Other and Self-Representation: A Pentadic Criticism of Kosovar Muslim and Roma Identity as Represented in Photographs by James Nachtwey and Djordje Jovanovic

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Other and Self-Representation: A Pentadic Criticism of Kosovar Muslim and Roma Identity as Represented in Photographs by James Nachtwey and Djordje Jovanovic

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ABSTRACT

This is an interdisciplinary study that integrates the fields of visual rhetoric, media, and identity. This study seeks to gain a better understanding of photojournalism as the medium of rhetorical messages and communicative power in terms of representing the identity, experience, and perspective of Kosovar Muslims and Roma in Other and self-representations. By applying Kenneth Burke’s theory of dramatism and pentadic criticism, I seek to illustrate and analyze how an outsider, James Nachtwey, uses rhetorical appeals to represent Kosovar Muslims during the Kosovo War of 1999 and how an insider, Djordje Jovanovic, uses rhetorical appeals to represent Kosovar Roma during 2006-2007. In combination with Burke’s pentad, I also use Stuart Hall’s theories of representation and identity construction and contestation; Roland Barthes’ theory of visual rhetoric; and semiotics to expand in my analysis. Moreover, I apply the concepts of objectivity, subjectivity, voyeurism, and compassion fatigue in my analysis. I argue that Nachtwey depicted the struggles and damage of the Kosovo War, but while doing so, enforced American values and interests. I also argue that Kosovar Roma were more aptly represented by Jovanovic, who is a Kosovar himself. I suggest that as digital technology and Internet access become more widely available, it is important to empower minorities to visually represent their own groups and circumstances through photojournalism. I conclude that media consumers must be critical of the photojournalistic representations they consume of other cultures, while simultaneously being aware of the social identity of the author of those rhetorical artifacts.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale and Need for Study

Humans have always used images to tell their stories. 43,000 years ago, Neanderthals used cave paintings. 5,000 years ago, Egyptians used hieroglyphics. Later, we used oil on canvas. Now, we have digital photography. Cultures have always been compelled to tell their stories, to visually record existence and experience. According to Baudrillard (1994), “our entire linear and accumulative culture collapses if we cannot stockpile the past in plain view… We require a visible past, a visible continuum, a visible myth of origin” (p. 10). This visual culture of ours creates symbolic meanings that communicate political ideologies and cultural values. Patterns emerge and this visible past/continuum/origin shapes perceptions about events, cultural groups, and identities. Much attention has been given to the analysis of images in media studies (Barthes, 1977; Hall, 1997; Moeller, 1999; Sontag, 2003). However, not many researchers approach this topic through a rhetorical perspective focusing on the persuasive impact of photojournalism on represented identity, with a notable exception being the work by Lucaites & Hariman (2007). Therefore, this study will contribute to current research on photojournalism as the medium of rhetorical messages and communicative power by analyzing photographic representation of the Other and self-representation on Kosovar identity. This study is significant because, in the context of globalization, it will become increasingly important to focus on the challenges of localization and the digital divide; because of this, it is imperative that when reading photojournalistic rhetorical messages, the audience learns to read responsibly, using a critical mind to contest meanings as portrayed by the visual rhetoric in images.

It is important to focus on the Kosovo conflict because the Balkans were engaged in war throughout the 1990s, which reinforces ideas about the region “as a repository of negative
characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the ‘European’ and the ‘West’ has been constructed” (Finney, 2002, p. 4). In other words, visual rhetorical symbolism of the Balkans, specifically Kosovo for this study, represents the antithesis of the national identity avowed by ‘Europe’ and the ‘West’: one of economic, industrial, and social strength. This dualistic construction has been reinforced via the visual rhetoric present in photojournalistic images of the conflict. This relates to media consumers’ conception of those who are represented, because these photographs have the potential to contribute to or influence the perceived identity of Kosovars, Serbs, Roma, and the entire Balkan area. This conflict is also intricately tied in with multiple dimensions of identity: conflicting conceptions of identity within the Kosovo region itself (religous, national, and ethnic), and resisting stereotypes of identity throughout the rest of the world based on photographic representation by the Other.

**Background**

Kosovo is a province of Serbia, which was part of Yugoslavia at the time of conflict. Kosovo is “less than 11,000 square kilometers (12 percent of the Republic of Serbia), [and before the conflict] had a population of two million, about 90 percent of whom were Albanian,” (Rogel, 2003, p. 169). Despite this majority, both Albanians and Serbs claimed Kosovo as their territory. Unlike Serbs, “Albanians did not have a common religion or church that united them – a few were Catholic, some were Orthodox, while most (80 percent) over the years had become Muslim” (Rogel, 2003, p. 169). This is an important detail because the religious difference between the Albanian Kosovars and Serbs, who are mainly Eastern Orthodox, adds to the divide between them.

