

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

CAN THE PRISONER SPEAK?

An Ideological and Visual Analysis of Prisons in Lebanese
Television News

by
CHAFIC TONY NAJEM

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

Beirut, Lebanon
April, 2016

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

CAN THE PRISONER SPEAK?

An Ideological and Visual Analysis of Prisons in Lebanese Television

News

by

CHAFIC TONY NAJEM

Approved by:



Dr. May Farah, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies

Advisor



Dr. Greg Burris, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies

Member of Committee



Dr. Anjali Nath, Assistant Professor
Center for American Studies and Research

Member of Committee

Date of thesis defense, April 26, 2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. May Farah, my thesis advisor, for advising and guiding me throughout the research. Without her support and constant encouragement this work would not have been possible. I also would like to acknowledge the continuous help of Dr. Greg Burris. His valuable recommendations steered my research in the right direction. I would like to extend my appreciation to Dr. Anjali Nath for serving on my committee. Finally, I thank my parents, my brother Jad, and my friends for making this journey bearable.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Chafic Tony Najem for Masters of Arts
Major: Media Studies

Title: Can the Prisoner Speak? : An Ideological and Visual Analysis of Prisons in Lebanese Television News

The following thesis examines the relationship between punishment and Lebanese television news reports. By taking Lebanese Roumieh Prison as a case study, this research employs an ideological and visual discourse analysis on television news prison stories. It explores the manifestations of the ideology of punishment within television news reports in relation to the television stations' socio-political views. Through the framework of cultural studies, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and the critique of ideology, the analysis critically engages with the understanding of prisons as a mediated reality. This study examines the phenomenon of cellphone media production by prisoners and introduces notions of subjectivity, the gaze, and visibility to raise the question; can the prisoner speak?

“Have not prisons — which kill all will and force of character in man, which enclose within their walls more vices than are met with on any other spot of the globe — always been universities of crime? Is not the court of a tribunal a school of ferocity?”

Kropotkin, *Fugitive Writings*, p. 114

“The very foundation of interhuman discourse is misunderstanding”

Lacan, *Seminar III*, p. 184

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. LITERATURE AND THEORY	11
III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY	32
A. Research Questions	32
B. Methodology	33
IV. ANALYSIS	43
A. Punishment as Ideology	43
B. Punishment through Television Discourse	54
C. Power of Punishment in the Power of the Image	73
D. The Prisoner as Subaltern	91
V. CONCLUSION.....	94
REFERENCES	94
APPENDIX	112

Chapter I

Introduction

Mass media play a significant part in shaping stories associated with criminal justice, penal institutions, correction facilities and crime policy (Mason, 2007); sensational reporting of crime and violence render punishment the only viable solution (Mathiesen, 2001). Modern mass media rely heavily on overstating the problem of crime and disciplinary justice by “means of selective semiotic aestheticisation” (Cheliotis, 2010, p. 169).

Most of the literature concerning concepts of punishment draws a strong relationship between media, popular culture and perceptions of punishment (Demker et al., 2008; Oliver & Armstrong, 1995; Rosenberger & Callanan, 2011; Sotirovic, 2001). Since the beginning of the past decade, we have been witnessing an emergence of a culture of fear leading to the increase in the public’s support of punitive policies (Garland, 2001; Simon 2007). The public’s punitive attitudes are regularly the result of media programs and news, which often constitute the public’s only knowledge of and insight into crime and criminal justice systems (Surrette, 2010; Tonry, 1999, Chapman et al., 2002). Cheliotis (2010) argues that this constant manipulation of prison stories creates an unconscious punitive reactionary behavior and attitude in the minds of the public towards inmates. This unconscious behavior of the audience shifts the debate away from any critical engagement with punishment, and perpetuates the media’s disregard of the problem of prison as an institution.

Most scholarship theorizing punitiveness from a criminological perspective fails to engage properly with the media forms that help construct prison and punishment, its reception, and its ability to contribute to the populist punitive criminological imagination (Mason, 2006). In addition, most scholarship that does target the relationship between media and crime is often problematic. They are either guided by purely quantitative data, and fall into media effect fallacies (Demker et al., 2008), or they indulge in the issue of representation, which tends to overlook the contextual and structural factors of prison realities. (Bullock & Cubert, 2002).

The present research avoids the discourse of “cultural criminology” and engages instead with the media discourse on prisons through the examination of the ideology of punishment, both textually and visually. By studying prison discourse in the Lebanese media, specifically television news reports, this study attempts to understand the extent to which the punitive ideology has been rendered normative, or sometimes celebrated in cases of political prisoners. Also, it highlights the manifestations of the punitive ideology within Lebanese televised news prison stories. In addition, this study adopts notions of visibility and visibility, and contends that punishment, in the context of Lebanon, has reemerged as a spectacle, whether through television news reporting or the appropriation of cellphone videos produced inside Lebanese prisons. This study adopts a different perspective of studying media and crime by taking into consideration the agency and subjectivity of prisoners in relation to their mediated images. It helps to imagine an alternative to the traditional consideration of prisoners’ visibility and our preconceived notions of mediated prison resistance.

Introducing the critique of ideology in this study helps us to think about the relationship between what is visible and what is not, and between what is imaginable and what is not (Zizek, 1994). Zizek's conceptualization of ideology helps us differentiate between knowledge that is explicitly manifested, such as television content, and its "appearance beyond appearance", such as the unthinkable (Vighi & Feldner, 2007). This is significant when studying the discourse of prisons in the media. An ideological critique of media discourse helps us recognize the "imaginable", such as the tendency of Lebanese media to consider prison reform as something "good", or sometimes even perceive ideas of rehabilitation as extremely "developed". However, examining the "unimaginable" or "unthinkable" helps us ask why the media, as structures in society, fail to even imagine an alternative form to punishment and prisons.

Mason (2006) argues that by studying the discourse of news media targeted to a "fearful" public, one can notice how prison becomes inherently constructed as a normative solution to crime. As such, by examining the ideological discourse of punishment in television content, one can look beyond the notions of representation and towards examining and understanding the power structures and powerful functions of media in relation to punitive attitudes of the public. The following study aims to move beyond representation by also examining the ideological source behind these structures. By examining the textual and visual discourse of news prison stories, the study aims to understand the existence of punitive attitudes in the media and to understand the ways and the reasons behind the criminalization of a subject who has already been imprisoned. Hall (1978) argues that media's sensational reporting of a group of people can create a moral

panic, which legitimizes police action against these individuals. This study builds on Hall's (1978) framework in order to explore the reason behind the sensational reporting and the criminalization of a group of people who have already been subjected to policing and imprisonment. In addition, it provides a visual discourse analysis component when introducing the notion of the spectacle in punishment. It considers the context, content, target audience, and the production aspects of the media - images and videos - produced inside prisons in relation to the prisoner's subjectivity.

The following study connects the theory of cultural studies, with the emphasis on cultural Marxism, Lacanian psychoanalytical theory, and the theory of critique of ideology with the sample collected from five prominent Lebanese television stations. The sample consisted of a series of news prison stories on Lebanese televisions' prime time news reports divided equally amongst the Lebanese television channels chosen. The news prison stories revolved around two main Roumieh Prison riots, the first conducted by all prisoners, and the second by prisoners labeled as "Islamists".

Significance of Media Studies in Thinking beyond Penology

As the following study aims at analyzing the punitive attitudes embodied in Lebanese television news, it is essential to first examine the areas which helped to recursively reconstruct and shape prison realities and their understanding in the dominant culture. In today's society, prisons constitute the technocratic manifestation and technological advancement of punishment (Barak, 1998). The main focus of the incarceration industry has been aimed at improving the efficiency of the methods of incarceration, such as architecture and weaponry, instead of focusing on the reason and

value behind incarceration. In addition, assessing the system's effectiveness is based upon the extent it has dealt, efficiently and pragmatically, with offenders within the bureaucratic confines of the prison system itself (Horton, 1996).

On the other side of the spectrum, the media fall into the trap of targeting punishment from a penological perspective. The observer starts to perceive the function and nature of punishment as one single event being transformed into visual realities and broadcasted by the media. Punishment comes to be understood only when its consequences are visually experienced by the observer (Duffee, 1989). Punishment continues to be frequent and recurrent to the point where its discourse in the public sphere starts to overlook the means which created the punishment, and concentrates exclusively on the expression manifested in the media. The issue arises when punishment, as a practice, becomes disconnected from the social process and cultural forms which define it and give it meaning. While the rate of punishment remains consistent, we overlook the processes which create it and concentrate on its manifestation and expression by reading the practices of punishment at face value. Hence, the modern structures around punishment, such as the public discourse in the media, normalize the inevitability of punishment while maintaining its necessity to uphold the status quo (Garland, 1990). Within this process, punishment is only understood as its practical manifestation in the public sphere; punishment becomes perceived only as a concrete object that can be felt or, more importantly, be "seen" (Horton, 1996). Hence the significance of examining punishment from a media perspective: the existence of punishment today is dependent on the ways it is mediated to the public.

This is not to argue that examining penology, or penalty, is wrong, but it may be insufficient. Punishment today is only understood when it is identified and realized within a public arena. Therefore examining punishment through its manifestations provides a different angle to investigate the ontology of punishment. Most of the scholarship theorizing punishment, and media representation of punishment, perceive punishment as a historical necessity and normalize its existence in our societies (Garland, 1990). The only critical stance that such scholarship presents is the discourse around creating “compatible environments” or “civil rights” for the subjects in prison and “properly” and “objectively” portraying them to the public. However, such scholarship disregards questioning the ontology of punishment and its dependence on its visual manifestations.

According to Nietzsche (1887) and his examination of the origin of punishment in *On the Genealogy of Morality*, punishment has always been the attribute of the powerful; however punishment then was limited between the relationship of the debtor and the creditor. Here one must differentiate the origin of punishment from its utility. With the emergence of “ascetic morality”, the creditor’s ability to punish diminished to the point where it almost disappeared with the development of the law, the church, and the state. This can be referred to as the institutionalization of punishment. This is where I draw the line for punishment to be considered as an ideology. The socially authorized governing body becomes responsible for implementing punishment, which will perpetuate the power that this governing body represents, and re-establishes the subject as a target for enforcement, while media manifestations of punishment legitimize this process (Garland, 1990). When the act of punishment was taken from the creditor and reconstructed through morality,

punishment started to be a collective act based on mediation and media forms, as a result punitive attitudes began to develop. These forms of mediation take place through a public spectacle that can be visible visually or visually imagined (Valier, 2004). The manifestations of punishment become social realities perpetuated and normalized by their means of mediation. The realm of punishment becomes interconnected with the realm of seeing. It is here I argue that the critical examination of punishment is achieved through the critical examination of the manifestations of the ideology of punishment. More importantly, the examination of the manifestations of punishment allows us to trace the manifestations of resistance of the punished against the punishing force. The significance of the media and the visual examination of punishment are therefore key.

Significance of the Lebanese Prison System

As noted, this study revolves around the case study of the relationship between Lebanese television and Lebanese prison. Most of the scholarship on prisons, and prisons and media, have developed and emerged from a western standpoint and using western case studies (Jeffrey, 1959). In order to critically engage with such scholarship, it is important to contextualize Lebanese prisons. There is a need to consider the historical and socio-political factors which influenced the construction of Lebanese prisons as the reality we witness today.

From a historical perspective, the development of Lebanese prisons has been connected to Lebanese political developments. The first form of incarceration in Lebanon was through the incarceration of offenders in the basements of government buildings during Ottoman rule (1516-1918) (Nashabe, 2003). According to Nashabe (2003), the

incarceration process during Ottoman rule was based on humiliation and oppression. Directly after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Allied forces, and then the French forces introduced their laws of criminal justice and incarceration under the umbrella of prison reform. They introduced Order number 242, which led to the construction of two prison facilities. However, the practices of the treatment of prisoners remained those of the Ottoman's. The French mandate in 1921 introduced a Decree to implement prison reforms and to assign a civil administration for the management of prisons, rather than the military administration existent at the time. After independence from the French, the Lebanese government issued a Decree, with an ambiguous set of responsibilities, imposing a quasi-military administration onto Lebanese prisons. Ever since, Lebanese prisons have been administered by the Internal Security Force (ISF) (Lebanon's national police and security force) and the discourse of prisons has been almost absent from the government's agenda (Nashabe, 2003).

The successive foreign control over the Lebanese territories, as well as the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990), politicized, polarized, and fragmented the ISF, resulting in a corrupt and partisan prison administration with an unclear set of rules and responsibilities (Nashabe, 2003). Ultimately, this affected the treatment of prisoners and the relationship of prisoners among one another.

The existence of cellphones inside Roumieh Prison increases the significance of examining the Lebanese case study. Many news outlets and ISF personnel have reported on the existence of cellphones inside Roumieh Prison. Prisoners with cellphones are accused of communicating with people on the outside and taking pictures and videos (Ghanem,

2014). This study examines this phenomenon from a media and visibility perspective, while avoiding arguments related to penology. The study addresses the appropriation of the product of this phenomenon – the leaked pictures and videos taken by prisoners – by the television news reports in their coverage of prisons. The phenomenon of prison cellphone media can be a useful tool in assessing the possibility of resistance or political action by the subjects against the punitive ideology. It presents a window to understanding the subjectivity of the prisoner. Since there is a dearth of scholarship dealing with prison cellphone smuggling from a media and a visual perspective, this phenomenon is at the heart of this research. It helps us imagine and acknowledge alternative subjective ways of insurgency.

Aside from the problems of overcrowding and corruption inside Lebanese prisons, the issues of arbitrary detention and torture are major problems with Lebanon's criminal justice. Even though the Lebanese criminal justice system condemns both arbitrary detention and torture, these acts are still practiced against a fraction of the Lebanese population, the "Islamists". While there are various fundamental Muslim groups in Lebanon, the media and the public refer to them all as "Islamists". The term is now wildly used, politicians and news reports alike. Members of fundamental Muslim groups and any individual believed to be associated with them are subject to arbitrary detention under the accusations of threatening national security (Lons, 2016).

This study is interested in examining the manifestations of punishment in the televised Lebanese news reports. It considers the ownership and politics of the television stations to unpack the textual and visual discourses around Roumieh Prison. By reflecting

on the prisoners' mediated images, the study puts the manifestations of the punitive ideology in the Lebanese media in conversation with the Lacanian notions of subjectivity, desire, and drive. In addition, the study revisits the notions of commodification and the gaze and their impact on the prisoners' visibility. The thesis contends that the prisoner is constantly speaking, however the ideological reporting entrenched in the news media shapes and fits the subjectivity of the prisoner within the dominant discourses.

Chapter II

Literature and Theory

In the following section, I discuss a series of theoretical perspectives which shaped this research and the analysis of the relationship between Lebanese television news prison stories and the Roumieh Prisoners' visibility. I connect the discussed theories to provide a critical theoretical approach for analyzing the narratives and discourses of Lebanese television news reports in relation to the punitive ideology. However first, I explore a sample of the body of literature around punishment, media, and crime.

Media Discourse around Incarceration

Prison stories are recurrent in news media, and the scholarship on the relationship between confinements and news is vast (Mason, 2007). However, most scholarship studying the discourse of prisons in media is interested in the reporting practices and the “efficiency” of policies; they do not engage critically with the ontological existence of prison and punishment or news reporting's interest and drive to “represent” or “investigate” the prison. As such, much of the scholarship reexamines the same hypotheses around the discourses of power. In this section I review the main conclusions and arguments of some of the literature around the discourse of prison in the media.

Mason (2007) argues that news media in general tends to glorify and elevate the issue of crime. His discourse analysis of four prison news stories yielded that news media often shape “delinquents” as a menace to society while depicting prison as an appropriate form of punishment. Journalists tend to depend on elite sources instead of exhaustive

investigative reporting as a way to give their insight more credibility. Thus, such newspapers perpetuate and legitimize the dominant culture's stances on crime and criminal justice (Mason, 2007). Mason (2007) believed that the study of public opinion is interesting yet insignificant since, when it comes to crime news and criminal justice, the public receives all of its information and news from the media.

In his paper on the visibility of prisons and prisoners, Cheliotis (2010) argued that mass media contribute greatly to the formation of punitive attitudes amongst the public. Prison news tends to marginalize individuals, criticize prison administration for laxity, advocate strict imprisonment policies, and encourage communities to have self-policing measures. Also, the visibility of prisoners in the media discourse is often used against them. Cheliotis (2010) further argues that a possible reason for the advocacy of punishment is the media networks' interest in promoting their financial interests by providing the audience what they want. Media networks and their staff are not competing only for economic capital, but also for cultural capital. Thus, they sensationalize prison reporting to gain educational credentials and the image of expertise and knowledge.

Jewkes (2005) claims that the majority of readers turn to newspapers to confirm what they already know. The audience reads a prison story for two main reasons. First, the audience is looking for a confirmation of their views, which tend to be punitive, and, second, to get shocked and outraged by the story. Therefore, news reporters aim for a "passionate engagement for the purpose of exercising moral sentiment" (p. 27) rather than accurate reporting of prisons (Jewkes, 2005).

Whilst examining the discourse of prison stories, Kohm (2009) noticed a trend of public shaming and humiliation. He argued that with the disappearance of public humiliation as a physical public act, humiliation became amplified by the end of 20th century through mass media. Media reporting of crime and prison become a commodified act of humiliation of the punished individuals.

In another study, Edwards (2014) examined experts' discourse of juvenile justice in media coverage. He argues that the experts' input on juvenile delinquency is influenced by the experts' professional relationship with the juvenile court. The discourse of experts in the media revolves mainly around enforcing punitive measures, which leads to the decrease of the discourse in rehabilitation in news media.

By examining this sample of scholarship on the media discourse of prisons we can see threads of similarities within the arguments. All previous research advocated the "proper" or "true" reporting of prisons or criticized the lack of it. There is a preconceived notion within the articles that rehabilitation is inherently better than imprisonment or that the media can "properly" represent prisons. However, we do not see a deeper engagement with the punitive ideology producing these "negative" discourses around prisoners. This study aims to fill this gap by adopting a different theoretical perspective than those embraced in traditional studies of media and crime, as well as looking for possible means of resistance overlooked by this traditional examination of media reporting.

My theoretical approach in the following research stems from the school of critical theory. The analysis is heavily influenced by this school of thought because this study aims not only to define and explain the predominant discourses, but also to engage critically with

the reality of these discourses. My analysis is based upon the critical reading of the interrelationship between media products and social and political structures, while focusing on the constructive and fluid nature of these very structures. Therefore, in order to apply deconstruction, the analysis must take on critical constructs which can help us think beyond the assumptions of legitimacy in socio-political structures and in the dominant discourses. The theoretical framework of this research thus adopts theories of cultural studies and cultural Marxism, psychoanalysis, and critique of ideology.

