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Lynda Clarke, our very supportive department Chair;
Tina Montandon and Munit Merid, administrators extraordinaire;
all of our referees, readers and everyone else who gave their time to
the publication of this journal.



RELIGION & CULTURE

A Peer-Reviewed Graduate Student Journal
2017 Volume 27, no. 1

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The Journal of Religion and Culture (JRC) is produced
by the Graduate Students of the Department of Religions and Cultures
at Concordia University.

© 2017 Journal of Religion and Culture,
Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec.

ISSN 1198-6395
Journal of Religion and Culture Volume 27, no. 1 (2017)

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For information:
Journal of Religions and Cultures,
The Department of Religions and Cultures (FA-101)
Concordia University
1455 de Maisonneuve O.,
Montreal, Quebec
H3G 1M8

JRC logo design: Christopher Burkart
Book design: Joseph E. Brito
The type face of this journal is Minion Pro,
designed by Robert Slimbach,
issued as a digital Open Type font
by Adobe Systems, Mountain View California, 2000.

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Privileging the Lens

Framing Islamic Violence and the Creation of Authoritative Discourses

Jeremy Cohen

“The Arabs are one of the least developed cultures. They are typically nomads. Their culture is primitive...”¹

Abstract

Photography is the process of actively evaluating the world. Not only are photographs taken, witnessed and forgotten, they produce an affect that shapes the view of ourselves in relation to the other. This essay is about finding a theoretical framework to understand how particular forms of knowledge produce particular forms of power. The colonialist use of photography will serve as a foundation for two contemporary visual case studies. First, narratives that seek to highlight Muslim barbarism include domestic photojournalism in the wake of September 11th. Second, the dissemination to the West of the helpless other will come through an investigation of pictorial representation during the war in Kosovo. The photographic narratives produced can blur or transform racial, ethnic and religious truths and have the power to mobilize against the other while propagating normative discourses. In the midst of increased tension between the West and Middle East, these pictorial representations continue to produce knowledge about the Oriental other.

Keywords: Islam, violence, photography, news, colonialism

Photography is not simply seeing—it is actively evaluating the world. Photographs are not only taken, witnessed and forgotten, but shape the view of ourselves in relation to the *other*. What is retained by the witness is the photograph (de)contextualized by particular historical and cultural narratives. The historical and cultural narratives that inform our perceptions of the Middle East, for example, are made up of moments of war, suffering, savagery and romanticization that provide us with static and isolated visual truths. When we are told, “there are terrorists abroad,” the

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photograph provides visual evidence in the form of a massacre, a burnt-out building and human suffering. When we are told that the threat of Islamic violence is present in the West, the photograph shows us the Twin Towers falling, blood spilled on the floor of the Bataclan and what Susan Sontag calls “a narrowly selective transparency.”¹ Most Westerners learn of national and international conflicts through pictorial representations in news media. The photographic narratives produced can blur or transform racial, ethnic and religious lines and have the power to mobilize against the racial *other* while propagating normative discourses. In the midst of increased tension between the West and the Middle East, these pictorial representations continue to produce knowledge about the Oriental *other*.

Methodology & Framework

Photography is not simply a window into the world or the process of empirical witnessing; it is a mode of knowledge production. From capture to dissemination, photographs have made Islam and the Arabic world appear as monolithic and comprehensible totalities. This essay is about finding a theoretical framework to understand how particular forms of knowledge produce particular forms of power. Focusing on the colonialist use of photography as the backdrop for two contemporary visual case studies, this essay will use critical historical analysis alongside contemporary visual and textual criticism. Notably, this paper will concentrate on: 1) narratives that seek to highlight Muslim *barbarism* including domestic photojournalism in the wake of September 11th; and 2), the dissemination to the West of the helpless *other* through an investigation of pictorial representation during the war in Kosovo. These two narratives both operate to produce forms of knowledge and degrade the *other* by propagating cultural-nationalistic myths through the dissemination of photographic evidence. This paper draws on Kendall Walton, who wrote that photographs are transparent in that “we see through them to the persons or objects that were in front of the camera at the moment of exposure.”² Walton argues that all investigations in the representational arts should adopt the methodology of theory construction.