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1. See timeline on page 14.
2. Albanian Kosovars and Kosovar Muslims are used interchangeably.
In 1999, a violent ethnic civil war broke out between Serbian nationalists and residents of Kosovo – an event since deemed the Kosovo War. The Kosovo War, though only ten weeks long, was an effect of years long disintegration in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was a country made up of multiple smaller provinces, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Over time, these different ethnic groups began to confront each other very violently – a transnational conflict that has often been labeled as ethnic cleansing and/or genocide – based on ethnic animosities and latent resentment. Because of “economic dislocation, class inequality, and neocolonial underdevelopment” ethnic intolerance emerged and became militarized as a result of this large-scale civil conflict (Massey, Hodson, & Sekulic, 1999, p. 670). The Kosovo conflict is extremely multidimensional; there is not one cause for the war but instead a large list of factors that, for decades, contributed to the ultimate break out. For example, throughout the 1980s, unemployment rates were growing dramatically, reaching 57% by 1989 (Rogel, 2003, p. 167). As we will see below, everything from unemployment, government, education, nationalism, religion, and lack of resources played a key role.

After his death in 1980, authoritarian (some would call him a dictator\(^3\)) leader Josip Broz Tito’s support died as well. Serbians, who felt highly disadvantaged by Tito’s policies, which included “constitutional accommodations to the Albanians of Kosovo” (Rogel, 2003, p. 169), were intent on reclaiming “their” entitlements, which included Kosovo. Serbs began to develop a hard front of nationalism, separating themselves from the other ethnic groups composing of the region. At this point, they were looking for any reason available to gain control over Kosovo.

\(^3\) Tito disenfranchised farmers, suppressed internal opposition to his rules by retaliating with harsh punishments, and crated a political party in which his supporters had power and his reeelections were unlimited. Interestingly, some referred to him as a “benevolent” dictator because, during his rule, “all Yugoslavians had educational opportunities, jobs, food, and housing regardless of nationality” (Shapiro & Shapiro, 2004, p. 180).
In March 1981, liberal Albanian students from Pristina University protested for better food and larger dormitories, yet they were accused of and punished for protesting larger social, political, and economic concerns, which resulted in violence and the declaration of emergency in Kosovo. The government then influenced educational administrators to close down Pristina University as well as elementary and high schools, ultimately resulting in the halting of education for Kosovar Albanians. University students returned home to the countryside infused with political vigor and desire for action, however, they were met with harsh consequences; “by the end of the decade, 584,373 Kosovo Albanians, one half of the adult population, would be arrested, interrogated, or interned” (Rogel, 2003, p. 168). Serbs were beginning to gain control over what they deemed “their” land in an attempted acquisition that would last decades and create an ethnic hatred so deep that it cost thousands of lives. Serbs were fueled by nationalist narratives that rhetorically construct their nation as a heroic suffering being that will be strengthened and cured only by the elimination of illegitimate rival nations. Thus, nationalists begin to judge other nations and ethnic groups based on historical “claims” modified by each nationality to fit their purposes. As a result, stories of the past culminate with stories of the present, which rhetorically construct the Albanian Kosovar minority as an evil character in a historical narrative worthy of criminal acts committed against them (Lieberman, 2006, p. 300). National hate narratives, similar to Hitler’s rhetoric, paint the enemy as inherently evil. Under this guise, the nation will only progress on terms of their elimination. These narratives, “to borrow Norman Naimark’s term, do not simply start fires of hatred, they make them burn more quickly, and far more intensely” (Lieberman, 2006, p. 300). Thus, Albanian Kosovars were the enemy.
Coakley (2009) elaborates on the roots of this ethnic conflict, stating that “differences in socioeconomic status tended to aggravate interethnic tensions, and it became difficult to disentangle conflict over symbols from conflict over resources. Conflict over resources became so intense that Serbian leadership in Belgrade used police and military to cut off funds and support to Kosovo. Instead, Albanian Kosovars began leading a virtual life in a virtual state. They organized schools and hospital care when Belgrade cut off these services for Albanians; moreover, they collected the taxes needed to pay for them. They formed their own trade unions and also established a new leadership, which directed the political affairs of the province [though not recognized by Serbia]. A strong family structure kept the parallel institutions functioning well. (Rogel, 2003, p. 173)

The two ethnic groups, though living in the same country, were growing rapidly apart.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia was taking place in the early 1990s. This fracturing of the region took place in three stages, first with the Serb-Croat War that began in 1991, second with a war between the Bosnian government and Bosnian Serbs that began in 1992, and lastly during the time when international negotiations regarding the implementation of independent states within Yugoslavia were being held. However, during these conflicts of the early 1990s, Kosovo was mostly untouched. It wasn’t until the late 1990s that Kosovo became directly targeted, at the same time when the United States became involved in this conflict as a result of affiliation with NATO.