Cultural Studies and Cultural Marxism

The relationship between media products and social structures, as well as the individual, is dialectical by nature, each reality constructed around one is influenced by the other. Products of media culture shape our identities and influence our subjectivities (Kellner, 1995). Since this research is interested in an analysis of television news reporting, the analysis requires the principles of cultural studies to be incorporated into the theoretical base. The mass mediated processes through which news reports are constructed within the television stations are characterized by a reciprocal communicative relationship between the media and the subjects of the social structure, "...both elements are intimately linked through a dialectic, each recursively creating the other's meaning" (Horton, 1997; p. 32). Therefore, media products, in this case television news reports, are better understood once they are examined, as they exist in their totality. It is best to examine media products in relation to socio-political structures they represent and contextualize them within the respective social, economic, political, and historical environment that give them meaning (Kellner, 1995). As Kellner (1995) describes it:

Cultural studies insist that culture must be studied within the social relations and system through which culture is produced and consumed and that the study of culture is, therefore, intimately bound up with the study of society, politics and economics.” (p. 6)

The cultural studies school of thought allows us to examine the extent to which mass media influence and constitute the processes constructing post-modern’s discourses and reality.

Furthermore, the major traditions of cultural studies, such as the Frankfurt School, British cultural studies, and French postmodern theory, operate within a transdisciplinary set of concepts revolving around social theory, philosophy, economics, politics, and communication studies, and so on. Cultural studies deconstructs the borders between these academic disciplines and advocates the critical consideration of textual productions and types of production, in addition to socio-historical contextualization. Here, cultural Marxism strengthens the analysis of cultural studies with a Marxist critical and political perspective, which enables us to dissect the messages, meanings, and the effects of dominant culture (Kellner, 1995).

“Radical Criminology”: Marxist Approach to Media and Crime

With the development of theories regarding criminology and media, an interest in a Marxist approach regarding media and power began to develop in the mid-20th century (Jewkes, 2009). The social structure theories of Marx and Gramsci led to the formulation of the “dominant ideology” model of media and crime. The Marxist approach tackles media institutions like any other capitalist institution: they are owned by and operate solely for the bourgeoisie elite and deny any oppositional views (Jewkes, 2009). Gramsci developed the

Marxist approach through his concept of cultural hegemony, which eventually played a substantial role in theorizing the relationship between media institutions and crime, deviancy and incarceration. The cultural hegemony theory discusses the process by which the ruling class dominates a culture, wins approval and legitimizes its actions by consent rather than coercion. This process is often achieved by social and cultural institutions, such as the family, the education system and, most importantly, the media. Eventually, the beliefs, values, and norms imposed by the ruling class become normalized as cultural norms, as a part of the dominant ideology (Adamson, 1980). In this case, the media play a crucial role in establishing consent and rendering the ideology of the ruling class natural and inevitable while praising and normalizing their values and interests (Jewkes, 2009). Gramsci's articulation of hegemony highlighted the different cultural elements that appeal to the majority of people.

Even though Marx and Gramsci had little to say about crime, the constant notion of social structure in their theories influenced a new "radical" theory of criminology, which discloses the structural "criminalization" (Jewkes, 2009). This "radical" Marxist approach is built upon the notion of "labeling" or "criminalization". It conveys that criminal behavior is not a result of the societal or cultural environment, neither is it a product of the individual's personality, but rather "deviant behavior is behavior that people so label" (Becker, 1963, p. 79). Deviant individuals are often seen as criminals because the ruling class "labels" them and their activities as such. According to Taylor and Walton (1973), the function of the state revolves around the power of labeling people as deviants and criminals and prosecuting them by punishment accordingly. Non-conformist behavior is labeled as

“criminal” because it is in the benefit of the ruling class to categorize them as such. Even though the upper class will violate laws, only working class crimes will be punished (Taylor & Walton, 1973).

Further scholarship on the “new radical criminology” theory emphasized and contextualized the role of mass media in this relationship with crime. This research pinpointed the criminogenic function of the state and the ability of mass media to create public panics by glorifying crime without any concern for the social problems originating from the capitalist system (Hall et al, 1978). In his book *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the state and Law and Order*, Stuart Hall (1978) shapes the ideological role of media in framing, portraying and defining crime news. Hall (1978) argues that through the public moral panic orchestrated by the news media, “mugging” became a social and ideological phenomenon responsible for the creation of a label by the dominant controlling culture to criminalize young unemployed black citizens. In addition, Hall (1978) conveys how the recent law and order ideology serves the gradually repressive and “interventionist” state. Hall (1978) suggests this moral panic created by journalists around “mugging” took place after the amplification of police mobilization against black offenders. The outcome was sensationalized and dramatized media reporting driving public fear and mistreatment of black people by the police, resulting in the arrests of many black citizens, which again attracted the attention of the media. Finally, the “law and order” ideology was responsible for developing a pre-emptive escalation of control and assault towards minority groups materialized in the image of the black “mugger” and created a discourse in support of this ideological domination and suppression (Hall et al, 1978).

Influenced by the notions of production and consumption of Marx (1967), Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) argued that the basis of a commercial media and culture system is the creation of product merely for its exchange value and not its use value. The culture industry produces content for profit and not for aesthetic or cultural ends. Thus, the commercially structured cultural institutions play a substantial part in reproducing the social relations of the capitalist system. Guy Debord (1967) develops this concept to argue that in a capitalist society, commodity becomes the “essential category”. When commodification reaches its fullest capability, the image of society broadcasted by the commodity reduces society to sheer representation, hence the notion of the society of the spectacle.

It is significant to underline the neo-liberal environment in which punishment flourishes. Wacquant (2009) argued that there is a need to look at punishment beyond the technical spectrum of repression, and as a source to the notion of production. He created a causal relationship between the neo-liberal system and the decline of social assistance, which led to the increase in punitive measures.

Lebanese Television: Neo-liberal and a Partisan Entity

The Lebanese television industry was the first in the Arab world not to operate as a government monopoly (Notzold, 2009); in fact the Lebanese government issued licenses for two independent private companies, La Compagnie Libanaise de Television and Compagnie de Television du Liban et du Proche, to be the first to broadcast in Lebanon. In addition, Lebanese television entrepreneurs branched out and partnered with other media

businesses in the Arab world to import foreign productions into Arab television (Harb, 2011).

As argued by Notzold (2009), Lebanese television is privately owned by politicians and political party associates who broadcast their visions of post-war Lebanon. Lebanese television content is political and often fueled with sectarian discourse that caters to a niche audience, those affiliated with the station's political views. Most of the Lebanese television channels are dependent on a political party to the extent that the bulk of their funding comes from political players (Notzold, 2009). This particular phenomenon of the Lebanese television industry can help us introduce a new angle to the analysis of the Lebanese prison discourse in the media.

Each major political party or movement found a loophole in the Lebanese law to sponsor its own television channel (Notzold, 2009). LBC is an openly Christian television station; its politics have shifted along the spectrum of far right to center. MTV is owned by Michel El Murr, a prominent Christian leader, and adopts a far right Christian politics. Future TV is largely owned by the Harriri family, a prominent entrepreneurial and political Lebanese family, and represents the right wing Sunni Lebanese population. With the rise of fundamentalism in Islam, Future TV started to frame itself as the moderate Sunni voice. Al Manar is a conservative television aimed at representing the Lebanese Shia community. It is owned and operated by Hizbollah. And finally New TV, a self-described secular television station that promotes a progressive image of itself, is owned by Tahseen Khayat, a prominent Lebanese businessman, who was arrested in 2003 for corruption involving Syrian political personnel (Notzold, 2009). These brief facts about the Lebanese television

landscape help to further contextualize the news reports in my analysis. This can help us think about the extent to which a partisan television channel can shape its content to embody an ideology, while abiding by the political framework of its owners. Indeed, the Lebanese television industry is not only an embodiment of a neo-liberal capitalist system, but also an embodiment of Lebanese partisan politics.

Critical Theory of the Subject and Lacanian Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis has had an important influence on critical theory, and has a fundamental relationship with cultural studies, which will be further explored later. It contributes to the study of social and group psychology and behavior, such as war, crime, and culture, and the examination of literature and art. It is the only school of thought that emphasizes the complete dynamic examination of personality and the body, and influences the development of the notions of subjectivity, identity and socialization (Busch, 2011). Since the present research treats the prisoner as a desiring subject, the analysis of this study also benefits from a psychoanalytical approach.

Furthermore, the critical theory of the subject was developed once the Frankfurt School revisited psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis ceased to be an “assistance science” and became a fundamental aspect in the framework of critical theory (Horkheimer, 1932). In addition, psychoanalysis began to be conceived as a theory of socialization and interaction, while taking into consideration the concept of subjective resistance and drives. This led to the formulation of the critical theory of the subject, where the concept of subjectivity became much more substantial (Busch, 2011).

Lacan built on Freudian theories to develop further notions of subjectivities: the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real (Bowie, 1991). Lacan (1978) contributed to the field of psychoanalysis by raising fundamental questions concerning the image, identification, unconscious fantasy, and the mirror stage, the latter being fundamental for this research. Furthermore, Lacan developed his theories to include more cultural aspects, such as the symbolic order of kinship and social structures and roles, and later went beyond structuralism by developing his theory of the Real, which is related to the important notions of subjectivity, such as *jouissance*, desire, and the drive (Lacan, 1978). Lacan (1978) emphasized the role of language in the speech of the subject and considered it a window to the unconscious. Hence, I employ a Lacanian analysis in relation to the textual and visual discursive analysis.

Introducing Subjectivity

The term subjectivity is often used in the context of the state of personhood, individuality, and self-awareness (Henriques et al, 1998). Subjectivity as a concept is different from the notion of the individual, the self, or identity, although each of these notions are significantly connected to subjectivity (Hollway, 1989). This understanding of subjectivity is essential to my research since it gives emphasis to the individual agency of the subject, whether a prisoner, reporter, or audience member. Also, the notion of subjectivity is useful for studying individuals within confinement. While the physical behavior of prisoners is regulated and repressed inside the prison, subjectivity allows us to examine the prisoner as a subject independently from the instabilities of the prison environment.

Psychoanalytic theory treats the body as an essential part of the subject, however the body in this context differs from the body understood by biopolitics. In psychoanalysis, the body is theorized through the mediation of the psyche (Neroni, 2015). When the body is subjected to the signifier, the result is the unconscious, and therefore the creation of the desiring subject (Lacan, 2007). The subject becomes related to the body through the mediation of the signifier. The role that signification plays in constituting the subject undermines any analysis which views the subject as merely the appearance of the body. Therefore, according to psychoanalysis, a separation between the body and the mind, as political being, can never happen. An additional key aspect to the experience of the desiring subject is that the mind cannot have full control over the body. The body is not and cannot be fully subjected to signification (Neroni, 2015).

In addition, Lacanian psychoanalytical theory is a significant tool to theorize the psychic level of subject production. Lacan's theory of subjectivity places emphasis on the symbolic to understand the unconscious desire (Hollway, 1989). According to psychoanalysis, subjectivity appears when the mind and the body collide. This intersection between the mind and the body produces the notion of desire (Neroni, 2015). As Neroni (2015) writes:

What psychoanalysis reveals, Lacan posits, is that the Cartesian subject's certainty of its identity is utterly distinct from the subject's search for truth, an impossible and not wholly articulated truth that arises in the relationship between the psyche and the body. This search for truth is better represented by the structure of one's desire. (p. 44)

Introducing Desire

The poststructuralist approach sees desire as a tool to understand the position of individuals within a certain discourse. It examines the motivations and investments people go through in taking up a specific discourse. I am interested in taking this definition a bit further by applying the Lacanian understanding of desire. Lacan (2007) differentiated the notion of desire from need and demand. He argues that desire is the surplus created by the articulation of need in demand. As Žižek (2007) explains: “desire’s *raison d’être* is not to realize its goal, to find full satisfaction, but to reproduce itself as desire” (p. 37). Therefore Lacan (1973) comes to the conclusion that desire can never be satisfied. He introduced the term “*objet petit a*” which stands for the unattainable object of desire or the object cause of desire. It is important to note that there is difference between desire and the drive. While both are related to the field of the “Other”, desire is one but drives can be many. The drive comes as the manifestation of desire. According to Lacan, desire does not come in relation to an object, but in relation to a lack. Therefore desire reproduces as a social construct; it is always founded in a dialectical relationship. This definition of desire is adopted in this study. Basing the analysis on Hegelian dialectics, the Lacanian definition of desire helps argue that the unattainable desire of the prisoner or “*objet petit a*” of the subject is what the subject perceives as freedom or the end of physical imprisonment; without this desire the subject can no longer be. Once the prisoner achieves what s/he defines as “freedom”, the subject is no longer a prisoner.

In addition, In *Écrit*, Lacan (2007) adds to his theory that desire is fundamentally a desire for recognition, by commenting on the relationship between desire and the signifier. Lacan (2007) writes:

The necessary and sufficient reason for the repetitive insistence of these desires in the transference and their permanent remembrance in a signifier that repression has appropriated – that is, in which the repressed returns – is found if one accepts the idea that in these determinations the desire for recognition dominates the desire that is to be recognized, preserving it as such until it is recognized (p. 431).

Here, Lacan argues that desire is constantly pushing for recognition. What is substantial in studying the subject is not only the desire of the subject, but more importantly the ways and means the subject tries to reach desire. Those ways are referred to as the drives. Lacan (2007) continues:

To return psychoanalysis to a veridical path, it is worth recalling that analysis managed to go so far in the revelation of man's desires only by following, in the veins of neurosis and the marginal subjectivity of the individual, the structure proper to a desire that thus proves to model it at an unexpected depth – namely, the desire to have his desire recognised. This desire, in which it is literally verified that man's desire is alienated in the other's desire, in effect structures the drives discovered in analysis, in accordance with all the vicissitudes of the logical substitutions in their source, aim, and object (p. 343).

Lacan does not only argue that the desire is a desire for recognition, but it is also based on the belief of the desire of the other; the “a” in Lacan’s “*objet petit a*” stands for “*autre*” or “other”. This creates an immense dependence on the “Other”. The subject’s experience of desire is always going to be interconnected with the other’s desire, the other that the subject desires recognition from.

Introducing the “Other”

In phenomenology, the other is the differentiation and the opposition of the Self, of Us, and of the Same. The term other indicates the opposite state of social identity of an individual and the identity of the Self (Given, 2008). Lacan provides two main definitions of the other (Zizek, 2007). The first definition is of the “other”, lower case o, which is the

person's counterpart, his/her equal. The second definition is of the "Other" or the "big Other". The "Other" is the other with its massive radicality. The "Other" can be an individual in his/her enigmatic dimension, or it can be the preconceived moral and ideal virtues of a certain culture. The essential feature of the "Other" is that the subject never knows exactly what it desires, however the subject is constantly looking to answer this question (Lacan, 1978). This dualism of the subject and the big Other is significant to this research. Through this dualism I look at television news reports' continuous ways and attempts to "represent" or "understand" the prisoner, as "Other".

Ideology and its Critique as Theory

With the oversimplification of the structuralist approach by some of the post-modern scholarships, the critique of ideology witnessed a decline within critical scholarship. Contemporary critical Marxist theorists have aimed to revive the notion of ideology and its critique by situating its place in contemporary culture and political theory (Garcia, Gmo, Sanchez, 2008). Zizek tops the list of scholars who rehabilitated the critique of ideology as a theory. The work of Zizek on ideology, namely the *Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989), draws on a Hegelian dialectic to formulate new foundations of the Lacanian theory of ideology and elements from cultural Marxism and Marxist thought, such as the notion of commodity fetishism (Garcia, Gmo, Sanchez, 2008). As I elaborate below, this research is based and influenced by the neo-Marxist/Zizekian understanding of ideology and its critique.

Zizek (1989) sees ideology as a "generating matrix" regulating between the visible and the invisible, between what is imaginable and what is not, and the shifts arising from

these relations. Jameson (2007), in accordance with Zizek, perceived ideology as a structural limitation to the production of sense in specific societies and social classes. Therefore the contemporary approach of ideology, and the place of ideology in this research, is not concerned with the idea of distorted reality or inverted reality in its representational sense. This in essence is the difference between the neo-Marxist approach to ideology and ideology according to Marx; the latter, like Nietzsche and Freud, sees ideology as an illusion pointing towards the hidden foundations of discourse and the supposed rationality upon which these discourses are based (Sloterdijk, 2003). Zizek (1989) argues that ideology presents itself as a process of practice production, which aims to the production and legitimation of power relations. To examine ideology, it is necessary to look into the extra-discursive associations and practices which are mediated but not limited to language. Therefore, and through the Hegelian framework of the analysis of religion, Zizek (1994) characterizes ideology, and its critique, to stem from three main structures: ideology in itself, ideology for itself, and ideology in and for itself. Ideology in itself refers to the series of ideas. In the context of this research, this refers to the series of ideas which create punishment and discipline measures, such as developing ideas of incarceration and rehabilitation as a form of scientific criminological discipline and punishment. Ideology for itself refers to the materiality of ideology in what Althusser called Ideological State Apparatuses (1970). As an example from this research, ideology for itself refers to the televised news reports on prisons and the embodiment of the punitive discourse in their reporting. Ideology in and for itself indicates when ideology enters into operation in social practices. This is when ideology starts affecting practices and decisions, such as the state adoption of criminological tactics, the normalization of imprisonment, and/or the

criminalization of a marginalized group of individuals. The framework of ideology in and for itself is the most substantial according to Žižek. It is the stage where ideology becomes so prominent to the extent that it can create a condition of identification. It serves to cover up the existence of the Real.

Žižek (1994) asserts that the social practices of ideology do not depend on the ignorance of the people practicing it. The traditional Marxist (1986) formula of ideology: “they do not know it, but they do it” (p. 41) does not hold here. Ideology as a social practice is not materialized as knowing, but in doing. According to Žižek, human beings do know “it”, that they are acting in the benefits of ideology, but they act as if they do not. The inherent form of ideology is “the way by which its content is related to the subjective position implied in its very process of enunciation” (Garcia, Gmo & Sanchez, 2008: p. 4). Ideology creates a deep discursive rationalization of the reasons by which the subject thinks or acts. Žižek writes: “to be effective the logic of the legitimation of the relation of domination must remain hidden” (1997: p. 15).