The Photographic Gaze

Susan Sontag’s seminal work *On Photography* is a collection of essays that argues for the inherent power of the photographic gaze. Photography is neither a passive art nor static practice. It is imbued with changing cultural shifts and perceptions of photographer, photographed and viewer. To photograph, writes Sontag, “means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and, therefore, feels like power.”³

Photographs are epistemically turned into mental objects that codify truth and shape our perceptions of the world. Sontag's work will inform this paper by contextualizing the power of photography to both mobilize and reify. In the case study on domestic terrorism, for example, Sontag will show how events—when defined in a certain matter—mute the power of photographs taken abroad while strengthening those taken at home. Sontag argues that politics and photography are inseparable, the former using the latter as a means of producing knowledge and exerting power. This latter point will be made clear in the use of pictorial representations to support American hegemonic power.

Degradation Ceremonies

Harold Garfinkel published his essay, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies" in 1956. Degradation ceremonies are "any communicative work between persons, whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types."⁴ This communicative work is carried out by those already in positions of power and may pursue themes of moral indignation against the other.⁵ The goal of degradation is to identify behaviors and identities of those who are to be degraded and reinforce dominant group solidarity against them.⁶ The ultimate goal then is the "alteration of total identities."⁷ Looking at the West as the dominant hegemonic power, degradation ceremonies are ones that lower the social and psychological status of non-Westerners or any perceived *other*. This essay argues that this degradation can be achieved through popular media consumption, primarily visual media.

Orientalism

Orientalism, or knowledge of the Orient, privileged the categorization and historicism of the Oriental *other* through study, judgment, discipline and governing.⁸ It was argued that unlike the rational, virtuous and mature European, some in the Orient had never evolved beyond a primitive stage. The Oriental was, "irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, different."⁹ Since those in the Orient could not govern themselves in rational ways, the moral authority fell to the West, a belief which crystallized as the "White Man's Burden."¹⁰ The effect of colonization was twofold. First, colonization brought with it Western systems of organization that were imposed on the East. These systems were religious, militaristic, educational and judicial. Thus, at a systemic level, the colonizer was positioned above the colonized. Second, eager to demonstrate the moral work being accomplished, colonizing governments and Christian missionaries documented and shared visual

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evidence with an eager public at home. This created an ideological hegemony that perpetuated the belief that the West had moral dominion over the non-Western world.¹¹ Oriental tropes produced particular kinds of knowledge about the *other*, creating a myth of the Orient that has held through to today.¹²

Western interests in the Middle East have a long history of occupation, documentation and representation. Pictorial representations of the Orient created dichotomies between the barbarism of the *other* and the moralism of the West. (Fig. 1) Rooted in moralism and biblical history, American interests in the Orient tended to be both spiritual and physical. The spiritual manifestation often played out on American soil. For example, the pilgrims traveled to the Americas with the purpose of building the New Jerusalem, while Mormon doctrine stated that Native Americans were in fact the lost tribes of Israel. This fascination with the Middle Eastern *other* only increased with the advent of tourism and missionary work in the 19th century.¹³ Coupled with social Darwinism and the belief that, “the United States and Western Europe—controlled a descending array of underdeveloped, even ‘primitive’ *others*,”¹⁴ the American moralist mission sought to Westernize the Middle East while simultaneously empowering the American project on the world stage.

Photography and American Colonialist History

The Protestant Mission

Photographs played a key role in categorizing and presenting the *other* to Western audiences. Field cameras by the age of the Protestant mission in the late 1800s were as ubiquitous as the Bible.¹⁵ Cameras served as a discursive means of expressing core Christian values with the aim of shaping the cultural and human landscape abroad and at home. In other words, photography became the tool for evangelicals to affirm the right nature of Christianity and their understanding of the uncivilized *other*. By 1900 more than 9,000 Protestant missionaries were out in the field and the camera became a ubiquitous tool of catalogue, visual display and Christian representation of self and *other*.¹⁶ Visual culture defined American Christianity and its relationship to the rest of the world in ways that print media could not achieve.¹⁷ This was accomplished through visual evidence of Christian schools, hospitals and other benevolent functions. By the late 19th century, photographic evidence of missionary benevolence and stereotypical Islamic culture could be found displayed in churches, missionary tracts, and hung up inside the homes of American elites. Missionaries and governments alike were eager to display to those back

home the effect of their donations and tax monies; photography provided the means to do so.

