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Unnecessary Evil: An Examination of Abu Ghraib Torture Photographs as Postcolonial Resistance Rhetoric

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The University of Southern Mississippi

UNNECESSARY EVIL: AN EXAMINATION OF ABU GHRAIB TORTURE
PHOTOGRAPHS AS POSTCOLONIAL RESISTANCE RHETORIC

by

Patrick Gerhardt Richey

Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School
of The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2012

ABSTRACT

UNNECESSARY EVIL: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ABU GHRAIB TORTURE PHOTOGRAPHS AS POSTCOLONIAL RESISTANCE RHETORIC

By Patrick Gerhardt Richey

December 2012

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the rhetorical nature of visual artifacts in a postcolonial context. In order to examine the nature of visual artifacts as a form of resistance against static ideologies and prevailing power structures, the author uses both media and cultural artifacts created in response to photographs taken of abused prisoners at Iraq's Abu Ghraib Correctional Facility. The dissertation adds to scholarly knowledge of communication by addressing the intersections of iconographic visual communication and postcolonial resistance rhetoric. The dissertation provides a scholarly review of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, as well as of literature explicating visual rhetoric theories. The dissertation likewise proposes a research question and constructs a theoretical lens that challenges Hariman and Lucaites's (2002, 2003) concepts regarding iconography. The dissertation investigates concepts of postcolonialism and Islam in light of a static American ideology. Finally, the dissertation investigates how political cartoonists and artists hijacked Abu Ghraib images in order to resist American ideology.

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 2012

DEDICATION

Dedicated to Rebecca, Abigail, and Robert; the greatest gift of all: a family.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The road to completing this dissertation began in December 2002 during U.S. preparations for the invasion of Iraq. It is perhaps fitting that I finished the dissertation almost exactly a decade later. The year I spent on the ground in Iraq was a blur of heat, misery, joy, hope, life, and death that made little sense at the time and, to a certain extent, still does not. This dissertation is a byproduct of that conflict. It has helped me to answer some of the questions that still haunt me and the lives of those forever changed by what happened “over there,” including Robert Sweeney III who never came home.

The road was not a road I travelled alone. First and foremost, I would like to thank my wife, Becky, who for over ten years stood by my side when things were bleak. She was always there to lend a helping hand, whether it was proof reading my drafts or offering advice. I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Dr. Richard Conville, Dr. John Meyer, Dr. Steven Venette, and Dr. Wendy Atkins-Sayre for their insight, comments, guidance, and friendship. I would especially like to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Keith Erickson, who was willing to put up with my shenanigans, hair brained ideas, and work with the general disarray that constitutes a dissertation. Without his tutelage, mentorship, and patience, this dissertation may never have been completed. I also wish to thank Mary Jo McKay for all her words of encouragement.

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CHAPTER I

THE ABU GHRAIB PRISON SCANDAL

Introduction

Joseph Nicéphore Niépce created the first photograph (heliograph) in 1822 (Gernsheim, 1977). Since then, the world has been but a photograph away, with images often superseding the written and spoken word. Almost instantly, photographs became rhetorical. More than aesthetic representations, photographs tell a partial story. Thus, their meaning is not fixed. As the old cliché reminds us, *beauty is in the eye of the beholder*. Beauty, though, may enable some photographs to achieve an iconic status.

Sergeant Javal Davis, a soldier stationed at Abu Ghraib Prison noted, “you probably know this by now. Once you dig your hands into Abu Ghraib, you don’t come out the same. There’s a part of you that died or that is totally confused” (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008, p. 159). Sergeant Davis is one of seven soldiers convicted for his participation in abuses committed against insurgents and civilians at Abu Ghraib prison in 2004. After military judges convicted the soldiers involved, the abuses at Abu Ghraib ought to have become another footnote in history. Yet, the images of the soldiers’ abuses still resonate globally. The soldiers made a critical mistake, which not only led to their convictions but also insured that non-combatants recognized the event. They had photographed their deeds (for examples, see Figures 1-6).

What does this mean in a modern post-colonial world? How do citizens in a global community navigate the visually mediated post-colonial world? The purpose of this research is to investigate iconographic images as artifacts of resistance against static ideologies and power structures in the post-colonial world. This project will examine

how the scandal occurred and the international outcry during the fall of 2003 over the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib Prison, a penal institution located outside of Baghdad. The project will then discuss the implications of the photographs of abused prisoners taken at Abu Ghraib and current scholarly research. This project will then propose a new approach of hijacking iconographs as a form of post-colonial resistance by using images to interpret images. The term hijacking is given to examples where artists use, for their own purposes, the artistic creations of another person without his or her permission. The project will then examine the Abu Ghraib photographs within a post-colonial context by investigating political cartoons and low/high culture art. The project will end with a discussion of the findings as well as project limitations and avenues for future research. This project is important for three specific reasons.

First, this dissertation will assist the development of an understanding of a post-colonial-geopolitical climate. One key example is the United States. The United States is unique insofar as it has been both colonized and colonizer. In addition to seeking and achieving independence from Great Britain, the United States created the Monroe Doctrine to curb colonialism in the Western Hemisphere. Ironically, the nation simultaneously pursued Manifest Destiny by acquiring land through western expansion and semi-colonial territories including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, The Philippines, Alaska, and Guam.

The world typically has viewed the United States as the bearer of freedom (Merk, 1963). Now many countries view the United States as the current leader of global hegemony (O'Hara, 2009). In an era when discourse has moved to action, such as the September 11 terrorist attacks or George W. Bush's Global War on Terror, post-colonial

studies capture the interest of communication scholars. Orientalism scholar Samuel Huntington (1998), for example, paints the world in dichotomous terms of *us* versus *them*. However, other scholars, Homi Bhabha (1994) for example, see the world as fractured and complex and view global politics as the hybridization of cultures and societies. There is a need for communication scholars to understand how imagery functions as one possible relationship between discourse and action, not only in the United States, but globally as well.

Another issue that communication scholars need to resolve is the confusion over definitions of the post-colonial vernaculars. In order to better understand how post-colonial imagery functions, it is necessary to have definitional consensus. Scholars intermingle terms as *post-colonial*, *neocolonial*, and *subaltern*, often confusing or reinterpreting them. Subaltern, for example, has a specific meaning and does not represent all marginalized groups (Spivak, 2010). The project will review existing literature and will organize post-colonial terms to clarify arguments of post-colonial iconography.

The second reason this research is of value to a theory of post-colonial iconography is that there is a need for understanding the nature of post-colonial iconographs. Hariman and Lucaites (Hariman & Lucaites 2002, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; Lucaites, 1997; Lucaites & Hariman, 2001) establish five criteria of iconography. This research proposes to refine their fifth criterion of “[illustrating] the ways visual communication can underwrite polity by providing resources for thought and feeling necessary for constituting people as citizens and motivating identification with and participation in specific forms of collective life” (Hariman and Lucaites, 2002, p. 366).

Rather than contesting Hariman and Lucaites, this research will expand the concept of constituting people as citizens as natives or locals of colonized places. In other words, the researcher will develop a new concept of resisting the colonizers' or neo-colonizers' attempts to subdue or integrate locals in the colonial power structure rather than reinforcing colonizer ideology. The re-conceptualization of concepts constituting people as citizens is important in understanding why natives resist colonial and neocolonial domination and their static ideologies.

Third, this research is of value to a theory of post-colonial iconography inasmuch as it can aid in understanding how iconography transcends lexical barriers to forms of resistance by hijacking iconographs. There is a need to understand how social movements and resistance movements navigate lexical barriers and visual media. One example that Spivak (2010) identifies is that Western lexicon dominates and is colonial in nature. A scholar must adhere to Western rules of scholarship in order for *experts* to consider her or his work valid. The accepted academic norms reject local voices and scholarship created of a non-Western lexicon because colonial scholars deem native work inferior or primitive. The visual can circumvent lexical limits and shortcomings because a viewer does not necessarily require language to understand the power of an image of a protester standing before a tank in Tiananmen Square. Thus, the resistor could *hijack* the iconic photo of Tiananmen Square and use it as resistance against Chinese oppression. The resistor does not necessarily have to have a working knowledge of Mandarin Chinese to be effective, only the knowledge to transform the icon visually.

Abu Ghraib Historical Overview

Geographically, Abu Ghraib is a suburb of Bagdad. Yet Abu Ghraib, a seemingly quiet area that one might think of as *suburbia*, has a sinister past that began long before United States' soldiers arrived. The place was galvanized in the minds of many throughout the world by actions taken by American soldiers there in 2003 and 2004. This Chapter begins with a historical overview of what happened at Abu Ghraib prison and the key characters. Then the Chapter examines the six most prevalent photographs of the hundreds released. The Chapter follows with a review of written commentary and scholarship on the Abu Ghraib scandal. Finally, the Chapter reviews the dissertations and theses that investigate the event.

The war in Iraq was not the United States' first visit to the Persian Gulf Region under a Bush Administration. George H. W. Bush was president during the 1990 Gulf War. When the United States visited Iraq again, the junior President Bush's public logic was that Saddam Hussein was training Al Qaeda members in training camps in Iraq and continuing to develop weapons of mass destruction, a violation of post-Gulf War treaties. President Bush's military plan was a Blitzkrieg style attack that had worked well for his father. On May 1, 2003, President Bush declared that major combat operations in a swift military campaign had ended (Keegan, 2004; Murray & Scales, 2003).

Shortly after official hostilities ended, an insurgency began. Insurgents chose warfare methods that are incongruous to typical combat, such as hit and run tactics rather than prolonged engagement; they obeyed no rules of warfare and were usually indistinguishable from the population. With the insurgency growing, there was a need for United States troops to find or create a facility to house suspects they were capturing

or rounding up in raids. United States officials decided it would be more cost effective and quicker to reestablish some of Saddam's prisons, most notably the one at Abu Ghraib. Unbeknownst (or unimportant) to United States officials was that Abu Ghraib was the most notorious prison in Iraq under Saddam. Iraqis who were sent there were seldom heard from again (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). With a preexisting negative overtone, General Janis Karpinski sent the 372nd Military Police (MP) Company to Abu Ghraib in October 2003 to a rundown prison that looters had stripped of almost everything (Karpinski, 2005). While not the only unit there, the MPs were in charge of securing and running the facility. However, the military did not train these MPs to deal with prisoners. The 205th Military Intelligence (MI) Brigade operated the interrogation facility at Abu Ghraib and central command (CENTCOM) assigned the 372nd MP Company to help the 205th MI with interrogations (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008).

Two events occurred that significantly increased the prison population at Abu Ghraib. The first was extreme pressure from top United States officials to gather intelligence on the rapidly growing insurgency. The second major event was the capture of Saddam Hussein. United States troops from the 4th Infantry Division and Special Forces not only captured Saddam, but also captured a large quantity of physical evidence such as lists of supporters. Commanders sent many of the captured Iraqis from the lists to Abu Ghraib for interrogation. This meant long hours for the under-trained and over-stressed soldiers (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008; McKelvey, 2007).

Another issue to address when building a picture of Abu Ghraib regards interrogations. The 372nd was understaffed and undertrained, and provided minimal guidance from higher authorities. Pressure from commanders and political leaders to

capture more insurgents also affected the prison, specifically the 205th MI. They were required to gather intelligence from detainees. Memoranda from as high up as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld outlined acceptable interrogation practices (Greenberg & Dratel, 2005). This included long periods of standing, uncomfortable physical positions, and long periods of sleep deprivation. The 205th was overwhelmed and relegated some of the interrogation techniques to the 372nd MPs. The 205th did not strictly regulate the 372nd's actions and in many ways participated in or facilitated them. Other government agencies (OGAs), mainly the Central Intelligence Agency, worked clandestinely in the prison and would use the 372nd soldiers for interrogations (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008; James, 2008; Karpinski, 2005).

In late 2003, this set of circumstances and events provoked seven soldiers from the 372nd attached to the Tier I night shift to commit the crimes, violating the Geneva Convention's protocol of prisoners of war (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). Not only did the soldiers violate the Geneva Convention, but also they recorded the crimes with digital cameras.

A soldier leaked the photographs to the press in late April 2004. The photographs became primetime news after the airing of a *60 Minutes II* special on April 28 (Leung, 2004) and Seymour Hersh's (2004a) expose in the *New Yorker* online version on April 30.¹ The United States government had classified the material, and much debate persists about how much the White House knew about the actual photographs. Vice President Dick Cheney explained in a congressional inquiry to the Senate Armed Forces Committee on May 6, 2004,

¹ These dates represent when the Abu Ghraib photographs were released. The military released a statement about abused prisoners on January 16, 2004 that gained little media attention (Getler, 2004).

We're functioning in a [Verbal-stumble] with peacetime restraints, with legal requirements in a wartime situation, in the information age, where people are running around with digital cameras and taking these unbelievable photographs and then passing them off, against the law, to the media, to our surprise, when they had not even arrived in the Pentagon. (Iraq prisoner abuse, 2004, p. 4)

The White House was stunned and angry by the release of the photos to the public, though there was knowledge of abuses since early 2004 (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). President Bush (2010) was angered more about the method of release than the actual photos: "I also felt blindsided . . . I was not happy with the way the situation had been handled" (p. 89). Once released, the photos ignited a media firestorm. *The Los Angeles Times* ran front-page stories about Abu Ghraib for 26 of 28 days in May 2004 (Ricchiardi & Cirillo, 2004). Abu Ghraib became a household name and a symbol of the war in Iraq. Hariman and Lucaites (2007b) predicted the photograph of Lynndie England pulling a detainee by a leash would become a major iconic photograph of the Iraq war.

Private First Class Lynndie England, Specialist Sabrina Harman, Specialist Jeremy Sivits, Specialist Megan Ambuhl (Graner), Corporal Charles Graner, Jr., Sergeant Javal Davis, and Staff Sergeant Ivan Frederick II were charged and convicted of crimes that occurred at Abu Ghraib Prison. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld glossed over the scandal exclaiming a few bad apples committed the acts (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008; Karpinski, 2005; McKelvey, 2007).

The abuses committed by soldiers at Abu Ghraib significantly undercut support for the war. In March 2003, 69% of Americans believed the war in Iraq was the right thing to do. By July 2004, the first survey conducted after the Abu Ghraib scandal

showed that American public support had eroded to 45%. Forty-seven percent of Americans believed the United States should have stayed out of Iraq, up from 25% in March 2003 (Roberts, 2005). Mueller (2005) explains that the lowest point for public opinion in Iraq was after the Abu Ghraib scandal. He compares this to the lowest point in the Vietnam War following the Tet Offensive and the Korean War low following the entrance of China into the war. Antiwar movements jumped on the lull in support and began to use the photographs from Abu Ghraib as a symbol of what was wrong with the war in Iraq. The photographs became evidence for the antiwar movement (IVAW, 2009; Walsh, 2009). Antiwar sources propose discourse that America has gone astray in foreign policy. The photographs became a visual tool or evidence that the war in Iraq is morally wrong. Antiwar proponents used the photographs as a convergence point even though they are mediated artifacts (Anden-Papadopoulos, 2008).

The Photographs

This dissertation examines six of the thousands of photographs taken by soldiers at Abu Ghraib Prison. Each photograph is unique in its own right, yet all six photographs show similarities. While the soldiers at Abu Ghraib took thousands of photographs and the military has released hundreds, only a handful captivates audiences enough to become iconic; they are frequently reproduced. Some of the photographs are repetitious because soldiers took many photographs of each scene (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). Media outlets cropped or censored the photographs. When possible, the author notes issues of censorship, cropping, and duplication.

The first photograph (see Figure 1) is of an Iraqi prisoner standing on a box with his arms out in a crucifixion pose, which Gourevitch and Morris (2008) state is the “most

recognized and most widely published [photograph] of the war” (p. 177). Eisenman (2007) explains that both the crucifixion pose and American ideology make this photograph stand out. Dan Rather aired the photograph during the original *60 Minutes II* episode that broke the scandal in 2004 (Leung, 2004). Multiple newspapers throughout the world published the first photograph on their front pages (Bumiller & Schmitt, 2004).

A prisoner who is believed² to be Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh, nicknamed by the guards Gilligan, stands on a brown MRE (meal ready to eat) box. Saad is wearing a plain military poncho or military blanket and has a green military sandbag as a hood that covers his head. The victim has wires attached to both hands that are looped as well around his neck. A close examination of the photograph shows the wires disappearing behind Saad. Saad claims that during the event the soldiers also hooked the wire to his penis (Higham & Stevens, 2004). When one views the photo analytically it appears as if Saad is naked, and most likely male given the body’s stance and build.

The backdrop to the photograph is a dark and dilapidated prison. There are electrical pipes behind Saad, but nothing else. The floor is bare except for Saad’s MRE box. The walls are bare except for the pipes and Saad’s shadow. The ascetic setting gives the photograph an eerie surreal feeling. The audience has nothing to look at but Saad, so a viewer gazes upon him rather than other images.

² Wikipedia has the photo as captioned as Satar Jabar but in the text refers to him as Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh (Abu Ghraib, n.d.). Morris (2007) clarifies the situation and explains he believes the man is Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh because of interviews he had with the perpetrators and government files he examined.



Figure 1. Crucifixion

Saad's stance is similar to Christ's crucifixion in Christian teachings except Saad has on a poncho and a sandbag over his head. Investigators later revealed Saad's name, but in the photograph he was an anonymous *anyone*. The bag makes him faceless and, thus unknown. The bag also conjures an impression the Ku Klux Klan, which adds a twist of irony to an otherwise incongruous scene. The photo also lets the audience's mind wonder while engaged in the gaze. One wonders if someone is electrocuting him.

They might wonder what looks of horror are on his face. How much pain is he in? How humiliated is Saad? Does one feel confusion, injustice, rage, shock, and/or humility as a mediated spectator? There is no correct answer to these questions, only what the mind can conceive during the gaze. The common denominator is mystery.

The second photograph (see Figure 2) is of Lynndie England dragging a naked prisoner on a leash. Hariman and Lucaites (2007a) consider this photograph as the most iconic in the grouping. The photograph looks simple, but it is complex. England is a short and slender female soldier with short hair, which the viewer can see in comparison to the prisoner. She is wearing desert combat pants and boots. England is not wearing her military regulation blouse that has identification patches. She is staring unemotionally at the prisoner. In her left hand is a makeshift leash, which slopes towards the naked prisoner. The prisoner, nicknamed Gus (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008), lies on his right side. He is nude except for an identification wristband. In several versions of the photograph, Gus's genitals are visible. There is anguish on his face. Unlike the crucifixion photograph, it is obvious that Gus is humiliated and in pain. The humiliation may arise because of the Islamic taboos against nudity, female dominations, and association with dogs.³ In addition, in several versions of this photograph, one can see Megan Ambul casually leaning against the wall with her hands in her pockets to England's left.

³ In many Islamic societies, Muslims view dogs negatively. Muslims may not allow dogs in the home because they are considered unclean (Fadl, 2004).



Figure 2. Leash

Another aspect of the photograph that adds to a complex meaning is the setting. England and Gus are in the forefront. On either side, the photo narrows back with distance. Each side has a series of barred doors flung open. From the doors hang sheets of some sort in various stages of disarray. There are charts on the walls but nothing else. What seems out of place is the debris on the floor. The debris adds to a scene of what one could assume as chaos. It is not a scene of a clean, orderly, and sterile prison that one might expect in the United States. One wonders if the scene occurred after a riot or whether it represents unsanitary living conditions or simple neglect by the soldiers.⁴

⁴ What is officially known is this photograph was taken in late October at the height of the scandal when there was an large influx of prisoners and OGA personal (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008)

The third photograph (see Figure 3) of importance aired with the initial *60 Minutes II* (Leung, 2004) episode is of Lynndie England and six nude male prisoners. England is once again humiliating naked prisoners. England is in her desert combat pants and boots, but without a regulation blouse. She is of much smaller stature than the prisoners and is bending slightly forward with her left leg in front. England is smiling with a lit cigarette in her mouth. Her right hand has a thumbs up, which is iconic of many Abu Ghraib photographs. England's left hand is pointing, simulating a gun, at the penis of one prisoner. England is obviously happy and mocking the prisoners in the photograph. This illuminates that the guards are in total control. The prisoners stand there with no restraints (handcuffs, ropes, ties). The guards are so powerful and dominating that they do not need flex cuffs. The tone of Lynndie England's posture is one of domination and subjugation.

There are five naked male prisoners standing with their backs to the wall and one prisoner with his back to England undressing. The five males against the wall have green military sandbags on their heads and their heads bent over. Most copies of this photograph have the genitals censored out. In the uncensored photographs, the men are holding their penises in simulated masturbation. The most obvious is the prisoner that England is pointing at with the simulated finger gun.

The setting is bland with a blank floor and the black wall the prisoners are standing against. The only exception is the upper left hand corner of the photograph behind England where the last prisoner is undressing.



Figure 3. England Thumbs Up

Above him and fading off the edges of the photograph against the wall lie the piles of clothing. While nothing explicitly labels them as the clothing of the prisoners, it is not a far stretch to assume so. It is as if the prisoners' dignity is so close yet still so very far away.

The fourth photograph (see Figure 4) has many variants circulating. However, this specific photograph is the most prevalent because it contains both Lynndie England and Charles Graner behind a stack of naked Iraqi prisoners. This photograph aired in the original *60 Minutes II* (Leung, 2004) episode, and media sources often use the photograph to illustrate the humor the soldiers facially expressed (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008; Higham & Stevens, 2004).



Figure 4. Pyramid

Graner and England stand next to one another behind the pile of prisoners. Graner has his right arm around England and England has her left arm around Graner. Both are giving the iconic thumbs up pose while smiling for the camera. England and Graner wear desert combat pants and brown military undershirts. The two soldiers are missing their military blouses. The blouses are important because they have an American Flag patch and a nametag. Without these, the soldiers are anonymous victimizers. It is also a violation of

the Geneva Convention to serve out of uniform in this capacity. Graner is wearing standard issue military glasses. He is also wearing a traditional black knitted wool nightcap. Even though the black cap is part of the physical fitness uniform, it is often associated with special operations⁵ soldiers who favor wearing it during night operations. Graner and England's sterile⁶ appearance with additions to imitate special operations soldiers could be a psychological technique to instill fear in the prisoners.

The pile of seven naked men resembles a pyramid. One prisoner, Al-Zayyadi, reported to investigators that "they brought my friends, Haider, Ahmen, Nouri, Ahzem, Hashiem, Mustafa, and I, and they put us two on bottom, two on top of them, and two on top of those and one top . . . they took pictures and we were naked" (Higham & Stevens, 2004). Various photographs from the incident show the pyramid more defined in sequence until it almost collapsed from the weight of the men. There is also a set of photos from the front showing the men with green military sandbags over their heads. In this specific photograph, a viewer must examine the photo closely to see the sandbags. In the censored photograph, there is little detail since censors fuzzed most of the pyramid out. The men are a hazy conglomeration of buttocks, backs, and feet in near collapse. The uncensored version is much more graphic because the viewer can clearly distinguish genitals and anuses.

The setting is more orderly than the dog leash photo. The soldiers took the photograph in the hallway of a cellblock. The lights appear to work, and the area is blank but clean. There is one piece of debris on the ground, an MRE box, and a couple of solid

⁵ Special operations soldiers include many non-typical soldiers such as Special Forces, green berets, delta force, Army Rangers, Civil Affairs, Psychological Operations, Navy SEALs, paramilitary branches of the CIA, FBI, and NSA, British SAS, as well as elite private contractors such as Blackwater.

⁶ Sterile is a military term that notates that there are no identifying marks, patches, or badges on a uniform.

doors open. Thus, most of the focus is on the happy couple and their pyramid trophy. The shock value of the photograph lies in the gaze. The gaze switches between the juxtaposition of the happy couple and the mass of nude flesh. Depending on the version, the intensity of the sadomasochism increases as less is left to one's imagination.

The fifth photograph (see Figure 5) is of a soldier with a dog and a prisoner. This photograph was not one of the original photographs aired on *60 Minutes II*. The public became aware of the photograph after the military released a larger batch of photographs. The soldier in the photograph is Army dog-handler Michael J. Smith. Unlike the previous photos, he is wearing a full uniform, including blouse. Smith is wearing a green camouflaged body armor vest. He is also wearing a tan wool nightcap and black leather gloves. Smith is looking intently at the prisoner. Smith straddles his black Belgian shepherd, Marco. In the scene, it almost looks like Smith is riding Marco as Smith tries to keep Marco off the prisoner. The leash is short and tight. Smith is holding the leash with both hands as the collar strains from Marco's lunge. Marco is in an aggressive lunging stance, bearing his white fangs nearly within striking range of the prisoner.

The prisoner, Ashraf Abdullah al-Juhayshi, is in the corner of the cell in an orange prison suit. He has a shaved head. Al-Juhayshi is sitting with his knees forward and to the ground with his hands behind his back. While there is no image of his hands, it is reasonable to assume they are flex cuffed behind him. The look on his face is absolute fear. During Smith's court martial, prosecutor Major Christopher Graveline commented to the panel of judges, "look at the fear in his eyes . . . this is not to gain compliance" (Associated Press, 2006).⁷

⁷ Michael J. Smith's defense strategy was to state the dogs were used within military regulations for gaining compliance of unruly inmates. Graveline challenged this defense. The judges convicted Smith and



Figure 5. Dog

The setting is simple. The whole act unfolds in a small room that looks like a crate because of the wood paneling. Smith, Marco, and al-Juhayshi dominate the photograph, and there is little else on which one might gaze. The photograph is about fear. One frame compares Muslims' dislike of dogs (Fadl, 2004) and the aggressive stance of the dog in comparison to al-Juhayshi, who is cowering in total fear. Soldiers

sentenced him to six months in Fort Leavenworth Military Prison (Associated Press, 2006). Judges also convicted Sergeant Santos A. Cardona. He was present during Smith's interrogation but does not appear in the photograph. He died in Afghanistan as a private contractor dog-handler when his vehicle hit an IED (improvised explosive device) (White, 2009).

incorporated the tactics by copying prisoner interrogations at Guantanamo Bay (White, 2005) with the sole purpose of gaining information by terrorizing the prisoner. The photo leaves the audience with questions that one cannot answer easily. Did Marco attack? Did al-Juhayshi survive the ordeal?⁸ Is this how soldiers should use man's best friend (from an American viewpoint)?

The sixth and final photograph (see Figure 6) this dissertation examines is macabre. The previous five dealt with living prisoners. This photograph is of Sabrina Harman leaning over the corpse of a man. This photograph is also the most legally complex because it is evidence of a homicide (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008).⁹ In the photograph, Harman is wearing desert combat pants and a brown undershirt, but she is missing the regulation blouse. She is wearing blue latex gloves with the iconic thumbs up pose. Harman is bearing her white teeth in a full smile. The rest of her face suggests that the smile is genuine.

The corpse is that of Manadel al-Jamadi (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). He is lying upright on a black tarp, which is an opened body bag. The viewer cannot see al-Jamadi's torso. Soldiers covered al-Jamadi's body with bags of ice that have Arabic script on them. Al-Jamadi's head is the most noticeable feature. His mouth is swollen and open. His nose is also swollen. There is tape and white gauze covering his right eye, swollen shut from the beating. There is also a red mark below the gauze that looks like a

⁸ In this case, al-Juhayshi did survive. The military never brought charges against him. He was released and "they told him to scram" (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008, p. 240).

⁹ While the exact details remain classified, investigators, scholars, and the soldiers there, generally agree upon what happened. Either the CIA or OGA operators (which were common) brought al-Jamadi to Abu Ghraib and roughed him up. They killed him during the brutal interrogation. The killers left the body with the MPs who did not know what to do with the body and left it in a shower cell packed in ice for a day. The MPs tried to make it look like a medical emergency to cover up what happened and went as far as dressing him and putting an IV in al-Jamadi's dead arm (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008).

cigarette burn or a bruised round cut. It is obvious that the murderers severely beat al-Jamadi before his death.



Figure 6. Harmon Thumbs Up

In this photograph, as well as the previous one, the setting is simplistic. Al-Jamadi's corpse and Harman dominate the blank wall and floor. The tone in this photo is that of joy as a conquering soldier leans over the demise of an enemy (or potential enemy). The image could represent Harman's delighted victory over the enemy. Al-Jamadi could be Harman's trophy. The scene carries a somber tone. Al-Jamadi's corpse is lying on a concrete floor in contrast to the dark black body bag. There is something covering his eye, which further dehumanizes the corpse. The juxtaposition of the happy

Harman to the surreal swollen dead al-Jamadi pulls the audiences' gaze. The gaze forces the viewer to contemplate a confusing mixture of emotions that ridicule the somberness of death.

All six photographs share some common themes that the author will address throughout this dissertation. A review of Abu Ghraib scholarship follows.

Abu Ghraib Articles

This dissertation divides the limited preexisting literature about the Abu Ghraib photographs into three groups: gender, media framing, and other. By doing so, it reveals scholarly omissions and lacunae.

The first group of essays focuses on gender issues. Anderson (2005) believes the photographs and ensuing media blitz focused on sexual and gender issues rather than the larger political and human rights problems of President Bush's administration. The media portrayed Bush as an "action/adventure hero" on the USS Lincoln aircraft carrier in a scene reminiscent of *Top Gun* (Anderson, 2005, p. 367). Anderson (2005) states, "the visual representations of sexual assaults against males merged with pornography's imagery of the *dominatrix*. Commercial media outlets actively retrieved this framing, as official military policy on torture was obscured" (p. 368). The media preferred to focus on what Rush Limbaugh said: "Looked like standard good old American pornography . . . just like anything you'd see Madonna or Brittany Spears do onstage" (Anderson, 2005, p. 368) while ignoring endemic abuses at places like Abu Ghraib, Bagram Airfield, Guantanamo Bay, and multiple secret sites throughout the former Soviet Republics and Eastern Europe.

Segal (2008) expands Anderson's (2005) work when she explores the Israeli feminist group New Profile. Segal briefly comments on Abu Ghraib and American women in the military. She believes that in order to understand images such as those taken at Abu Ghraib, viewers must look beyond a few bad female soldiers and focus on society's systems that perpetuate a double standard against women and military issues. What citizens and scholars ought to focus on is the problem of "fear of harassment, rape, and violence from the men that serve with them (women), with little, if any, protection provided by the Army itself" (Segal, 2008, p. 23). Segal explains that the real gender issue is not external but within the military itself, which society allows and even reinforces.

Bourke (2005) examines the role of women as sexual predators in the pornography-like photographs. She counters popular feminism theorists (Susan Brownmiller and Andrea Dworkin) by reversing the ideology that the male body is primarily primed to rape (p. 44). Bourke contends that England trumps male power and becomes the dominant figure.

Five essays examine the role gender performed in the Abu Ghraib photographs, specifically with Lynndie England. Howard and Prividera (2008) examine how the media framed Lynndie England to personify a male dominated patriarchal military. The media often displayed photographs of her because she was a petite female. This left viewers believing that she was frail and incapable of her duties as a soldier.

Gronnvoll (2007) also examines Specialist Lynndie England, but moves beyond the framing and investigates why females (England specifically) were held to gender standards and males were not. Gronnvoll argues that the media also focused on the

homosexual acts that the soldiers forced the prisoners to perform. She explains that the power structure used female soldiers objectified as tools to further ridicule the detainees' masculinity. This also had negative effects on female gender and stratified the male gender.

The second grouping of essays primarily deals with media framing of the Abu Ghraib photographs. Anden-Papadopoulos (2008) argues against the contemporary belief that news and visual rhetoric support dominant news frames and elite political discourse. Her essay argues that the audience plays a key rhetorical role in discourse. Anden-Papadopoulos contends that audiences have fractured the photographs' rhetorical meaning and used them to further antiwar sentiment. Griffin (2004) believes the contrary to be true. He investigates the Abu Ghraib photographs as created narratives by the government, arguing that tight media control since the Gulf War led to carefully crafted narratives about US military actions that stifle the individual's ability to gather information and forces reliance on a biased source. Smith and Dionisopoulos (2008) examine the Bush administration's framing through media outlets of the Abu Ghraib photographs as only an isolated event perpetrated by a small group of people. The *few bad apples* concept grows from this narrative and myth. While a frame break is evident from previous administration's rhetoric, the administration frames the Abu Ghraib photographs as isolated to control damage.

Abu Ghraib Theses and Dissertations

While there is limited published literature about the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, there are several published dissertations and theses. This dissertation divides the 28 dissertations and theses into four genres in order to better understand the existing

literature. The four genres are organizational communication, ethics, media effects, and rhetorical studies.