The major significance of using the Žižekian approach to ideology stems from the ability of his theory to tie the two major theories which shape my research, cultural Marxism and Psychoanalysis. Žižek’s theory of ideology is a valid confirmation on the ability of psychoanalysis to engage productively with Marxist political theory (Garcia, Gmo & Sanchez, 2008: p. 4). It is Lacan who argued that Marx invented/discovered the symptom (Žižek, 1989). In addition, by allocating the problem of ideology in the sphere of doing and not the realm of knowing, Žižek (1989) rehabilitated the critique of ideology in cultural studies and refuted the post-ideological arguments. Furthermore, the new approach of

ideology uses psychoanalysis to complete and fill in where the Marxist interpretation of ideology fell short. For instance, Marxism accuses ideology of presenting a partial perspective and a false universalization, while the Marxist critique of ideology focuses only on the bourgeois. However, the Lacanian interpretation, according to Žižek, shows ideology “as a totality that tries to erase the traces of its own impossibility...in the Lacanian perspective the aim would rather be to include and understand a sort of hyper-fast historicisation that binds us to the kernel of an insistent repetition of the diverse historicisations/symbolizations attempting to suture the emptiness of the subject.” (Garcia, Gmo & Sanchez, 2008: p. 11).

Ideology, Discourse, and Language

In an interview first published in *L'Express* in 1957, when asked about language in practice, Lacan expressed:

...When taken by itself, the sign “vulture” means nothing; it only finds its signifying value when taken within the context of the set of the system to which it belongs. Well, analysis deals with this order of phenomena. They belong to the order of language. A psychoanalyst is not an explorer of an unknown continent, or of great depths; he is a linguist. He learns to decipher the writing which is under his eyes, present to the sight of all; however, that writing remains indecipherable if we lack its laws, its key. (p. 2)

Through his writings, Lacan (1955) emphasized the role of language in constituting the subject by being the window into the unconscious. Lacan understood the unconscious to be the discourse of the Other. In addition, as Žižek (1989) argued, one can examine ideology through its manifestation within the mediated discursive relations, especially when ideology is for itself, its embodiment in Ideological State Apparatuses. It is through the belief that

ideology can be manifested, apparent, and critiqued through language, that this research aims to analyze the language and discourse of the televised news reports. Here, I also look at images and videos as a form of visual language. It is from this conceptual framework that this research reads Foucault's *Archeology of Knowledge* (1969). The examination of discourse in the following research comes as a critique of the ideology that is embodied in this discourse and not as an examination of the discursive production of subjects and subjectivities.

The significance of Foucault in this research is that he understood discourse in relation to knowledge construction, where discourse is a system of predominant societal conversations and discussions about domains of knowledge within human sciences (Fairclough, 1992). Foucault examined the different structures of discourse, areas of knowledge and social practice. Foucauldian discourse is examined through the historical, political, or social significance of dominant practices and knowledge systems (Foucault, 1969). *Archeology of Knowledge* (1969) lays down the analysis and methodology of Foucault's prominent work. His methodology is based on the set of things said or articulated, their emergence, and transformation. The examination of discourse is triggered down to the inspection of the basic linguistic unit, the statement. Foucault doesn't lay down a clear definition of a statement, however he argues that the statement renders an expression discursively meaningful.

Furthermore, in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Foucault saw the body of the individual as the "target of power". The product of "disciplining" the body was "docility", the state where the body is subjected, used, and transformed. Foucault described modes of

discipline, such as imprisonment, as “the general formula for domination” (p. 137).

Foucault (1975) writes:

The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it...Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an aptitude, a capacity, which it seeks to increase; on the other hand it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. (p. 138)

Foucault argues that disciplinary power is a technique involving regulation of the individual to achieve the “desired” effect: a docile and useful body. As this study takes an interest in the phenomenon of imprisonment, it is significant to reflect on the Foucauldian approach. However this study aims to further unpack this “desired effect” that the disciplinary power has according to Foucault. To do so I refer to the notion of punishment as ideology.

Both biopower and biopolitics perceive the body as the only political arena and subjectivity to be misleading and insignificant. Despite the differences between biopolitics and biopower, both neglect and deduct subjectivity from the analysis and position the center of their theories around the body (Neroni, 2015). Therefore, this study is not interested in discussing the differences between biopower and biopolitics in theorizing the relationship of televised news and prisoners. Rather, I am interested in considering the body as a mediation of the psyche, as argued previously when introducing the notion of subjectivity.

Thus, this study takes as a theoretical framework the theory of cultural studies, with an emphasis on cultural Marxism, Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, and the critique of

Ideology as a theory. The three approaches adopted coherently interconnect to provide a critical analysis of the relationship between prisoners and televised prison news reports.

Chapter III

Research Questions and Methodology

Research Questions

As previously mentioned, the following research aims to examine local Lebanese television news reporting's ideological and visual discourse around prison and punishment. The analysis of this research is divided into four main frameworks; the critique of ideology of punishment, punishment through television discourse, the power of punishment through the power of the image, and the prisoner as subaltern. First, I argue that television news perpetuate and normalize an ideology of punishment. Second, I argue that the punitive ideology is manifested in the textual and visual discourse of Lebanese television news reports. Here, I convey that the discourse of punishment in Lebanese television can be divided into four main categories; the discourse on control and policing, the discourse on corruption, the discourse on the “*Islamist*”, and the discourse of the expert. I argue that the ownership and the socio-political views of each of the Lebanese television channels influence the construction of the four discourses of punishment, and the appropriation of media produced by prisoners. Third, I contend that, in the case of Lebanon, punishment is reemerging as a public spectacle, resulting in more visibility for the prisoner. I advocate the consideration of prisoners as “desiring subjects”. Furthermore, I argue that the subjectivity of the prisoner allows him to use his visibility and to resist the “police order”. Prisoners challenge the order of the prison and reemerge politics through various forms of aesthetics. Finally, I argue that our preconceived notions of insurgency and resistance render the

language of the prisoner invisible. When the news reports speak on behalf of the prisoner, they re-establish political domination and perpetuate the punitive ideology.

Methodology

Since the following research aims to provide an interdisciplinary understanding of the fields of media, ideology and culture, studying discourse can provide an in depth understanding of the nature and context of this study (Fairclough, 1996). As such, this project employs the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis in two major forms: Ideological Discourse Analysis and Visual Discourse Analysis. Ideological Discourse Analysis critically engages with the textual format of prison stories in relation to the inherent ideological implications of these texts, while Visual Discourse Analysis examines the discourse of visibility and visuality by looking at the images being incorporated within the television report.

Critical Discourse Analysis

As Stuart Hall (1997) argues, the power behind the meaning and the ideology of the message is embedded in its connotations and the cultural codes it evinces. Therefore, to understand prison news reports, it is essential to critically unpack the discourse around them, and not simply the message. I focused on different discourse fragments, such as linguistic statements and arguments, visual images accompanying the story, political history, and ownership of the channel and its socio-political position. Critical Discourse Analysis, in accordance with the ideological and visual attributes, corresponds with the discourse fragments stated earlier and helps contextualize, socially and politically, the research questions of the project (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

The Critical Discourse Analysis was implemented first by examining the semantics of the texts, which looks beyond the linguistic structures and deals with the meaning of the discourse (Van Dijk, 1983). By examining the syntax, I identified various discourse strands and categories, which later helped me highlight the emerging patterns in the data. These patterns constitute the discursive formation of the research (Marshall & Rossman, 2002). The traditional method of Critical Discourse Analysis advocates the linguistic and intertextual analysis (Fairclough, 1992). One should look at the grammar, vocabulary, sentence structure, structure cohesion, and dialogue dynamics of the text studied. By implementing an intertextual analysis, the text as a linguistic body is put in conversation with the analysis of discourse practice and the analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1996). Finally, the analysis of the text is connected to the macro socio-economic structure of the research's environment (Dijk, 2006).

Furthermore, Ideological Discourse Analysis and Visual Discourse Analysis help us emphasize the roles of the punitive ideology and visibility within the construct of prison stories. While the traditional method of Critical Discourse Analysis might touch upon the ideological and visual factors, I employ specific methodologies which thoroughly emphasize the importance of these factors in the sample and the environment selected. I will discuss the ideological and visual discourse methodologies separately and then highlight the procedure taken specifically in this research.

Ideological Discourse Analysis

Despite the assumption that the traditional method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explicitly examines the notion of ideology, the “underlying’ ideological

implications often remain uncovered (Van Dijk, 2006). The traditional approach of Critical Discourse Analysis indulges in the dichotomy of the linguistic discourse and power; however, as previously argued, this does not provide an understanding of the “unthinkable” or the hidden notions of context which can be unpacked once ideology is considered. Van Dijk (2006) starts by considering ideologies simply as “systems that are at the basis of the socio-political cognitions of social groups” (p. 138). Therefore, each group’s attitude towards a subject, the prisoner in this case, will be shaped by the “general cultural repertoire” of social norms, values and interests provided by a certain ideology (Van Dijk, 2006). While some of these discourse structures are briefly observed in other forms of discourse studies, the aim of Ideological Discourse Analysis is not merely to highlight the “underlying” ideologies, but also to link the structures of discourse with the ideological structure. Ideological Discourse Analysis is interested in probing both the micro level of discourse, such as the lexicalization, sentence meaning and local sentence coherence, and the macro level of discourse, such as the overall meaning and the ideologically influenced semantics, in addition to notions of identity and belonging (Van Dijk, 2006).

Visual Discourse Analysis

One of the main components of this research is introducing the notion of the spectacle within the framework of punishment through Lebanese television news and prison cellphone media. Therefore studying the discourse of the “image” is important in order to examine the possible ideological factors shaping, creating and helping in understanding the interpretation of images. In addition, this approach is essential in examining the extent to

which the subject of study, the prisoner in this context, is “visible” and how he/she is “viewed” (Wang, 2014).

The following research will follow two main schools of thought regarding Visual Discourse Analysis: Jiayu Wang’s approach of criticizing images using the critical analysis of visual semiosis in picture news (2014) and Gillian Rose’s (2006) approach of studying the technical construct of an image or a video in regard to visibility and visuality. These two approaches do not necessarily conflict and, as such, incorporating both can be helpful in understanding the different construction processes of images being studied. These images do not have similar construction processes; some are systematically and ideologically constructed and broadcasted by Lebanese news media, while others are the result of a more chaotic process of capturing and broadcasting, such as the phenomenon of prison cellphone pictures.

Wang’s (2014) approach of visual discourse analysis is based on three main stages. First is the process of “visual description” of the representational structure, interactive meanings and compositional system of the visuals. Second is the stage of “interpretation”, focusing on the notions of production, distribution and consumption of ideology through the image. Third is the process of “explanation” where the ideologies deconstructed in the first two stages are placed in the larger social and cultural context, hence presenting the potential of these images to shape the viewer’s perception and knowledge.

Rose’s (2006) approach to visual discourse analysis starts by creating a difference between visibility and visuality. Visibility is embedded in the notion of vision, what the human eye is capable of seeing, while visuality is the construct of the vision, the notions of

how and what we see (Rose, 2006). While one may influence the other, it is essential to draw the difference between visibility and visuality, especially since this study is interested in examining not only the frequency of prisoners' images, but also the power inherent in broadcasting such images. According to Rose (2006), Visual Discourse Analysis is concerned with exploring how the story is socially constructed by focusing on the site of the image itself, social modalities and issues of knowledge and production.

The Lebanese Case Study

Focusing on the Lebanese context of punishment and media, the proposed research focuses on the Lebanese media discourse around Roumieh Central Prison for two primary reasons. According to a study released by the Lebanese Center for Human Rights (2009), Roumieh Central Prison is the largest and most notorious prison in Lebanon; it is mismanaged, dangerously neglected, and hosts frequent riots. In addition, Roumieh Central Prison hosts all prisoners charged with affiliation and connection to any “*Islamist*” organization, such as Fatah al-Islam, Jund al-Sham, ISIS and Jubhat al-Nusra (Ghanem, 2014). These conditions make Roumieh Central Prison the subject of media attention embedded with a rich ideological punitive discourse.

One of the objectives of this study is to analyze punitive discourses in relation to socio-political and sectarian views in Lebanese television prime time news reports. Therefore the sample consists of five of the main local Lebanese channels; LBC, Al-JadeedTV (or NewTV), MTV, FutureTV and ManarTV, reporting on two main riots in Roumieh Prison. Furthermore, since this research provides a discursive comparison among the coverage of these Lebanese channels, two specific prison riots were taken into

consideration to ensure the presence of different reporting on the same story. The first included riots by all the inmates, regardless of their political or sectarian background. According to BBC news (2011), one of the biggest riots erupted in Roumieh Prison on April 6, 2011. The riots were in protest of the poor conditions of detention, and eventually escalated to five prison guards being taken as hostages. The “mutiny” was resolved after security forces reached a compromise after a few days. The second set of prison stories revolves around the riots by “*Islamist*” prisoners in Bloc B, the building where “*Islamists*” prisoners are confined (Ghanem, 2014). According to *The Daily Star* newspaper (2014), the riots took place on May 2, 2014, to protest the fact that 300 prisoners in Bloc B had been incarcerated since 2007 without trial. The riots eventually escalated to the kidnapping of 10 guards by inmates.

Including two sets of coverage of prison riots, one that involved all prisoners and another only political prisoners, can shed light on the shift in the ideological discourse of Lebanese TV channels in relation to their own ownership and political agendas. Furthermore, the research includes four additional television special news reports on Roumieh Central prison that were produced around the time of the prison riots. These four additional news reports were included in the analysis due to their interesting and unconventional ways of reporting, and their importance to specific notions, such as torture. The first two news reports were produced by ManarTV and Al-JaddedTV. Both stations called their reports “special” and “exclusive” and went inside prison Roumieh to report and interview prisoners. The third report was produced by Al-JadeedTV and it came after the military invasion and crackdown on Bloc B. Al-JadeedTV’s news report followed the

minister of Interior Affairs, Nohad el Machnouk, for 15 minutes inside Roumieh Prison to report on the aftermath of the military invasion. The fourth news report covered the leaked torture video in Roumieh Prison and the controversy which accompanied it.

Concerning the examination of the phenomenon of prisoners' cellphone media, the proposed research analyzed, through Visual Discourse Analysis, examples of images and videos taken inside the premises of Roumieh Central Prison. Usually, such images are appropriated by Lebanese TV channels and disseminated through social media websites.

Procedure of Analysis

The data examined in this study was gathered online from Lebanese televisions' official websites and YouTube Channels. Even though the political climate was critically considered during the analysis, the data consisted of the news reports related only to prison stories. The analysis was conducted according to the traditional methodology of critical discourse analysis, drawing on Fairclough (2001), Machin and Mayr (2012), and Van Dijk (1983). However, while implementing the traditional format of critical discourse analysis, I included an analysis of the main traits advocated by both the ideological discourse analysis and the visual discourse analysis. First, I conducted a non-linear linguistic and semiotic text analysis, spoken and written¹, in addition to a visual analysis of the recurrent images and videos in prison news reports. In this process, I highlighted statements that I described as ideological, and mapped recurrent and emergent themes, in both the textual and the visual aspects. Second, I conducted an analysis of the discourse practice, as advocated by Fairclough (2001), in which I examined the processes of text production, distribution, and

¹ For example, captions.

consumption. At this stage, I associated the previously stated processes with the ideological discourse in Lebanon. For instance, I included in the analysis the sociopolitical ideology of the Lebanese television channels, their ownerships, and the demographics they target. In addition, I implemented the same process of discourse practice visually by examining the process of production, distribution, and consumption of the image. This is substantial within the context of the research since the producers of the image are not necessarily the distributors. For instance, the image taken by a prisoner inside the prison may later be disseminated to the public through Lebanese television channels. This process of analysis compliments notions of appropriation and visibility discussed in the research. Finally, I conducted the analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice in which the complete discourse examined is put in conversation with sociocultural practices within the political milieu of the research (Fairclough, 2001). For instance, within this analysis, relationships are drawn between the emergence of the discourse of “*Islamists*” in prison stories and the sociopolitical positions of the dominant culture towards fundamental groups, the dominant ideology’s position with fundamentalism, and the visuals being produced in this discourse.

Consequently, the methodology of this research critically analyzed the discourses of Lebanese television prison news stories ideologically and visually. The analysis of the data combines the micro, meso, and macro level of data interpretation; the micro being the textual and visual analysis, the meso being the level of discursive practice, and the macro level concerned with intertextual and interdiscursive elements (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000).

The news reports examined were in Arabic. I conducted a translation², from Arabic to English, of the statements quoted in the analysis section of this research. In addition, the pictures used in the appendix section are screenshots I extracted from the news reports examined.

Methodological Limitation

The main limitation of discourse analysis is its interest in the encoding process of the discourse without the consideration of the decoding process. Discourse analysis doesn't examine whether the dominant discourse is being accepted by the Lebanese public or rejected and resisted by a fraction of the audience. One must recognize that the "dominant preferred reading" can be challenged or at least interpreted and decoded differently than the dominant culture's intention (Hall, 1974). However, generally, as Hall (1974) argues, the dominant reading prevails.

In addition, one must acknowledge that this study doesn't generalize the role of Lebanese television in portraying Lebanese prisons. The selection of the sample was based on the information of the news reports in relation to the research questions and not on the intention of formulating a conclusion summarizing the relationship of television news and prisons. When a riot takes place in Roumieh Prison the coverage can extend for several days. However the present research, due to space and time limitations, examines one day of reporting for each television channel.

² I am fluent in Arabic and English, which allowed me to conduct an appropriate translation.

Finally, the analysis was based on the images and videos produced within confinement that were leaked and disseminated into the public; those which were not disseminated could not be analyzed. In addition, due to the scarcity of time, resources, and academic research on the subject, some information on the internal informal power structure of Roumieh Prison remain unknown, such as the information on prisoners' access to cellphones and the dissemination of images from the prison to the public. Such information could have enriched the analysis. For example, insight on the access of cellphones inside the prison could have allowed us to treat cellphones as a commodity, which not all prisoners can afford.

Chapter IV

Analysis

Punishment as Ideology

The following section takes a step back from the discursive analysis of punishment in the media in order to examine the ideology behind the punitive discourses in Lebanese television news. I draw on Zizek's definition and critique of ideology to argue that Lebanese television news reporting discourses around prison stories are constructed by a punitive ideology. It is the power of ideology to create a social reality with an action-oriented set of beliefs, which legitimize a dominant political power and orient subjects' lived relations to and within this reality (Zizek, 1994). In the context of the research, the punitive ideology becomes normalized as a social reality shaping Lebanese prisons. This ideology is embodied in discourses and institutions, such as Lebanese television stations.