American Moral Hegemony

As America began to eye global expansion, Spanish intervention in Cuba offered enticing incentives for America to conquer new territories. A rhetoric of humanitarianism, aided by pictorial representation, was used by many Christian groups to justify war on Spain in Cuba; the same rhetoric which later justified the conquest of the Philippines.¹⁸ Pictorial representations of Cubans and their Spanish aggressors were central in pushing America towards moral intervention. Historian Andrew Preston writes that, “Christian America had a responsibility to God to make the world a better place,”¹⁹ and drawings in newspapers became the catalyst that allowed for this responsibility to play out. Drawings of American women being molested by Spaniards, or of starving Cuban children, engaged an American population that saw benevolence and protection of its own as a moral duty. The majority of Americans believed that “America had a duty to uplift the human race, and God had chosen the Philippines as its first test.”²⁰ Max Quanchi writes that images in this period “constituted self-generating ethos reinforcement that served constantly to promote the central ideas and concerns of the age.”²¹ Drawings, like photography, became a moralistic endeavor that was used to awaken Christian consciousness.²²

Photography as Mediation

As the medium became more accessible, photography—unlike print journalism or painting—became the primary, epistemic interlocutor of Truth. Through the mode of capture and the science of emulsion, photography was perceived as a cure and solution to the weaknesses and corruptions of earlier technologies of representation.²³ Into the middle of the twentieth century, it became clear that photography held the power to shape the American collective sense of self and purpose. Both official narratives and the power of photojournalism shaped the public’s response to international American interventions. The Korean War and the Vietnam War were opportunities for photojournalism to cement itself as the authoritative medium through which American perceptions could be filtered. Susan Sontag notes that, “without a politics, photographs of the slaughter-bench of history will most likely be experienced as, simple, unreal or as a demoralizing emotional blow.”²⁴ Photographs shocked to the point of mobilization during the Vietnam War, where they sparked outrage, or dulled the senses to a state of apathy in Korea, where the war and photographs were sold as a “just struggle” against communism.²⁵

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Viewing as an active process during these conflicts was aided by cultural precepts, government propaganda and politics. In viewing a photograph of the *other*, “we become aware that it is not simply a captured view of the *other*, but rather a dynamic site at which many gazes or viewpoints intersect.”²⁶

Case Studies

September 11th - Clash of Civilizations

As photographs of mission fields or drawings of Spanish aggression helped mobilize Americans into moral action, so too did visual media after the terrorist attacks on New York City on September 11th, 2001. Visual mass media following the attacks became a primary site for the production of knowledge.²⁷ As Riopelle notes, “knowledge production itself has become a commodity that constructs reality, influences values and judgments, and extends to far-reaching spheres of life.”²⁸ In the months following the 9/11 attacks, jarring images of *ground zero*, American heroism and the preparations for war dominated the news cycles. Liam Kennedy notes that the recurring visual motifs in many such photographs include “workers—firefighters, police officers, welders and others—depicted as heroic figures, set against a shattered urban landscape of melted metal and cascades of rubble.”²⁹ One example taken by Thomas Monaster in the days following the attack shows a bloodied, soot covered firefighter being helped to this feet.³⁰ These heroic motifs were amplified as the so-called “War on Terror” began. Photographs in the news media drew on a black-and-white, Manichaeian lexicon of good vs. evil and us vs. them. The black-and-white division of absolutes inevitably played itself out in pictorial representations as photography allowed for a bifurcation of the complexity of the issues, presented instead as neat binaries of heroes and villains.