The first genre consists of eight works that focus on organizational factors related to Abu Ghraib. The first five consist of systems failures or systems that the military and government designed to fail at Abu Ghraib. Lankford (2008) and Hofacker (2010) examine how the military prison system allowed the scene necessary for ordinary soldiers to commit heinous acts. They use the work of Phillip Zimbardo and his famous Stanford Prison experiment. Zimbardo (2007) created a prison scenario experiment in the basement of a building at Stanford University in 1971. He took ordinary students and made half of them prisoners and half prison guards. Zimbardo acted as the warden in the experiment and condoned the behavior of the guards and prisoners. The Navy funded the project for two weeks, but Zimbardo shut it down after six days because the guards were becoming too sadistic. The prisoners also accepted their role and took the abuse even though they could leave at any time. Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment shows what could happen when authorities either give or ignore excessive power to untrained individuals. Zimbardo (2007) and his student Army Colonel (Ret.) Larry James (2008)¹⁰ wrote about the similarities between what transpired at Abu Ghraib and the Stanford Prison Experiments. Lankford and Hofacker further Zimbardo and James's work by examining specific institutional systems. One example is the lack of clear procedure in dealing with detainees when multiple parties are involved such as OGAs, the CIA, and military guards.

¹⁰ The Army sent James (2008) to Abu Ghraib after the scandal to work on correcting the abuses, specifically as the first psychologist to work with soldiers and prisoners.

Rothe (2006) examines structural factors and state policies that go beyond the individual abusers at Abu Ghraib. She uses the model of state and corporate crime. Simply put, Rothe explores how states or countries and corporations create an organizational culture that ignores, if not outright fosters, criminal activity. She explains that the Bush administration created a climate where civil rights was unimportant in the pursuit of possible terrorists. She states, “the stage for torture was being set not only for detainees at Guantanamo and Afghanistan, but would also spillover to Abu Ghraib” (p. 97). Rothe reviews declassified legal documents and memos from President Bush’s administration and the Department of Defense under Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. She includes the infamous December 2, 2002 memo where Donald Rumsfeld, “made a specific remark in a notation on the memo that he stands for 8-10 hours a day so ‘why is standing limited to 4 hours?’” (Rothe, 2006, p. 102).

Bower (2007) approaches Abu Ghraib from organizational offending.¹¹ Simply stated, she researched the official literature from the investigation to discover how deviance and crime work within an organization. Bower concludes that investigators neglected the main question of why systematic torture was even an option. Bower (2007) notes that President Bush’s advisors prepared a report which argued for “techniques of interrogation [to] include the use of isolation, prolonged interrogation, forced grooming, prolonged standing, sleep deprivation, physical training, face or stomach slap, removal of clothing, or increased anxiety by use of aversion” (p. 41).

Shuler (2008) moves beyond the organizational flaws of President Bush’s administration and focuses on the secretive military contractors. His dissertation

¹¹ Organizational offending is an organization creating a culture of acceptable corporate abuses. (Bower, 2007).

examines contractors in the Global War on Terror. However, Shuler discusses Titan¹² and CACI International¹³ in detail, specifically their role in the prisoner abuses at Abu Ghraib. He explains that the Taguba Report found, “civilian contractors were not properly supervised at Abu Ghraib” (Shuler, 2008, p. 162). Shuler (2008) continues,

Stephen Stephanowicz, a CACI Arabic linguist, was accused of raping an Iraqi boy and physically abusing an Abu Ghraib prisoner. He was investigated along with two linguists from Titan who were also accused of abusing prisoners. In the ensuing military investigation, evidence was uncovered that indicated problems with management and training of the CACI employees. It was noticed that one-third of contractor staff at the prison [Abu Ghraib] had no formal military interrogation training. At the time of the incident, CACI contractors made up nearly half of all interrogators and analysts at the prison. (p. 168)

Shuler’s work investigated most military contractors and exposed the structural failure that ultimately led the Iraqi government to expel several contractors including Blackwater.¹⁴ Three years after Shuler’s work, President Obama removed all combat military personnel from Iraq because the Iraqi government would no longer provide immunity to American soldiers and contractors (Tapper & Kahn, 2011).

Allgood (2009) and Wallace (2008) approach the Abu Ghraib scandal from the stance of training failures, which allowed the seven soldiers to act cruelly against

¹² Titan is a US contractor hired by the Department of Defense to supply interpreters and linguists for Iraq (Shuler, 2008).

¹³ CACI (Consolidated Analysis Center, Incorporated) International is a US contractor hired by the Department of Defense to supply technological support in counter-insurgency. However, due to the military’s lack of translators and linguist, CACI supplied some translators and linguists including at Abu Ghraib (Shuler, 2008).

¹⁴ Blackwater is a US contractor hired by the Department of Defense to supply security for US diplomats in Iraq. Blackwater was involved in several shootings in which they killed several innocent civilians and possibly purposefully targeted those civilians (Shuler, 2008).

prisoners. Allgood uses an autobiographical approach. He was an MP at Abu Ghraib from 2005 to 2006.¹⁵ Using his own experiences and photographs Allgood concludes that the military still needs more training for MPs working in Iraqi prisons. Specifically, the soldiers need training in how to avoid torture. Wallace believes the true problem at Abu Ghraib was the lack of proper ethical training for soldiers. He interviewed multiple military personnel who worked at Abu Ghraib to understand ethical training levels and additional lessons learned for the interviewee's tours. Wallace suggests that the military should apply his findings to update ethical training for future soldiers.

Lin (2005) is the final author to discuss training issues. Lin, however, only uses Abu Ghraib as one example of many failures in modern society where abusers sexually assaulted males. He examines multiple case studies (including Abu Ghraib) through the lens of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and rape trauma syndrome (RTS). Lin concludes more training is necessary for counselors who treat victims of male sexual assault.

The second genre examines ethical implications of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal. Dissmore (2009)¹⁶ and Wallace (2008)¹⁷ studied the ethical training given to soldiers in Iraq. Their works conclude that the incidents were soldier based. Specifically, Dissmore and Wallace examine ethics violations leading to the crimes at Abu Ghraib. Sentilles's (2008) work examines the photographs from a theological position. She uses prominent visual scholars such as Roland Barthes, John Berger, and Susan Sontag to build a theological concept. Specifically, she uses the crucifixion pose in several of the popular Abu Ghraib photographs (see Figure 1) and correlates it with Christian dogma.

¹⁵ MP (military police). The seven soldiers convicted for the crimes at Abu Ghraib were also MPs.

¹⁶ Dissmore was a Chaplain who created an ethics course for deploying soldiers (Dissmore, 2009)

¹⁷ Wallace's (2008) work fits into both categories of ethical and organizational communication.

Stern (2009) approaches the Abu Ghraib photographs from a pedagogical and ethical paradigm. He combines pedagogy with the hauntingness of the images to create a genre termed hautilogical. Stern examines what the viewer does not see in the photographs. He believes this is an ethical reflection of society and that a pedagogical approach could help answer the power of the photographs. Finally, Mokhtari (2008) investigates the use of the ethical high ground that both Western and Middle Eastern contingencies use to promote their causes and how each fails to uphold their respective burdens. Abu Ghraib is but one of many examples Mokhtari (2008) uses to develop his thesis that each contingent uses the mantra of human rights. Each contingent proposes “human rights’ role as both an emancipator and hegemonic force following September 11th” (Mokhtari, 2008, p. iv).

The third genre of Abu Ghraib related dissertations and theses investigate media influences. First, Braziunaite (2011) uses the Abu Ghraib scandal as a case study comparison against British abuse scandals in Iraq. He shows that media in both countries gave heavy coverage to the Abu Ghraib scandal but only the British press covered British abuses. Braziunaite also found that both countries’ media tended to focus more on systems failures rather than individual responsibility for abuses.

Wilson’s (2009) thesis moves away from the well-researched topic of the Bush administration’s spin machine to contain the media crisis and focuses on the major media’s airing of the first set of photographs. She frames the news media groups as caught off guard. However, once the airing of the *60 Minutes II* special occurred, “the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuses dominated national headlines for approximately one month” (Wilson, 2009, p. 2). Wilson conducted a content analysis of *The New York Times*, *The*

Wall Street Journal, and *USA Today*. She concludes that, “there are numerous instances where newspapers and the types of articles drastically differ in their coverage of the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuses” (Wilson, 2009, p. 47).

Legge (2009) approaches the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse scandal differently from Braziunaite (2011) and Wilson (2009). Rather than focusing on a traditional lens for approaching media, Legge chose to examine the Abu Ghraib prison scandal and the Haditha Civilian Massacre¹⁸ through a Marxian lens. He does so by examining the scandals and the works of Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, and Gilles Deleuze. Legge concludes that the traditional propaganda model as espoused by Chomsky and Herman is outmoded and that he prefers the Marxian critique of Deleuze. He states that as media corporations grew and merged, they “consolidated control over every idea and product that is circulated within the mass forum” (Legge, 2009, p. 69).

The final and most relevant genre investigates the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib from a rhetorical stance. Nine separate works focus on unique rhetorical topics, whereas four cluster around theories of the body. The four works focusing on the body approach the Abu Ghraib prison scandal by exploring how society views and interprets the body as rhetoric. Wick (2006) examines the concept of conceptually splitting the body. Wick develops the split between civilized bodies and those that a story plot allows to be tortured from a distance. Simply, it is easier to read about torture in fiction than it is to read about it in non-fiction. While her work investigates mostly classic fiction works, such as Mary Shelly’s *Frankenstein*, she approaches the Abu Ghraib photographs as examples of how to visually torture bodies at a distance.

¹⁸ On November 20, 2005 Marines from Kilo Company, 3rd Battalion, 1st Marines allegedly killed 15 unarmed Iraqi civilians in retaliation for a roadside bomb which killed Lance Corporal Miguel Terrazas the day before (McGirk, 2006).

However, Gutierrez (2006) differs by using Foucault's bio-political lens to examine the Abu Ghraib photographs. Gutierrez specifically focuses on the body as a recurring theme in discourse of the Global War on Terror. He also discusses the broader implications of the hetero-white masculine body and violations of this societal theme with photographs of female torturers.

Caldwell (2007) investigates the Abu Ghraib scandal from a sociological viewpoint. He uses data gathered from his advisor and mentor, Stephan Mestrovic¹⁹ who was an expert witness for the defense of three of the *bad apples*. Caldwell uses a gender approach to explain how soldiers used the female body as a form of repression and torture. He also discusses the nature of the feminine body in war. Caldwell does so by focusing heavily on the court martial of Javal Davis, Sabrina Harman, and Lynndie England. He calls for answers to broader questions that the trial did not address such as heterosexuality, gender, and the uses of sex as a combat tool.

Quinlivan (2008) is the last rhetorical scholar to examine the Abu Ghraib photographs and the nature of the body. Most of her work focuses on feminist rhetoric and the visual in general, including Coco Fusco's *A Room of One's Own: Gender and Power in North America*.²⁰ By using Fusco's work, Quinlivan is able to address the corporeality of the female body that violates normative beliefs. She tackles the Cartesian

¹⁹ Mestrovic's (2007) work discusses his testimony as an expert witness at the trials of Javal Davis, Sabrina Harman, and Lynndie England. His work details the environment that allowed Abu Ghraib to happen including support for abuse from the chain of command, poor operating conditions, and unattended to combat stress which he testified to.

²⁰ Coco Fusco is a modern media artist who specializes in docu-drama and playwrights. She trained at a civilian camp for interrogators. While there, Fusco (2010) filmed the docu-drama *Operation Atropos* and from her experiences wrote the play *A Room of One's Own: Women and Power in the New America*. Lane (2005) explains that it is a play in which, "Fusco's persona is a female graduate of military intelligence school and seasoned interrogator who briefs the audience on the rationales for using sexual innuendo as a tactic for extracting information from Islamic Fundamentalists" (p. 1). Fusco (2010) created both works after the media released the Abu Ghraib photographs. She states, "I was struck by many things: one thing was the prominence of women in the photographs as victimizers" (Fusco, 2010, p. 82).

notion “that rendered women speechless bodies” (Quinlivan, 2008, p. iii) and shows that women do have a voice. However, the voice is conflicting with social norms. The Abu Ghraib photographs juxtapose the docile male body with the speaking domineering female body. While the military allows female body (often Lynndie England or Sabrina Harman) to speak as means to gain interrogation data, society recoils at the visual outcome.

Rather than addressing the remaining scholarship as genres, it is best to discuss the contributions of each approach. Nine works are critically examined in alphabetical order.

Brown (2005) builds from Habermas’s (1984, 1989) *Theory of Communicative Action*. He goes beyond Habermas’s original work, which tends to focus on texts to form rationality through argumentative communication. Instead, Brown adds to Habermas’s work by examining visual artifacts as a form of communicative action. Specifically, he uses the photographs from Abu Ghraib and the media outcry as data showing the visual texts’ ability to form rationality.

Crane-Seeber (2009) studies how social actors create rhetorical constructs such as soldier or combatant. Crane-Seeber does so by creating ethnographic audiovisual data of soldier interviews and after-action reviews. He concludes the work by analyzing a dialectical conversation between two colonels regarding the Abu Ghraib scandal.

Davis (2008) approaches the Abu Ghraib scandal from the point of view that the scandal failed to gain significant antiwar support among Americans. He shows that the media framed the incident as *a few bad apples*, thereby lessening the impact of the photographs. By doing so, Americans felt fewer obligations to see the photographs taken

at Abu Ghraib as indicative of their complicity as torturers. Durham-Smith (2010) takes a similar approach to Davis by investigating the *bad apples* explanation, specifically the Schlesinger Report (2004). She does so by first investigating the testimony from Sabrina Harman's court martial and the Taguba Report.²¹ Durham-Smith then turns her attention to the Schlesinger Report.

Goehring (2008) states “that the rhetorical force of a particular photograph or series of photos is an effect of a complex articulation between a number of discourses and institutions” (p. v). He discusses a *rhetorical democracy* where the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib tell multiple political narratives (Goehring, 2008, p. v). To do so, Goehring (2008)

identify[ies] these photographic topoi as: (1) ritualistic; (2) spectacular; (3) traumatic/atrocious; (4) pornographic; and (5) iconic. Each of these topoi articulated to existing moral frameworks in order to present the public with particular interpretations of the images that could later be used for political purposes. (pp. 109-110)

Each of these topoi changes the argument through the media artifact (the photographs remain constant).

Hristova (2010) places the visual within context of public memory and a neocolonial oriental American foreign policy. Americans, rather than blaming the Abu Ghraib incidents on global aspirations that began in the 1920s with racial anthropology of the other, preferred to blame it on *hillbillies*. The focus moved to the perpetrators in American culture and on terms such as “doing the Lynddie,” where one “gives a thumbs up gesture with one hand and a lock-and-load gesture with the other when faced with a

²¹ See Shuler's (2008) work, which simplifies the finding of the Taguba Report.

camera” (Hristova, 2010, p.103). These sadistic poses become humor in popular culture. It is humorous because hillbillies did this and not average Americans.

While Hristova (2010) focuses heavily on the Abu Ghraib photographs, Hunt (2007) uses them only as a case example in a larger study. He investigates psychological operations during the early years of the Vietnam War, specifically, Project Camelot, which focused on counter-insurgency. Hunt concludes that many of the discursive formations created from Project Camelot²² are still prevalent today as the Abu Ghraib scandal shows. He shows that it was of great importance for the Bush administration to show the perpetrators as ill and that military personnel could solve or cure the ailments.

Sheehan (2006) approaches the Abu Ghraib scandal from a mixed methodological approach to show that the preemptive nature of the Global War on Terror (GWT) was misguided. He studied data and found that terrorism increased after the start of GWT but hostage taking decreased. He found that after the Abu Ghraib scandal both terrorism and hostage taking significantly increased. From this data, Sheehan surmises that the rhetorical vision of the GWT’s preemptive strikes had a boomerang effect and, in fact, made the situation statistically much worse.

In the final work, Shepard (2007) focuses on three failures from the Bush administration and the apologia that President Bush delivered after each. He found similarities in the apologia of the Abu Ghraib scandal, the lack of weapons of mass destruction scandal, and the poor handling post-Hurricane Katrina. President Bush used a simulated atonement for each. The President tried to convince his audience (the American people) that he accepted responsibility even though he was shifting the

²² Project Camelot used medical tropes such as illness, cure, and symptom to explain insurgency problems in Vietnam in the early and mid-1960s (Hunt, 2007).

simulated blame at the same time. With regard to President Bush's apology about Abu Ghraib, Shepard (2007) explains,

In general, the President's apology did little, at least immediately, to gain the forgiveness of his American audience. Individuals in the media considered his apology incomplete, and public approval ratings indicated that Americans were increasingly disappointed with the scandal as well as with the President's leadership in Iraq. But to only examine immediate reactions offers an incomplete picture. Though Bush's atonement was met with skepticism, it ultimately succeeded in allowing him to escape accountability for the incident. (p. 46).

Thus in the case of the Abu Ghraib scandal, simulated atonement allowed him to evade full judgment for what happened in the prison. President Bush's other two apologies fell short of convincing the American people of his sincerity.

It may seem like there is a large amount of research on the Abu Ghraib scandal and that researchers have exhausted all avenues of research. However, there remains room for further examination of the photographs. More precisely, other rhetorical alternatives exist, in particular those which pertain to the rhetorical nature of photographic visual representations.

The remainder of this dissertation investigates one line of research still in need of examination: the intersection of hijacked or strategically repurposed icons and post-colonial rhetoric. Specifically, it will illustrate how resisters use the intersection to fight static American ideologies by way of political cartoons and art. The dissertation concludes with a synthesis of artifacts by investigating the nature of visual and iconic artifacts.

CHAPTER II

ABU GHRAIB PHOTOGRAPHS

MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE:

AN INTRODUCTION TO VISUAL RHETORIC AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

With a better understanding of what happened at Abu Ghraib, the dominant photographs, and what scholars have researched, this project will now examine the visual nature of the Abu Ghraib scandal. Without doubt, the Abu Ghraib scandal is visual. Simply, the *evidence* is the photographs themselves. From the most basic analytical level, the scandal is about what was seen, what should not have been seen, and what is now seen.

Review of Literature: Visualizing the Rhetorical Act

Visual imagery can go beyond simple representations by capturing a moment in time that creates an artifact of resistance. Osborn (1986) discusses five functions of visual depiction, the fourth of which is implementation. Osborn (1986) defines implementation as “time of action” (p. 92). Thus, similar to the word, the visual can cause people to move to action. The move to action is not a local phenomenon but a global one. Frantz Fanon’s (1965) work, for example, is an example of visual imagery used as resistance. During Algeria’s war for independence, Fanon manipulated the symbolic image of the *hijab* or *burqa* to physically and cognitively resist the colonial French. Additional investigation would be helpful in comprehending how visual images navigate or surpass lexical meanings of understanding or motivation.

This dissertation will address the aforementioned issues by creating a theory of post-colonial iconic imagery by investigating the Abu Ghraib photographs. The dissertation will first review existing literature on visual rhetoric.

We are creatures capable of being aroused by visual images. We thrive on spectacle. Debord (1995) comments that spectacle is a “social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (p. 4). We simply like to see our world. Life is like a car wreck, we know we may not like what we see, but we cannot help but look.

Humanity’s fascination with spectacle is not novel to modern times. The oldest forms of language consisted of drawings and visual objects. The earliest humans created images of animals on cave walls in France and carved fertility goddesses from ivory and animal bones (Stokstad, 1999). With no known form of written language, our ancestors appeared to communicate visually about things they saw. Interest in things visual has never left our species. In fact, it appears to have dramatically increased with the advent of technology. Marshall McLuhan (1970) explains that advertisements are the cave art of the present.

Scholars such as Baudrillard (1994; Poster, 1988), Burke²³ (Burke, Rueckert, & Bonadonna, 2003), Postman (2005), and the Frankfurt School scholars²⁴ warned of the dangers of technology (especially visual) and its ability to take complicated ideas and reduce them to simplistic and generalized images. However, as Foss (2005) states, “as much as rhetorical scholars may feel nostalgia for a culture in which public speeches

²³ Burke understood that rhetoric goes beyond just the verbal and written. Burke believes scholars should study other forms of symbols such as sculpture and painting (Burke, 1966).

²⁴ Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Friedrich Pollock, Erich Fromm, Otto Kirchheimer, Leo Löwenthal, and Jürgen Habermas are thinkers commonly referred to as the Frankfurt School. They are a conglomerate of neo-Marxist thinkers who wrote extensively after WWII in Germany. They are cautious and even hostile towards mass media and its ability to control the proletariat (Griffin, 2006). Most prominent is Jürgen Habermas (1989) and his concept of a public sphere where everyone is free to communicate and has equal access to communication mediums.

were symbols that had primary impact, that culture is gone” (p. 142). The age of grand speeches by orators such as Demosthenes, Churchill, and Lincoln is no longer the primary model of rhetorical expression.

The rhetorical turn towards the visual began in the early twentieth century. Wichelns (1925) and his student Black (1978) began to reevaluate previous rhetorical thought and practices and began to reach beyond the classic Aristotelian model. Nevertheless, Aristotle remains a dominant rhetorical influence, demonstrated by Finnegan’s (2008) work on image vernaculars. The visual is now understood as an important part of Aristotle’s enthymeme. A rhetor can use both images and language to influence audiences through use of enthymemes. A good example would be explaining to an audience that *all men are mortal*. One could then show the audience Socrates’ tomb. The audience deduces that Socrates was indeed mortal since they can see the tomb without a word uttered. A more sophisticated example would be President Lyndon Johnson’s daisy advertisement run in the 1964 presidential campaign. The advertisement depicts a little girl counting while she pulls the petals off a daisy. As she counts down, the camera pans in on her, and a male voice takes over the count. The camera pans back to the scene of an atomic bomb exploding. The advertisement ends with a voice exclaiming, “Vote for President Johnson on November 3. The stakes are too high for you to stay home” (Rlcuda, 2006). What make this piece interesting is there is no mention of Johnson’s opponent Barry Goldwater. However, the enthymematic statement is clear; voting for Goldwater amounts to voting for nuclear war (Blair, 2004).

The visual is much more complicated than its association with enthymatic logic. Visual rhetoric functions as a link with other academic disciplines by what Hill (2004)

terms “indiscipline” (p. 26)²⁵. Osborn (1986) argues that we live a “three-dimensional existence” (p. 79), and thus rhetoric should reflect multiple disciplinary perspectives. He proposes five functions of depiction,²⁶ which makes the turn towards the visual possible within rhetoric and multiple disciplines.

The first function is visual depiction as presentation. Osborn explained that we experience the world in two ways: through actual experience of the event or through depiction. Very few Westerners have visited Africa; thus, their knowledge about Africa is generally limited to storytelling, history, or visual depictions. Photographs of gazelles and brightly dressed natives become representations of Africa. Yet, they have a deeper meaning than mere representations. Presentation holds a host of latent meanings. The photograph of a gazelle and native also projects preexisting ideology such as the exotic and natural. Westerners would be confused if the photograph depicted a native in a suit and tie or in an office building eating a hamburger.

The second function is visual depiction as intensification of feeling. Osborn (1986) stated, “depictions are lenses that can color what we see and make our reactions smolder” (p. 86). Continuing the African theme, if Westerners saw a photograph that juxtaposed starving children with thieving warlords, they would be appalled. It is one thing to read about genocide in a newspaper. Words and statistics are cold and impersonal; however, photographs and videos bring a story to life. Photographs and videos show reality (framed reality) of actual people in actual settings.

²⁵ By indiscipline, Hill (2004) meant that visual rhetoric transcends multiple disciplines and that those disciplines transcend the visual. Visual rhetoric is not limited to rhetoricians but can be applied to a host of other disciplines.

²⁶ Osborn (1986) used the term “depiction” to describe a host of rhetorical devices used to investigate “origins of a subject, a prediction of that subject’s fate, and the moral stance of the speaker”(p. 80) amongst other contextual elements. The visual intertwines throughout his narrative of depiction, especially near the end of the essay (pp. 97-99).

Intensification leads to Osborn's (1986) third function of visual depiction, which is identification. Identification or association is important in humanizing the *other*. The concept of the other is not new to the academy. Hegel (1949) developed the other as part of the self in 1807.²⁷ It is much easier to dehumanize the other if there is no connection to *us*. Grossman (1995) explains that dehumanization is a critical component in the psychological ability of a person to kill another person.²⁸ Thus, depiction gives a sense of reality to the other. The ability to associate images connects us to the other. Of course, depiction can also be used to intensify differences. If the intention of the image of starving individuals is to solicit funds, it may succeed because people are inclined to lend assistance. However, if the same photograph is used as a racial artifact to accent a negative stereotype, an audience may reject visual association due to the visual proof.

The fourth function is visual depiction as implementation. Osborn (1986) defines implementation as "time of action" (p. 92). Time is not fixed and "must sustain action to its conclusion" (p. 93). Thus, the visual can help us not only envision strategy but also picture its completion. An example would be visualization as it applies to Monroe's (1939) motivated sequence speech design. The speaker visualizes a proposition and its desired outcome in order "to intensify desire" (Monroe, 1939, p. 206) in an audience. The visual is important in understanding the present and the future. A rhetor could ask us to envision an Africa where starvation no longer existed. In the absence of visually depicted distended bellies, one could visualize and imagine a healthy population.

²⁷ Hegel (1949) discussed the concept of other when developing his work on perception. Hegel stated, "determinate characteristic, which constitutes the essential character of the thing and distinguishes it from all others, is now defined that thereby the thing stands in opposition" (Hegel, 1949; Buck-Morss, 2009; Westphal, 1992).

²⁸ Grossman's (1995) work investigates soldiers but the concept can be cross-applied to many facets of humanity. Also, see Dower's (1986) *War Without Mercy* for an excellent overview of United States and Japanese dehumanizing propaganda techniques.

Finally, the last visual function of depiction is reaffirmation of identity. Osborn (1986) invokes Aristotle's epideictic speech²⁹ as a way to explain reaffirmation of identity (p. 95). Reaffirmation ensures that an out of sight, out of mind mindset does not happen. The objective of a rhetor is to have an audience recall the message. Visual imaging aids the memory process. Thus, if a person wants an audience to remember Ugandan genocide and child soldiers, a documentary such as *War Dance* (Fine & Fine, 2008) could help fix the message to the audience's mind. While the events in a documentary are time fixed, its viewing is not. People may watch it repeatedly.

Rhetoric was not the first discipline to investigate the visual (DeLuca & Demo, 2000). However, it offers unique insights from a communication perspective. Scholars can view the visual as rhetoric from at least two positions. Foss (2005) believes that visual rhetoric can be investigated either as a communicative artifact or as a perspective. As a communicative artifact, visual rhetoric uses imagery as a proof for an argument. Foss (2005) understood that visual rhetoric is a form of symbolic action that uses "a system of signs" (p. 144). A system of signs involves human interaction in the creation of images. Thus, if a feminist scholar were proposing that the military is a male dominated hierarchy, she or he could show several photographs of military leadership and its absence of women. The scholar would convey his or her thoughts through various photographic symbols.

However, Foss (2005) believes that visual rhetoric is more than just visual proof. Visual rhetoric may be viewed as a rhetorical perspective (Finnegan, 2003). Foss (2005)

²⁹ Epideictic is a type of speech. It celebrates, praises, or lays blame (Aristotle, 1941). McNaughton (2007) furthers Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) explanation by explaining that "epideictic argument does not exhort to change or action, but rather strengthens individual and/or community commitments to shared cultural values" (p. 141). Thus, deliberative reinforces shared cultural values while it celebrates or demonizes those cultural values.

noted that visual rhetoric, as a perspective, is “a critical-analytical tool or a way of approaching and analyzing visual data that highlights the communicative dimensions of images” (p. 145). The focus is not on the artifact as evidence, but on the rhetorical response to the artifact or a “rhetorical response . . . rather than an aesthetic one” (Foss, 2005, p. 145).³⁰ Foss (2005) stated,

Visual rhetoric as a perspective is not a theory with constructs and axioms that describe specific rhetorical components of visual imagery; it is not composed of certain kinds of content or knowledge about visual imagery. In fact, the content that emerges from the application of the perspective is virtually limitless, bound only by the perspective’s focus on how visual artifacts function communicatively. (p. 145)

Foss (2005) continues that visual rhetoric “is characterized by specific attention to one or more of three aspects of visual images – their nature, function, and evaluation” (p. 146).

Two components are fundamental to an examination of an image. The first is the artifact. For example, one may ask what elements comprise the photograph or what material the sculptor used to make the sculpture. The second issue involves latent meanings implied by the image.

The second aspect of visual images is the function(s) that an image serves for an audience. Foss (2005) explains that this avenue of research examines the audience’s interpretation or reaction to visual artifacts.³¹ An advertisement in a newspaper may show an athlete wearing a pair of shoes a store is trying to promote. While the

³⁰ This is not to say that the aesthetic is unimportant. Color, text, angle, etc. are concepts that can open the argument to discussion. However, the focus is the response or the actual discussion created by the aesthetic dimensions.

³¹ This is not to say that the creator/author’s perceptions are not important, but that interpretation is in the eyes of the beholder.

advertisement is selling shoes, the audience may react positively or negatively to it from their own predispositions. If the advertisement portrayed a black athlete in a stereotypical way, it may offend viewers. On the other hand, if the advertisement displayed a local athlete who went on to become famous, the advertisement may symbolize community and strength.

The final aspect Foss (2005) explores when investigating visual artifacts is how to evaluate images. Scholars can do this in multiple ways, including whether or not the artifact accomplished its designed purpose. Multiple, even contradictory, conclusions may be reached. For example, does the Plains Indian Museum accurately depict the Native Americans living on the plains, or is it apologetics for Manifest Destiny (Dickenson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006)?

Foss (2005) explains an audience could examine visual images either deductively or inductively. A scholar could deductively investigate an artifact from grounded theory to help explain and guide the rhetorician's comprehension of the artifact. However, a scholar could inductively investigate an artifact by beginning with the artifact and using the analysis to help build theories. The following focuses on photography.

Photography

Scholars may apply visual rhetoric to many artifacts including performance, spaces, architecture, or art. For the purpose of this dissertation, it is not possible to explore each genre. Rather, the author focuses on the photograph.

Susan Sontag (1977) states, "humankind lingers unregenerate in Plato's cave, still reveling, its age-old habit, in mere images of the truth" (p. 3). We see the world in the frames that our eyes allow us to see. The colors, depth, and finite details differ from

those of other creatures. The limited scope of human vision framed the world until the invention of the photograph in the 1830s. There were paintings, drawings, written descriptions, and sculptures to aid the mind, but each of these media required imagination. With the invention of the Daguerreotype in 1839, the world became clearer. An individual could view photographs from the other side of the world in detail that no book could describe, no painter's brush could capture, and no sculptor could sculpt. Shortly after the turn of the century, inventors created film and ordinary people owned cameras. Labs dealt with the difficult and chemically dangerous process of creating the photograph. During this period, inventors transformed photographs from glass and copper plates to paper and card stock, significantly reducing their cost and making them accessible to the average person (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

From Sontag's (1977) writings, five important functions of photographs emerge that differentiate them from other media. The first function of photographs is accessibility. Their cost and size made them easy conveyers of information to mass audiences. In addition, they last longer than the event photographed. Photographs not only outlast the moment in time they capture, but they also can outlast the photographer, subject, and civilizations. The photograph becomes a physical form of sentimentalism. This is true as well of the modern digital era. Today, photographers take large quantities of photographs from cameras, phones, and computers. They are stored and easily transferred to most anyone at any time.

The second key function found in Sontag's (1977) work is the notion that photographs only work within their context. Sontag pointed out that they cannot create moral positions, but they certainly can influence or reinforce existing moral stances or

positions. A photograph only makes sense if the audience understands the context of the photo. Erickson (2000) notes that United States presidents stage photographs to “influence, manipulate, entreat, entice, amaze, or otherwise assume power over witnesses” (p. 139). Thus, a photograph of President Carter walking through a farm field with his sleeves rolled up makes sense when audiences believe he is a simple peanut farmer from Georgia, rather than a nuclear physicist.³²

The third function that separates photographs from other mediums is that they have unlimited authority. As Sontag (1977) notes, they “usurp reality” (p. 154). Unlike a painting or sculpture, a photograph is reality transported from reality. We transfer the power of the moment to infinity and to others (not just those present). Simplified, an audience may believe the photograph is reality whereas the audience may perceive a painting as an embellishment.

Photographs not only capture the moment, but they also represent the future. Future generations can appropriate photographs. Thus, the fourth function of photographs is to transcend time. Walker Evans’s depression-era photographs captured proof of the hard times.³³ In recent decades, Finnegan (2003) wrote about the photographs as iconic images as central to message production even if the photographs were contradictory. On the other hand, Lucaites (1997) explored a different meaning when he wrote about the clash between the United States’ individualistic societal perception and that of the collectivistic societal perception. Evans’s photographs

³² President Carter graduated from the Naval Academy in 1946 and earned a postgraduate degree in reactor technology and nuclear physics before becoming a lieutenant on the second nuclear submarine in the United States Navy (Hochman, 2009).