According to his book *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Zizek (1989) argues against the notion of a post-ideological world. Today's ideology presents itself as non-ideological; it presents itself as "True" or "Right" in a fairly normative framework. This is readily apparent in literature on prisons and media reporting. As Barak argues (1998), the modern prison establishment is seen as the only and "true" technocratic manifestation and technological advancement of punishment. The punitive ideology not only obstructs any consideration for an alternative for punishment, but also treats incarceration as the only manifestation of punishment. The media, as a result, adopt the ideology of punishment and engage with it from a penological perspective. The function and nature of punishment is

depicted as visual realities to the observer, while prison as an institution is assessed based on its effectiveness in regards to the ideology of punishment (Horton, 1997).

This is contextualized throughout the present analysis. All the samples of news reports from the Lebanese television channels engaged with punishment as the normative reaction towards “transgression”. Television news reports constructed prison as a political reality. Regarding the sample chosen, all Lebanese television stations shaped the problem in their news reports to be post-imprisonment. The “news” in the heart of the prison story is confined within the borders of the prison. There is no consideration of the process of criminalization resulting in incarceration. Unless the prisoners are political, we rarely see a differentiation between them based on their criminalization. This is to argue that Lebanese television news reports shape prison as an independent reality that, once the individual is part of it, s/he becomes the ultimate subject of the punitive ideology and is “seen” solely as such. This reporting of prison stories not only perceives incarceration as the “True” or “Right” normative reactionary framework for transgression, but also overlooks the significance of addressing it for the failure of imagining an alternative. Lebanese news reports do not mention that the individual is in prison because of a transgression committed outside the prison; the process of criminalization leading to incarceration is the “norm”; it is “reality”. News reports on Roumieh Prison do not address the question of why or how these individuals are in prison, but rather are concerned with their actions and “riots” inside the prison. This analysis builds and draws from the deconstructionist approach and criticism of the “law”, in the sense that the law recognizes only the innocent and the guilty and this responsibility for the law “relieves us of the task of probing into the concrete circumstances

of the act in question” (Zizek, 1994; p. 3). Once subjected to the punitive ideology, the individual ceases to be considered a subject of the dominant culture. S/he will be “Othered”, stripped from his/her identity and identified by lexical materialization of the punitive ideology, such as “prisoner”, “inmate” and so on³.

Furthermore, the Zizekian interpretation of ideology moves beyond the notion of “false consciousness”, ideology is not an illusory representation of reality. It is the reality itself which is perceived as “ideological”. Ideology as a concept must be disengaged from the “representationalist’s problematic” – which is what this research aims to do (Zizek, 1994). Zizek writes: “...a political standpoint can be quite accurate as to its objective content, yet thoroughly ideological” (p.7). In addition, ideology is often presented as “objective truth”, as “rational” and free from “subjectivity”. The ideological discourse aims to describe the normative natural state of being; however, social realities can’t be described objectively (Zizek, 1994). Similarly, Lebanese television news reports often aim to provide an “objective representation” of Roumieh Prison. Lebanese television stations such as MTV, New TV, and Al Manar, often start their “special reports” on Roumieh Prison with an introduction indicating the objectivity of the investigation behind the reporting. For instance, New TV introduced its “special reports” on Roumieh Prison by saying: “... to discover what is really happening in Roumieh Prison, we went behind bars to address the legend of Roumieh Prison”. These reports are constructed under the pretense of a “true” representation of what is “really” happening inside Roumieh Prison. I argue here, in accordance with Zizek, that regardless of the accuracy of information, reporting is always

³ This will be further discussed in the section on prison discourses in Lebanese television newscasts.

ideological. Even if the “*Islamist* prisoners have advanced technology inside their prison sells” (MTV), or “Roumieh Prison is full of drugs and corruption” (NewTV), are accurate statements, the ideological narrative of punishment and confinement is still inherent in the discourse. Furthermore, critically addressing the notions of drugs and cellphones, and accusing some prisoners of enjoying “luxury” inside the prison (MTV), is based upon preconceived notions of what incarceration “should” be. Adopting the punitive ideology, Lebanese prison news formed ideological preconceived notions of confinements upon which they assess the “true punishment” and the “effectiveness” of prisons. The news reports do not see imprisonment as the end result of the punitive ideology; the punishment should persist beyond incarcerating the body. Any activity that might defy the absolute subjection to constant punishment is seen as defiant to the dominant ideology; hence it faces a critical response from the ideological apparatus, the Lebanese television news.

With the appeal of ideology to be “rational” or “scientific” (Zizek, 1994) and the prison as a “technocratic manifestation... of punishment” (Barrack, 1997), the punitive ideology gets a “scientific” attribute. Punishment becomes a quantifiable notion, which can be assessed for effectiveness. This is apparent in many of the prison stories observed where the news report addresses the “incompetence” of Roumieh Prison in punishing “*Islamists*”, for example. I argue here that while the punitive ideology can be materialized in the state and police actions, the number of detainees, and incapacitation laws, in the specific case of Lebanon, television stations embody a substantial level of ideological reporting. In their ways of assessing the “effectiveness” of punishment, Lebanese news reports reflect their punitive ideology not only on prisoners, but also on the repressive state apparatuses, such as

the Internal Security Forces (ISF). As an example, I examine a 2011 MTV news report on the riots in Roumieh Prison by all prisoners. Similar to most prison stories, the news report begins by describing the “rebellion” and the “destruction” caused by prisoners. Aiming to be objective in its reporting, the MTV news report conducted an interview with a prisoner over the phone and a face-to-face interview with the head of the police. The prisoner describes some of the actions happening in Roumieh Prison, including the injury of a few prisoners and one police officer. Following the prisoner’s statement MTV showed footage of an injured police officer entering the hospital. In an attempt to police the situation and appear to have full control over the “mutiny”, the head of the police noted that there was no encounter between the prisoners and the officers and therefore nobody was injured except one prisoner who harmed himself. The MTV reporter directly responded that MTV has footage of an injured officer entering the hospital; the head of the police awkwardly pretends that he doesn’t know about the injury and questions the credibility of the information. As the camera zooms in for a close-up shot of the officer’s face to capture his embarrassment, the reporter is seen sardonically smiling while mentioning that the injured officer needed “10 stitches”. Later, this segment was used in the news report to highlight the inefficacy of the police force in handling the “brutal riots” of the prisoners and the possibility that the riots are the result of the incompetence in properly implementing punishment upon prisoners. Many similar examples on the inefficiency of the Roumieh police can be detected throughout all the news reports, which I will closely revisit when studying the discourses of news reports. I mentioned this specific example when discussing ideology in order to contend that the embodiment of the punitive ideology within news reporting moves beyond the traditional frameworks of power and authority. In this case, the

news reporter felt comfortable talking to a prisoner, citing him, and challenging an authority figure in order to highlight a failure in the implementation of the punitive ideology.

In addition, in his engagement with the concept of ideology, Zizek (1989) argues that ideological statements are performative utterances that produce political effects by being stated. In order for ideological judgments to perform their political work, they must appear to be objective in a normative description of the nature of the world. In *Das Kapital* (1867), Marx gives the example of the king being a king merely because the subjects loyally believe and act accordingly, and at the same time people accept the king as the “truth”, which they can do nothing about. Similarly, this can be observed in almost all news reports by all TV channels examined. The coverage assumes that the authority, the control and the power should be within the hands of the ISF; this is the normative state of being. Whenever there’s a breach in the normative function of the ideology, the authorities are expected to interfere. Even when a Lebanese television station is relatively critical of the role of the government, such as NewTV and MTV, their reporting directly accepts the repressive measures of the state once a prison riot takes place. I argue that this ideological judgment can be sensed in the news reports linguistically as well as visually. In most of the news coverage examined covering prison riots in Roumieh, the reports describe the “violations” and the “mutiny” of the prisoners while a visual footage of the Internal Security Forces is featured as a B-roll⁴. According to the sample examined, two types of footage of the ISF are featured in this type of reporting. First, the news report show images of the ISF

⁴ B-roll is a supplemental or alternative footage intercutting with the main story. It is a secondary footage often used to contextualize the story.

vigilantly posing to the camera in their riot attire (Appendix A). Second, the news report show images of the ISF conducting responsive actions to the prison riots, such as the thorough search for contrabands inside the cells (Appendix B). According to Zizek's understanding of ideology and authority, the visual images of the ISF come as an ideological recognition of sovereignty and a perpetuation of the normative control of the state.

One of the main actions defying the stagnant framework of ideology is prison riots. As argued earlier, any attempt to disrupt the punitive ideology will face a critical response from ideological apparatuses. However, it is here that I argue that the critical response from Lebanese television news is influenced by the station's political ideology. In the different samples examined, there's a clear attack on any insurgency coming from Roumieh Prison, but this negative reaction is relative to the stations' own ideology and the political context of Lebanon when the riots took place. For instance, LBC and New TV explicitly attacked the actions of the prisoners by calling them "rebellious", displaying "chaotic and disorderly behavior" and so on. In addition, the visual footage often featured smoke coming out of the prison signifying the "destruction" caused by the prisoners, and footage of the riot police being attacked by the parents of the prisoners outside the prison. The news reports here criminalized the actions of regular civilians, described by the reports as the parents of the prisoners, who did not necessarily object to the ideology of punishment, but nevertheless supported those subjected to this ideology. The previously mentioned examples are a clear manifestation of the ideology of punishment in the news reports; however cases such as news reports on MTV and Future TV embody this ideology in a more subtle manner. For

instance, MTV covered Roumieh riots from the perspective of the prisoner; it highlighted the “horrible conditions” of Roumieh Prison and strongly critiqued the Internal Security Forces for being “corrupt”. However, when examining the discourse on MTV, one can notice that the station’s critical approach of the prison administration is not a challenge to the punitive ideology, but rather a judgment of the failed implementation of the ideology of punishment. For instance, the hidden meaning behind reporting “injustice” in prison is the call for harsher and more severe measures of control; this perpetuates the punitive ideology rather than challenging it. The embodiment of ideology in cases such as the MTV prison report is also explored by Žižek. In agreement with Althusser (1968), Žižek argues that ideologies are political discourses whose main function is not to create correct theoretical statements about reality, or in Marx’s words “false consciousness”, but to place subjects’ lives in relation and within this reality. The ideological character is concerned more with the subjects’ belief and position in regards to the political issue. The politics of MTV as a Christian right wing channel opposed the politics of the minister of Interior Affairs at the time of the prison riots. Therefore, by critiquing the prison’s administration, they aim to undermine the sovereignty of the minister of Interior Affairs. On the other hand, the news reports covering the riots by so called “*Islamist*” prisoners projected the punitive ideology directly against the prisoners. In this case, news reports project a clear attack onto these riots, which I examine further in the next section on the discourse.

The present research draws a line between a biopolitical and psychoanalytical analysis, by looking extensively at the notion of ideology and introducing the notion of the “desiring subject”. However, I don’t dismiss the notions of biopolitics and biopower. Rather, I argue

that the role of biopower in my analysis is in its function as an ideology alongside the punitive ideology. Biopower does not define the totality of the structure that we are living in; it operates as an ideology (Neroni, 2015). As Neroni (2015) writes:

[Biopower] operates on the level of ideology. Its emphasis on the body works to confuse and deny the individual's subjectivity, which is always in play. But biopower is nonetheless omnipresent in the way that power manifests itself today." (p. 37).

Biopower, as an ideology and a discourse, privileges the survival of the body and this is evident within the punitive ideology in the Lebanese context. While the normative reaction to transgression is punishment and incarceration, we do not see an encouragement for execution. Even with the most "feared" and so-called "notorious *Islamists*", the news reports advocate a judgment through the Lebanese court and an implementation of the proper punishment. The heart of the punitive ideology is preserving the body in order to punish it. Examining biopower as an ideology creates a distance from the biopolitical analysis⁵; however, this understanding of biopower can help us examine how the desiring subject relates to this ideology which is "essential to theorizing how the body is coded and depicted" (Neroni, 2015, p. 36). This maps my analysis throughout the research where I take into consideration the subjectivity of the prisoner and the audience in relation to the punitive ideology. By examining the prisoner as a desiring subject, not only do I escape generalizing prisoners as mere bodies, but also I construct my analysis on the notion that the mind and the body are each divided from themselves (Neroni, 2015). This is essential in theorizing the chaotic phenomenon of prison cellphone media production and its various

⁵ Biopolitics sees the body as the only point of analysis. Subjectivity is perceived to be the concept used by biopower to control us (Neroni, 2015)

possibilities to be a radical act of insurgency or a tool for appropriation by the ideological apparatuses. While the pictures taken by a prisoner inside the prison can aim for a certain “drive” of his, once leaked, these pictures can be used by the news reports in a certain discourse to perpetuate the ideology of punishment. For example, the picture of a prisoner in Roumieh Prison having a meal has been used by MTV to construct a story on the “luxury” that some of the prisoners enjoy (Appendix C). Furthermore, considering the psychoanalytic division between the mind and the body allows us to examine the ramifications of the phenomenon of prison cellphone media production on the visibility of the body and the visibility of the desiring subject. Neroni (2015) describes the lack of access between the mind and the body as “...the heart of the subject’s potential radicality, of its ability to act, of its ability to create” (p. 43).

Jouissance and Transgressions inside the Prison

Zizek (1989) emphasized Althusser’s notion of the “materiality” of ideology, its embodiment in institutions and peoples’ everyday practices. Zizek’s position here is that ideas cannot have a lasting political effect unless they come to inform institutions and subjects’ day-to-day lives. I highlight this notion to argue that even though the punitive ideology is inherent in the media and the dominant culture, the ultimate subjects of this ideology are prisoners themselves. They are the subjects upon which this ideology is materialized. Zizek continues to highlight, what prior political philosophy tends to ignore: the cultural practices of communities, which involve what he calls “inherent transgression”. These are practices deemed illegal by the dominant ideology; however the dominant culture allows its subjects some experience with these transgressions that are usually prohibited in

their everyday lives, for instance sex, violence, or drugs. The Lacanian technical term for these experiences is “*Jouissance*”⁶. I highlight the notion of *jouissance* in order to understand the phenomenon that shapes my research: the cellphone media production inside the prison. I argue that since the prisoner is the ultimate subject of the ideology of punishment, one *jouissance* adopted by these subjects comes in the form of cellphone use in prison. By framing the prison-produced media as *jouissance* at this stage I open room for further interpretation and contextualization in later sections. The argument here aims only to explain the existence and the survival of these transgressions; the product of this *jouissance* is later explored as a political action, appropriation, or spectacle. According to Lacan (1969), *jouissance* is linked to the drive and it arises when language fails. *Jouissance* is the drive resulting in self-sabotage, to undermine one’s own interest, to hurt and to offend. This is materialized in the media, images and videos, produced inside the prison. They can be appropriated and used by the dominant ideology to attack the subject of the *jouissance*; in addition they can be redirected to create punitive reactions. For instance, LBC presented a news report around a song recorded on a cellphone inside Roumieh by “*Islamist*” prisoners. The news report played the song on air and, according to LBC, the song is a chant to motivate “*Islamists*” to kill army and police officers. The song obviously provoked LBC, which led to the construction of a news report accusing “*Islamists*” of criminal activities and reconfirmation of the punishment that should be practiced against them.

⁶ *Jouissance* is a French term for “enjoyment”. It is often used in French to make a precise distinction between the terms pleasure and enjoyment.

Punishment through Television Discourse

After examining punishment as an ideology, I discuss in the following section the materialization of this ideology in the discourse of news reports. Ideology must be embodied in material form for it to be an element in the culture shared by a society. Ideology is a substantial source of power and its power is rooted and perpetuated through a material medium (Butters et al, 1996). In the context of this research, the medium is the television news prison stories and the material form of ideology is embedded in the linguistic and visual discursive messages of these prison stories. The following section scans the main discourses adopted by Lebanese television news while covering prison stories. It creates a context and historical understanding for the reasons behind the adoption of such discourses.

In his book *Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1969) defines discourse as a way of constituting knowledge in relation to social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations. Foucault argued that modern power has shifted from being a “sovereign power” towards a “disciplinary power”. Power ceased to be a top-down form of social control in the form of physical coercion, and became a diffused and insidious form of social surveillance and processes of “normalization” (Foucault, 1979). Within this context it becomes significant to look at the media as a component of decentralized power and a tool for knowledge production. In addition, I will place the discursive practices of Lebanese television news reports in conversation with the political context during the production of the prison news story, and the ownership and politics of the television channel producing the news reports.

Based on the sample studied, I identify four main discourses adopted by Lebanese television news reports on prison stories: the discourse of control and policing, the discourse of corruption, the discourse of the “*Islamist*”, and the discourse of the expert. I argue that these four discourses are the materialization of the adoption of a punitive ideology by Lebanese television stations. A news report, or a series of news reports, can sometimes adopt one discourse or many, and the four discourses can interconnect during the reporting by one television station.

Discourse of control and policing

The discourse of control and policing is the main discourse of the punitive ideology. It is the discourse of the master, in Lacanian terms (Zizek, 2011). According to the sample analyzed, news reports adopting this discourse reflect the authority’s side of the prison stories without any critical consideration of the actions of the ISF. News reports adopting this discourse use language and visuals to perpetuate the legitimacy of authoritative measures, while criminalizing, or re-criminalizing, the actions of the prisoners. I discuss how the discourse of control and policing manifested itself in the news reports and the extent to which the ownership of the television stations might have influenced this discourse.

In addition, as discussed in the methodology section, this research examines news reports on riots conducted by *Islamist* prisoners, or Bloc B prisoners, and riots conducted by all prisoners. When reporting on the riots conducted in Bloc B, all the news reports examined adopted the discourse of policing. They formulated the news reports and shaped the incidents to criminalize prisoners, victimize the authorities and perpetuate the

marginalization of the prisoner as “*Islamist*”. I emphasize the contextual politics and the marginalization of the “*Islamist*” prisoner in the subsection on the “discourse of the *Islamist*”.