Photographs taken after the September 11th event in New York City quickly became part of the media-consumption machine that fed 24-hour news networks and newspaper coverage. This included a constant cycle of images of the planes hitting the twin towers, plumes of smoke and emergency response teams covered in dust and soot. These images were soon appropriated into touring exhibits, including *September 11th: Images from Ground Zero* in 2002, meant to shape and maintain the public memory of the attacks.³¹ Liam Kennedy notes that, similar to the “campaign of truth” of the Cold War era—which also saw the creation of touring propagandist photographic exhibits—this touring exhibit was meant to build particular cultural currency.³² The propagandist influencing of the “hearts and minds” of the world against communism became once

again important after September 11th, 2001, albeit with a new target in mind. Newsweek published several inflammatory headlines following September 11th, including, “Why They Hate Us: The Roots of Islamic Rage And What We Can Do About It” on September 28th, 2001.³³ The cover featured a younger, presumably Muslim, child holding an automatic rifle in his hand. Touring productions, alongside news publications and broadcasts, became the unequivocal vehicle to remind Americans and the world of the devastation inflicted by the Muslim *other*.³⁴ Griffin’s meta-analysis of pictorial representations following September 11th showed “approximately two-thirds of the 894 pictures published in *Newsweek* from the 24 September 2001 issue through the 28 January 2002 issue fall into just four general categories of content.”³⁵ The largest of this category showed the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and its aftermath, followed by militaristic propaganda.

Ideological hegemonies

While officials were quick to distance the September 11th attacks from Islam and Muslim-Americans, the ensuing “War on Terror” and government-fed religious rhetoric led to an increase in hate crimes in North America. American Justice Department statistics show that following September 11th, 2001, hate crimes against Muslim Americans and visible minorities who appeared Muslim spiked. From less than 100 reported hate crimes in 2000, the numbers grew to 500 in 2001.³⁶ While the number of hate crimes plateaued after 2002, the numbers have never returned to pre-2001 levels: “In the first six years after 9/11, the Department investigated more than 800 incidents involving violence, threats, vandalism, and arson against persons perceived to be Muslim or Sikh, or of Arab, Middle Eastern, or South Asian origin.”³⁷ Harold Garfinkel wrote that, “Moral indignation serves to effect the ritual destruction of the person denounced. Unlike shame, which does not bind persons together, moral indignation may reinforce group solidarity.”³⁸ In other words, pictorial representation worked as a mediator and knowledge producer between the participants in the *clash of civilizations* to enforce American nativism at the expense of the perceived *other*. Talal Asad writes that “the authoritative status of representations and discourses is dependent on the appropriate production of other representations and discourses; the two are intrinsically and not just temporally connected.”³⁹ When the wars are over, the photojournalists move on; but the constructed epistemological *reality* of American heroism and Muslim barbarism remains in the collective unconscious.

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Kosovo, American Intervention & Positive Imagery

Contemporary photography of conflict zones serves several purposes. Importantly, the images broadcast in newspapers, magazine, traveling exhibits and 24-hour news cycles acts as “stand ins for complex narratives.”⁴⁰ The image of irrational violence is easily swallowed and, as Sontag notes, then quickly absorbed into the viewer’s understanding of how the world operates and judged.⁴¹ Images of the Middle East in American post September 11th discourse can be divided into the categories of American exceptionalism and Muslim barbarism.⁴² Each category reinforces the *other* so that Muslim barbarism calls for American hegemonic imperialism, which then reinforces the distinctions between both worlds. Michael Griffin notes that analyses of photo coverage during American interventions in the Middle East conformed to narratives of a powerful American military industrial complex and compassionate humanitarianism. Griffin notes that, “this discourse suggests an American myth of providential supremacy.”⁴³ More than technological supremacy, images of military humanitarianism were juxtaposed with others depicting brutality inflicted by Arabs on other Arabs. Images that highlighted American humanitarianism were also more likely to be published by Western media, especially in times of political turmoil, such as during the Vietnam War and the “War on Terror.”⁴⁴