Serbian nationalists and Kosovo militants, mostly lead by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) (deemed by some as a terrorist organization), began a bloody battle over Kosovo’s land. Serbians wanted to claim Kosovo as theirs and the people of Kosovo wanted to become an independent state. When the conflict began, the total population of the Kosovo region was 1.8 million; but throughout the Kosovo War, 800,000 were forced to flee the country, 10,000 were killed, and 3,000 were abducted. There were extreme acts of violence against authority,
property, and women, especially in systematic policies of rape (Kellezi et al, 2009; Bolderson & Simpson, 2004; Moreno & Gobbons, 2002). After years of mounting tensions, and twelve months in which the amount of pillage, rape, and murder had become atrocious, the situation in Kosovo became so violent in the spring of 1999 that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened. On March 24, 1999, NATO allied with the KLA to stop Serbian forces from forcibly expelling Albanians from Kosovo or murdering them. In order to do this, NATO went on a 78-day air strike combined with KLA ground forces in which at least as many innocent civilians were killed as had died in the year preceding their air attacks (Gowan, 2000).

NATO affirmed that their intervention was an act of aid. NATO claimed, “they had taken military action because diplomacy [in Kosovo] had failed; because there was an impending ‘humanitarian catastrophe’; because Yugoslav forces were committing ‘genocidal’ acts” (Hammond & Herman, 2000, p. 1). It is worth noting that during the NATO air strike, there was substantial damage to irreplaceable Byzantine mosaics and frescos, cities as old as the 9th century, and the most intricate art deco architecture of the Balkans (Pinter, 2000). Finally, on June 10, 1999, the war ended with a peace deal constructed by the European Union. The terms of the agreement included the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo and third party protection of Kosovo, for those that remained, while the nation transitioned into independence.

Some argue that the United States should share blame for the tragedy, because the Yugoslavian region was under huge debt to Western banks, leaving millions (including Serbs and Kosovars) unemployed and desperate for work, which added fuel to the conflict (Zunes, 1999). The conflict, in which both Serbians and Kosovars wanted ownership of Kosovo, was unaffected by the 1995 Dayton Accords and held at the whim of Western powers’ intervention. In addition to the NATO air strike, rogue militias pillaged communities, destroying farms and
crops, murdering civilians, and raping women and children. Of those that survived, “848,000 crossed Kosovo’s borders into Albania, Montenegro, and Macedonia” (Rogel, 2003, p. 178). Serbs then destroyed documents, homes, and infrastructure in Kosovo, leaving those that fled with nothing to come back to.

Though the peace deal was signed, there were still devastating lingering effects of the war. For example, the harsh consequences of depleted uranium from the missile shells causes extreme danger for humans and the environment (Pinter, 2000). The extent of these effects will be unknown for decades; only time will tell how the chemicals will effect vegetation and illnesses in survivors and those born from Kosovo residents. Further, with substantial infrastructure damage, there has been a drastic rise in the amount of refugees and internally displaced persons.

When reintegration began in June 1999, the United Nations provided safe transportation and medical attention for returning Kosovars. Unfortunately, human rights were still abused (as they were during the war), but this time both sides enacted them. By the autumn of that year, most of the refugees had returned. However, because of the condition of Kosovo, the great majority of those refugees did not return to their homes, but instead to refugee camps and slums.

This is exactly what happened to the Kosovar Roma; they remained in their refugee camp. The Roma, previously referred to as “gypsies,” are Eastern and Southeastern Europe’s most misunderstood minority group. During the Kosovo War, the Roma were deported from their villages just like the Kosovar Muslims were. Roma were deported because their allegiances were unclear; they had been under the radar before and during the conflict so much so that their identities and affiliations remained a mystery to those making decisions. Because of language barriers (they were unable to fully communicate their interests in the conflict), a caste system
(they have traditionally held the lowest rung in the social ladder, with very little power), and stereotypes and prejudices against them (which makes it easier to justify their negative treatment), they were deported into refugee camps. Kosovar Muslims and Roma share similarities in their experiences during the Kosovo War: both groups were deported from their villages and hometowns and placed into refugee camps. However, one of the differences is that Roma remained in the refugee camps. Many of the families that became refugees were never able to return to their villages. Instead, because government and institutions conveniently ignore their plights, they have remained in the refugee camps. Those camps, as I stated earlier, have become ghettos and slums. They have no water, electricity, or waste management. The Roma, like Kosovar Muslims were, are marginalized by society.