³³ The Roosevelt administration hired James Agee and Walker Evans to document and photograph the effects of the depression in the South. Agee and Evans’s (1989) book *Let us now praise famous men* was not published until after the depression and WWII.

transcend the constraints of time, which means that future scholars can analyze them in multiple ways.

A final function drawn from Sontag's (1977) work is that photographs are necessary for modern capitalism. Sontag (1977) believed that "cameras define reality in two ways essential to the workings of an advanced industrial society: as a spectacle (for masses) and as an object of surveillance (for rulers)" (p. 178). Similar to the Roman coliseum where people battled animals and each other to death for entertainment, photographs in modern society work as entertainment for the masses. As noted in this essay, individuals can recognize iconic photographs. At the same time, governments use photographs to monitor citizens. Employers and the government have the capability to monitor social websites such as *Facebook* and *MySpace* for inappropriate conduct.

Barthes wrote during the same period as Sontag. His works reflect an individualistic approach to the study of photography. Barthes (1981) believes photographs were the object of three practices: the operator (photographer), spectator (viewer of photographs), and the target (object of the photographer). He states, "I possessed only two experiences: that of observed subject and that of the subject observing" (Barthes, 1981, p. 10). Put more simply, Barthes is interested in the individual relationship between the photographed and the photograph's viewer. The photographed becomes the spectacle of the viewer.

Barthes (1981) believes that there were two groups of photographs. The first group is ordinary and everyday photographs that he termed *studium*. The second group is photographs that stood out from the rest. He terms them *punctum*. Barthes (1981) states punctum photographs, "disturb the *studium* . . . sting, speck, cut" (p. 27). Barthes

continues that a part of the process to break the *studium* involved the intent or lack thereof of the photographer in the eyes of the viewer. “The photograph becomes ‘surprising’ when we do not know why it was taken” (Barthes, 1981, p. 34). Many have questioned why soldiers took the photographs at Abu Ghraib knowing the international response they would receive.

Barthes (1977) places images (photography) in their rhetorical context. He considers rhetorical images

a signifying aspect of ideology . . . thus the rhetoric of the image (that is to say, the classification of its connotations) is specific to the extent that it is subject to the physical constraints of vision (different, for example, from phonatory constraints) but general to the extent that the ‘figures’ are never more than formal relations of elements. (Barthes, 1977, p. 49)

Simply stated, Barthes believes that photographic images gain their rhetorical value because people can physically see photographs but must cognitively piece together what they view from elements present both physically and cognitively. Certain people may see certain aspects of photographs that others may not. Thus, a photograph’s meaning cannot be concrete or universal. Some may see the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib prison as just individual events by a group of heinous soldiers, while others may see them as endemic of much larger problems.

From Sontag’s (1977) and Barthes’s (1977, 1981) early writing on photography, modern rhetoricians have refined the way in which people approach photographs

rhetorically. At the forefront of this venture are Kevin DeLuca, Cara Finnegan,³⁴ Robert Hariman, and John Louis Lucaites.

DeLuca (1999) challenges the notion that images (photographs) are only support to textual analysis (or vice-versa) in rhetorical criticism. He furthers Foss's (2005) beliefs that visual rhetoric is more than just visual proof. DeLuca's research of image events³⁵ shows that photographs are tactical events planned to gain notoriety. The focus is on the visual rather than the text. However, a critic requires visual and textual inferences to convey the intended message. As Atkins-Sayre (2010) notes with her work on social movement campaigns of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), "critics must be careful to give weight to the visual element. It is the image that might receive the first attention, pulling the reader in and bringing them to read the framing text that helps explain what the advertisement is meant to convey" (p. 316). Thus, the visual and textual are not mutually exclusive but complement one another.

Finnegan (2003), explains that photographs are rhetorical in nature (p. xiv-xviii). Similar to other artifacts, their rhetorical power lies in the interpretation of the photograph rather than the purpose intended by the photographer (though the two are not mutually exclusive). Second, individuals do not fix the meaning of a photograph. Thus, there is room for multiple interpretations that transcend time. Third, photographs and context intertwine, forming an inseparable connection. Context creates photographs, but photographs also create that context.³⁶ Fourth, rhetoricians should study photographs through the culture in which photographers produce the photograph and not just the

³⁴ While Finnegan's (2003) work focuses specifically on documentary photographs of the Great Depression, I believe her principles still apply to modern photography because the five concepts go beyond specific photographs and have general applicability.

³⁵ DeLuca's (1999) *Image Events* is about environmental activism

³⁶ It is a dialectical conflict similar to that of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

culture the photographer attempts to represent. Lutz and Collins (1993) explain this well in their work *Reading National Geographic* where they discuss techniques of framing from an American perspective. Finally, Finnegan (2003) notes that a visual culture privileges some photographs over others. Thus, of the thousands of photographs taken during the battle for Iwo Jima, one stands out.

Ideographs and Iconographs

Before one can appreciate iconographs³⁷, one must understand the root of ideographs. McGee (1980) explores a rhetorical concept he terms the ideograph. The ideograph is a fluid term of shared meanings but not necessarily limited to those shared meanings. An example would be the word patriotism. There is a general agreement of the definition of patriotism but each individual has his or her own definition (McGee, 1980). McGee (1980) explains that the ideograph “exist in real discourse” (p. 7), and the ideograph’s connotative meaning is as important as its denotative meaning. He claims that observers do not invent ideographs, as they are parts of “real discourse” (McGee, 1980, p.7). Ideographs are phenomena that encompass daily life. Individuals create ideographs through the cultures in which they reside. Patriotism to American may be different than patriotism to someone from Cuba. McGee (1980) explains,

One-term sums of an orientation, the species of God or ultimate term that will be used to symbolize the line of argument the meanest sort of individual would pursue, if the individual had the dialectical skills of philosophers, as a defense of a personal stake in and commitment to the society. (p. 7)

³⁷The author presented parts of the *Ideographs and Iconographs* section at the 2010 Southern States Communication Association annual meeting in Memphis, Tennessee (Richey, 2010).

McGee believed that the ideograph is almost a sacred cultural belief. McGee considered ideographs to occur in clusters; they do not stand-alone. Society comprehends ideographs by their relationship to other ideographs that cluster around them. In order to fully understand the Vietnam War, for example, one must understand in the context of the Cold War.

Finally, McGee (1980) explained that two different ideologies exist in a culture at any given moment. The first is, “that *ideology* is a *grammar*, historically defined diachronic structure of ideograph-meanings expanding and contracting from birth of a society to its *present*” (McGee, 1980, p. 14, author’s emphasis). The second is, “*ideology* as *rhetoric*, a situational defined synchronic structure of ideographic clusters constantly reorganizing itself to accommodate specific circumstances while maintaining its fundamental consonance and unity” (McGee, 1980, p. 14, author’s emphasis). The two ideologies are not mutually exclusive.

A problem with McGee’s ideographs is that the ideograph focuses on discourse. McGee (1980) alludes to visual artifacts, “what might be called *popular* history” (p. 11, author’s emphasis), but does not go into detail. Rhetoricians consequently focus on visual aspects of ideographs as part of an ideological framework (Edwards & Winkler, 2008; Hariman & Lucaites, 2002, 2003, 2007b). Hariman and Lucaites examined specific visual instances that have important cultural or societal meaning. Hariman and Lucaites (2002) define iconography “as photographic images produced in print, electronic, or digital media that are widely recognized, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics” (p. 366). The authors

examined multiple iconographs, such as the flag raising at Iwo Jima (2002), the photographs of a young girl after napalm bombing during the Vietnam War (2003), the Times Square kiss (2007b), and a volume examining multiple images in American society (2007a). From their research, the authors revealed five important functions that iconographs perform when addressing the public.

First, iconographs reflect social knowledge and dominant ideologies. The flag raising on Iwo Jima in 1945 reflects the struggles, courage, and sacrifice of the American fighting soldier. Americans hold these characteristics dear. When Americans see the image, they reflect upon those characteristics (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002).

Second, iconographs shape understanding of specific events and periods. Thus, Hariman and Lucaites's (2007b) essay that examined the Times Square kiss only makes sense if the audience knew that the photographer captured the image at the end of WWII. Iconographs often relate to historically significant events, which are easier for a culture to identify with when seen.

Third, iconographs influence political action by modeling relationships between civic actors, themselves cementing the ideograph of patriotism with the visual representation of soldiers raising the flag on Mount Suribachi. The iconograph lends its influence to modern issues. One such example is Edwards and Winkler's (2008) essay that suggests the visual ideograph of the flag raising can be used as a baseline for modern critique in cartoons on subjects as far ranging as homosexual rights.

Fourth, iconographs provide figural resources for subsequent communicative action. They become the foundation for opening an argument about other ideographs. Hariman and Lucaites's (2007b) essay that examines the Times Square kiss moved well

beyond a young woman and sailor kissing to discuss issues of two men kissing. The iconograph is the baseline for larger, more sophisticated discussions.

Finally, Hariman and Lucaites (2002) explain iconographs “illustrate the ways visual communication can underwrite polity by providing resources for thought and feeling necessary for constituting people as citizens and motivating identification with and participation in specific forms of collective life” (p. 366). Not only are photographs important for a modern industrialist society,³⁸ but iconographs are also. Iconographs become part of the glue that holds society together.

Iconographs manifest the five functions in two ways. The first way is through the embodiment of symbolic resources that are available through media (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). The difficulty in describing in print the effect of airplanes flying into the World Trade Centers on September 11, 2001, is ameliorated by a shocking photograph of the plane about to collide with the North Tower contributes to immediate discourse and action. Second, iconographs can emphasize the limitations of the printed word (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). Again, the September 11 example illustrates this point. A person would have difficulty putting into words all the emotions generated by the terrorist attack. The photographs became symbolic of the emotional attachments to the event. Protagonists may need only to show Americans photographs of the airplanes demolishing the towers to encourage support for the Afghan War.

Abu Ghraib Photographs as Iconography

Lead Army psychologist Larry James (2008) exclaimed, “my God, this is truly hell on Earth” (p. 105) when he arrived at Abu Ghraib after the Army assigned him to

³⁸ As aforementioned by Sontag (1977).

confront and study the abuses. It was one matter for James to read about the accounts of Abu Ghraib but a completely different matter once he saw with his own eyes the *hell* that Abu Ghraib was. Average Americans and people throughout the globe saw *hell* through the photographs of abused prisoners at Abu Ghraib. This dissertation suggests that the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib (see Figures 1-6) constitute iconic status in the United States, specifically in the antiwar movement. The author first responds to McGee's, (1980) ideas before establishing the iconic status of Abu Ghraib photographs.

McGee (1980) explains that societies historically and culturally create ideographs. The concept of torture is critical to the Abu Ghraib ideographic photographs. The concept of torture has been a part of American society since its foundation. The constitution guarantees Americans safety from torture by the eighth amendment; however, national dialogue about the definition of torture revisits the political landscape each time the United States enters a new war. During World War II, the United States government defined the Japanese as a less than human species who savagely abused American prisoners of war (Dower, 1986). The government used visual rhetoric via photographs of the Bataan death march and racially charged cartoon posters (Dower, 1986). It created a rallying point for American citizens against a savage enemy. However, 60 years later, when the *savages* were American soldiers in Iraq, Americans were outraged. The historical context against savagery was there for citizens to internalize and contemplate.

McGee's (1980) second concept is that an audience defines rhetoric around clusters that constantly reorganize. The clusters that work around the concept of torture are terms such as *freedom*, *liberty*, and *due process*. The photographs from Abu Ghraib

outraged Americans because they not only depicted torture, which violated a fundamental American principle, but they also violated principles imbedded in the clusters.

Americans were upset because the very things that United States was supposed to bring to Iraq, freedom and liberty, were violated by its soldiers. The Bush administration ousted Saddam Hussein's regime because he tortured his citizens and robbed them of their freedom and liberty. Now, American soldiers were doing the same thing and capturing it on film. The military did not grant them liberty to humiliate and abuse detainees (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). Therefore, each cluster affects the other.

Iconographs

Now with a better understanding of how the term *torture* is an ideograph and its violation upsets Americans, the next step is to explore how Hariman and Lucaites' (2002, 2003, 2007b) iconographs function with the Abu Ghraib photographs. The power of the Abu Ghraib scandal is that there exists photographic proof of what occurred. Unlike many scandals based on hearsay, the visual proof is undeniable. However, this does not necessarily make the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib iconic. This study explores Hariman and Lucaites' five characteristics and two means of accomplishment to indicate stronger proof of iconic status.

Hariman and Lucaites (2002) explain that iconographs "reflect social knowledge and dominant ideologies" (p. 366). As previously discussed, the shocking photographs give Americans visual representation of the violation of the ideographic term *torture*. The photographs show Iraqi prisoners in humiliating and painful stances. Whether in a body bag, standing on a box draped in a poncho, in a naked pyramid, or standing naked with sandbags over their heads, these photographs show acts that military law state are

unacceptable. American soldiers, ostensibly enjoying such acts, smile and use thumbs up hand gestures, actions that set the photographs apart from traditional American values.

Iconographs shape understanding of specific events and periods (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). Antiwar groups specifically chose the Abu Ghraib photographs because the movement wanted Americans to frame the war in Iraq in a negative way. The antiwar movements wanted social change and define it with visual proof of abuses abroad. The Bush administration framed the war to stop Iraq from producing nuclear weapons and training Al Qaeda fighters (Gordon & Trainor, 2006). Once critics dispelled both of these myths, the administration framed the war as liberating the Iraqi people from tyranny and installing democracy (Shepard, 2007).³⁹ Antiwar groups used the Abu Ghraib photographs to try to dispel this justification as well. It is difficult to justify liberating those citizens tortured by Saddam when American troops are torturing them. Antiwar groups want the Iraq War framed as unnecessary and as a waste of human life. Public opinion polls show they have been successful (Mueller, 2005).

Iconographs influence political action by modeling relationships between civic actors (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). The goal of the antiwar movement is social change and they believe the war in Iraq is unjust for multiple reasons. The antiwar activists push social change by using the power of the ballot and taking their case to the American people. Thus, mediated dialogue propels change amongst ordinary citizens and not just Washington elite.

Iconographs provide figural resources for subsequent communicative action (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). The Abu Ghraib photographs are proof that physical

³⁹ Shepard (2007) explains the switch in policy goals well in his dissertation about President Bush's apologies.

artifacts are difficult to deny. The photographs' visual power instantly answered questions Americans had about whether abuse occurred at the prison. Before journalist made the photographs public, it was easy to deny that torture occurred. It was easy to believe that such ideas were the creations of the president's political opponents. It was now time for Americans to own up to what was occurring in Abu Ghraib.

Finally, iconographs function to "illustrate the ways visual communication can underwrite policy by providing resources for thought and feeling necessary for constituting people as citizens and motivating identification with, and participation in, specific forms of collective life" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002, p. 366). The Abu Ghraib photographs open dialogue about acceptable treatment of detainees and justifications for the war in Iraq. It enlightens citizens and forces discourse on taboo subjects. As discussed earlier, the collective stigma of torture from the past is once again framed but this time Americans are the perpetrators. The shocking power of images of smiling Americans with abused Iraqis moved a nation to reevaluate its purpose and goals in Iraq. It also led to swift action by the Bush administration first to scapegoat *a few bad apples*, but also to change its standard operation procedures (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008; McKelvey, 2007). The antiwar movement created awareness to unify its movement. Abu Ghraib became a rallying cry.

Photographs can accomplish the five functions of iconographs in two ways. The first is through the embodiment of symbolic resources that are available through media (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). The photographs taken at Abu Ghraib would be little more than personal memories of a few soldiers or photographic evidence used to convict those same soldiers if not for the media. Media plays a key role in the iconography of the Abu

Ghraib photographs by producing and broadcasting the images into every American home. A distant and relatively unknown Abu Ghraib became a common household word in a matter of days. DeLuca and Peebles (2002) recognize using the media screens as a tool of social change. Exposure to shocking content leads to a snowball effect when more and more people view such images.

The second way to identify an iconograph is to emphasize what print cannot capture (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). The photographs from Abu Ghraib underscore the belief of many that the Bush administration lacked concern for human rights. Greenberg and Dratel's (2005) mammoth work documents what may have contributed to the abuses. The photographs sum up 1,249 pages, thousands of hours of investigations, and hundreds of years of cultural argumentation and discourse with just a few visual images that take a tenth of a second to view. A citizen can recognize instantly a breakdown in military order.

The photographs meet the criteria of an iconograph from an American vantage point. The aspect of analysis that is missing is the international response, which the author addresses, in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

JUSTIFICATION AND METHODOLOGY

This Chapter discusses the study's methodology and data pool. It likewise establishes a rationale for investigating a new approach to iconography, followed by a Research Question.

Justification

As stated in the previous chapters, Abu Ghraib scholarship is voluminous, but still lacking in certain areas. In addition, visual rhetoric is a growing and important aspect of communication studies. From the early period of Sontag (1977) and Barthes (1977, 1981) to more modern scholars, such as Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003, 2007b) and Finnegan (2003), visual rhetoric helps articulate understanding of our postmodern mediated world. Yet there is room for theory building regarding visual rhetoric. Specifically, this dissertation addresses the intersection of visual rhetoric and post-colonial rhetoric, in particular how the clash of these two elements contribute to actions that resist static ideologies.

Hariman and Lucaites (2002) give five qualifiers for iconography. While the author agrees with the first four qualifiers, the author contests the fifth. As mentioned before, Hariman and Lucaites (2002) state that iconographs “illustrate the ways visual communication can underwrite policy by providing resources for thought and feeling necessary for constituting people as citizens and motivating identification with, and participation in, specific forms of collective life” (p. 366). Rather than reject Hariman and Lucaites' fifth qualifier, the author takes it in a new direction. Instead of conceptualizing iconography as a means of “motivating identification with, and

participation in, specific forms of collective life” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002, p. 366), the author proposes that iconography affects the opposite. It can lead citizens to resist identification and participation in static ideologies, in this case American ideologies operating in a post-colonial context.

As such, iconographic images are *hijacked* without permission and reconstituted as resistance. The author chose the term *hijacking* to signify the rhetorical power of reconstitution. The term *hijacking* is often applied to an act of force where an individual uses a vehicle that belongs to another person for his or her own purpose. Therefore, the term *hijacking* in this dissertation refers to examples in which artists use images for their own purposes as acts of force or rebellion against authority or ideology. In the case of this dissertation,⁴⁰ artists rhetorically appropriate icons for purposes of strategic resistance. As Harold and DeLuca (2005) believe in their work about the images of Emmett Till, grotesque objection is a form promoting resistance.⁴¹ DeLuca (1999) further states that some resistant groups, such as Earth First, know that the media is hostile to their cause and that the group cannot afford to buy media coverage. Thus, they must use the body in unruly manners to gain as much free and airtime attention as possible.

Rather than approaching iconography from a Western stance, it is preferable to understand the Abu Ghraib photographs in a Muslim context. Simply, while it is important to understand how iconography works in the United States, when it comes to

⁴⁰ The author believes that in the case of this dissertation, the term *hijacking* fits the subject matter well but the term may not be applicable to similar situations. Some scholars may prefer terms such as synthesis or co-opting.

⁴¹ In the case of Emmett Till, the grotesque objection (shocking images that repulse a person’s tastes) was of his heavily mutilated and decomposing body. Likewise, it was public promotion of horrifying photographs that brought attention to the plight of African Americans in the Jim Crow South (Harold & DeLuca, 2005)

the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib in Iraq, it is just as important to understand how the photographs work in non-Western cultures. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005) note, scholars tend to focus on a Eurocentric academic base. Kincheleo and McLaren (2005) contend that by rhetorically positioning scholarship from the standpoint of the other, scholars may be able to better understand post-colonial nations:

A new critical orientation toward knowledge production and research based on an appreciation of difference can help the United States redress some of its past and present policies toward the diverse Islamic world. Though these policies have been invisible to many Americans, they are visible to the rest of the world—the Islamic world in particular. (p. 331)

This dissertation approaches this knowledge gap by examining Abu Ghraib photographs from a Muslim perspective as iconography. This approach will contribute to rhetorical scholarship insofar as it will provide scholars a glimpse into the functioning of iconography from the vantage point of the other.

Research Question

The following Research Question addresses the knowledge gap in contemporary scholarship regarding iconography and the post-colonial spectator.

RQ: How does hijacking iconic imagery via visual imitation function as a form of rhetorical resistance to America's static international ideology?

The author proposes to use six images, identified in Chapter One, recorded at Abu Ghraib prison as a focal point around which scholars and citizens can create discourses about American foreign policy and, therefore, about American foreign ideology. The author believes that a critical approach will best test the Research Question proposed.

Methodology

Scholars have used multiple research methodologies to investigate the Abu Ghraib scandal. The scandal does not lend itself exclusively to one form of research over another. Since the Abu Ghraib scandal is complex in nature, it is only natural that approaches to its examination are complex. This gives the author multiple choices for investigating the Research Question. Yet, certain approaches can better answer specific kinds of questions (Keyton, 2006). The author believes that a critical approach best answers how iconic imagery functions as a form of rhetorical resistance to static American ideology.

Frey, Botan, and Kreps (2000) state that rhetorical criticism is “a systematic method for describing, analyzing, interpreting, and evaluating the persuasive force of messages embedded in texts” (p. 229). Campbell and Burkholder (1997) only slightly alter this definition. Rather than Frey, et als.’s “force of messages embedded in texts” (p. 229), Campbell and Burkholder substitute the term “uses of language” (p. 15). Though the change may seem slight, it is significant. The definition changes from one that is only textual to one that encompasses all language usage. Campbell and Burkholder’s approach moves beyond simple printed text and includes etymology and semantics.

Foss (2009) challenges and significantly broadens the definition of rhetorical criticism. She states that rhetorical criticism is “a qualitative research method that is designed for the systematic investigation and explanation of symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding the rhetorical process” (p. 6). Foss continues by explaining that her definition has three specific dimensions. First, rhetorical criticism constitutes a systematic analysis. It is a sophisticated and discriminate process that

multiple scholars can replicate. Second, Foss (2009) expands Frey et als.'s as well as Campbell and Burkholder's definitions by including acts and artifacts. By doing so, rhetorical scholars can examine performative acts and artifacts such as photographs, art, memorials, and architecture. Finally, Foss explains that rhetorical criticism should do more than explain the rhetorical process or describe an artifact or act because it should "shed light on the nature of rhetorical theory" (p. 7). Foss (2009) remarks that "critics engage in rhetorical criticism to make a contribution to rhetorical theory" (p. 7). Foss's expansion allows scholars to investigate much more of the human communication process.

Modern rhetorical criticism gives the scholar many tools to investigate rhetorical phenomena. One could use neo-Aristotelian criticism, Burkeian dramatistic criticism, narrative criticism, social movement criticism, feminist criticism, queer criticism, or many more (Burghardt, 2005). While at first glance there seem many methodological options, the author believes that the best means of critically analyzing the Abu Ghraib photographs as post-colonial iconic resistance is Hariman and Lucaites' (2002) development of iconography.

The author limits an analysis of Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003) to their qualifiers for iconography.⁴² Hariman and Lucaites (2002) explain that, first, iconographs reflect social knowledge and dominant ideologies. Second, iconographs shape understanding of specific events and periods. Third, iconographs influence political action by modeling relationships between civic actors. Fourth, iconographs provide figural resources for subsequent communicative action. Finally, Hariman and Lucaites (2002) explain that iconographs "illustrate the ways visual communication can

⁴² For clarification of Hariman and Lucaites' (2002) iconographs, see the end of Chapter Two, pages 17-21.

underwrite polity by providing resources for thought and feeling necessary for constituting people as citizens and motivating identification with and participation in specific forms of collective life” (p. 366).

Iconographs manifest the five functions in two ways. First, they embody symbolic resources that are available through media (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002). Second, iconographs emphasize what print cannot capture (Hariman & Lucaites, 2002).

The author believes that approaching the Abu Ghraib photographs as iconography as outlined in Chapter Two is best accomplished by modifying Hariman and Lucaites’ (2002) fifth qualifier regarding citizenship. Hariman and Lucaites’ theory is a logical starting point for examining iconic images. The author proposes to examine the Abu Ghraib photographs from a post-colonial perspective of resistance rather than adherence to American ideology of freedom, democracy, and human rights. In order to achieve this goal, the author will discuss the post-colonial concept and then focus on two separate data pools to demonstrate how iconographic images serve as a source of resistance.

Artifacts

Scholars often split the Arab world between brutal dictators and the Arab street.^{43;44} Westerners often view the Arab street as an unruly violent mob of local citizens. However, Lynch (2003) explains that this view is simplistic and inherently negative. While Lynch grants that the Arab street can be very volatile and violent, it underscores the importance of discourse of the public rather than governmental sphere. Public discourse often reflects the feelings of the average Arab as opposed to tightly

⁴³ The author presented parts of this section at The University of Southern Mississippi Graduate Student Symposium in March of 2011 (Richey, 2011a).

⁴⁴ At the time of the writing of this dissertation, the Arab street is removing many dictators from power in uprisings throughout the Muslim world.

controlled and regulated government mediated discourse. In those cases where regimes controlled discourse via the media, they dictated popular sentiment and isolated one Arab street from another, thereby making open discourse much more difficult and within the confines of state ideology.

However, with the emergence of modern technology (satellite television and Internet), the Arab street has grown, becoming much more sophisticated in its ability to gain information and control discourse. The late Osama Bin Laden and his fundamentalist organization, Al Qaeda, used the Internet extensively to broadcast ideology, gain popular support, and recruit. They used media outlets such as CNN and Al Jazeera, as well as local media outlets, to gain vital strategic information on their enemies and to gauge global opinion (Eickelman, 2003; Lynch, 2003, 2006; Yamani, 2003). Al Jazeera fits well into the counter American ideology. It avoids the stigma of a Western run or Arab state owned organization, which has great appeal on the Arab street.

The author used numerous non-American newspapers, websites, and blogs to gather political cartoons that hijacked the original iconographic Abu Ghraib photographs. This data source will allow a better understanding of Muslim reactions to the Abu Ghraib photographs. The author used sources such as Al Jazeera, Middle East Online, Zaman, and British Broadcasting Corporation online newspapers to find appropriate cartoons. The author also used online search engines such as *Google* and *Yahoo Search* to identify non-official media sources such as blogs. The author focused on the visual response to the six iconic Abu Ghraib photographs within newspaper cartoons, artists' web pages, and blogs. This enabled the author to understand Arabic text without the need of a translator.

Sources such as Al Jazeera are an ideal news source for the Arab street because it is printed, online, and televised. The multiple viewing sources allow many Arabs the ability to investigate daily news that they otherwise may not be able to access. Middle East Online, for example, is a predominantly English online news source with a Mediterranean influence (Middle East Online, 2012). Today's Zaman, or simply Zaman to Turks, is a Turkish news organization with a strong international following that publishes in both English and Turkish. Editor Kenes (2012) notes about Zaman,

Today's Zaman became the most-circulating English-language newspaper in Turkey, scoring substantial distance from its closest competitor. Its excellence was also confirmed by the presentation of 21 awards in the Society for News Design's (SND) annual "The Best of Newspaper Design Creative Competition." Today's Zaman won an "Award of Excellence" in the contest in 2008, following closely some of the world's most prestigious newspapers, such as the New York Times and the Guardian. Today's Zaman is filled with national and international news in the fields of business, diplomacy, politics, culture, arts, sports and economics, in addition to commentaries, specials and features. (p. 1)

Finally, the author used the British Broadcasting Corporation as a secondary source of visual data. Although the BBC has a Western slant on its stories, it is often critical of American foreign policy (BBC, 2007).

The author collected a sample of 12 cartoons from multiple Internet news sources and web browsers such as Google. The sample is a mixture of both international sources and of Western cartoons reproduced by Arab publishers. All examples have Arab press

access and would have had Arab audiences when published. The author chose additionally two other forms of visual art resistance.

The first is high culture art or gallery art. Gans (1974) believes that high culture, in its evolutionary form is “art, literature, music, and other symbolic products” (p. 10) that the educated, cultured elites create.⁴⁵ However, Gans explains that large segments of any part of a population can appreciate high culture, not just the wealthy elite. Early Frankfurt School theorist, Walter Benjamin (1973) writes in his seminal 1935 essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” that art distinguishes itself from mass culture because of the complex meaning associated with it. He compares the title of a painting to the caption of a photograph. Benjamin explains that the photograph caption is linear and tells a person what to think rather than how to think.⁴⁶ High culture can comment on social and political phenomena (Gans, 1974). Thus, the works of artists such as Columbian Fernando Botero (2006) and Iraqi Shahin Aldhahir (2011) can illustrate how the artistic world reacted to the Abu Ghraib scandal.

In addition, the author chose to use graffiti, a form of non-gallery art. Jorgenson (2008) simply defines graffiti as “marks, typically paintings or writings, on walls and other surfaces which are visible to the public, and which are officially illicit” (p. 237). Some scholars, such as D’Angelo (1974), examine graffiti from the standpoint of crude humor. LaWare (2008) believes that graffiti can help build communities and bind cultures. However, Hanauer (2011) goes beyond the physical and satirical definitions of graffiti. He counters LaWare’s approach and counter defines graffiti as

⁴⁵ For more in depth analysis on literature see Hoggart (2004) or for music see Best (2002).

⁴⁶ One must remember that Benjamin wrote during the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany in the 1930s. His works and many of those of the Frankfurt School are reactions to the popular or mass culture that the Nazi Party produced to subdue the masses. Benjamin died in 1940 trying to flee the Nazi regime (Benjamin, 1973).

a form of political discourse competing with political statements from other discourses . . . it is a local action, performed at particular sites and as such is a form of micro-level political discourse in which every day people publically present their political understanding. (Hanauer, 2011, p. 302)

Jorgenson (2008) agrees with Hanauer, stating that “graffiti presents opinions against governments, institutions, authorities, politicians, majorities . . . dislike of established (middle class) norms” (p. 242). Reisner [cited in Handwriting, 1968] calls graffiti a “sensitive barometer of change in popular preoccupations. It is a twilight means of communication between anonymous man and the world” (Handwriting, 1968, p. 84). Graffiti is a communication tool of the disenfranchised. It is a struggle with authorities against whom the artist feels no other way to lash out other than via popular culture art. Edbauer (2005) states this succinctly when he comments, “[graffiti] are overwhelmingly populated by bodies: shocked, angry, delighted, and feeling-full bodies” (p. 133).

The study of graffiti is emerging. Hanauer (2011) explains, “analysis of graffiti . . . in areas of contestation offers a methodological approach for exploring micro-politics . . . a gap in current research” (p. 302). Studying graffiti allows the author not only to help explain the dissemination of resistance messages about acts committed at Abu Ghraib, but also to expand knowledge regarding graffiti.

This study uses a sample of six paintings by Botero. In addition, a sample pool of five artworks from Shahin Aldhahir represents high art. Finally, the author examines eight examples of street cultural art.

The author obtained permission from Gerald Laing’s estate, Susan Crile, and Shahin Aldhahir (see Appendixes A-C) to reproduce their works for academic purposes.

The author tried to contact Botero without success. The author uses all the sources in this dissertation including artists', cartoonists', and photographers' works under premise of academic fair use.

Analysis

To best answer the Research Question, "How does hijacking iconic imagery via visual imitation function as a form of rhetorical resistance to America's static international ideology?" the author critically examined selected photographs, cartoons, and art. First, the author examined news sources by filtering the texts for cartoons, often in the editorial sections. Then, the author identified the iconic photograph the cartoonist hijacked. Next, the author addressed themes and motifs their creators used to address Abu Ghraib. Specifically, the author examined the cartoons for Islamic motifs that may not be recognizable to a Western audience but may significantly impact Muslim audiences (e.g., the depiction of dogs). The author also critiques the visual nature of the hijacked iconography as resistance to static American ideologies (e.g., Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine).

In addition, the researcher analyzes the impact of the Abu Ghraib photographs by examining the discourse generated by non-gallery culture visual representations. Specifically, the author analyzed *clusters* that immerse from discourse about works of art (whether gallery or non-gallery) that visually represent Abu Ghraib. In this context, the dissertation proposes how to analyze gallery and non-gallery art that used the Abu Ghraib photographs as *hijacked* iconography. In addition, the author identifies rhetorical *clusters* as they relate to Islamic society and hijacked iconography.

CHAPTER IV

US VERSUS THEM?:

POST-COLONIAL RHETORIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a deeper meaning to the Abu Ghraib photographs, a meaning that goes beyond what Americans saw or felt at that moment (Hersh, 2004b). The meaning may partially lie in the United States' inability to come to terms with its post-colonial identity and the international backlash the United States received after the reporters published the photographs. In order to understand the international reaction, specifically the Muslim response to the Abu Ghraib photographs, this Chapter will investigate America's post-colonial history and the culture in which the soldiers captured the photographs. By doing so, the dissertation lays the ground for discussing the political cartoons and low/high cultural art in a non-Western manner.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the author chose to examine the complex dichotomy between the West and the East, in particular the Muslim East and its reaction to the Abu Ghraib photographs. The dissertation accordingly examines Muslims view the West as a result of the Abu Ghraib photographs.