Orientalist imagery often idealized life in the Middle East with “common” depictions of its opium-induced tranquility along with brutality and savagery that justified intervention, governance and moral assistance. Yet unlike pictorial depictions following September 11th, the first Gulf war in the early 1990s and NATO bombings in Kosovo in the late 1990s highlighted the radical sameness of Americans and the *other*. Heteronormative photographs of the Muslim *other* flattened differences in an attempt to propel the American moral project abroad. The *Time* magazine cover from April 12th, 1999, features a woman with white skin and a young child with the title “Are Ground Troops The Answer?” This cover is a strong example of a flattening effect.⁴⁵ Wendy Kozol writes that, “This manipulation of racial categories in the American media, in turn, supported the U.S. government’s militaristic foreign policies designed to aggressively maintain economic and political global dominance.”⁴⁶ In Kozol’s analysis of news coverage during the Kosovo conflict, in which Serbian and Yugoslavian military and government forces attempted to cleanse Albanian Muslims, she noted several recurring themes. Her analysis showed that pictorial representations reframed the ethnic identities of the Albanian Muslims into easily digestible figures for those in the West, which was effective because those depicted looked like any other European or Westerner.

In the April 12th *Time* magazine cover we see a mother and child running in a line of refugees. This image presents an aesthetically white, thus safe, Muslim *other*. It likewise plays on the cultural myth of the male necessity to protect the subaltern. Wendy Kozol argues that:

The photograph thus narrows the perspective on war to a racialized gender ideal of maternal suffering familiar to U.S. audiences. The headline on *Time's* April 12th cover, 'Are Ground Troops the Answer?' assumes that the question is how, not whether, to rescue this 'white' woman, the nursing baby, and, by extension, the other innocent victims of this war.⁴⁷

Women and children, as in the *Time* image described above, have often been used to achieve hegemonic goals, even under the guise of humanitarianism. It is a reaffirmation of the colonialist project in that it propels the myth that *others* are unfit to govern themselves and are in need of Western intervention.

In Ron Haviv's iconic photograph from the Kosovo war we see a man kneeling on the ground with a gun near his head, his expression one of terror.⁴⁸ In this image Christian soldiers are degrading the Muslim man, and, as noted by Martin Lukk, so are the witnesses.⁴⁹ The witnesses in this situation are both the photographer and the viewer. In this image captured of a man, presumably before his death, we see what it means to put "oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and, therefore, feels like power."⁵⁰ The photographer Ron Haviv was hardly a passive witness, as he had asked the soldiers to pose while he shot the scene.

Quoting Lukk:

As someone being denounced, the man held up his hands, terrified. Haviv was not a passive bystander; he was a participant. He was a witness to this degradation ceremony, and he sought out his role. Haviv is admittedly powerless but is more powerful than the man whose photograph he is taking. The man imagined that if he were able to pose for Haviv, his life might be saved. Haviv, in the man's imagination, offers him life.⁵¹

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As will be discussed in the final analysis, this image calls to mind a web of relations for the viewer that further participates in the degradation ceremony and reaffirms our role in his degradation. Photojournalism during the Kosovo war aimed to transform the *other* into a digestible and relatable whole. Yet instead of reaffirming our humanity, these images reinforced cultural distinctions, participating in a degradation ceremony by lowering the autonomous identity of the *other*.⁵² The line of refugees, the kneeling man, the bombed-out ruins of former cities moved Americans to action by paradoxically flattening difference and presenting the *other* as wholly different from Western way of life, religion, and sense of security.

Final Analysis

Roland Barthes in his work *Camera Lucida* writes that the photograph can become “subversive not when it frightens, repels, or even stigmatizes, but when it is *pensive*, when it thinks.”⁵³ Art historian David Morgan argues that images and icons inevitably bring the viewer into what he calls a *web of relations*.⁵⁴ These webs are the images, preconceived beliefs and cultural artifacts that inform the way we view, and in turn construct what is being viewed. What is retained by the viewer is the photograph (de)contextualized by dominant historical and cultural narratives. Though privileged as empirical evidence, the photographic image is an empty vessel ready to receive meaning imposed by the photographer and viewer. As Asad writes, responding to a perceived a priori status of symbols, “it was not the mind that moved spontaneously to truth, but power that created the conditions for experiencing that truth.”⁵⁵ Birgit Meyer points out that what is in play in photography is “the capacity of a picture to invoke for its beholders a sense of likeness to what it represents.”⁵⁶ Photography is a medium that “renders present a mental image or figure in the imagination.”⁵⁷ Images participate in but also become reflections of cultural myths; they participate in the meaning-making project and political landscape which has and continues to other those photographed. Art production, the degraded other with a gun pointed to his head, gun-wielding children and cultural markers such as the hijab, reinforce the dichotomy of us vs. them, West vs. East. Such images, represented as authentic reality, can both prompt moral action or desensitize the viewer to the point of apathy. In either case, the result has been a continuation of the colonialist mission and the disempowerment of Muslim communities at home and abroad.

