head, Media & Communications Division	Email	Strictly email correspon-dence	January 23, 2014 (statement issued via email)
C	Small, local advocacy organisation	Joint Organiser	In person (at conference)	In person	January 22, 2014
D	Humanitarian organisation that provides services for refugees in over 40 countries	Communications and Web Manager	Email	Skype	January 29, 2014
E	Publication on forced migration	Editors	Email	In person	January 27, 2014
F	International humanitarian organisation	Photography Manager	Email (introduced through previous acquaintance)	Phone	January 24, 2014
G	International non-governmental human rights organisation	Media Officer	Email (previous acquaintance)	Phone	February 14, 2014
H	International humanitarian organisation	Photo Editor	Email	No inter-view; only received guidelines	January, February 2014

Appendix B

Media Research Questionnaire
Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford

Thank you for your willingness to participate in our study. We have followed guidelines suggested by the British Sociological Association, the Social Research Association, the Socio-Legal Studies Association, and the Association of Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth to ensure a confidential and ethical process for all involved. Our outreach and interview methods were carefully reviewed and subsequently approved by the University of Oxford's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).

We aim to gain a better understanding of the methods used to select images and the reasoning behind them. This questionnaire is strictly voluntary. Though thoughtful and full answers are most helpful to our study, you are free to leave any questions blank. Please feel free to attach additional sheets of paper if you require more space than allotted on these forms. Thank you for your cooperation!

Biographical Information:

1. With which organisation do you work?

_____

1.a. What is your position within the organisation?

_____

2. What is your nationality?

_____

3. What is your gender?

_____

4. What is your age? Please select one:

18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
41-45	46-50	50+	Decline to answer

Methods for Producing Images

5. Are you involved in the process of selecting photos that are published on your website, advertising campaigns, etc.?

_____

5.a. If so, what is your role in the decision-making process?

5.b. Who has the final say in deciding which photos are used in publications?

6. What role, if any, does your organisation's mission statement play in choosing which photos are published?
(If possible, please attach a copy of your mission statement or guiding principles.)

7. Does your organisation have guidelines or specific criteria for the selection of photos?
(If yes, please see questions 7.a. and 7.b.; if no, skip to question 7.c.)

7.a. If yes, who formulated these guidelines or specific criteria?

7.b. How often are guidelines or specific criteria revised and by whom?

7.c. If no, how are the photos selected? Are there any general regulations affecting the selection process?

8. Where do images appear in connection with your organisation?
(Examples might include an advertisement on the Tube, a pamphlet, a banner advertisement on a website, or an email newsletter.)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

9. Do you use any of the following sources? *(Please check all that apply.)*
__ Stock photo websites
__ Photos taken by professional photographers within your organisation
__ Licensed photos from humanitarian organisations (e.g. ICRC photo databases)
__ Photos from trusted news sources (e.g. New York Times, Al Jazeera, etc.)
__ Photos provided by government sources
__ Other *(Please describe below)*

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

10. Do the types of images you use vary based on the type of media, in your opinion? If so, please describe how.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

11. For what purpose do you use images? (E.g. To draw a reader's eye? To solicit donations? To raise awareness?)

_____
_____
_____
_____

12. What are some important factors your organisation might consider when deciding which image to use?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

12.a. What do you hope to achieve with the images you use? Can you give us any specific examples, such as the type of emotions or actions you hope to elicit?

13. Do you use highly recognisable photos that will likely be familiar to viewers, or unfamiliar scenes and subjects to draw interest?

14. Do you use captions or text to accompany photos? In what ways? For what purposes?

15. Do you make any attempts to avoid inducing 'compassion fatigue' among your potential donors and supporters? If so, how?

16. Can you recall any instances in which an image was specifically used or not used? If so, why?

17. Can you recall any instances of disagreement about the use of images? Please describe the decision making process and its outcome.

18. Please describe any feedback that you or your organisation have received about the photos that your organisation has published. If possible, please include the affiliation of the individual or entity providing feedback.

18.a. How, if at all, has your organisation responded to such feedback?

19. Is there any information you would like to add regarding your organisation's use of images?