The main notion within this discourse of control and policing is the recurrent acceptance of the normative function of the police. As discussed in the previous section, the news reports accept the actions of the authorities to be the normative reactionary behavior to prison riots as the ISF is expected to maintain the “peace” and “order”. This was manifested in every news report, textually and visually. News reports by NewTV and LBC accused and blamed prisoners for the riots, describing them as “rebels”. The reports described the riots as an act of “vandalism” and “defiance”, while discussing the actions of the authorities as an act of control that brought “order back to the prison”. NewTV opened its news story with the statement; “security brought back the calm after three hours of rioting”, while LBC’s first statement was “silence is back in Roumieh after rebellion”. The report narrates the story of the riot in the past tense to emphasize that the “rebellion” has been “handled” by the police. Furthermore, in an interview during MTV’s news report, the head of the ISF describes the “mutiny” with an opening statement saying, “there is nothing”. This specific statement is recurrent within the news reports; it embodies the notion of policing, while reflecting on the incident, undermining it, and making sure it is over and will not happen again. I borrow from Ranciere (2001) to argue that, as the head of the ISF articulates publicly this statement during the news report, he is asserting the dominance and the policing of the situation and the return to the normative state of being. As Ranciere writes in his “Ten Theses on Politics” (2001): “The police says that there is

nothing to see on a road, that there is nothing to do but move along. It asserts that the space of circulating is nothing other than the space of circulation” (p. 9). Interestingly, in a news report conducted by Future TV, the rhetoric of policing was not expressed only by the authorities, but by regular civilians as well. Future TV reporters approached individuals at the gates of the prison, during what seemed to be their visitation of the prisons, and asked them about what was happening inside the prison. One lady replied: “nothing is happening, everything seems to be fine, there were some minor conflicts, but they handled it.” The answer of the other visitors was relatively similar. While it is obvious here that the reporter constructed the *vox pop* to diffuse the tension created by other individuals rioting outside the gates of the prison, I would like to reflect here on two main points. First, this statement declared by a family member of a prisoner is an embodiment of the punitive ideology and its power to trigger down and even get adopted by the people most affected by it. The use of the term “they”, in “they handled it”, by the civilian lady reflects her belief and her appropriation of the notion of policing. We’re not sure who “they” are, and she probably is not either, yet she believes that “someone” should and will take care of the situation. Second, the ideology is also materialized in the drive of the reporters to talk to the family. In order to seem more “objective”, the reporters included the opinion of the families of the prisoners, the very people who are most likely to oppose the discourse of the police. Since, the families adopted the notion of policing, the report ended up reinforcing the ideology of punishment by making “policing” the “objective” normative state.

In addition, in the news reports examined, the discourse of control and policing also employed visuals, images and videos. Visuals of the authorities in “control” were exposed

in parallel to the images of the criminalization of inmates. For instance, LBC and MTV's reports on the riots of all prisoners started with a wide shot of the Roumieh Prison with black smoke emanating from the building (Appendix D). Both news reports blamed the prisoners for the "mutiny" and the fire, and directly featured footage of the authorities "policing" the action or getting ready to do so. LBC featured the authority's attempt to distinguish the fire started by the inmates (Appendix E), while MTV featured video of authorities searching the beds of the inmates for contraband (Appendix B). When news reports failed to include pictures of the process of policing, they usually feature footage showing that the implementation of policing had been achieved. For instance, NewTV showed several shots of the contrabands collected from the prison, as the ISF laid the former down for display (Appendix F). Displaying the contrabands provides visual proof that the policing process took place and that it was successful. However, Future TV simply showed footage of the ISF around the prison. The ISF in this footage were not in the action of controlling; they were simply practicing their normative day-to-day job (Appendix G), which translates to the audience that the process of policing has been achieved.

Furthermore, the policing process discussed earlier often included repressive measures by the authorities. I argue here that the Lebanese television news reports play a substantial role in normalizing the acts of violence against marginalized individuals. The examined news reports indulge in a process of criminalization reporting in order to cause reactionary behavior or legitimize the measures taken by the ISF. In his book *Policing the Crisis*, Stuart Hall (1978) examines the ability of mass media to marginalize individuals and create public panics by glorifying crime without any concern for the social problems originating from the

capitalist system. Hall (1978) continues to explain how the sensationalized and dramatized news reporting criminalized marginalized youth after the amplification of police mobilization against them. While there are many similarities between Hall's case study and that of Roumieh Prison, they are different in one aspect. In the case study of this research, the marginalized population has already been criminalized, imprisoned and, as I argue in the first section, "Othered" and perceived as homogenous according to the dominant ideology. Therefore, I argue that Lebanese news reports have resorted to the marginalization of certain groups of prisoners in order to legitimize the repressive roles of the authority.

First, the Future TV news report linked the problem with the existence of drugs in prison and accused prisoners of the "Zaiter" family of being responsible for the riots. Second, the MTV news report accused those "of receiving special treatment in prison", specifically naming the "Shamas" family. Both the "Zaiter" and "Shamas" family are well known Shiite families from Bqaa', Lebanon. These two families were the subject of the news around the time of the prison riots, are often referred to as "clans" and accused of being armed and responsible for planting and distributing narcotics. There is a history of conflict between the families and the authorities, due the government's orders to burn the narcotic fields in the Bqaa; the major conflicts are those of 2011 and 2012 (Shanahan, 2005; Nashabe, 2012). Future TV, a right wing Sunni oriented television station, and MTV, a right wing Christian oriented television station (Notzold, 2009), are comfortable marginalizing these two families in prison for two main reasons. First, after the political incidents of 2005/2006, right wing Lebanese television stations began to attack the Shi'a

community for its support of Hezbollah's arms (Notzold, 2009). Criminalizing the Shi'a families would undermine the power of the Shia representatives in the government and vilify their possession of arms. Second, these accusations would support the authorities' repressive measures against the families outside the prison and legitimize the "war on drugs" policy of a right wing government. On the other hand, in an investigative news report, Al Manar re-criminalized a specific group of prisoners and called them "*Omala*" or "agents". The term in Arabic is interpreted as "traitor" and it is often used to describe individuals prosecuted for cooperating with Israel. Al Manar included the notion of the "*Al'amil*" or "*traitor agent*" since it fits with Hezbollah's rhetoric and the resistance against Israel. During the large prison riots of 2011, sympathizers of prisoners, or the families of the prisoners as the reports called them, gathered outside the prison to show their support for the prisoners. These sympathizers were the main targets of LBC news reports. They were accused of collaborating with the prisoners on the inside using cellphones (Appendix H). LBC's news report explained that when the authorities managed to cut the cellphone network lines inside the prison "the rebellious actions of the families decreased drastically" (LBC). Finally, NewTV's news report marginalized Bloc B prisoners. The report referred to the prisoners as members of *Fateh el Islam* and accused them of having contrabands and abducting a number of ISF members.

The first set of news reports described were covering the prison riots carried out by all the prisoners in 2011; during that time the discourse around fundamental groups was not prominent in the media. The recurrent fundamental group in the media in 2011 was *Fateh el*

Islam for its participation in *Nahr el Bared* conflicts⁷ against the Lebanese army in 2007 (Ibrahim, 2007); ISIS was not at the frontline of the news yet. The second set of news reports reported on the prison riots in Bloc B and all the Lebanese stations examined here marginalized the “*Islamists*” in prison. I further discuss this aspect in the subsection on the discourse of the “*Islamist*”.

Discourse of Corruption

Cheliotis (2010) argues that news media “...level heavy criticism against the administration of prisons purportedly for laxity and issue urgent calls for ever-greater reliance on the use of strict imprisonment by the authorities” (p. 169). Similarly, television news reports examined often adopt the discourse of corruption in their prison stories. While some of the news reports from the first sample, on the prison riots conducted by all the prisoners, tackle the notion of corruption, the discourse of corruption is prominent in the news reports covering the riots in “Bloc B”. I argue that this discourse of corruption is also influenced by the Lebanese television’s ownership and political views. While the discourse of corruption is often directed at the authorities, I see two main ways this discourse is materialized in the news reports. First, the news reports attack corruption and the prisoners indulged in it. Second, they highlight the victims of this corruption. These two ways of reporting sometimes overlap, but the news always emphasizes one aspect over the other. At first look, the discourse of corruption may appear as a counter-discourse to the discourse of control policing; however I argue the opposite. I argue that the corruption is highlighted by the Lebanese television news reports to undermine the efficiency of the authorities in

⁷ In 2007, a conflict broke out between Fatah Al-Islam and the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) in Nahr al-Bared, a Palestinian refugee camp near Tripoli (Ibrahim, 2007)

properly managing the prison or to legitimize a repressive measure by the authorities; either way it is calling of the “proper” implementation of the dominant ideology of punishment. I elaborate more on these claims with examples taken from the sample examined.

First, the reports targeting corruption often include the recurrent notions of “special treatment” and “luxury”. MTV discussed the “luxury” which the prisoners enjoy in Roumieh Prison. The news report revolved around leaked images of an inmate eating (Appendix C), which was broadcasted by MTV and included a caption saying: “lucky individuals in prison being treated like kings.” It is important to note that these images of the prisoner were taken by the prisoner and posted on what appears to be his Facebook page and then appropriated by MTV in their discourse of corruption. MTV followed this report with an interview with an alleged former prisoner. The prisoner sensationally talked about the existence of drugs, overcrowding, special treatment, and corrupt cops in Roumieh Prison.

Al Manar tackled corruption as the trait of the “agents” or “traitors”. The report established the “horrible” conditions in Roumieh Prison and ended with the notion of the “special treatment” of “agents”. When discussing the conditions and corruption that the “agents” can benefit from, prisoners talk directly into Manar TV’s camera (Appendix I). With eyes distorted to conceal his identity, one of the prisoners describes the “special treatment” of the “agents” in prison and deliberately accuses the prison administration of being corrupt (Appendix I).

Second, the reporting presents the victims of the corruption in Roumieh also as the victims of the “terrorism of *Islamists*” in prison. Here, the discourse of corruption is not

only adopted as a critique of the administration, but as criminalization of the “*Islamists*”.

One of MTV’s news reports started with a statement: “this is a brief example of what is happening in Roumieh Prison whether the administration knows or not” while showing a picture of an inmate beaten up (Appendix J) taken from inside the prison. The report examined how “*Islamists*” in prison are ruling with Sharia law, and included a phone call with a prisoner inside the prison (Appendix K). Over the phone, the prisoner claims that the “*Islamists*” have implemented the “Islamic” law on Christians, Muslims, and Druze, which the authorities can do nothing about. Al Manar TV also broadcasted a news report with this perspective, with the title “terrorism hits Roumieh Prison”. The report featured scenes of what appears to be an execution by three prisoners with covered faces (Appendix L). The report dwelled on the corruption in Roumieh Prison that led to “Bloc B becoming an *Islamist* kingdom”. In the report, an ISF official declared that there is constant investigation around the incident of the “terrorist execution”, but the prisoners in the video remain unknown. Directly after this statement, Al Manar revealed the names of the prisoners in the video, without any explanation of how they acquired this information. In both reports, by MTV and Al Manar, there is an element of demoralizing the authorities. Unlike the reports of the first sample examined, here the local politics of the television stations do not heavily influence the construction of the story, the prison story succumbs to a larger consensual politics of dismissal of “*Islamists*”. Even though they have opposing stances regarding Lebanese politics, Al Manar and MTV had relatively the same prison story vis-à-vis the “*Islamists*”.

In LBC's news report, the discourse of corruption materialized visually as the station incorporated pictures of the contraband seized by the authorities (Appendix M). The contrabands consisted of handmade weapons, however the report focused on a picture of Hookah tobacco. This specific picture is used to contribute to the rhetoric of "luxury" inside Roumieh Prison: it is a visual depiction of the comfortable life in prison the news reports aim to portray.

Examining these reports within the discourse of corruption, two major points should be emphasized. First, we can notice that in both the first and second examples of reporting, the *jouissance* of the subject of ideology has been used against him. The *jouissance*, which is materialized by the prison cellphone media, has been appropriated by the television news report. The subject or the prisoner is detached from his production, the cellphone image or video, which has been appropriated within a dominant discourse. For instance, pictures taken by prisoners inside the prison are used by news reports to "prove" the existence of cellphones in prison and therefore to push for repressive measures. The image or the video loses its potential political capacity as the television reports internalized it. Second, in both cases discussed earlier, the prisoner is visible. The prisoner appears or calls into the news report; he is directly channeling his message. However, the visibility of the prisoner is constructed to fit within the discourse of the television news story. Even though the prisoner appears to be talking, he's speaking the language of the dominant ideology. This also detaches any political attributions from the prisoner's message. Prisoners may appear to be providing a counter-discourse, but they're still under the hegemony of a specific

ideology. In this case, television stations perceive prisoners as utilitarian tools to channel their discourse.

Discourse of Islamists

Despite the lack of literature on the link between “*Islamists*” and high rates of arbitrary detention and torture, the Lebanese local and regional political context make “*Islamists*” a population easily exposed to unfair sentencing, torture, and arbitrary arrest (Lons, 2016). I argue here of the existence of a discourse around “*Islamists*” which is not exclusive to the “*Islamists*” in prison. The reporting on Bloc B creates a moral panic around “*Islamists*” while constructing them as “Folk Devils”. There’s a similarity between the notions of criminalization and the marginalization discussed in previous discourses and this discourse of “*Islamists*”; however I dedicate a subsection to the “*Islamists*” for various reasons. First, this discourse doesn’t stop after the discussion of prisons; it is connected to the local and regional political context. Second, the reporting around prison stories do not perceive the problem to be confined within the prison, but rather to be the mere existence of the “*Islamist*”, who happens to be creating riots in prison. The topic of the news reports ceases to be around marginalized prisoners inside confinements, as seen with the cases of the “agents” and the “families”. The main problem in the news becomes the ideology of Islam, which can’t be confined within the borders of a prison, and the news reports revolve around the subjects of this ideology, the “*Islamists*”, and not the prison. Third, almost every television channel, regardless of its position along the spectrum of Lebanese politics, attacked and marginalized the “*Islamists*” in the same manner.

Before discussing examples of news reports adopting the discourse of the “*Islamist*”, I will contextualize prison riots in Bloc B within local politics. As mentioned earlier, the first sample of news reports was taken from the prison riots of 2011. Despite the marginalization and criminalization of Bloc B prisoners, the reporting was not as dismissive of “*Islamists*” as the other set of news reports. During the riots of 2011, Lebanon witnessed one encounter with the “*Islamist*” as a fundamentalist subject with an alternative ideology: the conflict with *Jebhat el Nossra* and the Lebanese army in *Nahr el Bared*. Therefore, the *Islamist* as a subject was not perceived as a “Folk Devil”, to borrow the term from Cohen (1972). During the prison riots of 2015 in Bloc B, the Lebanese public witnessed several incidents of conflict with “*Islamists*”, which were the target of Lebanese media reporting. Lebanese television news reports reported heavily on the Saida conflicts with *Al Assir* and *Joundi el Sham* in 2013, conflicts with *Jebhat el Nosra* in *Arsal* and in *Bab el Tabane* in 2014, and finally the emergence of ISIS as a prominent Islamist organization in 2015. Therefore, during the prison riots in Block B in 2015 the discourse of the “*Islamist*” was already adopted by television reports, which marginalized Bloc B prisoners and categorized them as “*Islamists*” more than “prisoners”. Furthermore, adopting the discourse of the “*Islamist*” often contain notions used in the discourse of control and policing.

Concerning the previous examples discussed on the news reports’ criminalization and marginalization of Bloc B prisoners and the appropriation of their cellphone media, I now put some of these examples in conversation with Hall’s notion of moral panic and Cohen’s notion of the “Folk Devil”. According to Cohen (1972), the creation of the “Folk Devil” by the media is the result of sensational and distorted reporting. Cohen highlighted

three stages for the creation of the folk devil: symbolization, exaggeration, and prediction (Cohen, 1972). First, news reports represented the “*Islamist*” in one singular narrative, the narrative of terrorism. The symbolization process created an overall identity of the prisoner in Bloc B as a trouble-making terrorist. This materialized in many of the news reports. LBC showed leaked photographs of prisoners of Bloc B rioting and pictures of contrabands collected by the ISF from the cells of Bloc B. MTV’s news report showed leaked pictures of an attacked inmate (Appendix J), while accusing the prisoners in Bloc B of implementing the Sharia Law. In footage from inside Roumieh Prison, MTV’s camera seemed to focus on a set of religious books in Arabic as the reporter discussed the “Islamization” of Bloc B (Appendix N). Furthermore, Al Manar included footage of an actual “terrorist execution” to discuss “*Islamists*” in prison. All these aspects aimed to create a correlation between what is perceived as “symbols of terrorism”, such as violence, execution, religious texts and so on, and the “*Islamist*” prisoners. The second notion for the creation of the folk devil is exaggeration. The news reports often exaggerated the reach and the power of the prisoners. NewTV’s reports mentioned that the “*Islamist*” prisoners are communicating with other “terrorist” organizations outside the prison; the report said: “they (referring to Bloc B prisoners) are managing their terrorist actions and plans from inside the walls of the prison”. MTV’s news report included a leaked picture of a dead prisoner in Roumieh, and without any contextualization, blamed the “*Islamist*” for the murder (Appendix O). Finally, regarding the third step, prediction, news reports often predicted that the “*Islamist*” would “take over” and indulge in more “terrorist” acts. LBC’s news story discussed the possibilities of “*Islamists*” taking over the prison, and constantly referred to Roumieh Prison as the “hub for terrorists”.

With the construction of the “*Islamist*” as a “folk devil”, Lebanese television news creates a moral panic around the issue leading to police action. According to Hall (1978), after the creation of a moral panic mediated by the media, the authorities will interfere with repressive measures to try and “police the crisis”. Even though the “*Islamist*” has already been criminalized, marginalized, and incarcerated, military action was used against Bloc B prisoners. The Minister of Interior Affairs, Nohad Machnouk, announced in a press conference, alongside military and ISF officials, the implementation of military action that “brought an end to the legend of Bloc B”. The press conference was constructed as a media event, where Machnouk showed images criminalizing the “*Islamist*” (Appendix P) just before he announced that the military action was “successfully” implemented. I further discuss this military action and its coverage as a spectacle in the following section. One can attribute the military repressive measures to the moral panic created by television reporting; however this doesn’t answer the question of why Lebanese television news felt the need to attack the “*Islamists*”, especially since they have already been confined?