The narrative of Muslim barbarism has a lineage extending to the first Muslim conquests. In modernity, a barrage of visual media have propelled that narrative, which continues in a new guise to police boundaries between

other and us, or what Jacques Ranciere calls a “partition of the sensible.”⁵⁸ This policing of boundaries goes beyond television and newspaper coverage into the cultural fabric of the West. After September 11th, news media were filled with images of the atrocities committed by the regime of Saddam Hussein as well as the Taliban. Yet these images were often re-contextualized, with the goal of convincing Americans that intervention was in everyone’s best interest. Such images, including those appearing on the covers of the tremendously influential news magazines *Newsweek* and *Time*, pushed the narrative that the Middle East is comprised of a monolithic whole that ‘hates us.’

Images disseminated to the public after September 11th manufactured tension between American Muslims, based on narratives of trauma constructed around the September 11th attacks. Following the attacks, news organizations frequently used images to represent “geopolitical arenas and societies that could be categorized in politics or the media as anti-US or anti- Western.”⁵⁹ These images reaffirmed Oriental stereotypes, degrading the status of Muslim Americans and Muslims abroad. Images reflect and reinforce cultural differences used by the powerful, to “facilitate and sustain the spread of a particular ideology, a potent strategy is the construction of myths about ‘the other’—understood in a narrower sense as those who are perceived to be outside the normalized social cosmos”⁶⁰ It was not that the news media published images; it was the way in which they went about it. Photographs often utilized the gendered predispositions of Americans towards women and children, as seen on *Newsweek* covers. As a publication focusing on photojournalism, *Newsweek* was in a position of power as a producer of knowledge, given the predisposition of presenting visual representations as epistemological Truth. Images were put into relation with the world in the same way that pictorial representations did during colonialist missions. Visual media stoked Western fears of the *other* while producing a moral effect that sought dominance over those who were perceived to not be able to govern themselves.

Photographs position the viewer within a mode of power which, properly defined, can degrade what/who has been captured. As with the war in Kosovo:

The world watched war crime after war crime through the news media. The world played the role of witness. Not just Haviv [the photographer], but the world, became a sustaining component of the system that enabled

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ethnic cleansing. War criminals played the role of the denouncer. Victims were the denounced. The world was the witness.⁶¹

Photojournalism in Kosovo constructed a narrative that was very different from what would be sold to the public after September 11th. Yet both examples have a lineage of problematic representation. Photography need not show only barbarism and blood to degrade a population, religion or culture. Instead it can play on gendered cultural myths and present the *other* as an actor in a scenario representing a simulacrum of Western ideals. In either case, it is a dominant and hegemonic power imposing itself on a perceived lower *other*.

Conclusion

The discourse on Islamic violence does not exist in a vacuum, nor does it exist solely due to the rise of Salafist Islam or Western interventions in the Middle East. Narratives are often informed by visual depictions authorized by image producers and viewers. With regards to the legacy of visual representations on today's political landscape, Cameron Riopelle writes:

Contemporary globalized capitalist ideology carries the imprint of historical trajectories foregrounded by discourses of modernity, European civilization, the Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution, simultaneously underwritten by latent social realities of slavery and colonialism.⁶²

Visual images were essential in cultivating and maintaining Europe's Orientalist vision of the Middle East, and this function is now richly fulfilled by photographs and other in contemporary visual media. News media are disseminators of "authentic" visual representations and can produce new forms of knowledge, degrade the *other* and reify dominant cultural myths.