White Man's Burden

At the height of British imperialism, Rudyard Kipling (1935) wrote, "take up the white man's burden. Ye dare not stoop to less" (p. 891). Great Britain controlled colonies that encompassed the globe. Part of the British rationale for colonialism was civilizing *savages*. The *taming the savage* rationale is not unique to Great Britain. This rationale also applies to most colonial powers, including the United States (Easterly, 2006; Jordan, 1974). In order to tame the savage, a culture has to define *savage*. Edward

Said (1994) develops the concept of the colonial other when examining the occident's views of the orient.⁴⁷ Yet the concept of other is not a current invention. Hegel (1949) discusses the concept of other when developing his work on perception. Hegel states,

This determinate characteristic (perception of self), which constitutes the essential character of the thing and distinguishes it from all others, is now defined that thereby the thing stands in opposition to others, but must therein preserve itself for itself (*für sich*). (Hegel, 1949, p.174)

Hegel proposes the self needs the other to define itself (Westphal, 1992).⁴⁸ Buck-Morss (2009) explores Hegel's metaphor of master and slave with regard to Haiti and colonial laws of racial separation, "to prevent social and sexual integration that would blur racial distinction on which the Liberty principle now (colonial Haiti) depended" (p. 91). The concept of the other relies heavily on the cognitive thought of superiority and need for modernizing (taming) the subjugated people (savages). From this cognitive framework, subjugated people become less than human. It becomes the obligation of the West, therefore, to civilize and Christianize⁴⁹ the savage and to teach them Western ways. It also legitimizes the denial of human rights and the appropriation of property. The concept likewise sanctions killing. Colonizers are justified in killing the other since the other is savage (Dower, 1986). Shome (1996) and Denzin and Lincoln (2005) point out

⁴⁷ The Orient and the Occident are terms to designate geography during the colonial period. The Orient consists of North Africa, Middle East, and Asia. For the purposes of this paper, the author will focus on the Middle East and North Africa unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁸ It should be noted that Hegel's theories must be taken into the context of his times. Westphal (1992) explains Hegel "writes . . . in a historical context quite different from our own. He thinks of colonialism only as an antidote to poverty in mother countries" (p. 20).

⁴⁹ Post-colonial scholars (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Said, 1994; Tedlock, 2005; Thomas, Stanley, & Perry, 1981) discuss Western encroachment and eventual colonization. One of the first steps was Christian missionaries who proselytized to local populations. Not only have native populations seen this as religious ethnocentrism but also as a form spying and data collection for colonialization. The same charges were (and are) leveled against modern ethnographers. (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2005 for excellent analysis).

that colonial superiority seeps into academia, where scholars view and study the world from a Western, Christian, white man's perspective. The author investigates the colonial/post-colonial condition of Muslims to better comprehend how the concept of the savage, or other, is important to the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib.

Western views of the Arab, Muslim, or Turk are especially complicated because of differences in culture, race, and religion. Ties to the orient are not new to the western world or hemisphere. European explorers looking for shorter routes to the orient *discovered* the *New World* and coined the term "Indians"⁵⁰ to denote the natives encountered. The Spanish quickly established settlements on the North and South American's west coast, which became trading hubs to the Orient. Once the United States acquired independence and purchased or conquered the west coast, Asian immigrants began to arrive in large numbers. With the defeat of Spain during the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired colonies in Cuba, the Philippines, and Hawaii. It was during this period of colonizing the orient that the United States became interested in the Muslim lands. However, it would not be until the end of World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire that the United States would play a direct role in Middle Eastern affairs. Until then, the vast area between Europe and American west coast and north of *dark* Africa was the orient.

The orient was foreign, taboo, and exotic to Americans when they acquired their new colonies. Literature from European travelers such as Gustav Flaubert (1972), Rudyard Kipling (1935), and Gérard de Nerval (1972) and a handful of American travelers including B. W. Campbell (1914) informed readers with tales of tantalizing adventure. Perez (1988) explains that reading and viewing photographs from the Orient

⁵⁰ Christopher Columbus believed he had landed near India and called the people he encountered Indians.

was easier and cheaper for people to do than actually visit the area. Thus, what people read and saw, they took as truth. The works describe the Arab as a savage of low culture, in need of Europeanization (Bhabha, 1994, 1996, Said, 1994). Foucault (1999) argues that the West was seen as scientific and the east as form of erotic art. Many of the writers wrote of the Orient in the romantic style of the Victorian period. The stories were exotic and sexualized. Perez (1988) furthered, “the world of sexual fantasy had already contained such famous temptresses as Isis, Cleopatra, and Salome. The myths of the harems and the sexual prowess of the Easterner also came to play a role in Western eroticism” (p. 34). Erotic novels such as *The Lustful Turk* (Anonymous, 1997)⁵¹ captivated Victorian readers. Not only was Orientalism a written venue, but also a visual one. Readers could purchase publications such as *National Geographic*, which emphasized images to help visualize the other (Lutz & Collins, 1993).

Of the multiple forms of visual representation, the postcard quickly became the dominant medium. Vasta (2008) notes that key reasons for its popularity were cheap stamps and a new Uniform International Postal System. Semmerling (2004) notes that postcards were inexpensive to mass-produce as “objects associated with the bric-a-brac of tourism (p. 1)”. They were also “a part of the family of print capitalism that fosters and creates national identity and identification” (Semmerling, 2004, p. 1). Postcard companies created cards about the Orient in traditional scene and people formats. However, beyond the standard postcards were risqué postcards depicting natives topless or in sexually suggestive poses in photographic format (see Figure 7) created for European and American consumption.

⁵¹ *The Lustful Turk* (1997) which was first published in 1828 has not lost its longevity with the invention of the erotic or pornographic motion picture. *The Lustful Turk* (Mabe, 1968) was the most expensive adult film of its time to create and has become a cult classic.



Figure 7. Victorian Postcard of Muslim Female Topless

The concept of the *Lustful Turk* (Anonymous, 1997) and the deflowering of the proper European (American) woman by the savage and sex hungry Turk also crept into the postcards of the Victorian era (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. Victorian Postcard of Lustful Turk

What Europeans and Americans learned about the other in the Middle East and North Africa was stylized and sexualized to help create the image of the savage. Graham-Brown (1988) notes, “these [nude] studio photographs use pose and juxtaposition of objects to suggest sensuality, sexual availability or primitiveness” (p. 40). She continues, “the rules and taboos of another culture, [were] viewed as inferior to that of Europe” (p. 138). Thus, Europeans and Americans thought it necessary to bring to the east western notions of sexual morals and modernity. However, the concept of the other is not unique to Western culture.

Westoxification or Occidentosis

Orientalism scholars such as Bernard Lewis (1995, 2003) and Samuel Huntington (1998) see the world in terms of *us* versus *them*. The *them* that Lewis and Huntington fear most is Islam. However, it is important to note the East is as guilty as the West of vilifying the *other*. The Muslim world is not without its own form of Orientalism, more precisely termed Occidentalism (Buruma & Margalit, 2004).⁵² In order to understand the concept of Occidentalism, a brief history of Islam is needed to understand the many splits of modern Islam. Often Western societies conceptualize the Muslim in a singular form, with a singular history, and singular attitude such as popular author Raphael Patai (2002) has in his work *The Arab Mind*. Yet this dissertation will show that Islam is much more diverse than Lewis, Huntington, or Patai would lead us to believe. The history of Islam and its modern divisions become increasingly important when traversing the responses to the Abu Ghraib photographs.

⁵² For the purpose of this dissertation and the artifacts chosen, the author investigates the Muslim world rather than the daunting task of the entire Orient or East.

Islam originated on the Arabian Peninsula in the city of Mecca. Mohammed bin Abdullah was born in 570 A.D. The orphaned son of Abdullah, he came to live with his uncle Abu Talib. Talib was a merchant traveling with the trade caravans. Mohammed traveled the trade routes, and other merchants began to know him as a trustworthy and loyal merchant. Other merchants had Mohammed mediate their disputes. He married Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, a wealthy widowed merchant, and began a family. In 610 A.D. he received his first revelation from God on Mount Hira. From his first revelation, Mohammed began to preach a new religion based upon the people of the book.⁵³ God told Mohammed that he was the last prophet (messenger) of God. His message would be the final salvation of man (Ahmed, 2002; Lapidus, 1998; Rahman, 2002).

At first, Mohammed's teachings gained little notoriety outside of Mecca. However, within Mecca, Mohammed caused turmoil because he rejected the idol worship at the Kaaba and thus local leaders saw him as a threat to established power structures.⁵⁴ Local leaders expelled Mohammed and forced him to move to Medina. He began to gain a strong following, and after a succession of battles over a five-year span he was able to conquer Mecca in 630 A.D. He died in 632 A.D. in Medina. From the first revelation in 610 A.D. until his death, he continued to receive revelations from God. The followers of Mohammed collected the words revealed to Mohammed by God and bound them into the

⁵³ The people of the book come from the Abrahamic succession in Judaism. Abraham had two wives. Judaism and Christianity follow the line of Sarah and her son Isaac, whereas Islam follows the line of Hagar and her son Ismail (Lapidus, 1998). This is why there are special rules about people of the book in Islam that gives them a protected status (though not equal) as compared to Kafar (non-believers) (Ahmed, 2002).

⁵⁴ Before and during the life of Mohammed, Mecca (specifically the Kaaba) was the center of religious life in the Arabian Peninsula. The Kaaba contained many pagan idols and effigies to a multitude of Gods. Mohammed proclaimed the pagan idols as blasphemy and destroyed all of them when he captured Mecca in 630 A.D.

Quran.⁵⁵ Mohammed's followers also collected his sayings and actions and compiled into several Hadith (Rahman, 2002).

After Mohammed's death, Abu Bakr became the first Caliph (successor). Through his military campaigns and those of the next four Caliphs, Islam grew to encompass modern day Iran, Arabian Peninsula, and large sections of North Africa. It was after the death of the Ali ibn Abi Talib and Mu'awiya that Islam split into two main factions. One faction was the Sunni. They are Muslims who continue to follow the caliphate as chosen by an election of the Muslim Community. The other faction believes that Caliphate was corrupt and that only those who shared Mohammed's bloodline ought to lead Islam. These Muslims call themselves Shi'a. The Shi'a lost an important battle at Karbla (modern day Iraq) in 680 A.D. Mu'awiya's son's army killed Ali's son Husain ibn Ali at Karbala and Sunni became the dominate sect until the revival of Shi'a in modern Iran after the Mongol invasion in 1501 A.D. (Ahmed, 2002; Lapidus, 1998; Rahman, 2002).

Islam as a whole continued to spread uncontested for 500 years after the death of Mohammed. With the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires, Islam stretched from Spain to India covering large areas of Asia, Europe, and North Africa. The Mongol invasion of the East and defeat at the gates of Vienna and Northern Spain⁵⁶ in Europe finally checked Islam's expansion (Ahmed, 2002; Rahman, 2002). During the expansion, Islam absorbed many cultures and melded many local beliefs and scholarships into Islam.

⁵⁵ Mohammed never wrote down anything. His followers collected the verses after his death, and they were compiled and canonized under Caliph Uthman (Ahmed, 2002).

⁵⁶ In 700 A.D. the Moors (Muslim) conquered all of Spain and the Pyrenees as well as Southern France before they were defeated in 722 A.D. at Battle of Covadonga. It was not until 1492 A.D. and the Treaty of Grenada that all Moorish Armies left Western Europe (Ahmed, 2002).

Scholars such as Al Farabi⁵⁷ and Al Ghazali argued the merits and limitations of Aristotle in the 1000's A.D. (Fakhry, 2002). Rulers such as Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great also incorporated local religions into Islam. Lapidus (1998) furthers,

While he [Akbar the Great] appealed to Muslim scholars by endowment of madrasas⁵⁸ and libraries, he also sponsored a more universalistic culture. He supported the Chisti order, which was tolerant of synthesis between Hinduism and Islam, and started a state cult called *Din-I Ilahi*, or divine religion, with the emperor himself considered to be a Sufi master of a new religious order . . . the ruler is considered a philosopher-king, protector of all of his subjects regardless of their religion, and a spiritual guide who brings reconciliation and love, and fosters well-being in the whole of his domain. (p. 456)

The infusion of post-Mohammedan ideas and concepts into Islam began to cause a rift in Islamic scholarship. With the decline of Islam and the resurgence of a post-enlightenment and industrial revolutionized Europe, Muslim scholars began to question Islam in its then current state. Muslim scholars brought the question of the state of Islam to the forefront with European colonialism encroaching on Muslim lands (Donohue & Esposito, 2007).

The two competing schools of thought revolve around the concept of the closing of the doors of *ijtihad*.⁵⁹ Islamic scholars argue whether or not to embrace modernity

⁵⁷ Without Islamic scholars such as Al Farabi, much of what modern Western scholars know about Aristotle would have been lost during the European Dark Ages when Aristotle was considered heretical (Fakhry, 2002).

⁵⁸ A madrasas is an Islamic school where Islamic scholars teach the Quran.

⁵⁹ Hallaq (1984) defines *ijtihad* as “the exertion of mental energy in the search for a legal opinion to the extent that the faculties of the jurist become incapable of further effort” (p. 3). *Ijtihad* is the personal struggle in Islam for a solution when there is not jurisprudence or Quranic precedence (Hallaq, 1984, 2005). Traditionalists believe that everything that could be known was known and thus they believed the doors of *ijtihad* had closed. Whereas, more liberal scholars believed that the doors have remained open and

through modern approaches or to go back to the time of Mohammed as exemplar. The conversation is not completely new to Islam and can trace its roots to periods early in Islamic intellectual thought.

The first school of scholarly thought believes the doors of *ijtihad* can never close because people are fallible, and therefore there must always be room for interpretation. In the mid-12th century, Ahmad ibn Naqib al Misri spoke on the topic of *ijtihad* in his classic treaty on Islamic law at the height of Islamic expansion. Misri (1994) commented, “no age of history is totally lacking of people who are competent in *ijtihad* on particular questions which are new . . . the door of *ijtihad* is not and cannot be closed . . . Islamic scholarship has not accepted anyone’s claims to absolute *ijtihad* (p. 16).”⁶⁰ Sadly, soon after, conservative leaders dominated Islam and the first school of *ijtihad* would be dormant for nearly 400 years.

In the 19th century, Egyptian born and French educated Riffa al Tahtawi (Tahtawi, 2007) was one of the first modern Islamic scholars to approach Western modernity and thus approach *ijtihad* as an open door. He wrote about Arab nationalism and the importance national identity. His contemporary, Jamal al Din Al Afghani (2007a, 2007b), explained that the best way to combat Ottoman and Western imperialism was *ijtihad*. He argued that Islam found science first, and Islam became complacent, allowing the West to surpass it. Sayyid Ahmed Khan (2007a, 2007b) embraced the colonial powers and implored imitation.

that *ijtihad* must be used to evaluate modernity. Sometimes the struggle is known as a struggle between the Mu’tazilites and the Ash’arites (Nasr, 2003).

⁶⁰ The paragraph is closed by mentioning the exceptions, which are the Quran and Hadith (Misri, 1994).

Modernist Tariq Ramadan⁶¹ examines Islam from a Western perspective. He proposes that Islam is not simply an Arabic phenomenon but a universal phenomenon and that Muslims living in the West must learn to practice Islam as Westerners (Ramadan, 2004, 2007). Ramadan believes in a universal Islam that does not need fixed borders or boundaries.

Mohammed Arkoun (1998) examines Islam through a postmodernist lens. He believes Muslims must rethink⁶² Islam in a modern sense. While never mentioning Derrida and Foucault, he does discuss the deconstruction of Islam and Foucault's episteme, specifically in regards to "the implicit postulates which command the syntactic construction of the discourse" (Arkoun, 1998, p. 208).

Islamic scholars who adhere to an open door approach to modernity also delve into democracy and its utility in Islam. Fathi Osman (2007) states, "in a contemporary democratic procedure, the voting of the electorate and the oath made by the elected head of state take the place of the original bay'a (p. 289)."⁶³ Osman (2007) and Soroush (2007) separate the often-confused terms of democracy and secularism in the Muslim world. Osman (2007) advocates for oppositional parties and explains,

An opposition is indispensable to a democratic system and should not raise any suspicion in the Muslim mind. It is needed to scrutinize the practices of the government and to provide an alternative if the party in power loses the confidence of the people. (p. 293)

⁶¹ Tariq Ramadan is the grandson of the Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan Banna. Ramadan was born and educated in Switzerland. Ramadan (2001) discusses his father (Said Ramadan) and his Grandfather (Hassan Banna through his mother) in the preface to *Islam, the West and the challenges of Modernity*.

⁶² Arkoun (1998) loosely translates his article's title "Rethinking Islam Today" into English. The concept of "rethinking" is complicated. It is not reinterpreting but thinking in a truer sense than conservative scholars have (Arkoun, 1998).

⁶³ An important part of Bay'a is people support and advise the ruler. The concept derives from the approval of the people of the first four Caliphs after Mohammed (Osman, 2007).

Soroush (2007) adds, “democracy is compromised [sic] of a method of restricting the power of the rulers and rationalizing their deliberations and policies, so that they will be less vulnerable to error and corruption, more open to exhortation, moderation, consolation” (p. 314). Simply put, democracy in Islam is a check and balance system to insure that no one person or group gains too much unchecked power and becomes corrupt.

While the aforementioned scholars paint a liberal and progressive picture of modern Islamic thought, one must also account for those scholars who believe the doors of *ijtihad* closed many centuries ago. During the early 14th century Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah began to question the sudden decline of the Islamic world in the wake of the Mongol invasions. He believes that Islam had become corrupt by absorbing other religions and cultures as Islam spread. He believes that the doors of *ijtihad* had closed and that everything that one needed to know, people already knew. Scholars need not look for answers with reason and logic but should, as Fakhry (1997) states of Taymiyyah, “return to the ways of the pious ancestors (*as-salaf al salih*)” (p. 126). The Quran and the Hadith were all encompassing and infallible (Fakhry, 1997). From Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah, one can identify at least three modern lines of radically conservative thought: Wahhabism, Al-Qaeda, and Iranian Shia’ism.⁶⁴

Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab founded Wahhabism in the 18th century in response to what he believed as idolatry of the holy sites of Mecca and Medina in the Arabian Peninsula. He, like Taymiyyah, believes in literal interpretation of Islam through the Quran and Hadith (Fakhry, 1997). Buruma & Margalit (2004) explain that Wahhab merged his tribe with the Saudi tribe. They then conquered the Arabian

⁶⁴ It must be noted that though these lines of thought originate from Taymiyyah, they do not follow him verbatim. An example would be that Taymiyyah hated Shia’ism and thus would be in opposition to anything the future Supreme Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini professed.

Peninsula. They suffered a series of defeats for the next 150 years. It was not until the House of Saud sided with the British during World War I that Wahhabism became the official form of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia). Ahmed (2002) mentions that though the population of Saudi Arabia is relatively small, its revenue from oil and governance of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina give conservative Wahhabi Islam strong influence in the world. From Wahhabi Saudi Arabia came an energetic and ideological Osama bin Laden who would orchestrate the September 11 attacks, among others, against the United States. He did so in part because the United States occupied the Islamic holy lands (bin Laden, 2007).

Yet, Wahhabism was not the only influence on Osama bin Laden. Radical Egyptian scholar Sayyid Qutb played an important role that ultimately led to the creation of bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Qutb began his career in Egypt as an educator, writer, and critic. Later in life, he became a writer of radical Islam. Part of what led him to narrow and violent view of Islam was his two-year stay in the United States as a student. Western *decadence* such as dancing and rock and roll shocked him. Upon his return to Egypt, Qutb joined the Muslim Brotherhood, which young members radicalized as the organization fractured. President Gamal Abdel Nasser imprisoned Qutb where he was tortured for his radical beliefs. This punishment further cemented Qutb's violent Islamic views. After his release from prison, Qutb wrote *Milestones*, the premier work read by modern radicals. Nasser imprisoned Qutb again and executed him in 1966 (Qutb, 2000, 2001).

Qutb applies jahiliyya to modernity. Qutb (2001) uses the term jahiliyya to mean “ignorance of the Divine guidance” (p. 11).⁶⁵ He believes that western decadence has influenced societies to be corrupted. Qutb (2001) sees the world in dichotomous terms; “Islam only knows two kinds of societies, the Islamic and the jahili” (p. 93). The only way to be a part of the Islamic world is to cleanse it of jahili (the West) and return to the foundation of Islam and the time of the Prophet by any means necessary including jihad.⁶⁶ Qutb (2001) explains,

Whenever an Islamic community exists which is concrete example of the Divinely-ordained system of life, it has a God-given right to step forward and take control of the political authority so that it may establish the Divine system on earth. (p. 76)

Qutb’s followers including Ayman al-Zawahiri and Osama bin Laden took his statements literally. Bin Laden (2007) states in his Fatwa⁶⁷ against the United States, “the ruling (fatwa) to kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military – is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it” (p. 431).

The final scholarly group that beckons to a bygone era of the Prophet and the closed doors of ijtiḥād is modern Iranian Shia’ism. Similar to Abu-l al-Mawdudi, whose political theory of Islam is anti-Western democracy⁶⁸ and pro-Islamic theocracy, Iran is a total Islamic State. Iranian scholars such as Jalal Al-I Ahmad, Al Shari’ati, and Ruhollah

⁶⁵ The term jahiliyya is also used to refer to a period in time, specifically the dark ages of idolatry before the Prophet Mohammed (Qutb, 2001).

⁶⁶ Jihad means struggle. There are two types of jihad. The greater jihad is the individual (internal) struggle to be a good Muslim. The lesser jihad is the external struggle (usually with arms). Westerners most commonly refer to the lesser jihad (Ahmed, 2002).

⁶⁷ A fatwa is, as Ahmed (2002) defines, “a formal opinion or decision on a point of Islamic law . . . delivered by a religious leader on a variety of topics” (p. 8).

⁶⁸ Mawdudi (2007) states, “Islam is . . . the very antithesis of secular Western Democracy” (p. 264) and can only be ruled by a “Kingdom of God” (p. 264) roughly translated as theocracy.

Khumayni⁶⁹ promote a strict view of Shia Islam that is anti-modernity and conservative in practice. Jalal Al-I Ahmad's (1984) *Occidentosis*⁷⁰ compares the Muslim world's fascination with the West to a disease. He uses a disease metaphor to explore the ailments of modernity and Western thought on Iran. Ahmad (1984) states in the opening line of his work, "I speak of occidentosis as of tuberculosis. But perhaps it more closely resembles an infestation of weevils" (p. 27). The rest of the work is a scathing critique of the West and those in Iran who are Western influenced. Ahmad's response to the disease is rejection. Ahmad rejects the West's materialism, secularism, but he would like to keep a tamed form of technology as long as it is in the hands of Iranians.⁷¹

Neo-Marxist Al Shari'ati was much more forceful in his writings about curing Iran of occidentosis and impure Islam. Shari'ati was vehement in his conservative view of Shia'ism and openly hostile to the Shah. He believes in supporting any means necessary including *shahadat*⁷² for a pure form of Islam. Shari'ati (2007) wrote, "*Shahadat* is an invitation to all generations, in all ages, if you cannot kill your oppressor, then die" (p. 365). Shari'ati believes Shia'ism needs reform because of its modern corruptions. Nasr (2006) commented on Shari'ati's temperament, "Shiism [sic] had lost its way during the Safavid period, to become a creed of scholarship and piety rather than social justice and revolution" (pp. 128-129). Ahmend and Shari'ati did not live to witness the birth of the Islamic Republic of Iran; however, Ruhollah Khumayni lived long enough to return from exile in France.

⁶⁹ For the purposes of this work, I use the spelling Khumayni. One could also spell Khumayni as Khomeini or Kumauni. While the same person, searching under the multiple spellings gains better results.

⁷⁰ Occidentosis can also be translated as Gharbzadegi, Euromania, Westoxification, Weststruckness, or Westitis.

⁷¹ What the tamed technology represents is how to obtain it is not clear in Ahmad's work. Ahmad (1984) mentions a "plan covering a period of twenty years . . . we send students to India and Japan and nowhere else, certainly not Europe or America" (p. 121) as a possible solution.

⁷² Shahadat can be translated as martyrdom from Islam (Shari'ati, 2007).

Ruhollah Khumayni is most likely the most well-known Iranian conservative scholar because he was the first leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the Supreme Ayatollah Ruhollah Khumayni. He became popular in Iran because of the brutal practices of Mohammad Rezā Shāh Pahlavi. The people perceived the Shah as a puppet of the West. Khumayni and his radical Islamicist used the Shah's modern reforms and greed as proof of the Shah's occidentosis. From exile, Khumayni returned as a national hero (Coughlin, 2009).

A cursory glance of the writings of Khumayni may make one believe that he was a modernizer and a follower of the open doors of ijtiḥād. Khumayni stated, "as opposed to other schools of jurisprudence which remained silent as to ijtiḥād after the 7th century AH [sic], Shi'ite jurisprudence has remained active and has grown and extended itself with changes of time" (Khomeini, 1986, p. 27). However, what he left out he mentions in his piece on Islamic government. Khumayni (2007) states, "the Quran and the Hadith books are comprehensive and cover all aspects of life" (p. 333) and furthers "the Islamic government of the law and God alone is the ruler and the legislator" (p. 335).

Khumayni's double-speak is problematic. By stating that the Quran and Hadith are comprehensive, he takes the same position as Taymiyyah, who announced the closing of the doors of ijtiḥād in the seventh century. After the death of Khumayni in 1989, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Hoseyni Khāmene became the Iran's supreme leader. He continues to follow the footsteps of his predecessor's ultra-conservative and violent form of Islamic government (Coughlin, 2009).

The importance of understanding the roots and divisions of Islam is critical to understanding how Muslim audiences viewed and reacted to the Abu Ghraib

photographs. What appeared merely shocking to a Western audience was likely considered blasphemy to many Muslim viewers. In Western culture, for example, wearing women's underwear on a male's head may seem, at worst, tasteless. However, Islamic beliefs of modesty and gender roles move the gesture from the tasteless category to one that challenges masculinity.

The division in Islamic scholarship is important to this study because it helps explain how certain sects of Islam use the Abu Ghraib photographs as resistance. Wahabism and Shia'ism proclaim the doors of *ijtihad* closed and modern thought heresy. The sects can claim, as Said Qutb (2000; 2001; 2004) has, that the West exploits leaving the doors of *ijtihad* open. Open doors lead to decadence and colonialism and, therefore, a need to return to fundamentalist Islam. The Abu Ghraib photographs served as proof of Western abuse and colonialism, and the visual became a channel that called for a stricter adherence to Islam. Without knowing the history of Islam, a Western scholar could easily miss important cultural cues insofar as what at first glance may seem simple mockery could be the key to a violent struggle.

Post-Colonialism

With a better understanding of the Islamic world in which the photographers took the Abu Ghraib photographs, this dissertation now turns to post-colonial scholarship to better understand the Islamic world. Slemon (1994) states, “‘post-colonial studies’ is reproducing itself at present as a spectacle of disorderly conduct” (p. 15). Slemon simply means that post-colonial studies have been unorganized and disjointed. Terminology associated or intermingled with the term post-colonial is problematic. As Loomba (2005) notes, post-colonialism “is a word that is useful only if we use it with caution and

qualification” (p. 21). Post-colonialism is a term that has become synonymous with many, sometimes contradictory, terms. McLoed (2000) explains, “there is no singular post-colonialism” (p. 3). Whether the many post-colonialism terms are an over-appropriation of terms trying to encompass too much academic terrain (as Spivak [2010] claims) or part of a strategic political agenda of critics and politicians as Moore-Gilbert, Stanton, and Maley (1997) and King (1996) propose, each use of terminology effects the post-colonial discussion.

In order to enter the post-colonial discussion, scholars must separate the root *colonialism* from post-colonialism to understand the lexicology of post-colonialism. Colony is the root of colonialism. *American Heritage Dictionary* (Colony, 2001) defines colony as “1. a group of emigrants who settle a distant territory but remain subject to their parent country or 2. a region controlled by a distant country” (p. 175). Colony (colonialism) does not equate with imperialism. Loomba (2005) explains that imperialism is “the highest stage of colonialism . . . a global system” (p. 11). A colony is a single place or territory, whereas an empire is a set of colonies.

The American Heritage Dictionary (Colony, 2001) definition of colony is geographically laden. Colonialism encompasses much more than just a geographical relocation of people as a colony. Osterhammel (2002) uses Curtin’s (1990) definition of colonialism: “domination of people of another culture,” (in Osterhammel, 2002, p. 15) but Osterhammel adds three more qualifiers to the term colonialism. First, Osterhammel (2002) notes,

colonialism is not just any relationship between masters and servants, but one in which an entire society is robbed of its historical line of development, *externally*

manipulated and transformed according to the needs and interests of the colonial rulers. (p. 15)

A part of colonialism is the transformation or robbing of native historical lines of development. Biologically similar to when an invasive species destroys an ecosystem, colonialism takes over the native culture and destroys it. For example, Spanish conquistadors' conquest of the Aztecs of Central America destroyed the native culture.

Second, Osterhammel (2002) believes there must be a distinction between colonized and colonizers. Depicting the colonized as mere savages strategically places the colonizer above the colonized. Savagery includes local religions, cultural practices, and even race. Algerian revolutionary Albert Memmi (1991) states, "racism sums up and symbolizes the fundamental relation which unites colonialist and colonized" (p 70).

Martinique political activist Aime Cesaire (2000) analyzes the effects of the historical colonial correlation of Christianity equaling civilization and paganism equaling savagery in the Caribbean Islands. Yet there is more than merely labeling the other as savage; there is a power differentiation.

Osterhammel (2002) explains his third qualifier of modern colonialism is not only a description of a structural system, but also specific interpretation of a colonial system. Not only are the colonized other savages, but they are also in need of civilizing, a *noble* form of power differentiation. The colonizer's duty is to civilize the savage. Whether through aid (as Easterly [2006] suggests) or religious missionary work (as Comaroff and Comaroff [1991, 1997] propose), the outcome of the colonizers often destroys the indigenous culture. Again, Algeria is a prime example of the moral crusade of

colonialism. Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville⁷³ believed that France had an important stake in civilizing the native Algerians and that colonization was the solution (Pitts, 2005).

Osterhammel's (2002) definition of colonialism is by no means exclusive. Some scholars take a Marxist view of colonialism purely based in labor and economics. Childs and Williams (1997) as well as Loomba (2005) believe colonialism is not a new phenomenon to post-Renaissance Europe as many scholars claim, but colonialism reaches back to the beginning of history as contestation of economies and resources. Loomba (2005) states, "colonialism can be defined as conquest and control of other people's land and goods" (p. 8). However, Osterhammel's (2002) initial definition of colonialism is not discarded. Tiffin and Lawson (1994) explain that colonial powers described local populations as, "primitive and unable to make use of the natural resources around them . . . to justify their [locals] dispossessions" (p. 5). Hiddleston (2009) boldly states,

most critics who identify themselves with post-colonialism focus on the particular form of colonial ideology that was also tied to capitalism, and that brought about not just the conquest of peoples and the use of their resources, but also industrialization and wholesale restructuring of their economies. (p. 3)

Colonial possessions were an excellent source of raw material and inexpensive labor. When the United States, England's former colony and source of inexpensive cotton, erupted into civil war in the 1860s, England began searching for a new source of cotton for British mills. Milton-Edwards (2008) noted that Egyptian cotton exports in 1821

⁷³ Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville's best-known work was *Democracy in America*, considered a literary classic on early American politics and democracy (Tocqueville, 2003).

were 1,000 quantars,⁷⁴ but by the 1880s, exports rose to 2.5 million quantars almost exclusively to England. The cotton exportation contributed to Egyptian economic worth; it became a British colony by end of the century.

Often the colonial struggle or anti-colonialism is confused with post-colonialism. However, anti-colonialism relates closer to colonialism than post-colonialism. Anti-colonialism addresses the struggle against colonialism during the colonial period (Hiddleston, 2009). Writers such as Fanon (1965, 2004), Memmi (1955, 1991), Cesaire (2000), and Nkrumah (1970) fought to free their lands from European colonialism. It does not mean that scholars should neglect or ignore anti-colonialism. Rather, scholars ought to keep the colonial struggle in perspective because the colonial struggle is important during the post-colonial era.

One aspect post-colonial scholars may agree upon is that post-colonialism does not simply mean a period following colonialism (Ashcroft, 1994; Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989, 1995; McLeod, 2000; Sharp, 2009). The term diversifies quickly. McLeod (2000) explains that there is no singular post-colonialism. Even the term post-colonialism holds a separate meaning than post-colonialism. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) explain “the hyphenated form of the word ‘post-colonialism’ has come to stand for both the material effects of colonisation [sic] and the huge diversity of everyday and sometimes hidden responses to it throughout the world” (p. 3).