Zlatanovic (2006) describes the Roma as “liminal entities, [they are] ‘betwixt and between’ already established categories, being ‘neither-nor’ and/or ‘both-and’” (p. 133-134). It seems a reference to Du Bois (1903) is appropriate here, as his concept of double consciousness seems apparent in the above statement. The term “double consciousness” was coined by Du Bois, an African American writer who used it to describe the identity of being both American and black (at the time, an identity that was seen as not American); an identity ripe with provocative issues not understood by the majority, as well as an awareness of the minority group on how they are being negatively perceived by the dominant group. This is similar to the Roma, who were born and live in Southeastern and Eastern European countries, yet are characterized as not belonging to those ethnic groups – they are instead labeled (albeit endonymically) as Roma, outsiders to their own lands. Zlatanovic (2006) calls them “hidden minorities” because they are not officially recognized; their nomadic tradition makes them “a nation without a state,” or a “transglobal national minority” (p. 134). As travelers, the Roma do not have a common territory.
If they practice religion, it is usually Orthodox. They speak multiple dialects of the Romani language (which do not have written forms), have large families, and live in small houses. Their living conditions are very poor and they are afforded minimal opportunities, unless they have musical talent. Also, most aren’t educated past primary school (Zlatanovic, 2006). Thus, their lives are characterized by hardships in addition to being prejudiced against by the Western and Eastern European majority, most notably, being seen as subhuman parasites (Herakova, 2009). Many of their stereotypes include being criminals, being dirty, and not contributing to society. Understandably so, the Roma have a difficult time fitting in and being accepted by the mainstream.

In a nationalist killing spree, Kosovar Muslims were dealt the card no one deserves. Their “difference” resulted in the loss of life, loved ones, and home. However, unlike the Roma, they were able to integrate back into Kosovar society. The Roma experienced the same conflict as Kosovar Muslims. The Roma identity is an intricate one; there are many reasons why it is difficult to understand, which influenced their treatment and deportation to refugee camps during the Kosovo War. However, as a person who has visited multiple Roma villages, I feel confident saying the Roma do what we all do: make the best out of what we have. Though many more pages could be spent on exploring the identities of Kosovar Muslims and Roma, this description serves its purpose in this analysis to set the foundation for an understanding of the visual rhetoric representing their identities. Knowledge regarding how past experiences and power influence perceptions about cultural groups is salient here because there are ramifications for passively gawking at the representations of historically demoralized groups.

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<th>A Chronology of Key Events</th>
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Rhetorical Function of Photographs

To return to the context of this study, it is essential that viewers of photographs of Kosovars, both during the conflict and after, are aware of the identity of the photographers who frame the images and ascribe identities to the subjects, as well as the identities of the subjects in the images themselves. It is important for viewers to ask themselves what bias they are receiving when viewing photographs of Kosovo, for example, one that was taken by an American as opposed to a Kosovar. Understanding the implications of re-presentation in this context will shed light on the magnitude of the rhetorical construction of identity through images.

Photographic images have rhetorical and constitutive power. They encode messages; there is always meaning embedded within the setting, the subjects, and the aesthetics of an image. Photography is powerful. Within photography, especially photojournalism, lays ideology. Images in the media maintain a dominant ideology, which “controls what participants see as natural or obvious by establishing the norm” (Foss, 2009, p. 210). For example, Lucaites & Hariman (2007) reference the iconic image by Joe Rosenthal called “Raising the Flag on Mount Suribachi”. This image ignites democratic citizenship and perpetuates, through its many reproductions, the ideologies of “egalitarianism, nationalism, and civic republicanism” (p. 95). These ideologies, infused within media artifacts, create hegemony by dominating who holds power to enforce or resist them by allowing itself to be “renewed, reinforced, and defended continually through the use of rhetorical strategies and practices” (Foss, 2009, p. 210).

Evidently, these rhetorical strategies “shape how we both define and imagine the cultural other,” which “has a serious influence on humans’ understanding of the world and how they behave in it,” (Thomas, 2010, p. 114-119) thus potentially causing the amplification of certain issues and de-emphasis of others. This is salient because images have the power to have an
overwhelmingly convincing influence on judgment, not only individually, but communally as well (Zillman et al, 1999, p. 210). For example, when images reflect a negative portrayal of a certain cultural group, they become powerful enough to influence the way people perceive that group. Finnegan (2001) refers to this as the “naturalistic enthymeme: we assume photographs to be ‘true’ or ‘real’ until we are given reason to doubt them” (p. 135). The naturalistic enthymeme would argue that if the photographs we see in the news portray Blacks and people of color as being poor and uneducated, we would believe that all Blacks and people of color are poor and uneducated.