This paper has argued for the power of images to move people at conscious and unconscious levels. Images of war and brutality, as well as images of cultural differentiation, are sensational forms which produce particular effects in the viewer. Photographs are more than empty vessels; rather, like other media, they "shape the figuration of the images they convey and address beholders in a specific manner that triggers collective responses and tunes perception and sensation."⁶³ In other words, photographs have the power to change the way we view ourselves in relation to the *other*. In this way the viewer becomes a participant in the violence. Images move

from the photographer to the individual viewer, who then projects what was seen back into the collective through concepts and representations, beginning the cycle again. Orientalism is still with us, even if, instead of presenting painted images of opium dens in Morocco as evidence of the supposed fatalism of Islam, we now juxtapose photographs of heroic soldiers with irrational violence. Visual culture continues to serve ideologies of hegemony.

Endnotes

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6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
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9. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 42.
10. Ibid, 41.
11. See Said's analysis of Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden"; in *Orientalism* 45, 224, and 226-229.
12. These pictorial representations were numerous. They included postcards, letters, lithographs, stretched canvas, etc. They tended to display either the *Arab* in his natural environment, or the Westernization being accomplished by missionaries (e.g. hospitals, schools, photographs of people wearing western clothing).
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31. Firefighter covered with ash after World Trade Center collapsed in terrorist attack. <http://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/firefighter-covered-with-ash-after-world-trade-center-news-photo/97269953#firefighter-covered-with-ash-after-world-trade-center-collapsed-in-picture-id97269953>
32. Commissioned by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, this 27-photograph exhibit traveled to 135 cities in 64 countries in 2002. The photographs were taken by Joel Meyerowitz. See also Kennedy, "Seeing and Believing," 315.
33. Kennedy, "Seeing and Believing," 316.
34. Cover of *Newsweek*, September 28th, 2001. <http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2012/09/newsweek-muslim-rage-redux-135752>
35. Kennedy, "Seeing and Believing," 318.
36. Michael Griffin, "Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan and Iraq." In *Photographic motifs as news frames Journalism* 5 (2004): 391.
37. Eric Holder and Thomas E. Perez, *Confronting Discrimination in the Post-9/11 Era: Challenges and Opportunities Ten Years Later. A Report on the Civil Rights Division's Post-9/11 Civil Rights Summit Hosted by George Washington University Law School, October 19, 2011*, (Report produced by the Department of Justice, United States of America April 2012), 4.
38. Ibid, 8.
39. Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," 421.
40. 39 Talal Asad, "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category," in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1993), 31.
41. Griffin, "Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism,'" 383.
42. Sontag, *On Photography*, 9.
43. Members of the Taliban in Pakistan prepare to publically whip a man. Agence France Press 2008. <http://www.gettyimages.ae/detail/news-photo/masked-member-of-the-tehreek-taliban-pakistan-whip-lashes-a-news-photo/83002425#masked-member-of-the-tehreetaliban-pakistan-whip-lashes-a-butcher-picture-id83002425>
44. Griffin, "Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism,'" 383.
45. Ibid, 395.
46. A Serbian Muslim Women walks in a line of refugees. Title of issue begging the question. <http://content.time.com/time/covers/asia/0,16641,19990412,00.html>
47. Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2014), 2.
48. Ibid.
49. A Muslim in Bijeljina, Bosnia begs for his life after capture by Arkan's Tigers in the spring of 1992. <http://switchtomanual.com/2015/05/street-shots-ep-19-the-visual-voice-ron-haviv/>

50. Martin Lukk and Keith Doubt, "Bearing Witness and the Limits of War Photojournalism: Ron Haviv in Bijeljina," *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2015): 632.
51. Sontag, *On Photography*, 2.
52. Lukk and Doubt, "Bearing Witness," 633.
53. Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," 423.
54. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, translated by Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 38.
55. David Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2010), 57.
56. Asad, "The Construction of Religion," 35.
57. Brigit Meyer, *Sensational Movies: Video, Vision, and Christianity in Ghana*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 94.
58. Ibid, 107.
59. Jacques Ranciere, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, edited and translated by Gabriel Rockhill, (London/New Delhi/New York/Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 36.
60. Ibid, 155.
61. Ibid, 154.
62. Lukk and Doubt, "Bearing Witness," 634.
63. Riopelle and Muniandy, "Drones, maps and crescents," 154.
64. Meyer, *Sensational Movies*, 18.

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