McLeod (2000) explains that colonialism (and thus post-colonialism) fall into three historical periods. The first is the British loss of its thirteen colonies in North America. The second period encompasses the nineteenth century. European powers

⁷⁴ The quantar is an Egyptian form of measurements based upon 100s. One quantar equals roughly 45 kilograms or 99 pounds.

became heavily involved in Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Asia. The final period was after the end of the Second World War and the foundation of the United Nations. McLeod marks this period with the steady decline of the United Kingdom and France as well as the Cold War.

McLeod (2000) also believes that to define a piece as post-colonial,⁷⁵ scholars must consider three criteria. First, the piece could be or have been created in a colonial setting. Secondly, someone who immigrated to or from a colonial setting could have created the piece. Finally, the piece can be re-read using colonial discourse rather than colonizers discourse. The last qualifier is particularly interesting because a scholar could go back and re-read a piece from someone such as Rudyard Kipling from the perspective of an Afghani rather than a British frontier soldier.

There are also several other approaches to post-colonialism. Some scholars such as Lawson (2007) believe post-colonialism is a discursive phenomenon. In order to understand post-colonialism, a scholar must deconstruct the text in a Derridean manner and reconstruct it. Tiffin and Lawson (1994) explain that post-colonialism is “especially and pressingly concerned with the power that resides in discourse and textuality; its resistance, then, quite appropriately takes place in -and from- domain of textuality” (p. 10).

Another approach to post-colonialism is Marxist. Childs and Williams (1997) approach post-colonialism from the stance of power structures and power control. Post-colonialism is a means of “shore[ing] up the boundaries of the nation-states against all those forces which would ignore or bypass them” (Childs & Williams, 1997, p.12). The struggle lies in a post national” struggle with the global economy. Ashcroft, Griffiths,

⁷⁵ McLeod (2000) specifically discusses literature but discourse, artifacts, and other texts could also apply.

and Tiffin (1995) “would argue that post-colonial studies are based in the ‘historical fact’ of European colonialism, and the diverse material effects to which this phenomenon gave rise” (p. 2). However, Moore-Gilbert, Stanton, and Maley (1997) claim that post-colonialism lies somewhere between Marxism and existentialism. They explain,

It is only proper that a domain of study that is preoccupied with ambivalence, hybridity and migrancy, should itself be marked by such in-betweenness - theory and practice, between literary and cultural studies. (Moore-Gilbert, Stanton, & Maley, 1997, p. 3)

An exact approach or definition of post-colonialism is difficult to attain. Finally, Sharp (2009) approaches post-colonialism from a cognitive perspective. She notes “post-colonialism is an analysis and critique of the ways in which western knowledge systems have come to dominate” (Sharp, 2009, p. 5). Post-colonialism is not only action, but also a cognitive thought process.

Scholars can become academically invested in a particular definition or approach, which becomes counterproductive to the whole enterprise of post-colonial studies. Gilbert and Tompkins (1996) may have a solution by combining several approaches to post-colonialism. They state

Post-colonialism is . . . an engagement with contestation of colonialism’s discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies. Colonisation [sic] is insidious: it invades far more than political chambers and extends well beyond independence calibrations. Its effects shape language, education, religion, artistic sensibilities, and increasingly, popular culture” (Gilbert & Tompkins, 1996, p. 2).

The holistic approach allows scholars to examine post-colonialism from multiple angles. The definition also allows scholars to deconstruct and examine independent variables that could lead to or cause the post-colonial condition. It should also be remembered that post-colonialism is not a discourse between the indigenous population and the former colonial power, but a multi-level discourse between the indigenous population, the colonist, and the former colonial powers (Prentice, 1994).

Yet the discussion of what is post-colonialism refers to more than just the terms postcolonial and post-colonial. Scholars also use other terms that blend and confuse those in discussions about post-colonialism.

Scholars sometimes intertwine the terms post-colonialism and subaltern. While some scholars consider subaltern studies a post-colonial field, post-colonialism is not exclusively subaltern. The origins of the term subaltern come from the colonial British Army. A subaltern was a low rank officer or someone of inferior rank. The term gained its scholarly significance from Antonio Gramsci to mask the Marxist term proletariat in his prison writings (Galfarsoro, 2007). Gramsci titled one of his prison notebooks *History of the Subaltern Classes Methodological Criteria* (Gramsci, 1971), which discusses class structure. Chakrabarty (2002) states, “both subaltern studies and the history-from-below school was Marxist in inspiration; both owed a certain intellectual debt to the Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci” (p. 7.).

Yet many scholars such as Morris (2000), Chaturvedi (2000), and Chakrabarty (2002) believe that subaltern studies focus mainly on the Indian sub-continent and the period of British colonialism.⁷⁶ While Gramsci uses the term subaltern as code for proletariat or marginalized people (Galfarsoro, 2007), Spivak (2010) believes the term

⁷⁶ The term *commonwealth literature* is also used to mean subaltern.

subaltern is over-used and detrimental to those who suffered colonial abuses. Spivak (2010) states, “this word [subaltern] is reserved for the heterogeneity of decolonized space” (p. 65). Morris (2000) continues, “subalternity is less an identity than what we might call a [post-colonial] predicament” (p. 8).

The final term that scholars often intermingle with post-colonialism is neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism. Thomas, Stanley, and Perry (1981) believe that some would like to model the world after America, to spread American democracy and economy to a global level and create a “Westernized Protestant world” (p. 105). However, “we [Thomas et als.] recognize this as economic and cultural neo-imperialism” (Thomas et als., 1981, p. 104). More concisely, Childs and Williams (1997) show that neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism are similar to colonialism and imperialism without direct force, bureaucratic administration or occupation. Instead neo-imperialist places emphasis on indirectly dominating a country’s “political, cultural, and above all economic channels” (Childs & Williams, 1997, p. 5). Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) explain that “all post-colonial societies are still subject in one way or another to overt or subtle forms neo-colonial domination and independence has not solved the problem” (p. 2).

Modern scholars do not unanimously agree about the colonial situation and the post-colonial condition. Homi Bhabha is one such scholar who challenges modernity and post-colonialism (Bhabha, 1991). Bhabha (1994) believes that societies including post-colonial are

A hybridity, a difference ‘within’, a subject that inhabits the rim of an ‘in-between’ reality. And the inscription of the borderline existence inhabits a

stillness of time and strangeness of framing that creates the discursive ‘image’ at the crossroads of history and literature, bridging the home and the world. (p. 19)

Bhabha’s (1994) hybridity is defined as the “private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social develop an interstitial intimacy” (p. 19). All this occurs in Bhabha’s (1990, 1994) *Third Space*. Bhabha (1990, 1994; Weissbrod, 2008) even challenges the notion of culture. He believes culture is ideological and used as a means to an end (often political) rather than a true descriptor. If Bhabha is correct about culture then the concepts of pre-colonial and post-colonial are rendered nonexistent. This begs the question, what is post-colonialism?

The answer may lie in that Bhabha (1996) believes, as does Kwame Appiah, that hybridity can lead to cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism has two main factors according to Appiah (2006). The first factor is that people have an obligation to other people beyond kin and creed. The second is that people value human life and the uniqueness of individual and differentiating of those lives. Appiah challenges post-colonialism directly. Appiah (1995) states

Postcoloniality is the condition of what we might ungenerously call a comprador intelligentsia: of a relatively small, Western-style, Western-trained, group of writers and thinkers, who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery. In the west, they are known through the Africa they offer; their compatriots know them both through the West they present to Africa and through an Africa, they have invented for the world, for each other and for Africa. (p. 119)

He echoes Spivak's (2010) West-centric view of academia, but offers a solution in cosmopolitanism. One aspect that scholars agree upon is the power struggle of the colonial condition of those subjected to colonizers. It is from the bitter colonial period, and the struggle to identify oneself as either a culture or cosmopolitan, that the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib situate themselves. Seven *bad apples* did not take the photographs at Abu Ghraib prison in a vacuum; the soldiers captured the images in complex societies with multiple meanings.

There are many ways to approach the post-colonial condition and terms could be muddle. This chapter has helped clarify some of those terms. However, the dissertation needs a working definition of post-colonial. Post-colonialism is not a static period of time that is *after* colonialism. The author chooses to approach the post-colonial world paradigm that resembles those of Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and Appiah's (2006) cosmopolitanism. Post-colonialism is a response to the European and American colonization of native places and populations. Post-colonialism fixes itself in neither time nor space.⁷⁷ Post-colonialism is fluid and dynamic process that is a response to colonialism and can sometimes fit into preexisting categories, but often cannot. Post-colonialism does not fix itself within geographical borders, but rather by shared cultural experiences.⁷⁸ Finally post-colonialism is a cognitive phenomenon. Post-colonialism may be present in laws and decrees but often is a concept passed around at bazaars and mosques. Very much in the tradition of Habermas's (1989) public sphere, post-colonialism is in the mind of society. Political leaders and dictators may embrace the

⁷⁷ As aforementioned, the United States was both the colonizer and the colonized.

⁷⁸ Modern borders resemble those that Europeans set. Much of the post-colonial conflict arises from those arbitrary borders that split groups. This is especially true in areas such as the Congo where the colonizers favored the minority to better control the population (McLoed, 2000).

concept in case such as Israel or brutally oppose it such as how Iran, Iraq, and Turkey oppress their Kurdish minorities.

Static American Ideologies

The term static American ideology may seem difficult to define. However, when one takes into account McGee's (1980) concept of the ideograph, defining a static American ideology becomes possible. Rather than a stern fixed definition, static American ideology fits within the cultural parameters of American society. The author chooses to use the term static because the nature of one aspect of American ideology has remained constant throughout American history, the concept of expanding democracy (Holmes, 2007).

Expansion in the name of democracy began before the American colonies became the United States. Americans began pushing westward as populations drastically increased in the original colonies. The first phase of American expansion west, to claim the Southeast and Ohio Valley region, was well under way during the American Revolution. The second phase occurred after the American Revolution with the Louisiana Purchase from France and the continued westward migration through the nineteenth century (Graebner, 1968; Merk, 1963). The third phase is the ongoing democratic expansion beyond the borders of the United State and began in earnest after World War II with programs such as the Marshall Plan (O'Hara, 2009).

At the heart of the American democratic ideology are two concepts from the early history of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. The Monroe Doctrine is a piece of legislation drafted in 1823 by President James Monroe even though the true architect is Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. The doctrine

officially mandated that the United States would protect any nation's sovereignty in the western hemisphere from European colonialism. The doctrine included the newly independent countries of South and Central America as well as Islands in the Caribbean Sea (Merk, 1963).

Manifest Destiny is a concept brought to popularity by columnist John L. O'Sullivan in the mid eighteen forties. O'Sullivan believed it was the destiny of the United States to move Westward and spread democracy. O'Sullivan was popular during his time because of the recent victory against Mexico during the Mexican-American War and the annexation of Texas (Graebner, 1968; Merk, 1963). Many politicians supported the ideology of Manifest Destiny, though there were some ardent objectors such as John C. Calhoun (Merk, 1963). Supportive politicians and immigrants used the guise of Manifest Destiny to populate and organize the West into territories and eventually states (Graebner, 1968; Merk, 1963).

While the proponents of the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest at first had good intentions, the interpretation and reinterpretation of these ideologies led the United States to become the imperial power that supporters of each ideology hoped to stop (Grabner, 1968). Yet the ideology of spreading democracy and stopping colonialism continued. Whether it was ending Spanish colonialism in the Western Hemisphere during the Spanish-America War, stopping Japanese and German imperial conquest during World War II, or inhibiting Communist colonialism during the Cold War, the United States became a global power under the banner of global democracy (Holloway, 2008; Holmes, 2007; O'Hara, 2009; Zinn, 1990). O'Hara (2009) states the concept simply, "[it is the

American] state of mind . . . that permits . . . dreams of Manifest Destiny to flourish with more or less a good conscience” (p. 75).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and especially after September 11, 2001, the United States once again found itself at the forefront of global conflict. This time, the United States focused on the Middle East. Neo-conservative scholars and political activists such as Samuel Huntington (1998), Paul Wolfowitz, and Scooter Libby called for action against a dangerous fundamentalist Islam (Curtis, 2004). The Bush administration found a justification that would fit within the American ideology of global democracy by fighting Islam in a clash of civilizations (Said, 2004). President Bush (2010) comments in his memoir,

They [Taliban] imposed a fanatical, barbaric brand of Islam that prohibited girls from going to school, required men to grow beards of a certain length, and forbade women from leaving their homes without male relatives as an escort. The simplest pleasures –signing, clapping, and flying kites-were banned. (p.186)

The argument for a global war on terror rests on a similar foundation as colonialism, to tame the savage (Hersh, 2004b).

Similar to the original Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny, there were politicians and scholars who resisted the call to pure patriotism. Scholars such as Edward Said (2004) and Noam Chomsky (2006) vehemently opposed military conflict especially against Iraq. Chomsky (2006) explains that when the original auspices for the invasion of Iraq, weapons of mass destruction, proved baseless, the Bush administration began to cultivate the democracy theme. Chomsky (2006) notes “in the documents reviewed in the most extensive study of the [original] justification for the Iraq invasion, by Paul Prados,

such terms as *democracy* are not even indexed” (p. 130). However, the majority of politicians and Americans bought into the necessity of war (Chomsky, 2006). Holloway (2008) contends that Americans bought into the war rhetoric because they felt the United States was “the guarantor of peace, stability, democratization, and oil supplies in a combustible region of Islamic peoples” (p. 14).

CHAPTER V

MORE THAN JUST LAUGHTER:

ABU GHRAIB POST-COLONIAL POLITICAL CARTOONS

The previous Chapter explains the complexities of the post-colonial world. With the knowledge gained about Islamic culture and the post-colonial condition, the dissertation will now move to explore examples of post-colonial resistance via the hijacked Abu Ghraib photographs. This Chapter explores the Abu Ghraib scandal in political cartoons. It will explain the relationship between visual icons and the caricatured visual representation of those icons. Specifically, the Chapter explores the cartoonists' manipulation of iconic Abu Ghraib photographs for political notoriety beyond American borders. Before analyzing the visual representation of an iconic visual representation, this Chapter will first examine the nature and history of political satire cartoons followed by a review of existing scholarship.

Political Cartoons

Tower (1982) defines the political cartoon as an artist drawn representation of a news item that expresses a specific point of view.⁷⁹ Tower (1982) furthers cartoonist John McCutcheon's description,

The cartoon differs from any other picture in that the idea alone is the essential requirement, whether it is meant to inform, reform, or solely to amuse. This idea should be brought out with directness and simplicity, in such a way that people will know it is a cartoon and not a work of art. It has little to do with beauty or

⁷⁹ Tower (1982) interchanges the terms political cartoon and editorial cartoon throughout his work. For simplicity, the author will use the term political cartoon.

grace; it has much to do with strength and uniqueness. It is a particular art for a particular purpose . . . expressed through drawing. (p 8)

Nevins and Weitenkampf (1975) give a more detailed definition of a political cartoon. They surmise that a political cartoon must have three distinct characteristics. The first characteristic is wit or humor. They do not clarify if the humor is metaphorical humor, as Sol Worth (1981) believes or relief humor as some scholars such as Willems (2011) promote.

The second characteristic is truth (Nevins and Weitenkampf, 1975). The audience must find some truth that they identify with, a term Aristotle called *homoiosis* (Aristotle, 1941).⁸⁰ An example could be a cartoon depicting an oafish looking character throwing money from a bag marked taxes at a fence on the United States and Mexico border. An audience has to believe that the government is mismanaging tax dollars and the border problem is hyperbole before the cartoon can be effective.

Nevins and Weitenkampf (1975) believe that a cartoon should have a moral message. Whether there is an agreed upon consensus of what defines a moral stance is not important. What is important is that the artist believes that her or his work promotes a stance that questions the moral behavior of the audience, subject, or both.

Third, Tower's (1982) and Nevins and Weitenkampf's (1975) definitions are not the reflections of modern phenomena. Political cartoons have a rich history that arguably has its roots in the earliest civilizations. Tower (1982) notes that "the ancient Egyptians, along with their pyramids and monuments, left behind drawings that caricatured the foibles and weaknesses of their fellow" (p. 10). The tradition continued in Western and Eastern cultures where those opposed to a Chinese dynasty or Roman emperor created

⁸⁰ Homoiosis roughly translates as likeness or similarity.

crude representations of the despots the citizens despised. Gocek (1998) comments that even during the oppressive times of the Dark-Ages through the Reformation, artists displayed caricatures in pamphlets, handbills, texts and manuscripts.

However, the modern caricature or political cartoon came into vogue during the Enlightenment. Blaisdell (1976) explains “caricature probably had its beginnings in the late 16th century in Bologna (Italy) with the work of the Caracci who, precisely because they were engaged in idealizing the human form in the Grand Manner, . . . could find enjoyment in exaggerating human features” (p. 11). With an artistic form as a basis and the loosening of the political iron grip of monarchs, caricatures began to publically criticize society and those who ruled. Early cartoonists were not as bold as their modern contemporaries and used vague terms and titles to represent the leaders or monarchs they criticized. In the manner of Charles Dickens, Hogarth depicted the characters and acts in his work in fictitious scenes. The political message was apparent without calling specific attention to a monarch or political figure (Press, 1981).

Political cartoons followed immigrants as they migrated to the American colonies. From its earliest period, the American colonies were rife with dissent. Whether it was religious dissent as in the case of the Quakers and Puritan Anabaptist or political dissent against the colonists’ countries of origin, the ancestors of modern Americans voiced their opinions strongly. Newspapers and pamphlets were no exception and political cartoons were abundant in the colonial period. Benjamin Franklin published his first political cartoon in 1754 of a snake cut into bits. Each bit represented a colony. Franklin wanted the American colonies to unite against the French during the French and Indian War (Tower, 1982).

Political cartoons were prevalent during the colonial struggle for independence from Britain. Famous patriots such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Paul Revere published cartoons calling for an independent America. They continue to produce patriotic cartoons during the American Revolution to encourage the struggle during the long and bitter war. Political commentators continued to promote their causes after the colonies won their independence. Even George Washington was not immune. The image no longer survives, but a cartoon once depicted him riding a donkey into the New York capitol (Blaisdell, 1976; Nevins & Weitenkampf, 1975; Press, 1981; Tower, 1982).

Political cartoons were important in informing the public of important political positions of the day. Publishers printed political cartoons for purely biased reasons with little reverence for truth. The cartoons still give modern scholars a sense of the political atmosphere during some of the roughest times in American history. Controversial actions such as the Louisiana Purchase, the Jacksonian presidency, states' rights, and the politics of slavery were common themes in early political cartoons. Cartoons were prevalent on both sides during the Civil War and especially mean spirited during Abraham Lincoln's reelection campaign (Blaisdell, 1976; Nevins & Weitenkampf, 1975; Press, 1981; Tower, 1982).

During the Gilded Age, journalists began to break away from political parties. Muckrakers such as Upton Sinclair wrote about the corrupt political system and business monopolies (Folkerts & Teeter, 2002). Political cartoonists also began to be less partisan and more reflective of the truths of their times (Folkerts & Teeter, 2002). One of the most influential political cartoonists of the era was Thomas Nast. He began his career

just before the Civil War and the American populace lauded his works. Today's scholars recognize Nast for his scathing political cartoons. He was one of the first cartoonists to break away from the party machines and question corruption. Nast opened the door for modern political dissent with the not only his commentary, but the quality of his artistic style (Keller, 1968).

Later political cartoons examined the depravities of the Roaring Twenties, The Great Depression, and lack luster leadership of presidents such as Herbert Hoover. Whether the cartoons where the social and political commentary of Herbert Block (2000) or the comical and poignant life of a common soldier during WWII depicted by Bill Mauldin (1971), the political art represented the twentieth century. During this period, scholars began to examine political cartoons as an academic endeavor.

Renowned art historian, Ernst Gombrich (1956, 1963, 1982, 1996) was one of the first to tackle the meaning of caricatures. He worked early in his career with psychoanalyst Ernst Kris on political caricatures in Austria before Nazi annexation. They wrote from a Freudian perspective about the relationship of wit and visual art within caricatures (Gombrich, 1996).

In the field of communication scholarship, early political cartoon scholars Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) address political cartoons through a neoclassical lens. The authors develop the canons of topoi, disposition, style, memory, and delivery within cartoon representations during the 1980 presidential election. Aside from the neoclassical examination, the authors discuss the possibility of a single cartoon sending multiple messages to multiple audiences. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) state "the reason political cartoons are often interpreted in widely divergent manners is because

different readers are resonating with different layers of the culturally-induced message” (p. 220). Bostdorff (1987) prefers to investigate political cartoons as a form of incongruous humor. She uses the Burkeian concept of burlesque (absurdity) to explain how the incongruity of the caricatures in cartoons, specifically of James Watts, can lead an audience to find humor.

Abraham (2009) examines the semiotic aspect of political cartoons. A key section of Abraham’s work focuses on the iconic nature of political cartoons. Abraham differs from Hariman and Lucaites’ (2002, 2003, 2007b) discussion of icons in the sense of iconography. Abraham (2009) investigates the semiotic icon that represents a relationship between political cartoons as a referent for an item, person, or concept and the actual item or person. He notes, “political cartoons are opinions, not factual reports” (Abraham, 2009, p. 120). Therefore, there must be recognition between the political cartoon and the humor or criticism by the audience. An example of this cognitive connection is the reaction to controversial racist slogans, accusations, and cartoons of President Obama such as the birther conflict or the *re-nig* bumper stickers (Keyes, 2009). For Carlson’s (2009) cartoon (see Figure 9) to resonate with an audience, the audience must first understand the political back-story of subtle racial undertones of President Obama’s first term.



Figure 9. Racist Political Cartoon

Communication scholars also use Bormann’s Fantasy Theme Analysis to examine political cartoons (Beniot, Klyukovski, McHale, & Airne, 2001; Bormann, Koester, & Bennett 1978). The studies explain that there are recurrent themes within certain political campaigns or what the authors call inside jokes in political campaigns. They found recurrent themes from both political parties during the election cycle.

However, the studies fail to address what function caricatured depictions serve in political cartoons. Olson and Olson (2004) attempt to bridge the gap between the scholarship of Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), Bostdorff, (1987), Bormann, Koester, and Bennett (1978), and Beniot, Klyukovski, McHale, and Airne (2001) by blending Medhurst and DeSousa’s contextual approach with Bostdorff’s work on incongruity humor. Olson and Olson disagree with Bormann, Koester, and Bennett’s “disillusioned subjects who were generally cynical,” (Olson & Olson, 2004, p. 41) but agree with their empirical findings of chained themes.⁸¹ By melding the aforementioned authors’ work, Olson and Olson outline multiple interpretations from multiple audiences and move

⁸¹ Olson and Olson (2004) believe that a subject can be cynical as Bormann, Koester, and Bennett (1978) discuss, but that a subject can also be optimistic (See Olson & Olson, 2004, pp. 42-44).

beyond contextual variations to individual variations. Yet, the connection of visual caricatures and impact they have beyond traditional political discussions still was not clear.

Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov (2009) enter the conversation with their work on controversial Arab cartoons such as the Danish Mohammed cartoon, former Libyan dictator Mummer Khadafy, and Iranian holocaust cartoons. They note that political cartoons can transcend lexical barriers and increase meaning. Both visual and textual qualities of the cartoons combine to create multiple layers of meaning. Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov (2009) continue,

From the point of view of visual communication, cartoons are particularly visual genre that relies on a combination of visual and textual elements in their interplay . . . They (political cartoons) merge visual depictions with an array of cultural associations, and they work on different levels of interpretation. (pp. 28-29)

The multiplicity of meaning transcends lexical barriers, increases audience base, and therefore increases the impact of the subject matter. Thus, Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov emphasize the visual component in cartoons necessary in sharing meaning that makes political cartoons unique from traditional political discourse.

Scholarship about political cartoons that investigate the Middle East are limited. Edward Said (1994, 1997) describes the prejudice against Middle Easterners and Muslims in Western media. He states, “iconography of Islam was uniform, was uniformly ubiquitous . . . terrorist” (Said, 1997, p. 6). Post September 11, 2001,

scholarship in the Middle East and Islam significantly increased. Within the small genre of political cartoon scholarship, there are four areas of interest.

The first area of interest is reaction to September 11, 2001. Van Buren (2006) examines racist web animations of Muslims and Middle Easterners by American bloggers and websites post September 11. Van Buren (2006) states, “Animation has been dependent on simplistic iconic representation . . . due in part to animation’s inheritance from tradition of cartooning and its satirical mechanisms” (p. 539). The author finds that the racist animations use similar techniques to cartooning to explicate their harsh message.

Diamond (2002) examines the international reaction through political cartoons of September 11. The author explains that the cartoonists’ reactions were mixed, ranging from sympathetic to Americans to extremely harsh and critical of U.S. foreign policy. Many focused on skewed American foreign policy, materialism, and anti-Semitism while others examined the hopeless disposition of Afghani civilians while larger powers (U.S., jihadist, Iran, Israel, etc.) fought over and destroyed their country.

The second set of post-September 11, 2001, analyzes the Danish Mohammed cartoon controversy (see Figure 10).

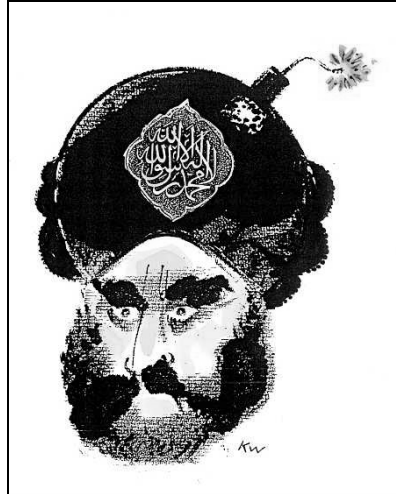


Figure 10. Danish Mohammed Cartoon (Zombietime, 2006)

Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard published a cartoon of Muhammad with a bomb for a turban in *Jyllands-Posten* (*The Morning Newspaper*) during September 2005. There was immediate international outcry, especially from Muslim countries including many calls for Westergaard's assassination. Islamists attempted to assassinate Westergaard twice but failed. A key section of Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov's (2009) essay focuses on the Danish cartoon scandal. The authors explain that Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya news channels "played a pivotal role in diffusion of the conflict" (Muller, Ozcan, & Seizov, 2009, p. 30). The cartoon is an example of a cartoon overcoming lexical barriers since most of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's audience do not speak nor read Danish. However, Yilmaz (2011) prefers to examine the Danish cartoon scandal as an indicator of Europeans' Islamophobia. Yilmaz's (2011) critical thesis is reminiscent of Edward Said's (1998) challenge to Samuel Huntington's (1998) *Clash of Civilizations*. Yilmaz describes a wave of European Islamophobia that came to a head with the cartoon scandal. The cartoon is a reflection of larger issues at hand in Denmark and other European countries dealing with a growing Muslim immigrant minority.

The third set of essays examines the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis. A second key section is Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov's (2009) essay focuses on Iran's refusal to recognize the Holocaust. Muller, Ozcan, and Seizov (2009) note, "Iranian daily newspaper, the Tehran-based *Hamshahri*, announced a cartoon competition – the 12 best to receive an award, on the topic of the Holocaust" (p. 33). The applicants' cartoons were anti-Semitic at best. The authors call into question the political narrative, which often overrides the historical narrative as an agenda setting technique. Yaqub (2009) approaches the Palestinian question in a different manner. Yaqub (2009) prefers to examine Palestinian political cartoons by focusing on the role of women. The author concludes that there is a crisis in motherhood. Yaqub (2009) further states "this crisis in Palestinian motherhood reflects a crisis regarding the idea of Palestine as a whole and sound homeland" (p. 212).

The final area of interest addresses the Abu Ghraib scandal. Rogers (2011) investigates what Jean Baudrillard (2005) coined war porn. Baudrillard (2005) defines war porn as "the ultimate form of abjection of war which is unable to be simply war, to be simply about killing, and instead turns itself into a grotesque infantile reality-show, in a desperate simulacrum of power" (p. 1). Rogers (2011) extends Attwood and Lockyer's (2009) argument that the media, for shock value, exasperate the photographs taken at the Abu Ghraib prison facility. The author believes by blending recognizable iconic images with another cause, similar to Edward and Winkler's (2008) work, the final product becomes more persuasive.

Analysis

The dissertation will now examine a sampling of 12 political cartoons Arab audiences likely viewed. Although each cartoon constitutes a visual representation of a Abu Ghraib photograph, they are nonetheless unique. The first nine samples are of the crucifixion photograph (see Figure 11). The author found that an overwhelming majority of Abu Ghraib political cartoons focused on the crucifixion photograph.

Al-Hayat newspaper⁸² published the first example (see Figure 11) on May 2, 2004, (Omayya, 2004) soon after the release of the Abu Ghraib photographs. The cartoonist,



Figure 11. Crucifixion Geneva Convention Cartoon

Omayya, uses the crucifixion photograph as a basis for the work. Omayya ties the prisoner to a copy of the Geneva Convention using the stripes of the American flag. There is blood dripping from the prisoner's mostly nude body and white hood onto the Geneva Convention. Commentary under the cartoon reads, "the Geneva Conventions is screaming for the treatment of Iraqi prisoners by US-UK soldiers" (Omayya, 2004).

⁸² *Al-Hyat* is a Saudi based newspaper published in London for a general Arab readership. The Saudi royal family (CIA Fact Book, 2004) owns the newspaper.

The cartoon addresses a flaw in American foreign policy. The United States is a signatory to the Geneva Convention that includes articles forbidding prisoner abuse.⁸³ While President Bush double-talked, externally blaming the *bad apples* and internally looking for legal loopholes as justification (Greenberg & Dratel, 2005), many in the rest of the world including Omayya believed that the United States purposefully ignored the Geneva Convention. Omayya's (2004) cartoon *hijacks* the crucifixion photograph to rhetorically illuminate the juxtaposition of the United States' claim to follow international law with visual "proof" of Geneva Convention violations. If there is any doubt about the United States' involvement, Omayya used the American Flag to symbolize the wires *electrocuting* Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh. The flag, often portrayed as the symbol of America, is also a strong representation of American cultural violations. In the eyes of the Arab audience, the flag signifies responsibility for the wrongful acts. Double-speak cannot hide. It is also interesting to note that Omayya rhetorically wrapped a stripe from the American flag around Saad's neck. This is not present in the original photograph. By hijacking the original image, Omayya illustrated the suffocating effect of American policy on human rights.

A reader may not be able to textually understand the full power of the situation by simply detailing what happened at Abu Ghraib. However, the visual interpretation is a rhetorically powerful combination of iconic images that resonates pain and suffering.

⁸³ What Omayya and the rest of the world including citizens of the United States did not know was the Bush administration had already worked to legally circumvent the Geneva Convention. Administration lawyers John Yoo and Jay Bybee gave President Bush legal loopholes that gave the president the *legal* right to torture (Sands, 2008).

Muhammed Raees (2004) drew the next cartoon (see Figure 12). He published his cartoon in *Al-Arab News*⁸⁴ on May 2, 2004. Raees uses the crucifixion photograph as his basis.



Figure 12. Bush Television Cartoon

Raees uses the crucifixion image in a television set with the CBS caption in the upper-left-hand corner. Someone from off frame is tossing the television and it bounces off President Bush's head. Raees insured the audience knows the male in the cartoon is President Bush by exaggerating Bush's ears and adding a "W" (for George W. Bush) to the tie.

Raees hijacks the image to use as a symbol of visual proof. While President Bush's would like to blame the *bad apples*, the television image is just too much to ignore. Even if Bush could ignore the image, he could not ignore a television bouncing off his head. One could interpret this as a metaphor that Bush cannot simply smile or talk away torture. He personally must deal with the issue or it may *hit him in the head*.

⁸⁴ Prominent Libyan Ahmad Al-Houni owns *Al-Arab News* (sometimes referred to as *Al-Arabia*). *Al-Arab* has its headquarters and prints primarily from London (CIA Fact Book, 2004).

The power of the cartoon lays in not only President Bush's bumped head, but also the importance of visual argument as an attack on American ideology. A Middle Eastern audience does not require language to understand what happened at Abu Ghraib. Indeed, the photographs served to dismiss or question President Bush's proclamations of peace and democracy. Conservative Islamic scholars such as Al Qaeda scholars could easily "bump" Bush in the head anytime he tries to persuade a Middle Eastern audience that the United States has only the best of intentions. However, President Bush could also be a metaphor for Islamic audiences who sympathize with the West.