I argue that whether they identify themselves as “*Islamists*” or the authorities identify them as such, these “*Islamist*” prisoners become perceived as subjects to a specific ideology, the fundamental Muslim ideology. Once subject to this Muslim ideology, they inherently defy the dominant ideology of punishment and biopower. In summary, I argue that the subject of a monotheistic ideology cannot be a subject of the dominant ideology of punishment. The punitive ideology is a universal secular ideology; no matter the politics, the religion, or the sect of a subject, transgression will result in punishment. To elaborate, I draw on Nietzsche’s genealogy of morals (1887). In his book *On the Genealogy of*

Morality, second treatise “Guilt, Bad Conscience, and Related Matters”, Nietzsche traces the origin of the institution of punishment as a “pre-moral” creditor/debtor relationship. The notions of guilt and punishment were not based on any sense of moral transgression. Guilt meant that a debt was owed and punishment was a method of securing payment. In this paradigm the “morality of custom” is established, where the autonomous individual has “control over the future”. If he did not pay his debt, the creditor had the right to inflict harm on him. The injury of the debtor compensates the loss of the creditor. However, after the hegemony of monotheistic religions, the “morality of custom” becomes irrelevant; it is overruled by the “ascetic morality” of religion. In the “ascetic morality” there is a shift between the soul and the body. While the body is not permanent, the soul is. The body is subjected to the temporary punishment of flesh and blood, but the soul is the subject of the “divine” judgment. To put it in Lacanian terms, the ultimate desire of the subject is the immortality of the soul in the afterlife. The debtor does not mind being subjected to pain and punishment if it will bring repent and therefore forgiveness in the afterlife. Similarly, in the context of Roumieh Prison, the punitive ideology and biopower cannot be inflicted on the subject of the Muslim ideology. The ideology of biopower and the ideology of punishment revolve mainly around the body, preserving the body and punishing it. However, the body of the “*Islamist*” becomes insignificant -the body can be significant to the individual prisoner, but not to the subject of the ideology- hence punishing or preserving it is also insignificant in regards to the judgment of the soul. When the Lebanese public and the Lebanese media construct the “*Islamist*” as an identity, an imagined reality based on “ascetic morality” is created and attributed to the Bloc B prisoner. Therefore, the realization that the secular ideology of punishment is insignificant to the new subject

creates the drive towards constant attempts to punish the “*Islamist*”. The existence of the “*Islamist*”, as a subject, creates a loophole and a challenge for the punitive ideology.

Discourse of the Experts

In several of the prison stories examined, news reports incorporated the opinion of the “experts”. In their attempt to seem objective, television news reports allegedly included a “neutral” position to “rationally” interpret and explain the issue. The effort of sounding objective is one of the main attributes of ideology (Zizek, 1994). I argue that the materialization of this drive towards objective reporting creates the discourse of the expert. The expert, within the context of the news reports examined, adopts a rationale which is not different than the dominant discourse; however the title that he bears gives credibility to his argument. I define an “expert” as a third party, not a member of the authorities or a prisoner, whose insight in the news report is constructed as a “neutral” description and interpretation of the natural state of the prison. I elaborate this argument by putting cases found in the sample of news reports studied in conversation with Timothy Mitchell’s notion of techno-politics in *Rule of Experts* (2002).

First, MTV’s news report featured an interview with the president of an NGO named “*Sajin*”, Arabic for “prisoner”, which tackles the rights of prisoners. The head of the NGO gave his insight on the controversy of Roumieh Prison and stated the following:

The conditions of Roumieh Prison, humanitarially speaking, are horrible, horrible. We cannot blame the government; the prisoners play a role in making the prison what it is today. The prisoners are divided, few of them can be categorized as

“strong” and the corruption of the internal politics of the prison made them that way...

The NGO “expert” goes on to describe that the “stronger” prisoners have the power to rule over other “weaker” prisoners. The expert’s interpretation of the prison power struggle reminds us of Mitchel’s critique of colonial expertise (2002). The expert’s knowledge of the complexity and the nature of an environment, in this case the prison, comes from the belief of knowledge as ideological fixation. Using Mitchell’s (2002) interpretation, the prison has no autonomous scientific status; he argues that “the projects themselves formed the science” (p. 37) and there’s only consideration of the human agency associated with this “science”. In the context of MTV’s news report, the expert sees the problem only from a technocratic and human centric perspective. There’s no consideration of other external factors and prisoners’ subjectivities in his “science”. The expert is trying to talk on behalf of the prisoner, but only through the constructed “scientific method” he has studied, which are, and limited to, the understanding of efficiency of the prison system and the human power structures within this reality. By emphasizing the conditions of the prison to be “horrible” indicates that he has a scientific understanding of what a prison should be like, or at least what a “non-horrible” condition in prison is. Also, his interpretation and critique of the power structure in prison assumes a specific scientific power structure which should be implemented in prisons.

NewTV appropriated a different type of expert. With the growing controversy around Roumieh Prison, the news report featured two interviews with religious figures who were granted access to Roumieh Prison. NewTV interviewed a Sheikh, as a representative

of “the higher board of Islamic Shi’a”⁸, and a priest, the head of an NGO⁹. After their visit to Roumieh Prison during the riots and the repressive measures taken by the authorities, the sheikh and the priest presented their interpretation to the media. The sheikh declared: “the state of Roumieh Prison was extremely dangerous, but now the state is sustained and stable”. According to the priest: “the thing is simple, it was a simple search by the authorities in all the buildings in Roumieh Prison for contrabands. And we would like to tell the prisoners, if they’re hearing us today, that these measures are for their own safety”. The sheikh and the priest adopted the rhetoric of security versus privacy in their discourse, in addition to the perpetuation of the dominant discourse of control and policing. Their insight revolved around Roumieh Prison becoming a “better” and “safer” place after the authorities’ intervention. This rhetoric perpetuates the discourse of policing based on the “rational” statement that interventionist approaches create security.

Finally, Al Manar’s news report featured an interview with a former head of the ISF as an “expert”. The former ISF official stated: “...the state of Roumieh Prison will deteriorate to the worse, because nothing has been done. No measures were taken. God help us, Roumieh Prison is a time bomb...” Even though he was a former ISF official, when consulted as an expert on Roumieh Prison, Salah Jobran had to adopt the interventionist notion within the discourse of control and policing. His definition of a “problem” stems out of his understanding of a normative state being and his belief in a rational method. His understanding of the state of Roumieh Prison is proportional to the rate of measures and

⁸ Original term in Arabic: ممثل المجلس الإسلامي الشيعي الأعلى

⁹ Original term in Arabic: رئيس جمعية عدل ورحمة

actions taken by the authorities. His argument that Roumieh Prison will “deteriorate” comes from the lack of “efficiently” implementing his technocratic methods.

Even though some of the experts call for “humanitarian” actions or even though they perceive their actions to be benefiting the prison structure as a whole, I argue that their discourse stems from a social and political practice that produces simultaneously the powers of science and the powers of the modern state (Mitchell, 2002). In Mitchell’s words:

Techno-politics is always a technical body, an alloy that must emerge from a process of manufacture whose ingredients are both human and nonhuman, both intentional and not, and in which the intentional or human is always somewhat overrun by the unintended. But it is a particular form of manufacturing, a certain way of organizing the amalgam of the human and nonhuman, things and ideas, so that the human, the intellectual, the realm of intentions and ideas seems to come first and to control and organize the nonhuman (p. 42-43)

Power of Punishment in the Power of the Image

Punishment continues to be frequent and recurrent to the point where its discourse in the public sphere starts to overlook the means which created the punishment, and concentrates exclusively on the expression manifested in the media (Garland, 1990). Within this process, punishment is only understood as its practical manifestation in the public sphere: it should be projected as a concrete visible object (Horton, 1997). Furthermore, Carney (2009) emphasized the performative influence of the image and its ability to engage with notions of power and particularly with our modern theatrical forms of punishment. Within this context, I argue that the ideology of punishment is materialized as a set of images leading to its reemergence as a spectacle. Therefore, the following section will focus on the power of the image of punishment in relation to the notions of the spectacle,

visibility, and the gaze. The analysis will take into consideration two main aspects; first the special reports conducted by Lebanese television channels, conducted from inside the prison¹⁰, and second the dissemination of media produced by prisoners from inside the prison.

The Reemergence of the Spectacle

In the following subsection, I argue that Lebanese television's special reports on prisons shifted the prison story from being a news source towards a spectacle around the prison. In order to elaborate this argument, I focus on four news reports from the sample acquired for this research. While I believe the spectacle is present in almost all the news stories examined, I focus on these four reports because they contain the most controversial reporting on Roumieh Prison by siding with the prisoner and/or the authorities, and they are produced by channels across the Lebanese political spectrum. First, I start with Guy Debord's perception of the spectacle (1967). He writes:

The spectacle is both the outcome and the goal of the dominant mode of production. It's not something added to the real world; . . . it is the very heart of society's real unreality. In all of its specific manifestations—news or propaganda, advertising or the actual consumption of entertainment—the spectacle epitomizes the prevailing model of social life. (p. 13)

Within the Lebanese context, Al Manar and NewTV produced a news report about Roumieh Prison which they called “special report” or “exclusive report”. In both of the reports, the reporting crew goes behind bars and report from inside the prison and among the prisoners. Such reports featured interviews with the prisoners. In front of the camera,

¹⁰ I refer here to reports done by TV channels such as New TV and Al Jadeed, where the reporter goes behind bars and films the inside “nature” of Roumieh Prison. These reports usually incorporate footage of the prison as well as interviews with prisoners.

the prisoners express their resentment of the prison conditions and the justice system (Appendix I & Q). Furthermore, the camera pans across the perimeters of the prison capturing the environment as the reporter describes the “horrible” conditions of the confinement. Most of the scenes documented visually by the camera embody the reality of the prison, such as the bars, the walls, and most importantly the prisoner. The prisoner is depicted sensationally alongside the other embodiments of punishment. The prisoner, or the picture of the prisoner, becomes essential in imagining the reality of the prison and the ideology of punishment. The special reports by ManarTV and AlJadeedTV resort to the adoption of the close-up “affection-images” of prisoners. As Deleuze (1986) describes it: “The affection-image is the close-up, and the close-up is the face...” (p. 87). The “affection-image” is used to convey emotions; it detaches the subject from the space and time around it and highlights the obliteration of the face. This strategy of incorporating “affection-images” in news reports is not specific to the Lebanese case. These strategies stem from the earlier notion of news making of crime stories, which created the misconception that mass media are knowledgeable about crime and criminal justice (Barak, 1998). There is a connection to be made here between the fascination and the repulsion of the image in relation to the global consumer culture and commodification (Valier, 2003), especially when the producer and the distributor of these images functions on a neo-liberal basis (Notzold, 2009). I argue here, in accordance with Lynch (2005), that television news reports are developing penalty into a visual entertainment commodity, a trend that requires us to think about a consumerist penal subject. Whether it is the dim lighting effect of the camera, the strong contrast of colors, the close-up on the faces of senior prisoners, or the angry inmate screaming about injustice into the camera, the construct of the report aims to

create a commodified spectacle around the reality of the prison in Lebanon. What appears to be a “humanitarian” reporting on the suffering and the bad conditions of prisoners becomes a spectacle produced by a neo-liberal system commodifying punishment.

Valier (2003) argues that in a time of intense punitive affect, “persuasion may be more important than information” (p. 252), hence the creation of the spectacle. The other two news reports I would like to explore revolve around the military crackdown on Roumieh Prison, specifically Bloc B, publicized by the Minister of Interior Affairs, Nohad Machnouk. After the 2015 riots in Bloc B, both Al Jadeed TV and Future TV broadcasted a special news report entitled “the legend of Bloc B is over”. According to these reports, the authorities invaded the prison building under the pretense of collecting contrabands, the riots of the “*Islamists*” were considered a legitimate reason to apply force, and the issue of Bloc B was believed to be solved as the Islamists were transferred to another building. Aside from adopting the discourse of control and policing, and the process of criminalization discussed in the previous section, the television news reports celebrated the “successful operation” by the authorities. FutureTV’s news report featured footage of Nohad Machnouk in a press conference describing the implementation of the successful military operation after he showed, on the screen next to him, pictures of “*Islamist*” prisoners rioting (appendix P). Later on, the news report featured footage of Machnouk inside the prison giving a speech on the success of the military operation. Al-JadeedTV’s special report revolved around the reporter following minister Machnouk roaming the perimeters of Roumieh Prison after the destruction took place (appendix R). With a camera crew following them, Machnouk and his entourage scout the demolished and damaged

building and cells by the military actions, while the reporter narrates: "...this is truly an achievement for the whole country...after seeing the cells I cannot but say that this was truly a kingdom for "*Islamists*"". Some of the footage of the report was captured by a "perception-image" style of shooting, hence the camera shot from the point of view of the audience (Deleuze, 1986). The observer feels as if he is on the site, observing the action.

According to Debord (1967), the spectacle is not a collection of images, "but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (p. 4). I argue here that the spectacle created around the so-called "successful operation against the *Islamists*" is the heart of the news story. It is through the mediation of images of destruction and the glorification of minister Machnouk that the spectacle reinforces the social relations between the dominant power and the "Other", in this case the "*Islamist*". In addition, the point of view style of shooting introduces the audience to this social relation. The observer is standing with the side of the "winner", the side of the minister.

Furthermore, Carney (2009) argues that the photographic spectacle belongs to the performative active role of the mass media rather than the communicative. The photograph images within the spectacle are merely performances and forms of social practice, often including sending messages. Within this context, the camera angle and the footage of destruction are not regarded as a technology for communication, but as scenes and means of performance and social practice. The minister is performing his role as the leader, his

soldiers, the reporter, and the audience around him and by his side, whereas the defeated, the “*Islamists*”, “have been moved to Bloc D¹¹”.

Debord (1967) writes: “the spectacle is the stage at which the commodity has succeeded in totally colonizing social life. Commodification is not only visible, we no longer see anything else; the world we see is the world of the commodity” (p. 42).

Similarly, in the case of most news reports examined, the audience is capable of seeing the image only as commodity. The spectacle becomes our only insight into the existence of punishment. Punishment is not implemented unless it is projected as spectacle, unless we can see it.

The Visibility of the Body and the Gaze of the Subject

After establishing the role of the media in the relationship between the prison and the image, I now discuss other aspects related to the production and dissemination of the image from the prison to the public. Here, I explore the phenomenon of media production within confinement vis-à-vis the notions of visibility and the gaze.

By examining Lebanese television prison news reports, it is safe to argue that Lebanese prisoners have achieved a relative form of visibility. To construct their discourse around prison stories, news are ready to feature phone calls and face-to-face interviews with prisoners from inside the prison, and pictures taken by prisoners. The visibility of the prisoner in this case is often appropriated within the dominant ideology and the process of re-criminalization persists. In order to expand further on the notion of visibility, I argue that

¹¹ The news report did not explain what Bloc D is, or how is it different than Bloc B. We only know that the “*Islamists*” were moved “safely” there.

the Foucauldian analysis can relate to the context of Lebanon in a particular way, different than the traditional understanding of Panopticism and the gaze.

In his book *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault (1963) used the term “medical gaze” to emphasize the power relations and dynamics between doctors and patients, and the hegemony of medical knowledge in society. Foucault (1975) then elaborated in *Discipline and Punish* on his understanding of the gaze to signify a specific power relationship and disciplinary mechanisms, such as systems of surveillance and the function of related disciplinary mechanisms, and self-regulation as an apparatus of power. Foucault draws from this concept to build his notions of panopticism and biopower. Using a Foucauldian reading, these notions refer to the extent to which people can modify their behavior under the belief that they are constantly being watched, even if they’re unaware of the identity of who’s watching (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009). The traditional understanding of Panopticism as a theory revolves around the subjects’ internalization of the external force. The subjects not only modify their behavior, but they become the main “principle of their own subjection” (Tonner, 2007, p. 13). I argue here that the Panopticon as a mechanism is applied in the Lebanese case on the micro level, through the prison system, and on the macro level, through the media’s reporting on the prison. As I will elaborate, the Lebanese Roumieh Prisoners are aware of the micro and the macro surveillance and this affects their behavior; however, their behavior is not prone to self-subjection or self-subjugation, as the traditional Foucauldian reading would suggest. To elaborate on this point, I give examples on the visibility of Roumieh Prisoners.

First, on the micro level, I refer to the military operation against the “*Islamists*” in Bloc B discussed earlier. As previously mentioned, Minister Nohad Machnouk held a press conference explaining to the public the reasons and the “strategic” methods of military action. During the press conference, and as part of his legitimization of the repressive measures against the prisoners, he showed footage taken by surveillance cameras of prison rioters vandalizing property and attacking a prison guard. The prisoners were aware of the existence of surveillance, as the footage shows prisoners looking into a surveillance camera, yet insurgency still took place. Within that context, the notion of self-surveillance does not necessarily apply to the prisoners since they are in fact consciously and actively breaking the normative state of the prison. The prisoners subject themselves deliberately to the surveillance of the authorities as part of the process of their resistance. Even though the prisoners’ insurgency was subjected to the dominant ideology through the use of violence, this power relation resulted in the creation of the visibility of the prisoners.

Second, on the macro level, a blog called “Mo5tarNews” released in 2013 a YouTube video titled “Roumieh Prison: Exclusive video and images”. The YouTube video featured images and a video taken by a prisoner inside Roumieh Prison. While recording the video, the prisoner speaks: “this is the hotel which the media outside are describing as a five star hotel we are living in...I think no matter what we did, we don’t deserve this”. Even though this particular video was not adopted by the Lebanese television news, it indicates that the prisoners are relatively aware of the discourse around them. The prisoner in the video appropriates the term “five star hotel” often used by the Lebanese news to refer to the “luxury” in Roumieh Prison. He’s aware of the surveillance and the discourse constructed

around him, and he decides to counter it by making himself more visible. Furthermore, LBC's news report on Roumieh's riots incorporated pictures taken by prisoners. Even though the process of leakage and dissemination of pictures from the prison is still unclear, one can tell by the angle of the pictures that they were taken by a prisoner (appendix S). The photograph is at the same level as the other inmates and fairly close to the action. For the photograph to travel from the prisoner to the media outlet, the prisoner has to be aware that the public is interested in the surveillance. In addition, the fact that prisoners would take such pictures in the first place tells us that they are interested in their own visibility. I attempt here to argue that the prisoner, at least, has the subjectivity which creates the intention to capture those photographs. His subjectivity allows for a desire for visibility.

This research is not the first to advocate the reconsideration of the Foucauldian understanding of the panopticon and the introduction of subjectivity in this framework (Boyne, 2000); however I aim to take this argument further. I argue that by treating visibility as a desire of prisoners, we can introduce the notions of subjectivity and insurgency into the mechanism of the panopticon. It is the subjectivity of the prisoner which creates the desire for visibility, and the existence of this desire creates the drive for *jouissance*. Therefore, as argued in the first section of my analysis, this *jouissance* is materialized in the phenomenon of prison media production by prisoners. According to Lacan (1978), it is this *jouissance* which compels the subject to constantly try to disobey and resist the prohibitions imposed on his enjoyment. In this context, the prohibitions are imprisonment and enjoyment is the freedom, or lack of. Influenced by Marx's theory of the surplus value, Lacan further develops his notion of the desire. He argues that at the heart of

every desire there is the object of desire; “*objet petit a*” (Lacan, 1969). Lacan argues that the “*objet petit a*” is the surplus of *jouissance*: it creates the lack at the heart of desire. The “*objet petit a*” cannot be achieved; however it ensures the constant existence of the desire which creates *jouissance*. The process of the attempt to achieve the “*objet petit a*” is frequently caught up by cultural ideologies often resulting in the sabotage of the subject. To contextualize, I treat the freedom of the prisoner as the “*objet petit a*”, the constant drive to achieve freedom creates the desire for visibility. From the perspective of the prisoner, the desire for visibility will never be fulfilled properly until freedom is granted. And once freedom is granted, the subject will no longer be a prisoner. This explains the constant attempts and various ways the prisoner tries to be visible, such as leaking pictures, rioting, appearing on news cameras, and engaging in phone calls from the prison. Cultural ideologies catch the various attempts for visibility and use them in order to sabotage the prisoner by appropriating them in the construction of the discourses and thus re-criminalizing the prisoner. For instance, the news reports will construct the discourse of corruption and accuse the prisoners of enjoying “luxury” because of the existence of cellphones and photographs inside the prison; the same cellphones which the prisoners use for visibility. Even though the prisoner is aware of the appropriation and the construction of the dominant discourse around him, he does not stop the attempts for visibility, such as the case of the YouTube video.

The mind of the desiring subject doesn't necessarily comprehend its own motivations and doesn't have full access to the body. At the same time the body cannot act outside the realm of the mind. As Neroni (2015) states: “This lack of access [between the

mind and the body], as counterintuitive as it sounds, is in fact at the heart of the subject's potential radicality, of its ability to act, of its ability to create. All this can't be completely controlled for either good or not good ends." (p. 43)

Here lies the challenge with the notion of the gaze: where does the gaze fit into this equation? Is the surveillance, of which the prisoner is aware in this context, considered as "gazing"? And where does the audience stand? To examine these questions, I engage with another perspective of the notion of the gaze. To do so I will reverse the role of the subject. In this analysis I refer to the subject as the subject of looking, such as the media, the authorities, or the audience, and not the subject of the punitive ideology, the prisoner.

Lacan presents a different analysis to the term "gaze" that he popularized in his book *Seminar XI: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (1978). Lacan advocates a separation between the notion of "the look" and the notion of "the gaze". His understanding of the gaze developed from Sartre's phenomenological analysis of the "look". Sartre (1958) argues that the gaze is that which permits the subject to realize that the other is also a subject. Lacanian's definition moves beyond the Sartrian understanding of the gaze. Lacan's theory of the gaze separates the gaze from the act of looking. The gaze becomes the object of the act of looking, the object of the scopic drive; it is no longer on the side of the subject but rather it is the gaze of the Other¹². It is that difference between the eye and the gaze, that Lacan makes, which is essential to my analysis. The eye which looks is that of the subject, in this context the audience or the reporter, while the gaze is on the

¹² The term "Other" is different than the "other". According to Lacan (1955), the big "Other" represents both another subject in its "radical alterity and unassimilable uniqueness" and also the symbolic order which mediates the liaison with that subject

side of the object. It is the prisoner that is responsible for the act of gazing. Lacan (1978) writes: “you never look at me from the place at which I see you” (p. 103). When the subject looks at the object, the object is already gazing back at the subject from points the subject may not be aware of; this division is manifested in the notion of the drive of the looker or the seer. According to Lacan (1978), the eye serves as a gatherer of sensory information; the observer of prison stories is looking at the prisoners and their actions. The gaze, however, restricts and turns the prisoners into beings that are looked upon. From a Lacanian perspective, the audience’s act of looking encounters an uncomfortable resistance from the realization of the Object’s gaze. The subjects, being the audience or the media, encounter a realization that their active role of looking has transformed into the passive act of being looked at; it is through this transformation that the subject’s eye is reduced to the feelings of self-directed anxiety. Lacan (1981) writes: “[the gaze] is presented to us only in the form of a strange contingency. It surprises the viewer, disturbs him, and reduces him to a feeling of shame” (p. 84). The gaze, according to Lacan (1981), is not an eye that looks back at the subject, it is a mirror in which the subject sees himself looking; it is a point of failure in the visual field. It is here that I argue that the gaze of the object, the prisoner, manifests itself in the form of images and videos produced inside the prison. As the Lebanese television news reports make the prisoner visible, either by going inside the prison or appropriating images taken by prisoners, the viewer becomes aware of the gaze of the prisoner. The visibility of the prisoner acts as a mirror, which reflects the subject, the viewer, to himself/herself. This explains the rationale behind the constant processes of construction of moral panic, re-criminalization, and legitimization of repressive measures against an Other who’s already been confined and “castrated”. These reactionary behaviors against the prisoner, often

celebrated in the Lebanese news reports, stem from the anxiety, panic, and fear both the media and the Lebanese public have towards Roumieh Prisoners, especially the “*Islamists*” (Lons, 2016).

As an additional example, I will examine the case of a Roumieh torture video. In June 2015, a video was leaked via social media showing authority members torturing a group of “*Islamist*” prisoners (Appendix T). Soon after, the video was appropriated by Lebanese television news reports (Lons, 2016). Even though this research does not dwell on the topic of torture, I would like to examine this incident to explain the reason behind the public reaction to the video in relation to the notion of the gaze.

From a psychoanalytical perspective, torture represents the failure in the ability of finding truth. Since the truth is the responsibility of the mind, torturing the body doesn't solve the problem; it does not lead to the truth (Neroni, 2015). As argued by Neroni: “...torture is a libidinal irrational practice that can never be a fact-finding tool” (p. 46). We can consider torture as an effort to destroy the subject, destroy what we do not or cannot understand about the subject, its desire. This is highly relevant in the case of the torture video. After examining the video, the individual executing torture does not ask specific questions, he is not aiming to find facts or truth. However, he is aiming to humiliate the subject as he voices slurs regarding the prisoner's ideology; he refers to the “*houryat*” or the “virgins in heaven”. Keeping in mind that the torture took place after an armed conflict between the authorities and groups of Muslim fundamentalists in Northern Lebanon, I argue here that the authorities' failure in understanding the desire of the subject creates the “drive” for the execution of torture. I'm not interested here in the act of torture as much as

I'm interested in the reaction it received once it was adopted by the Lebanese media. After the video of torture was released, an outcry took place among the Lebanese public, the political class, and the television stations (Lons, 2016). Minister of Interior Nohad Machnouk and the head of the ISF conducted a press conference to assure the public that they will "look into it" and guarantee that everybody who was responsible for the torture will be severely punished. Torture is not new to Roumieh Prison. Several cases of torture, ill-treatment, and humiliation have happened and are still happening in Roumieh Prison, especially against "Islamist" prisoners, yet this is the first time a case of torture becomes problematic (Lons, 2016). I argue here that the feelings of shame, anxiety, and panic that the Lebanese public felt were the result of the gaze of the subjects being tortured in the video. Once the video made itself to the public, the public became aware of the irrational act of torture as they realized they were being gazed upon by the subjects of torture.

In addition, within a Lacanian discourse, the gaze functions as a figure of resistance (Scott, 2008). The notion of resistance here is not equated with the traditional meaning of insurgency. According to Merleau-Ponty (1968), one must note the dependence of the visible on a gaze which comes before it. It is the gaze which unlocks the domain of visibility. In *the Visible and the Invisible* (1968), Merleau-Ponty writes:

What there is then are not things first identical to themselves, which would then offer themselves to the seer, nor is there a seer who is first empty and who, afterward, would open himself to them- but something to which we could not be closer than by palpating it with our look, things we could not dream of seeing "all naked" because the gaze itself envelops them, clothes them with its own flesh. Whence does it happen that in so doing it leaves them in their place, that the vision we acquire of them seems to us to come from them... (p.131)

In the context of this research, the vision of the seer occurs only under the sovereignty and the preexistence of the gaze coming from the prisoner, a gaze that sustains itself during the visibility of the object and the vision of the seer. While this analysis gives sovereignty to the gaze, it does in fact remove the intentionality from the act of gazing. In short, when we think about the gaze we have to think beyond intentionality. The prisoner is not aware of his act of gazing, which hinders the agency and the sovereignty of his gaze.

From Aesthetics to Politics

After exploring the phenomenon of prison media production in relation to the notions of visibility and the gaze, I shift the focus here to explore other forms of possible mediated resistance. So far I have examined the mediated riots and visibility of Roumieh Prisoners, however both these notions are highly dependent on the interest and the intention of the Lebanese television stations in covering prison stories. As such, I now look at another medium by which prisoners can channel their politics independently from the institutionalized television station. To do so I introduce Ranciere's theory on the distribution of the sensible (2004).

From a Rancierian perspective, I consider the Lebanese social order and the prison order as two distinct "police orders". Generally, a police order embodies sets of implicit rules and conventions which regulate the distribution of roles in a society and the forms of exclusion operating within it. It is an order where the roles and modes of participation are predetermined by introducing possible modes of perception. This is what Ranciere refers to as the "distribution of the sensible". Ranciere perceives this social order to be an anti-democratic, anti-political order which maintains the preexisting patterns of inclusion and

exclusion. The only way to resist this social order is through the reemergence of the political. Politics challenges the foundations of the “police order” and aims to the reconfiguration of the distribution of the sensible. Politics is inherently oppositional to the police order. Ranciere (2004) argues that aesthetics are central to politics. Politics emerge not only through the disruption of a certain aesthetic organization of sense experience, but through the eruption of a distinct aesthetics.

In this context, I consider the prison as a “police order” in which there’s a specific set of rules to be followed and patterns of exclusion regarding the prisoners as a targeted community. Lebanon’s social order is also considered a “police order”, but to a different larger community than the prison population. The patterns of exclusion here are not only targeting the prisoners, but also the prison as a whole. Also, on the macro level, Lebanese television news can play a substantial role in perpetuating the “police order”. I argue here that within the “police order” of the prison, politics is emerging through a distinct aesthetics. In addition, even though television news reports adopt the dominant discourses of punishment in reporting prison stories, politics can still emerge from within the filtering process of the media.

To elaborate I give examples of aesthetics emerging from Roumieh Prison. Since this research is looking into Roumieh Prison only through the lenses of Lebanese television news reports, I can only identify the aesthetics that are apparent in these news reports. However, the distinction was made between the prison “police order” and the Lebanese “police order” to highlight the possibility of the existence of politics in forms which the camera did not or could not capture. Even if it does not make its way to the public, the

aesthetic can still embody its political meaning within the prison “police order”. Therefore, I continue with the analysis of the aesthetics seen, and not necessarily identified, in the Lebanese television news reports.

The aesthetics of television news reporting used in prison stories is the aesthetic of the distribution of the sensible. It is the dominant and normative aesthetic used by reporters to project their stories via television. However, within these aesthetics created by the dominant culture, the aesthetic of the prisoners can emerge. Borrowing from Ranciere (2004), unlike knowledge and political statements, the aesthetic of the prisoner creates “regimes of sensible intensities”. Those regimes are political by nature, but most importantly they’re not easily identified by the dominant culture; they are perceived as mere noise. I give two examples from the data examined.

One of the special reports is by Al Manar TV inside the jail in order to capture the “reality” of Roumieh Prison. The crew is in direct contact with the prisoners, who in turn talk straight into the camera. While one can argue that the narrative of the prisoners is constructed and edited to fit within the discourse and ideology of the channel, a graffiti of the word “*Mazloun*”, Arabic for “oppressed”, appears on one of the walls of the cells (appendix U). The camera captures the graffiti, yet doesn’t dwell on it; the news reporter does not comment nor recognize the political aesthetics of the graffiti either. The political message embodied in the graffiti is left unrecognizable to the dominant culture, even though it challenges the aesthetics of the news report and even questions the punitive ideology. The graffiti here is a perfect example of the existence of aesthetics only in the “prison order”. The graffiti was produced before any realization of the possible existence of

news reports inside the prison. It was originally produced to remerge the political within the prison “police order” and the news report happened to capture it leading to the projection of politics onto the Lebanese “police order”.

In a similar news report by Al Jadeed TV, the reporter also goes behind bars to discover the “truth” of Roumieh Prison. As he roams between the prisoners, and some of them react with the camera, he approaches a prisoner sitting on the floor (Appendix V). The latter starts singing into the microphone, as the reporter seems to enjoy the tune. The prisoner sings:

They took the line away from me at midnight, and in a second they tied me up, they humiliated me all the way to Hbeich, and hanged me in the “Farouj”

The news report deals with this incident humorously and the reporter is content as he describes the singing as “a coping mechanism”; however the singing of the inmate is filled with political aesthetics. While the tune seems to be relatively cheerful, the inmate tells the story of his imprisonment. It is important to note that the prisoner used three informal or “slang” terms in the song, which within the context imply political meaning that the dominant culture may not necessarily pick up on. The terms are “*zih*”, Arabic for “line”, which refers to drugs and their criminalization, “Hbeich”, the police station for drug abusers, and “Farouj”, Arabic for “roasted chicken”, a torture tool whereby the subject is tied by his hands and feet to a horizontal pole and beaten. I highlight the use of these terms to argue that even though it is visible, the political aesthetics are produced by and for a specific audience, the one able to detect the political in the aesthetics of the oppressed.

The Prisoner as Subaltern

Whether by examining the ideological implications, the discourses of power, the spectacle, and the visibility of the prisoner, this research has been dependent on the agency of the Lebanese television news reports. In order for us to “see” the prisoner or the manifestation of the ideology of punishment, there is a significant dependency on the interest of the media in covering this story. In this section, I explore the prison news reports as a post-colonial window reflecting the image of the prisoner as subaltern.

Here, I make the connection between the prisoner and the Gramscian definition of the subaltern. The subaltern is the individual that is socially, politically, and geographically outside the hegemonic power structure. Academics, such as Spivak (Morton, 2007), have challenged the Gramscian understanding of the subaltern arguing that it is a synonym for the proletariat within Gramsci’s prison notes. Further scholarship has argued that the Gramscian introduction of the subaltern goes beyond the understanding of the oppressed proletariat (Marcus, 2011). Within the context of this research, the prisoner is a subaltern not necessarily because I consider law enforcement to be a form of colonialism, even though it is oppressive. However, the prisoner is a subaltern because the only way he can be seen or understood is through the post-colonial ways of television news reporting. The prisoner as subaltern is the prisoner who can only be understood through the lenses of the post-colonial camera.

I draw my analysis from Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (1983), to argue that by their ways of “exploring” and “investigating” the prison and the prisoner, the media reinscribe, co-op, and perpetuate punitive imperatives of political domination. As discussed in

the section on the discourses of power, we have the authorities, the media, and the public involved in the discourses of power and perpetuating an ideology inflicted upon the prisoner. Given these discourses formulated by the media, each of the authority, the reporter, and the expert appropriate an institutionalized discourse that classifies and surveys the prisoner in the same modes of colonial dominance. Furthermore, I argue that even when the liberal discussion is believed to be in the “benefit” of the prisoner, such as the discussions of fixing prison facilities and advocating rehabilitation instead of incarceration, it will re-inscribe the subordinate position of the prisoners and create a dependence upon the media to “speak for” them.

Spivak (1983) argues that the subjectivities of the subaltern are constructed by the shifting discourses of power, which endlessly speak through the subject. In this context, the subject is decentered, in that his/her consciousness is always being constructed from positions outside of itself. Furthermore, the subject is not a transparent representation of the self, but an effect of discourse. I argue, as discussed in the subsection on visibility, the prisoner has in fact a subjectivity which creates his drives and desires, most importantly the drive for visibility. The use of *jouissance* by the prisoner is utterly subjective. It is the means of reporting used by the Lebanese television stations that dominate and shadow the subjectivities of the subaltern, or appropriate them within the dominant discourse of power. The shifting discourses of power do not speak through the subject, but we hear them because they speak our post-colonial language. We pick up on the discourses of power spoken by the subject because we fail to speak the language of the subject. Our post-colonial understanding of prison stories shapes our preconceived notions of resistance.

However, the subjectivities of prisoners may manifest themselves through traditional or untraditional forms of resistance, or through invisible ways the post-colonial news report cannot pick up on. Spivak touches on this point when she argues that even when the subaltern speaks nobody listens; it is perceived as noise (1983). As an example, while one prisoner can use his cellphone to resist the prison conditions, another can use his cellphone to talk privately to a friend or a family member on the outside. We must keep in mind that one cannot generalize the intentions and desires of the subaltern.

For insurgency to take place against the dominant ideology, we should either speak the language of the subaltern and move away from the liberal understanding of speaking on behalf of them or decolonize our preconceived notions of resistance. I borrow from Spivak to argue that, when the subaltern abandons his culturally customary ways of thinking, in this context his subjective ways of resistance, the post-colonial power, the news reports, adopt his language within their own ideology and discourses. It is when the prisoner abandoned his position as a subaltern and decided to appear on the screen of the MTV news report (Appendix K & W) on Roumieh Prison, a case I discuss in the section on television discourse, his insight was used by the channel to fuel its discourse of re-criminalization of the “*Islamists*”. When the prisoner gave up on his subjectivity, he was adopted by the dominant ideology.

Chapter V

Conclusion

Can the prisoner speak? While the title of this thesis borrows from Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" the significance of using the term "speak" stems from the importance of speech and language in psychoanalytical theory (Fink, 1995). In addition, even though this study was concerned with discourse in the media, the title gives relevance to prisoners' overlooked mediated subjectivities and ways of insurgencies.

This study examined the discourses of Roumieh Prison news report by treating them as manifestations of an ideology of punishment. Punishment as an ideology creates a Hegelian dialectical relationship between the "free subject" and the subject of the ideology of punishment, the prisoner. This dialectical relationship presents the subject of the punitive ideology as the Other. In this relationship, the work of the subject, or the reporter, becomes centered on the attempt of deciphering and understanding the Other. From a Lacanian analysis, the subject will never be able to understand and represent the Other, mainly because the Other does not exist.

Employing the methodology of ideological and visual discourse analysis, the study examined the four main discourses of punishment in Lebanese televised news: the discourse of control and policing, the discourse of corruption, the discourse of the "Islamist", and the discourse of the expert. Each of these four discourses were influenced by the television stations' ownership and politics. To reinforce their own discourse, news reports often resorted to the appropriation of images and videos taken inside the prison by prisoners and

the adoption of interviews with current and former prisoners. In addition, the analysis rehabilitated notions of psychoanalysis to consider the prisoner as a desiring subject with lack, drives, desires, and *jouissance*. The *objet petit a* is what and how the prisoner, as a subject, defines and perceives freedom or the opposite act of imprisonment. This desire that stems from the lack of “freedom”, and the lack of articulation of the lack, creates drives, one of which is visibility. This same visibility is being adopted and appropriated by the discourse of the media to sabotage the visible subject. In this case, the phenomenon of prison media production by prisoners can be considered an act of *jouissance* by the prisoner with a cellphone. In addition, from a Lacanian perspective, the prisoner is responsible for the gaze. However, the gaze of the prisoner does not result in agency or resistance, since the act of gazing is unintentional and the gaze always revolves around the subject doing the act of looking. The gaze of the prisoner manifests itself in the form of the images and videos taken inside the prison and leaked to the public.