The next sample this dissertation examines is Nasser Al-Ja'afari's (2004) cartoon (see Figure 13) printed in *Al-Quds*⁸⁵ on May 2, 2004. Similar to the previous two samples, Al-Ja'afari published his work immediately after the release of the Abu Ghraib photographs.



Figure 13. Hooded Prisoner Flag Cartoon

The crucifixion style photograph is the foundation of Al-Ja'afari's cartoon. While the outstretched arms and poncho are missing, Al-Ja'afari does incorporate the hood and wires for simulating electrocution. A set of chains hanging from the ceiling add to the

⁸⁵ *Al-Quds* (or *Al-Quds Al-Arabia*) is a London published newspaper. It is a Jerusalem-based Palestinian newspaper (CIA Fact Book, 2004).

atmosphere of a prison setting. The cartoon's caption reads the same as the hood over the prisoner's head, "Quiet: Iraqis are being trained in US-UK 'Democracy' in Abu Ghraib Prison" (Al-Ja'afari, 2004).

What is striking about this cartoon is the sandbag hood the prisoner wears. The hood has a band with an American and British flag applied and the words "free" between the two flags. The band could imply a far greater conspiracy than one heinous act. The band could have two layers of meaning. First, the band could implicate the British alongside their American allies. The second and deeper meaning could be Iraq's colonial past. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Europeans and Americans would colonize *savage* peoples to civilize them (Easterly, 2006; Jordan, 1974). The "free" between the flags harkens back to the colonial period. Instead of civilization, the fashionable term could be democracy as guise for hegemony. The text in the cartoon lends credence to this theory. However, the text is not necessary to draw this conclusion.

Exposed skin is also important in Al-Ja'afari's cartoon because Arabs are likely to be shocked by nudity. Similar to Omayya's (see Figure 11) cartoon, Al-Ja'afari hijacks the original image to reveal nudity. Al-Ja'afari most likely knows that nudity is rhetorically alarming to Arab audiences because of their cultural and religious taboos against bodily display. Visual representation expresses the shock that words cannot. The issue of modesty may be enough to cause Arab audience to act out in what Osborn (1986) terms *implantation*. Action must happen now or the imperialist could ridicule and expose the Arab body. Simply put, anti-western resistors could use the either/or fallacy of get *them* before they get *us* (e.g., Arabs must resist Americans before they commit more Abu

Ghraibs). There is legitimacy to this argument inasmuch as the deadliest years for American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan occurred after publication of the photographs.

Bedaiwi's (2006) cartoon (see Figure 14) is another work that hijacks the crucifixion style photograph. The cartoon uses nearly the entire original photograph.



Figure 14. Crucifixion Flag Cartoon

The prisoner is hooded and standing on the box. The background with pipes on the wall matches the original photograph. The noticeable difference is rather than a poncho, the prisoner wears the United States flag.

Egyptian Bedaiwi (2006) takes the iconic image and symbolically places the blame on the United States. In an interview with *Political Games.net*, Bedaiwi explains, “the despised in that situation is US” (Bedaiwi, 2006). It is a simple cartoon with a simple message similar to the first cartoon (see Figure 11), the flag of the United States clearly implicates a nation.

Yet, there is more to Bedaiwi's cartoon. The iconic American flag is tattered at the bottom. What may seem to a Western audience as desecration of the American flag would likely be interpreted differently by Muslim viewers. Islam is not anti-democracy.

Rather, Muslims believe in democracy well-mixed with Islamic tradition. Even anti-colonial scholars such as Memmi (1955, 1991) discuss the importance of democracy and its integration with the Koran. Scholars caution against abuses disguised as democracy, however. Muslims understand the importance of America's struggle for independence and the sacrifices of liberty. Although the United States was once held in esteem for helping the Middle East defeat colonialism, the tattered flag could represent the idea that the United States has lost its way and, subsequently, succumbed to the evils it once worked hard to defeat.

The next cartoon (see Figure 15) examined uses the crucifixion photograph in an unusual manner. Emad Hajjaj (2004, May 2) published the cartoon on May 2, 2004, shortly after the *60 Minutes II* television episode released the original set of photographs. The cartoon is a close up of the flag of the United States.

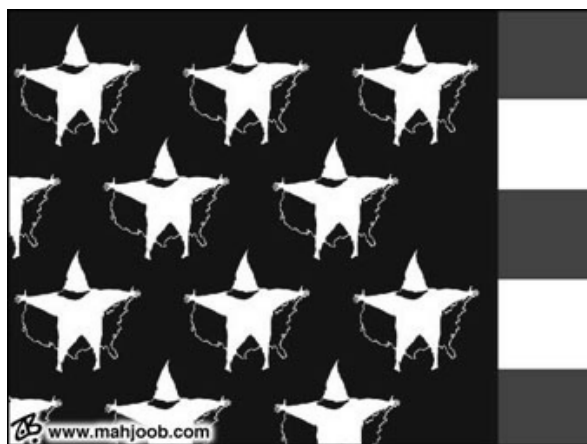


Figure 15. Crucifixion Star Flag Cartoon

Similar to the first sample and (see figure 11) and the fourth sample (see Figure 14), Hajjaj uses the American flag as a metaphor via the crucifixion image. However, rather than standard five point stars on the flag, there are human figures from the crucifixion

image with the four limbs and a sackcloth covered head serving as the five points of the stars.

The image is powerful because it shows only a microscopic view. In the close-up, each star does not represent a state in the union, but instead Hajjaj replaces each star with the iconic torture scene. Hajjaj may want the audience to examine the flag closer and by that examine its meaning closer in what Barthes (1977) terms “code” (p. 19) or its rhetorical meaning. Similar to 50 stars representing 50 states in the union, fifty Abdou Hussein Saad Falehs represents the multiplicity of torture of American foreign policy in places such as Guantanamo Bay or *black sites* throughout the world or even throughout Iraq.⁸⁶

Emad Hajjaj’s (2005) cartoon (see Figures 16 and 17), titled “We don’t torture prisoners”, is one of Hajjaj’s later cartoons published in *Al-Quds* on December 10, 2005. It is one of his more prominent cartoons because Hajjaj published it with an Arabic thought bubble translated as, “we don’t torture prisoners” (Hajjaj, 2005) and an English thought bubble stating, “What torture?!” (Hajjaj, 2005).



⁸⁶ Black sites are sites where harsh interrogation and possible torture occurred by CIA personnel. Even though the US Government and CIA refuse to comment on their existence, there has been considerable evidence of their existence in countries such as Poland, Romania, Thailand, and Afghanistan (Gera, 2012).

Figure 16. Rice Crucifixion Arabic Cartoon

Other than the similar translation, the two cartoons are identical. They position Condoleezza Rice, the United States Secretary of State, in the forefront of the cartoon.



Figure 17. Rice Crucifixion English Cartoon

Rice wears a polo shirt that resembles the poncho from the original crucifixion photograph with the exception of her name printed on the upper right. Her shadow is dark black on a white wall. The shadow casts the figure of Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh, including the wires hanging from his fingertips.

Hajjaj created this cartoon in response to Rice's comments while visiting Europe in December 2005. Rice categorically denied all torture⁸⁷ and stated that the United States was compliant with the United Nations' *Convention Against Torture* (CAT) (Ifille, 2005). Arab audiences rejected Rice's proclamation and her general lack of knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs (Martin, 2006). Hajjaj's transposition of Rice's shadow with that of Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh is symbolic of the ever-present stain that Abu Ghraib

⁸⁷ Rice advocated the *bad apples* as the cause of the Abu Ghraib scandal and continues to maintain this stance after she left office (Rice, 2011).

became for the Bush administration. Rice's rhetoric cannot overcome the visual *proof* of the Abu Ghraib photographs that symbolically shadows the administration.

This cartoon may not be *read* by Americans in the same manner Muslims interpret it. Conservative Muslims, for example, do not allocate political rights to women. While, it is not uncommon for women to hold high office in the United States, only rarely do they serve in Muslim governments. Thus, using a woman as a representative of government in the cartoon serves to mock the United States. An underlying message suggests that travesties like Abu Ghraib happen when Westerners allow women to participate in government. The cartoon could be a warning to Muslims to reject the liberal teachings of scholars such as Ramadan (2001, 2004, 2007) and Arkoun (1998). The cartoon warns that incorporating Western ways is, therefore, dangerous. While the actual Saad photograph does not mention women, the hijacked image in the cartoon adds this secondary interpretation.

Reminiscent of Edwards and Winkler's (2008) essay, Hajjaj (2004, May 7) hijacks the iconic marines raising the American flag on Mount Suribachi for his cartoon (see Figure 19).



Figure 19. Iwo Jima Crucifixion Cartoon

Hajjaj's work appeared in *Al-Quds* on May 7, 2004. He titled the piece, "The Statue of the Tortured and Abused Iraqi Soldier" (Hajjaj, 2004, May 7). In the cartoon, Hajjaj replaces Joseph Rosenthal's marines on the mountaintop with five soldiers wearing the infamous black hoods. The soldiers lift Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh on a pole. Saad wears the black mask and has the wires hanging from his fingers.

The cartoon is unique because it combines two iconic images. The cartoon combines the iconic Abu Ghraib crucifixion photograph with the iconic Iwo Jima flag-raising photograph to create a single powerful cartoon. As Edwards and Winkler (2008) note about the Iwo Jima photograph, "the power of the Iwo Jima image in editorial cartoon necessarily draws from the visual and symbolic power of Joe Rosenthal's photograph, which depicts . . . the successful capture of Mt. Suribachi, an early moment in the projected battle for . . . Iwo Jima" (p. 120). By replacing the Marines and the Navy corpsman with hooded figures and the American flag with Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh, Hajjaj is able to replace heroes with torturers who raise their *flag* as a symbolic icon to symbolize victory.

Again, this could represent a deeper discussion of a faltering and hypocritical American ideology. Rather than depicting the actual flag, Hajjaj could symbolically juxtapose a fight for freedom (in the Pacific during WWII) to modern colonialism in Iraq. The viewer may not be able to read this interpretation from the original photograph, but Hajjaj helps complete the enthymeme with his cartoon. In this sense, the secondary or hijacked image is much more powerful than the original iconic image.

The final five political cartoons this dissertation will examine focus on images other than the crucifixion photograph. Hamed Atta (2004) chooses to use the photograph where Lynndie England and Charles Graner stand behind the nude prisoner pyramid (See Fig. 1.4) for the basis of his cartoon (see Figure 19).



Figure 19. Jail Pyramid Cartoon

Atta published the cartoon on May 12, 2004 in *Al-Ittihad Newspaper*⁸⁸ while the Abu Ghraib images were still fresh in Arab minds.

Atta (2004) sets the cartoon in a prison cell. The prison door is an American flag with the stripes representing bars. Behind the bars is the stack of prisoners similar to the original pyramid photograph. However, instead of England and Graner behind the human stack, there is the Statue of Liberty with smoke coming from her torch. Atta drew blood splatters on the walls and floor of the cell and one could only assume came from the prisoners.

The obvious incongruent image in the cartoon is Atta's (2004) substitution of England and Graner for the Statue of Liberty. As Hariman and Lucaites (2007b) note,

⁸⁸ *Al-Ittihad Newspaper* is a United Arab Emirati based newspaper with a readership of 58,000 (CIA Fact Book, 2004).

“the Statue of Liberty is . . . [an] icon, . . . [that is a] symbolically and emotionally resonant image that is widely reproduced, widely recognized, and often appropriated for political, commercial, artistic, or social objective” (p. 123). The National Park Service (2012), on its website describes the Statue of Liberty as “a symbol of democratic government and Enlightenment ideals as well as a celebration of the Union's victory in the American Civil War and the abolition of slavery” (Statue of Liberty, p. 1). Similar to immigrants arriving in New York modern persons see Lady Liberty as a symbol of refuge and freedom from oppression. The park has over four million visitors a year (National Park Service, 2012) which is impressive considering the cost and difficulties in reaching the island the statue is located.

In the cartoon, the Statue of Liberty stands behind the stack on naked prisoners. Symbolically, freedom may stand behind what happened at Abu Ghraib. It could reflect what many Arabs believe is *American freedom*, specifically *freedom* as the guise for exploitation, colonialism, and religious warfare (Qutb, 2000, 2004). Lady Liberty looks over a scene that she cannot be ignore or deny. In the end, Abu Ghraib soils Lady Liberty's name.

From the gaze of the audience, the pile of naked prisoners obstructs Lady Liberty from full view. To complete the obstruction, Atta replaces the bars of a prison cell with the stripes of the American flag. It is as if Atta (2004) is purposefully obstructing the viewer from seeing true freedom because the American flag could represent American foreign policy. The bars try to lock out the viewer from what is happening inside. The photographs are supposed to be what Berger (1977) terms “private” (p. 55). While the viewer's gaze is broken, there is enough of a “peak” (Berger, 1977, p. 55) into the private

to understand the situation of Lady Liberty hidden behind torture. Bakhtin explains that “the grotesque, carnivalesque body[ies] subverts social hierarchies and normalcy” (as cited in Hobson, 2003, p. 88). For Berger (1977) private photographs become public photographs and the peak of the bodies becomes the flash point of freedom.

Another could view the cartoon as what happens behind the closed (barred) doors of liberty. Rather than Lady Liberty’s obstruction, Lady Liberty could be an active participant in the torture. She may be watching over the scene as it unfolds. The flag locks out the viewer because the viewer is not meant to see this form of *freedom*.

Emad Hajjaj (2004, May 23) also uses the pyramid photograph in his cartoon (See Figure 20) titled, “The Arab Summit in Tunis” published on May 23, 2004, in *Al-Dustour*.⁸⁹



Figure 20. Bush Pyramid Cartoon

The cartoon uses the iconic pyramid photograph as its basis. Similar to the previous cartoon sample, Hajjaj replaces England and Graner. However, Hajjaj uses President Bush’s head on Graner’s body instead of the Statue of Liberty. The Arabic thought

⁸⁹ *Al-Dustour* (sometimes called *Al-Dustur*) is a Jordanian based newspaper with a readership of 90, 000 (CIA Fact Book, 2004).

bubble from President Bush translates, “We strongly condemn these violations and we will work for [a] free, fair and democratic violations” (Hajjaj, 2004, May 23). The Arabic text at the top right corner translates, “Abu Ghraib part 2” (Hajjaj, 2004, May 23).

Hajjaj (2004, May 23) uses the text as irony and mocks the image in the cartoon. Yet, there is more to the cartoon than the pyramid as mere irony. President Bush’s head in the cartoon flatly *places* him at the scene of the crime. Hajjaj kept Graner’s infamous *thumbs up* pose. Link (2010) states, “the thumbs up is especially problematic in certain parts of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and Southeast Asia, where the thumbs up is a more aggressive gesture that is basically flipping the birdie to someone (p.1).” The subtle irony is the *fuck you* the smirking President Bush gives the viewer, in this case, the readers of in *Al-Dustour*.

Arab audiences could focus on the smile alone. While Hajjaj’s cartoon used President Bush, one could easily replace Bush or Graner, but the contemptuous smile remains. Gourevitch & Morris (2008) explain that the smile is what prosecutors used to argue that the soldiers actually enjoyed their work. The same smile could have the deeper meaning of Western dominance over the Middle East. Skeptical Muslims could interpret the cartoon as a domineering West imposing its way by silencing opposition in a brutal and sexually humiliating manner. They could interpret this as the West stating, *we can do this and what are you going to do about it*. Muslims may only need the challenge to rise up against the *imperialist occupiers*.

Nasser Al-Ja'afari (2005) prefers to use the iconic photograph of Lynndie England pulling a prisoner on a leash (see Figure 2) as the starting point for his carton (see Figure

21). Al-Ja'afari titled his cartoon, “Lindy Englan [SIC] on Trial . . . Rumsfeld is the one on the leash this time” (Al-Ja'afari, 2005) and published the cartoon on May 6, 2005.



Figure 21. Rumsfeld Leash Cartoon

The setting has a blood splotch on dirty walls and a dirty floor. A dirty and angry looking Lynndie England pulls Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on a chain. Rumsfeld’s hands are in the air and he is grimacing.

In early 2005 many human rights groups including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed lawsuits against Donald Rumsfeld for his part in sanctioned torture (Bowers, 2005). Al-Ja'afari switches the roles of the actors in the cartoon. Rather than Lynddie leading the prisoner, she pulls Rumsfeld whose hands are in a *surrender* position. The cartoon depicts a form of Hammurabi justice when the tables turn on Rumsfeld. The angry Lynndie shows no mercy to Rumsfeld as she pulls him. This may be symbolic of the indifference Rumsfeld extends to prisoners in his memorandums on interrogation (Greenberg & Dratel, 2005).⁹⁰

Similar to Hajjaj’s (2004, 2005) cartoons, Al-Ja'afari (2005) adds blame to the American leadership. While England is present, Rumsfeld’s caricature notes the

⁹⁰ The most famous is Rumsfeld’s interrogation technique quote, “I stand for 8-10 hours a day, why is standing limited to four hours” (Mulrine, 2011, p. 5).

administration's involvement. The sign on the door next to England translates, the Courts (trials) for the humiliation of Abu Ghraib. The sign could imply both the American leadership as well as the seven low ranking soldiers convicted for their participation of the Abu Ghraib abuses.

Al-Ja'afari also focuses on the collar and chain around Rumsfeld's neck. Islamic societies tend to view dogs as inferior and unclean. In a not so subtle manner, Al-Ja'afari may be identifying Rumsfeld (and even the United States) as a dog. He may be trying to convince viewers that Abu Ghraib proves that the United States, including its ideologies, is unclean and inferior. A Western gaze may miss this interpretation, but it would be easily noted by a Muslim. There is also the submission of a man (Rumsfeld) to a woman (England). As aforementioned, submission to a woman is unacceptable in a male dominated society. Thus, Rumsfeld assumes the role of *woman*, a status significantly below that of man.

Stavro Jabra (2004) also uses the England leash photograph in his cartoon (see Figure 22) published in *Al-Jazeera* on May 14, 2004. Jabra titled his work "The New Linndey [SIC] Liberty Torturer" (Jabra, 2004).

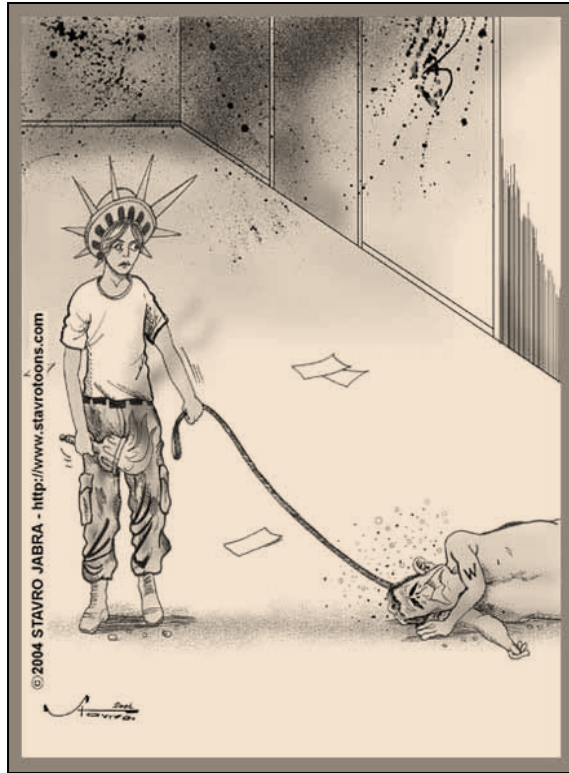


Figure 22. Statue of Liberty Leash Cartoon

Jabra sets the backdrop with dirty walls. They have a large amount of blood splattered on them, a condition Muslims dislike for its uncleanness. The floors also have blood splattered on them as well as paper littered about. England is dressed as the Statue of Liberty with the torch in her right hand and the leash in the left hand. She is wearing a crown on her head. England is wearing a white t-shirt to hide her identity and military pants and boots. She has President Bush on the leash. He is nude and frowning with a “W” tattooed on his arm. The setting has numerous combinations of taboos such as nudity and male subjection by women.

Similar to Atta’s (2004) cartoon (see Figure 19), Jabra (2004) chooses the Statue of Liberty and its ideographic symbolism because of the powerful connotations of freedom. In Jabra’s cartoon, Lady Liberty is the agitator. She is pulling the unhappy

President. The cartoon could symbolize the effect the scandal had on President Bush's administration. Lady liberty is dragging around a *caught* or *captured* President Bush. In Jabra's eyes, the *dog* is not a prisoner, but the president who allowed the torture to happen. Lady Liberty is handing out justice in a sense.

Emad Hajjaj (2004, May 31) titles the final cartoon "Transferring power to Iraqis on June 30" (see Figure 23). He published the piece on May 31, 2004 in *Al-Jazeera*. Hajjaj chose to use the iconic photograph of Michael Smith's Belgian Sheppard, Marco, attacking prisoner Ashraf Abdullah al-Juhayshi (see Figure 5).



Figure 23. Ayad Allawi Dog Cartoon

Smith and Marco are similar to the actual photograph. Hajjaj replaces al-Juhayshi with the First Iraqi Prime Minister, Ayad Allawi. Allawi is in the same physical position as al-Juhayshi and in a prison uniform. The only difference is Allawi has his right arm forward trying to grasp a scepter Smith is handing him. Allawi is tiny in comparison to both the chair he is sitting in and in the taunting of Smith.

Hajjaj's cartoon is cruel in a sense. Smith is allowing Allawi to take the scepter, but the dog is blocking free access. The terrified Allawi reaches from his *throne* but one

could imply that while Smith allows Allawi to reach, Smith (the United States) is truly in control. While legally there is a transfer of power, in a latent examination, the true power still resides in the United States. In effect, Allawi is a puppet. One draws this conclusion by noting the puppet-like statue of Allawi. Similar to many if not most colonies, there is a local leader, but the real power comes from the mother country, whether the United Kingdom, France, or the United States (Memmi, 1955; Fanon, 1965, 2004).

The use of the dog is important. Muslims not only consider dogs unclean, but generally fear them. Saddam Hussein would torture prisoners with dogs. The aggressive dog in the cartoon may scare a Muslim audience more than a Western audience. To a Muslim audience the hijacked visual interpretation would be difficult to describe. By contrast, the Arab fear of dogs is easily captured by the cartoon.

Conclusion

The Abu Ghraib photos provoked shock, then anger, for Arabs (Nasr, 2009). Each cartoon has its own unique features in illustrating the shock and anger. However, the author notes that many of the cartoons show similar traits. The first similar trait is that Arab cartoonists rarely view the Abu Ghraib incident as an isolated problem of *bad apples*. Rather, there tends to be some form of conspiratorial involvement. A Bush administration politician, an iconic image, or the flag of the United States usually symbolize the involvement.

A second common theme is that none of the cartoons illustrate the United States in a positive light. All the cartoons are negative in nature. Each cartoon has at least one victim and at least one aggressor. The victim is often a prisoner or representation of a

prisoner. The aggressor is often soldier, politician, or American icon such as the Statue of Liberty or the American flag.

A third similarity that many of the cartoons share is their objectification of the victim. The cartoonist never reveals the true victim, only the victim's pain. The cartoonist either hides the victim or caricatures them as another person. The cartoonist may do this because the victim's personal identity is not necessarily important. The act of victimization supersedes the individual's identification. As Hauser (2000) alludes to in his work "Body rhetoric," the body in pain is open to multiple readings. Hauser (2000) continues, "yet as its [body in] pain makes its worldly appearance as inflicted by an oppressive other, its relief becomes the possibility of concerted response" (p. 151). Simply, the focus on pain rather than the victim holds the rhetorical power.

Other similarities are the cultural nuances that Muslim audiences see but go unobserved by western audiences. There is rhetorical power in the cultural meanings expressed. The Abu Ghraib photographs were taken during a war. Specifically, a war in which one side was a Western power (United States) and the other a Muslim insurgency. The visual representations of nudity, dogs, and the depiction of subjugating women, held rhetorical significance to those opposed to Western intervention in Iraq. While more liberal Islamic scholars explain Abu Ghraib as an isolated incident, conservative or fundamentalist scholars interpret these cultural nuances as arguments capable of rallying troops to evict Western occupiers. Without a post-colonial reading of the cartoons, it would be easy for a Western audience to simply dismiss the cartoons as parody or understandable outrage.

The final similarity regards the rhetorical hijacking of the Abu Ghraib photographs. As Sontag (1977) explains, photographs can only tell a partial story. Since the original photographs can only explain what the original authors captured, it is up to cartoonists to hijack such images in order to lend them secondary, rhetorical meanings. By hijacking the original photographs, cartoonists rhetorically expand the viewers political comprehension of the photographs. They take shocking photographs and add the moral message that Nevins and Weitenkampf (1975) explain is necessary for effective political cartoons.

What seems a logical step between the hijacked image and its morphed outcome becomes complex. Scholars have not investigated the link between the two. By contrast this dissertation demonstrates the link between hijacked iconography and resistance cartoons. The link is both cultural and visual. Second, the link is subtle but easily interpreted by Muslim viewers. An example of this link is the visual depiction of women in Muslim cartoons. The hijacker may add a woman to the original scene of an Abu Ghraib photograph. The addition of a woman plays against cultural norms and visual depictions that enable a Muslim viewer to *see* her. The audience sees *woman* and what it implies rhetorically. Arguably, therefore, the link between the hijacked image and female form rhetorically may motivate an Arab viewer to engage in resistance strategies.

CHAPTER VI

ABU GHRAIB AND RESISTANCE ART

Political cartoons are one way audiences can view Middle Eastern responses to the Abu Ghraib scandal. Audiences may also view visual artifacts from the art world's

perspective. Not only have political cartoonists hijacked the images captured at Abu Ghraib, but so have international artists. This chapter investigates how artists hijacked the Abu Ghraib photographs. First, the chapter will discuss the problematic definitions of art. The chapter next examines how international artists such as Columbian Fernando Botero (2006) and Iraqi Shahin Aldhahir (2011) hijacked the Abu Ghraib photographs. The chapter concludes by examining graffiti of street artists.

Art: Gallery or Street?

To define art is to open Pandora's Box. Agnes Repplier (1893) states, "art . . . does not take kindly to facts, is helpless to grapple with theories, and is killed outright by a sermon" (p. 113). Yet, scholars continue their attempt to define art. Early scholars such as Plato (1992) and Aristotle (1941) took a representative position on art.⁹¹ Plato (1994) proposed that art is imitation of truth and that "[art is] far removed from the truth" (p. 268). Aristotle understood art as imitation, but also saw the benefit to society. He discussed, for example, the commissioning of lavish construction projects or art for public consumption (Woods, 2007).

During the Medieval Age, art was used primarily to represent religious figures. Artists used Greek and Roman methods, but focused on sacred and divine subjects (Manchester, 1993).⁹² The Renaissance proved a turning point for art. Artists returned to the classical Greek and Roman styles that focused on the body. Renaissance artists also manipulated societal expectations by systematically introducing concepts of technology, math, and geometry to art (Arnautu, 2011). Works of art became more complex with

⁹¹ Plato (1992) first wrote about art in the *Republic* around 380 B.C.

⁹² The early Christian church was iconoclastic and hostile to art. Manchester (1993) remarks, "however, as the number of saints grew, so did medieval yearning to give them identity; worshipers wanted pictures of them [saints and religious figures such as Madonna and Christ]" (p. 13).

larger plots and scenes (Woods, 2007). Art continued on this path until the Enlightenment and Victorian period.

It was during the Enlightenment that philosophers began to study art beyond its aesthetic values. Immanuel Kant's approach to art is classical in nature. He agrees with Greek philosophers that art is representative of an original. However, Kant adds interplays of form (Davies, 1991) and the concept of value to art. Kemal (1986) notes of Kant's opinion of art, "[art's] symbolic relation to morality could arguably enable fine art to support our moral endeavors . . . fine art is the primary object of beauty" (p.35). Kant links the aesthetic beauty of art to a moral system. An audience not only views art to see the beauty, but also to read a message (Kemal, 1986). Simply put, unlike the medieval art, the audience, and not just an intermediary of the church, has the ability to read the message.

Friedrich Nietzsche rejected humanists such as Immanuel Kant. Among the rejections of humanist philosophy was art (Nietzsche, 1996). Rather than a purveyor of a message, Nietzsche believed art was the next philosophical phase that surpassed both theology⁹³ and science⁹⁴ (Cox, 1999). Cox (1999) quotes Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*,

Art . . . in which precisely the *lie* is sanctified and the *will to deception* has a good conscience, is much more fundamentally opposed to the ascetic ideal than is science: this was instinctively sensed by Plato, the greatest enemy of art Europe

⁹³ Nietzsche was not anti-God as many interpret his "God is dead" statement nor anti-Semitic. Nietzsche believed that both theology and anti-Semitism were created by man as a form of power and control (see *Master and Slave*: Nietzsche, 1996) and therefore anti-man as spokesperson for God and as moral creator (Kaufman, 1982).

⁹⁴ Nietzsche believes that the scientific method was more important than science itself. Cox (1999) quotes Nietzsche: "it is not the victory of science that distinguishes our nineteenth century, but the victory of the scientific method over science" (p. 64).

has yet produced. Plato *versus* Homer: that is the complete, the genuine antagonism – there the sincerest advocate of the “beyond,” the greater slanderer of life; here the instinctive deifier, the golden nature. (p. 65, emphasis added)

Art gives resonance to Nietzsche’s thoughts regarding impure religion and the notion that that truth is less than all encompassing. As Cox (1999) asserts, “art affirms this-worldly sensuousness and materiality” (p. 65).

Nietzsche opens the door for modern scholars to discuss art. Although there are few similar approaches in defining art, some scholars synthesize the multiple definitions or approaches to art to categorize art into two main genres, traditional and contemporary (Adajian, 2008).

Traditional approaches to art tend to be aesthetic and categorical. Aesthetic scholars tend to view art as objects for viewing as a form of entertainment. Scholars tend to break art into highbrow or lowbrow. Highbrow art is art created usually by upper – middle class artisans and commissioned by the upper class (Gans, 1974; Schwaiger, Sarstedt, & Taylor, 2010). The art could be for either public or private consumption. Since the public cannot afford to commission or purchase original highbrow art, the wealthy strictly regulate consumption of art in specific spaces such as museums (Gans, 1974). Traditional scholars often refer to lowbrow art as mass culture art, mediated art, or street art. Many traditional art scholars dismiss or diminish the existence of lowbrow as an art form (Gans, 1974). Scholars such as F. R. Leavis (Day, 1996), Richard Hoggart (1998, 2002a, 2002b), Marcuse (Gans, 1974) and Walter Benjamin (1973), view the elite as a vanguard of art and mass media as corrupting. Hoggart (1998) describes mass media as “predatory, like a small voracious creature whose belly has little capacity but can and

must all the time and rapidly digest small items and as rapidly void them” (p. 99). Gans (1974) comments about Marcuse, “for Marcuse, popular culture is dangerous not only because it is harmful to its users, but also because it ‘narcotizes’ them to accept the political status quo” (p. 61).

Early scholars such as Moore (1938) and Curvin (1944) tended to focus on highbrow arts and analysis based on neo-Aristotelian methods. Modern scholarship, such as Koestle-Cate’s (2012) essay on the artistic value of church architecture, continues to view art traditionally as aesthetic analysis.

While some scholars cling to highbrow and lowbrow art distinctions, even traditional scholars such as Leavis (Day, 1996) admit that culture is influential in art. The inclusion of culture as a key factor of art began to destabilize traditional scholarly approaches and allowed for contemporary definitions of art to arise (Adajian, 2008). Sociologist, such as James Clifford (1988), discusses not only the differences between artifacts and art in museums, but also the overlap of the two. Museum patrons could interpret ordinary or mass artifacts as true art. Irina (2012) states,

The old division between high culture, middle culture, and low culture is no longer valid and what previously used to be high culture has been “regulated to one of many subcultures while an amalgam of public mainstream culture has assumed the role of the all-encompassing popular culture. (p. 95)

The inclusion of culture alongside aesthetics opened new debates. Some scholars claimed art is culture and history bound, while others claim art transcends both culture and time in an overlapping manner, and a few have outright claimed art cannot be defined (Adajian, 2008; Hainic, 2011).

The author accepts the opinion of scholars such as Bright (1995), Levine (1988), Hainic (2011), and Irina (2012) that art is neither linear nor time-bound. Rather art intertwines culture, history, and aesthetics, and transcends chronological time. Similar to Appiah's (2006) and Bhabha's (1991, 1994) views on culture, art cannot evolve in isolation. Interacting cultures not only exchange goods and technology, but also art. For example early Roman art mimicked Greek art (Manchester, 1993). A multi-dimensional view of art allows more formats of art. Before, elite individuals commissioned art and allowed only certain tastes to qualify as art (e.g., sculptures and paintings). By approaching art in a larger and more complex manner, more mediums qualify for art including popular culture and mass culture arts (Gans, 1974).

For the purposes of parsimony, this dissertation focuses on resistance art. Keeping in mind the Research Question How does hijacking iconic imagery via imagery function as a form of rhetorical resistance to America's static international ideology?, the researcher focused on resistance art. The concept of a genre of resistance art is amorphous. As Hainic (2011) states, "contemporary art . . . encourages interest in the study of lived life" (p. 72.). The author proposes that resistance art is about art in life and art in lives of protest. Art must be a public spectacle. Whether the art is in public spaces such as a public art gallery or in the streets, connoisseurs cannot hide such art in private collections nor can governments restrict the public's access to it (Lehmann-Haupt, 1954). Public access is critical for dissemination and change. Lacy (1995) states of resistance art history, "moving into the public sector through the use of public space . . . was inevitable for artists who sought to inform and change" (p. 27).

A key concept of the author's approach to resistance art is resistance art's connection to social movements. Reed (2005) adds to Charles Tilly's definition of social movements sums up the relationship,

The essence of movements entails 'repeated public displays' of alternative political and cultural values by a collection of people acting together outside officially sanctioned channels. Movements, in contrast to their tamer, more institutionalized cousins, political parties and lobbyists, seek to bring about social change primarily through the medium of 'repeated public displays' or, as I [Reed] would put it, through dramatic action. (p. xiv)

Stewart, Smith, and Denton (2001) add, "many movements achieve identification through the use of visual symbols" (p. 159). The visual dramatic action could be shocking works in museums or galleries (Kahn & Neumaier, 1985), physical protest by using one's body as a site of protest (Butler, 1999; DeLuca, 1999; Grosz, 1994) or anonymous street graffiti (D'Angelo, 1974; Edbauer, 2005; Ferrell, 1995, 2009; Jorgenson, 2008; Visconti, Sherry, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010).

Two forms of protest art comprise the data pool, public gallery art and street graffiti. Each genre offers unique perspectives of resistance art. The author justifies the samples in what follows.

Public gallery art is no stranger to protest. One could argue that art galleries and museums fall under what Reed (2005) describes as "officially sanctioned channels" (p. xiv). The author, however, argues that galleries and museums are sites of protest because of the controversial nature of many exhibits (Kahn & Neumaier, 1985). Examples abound such as Normal Rockwell's civil rights paintings that ask Americans to reevaluate

their racial prejudices (Gallagher & Zagacki, 2005). Artists such as Jane Alexander, William Kentridge, Alfred Thoba, and Sisok Ka Mkame were influential in resisting apartheid (Williamson, 1989). Recent protest artist Rodrigues (2011), for example, uses her body to protest injustice in Central America. Similarly, China's Weiwei uses simple ceramic sunflower seeds as a metaphor for larger struggles (Hancox, 2011).

In contrast to gallery art, graffiti is its polar opposite with respect to resistance art. Freeland (2001) explains, "graffiti artist . . . seem to reject the gallery system altogether" (p. 112). Instead graffiti artists prefer an urban landscape environment as their canvas (Ferrell, 1995, 2009). Anonymous artists mark or tag walls, bridges, fences, streets and *heavens*.⁹⁵ Artists may even tag advertising and work it into their work (King, 1985). Visconti, Sherry, Borghini, and Anderson (2010) explain that "streets and walls provide the virtual and physical grounds where social interpretations and manipulation of ads are performed" (p. 115).

The anonymous artist may use simple letters, large murals, symbols, mock advertising, or stencils. Though the most common material artists use is spray paint, sophisticated artist have used mock posters and stickers as well (Ferrell, 1995; O'Gruze & Banksy, 2010).

Borghini, Massimiliano, Anderson, and Sherry (2010) note, "the antiquity, continuity, and cross-cultural prevalence of inscription as a means of emplacing ideology are undisputed" (p. 115). Graffiti artists are deliberate in their art. Graffiti sends a message. Sometimes graffiti artists intend for only their fellow graffiti artists see their work (Silver & Chalfant, 1983; Ferrell, 1995). It is what Hebdige refers to as "hiding in

⁹⁵ *Heavens* in the graffiti world are high and dangerous places to paint such as overpasses and tall buildings. There is great esteem for artists who can tag the *heavens* (Ferrell, 1995, 2009).

the light” (as cited Ferrell, 2009). Simply, seldom do people *read* graffiti even though graffiti’s prevalence causes social notice. People see graffiti and discuss it, but very rarely understand it nor know who the artist is. Ferrell (2009) states graffiti’s rhetorical power well,

its prominent display on a wall or a bridge, its eye-catching mix of colours and lettering styles, its engaging interplay with other forms of visual marking and symbolic communication- serves mostly to hide its underlying meaning in the light of visual accessibility. (p. 23)

Graffiti necessarily resists established norms. The canvas that anonymous graffiti artists use is usually private or public property and the tagging is without the owner or municipality’s permission (O’Gruz & Banksy, 2010). Most municipalities have laws against graffiti with severe punishments such as high fines and incarceration (Silver & Chalfant, 1983; Ferrell, 1995).

Artists use graffiti as a form of resistance all over the world in places such as the former Berlin Wall, former Soviet Union, Northern Ireland, Toronto, and Palestine (Ferrell, 1995). Graffiti artists abound in the United States as well. Sanchez-Tranquilino (1995) notes of Mexican American graffiti,

Placas or *plaqueasos*, the name given to the unique form of graffiti insignias developed by Mexican American barrio calligraphers over several generations, is not vandalism at all but rather a visual system developed by Mexican American graffiti writers themselves to keep a public check on the abuse of power in the streets. (p. 58)

In urban areas, youth often use graffiti to resist restrictions. The youth, usually of lower class stature or ethnic minorities, feel isolated and targeted by existing power structures.

Municipalities regulate and marginalize youth from proper society (Ferrell, 1995).

Ferrell (1995) explains that American cities “are systematically fractured by ethnic, class, and consumer segregation – segregation built into skyscrapers and skyways, freeways and transits, routes, walled residential enclaves and secured shopping malls, private streets and parks” (pp. 78-79). The anonymity of the artist makes the marginalization even more rhetorically powerful. Because of the legal ramifications, rarely do graffiti artists reveal their identify (Ferrell, 1995).

Abu Ghraib in Art

Examined next is the process by which Western resistance artists hijacked the Abu Ghraib photographs. Artists have hijacked the photographs as a symbolic starting point for multiple meanings. From a revered artist such as Botero (2006) to creators of anonymous street graffiti, these artists have appropriated visual impressions using the iconic Abu Ghraib photographs as forms of protest art. This dissertation focuses on post-colonial hijacking (including non-Eastern artists). Briefly examined first are Western artists’ and their appropriation of Abu Ghraib photographs.

Gerald Laing’s final pop culture art is a mixture of iconic commercial items and brands. Laing is best known for his sixties pop icon artwork of people such as Bridgette Bardot and the 1964 assassination of President Kennedy. He used a style derived from photojournalism. He was also a student and contemporary of famous pop artists such as Andy Worhol, Lichenstein, Jim Rosenquist and Robert Indiana. He continued to work in sculpture through the eighties and nineties (McNay, 2011). Late in his career, Laing

reverted to his earlier work and created a series of pop culture art on famous people such as Amy Winehouse and the Abu Ghraib prison scandal (see figures 24 and 25) (McNay, 2011).



Figure 24. Capriccio (Laing, 2012)



Figure 25. Only One of Them Uses Colgate (Laing, 2012)

Laing, a former British Army officer, felt very strongly about the wars in Iraq and the abuses committed by American soldiers whom he once idolized (Laing, 2012; F. Laing personal communication, July 21, 2012). Laing's (2012) work on Abu Ghraib uses the

iconic photographs such as the crucifixion of Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh (see Figure 24) in his “Capriccio”. Laing uses his previous newspaper pop style to juxtapose Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh with Brillo pads squared over exposed skin. Rather than standing on an MRE box, Saad stands on a Brillo box. The juxtaposition is of the iconic photo and commercialism. Another Abu Ghraib photograph Laing (2012) chooses to use is that of Susan Crile Sabrina Harman’s thumbs up pose over the deceased Manadel al-Jamadi in “Only One of Them Uses Colgate” (see Figure 25). Here again Laing commercializes an iconic Abu Ghraib photograph, he places a “Colgate” label on Jamadi’s body bag and places emphasis on Harman’s glowing white smile while Jamadi is blurred.

The events and photographs taken at Abu Ghraib also inspired Susan Crile to create art as commentary. Crile’s (n.d.) website states that her “paintings move between the poles of beauty and horror (p. 10).” Stewart & Stewart (n.d.) note that, “Crile is an exemplary artist striving to bring the vocabulary of early modernist abstraction into contemporary context . . . [using] disturbing and evocative abstracts (p. 1).” One of Crile’s early exhibitions that brought her to prominence depicted the oil field fires from the Gulf War in 1991. She chose this subject because the war horrified her (Crile, n.d.; Dhage, 2012). The Abu Ghraib photographs also horrified Crile and she began to research the images reading books and firsthand accounts (Dhage, 2012).

Crile decided to use a simple, but powerful approach. Crile’s works (see Figures 26 and 27) on Abu Ghraib use a “somber palette on dark sheets of paper using pastel, charcoal and chalk” (Scott, 2006, p.5). Rather than flashy colors to attract attention, Crile preferred to use “white chalk to designate the fragility of the victims” (Scott, 2006, p. 5). Simplicity accented with the raw emotion of the scenes makes Crile’s work powerful and

captivating. However, as Scott (2006) explains, “none of her [Crile] drawings have the gut-wrenching impact of the shameful photos themselves” (p. 5).



Figure 26. Threatened (Scott, 2006)

The chalk depicts Ashraf Abdullah al-Juhayshi cowering while the charcoaled Belgian shepherd Marco lunges in Crile’s “Threatened” (see Figure 27). The contrast of dark and light bring out the intensity of the scene.



Figure 27. Private England Dragging a Prisoner on a Leash (Scott, 2006)

“Private England Dragging a Prisoner on a Leash” is another sample of Crile’s artwork of Abu Ghraib (Scott, 2006). The work is chalk and charcoal rendition of the iconic photograph of Lynndie England dragging Gus by a belt. Crile used chalk when drawing Gus to “show the particular sense of humiliation of a particular man, to reveal the exact sense of his terrible pain” (Scott, 2006, p. 5). She used dark charcoal colors to represent the leash and England who is barely in the frame. The contrast between light and dark or good and evil is obvious.

Not all artistic commentary on the Abu Ghraib photographs occurs in art galleries or museum. Street artists hijack the iconic images to protest multiple causes. The street artists often hijack the iconic photograph and stencil it on public objects or subvert preexisting advertising. Some go as far as to create mock advertising that mimics iconic advertising.

Najjar examines such artists. Najjar (2011) examines the hooded Christ-like electrocution photograph taken at Abu Ghraib. Najjar makes similar observations as those of Rogers (2011) by comparing the photograph to the KKK. However, Najjar takes the analysis a step further. Najjar explains that the power of the photograph in political cartoons or political art lies in the ability of the audience to decipher the melding of two concepts. Using Fauconnier and Turner’s (2002) theory of conceptual blending, Najjar demonstrates the effect of such cartoons and art as seen in the iPod (Figure 28) mock posters that anti-war activists displayed in Los Angeles (Bonner, 2004).



Figure 28. iPod Iraq Poster

The unknown creator of the posters blended the identifiable iconic images of the Christ like execution figure at Abu Ghraib with the well know iPod advertisement series. Najjar notes that the creator blended the two iconic images to critique American materialism and global hegemony.

Another method an artist may use is pre-manufactured stickers. Artists will privately make the stickers and post them in public places. Fellow artists recognize the sticker based upon the artistic style and can identify the creator despite the fact that the artist is anonymous to the general public (O’Gruz & Banksy, 2010).



Figure 29. Crucifixion Sticker

Perez (2007) captured a photograph of a sticker on a fencepost of the iconic crucifixion Abu Ghraib photograph. The sticker is a simple glossy black and white square. Abdou Hussein Saad Faleh is only a white silhouette on a black background. It is a simple sticker, but the meaning is clear. The audience may never know the artist or her or his intentions for the specific location, but the audience will likely recognize the iconic symbol and comprehend the ideographic concepts associated with the symbol.

Western scholars often focus on Western responses to Abu Ghraib. While it is important to understand the responses of Western artists to Abu Ghraib, it is also important to understand how non-western artists respond to the Abu Ghraib scandal. By doing so, scholars can obtain a clearer understanding of why the photographs are global icons. This section of the chapter will examine international gallery and museum art first, and then examine international street art, specifically, third world and Muslim responses.

Abu Ghraib: Third World Gallery Art

One well-known international artist to approach the Abu Ghraib is Botero. Art enthusiasts know Botero best for his often-happy “voluminous, spacious, and bloated style” (Congdon & Hallmark, 2002, p. 40) and “colonial and folk art of his native country” (Vallen, 2005). Botero was born in Medellin, Columbia, “into the ruined branch of a good family” (Restany, 1984, p. 3) and lived in poverty as a youth with his widowed mother and two brothers (Congdon & Hallmark, 2002; Restany, 1984). Botero considers himself “an artist from the Third World, or better put, an artist who was not born among museums” (Vallen, 2005). The status of third world artist links Botero closer to Muslim artists than to traditional Western museum artists. At an early age, critics recognized Botero’s talent and he won many awards including the 1958 National Prize for Painting in Columbia and 1960 Guggenheim International Award in the Columbian section (Congdon & Hallmark, 2002).

Until his Abu Ghraib works, all of Botero’s art focused on Columbian, South, and Central American themes (Botero, 2006). Botero was on a plane headed to his home in Paris when he read Seymour Hersh’s (2004a) article, and as Botero explains, “[I was] very shocked that the Americans were torturing prisoners in the same prison as the tyrant they came to remove” (Baker, 2007). Botero says in his interview with *The San Francisco Chronicle*, “the United States presents itself as a defender of human rights and of course as an artist I was very shocked with this and angry. The more I read, the more I was motivated” (Baker, 2007).

Botero began to sketch his ideas on the same flight (Jones, 2008; Jong, 2007). In all, Botero created 87 drawings and paintings (Baker, 2007), of which 50 are large oil paintings considered his masterwork (Vallen, 2005). International audiences received Botero's work on Abu Ghraib well with shows in Germany, Italy, and Spain (Vallen, 2005). However, at first, Botero had a difficult time finding a venue to show his work in the United States because of the work's controversial nature (Jones, 2008). The University of California, Berkley was the first to show Botero's Abu Ghraib series in January 2007 (Zombietime, 2007). The collection eventually toured the United States, but not without criticism and protest (Jong, 2007).

Botero's artwork about the Abu Ghraib scandal is a deliberate statement. Botero sums the meaning up well by stating, "art is a permanent accusation" (as cited in Zombietime, 2007, p. 1). Botero believes that art helps society remember atrocities and often cites the example of Picasso's *Guernica*⁹⁶ (Baker, 2007; Jones, 2008; Jong, 2007; Vallen, 2005; Zombietime, 2007). Botero also believes the painting can lead to action. Jones (2008) states of Botero's work, "the potential art has for protest...is in twin outgrowths of a single impulse – the artistic attraction to aesthetic beauty and outrage that often comes from such close attention, from witnessing (p. 1)." While Botero believes the works are not anti-American but anti-brutality (Baker, 2007), he proclaims,

American torture is different from other torture because of the high opinion we have of our country and ourselves. Torture is something others do. We are above that. We are reasonable people governed by a great Enlightenment document we

⁹⁶ Picasso's *Guernica* is a painting he created to depict the German bombing of the Spanish town of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War (Zombietime, 2007).

call The Constitution. We help people all over the world. It is an incongruity of our image of ourselves versus the reality of our behavior that stings most.⁹⁷

Simply, Botero believes one reason his Abu Ghraib art is powerful is that the art counters the static American ideology of promoting freedom and prohibiting such acts as torture.

In order to better understand Botero's thoughts and comments, the dissertation briefly illustrates six samples of the Botero's 87 works about Abu Ghraib. The first painting simply titled "#57" (see Figure 30) reminiscent of the Abu Ghraib pyramid (see Figure 4). However, Botero omits the figures of Lynddie England and Charles Graner, but adds bars to the scene.



Figure 30. #57 (Botero, 2006)

Botero uses his well-known inflated style when depicting the prisoners as well as the vibrant colors of his previous works (Botero, 2006). Yet, Botero's subjects are not smiling. The audience can see the pain in their faces. The audience's gaze is beyond the bars. Botero binds the feet and hands of the victims as well as blindfolds them. He may add the details of restriction to comment on the total control of the perpetrator as well as

⁹⁷Botero takes an interesting first person plural position as an American even though he is not a citizen.

the tie into the crucifixion theme. Botero may want the audience to look inward and face his *accusation* (*Zombietime*, 2007).

Beyond the obvious torture, there are additional visual connotations. The bars lock in the scene. While both first and third world audiences may see bars as restricting, they may have deeper meanings for third world audiences. Many people in the third world see prisons and bars as symbols of colonial oppression. Botero, in this researcher's opinion, links the colonial oppression of his native Columbia with his third world brethren in Iraq. The catalyst for the Monroe doctrine, for example, was the Spanish colonialization of South and Central America. Botero's *we share* is an important facet of the colonial experience. As mentioned, post-colonialism is a cognitive phenomenon. Therefore, Botero's hijacking serves as a unifying rhetorical symbol against United States' dominance.

Botero also utilizes the Muslim taboo regarding nudity. His hijacked image contains considerable nudity. Once again, nudity has a profound persuasive effect on Muslim audiences. Botero's artistic use of visually shocking images, therefore, rhetorically impacted Arab audiences more so than Western audiences perhaps numbed by celebrity displays of nudity.

The other four paintings and one sketch (see Figures 31 to 35) examine Botero's use of dogs. Botero uses the famous Abu Ghraib photograph where Ashraf Abdullah al-Juhayshi cowers as Sergeant Michael Smith holds back his Belgian shepherd Marco (see Figure 5) as a baseline. Botero always exaggerates the dog's size compared to the victim. Botero uses the often-portrayed prison *rape* scene in Figure 31. Yet the dog is the perpetrator of the rape not a guard or fellow inmate.



Figure 31. #45 (Botero, 2006)



Figure 32. #52 (Botero, 2006)

Botero uses techniques similar to Andy Warhol's *Race Riot* to artistically depict the brutality of using dogs as a fear tactic (Botero, 2006). The five works clearly articulate the ferocity of the dogs on the helpless blindfolded prisoner.



Figure 33. #75 (Botero, 2006)



Figure 34. #06 (Botero, 2006)

Two works (see Figures 34 & 35) focus on the dog and the prisoner's face. The prisoner's mouth is open to simulate screaming in fear. The dog only inches away from

his face. Once again, Botero exaggerates the size of the dog for maximum impact. The works draw the gaze towards the intimacy of the terrifying scene. The audience gets a front row seat to the act of pure terror.



Figure 35. #79 (Botero, 2006)

Botero does not depict dogs in the hijacked works in the same way that he does in earlier paintings. As aforementioned, dogs are viewed as unclean animals in the Muslim culture. A Muslim audiences' gaze could possibly be longer and more intent because of their cultural fear of dogs. Botero adds nudity to many scenes in order to further intensify culture shock. While American audiences may be disgusted by what they see, Muslim audiences are more likely to respond with anger. While Botero does not advocate violence, opponents of American intervention in Iraq could use the paintings to incite violence. Art has the rhetorical power to move viewers and in this case, Botero's works could motivate audiences to resist United States occupational forces.

Botero's works are powerful and internationally recognized (Baker, 2007; Jones, 2008; Jong, 2007; Vallen, 2005; Zombietime, 2007). Yet, Botero is not an Arab or from

the Middle East. Due to the relative young age of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq, there are few artists as well known as Botero. During Saddam's reign, Saddam commissioned artwork to support and enhance his dictatorship. There is no doubt that Saddam commissioned impressive and large-scale works, but artists had little freedom of expression (Al-Khalil, 1991). Only a few artists such as Faisal Louaiby were able to escape Iraq and work freely (Nawafeth, 2012).

After the United States toppled Saddam's regime, semblances of freedom immersed. Although officially declared a democracy, a strong insurgency and sectarian violence continued to trouble Iraq (Gordon & Trainor, 2006). Areas such as Baghdad lost much of their artistic talent. Qasim Sabati notes, "very few people have stayed. It is like we are the last of the Mohicans" (as cited in Westall, 2012, p. 1). The Kurdish regions enjoy more autonomy, but danger is still present (Iraqi Young Leaders Exchange Program, 2012).

Even in Iraq's tumultuous and turbulent setting, artists such as Shahin Aldhahir still create moving pieces. Aldhahir was born in Nineveh near Mosul, Iraq (artbreak, 2009). He is a member of the Iraqi Artists Society, Arab Plastic Artists Union, and Iraqi Journalist Union (Iraqiart.com, n.d.; Voodoochilli.net, 2008). Aldhahir's works are a combination of traditional portraits and landscapes as well as abstracts (artbreak, 2009). Aldhahir uses a blend of impressionist and abstract format for his pieces on the conflict in Iraq (see Figures 36 to 40). Many of Aldhahir's works incorporated either a prison or a torture theme and one can see this reflected in the titles of his works.



Figure 36. Prisoners 1101 (Aldhahir, 2011)



Figure 37. Prisoners of thought (Aldhahir, 2011)

The works are distant and lack fine detail. The gaze is not upon the individual but the collective. Unlike Botero's vibrant colors, Aldhahir uses simple and soft tones. The figures seem to blend into the setting.

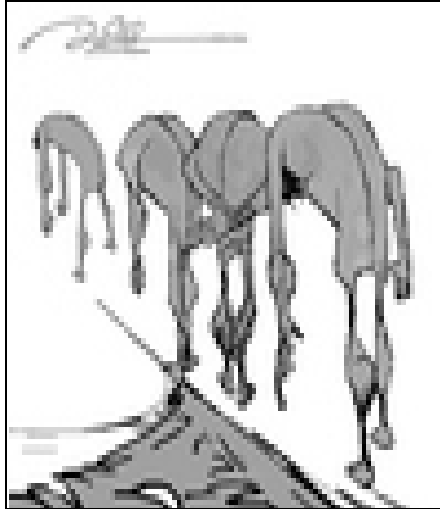


Figure 38. Arcs of torture (Aldhahir, 2011)

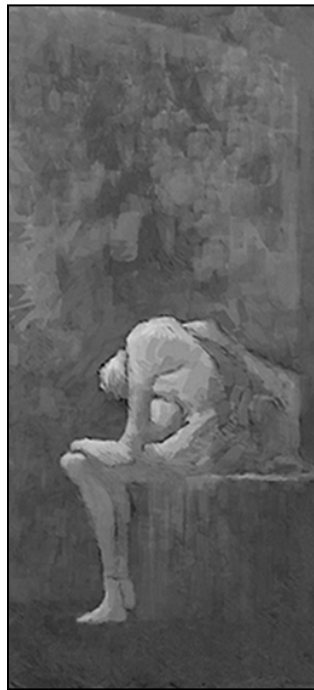


Figure 39. Lonely in prison (Aldhahir, 2011)

While Aldhahir only titles one painting “Abu Ghraib” (see Figure 40), the other works show an uncanny resemblance to the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib Prison. “Prisoners 1101”⁹⁸(see Figure 36) and “Prisoners of thought” (see Figure 37) resemble the pyramid

⁹⁸ Sometime websites title the piece “Seeking Freedom” (Voodoochill.net, 2008).

photographs (see Figure 4). *Prisoners 1101* depict a mass of people similar to a pile or a grouping of humanity. Aldhahir explains of his “Prisoners of thought”, “I tried to express the hard suffering prisoner of thought looking through a small hope of light of freedom” (as cited in alltradeart.co.uk, n.d., p. 1). The work is not a pile of bodies, but resembles a pile in its complicated abstraction.

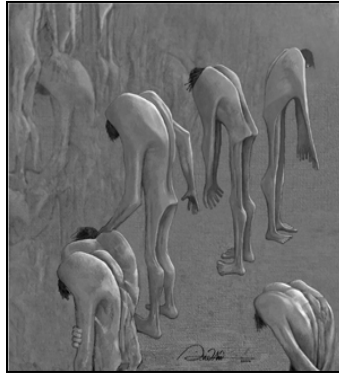


Figure 40. Abu Ghraib (Aldhahir, 2011)

Arcs of torture (see Figure 38) and “Abu Ghraib” (see Figure 40) resemble the Abu Ghraib photographs (see Figure 3) were Lynndie England mocks the standing prisoners. Aldhahir removes England from the works as well as the sandbags over the prisoners’ heads. He uses the same nude slumped position reminiscent of the England photographs. Aldhahir explains of the “Abu Ghraib” piece “it is a trial to express the feelings of shame; sadness and pain of the Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib in Baghdad by the American soldiers” (alltradeart.co.uk, n.d.).

Aldhahir’s abstraction allows the viewer to gaze intently at the works. Aldhahir has credibility with Iraqi audiences. However, he is able to move beyond nationality and rhetorically incorporate cultural understandings that most Muslims recognize. The abstract body is present in every work. Viewers cannot identify an individual, forcing them to think as a collective whole. A Western viewer may not recognize the collective

nature of Islamic society, however, and may miss an important message such as collective misery. Simply, a Westerner may only view one or a group of lonely and sad individuals. Whereas, a Muslim may see the collective misery of occupation.

Abu Ghraib: Street Art

Gallery and museum artists such as Botero and Shahin Aldhahir are only one genre of artists who hijack the Abu Ghraib photographs to make artistic statements outside of the United States. Another group of artists includes unnamed street artists and graffitiists. While Western artists such as Banksy tag controversial spaces such as the Israeli separation wall (O’Gruz & Banksy, 2010), Middle Eastern street artists create much of the street art throughout the Middle East region.

Similar to graffiti artists in the United States, global graffiti artists hijack the iconic Abu Ghraib photographs to create street art. Nine samples of street art in the Middle East or Middle Eastern communities are explained. The researcher obtained the samples from blogs because bloggers can record and publish street art in an unofficial manner. The illegal nature and speed of removal makes street art difficult, if not impossible to access firsthand (Reed, 2005).

The first seven samples (see Figures 41 to 47) explore manipulation of the iconic crucifixion photograph. Similar to American graffiti artists, the author finds that the crucifixion photograph is the most commonly hijacked by Middle Eastern artists.

The first four samples (see Figures 41 to 44) depict intricate examples of street art. Salah Edine Sallat painted the first example (see Figure 41) that hijacks the iconic crucifixion photograph (Haidar, 2004). Salah’s work is one of the rare examples of Middle Eastern street art where the audience knows who created the piece. Salah chose

to juxtapose the crucifixion image with the Statue of Liberty (Garoian & Gaudelius, 2008). Dower (2010) comments, “his [Salah’s] Statue of Liberty with her hand on an electrical switchbox stands alongside the most famous of the torture images” (p. 374).



Figure 41. Graffiti That Fee Dom For Bush

Similar to Hamed Atta’s (see Figure 19, 2004) and Stavro Jabra’s (see Figure 22, 2004) political cartoons, the Statue of Liberty represents what Garoian and Gaudelius (2008) describe as, “a U.S. icon of freedom and social justice” (p. 82). Thus, with the Statue of Liberty’s hand on the power box and wearing an executioner’s mask with wires leading to Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh, Salah’s link between the abuses at Abu Ghraib and American static ideology is clear.

Unlike the original hijacked photograph where the soldiers staged everything to terrify a single prisoner, the secondary interpretation implies that Lady Liberty will execute the prisoner. The prisoner could be representative of all Muslims. Rhetorically, powerful cultural underpinnings depicted by the artist add considerable force to its emotional appeal. Lady Liberty has not thrown the switch. The graffiti may be telling the audience that there still is time to save the prisoner if they expel the Western

occupiers. Therefore, there is time to save themselves (Muslims) if they act before Lady Liberty does. Clearly, this is a call to action.

Belgian Filip Spagnoli (2012) has some of the more common anonymous artists' works (see Figure 42), those which hijack the Abu Ghraib crucifixion photograph, displayed on his political blog. Another sample is an anonymous piece from Amsterdam (see Figure 43, Voetnoot.org, 2008). Europeans have had an uneasy relationship with their Arab immigrant populations. Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard's Muhammad cartoon in *Jyllands-Posten* (*The Morning Newspaper*) during September 2005 is such an example of European tensions (Muller et als., 2009).



Figure 42. Graffiti Got Democracy

Each example uses the crucifixion image as its basis and compares the cartoons to a common American theme. The artist of Figure 42 uses the American “Got Milk” advertisement campaign to mock democracy in Iraq.

The anonymous artist employs a creative rhetorical strategy. There is, for example, a lack of substance to the visual argument. The artist most likely purposefully kept the image vague and simplistic. Simplicity shows the dark nature of the incident

inasmuch as the artist only used black paint. In Islam, there are many parables of light and dark to symbolize good and evil. To an Islamic audience, black often connotes evil. The image does not require language to explain its link to the Abu Ghraib photograph.

Figure 43's anonymous artist uses the common Christmas theme but replaces the Christmas tree with a decorated Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh with presents around the MRE box Saad stands on.



Figure 43. Graffiti Christmas Crucifixion

The street artist also flung red paint over the scene to simulated blood splatter. Santa Claus is putting on a latex glove similar to the ones that American soldiers wear in many Abu Ghraib photographs. The piece has “Merry Christmas” printed in the upper left-hand corner similar to a postcard. The macabre work is not spray-painted in the traditional method, rather the artist used a prepared product that she or he rolled onto a wall similar to wallpaper. However, one can see that someone has tagged the piece with spray-paint on the left side.

One could interpret the pieces as a comment against western commercialism. Islamic critics often believe Western, especially American, imperialism is a systematic

exploitation of resources and labor to increase western wealth and materialism.⁹⁹ One example was the radical Islamist Al-Qaeda intellect Sayyid Qutb (2000, 2001, 2004). Qutb frequently used the Western decadence and materialism argument to persuade Muslims to return to a strict view of Sunni Islam that calls for a life without extravagance. Qutb’s call to action was a major motivator for Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden took the call to material jihad literally and waged a bloody war against the West. Bin Laden would have likely appreciated the graffiti insofar as he depicted himself as simplistic and non-materialistic.

Figure 44 is an example of street art submitted to Beirut based *ArabAd’s* peace poster design contest (The Zone, 2009). The contest had many street art submissions about the Abu Ghraib scandal from throughout the world submitted for the contest, which led to its own blog dubbed “Design 961” (The Zone, 2009). The artist painted the piece on what is believed to be a building wall in Baghdad and could symbolize (as do other Abu Ghraib street art submissions) what contest host The Zone (2009) exclaims as a “global symbol [Abu Ghraib] of abuse and human rights violations has also spurred loads of satire and parody (p. 1).”



Figure 44. Graffiti Soldiers Crucifixion (The Zone, 2009)

⁹⁹ See Chapter Four about post-colonial discussion.

Figure 44 depicts the crucifixion photograph of Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh to the left of two soldiers with M-16 military rifles. The soldiers wear camouflage, but have pigs' heads. The artist could be stating that the soldiers are pigs or they are representative of a government of pigs. The pigs are extremely disrespectful in the Islamic world and Islam has a strict prohibition against pork (Saad, 2009). Saad (2009) comments on pork: "We do not doubt for an instant that the pig is a dirty and filthy animal, and that eating it is harmful to man." Therefore, the representation of soldiers as pigs sends a stark message about the nature of the Abu Ghraib scandal in the Muslim world. While a Western viewer would likely recognize the symbolic portrayal of the pig, a Muslim viewer would be repulsed by the image. The graffiti, in this author's opinion, contains a subtle call to action. The taboo of pork juxtaposed upon soldier constitutes a sign warning Muslims that the cultural equivalent of "armed pigs" are holding "us" hostage. Thus, Muslims are urged to expel the infidels. It is a simple, but visually powerful rhetorical message.

An anonymous Iranian street artist sprayed the crucifixion image on a wall in Teheran, Iran (see Figure 45). The artist sprayed a floral and honeycomb pattern as the background with a simple black silhouette of Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh.

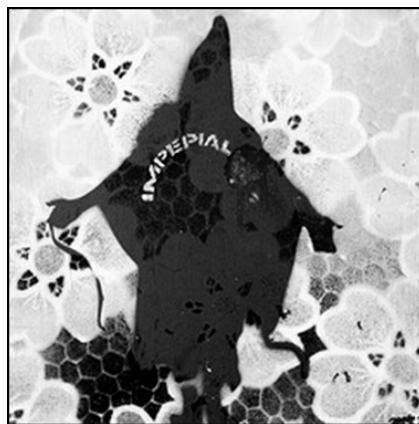


Figure 45. Graffiti Imperial Crucifixion (A1one, 2006).