Furthermore, the unintentional gaze does not mean that the subjectivity of the prisoner accepts the police order and refuses to resist it. Through practices of aesthetics, prisoners can contribute to the “redistribution of the sensible” and “reemerge” politics into the police order. This politics does not only challenge the police order of the prison, but also the macro level police order once the politics of the prisoner escapes the filtering processes of the news reporting. Even though the politics of the prisoner reemerges through the televised news reports, not every observer is able to understand these political aesthetics. This is the closest thing we have to the Lacanian Real. Our inability to identify the politics of the prisoners does not mean that the subject is not producing them. However,

our preconceived notions of resistance impose a definition and an identification of what the insurgency of the Other should and should not look like. Hence the importance of recognizing the prisoner as a subaltern. The present research argues that in their means of “understanding” the Other and “talking” on his behalf, the media perpetuate the ideology of punishment and re-inscribe the police order. The media, the authority, and the expert indulge in the process of institutionalized surveying and “scientific” monitoring of the prisoner, which resembles modes of colonial dominance. These institutionalized discourses neglect the subjectivities of prisoners, while inscribing preconceived modes of insurgency, agency, human rights and so on. If the subject happens to adopt our preconceived notions of insurgency, s/he will start to speak the language of the mainstream ideology. Through indulging in the pre-inscribed notions of resistance, such as demanding “better treatment”, the subject indulges in a process of counter-discourse, but this does not challenge the punitive ideology. This counter-discourse, because it speaks the language of the mainstream ideology, can be easily adopted by the mainstream discourse. By speaking our language, the prisoner is trapped in a circular notion of discourse and counter-discourse. The language of the prisoner escapes our romantic understanding of resistance and insurgency. From a psychoanalytical perspective, to challenge ideology it is insufficient to be conscious of the state of subjection, for it is part of the power mechanism that is inevitably eroticized by the renounced pleasure developed by being indulged in it (Feldner & Vighi, 2007). The language of the prisoner must differentiate itself from being part of a circular movement of permanent resistance and move towards being a political act or, as Lacan (1992) describes it, a radical act able to shift the “symbolic coordinates of the subject who accomplishes it” (p. 76).

In short, the prisoner is constantly speaking. However, not only do we rarely hear him, but also our fundamental definition of speaking differs from his. The same punitive ideology, which inscribed the prison as a reality, also inscribed the language of the counter-discourse of prison. Being aware of the prison's oppression and indulging in counter-discourses within the realm of the ideology, does not challenge the punitive ideology. This over shadows the power of the prisoners' language and decreases our possibility to comprehend it. This study does not pretend nor aim to speak the language of the prisoner; however it is concerned with the argument that our mediated discourse around the prisoner uses a language the prisoner might not identify with. This study advocates taking a step back from the post-modern discourses around prisons to engage in a critical examination of the ontological and normative nature of punishment as an ideology and its visual manifestations. The discourses of punishment in the media are not a window to the reality of prisons, but a mere manifestation of the ideology of punishment.

Heidegger (1975) argues that we, as subjects, are thrown beings-in-the-world of pre-existing socio-symbolic relations. Once place in the world of language we absorb and regurgitate the rules and the relations of language and *logos*. I relate the experience of the subject of the punitive ideology to the newly born child. From a psychoanalytic perspective, a child is born into the symbolic order which has already anticipated his/her birth. When a baby "cries", s/he does not necessarily know what s/he wants. The parents interpret these "cries" and give them meaning, and therefore construct a framework of the baby's desires and needs (Fink, 1995). Similarly, the desiring subject of the punitive ideology speaks, however the media coverage interpret his/her *speech* and gives it meaning within the

context of the *world*, which we collectively know and experience. The process of media coverage transforms the inarticulate needs of prisoners, their *speech*, into a socially symbolized articulable resolutions. The media coverage transforms and translates the “cries” of the prisoners into something we understand. This translation can vary between re-criminalization and the advocacy of human/prisoner rights, rehabilitation, prison reform and so on. Once the desiring subject of punishment learns the language of the media discourse, s/he reaches an alienation in language¹³, as language mediates what we want and do not want at the same time (Lacan, 1973). I’m not necessarily arguing against advocating prison reform, however I’m arguing against the discourses of prison reform being the only critical language we speak regarding punishment. In a seminar on language in 1973, Lacan asks: “What does it matter how many lovers you have if none of them gives you the universe?” Similarly, I raise the question; what does it matter how many “human” rights the media advocate for the prisoner, if none of them gives the subject freedom, his/her ultimate object of desire?

One of the main limitations of the present research is the over dependence on the agency of institutionalized media in investigating the prisoner. The only window to the prisoner was through the media itself, televised news reports, or media produced in prison by prisoners. If one aims to understand the visual and mediated ways by which the prisoners operate, one must at least conduct interviews with the prisoners. Unfortunately, due to funding and time limitations, academic restraints, and mainly the restrictions in accessing prisoners, this study could not include such interviews. These would have

¹³ According to Lacan (1973), the alienation in language forever separates the baby from the Real.

enriched the analysis by explaining the dissemination of information from prison and other potential insurgency traditions exercised through the use of cellphones. In addition, it would be interesting to discuss the relationship between the reporter and the prisoner during the exchange of information, images, and videos.

While my research has been concerned with the mediation of prisoners through television news in relation to the punitive ideology, there remain many areas worthy of further attention. Future scholarship could investigate the different aesthetics used by prisoners to redistribute politics and challenge the police order. One can further unpack the relationship between Ranciere and the prisoner by examining other forms of aesthetics invisible, physically and mentally, to the public. In addition, such investigations could have major theoretical significance by putting Rancierian notions of “redistribution of the sensible” in conversation with Lacanian notions of the Symbolic and the Real. These research questions could highlight phenomena often absent from the study of visibility and punishment, such as the processes of prison music production and, most importantly, the visibility of prison tattoos as a form of subjectivity.

Additional research could explore the relationship and the interconnection between punitive ideology and the neo-liberal ideology explained through the Zizekian (1994) model of ideology. For instance, how can we explain or identify manifestations of the notions of commodity fetishism and surplus-value in the implementation of the ideology of punishment? Is the processes of exchange within the environment of the prison subjected to neo-liberal attitudes? Is acquiring a cellphone in prison an attribute of the politically

powerful and connected and/or the rich? And finally to what extent can the neo-liberal model affect prisoners' subjectivity and insurgency?

Addressing these questions, among others, would provide further valuable understanding of prisoners' subjectivities in relation to the mediated manifestations of the punitive ideology.

References

- Adamson, W. (1980). *Hegemony and revolution: A study of Antonio Gramsci's political and cultural theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, M. (1972). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press.
- Althusser, L. (1968). On the reproduction of capitalism: Ideology and ideological state apparatuses.
- Alvesson, M., & Karreman, D. (2000). Varieties of Discourse: On the Study of Organizations through Discourse Analysis. *Human Relations*, 53(9), 1125-1149.
- Barak, G. (1998). *Integrating Criminologies*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- BBC news (2011, April 8). Retrieved November 26, 2015, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/75707.stm
- Becker, H. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, a division of the Macmillian Company.
- Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, 447-466.
- Bowie, M. (1991). *Lacan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Boyne, R. (2000). Post-Panopticism. *Economy and Society*, 29(2), 285-307.
doi:10.1080/030851400360505

- Bullock, C., & Cubert, J. (2002). Coverage of Domestic Violence Fatalities by Newspapers in Washington State. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 475-499.
- Busch, H. (2011). The Significance of Psychoanalysis for the Social Sciences. ESHHS Annual Conference.
- Carney, P. (2012). Crime, punishment and the force of photographic spectacle. *Sistema Penal & Violência*, 4(2), 191-205.
- Chapman, D. et al. (2002) 'Unemployment duration, schooling and property crime', *Crime and Justice Bulletin 74* , NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research December 2002
- Cheliotis, L. K. (2010). The ambivalent consequences of visibility: Crime and prisons in the mass media. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 6(2), 169-184.
- Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers*. London: MacGibbon and Kee.
- Debord, G. (1967). *The society of the spectacle*. New York: Zone Books.
- Deleuze, G. (1986). *Cinema 1: The movement-image*. London: Athlone.
- Demarrais, E., Castillo, L. J., & Earle, T. (1996). Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies. *Current Anthropology*, 37(1), 15-31.
- Demker, M., Towns, A., Duus-Otterstrom, G., & Sebring, J. (2008). Fear and punishment in sweden: Exploring penal attitudes. *Punishment & Society*, 10, 319–332.
- Duffee, David E. 1989. *Corrections: Practice and Policy*. New York: Random House.

- Edwards. (2014). Framing Punishment: Expert Selection and Punitive Ideology in the News. *McGill Sociological Review*, 4, 93-112.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1996). A reply to Henry Widdowson's 'Discourse analysis: a critical view'. *Language and Literature*, 5(1), 49-56.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). The discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S.J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*. (pp. 229-266). London: Sage Publications.
- Fink, B. (1995). *The Lacanian subject: Between language and jouissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1963). *The birth of the clinic; an archaeology of medical perception*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1969). *The Archeology of knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- García, G., Gmo, C., & Sánchez, A. (2008). Psychoanalysis and politics: The theory of ideology in Slavoj Žižek. *International Journal for Zizek Studies*, 2(3).
- Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

- Garland, David. 1990. *Punishment and Modern Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ghanem, E. (2014). Lebanon's main prison a hotbed for terrorists - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East. Al-Monitor. Retrieved October 26, 2014, from <http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/08/lebanon-roumieh-prison-terrorists-islamic-state.html>
- Given, L. M. (2008). *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Green, M. (2011). Gramsci Cannot Speak: Presentations and Interpretations of Gramsci's Concept of the Subaltern. *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(3), 1-24.
- Hall, S. (1974/1997). The television discourse; Encoding and decoding. Reprinted in A.Gray, & J. McGuigan (Eds.). *Studies in Culture: An Introductory Reader*. (pp, 28-34).
- Hall, S. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London: Macmillan.
- Harb, Z. (2011). *Channels of resistance in Lebanon liberation propaganda, Hezbollah and the media*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Heidegger, M. (1975). *Early Greek thinking*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C., & Walkerdine, V. (1998). *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation, and Subjectivity*. London: Routledge.

- Hollway, W. (1989). *Subjectivity and Method in Psychology: Gender, Meaning, and Science*. London: Sage Publications.
- Horkheimer, Max (1932): *History and Psychology* (In: *Analytical Social Psychology*, Vol 1, ed by Helmut Dahmer, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1980, pp 158-178)
- Horton, K. F. (1996). *Images of penality: Prison films and the construction of discourse regarding punishment and obligation* (Master's thesis, Eastern Michigan University).
- Ibrahim, O. (2007). *Lebanon army advances into camp*. Retrieved March 22, 2016, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-fighting-idUSL1434460820070715>
- Jameson, F., & Buchanan, I. (2007). *Jameson on Jameson: Conversations on cultural Marxism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jeffrey, C. R. (1959). *The Historical Development of Criminology*. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 50(1), 3-19.
- Jewkes, Y. (2005). *Prisoners and the Press*. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 59(1), 26-27.
- Jewkes, Y. (2009) *Crime and Media three-volume set*, Sage Library of Criminology, London: Sage
- Kellner, Douglas. 1995. "Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism and Media Culture." In Dines, Gail and Humez, Jean M. (ed.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Kohm, S. A. (2009). Naming, shaming and criminal justice: Mass-mediated humiliation as entertainment and punishment. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 5(2), 188-205.
doi:10.1177/1741659009335724
- Lacan, J. (1957). Interview with Jacques Lacan [Interview]. *L'Express*.
- Lacan, J. (1978). *The four fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis*. New York: Norton.
- Lacan, J. (1992) *Seminar VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959–1960*, ed. By Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. by Dennis Porter, London: Routledge.
- Lacan, J.(1955). *The psychoses: The seminar of Jacques Lacan*. London: Routledge.
- Lacan, J., & Grigg, R. (1969). *The other side of psychoanalysis: Book XVII*. New York: Norton.
- Lacan, J., & Miller, J. (1997). *The ethics of psychoanalysis, 1959-1960: The seminar of Jacques Lacan, book VII*. London: Routledge.
- Lacan, J., & Sheridan, A. (1981). *The seminar of Jacques Lacan*. New York: Norton.
- Lacan, J., Fink, H., & Fink, B. (2007). *Ecrits: The first complete edition in English*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Lacan, J., Macey, D., & Miller, J. (2008). *My teaching*. London: Verso
- Lacan, J., Miller, J., & Forrester, J. (1973). *The seminar of Jacques Lacan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lons, C. (2016). Is justice for everyone? Arbitrary detention and torture of Islamists in Lebanon. Civil Society Knowledge Centre.
- Lynch, M. (2005). Punishing Images: Jail Cam and the Changing Penal Enterprise. *Pun Soc Punishment & Society*, 6(3), 255-270.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal introduction. London: Sage Publications.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2002). *Designing Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Marx, Carl (1986) *Capital. Critique of political economy*. 3 volumes, Havana. Ed Social Sciences.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1872). *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. Hamburg: Meissner.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1967). *Capital; a critique of political economy*. New York: International.
- Mason, P. (2006). *Captured by the media: prison discourse in popular culture*. Cullompton, UK: Willan.
- Mason, P. (2007). Misinformation, Myth and Distortion: How the press construct imprisonment in Britain. *Journalism Studies*, 8(3), 481-496.
- Mathiesen, T. (2001). Television, Public Space and Prison Population: A Commentary on Mauer and Simon. *Punishment & Society*, 3(1), 35-42.

- Merleau-Ponty, M., & Lefort, C. (1968). *The visible and the invisible; followed by working notes*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Merrell, F. (1985). *Deconstruction Refrained*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.
- Mitchell, T. (2002). *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Morton, S. (2007). *Gayatri Spivak: Ethics, subalternity and the critique of postcolonial reason*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Nashabe, O. (2003). The future of prisons in Lebanon. *Futurics*, (27), 96
- Nashabe, O. (2012). *Lebanese Clans: What State?* Retrieved March 22, 2016, from <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/11315>
- Natanson, M., Sartre, J., & Barnes, H. E. (1958). *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 18(3), 404.
- Neroni, H. (2015). *The subject of torture: Psychoanalysis and biopolitics in television and film*.
- Nietzsche, F. W. (1887). *On the genealogy of morals: A polemical tract*. Arlington, VA: Richer Resources Publications.
- Notzold, K. (2009). *Defining the nation? Lebanese television and political elites, 1990-2005*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

- Oliver, M. B., & Armstrong, B. G. (1995). Predictors of viewing and enjoyment of reality-based and fictional crime shows. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72, 559–570.
- Prisons in Lebanon: Legal and Humanitarian Concerns. (2009). Beirut: Lebanese Center for Human Rights.
- Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics: The distribution of the sensible*. London: Continuum.
- Ranciere, J., Panagia, D., & Bowlby, R. (2001). Ten Theses on Politics. *Theory & Event*, 5(3).
- Riot at Lebanon's Roumieh Prison contained. (2013). From <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2013/Jan-02/200514-riot-at-lebanons-roumieh-prison-contained.ashx>
- Rose, G. (2006). *Visual methodologies an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. London: Sage.
- Rosenberger, J. S., & Callanan, V. (2011). The influence of media on penal attitudes. *Criminal Justice Review*, 36, 435–455.
- Roumieh Prison: Rule by the Sword. (2012). Retrieved November 26, 2015, from <http://english.al-akhbar.com/content/roumieh-prison-rule-sword>
- Scott, M. (2008). Lacan's 'Of the Gaze as *Objet Petit a*' as Anamorphic Discourse. *Paragraph*, 31(3), 327-343.

- Shanahan, R. (2005). *The Shi'a of Lebanon: Clans, parties and clerics*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Simon, J. (2007). *Governing through crime: How the war on crime transformed American democracy and created a culture of fear*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sloterdijk, Peter (2003) *Critique of Cynical Reason*, Madrid: Siruela.
- Sotirovic, M. (2001). Affective and cognitive processes as mediators of media influence on crime-policy preferences. *Mass Communication & Society*, 4, 311–329.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, 271-313.
- Sturken, Marita; Cartwright, Lisa (2009) *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. Oxford University Press
- Surrette, R. (2010). *Media, crime, and criminal justice: Images and realities* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Taylor, I., & Walton, P. (1973). *The new criminology: For a social theory of deviance*,. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Tonner, P. (2007). Freud, Bentham: Panopticism and the Super-Ego. *Cultural Logic*.
- Tonry, M. (1999). Why are the U.S. incarceration rates so high? *Crime & Delinquency*, 45, 419–437
- Valier, C. (2004). Introduction: The Power to Punish and the Power of the Image. *Pun Soc Punishment & Society*, 251-254.

- Van Dijk, T. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 115-140.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1983). Discourse analysis: Its development and application to the structure of news. *Journal of Communication*, Spring, 20-43.
- Vighi, F., & Feldner, H. (2007). *Žižek: Beyond Foucault*. Basingstoke [England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Durham [NC: Duke University Press.
- Wang, J. (2014). Criticising images: Critical discourse analysis of visual semiosis in picture news. *Critical Arts*, 28(2), 264-286.
- Žižek, S. (1989). *The sublime object of ideology*. London: Verso.
- Žižek, S. (1989). *The sublime object of ideology*. London: Verso.
- Zizek, S. (1994) 'The Spectre of Ideology', in idem (ed.), *Mapping Ideology*, London: Verso, pp. 1–33.
- Žižek, S. (1994). *Mapping ideology*. London: Verso.
- Zizek, S. (1997). The Supposed Subjects of Ideology. *Critical Quarterly*, 39(2), 39-59.
doi:10.1111/1467-8705.00097
- Žižek, S. (2007). *How to read Lacan*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Appendix A



Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D



Appendix E



Appendix F



Appendix G



Appendix H



تطورات سجن روميه
أهالي المسجونين منعوا سيارات الصليب الأحمر من
دخول حرم السجن



تطورات سجن روميه
صدام بين عناصر مكافحة الشغب وأهالي المسجونين



تطورات سجن روميه



تطورات سجن روميه
التواصل بين المساجين وذويهم في الخارج ما تفتيا زاد
من حركة الإحتجاجات

Appendix I



Appendix J



Appendix K



Appendix L



Appendix M



Appendix N



Appendix O



Appendix P



Appendix Q



Appendix R



Appendix S



Appendix T



Appendix U



Appendix V



Appendix W