The artist uses the Imperial Sugar logo over Faleh's left breast. There is a large red spot on the right breast that may symbolize a wound to the heart. The imperial label gives the artwork an interesting double entendre. Sugar production has a long history of colonial abuses and is often associated with the most heinous acts of colonialism (Brandes, 1997). The graffiti warns against a return to the *chains* of plantation colonialism that Muslims fought hard to break. Branding is terrifying to Islamic audiences.

Figure 46 (The Zone, 2009) is another piece of street art that was submitted to ArabAd's poster contest. The artist is anonymous and he or she situated the piece next to a larger unknown work.



Figure 46. Graffiti Crucifixion Stamp

The artist uses a stamp design with the image of Abdou Hussain Saad Faleh with the word Iraq under him. The stamp concept is unique and may be representative of spreading democracy abroad. However, unlike most stamps that portray a famous

person, place, or scene, the graffiti stamp hijacks the crucifixion image as the message sent.

This parody contains a deeper meaning about the nature of neocolonialism. Rather than subjugation, colonialism is economic and presented in the name of democracy. Abu Ghraib, however, is represented as a byproduct of US notions of democracy.

The final sample of graffiti that hijacks the crucifixion photograph is a simple stencil spray that one can find throughout the world (see Figure 47). Figure 47 is also an anonymous piece submitted to ArabAd peace posters contest. Unlike the street art samples previously examined, Figure 6.24 is a simple stencil that an artist can quickly tag and move on.



Figure 47. Graffiti Crucifixion Stencil (The Zone, 2009)

The artist does not worry about a larger or more complex work. The artist must rely only upon the iconic nature of the image. Either the audience understands the tag or not; there

is not an outside cue to support the quick tag. It is inherently necessary that the audience understand the image from Abu Ghraib or the tag is wasted paint.

This work could simply be a reminder of Abu Ghraib, its deeper meaning being that Arabs must never forget the incident. As such, the image conveys a powerful rhetorical message. Photography's power resides in its ability to quickly disseminate messages in multiple locations without time constraints. Sontag (1977) explains that an important function of photographs is replicability. In this sense, the cartoonist's pen created the secondary image quickly and easily.

The final two samples (see Figures 48 and 49) do not use the common crucifixion theme. The anonymous artists chose to use the iconic Lynndie England leash photograph. The first sample (see Figure 48, Zazoo & Satori, 2009) is from an anonymous artist in an unknown location. The author believes it may be in France because the artist quotes a work in French and France has a large Muslim minority.¹⁰⁰ The piece is a two-color double stencil, the artist sprays one scene and allows the base color to dry, and then the artist applies the second stencil and sprays a separate color. In this work, the artist sprayed a strong contrasting black and white combination. The artist also adds the initials, KNF. The initials are unknown to the blogger who shared the image (Zazoo & Satori, 2009). The art also has an inscription in French from Antoine de Saint-Exupery's *The Little Prince*. The quote translates, "You become responsible, forever, for what you have tamed" (Zazoo & Satori, 2009).

¹⁰⁰ France has a large Muslim minority. Many immigrated after the colonial period when new governments exiled or persecuted them for their collaboration with the French colonial government in countries such as Algeria and Morocco (Memmi, 1991).



Figure 48. Graffiti Little Prince Leash

The poignant quote illustrates the nature of the war in Iraq. The Abu Ghraib scandal could be indicative of the total responsibility the United States must assume because of its war in Iraq.

The artist speaks to a Muslim audience by incorporating the figure of a naked male, the leashed dog, and woman (England) pulling the male. As aforementioned, the taboos are more disturbing to a Muslim audience and could call that audience to action. The artist may want to remind Muslims of the offense to Islam.

An anonymous artist spray-painted the final sample (see Figure 49) onto one of the fences built near the Cathedral in Seville close to the construction site of a train station (Huevo, 2011).



Figure 49. Graffiti Democracia

The sample is a simple single-color stencil spray paint tag. As well as using the iconic England leash image, the tag incorporates the phrase “Democracia” (Spanish for democracy) in the font that the American heavy metal band Metallica trademarks in its name. The piece may once again use the common theme of graffiti hijacking the Abu Ghraib image that calls American attempts of introducing democracy to Iraq into question. Muslims weary of colonial powers invading their lands in the name of democracy may see the image as a humorous, but, sadly, as cultural corruptors.

The piece is an example of the chromatic limits of street art and the iconic nature of graffiti. The artist painted the image on a temporary construction fence. In the unlikely event that authorities left the art in place, the fence is temporary and guarantees the removal of the art from public view.

Whether artists prefer audiences to know their identity and display their works in art galleries or remain anonymous because of the illegal nature of their street art, one commonality connects all of the artists critiqued here. The artists all hijack the iconic

photographs captured by seven low ranking soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison. The images are powerful enough to gain visual notoriety and set the stage for social protest via visual resistance. The images do not blatantly call for action. The call for action is subtle. By hijacking the original photographs, artists are able to call for action by use of implied meanings. Specifically, the call to action is rhetorically constructed as an enthymeme.

By combining Hariman and Lucaites' (2002, 2003, 2007b) first four qualifiers of iconography, the artist (possibly inadvertently) resists communal unity. Western powers, especially the United States, and many Muslim leaders would like Muslims to identify with some ideological variation of Manifest Destiny and/or Monroe Doctrine. Yet conservative and fundamentalist Muslims want to resist such communal unity, preferring instead a separate course that returns Islam to its roots and closes the doors of *ijtihad*. Artists constitute themselves as resistance rhetors by hijacking iconic images and visually reappropriating images to the multiple cultures and languages that make up the Muslim world.

CHAPTER VII
ABU GHRAIB:
LESSONS LEARNED

This study illuminates post-colonial resistance to a static American ideology. The closing chapter discusses political cartoons in the post-colonial Middle East that hijack, or repurpose, the Abu Ghraib photographs. The chapter also discusses the researcher's conclusions regarding gallery or museum art as well as street artists' interpretations of Abu Ghraib photographs. Limitations of this research project as well as possible avenues for future research conclude the chapter.

Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation was to address the research question - How does hijacking iconic imagery via visual imitation function as a form of rhetorical resistance to America's static international ideology? The dissertation provides a foundation for the research question by detailing the historiography of what happened at Abu Ghraib Prison.

The dissertation discusses the nature of visual communication and research on iconography from scholars such as McGee (1980), Sontag (1977) and Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003, 2007a, 2007b). The researcher accepted Hariman and Lucaites's (2002, 2003, 2007a, 2007b) first four identifiers of iconography, but challenged the fifth issue regarding societal unity by examining iconographic images hijacked as a form of resistance to the war in Iraq. Two frames of reference were utilized critically. The first frame of reference encompasses how international (mainly Middle Eastern) political cartoonists reacted to the Abu Ghraib scandal. The second frame of reference is how artists, especially international artists, responded to the Abu Ghraib scandal.

In order to understand the complexity of Abu Ghraib, scholars must first address the history of Islam and colonialism. This investigation, accordingly, created a working definition of post-colonialism that incorporates aspects of Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity and Appiah's (2006) concept of cosmopolitanism. Post-colonialism is a response to American and European colonialism, a colonial and post-colonial experience fixed in neither time nor space, shared by a group of people, and the cognitive acknowledgment of their shared experiences.

This study synthesizes the intersection of iconic visual rhetoric and post-colonial rhetoric. By examining artifacts that artists craft from iconic images, the scholarly community is afforded new visual images capable of yielding fresh rhetorical insight. For example, they likely reveal the intersection of visual iconic rhetoric and post-colonial rhetoric.

In the Middle East, the immediate response to the Abu Ghraib photographs was a rash of violent incidents against Westerners and coalition soldiers, including the beheading of American contractor Nicholas Berg in Iraq and the execution of Jewish-American journalist Daniel Pearl in Pakistan. However, the Abu Ghraib response was not short-lived; resisters to American ideologies continue to use the torture photographs as visual arguments against the adoption of western ideologies. Whether it is nation-states such as Iran or Palestine or stateless organizations such as Al Qaeda, there is continued anger and resentment that damages the credibility of the United States. A less violent but nonetheless powerful example is Iranian-American journalist Roxana Saberi who was imprisoned in Tehran. Her captors explained that at least she was better treated than prisoners at Abu Ghraib (Saberi, 2010).

The last two chapters conclude by examining how the reaction of political cartoonists and artists to the photographs taken at Abu Ghraib contributed to a climate where visual images led to violence and resistance a static American ideology. Three commonalities emerged. First, hijacked Abu Ghraib images portray visually repellent scenarios that call into question the United States' attitude toward Muslims and their cultural values. Political cartoonists, such as Hajjaj (2004, 2005) and artists, such as Botero (2006), comment on the injustice and inhumane cruelty of the Abu Ghraib images. Some artists are anonymous, however, leaving viewers to interpret an image's contextual clues for meaning. One such example is Figure 49 (Huevo, 2011) where an unknown artist hijacks England's dog leash image.

Second, the hijacking of Abu Ghraib photographs constitutes a form of rhetorical abstraction. Similar to western cartoonists and artists, eastern cartoonists and artists seldom appropriate an image in its entirety. Instead, a cartoonist or artist stylizes the photographs. Botero's (2006) works are inflated and oversized, whereas Shahin Aldhahir's (2011) works are abstract. Cartoonists, such as Muhammed Raees (2004), tend to enhance the images or characters in their pieces. Reese, for example, creates a George W. Bush caricature with extraordinarily large ears (see Figure 12). While the representations may seem similar to Western styles, one must remember that a possible explanation is that visual communication in Middle Eastern countries is given considerable public attention given its low literacy rates. For instance, Iraq has a literacy rate of 40.4% (mideastweb, 2006), whereas in the United States the literacy rate is 99% (CIA Fact Book, 2012). While the image may be only an aesthetic compliment to an

article in an American newspaper, it may be the only form of understandable communication for an illiterate Iraqi.

The final commonality that cartoons and fine art share regarding the Abu Ghraib scandal is that audiences are required to have *a priori* knowledge of the event. McGee (1980) and Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003) agree that ideographs and iconographs must have shared cultural meaning. The political cartoons would not impact an audience that fails to link the image to Abu Ghraib. Figure 42 (Spagnoli, 2012) would make little sense unless the audience could connect the irony of Abu Ghraib and static American ideology. The graffiti is further complicated because of the *got democracy* remark that references the popular advertisement campaign. In this case, an audience must have a working knowledge of Western popular culture.

The author also found two latent commonalities within the artifacts. The first commonality is that a Western audience would likely miss or misread important visual references should they fail to interpret the artifact from a post-colonial stance. Specifically, nuances considered trivial to a Western audience are rhetorically powerful to a Muslim audience. One such example extrapolated from the dissertation's findings is the use of dogs by the cartoonists and artists. What Western audience views as man's best friend has an opposite connotation in the Muslim world. Dogs are unclean and dangerous. The rhetorical power of the dogs enhances the cartoon or art's persuasiveness to a Muslim audience.

Another example is the use of the American flag. In the United States, the flag iconically unites Americans under the banner of patriotism. However, in much of the Muslim world, the US flag has come to represent oppression and neo-colonialism. An

American audience could easily overlook the juxtaposed icon as sign of desecration rather than a commentary on modern colonialism.

The second commonality suggests the Muslim audiences may be motivated to resist western ideologies as a result of viewing hijacked iconography. The hijacked artifact gets a second life as a new visual form. Whether it is a reminder of the original icon or new purposes, the secondary artifact becomes a rhetorically constructed strategy of resistance. Social movements often use visual rallying points. In the Middle East, anti-Western iconography such as the Abu Ghraib photographs can become the visual rallying point from which one resists American occupation.

Anti-American resistance does not have to be violent or deadly as it can be passive. After viewing hijacked Abu Ghraib graffiti, an Iraqi citizen could choose to boycott establishments frequented by American soldiers. Iraqi citizens could refuse to sell supplies to Americans or provide information regarding attacks on coalition troops. Western audiences should not read hijacked artifacts as merely a Middle Eastern reaction to military misconduct, but as a rhetorical outlet for proclaiming Anti-American sentiments. Visual representations of iconographic images, therefore, constitute a form of strategic resistance.

This study also addressed three problems in current communication research. The first problem concerns the lack of a cohesive understanding of the term *post-colonialism*. Beyond a simple issue of definitional clarification, a lack of understanding is a communication issue because of the global nature of modern communication. Given Western foreign policy, financial interests in the Middle East and the Global War on Terror, interaction between conflicting cultures is inevitable. The researcher addresses

this issue first by exploring the history of Islam and its resistance to colonialism. The author then clarifies often misused terms, such as post-colonial, neo-colonial, and subaltern, to help organize the entomology of post-colonial terms. One example is the term subaltern, which Spivak (2010) notes is a geographical term used to explain the British colonization of the Indian subcontinent. It is inappropriate for scholars to use the term liberally. As aforementioned, the author combines Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and Appiah's (2006) cosmopolitanism to create a working definition of post-colonialism. By clarifying the term post-colonialism, communication scholars are better able to investigate multiple areas of post-colonialism. This definition of post-colonialism parsimoniously clarifies the concept.

A second issue concerns the lack of scholarship examining iconography in post-colonial settings. By approaching the post-colonial condition from the works of communication scholars such as Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003) the author was able to illustrate the iconic nature of the Abu Ghraib photographs from a Muslim perspective.

Finally, the researcher examines how audiences use images as a means of resisting static American ideology. Hariman and Lucaites's (2002, 2003) fifth qualifier of iconography (cultural unity) was shown to lead audiences to resistance using political cartoons and works of art. The author demonstrates that one key to resistance is the hijacking and repurposing of iconic images as parody. Stewart et als. (2001) note that parodying the perpetrator helps unite victims symbolically.

This study provides critical insight regarding the rhetorical power of the hijacked photographs as forms of post-colonial resistance. The hijacking of the Abu Ghraib photographs is more than a communicative action; it is a rhetorical action. The

photographs became a rally point for resistance to Western encroachment in the Middle East. Many Arabs lack the physical means by which to resist what they perceive as neo-colonialism. Consequently, they often hijack images (such as those taken at Abu Ghraib) as a form of resisting American ideologies.

In this sense, hijacking the Abu Ghraib photographs becomes a symbol of identification. Stewart et al. (2001) explain that identification is a critical component of a social movement. While there are many countries, languages, and cultures in the Middle East, one commonality is the shared colonial experience. Middle Easterners create what Stewart et al. Denton (2001) term a “we and they relationship” (p. 151). Middle Easterners are the “we” because of their shared colonial experience while the “they” is the perceived Western occupiers. Thus, a social movement aims to remove the perceived threat of Western occupiers and their ideologies. Stewart et al. (2001) illustrate symbolism’s importance well. They state, “protest groups may create and employ symbolic gestures that communicate similarity of feelings, experience, and attitude” (Stewart et al., 2001, p. 159). They continue, “a truism among social movement theorist and practitioners is that the agent who controls language [symbols] controls the world” (Stewart et al., 2001, p. 172).

The hijacking of preexisting iconic images advances visual rhetoric by not only accounting for the post-colonial condition in visual rhetoric, but also by expanding the existing visual-rhetorical conversation to include a secondary layer of interpretation. Scholars such as Barthes (1977, 1981), Berger (1977), Finnegan (2003), and Sontag (1977) pioneered the first layer of visual rhetoric by explaining its importance as a rhetorical phenomenon independent of textual rhetoric. This investigation contributes a

new layer to the conversation by focusing on how resisters use secondary visual artifacts. The resistor must not only understand the iconic nature of the hijacked image, but must also know how to manipulate the new image to create a new form of resistance rhetoric.

The example of graffiti illustrates the concept well. Graffiti artists must first use a medium that is independent of pure text, such as spray paint. They must also find an image of iconic nature that audiences will instantly recognize. Once the artist selects the image, the artist must manipulate the image to a desired subversive message. In the case of the Abu Ghraib, photographs that soldiers took for their amusement were hijacked by artists who rhetorically altered them in ways that criticized the United States and its ideologies.

Limitations

Keyton (2006) notes, “all research designs and all methodologies have limitations” (p. 309). This dissertation is no exception. The researcher notes three limitations that possibly skew the results reported here.

The first limitation addresses the number of Abu Ghraib photographs examined. For the sake of parsimony, the author elected to analyze the six most reproduced photographs (see Figures 1 to 6). However, soldiers running Abu Ghraib prison took thousands of photographs. Therefore, the research is limited to the discourse of six photographs. The examination of additional photographs may either yield alternative results or bolster the conclusions reported here.

A second limitation regards the nature of media. Western media, to a certain extent, is free from government interference because they enjoy free speech (Folkerts & Teeter, 2002). President George W. Bush, for example, noted how he was caught off

guard by the photographs' publication, more so than the soldiers' acts (Bush, 2010). In America, media outlets can legally publish controversial photographs (Gourevitch & Morris, 2008). However, in the Middle East media outlets are heavily censored (Said, 2004). Media control may be problematic from a political cartoonist's perspective. Scholars must account for the lack of expressive freedom when analyzing Middle Eastern sources. Saddam Hussein's regime, for example, did not allow non-state sponsored art. Aldahir could not freely express himself.

A third limitation is the culture and language barrier. While this study focuses primarily on iconography, much of the data was generated by Middle Eastern sources. The researcher had to navigate Middle Eastern websites and search engines. The author is not a native Arabic speaker and this may have limited the data pool. Moreover, as a Westerner the researcher likely brought to the study a degree of cultural bias and ignorance. Spivak (2010) criticizes Western scholars for their Western biased analyses. As a precaution against such bias, the researcher had multiple scholars review the manuscript for cultural oversights.

Future Research

Scholars may potentially use this study as a means of investigating post-colonial iconography, particularly three issues. First, other iconic images from the post-colonial Middle East are worthy of investigation. The Middle East region is dramatically transforming into what many have called the Arab Spring. Regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya have fallen to demonstrators, Syria is engaged in civil war, and the Arab street is restless in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Pakistan.

The Arab street is using street protest as the main vehicle of resistance, including street art as a powerful media for communicating information. The victory or peace sign, for example, is one unifying symbol (see Figures 5, and 51) gaining iconic status (Leistman, 2012).



Figure 50. Arab Spring Victory Poster (Utopia Achieved, 2011)



Figure 51. Photograph Arab Child Victory (AFP, 2012)

Images such as Figure 7.2 where a child flashed the victory symbol with blood on his hands may become iconographs in the future. The photograph meets Hariman & Luciatés's (2002, 2003) first four qualifiers of iconography and, as argued here, meets the

fifth counter qualifier of resistance. One could easily consider the Arab Spring as resistance to the traditional dictatorial style of leadership the Middle East.



Figure 52. Graffiti Victory Egypt (Leistman, 2012)

Street artists have quickly hijacked the victory symbol and begun tagging public spaces (see Figures 52 and 53). The anonymous artist who painted Figure 52 on a wall near Tahir Square in Egypt hijacked the victory symbol and added the letters “ictory” in red, white, and black (the colors of the Egyptian flag) to complete the work (Leistman, 2012). While an anonymous artist painted Figure 53 on a wall in Tripoli, Libya (Applepie4me, 2012), the work incorporates a similar theme of victory juxtaposed against the country’s flag.



Figure 53. Graffiti Victory Libya (Applepie4me, 2012)

Not all street artists from the Middle East comment on Abu Ghraib or the Arab Spring. Street artists in many countries choose unique motifs to resist power structures. The Alien-UFO blog (Comfortablynumb, 2007; GIRLIATH, 2010) collects graffiti throughout the region.



Figure 54. Graffiti Afghanistan RPG

The unknown artist spray stenciled the rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) fighter on a surface in Kabul. Comfortablynumb (2007) who blogged the photograph comments about its meaning,

The people behind the anti-war graffiti call themselves Combat Communications, and claim to be “a small anonymous group of international artists founded last year with the sole aim of advocating/promoting free expression.” Styled after the anonymous British vandal-artist Banksy, Kabul's streetwise stealth stencillers go by the moniker “Talibanksy”,¹⁰¹ The street art forms a commentary on the cost in blood and treasure of the war, which has brought 126,000 US and NATO troops to Afghanistan and kills about 2,000 Afghan civilians a year, according to the UN. Black, spray-painted silhouettes of soldiers and dollar signs, poppies, helicopters

¹⁰¹ Comfortablynumb (2007) notes, ‘Talibanksy’ [is] a reference to the Islamist Taliban who have been waging war in Afghanistan for almost nine years” (p. 1).

and tanks, and children running hand-in-hand began appearing in downtown Kabul a few months ago. (p. 1)

The Alien-UFO blog (Comfortablnumb, 2007; GIRLIATH, 2010) also has artists who incorporate recognized iconographs. GIRLIATH (2010) incorporates, for example, the iconic Vietnam napalm girl (see Hariman & Lucaites, 2003).



Figure 55. Arab Accidental Napalm

The artist asks bloggers for advice: “I have no idea for a location to draw it, I’m gonna have to do some good looking . . . I will take my camera with me, and hopefully the area will be well light enough to either make a short video or take a (or some) picture(s)” (GIRLIATH, 2010, p. 1). The author assumes the audience appreciates the iconograph images of Mickey Mouse and Ronald McDonald.

A second area of research scholars they wish to investigate is the intersection of post-colonialism, public memory, and iconography. Hariman and Lucaites (2003) briefly investigate the matter, yet they do not mention the colonial relationship of the Vietnam War. Zelizer (2004) also discusses the importance of visual communication in public

memory. While Zelizer's work outlines the importance of visual communication in constructing public memory, it also references only Western examples.

Public memory of colonialism, specifically from the vantage point of the colonized may yield insightful information into current conflicts. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) notes that "memory gives us the illusion of living in the midst of groups which do not imprison us, which impose themselves on us only so far and so long as we accept them" (p. 50). Simply, people choose what and how they remember the past. In the case of Iraq, Iraqis may in time remember the Abu Ghraib abuses but forget about the billions of dollars spent on behalf of their liberation.

The importance of public memory is that it unifies society. Casey (2004) states, "the stakes of public memory are . . . high . . . it is such an implicit presence" (p. 38). Again using the Abu Ghraib example, if Iraqis choose only to remember Abu Ghraib as the cornerstone of American occupation, then all future relationships between the United States and Iraq could be over-shadowed by one set of events. Iraqi insurgents, for example use the Abu Ghraib photographs as a symbolic rally point that stirs the public's memory of American abuses.

Additional research scholars could take is the intersection of iconography, post-colonialism, and parody beyond political cartoons. Scholars such as Hariman (2008) explore parody in political discourse, but not how iconography influences or is influenced by parody. Whereas Abate (2009) explores visual parody in political literature, she tends to focus on the discourse created from the parody rather the creation of the visual medium the author (of the parody) uses.

One example of further research regards the analysis of how iconography enhances parody in literature. Not even children’s literature can escape the iconic nature of Abu Ghraib photographs. Origen and Golan (2008) wrote a parody of Margaret Brown’s (1947) *Goodnight Moon* titled *Goodnight Bush*. Audiences may find humor in *Goodnight Bush* because of the incongruent *children’s* story that mocks George W. Bush and *Goodnight Moon*. Morreall (1983) states, “we laugh when we experience something that doesn’t fit into these [preexisting] patterns” (p. 16). Audiences may be used to the classic *Goodnight Moon* (set pattern) and Origen and Golan’s political take (incongruity) may stimulate laughter. Beyond simple play on words, Origen and Golan’s (2008) *Goodnight Bush* uses incongruent illustrations. One caption reads, “Goodnight Abu Ghraib Cheese! (p. 8)” with an illustration of the iconic Sabrina Harmon thumbs up pose.

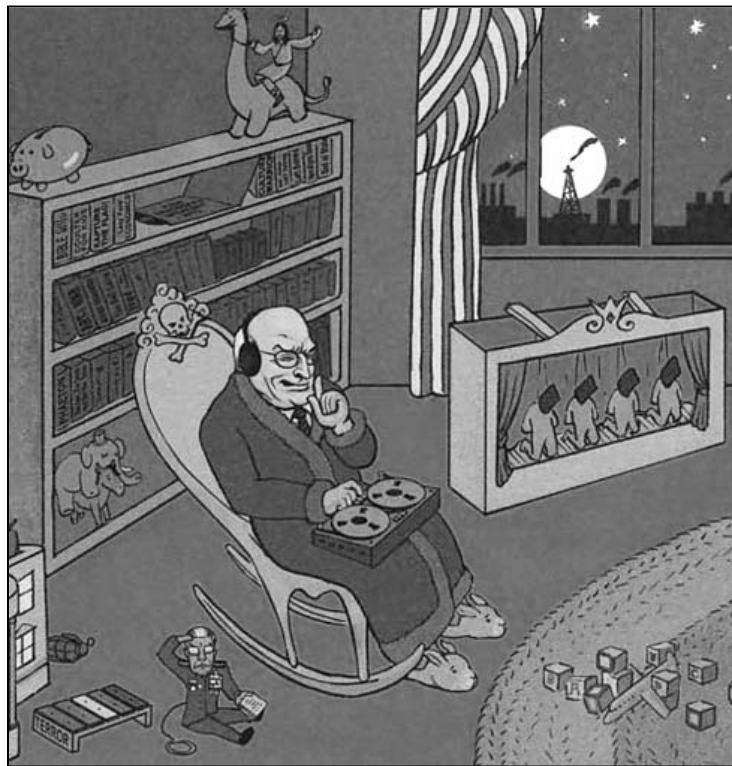


Figure 56. *Goodnight Bush Cheney in Chair*



Figure 57. Goodnight Bush in Bed (Origen & Golan, 2008)

Yet, not all the references to the iconic Abu Ghraib photographs are blatant. In the book's illustrations, there are many visual references to Abu Ghraib. Figure 56 (Origen & Golan, 2008) focuses on Vice President Dick Cheney listening to what one may presume to be wiretaps. However, if one looks at the scenery, there is a child's theatre with hooded prisoner puppets reminiscent of the Abu Ghraib photographs. On Bush's nightstand, in most of the scenes where Bush is in his bed, there is a picture of Harmon with the thumbs up. (see Figure 57)

Closing Remarks

The dissertation explains how hijacking iconic imagery via imagery functions as a form of rhetorical resistance to America's static international ideology. The dissertation uses the example of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal to answer the research question by investigating post-colonialism, political cartoons, and art. While granting limitations, the researcher also believes there is room for future research.

As the modern world shrinks, people who were the *other* in distant lands are now neighbors. The Internet has significantly closed the geographical gap. Bernard Lewis (1995, 2003) and Samuel Huntington's (1998) theory of *us* versus *them* gives way to the perspectives of Edward Said (1994), Appiah (2006), and Bhabha (1991). However, theories regarding visual rhetoric are evolving. The Buggles *Video killed the radio star* (Downes, Horn, & Woolley, 1979) rings more true today than it did in 1979. However, social media outlets such as *Facebook* and online bloggers are replacing video. Images such as those captured at Abu Ghraib prison are likely viewed by millions of people worldwide.

The dissertation adds to our knowledge of visual rhetoric by investigating the hijacking of preexisting iconographs in a post-colonial context. The Abu Ghraib photographs are but one example of the intersection of this developing conversation. Hariman and Lucaites (2007a) believe the Abu Ghraib photographs soon will be the iconographic photographs signifying the United States' war in Iraq. The photographs will likely affect a generation of Iraqi citizens as well as foreign policy making in the Middle East (Danner, 2004).

Reiterating Sergeant Javal Davis's quote brings the dissertation full circle. Davis, a soldier stationed at Abu Ghraib Prison noted, "you probably know this by now. Once you dig your hands into Abu Ghraib, you don't come out the same. There's a part of you that died or that is totally confused" (as cited in Gourevitch & Morris, 2008, p. 159). The researcher alleviates some confusion with this dissertation.

APPENDIX

ARTISTS' PERMISSION CORRESPONDENCE

7/21/12

Re: War Paintings

Re: War Paintings

Office at Gerald Laing.com [office@geraldlaing.com]

Sent: Saturday, July 21, 2012 3:23 AM**To:** Patrick Richey**Cc:** sam ogilvie [sam@samogilvie.com]

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your email below, and taking the time to ask permission to use these images.

My Brother, Sam, and I are trustees of our late father's estate. I can therefore grant permission to use the images you listed in your email below, so long as they are credited to Gerald Laing and properly titled.

As a former Army Officer himself, my father felt very strongly about the Gulf War in Iraq and its motives. He was then driven to paint these paintings and produced an impressive body of work as a shout against the War.

If you have time I would be very interested to see your dissertation and wish you the very best of luck.

Very best regards,

Farquhar Laing,

----- Original Message -----

From: Patrick Richey**To:** office@geraldlaing.com**Sent:** Wednesday, July 18, 2012 12:38 AM**Subject:** War Paintings

Dear Gerald Laing Estate Trustees,

My name is Patrick Richey. I am a professor at Middle Tennessee State University. I am finishing up my dissertation in rhetoric at The University of Southern Mississippi. I am focusing on the visual response to the Abu Ghraib photographs. I found Gerald Laing's work about Abu Ghraib on an art page. I find it fascinating and would like to use two images in my dissertation (Only One of Them Uses Colgate & Capriccio). They would be small (about 1/8 page) black and white pulled from your webpage. They would be dissertation quality (not the best). I have no intention of reproducing the images in any other way or selling them or my dissertation for profit. This is purely an academic project. I want to use his work as an example of how artist have visually responded to the abuses at Abu Ghraib and how they illuminate visual response to American policies. The dissertation is not disrespectful to you or your work. Thank you for reading this and your consideration. Pat

Veneratio Pro Victoria

Patrick G. Richey
 Director of Forensics
 Middle Tennessee State University
 MTSU Box 43, Murfreesboro, TN 37132
 615-898-2273
 IPDA Governing Board & Historian

<https://owa.mtsu.edu/owa/?ae=Item&t=IPM.Note&id=RgAAAD4Ekvar%2bSFQor1Z%2fmUf5U0BwBy...>

1/2

7/18/12

Re: Abu Ghraib Abuses in Power Art

Re: Abu Ghraib Abuses in Power Art

susan crile [scrile@gmail.com]

Sent: Wednesday, July 18, 2012 6:38 AM**To:** Patrick Richey

Dear Pat,

By all means use the images. And you have my permission to do so in the future as long as the integrity of the image is in tack (not cropped). I would be most interested in reading it, when it is done.

There is an interview that came out in an Indian Arts journal this spring.

There have been several chapters on my work in scholarly books- info below; Both Ireland's and Sharma's are interesting. Ana is an Argentinian of Armenian descent, who has done extensive scholarly work on Genocide. she has included my work in a number of papers. I'm happy to put the 2 of you together if you like.

The listings below are from my web site- minus the Indian interview- I'll send it when I can dig it up. She must have been doing her dissertation in French deconstruction; every sentence needed to be translated into ordinary language which led to my responses feeling a bit testy, whether it showed or not.

Julia Ireland's essay is terrific.

I had a very good extensive interview with Sharma- very smart- however the book is in Danish. The publishers are very approachable. Perhaps they would give you the chapter on line and you could find a descent on line translator.

See the catalogue, expanded version of the Hunter College exhibition with more images and an added essay by Irene Bignardi, Italian film critic and writer on culture.

Finally, the paper for Columbia University conference, videotaped and shown on ARTE, in Europe.

By the way, my ideal is to show these works and/ or the Guantanamo series that I have almost finished (www.susancrile.com) in University and College art galleries, where there is the possibility of creating inter-departmental dialogue. keep this in mind, if you would!

Good luck with the dissertation!

Let me know how things go.

All best,

Susan

FROM MY WEB SITE

Julia Ireland, *This Fragile Body: Susan Crile's "Abu Ghraib: Abuse of Power"* essay included in *Torture and the Body"*

Edited by Shampa Biswas and Zahi Zalloua

University of Washington Press, 2011

7/17/12

Re: Abu Ghraib Art

Re: Abu Ghraib Art

shahin dahir [shahinaldhahir@yahoo.com]

Sent: Thursday, December 15, 2011 12:13 AM**To:** Patrick Richey**Cc:** Shahin Aldhahir [shahinaldhahir@yahoo.com]

Dear Patrick

Thank you for your intentions

According to the reasons you mentioned I have to say you can have a copy of my painting concerned. I will be very pleased if you could send me the name or title of your Ph.D. dissertation as a reference for me.

I wish you all success.

Shahin

From: "daemon@mosaicglobe.com" <daemon@mosaicglobe.com>**To:** shahinaldhahir@yahoo.com**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 4:58 PM**Subject:** Abu Ghraib Art

Name: Patrick Richey

Email: Prichey@mtsu.edu

Message:

My name is Patrick Richey. I am currently working on my Ph.D. dissertation. It is about Abu Ghraib and visual artifacts. I came across your series about Abu Ghraib. I was wondering if there was a way to get a copy of your works and if you would mind me reproducing them in my dissertation. I will not publish my dissertation for profit or use your works for personal profit in any way. I think your work really encapsulates a section of my dissertation about Abu Ghraib and fine art. Thank you for your time. Pat

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