A recent and potent example of this is photographs from the Hurricane Katrina disaster. These photographs demonstrate the naturalistic enthymeme because they reflected many stereotypical negative views of Blacks and people of color by placing Whites in the role of helper/savior and Blacks in the role of helpless victim (Kahle et al, 2007). This type of coverage emphasizes existing struggles of marginalized groups and reinforces dominant ideologies, which makes the public think these subjectified identities and behaviors are normal. Thus, rhetorical strategies employed through photojournalism are pervasive, and as widely and currently practiced, can be misleading. Over time, this contributes to the imperialism of meaning: bearing constant witness to images that ascribe negative characteristics to certain groups hinders one’s ability to empathize because rhetorical meaning is manipulated through visual symbols. The key point here is that one dominant meaning outweighs all others (including the more accurate meanings).

The problem is that photographs generalize and essentialize. Kahle et al (2007) put it well when they say, “people and events that appear in photographs accompanying news stories are not simply indicative of isolated individuals and occurrences; rather, the photographs are
symbolic of ‘the whole mosaic’” (p. 78). Basically, images carry with them a historical and rhetorical significance in that one photograph can symbolize an entire event, social group, or idea. For example, Rosenthal’s “Raising the Flag on Mount Suribachi” symbolizes equality, national identity, civic performance, and common virtue⁴ (Lucaites & Hariman, 2007). Dorothea Lange’s “Migrant Mother”, a 1936 photograph of a desperate mother and her two children, has come to symbolize the plight of American migrant workers during the great depression. Nick Ut’s Pulitzer Prize winning photograph of a napalm attack, in which many children were present, including nude Phan Thj Kim Phúc, came to symbolize the Vietnam War. Kevin Carter took a Pulitzer Prize winning photograph of a starving Sudanese girl who had collapsed on the terrain; she was clearly emaciated and exhausted. In the frame a vulture is waiting for her to die. It is not entirely clear whether or not the vulture attacked the child, but the message was obvious: situations were so desperate in Sudan at that time that people were practically the walking dead. This image has since symbolized the extent of starvation in the East African region. Each one of these photographs was rhetorically significant enough to embody thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of individual stories – these photographs serve as rhetorical representations of the mosaic for which they stand.

In this sense, the public is seeing an event, thus constructing the rhetorical meaning of this event, through one major interpretation. Seeing/looking turns a person’s lived experience, usually traumatic, into a spectacle for others – we gawk and are in awe of these spectacles (Debord, 1999). This concept is closely related to Aristotle’s idea of tragedy. Aristotle referred

⁴The authors argue that this image gains much of its influential power because it is the single most reproduced photograph in American history. Because it has been appropriated as an “affirmation of working-class identity” through reincarnations as stamps, plaques, figurines, key chains, T-shirts, and countless other objects, the ideologies and symbolism of this iconic photograph are deeply tied with American identity (Luciates & Hariman, 2007, p. 113).
to tragedy as a spectacle, “not an imitation of persons, but of actions and of life,” that aims to evoke pity and fear (Heath, 1996, p. xx-xxi). Pity and fear as rhetorical messages are embedded in photographs of suffering: viewers pity the subjects and fear their content. To elaborate, Möller (2009) argues that by looking at someone’s pain and suffering, the viewer is imposing on him or her a second suffering – a second exploitation – in a sense, stealing their subjectivity (p. 787). According to this argument, someone can sit in their living room on the other side of the world and further humiliate Phan Thj Kim Phúc by looking at her picture. Or, as Berger (2003, p. 290) would call it, inflict a “double violence.” For this reason, Sliwinski (2004) criticizes looking. He argues that, by looking, viewers encourage the action in the photograph. Because most people only look, when they should be inspired to action, looking is thus a wrongdoing because pitying a person does nothing to help them. Therefore, there is a responsibility with looking – you look but you also have to see. One must recognize the suffering in an image, and, Sliwinski (2004) argues (albeit from a Western perspective), have the “responsibility for recognizing that the suffering is not for us” (p. 155). In other words, a viewer needs to understand that the tragedy depicted in an image connotes who it belongs to: financial desperation belongs to migrant workers, chemical attacks belong to the East, starvation belongs to Africa, interethnic violence belongs in the Balkans. Over time, viewers are conditioned to think that mass reproductions of the suffering Other work to form ideologies that suffering in third world and developing countries is unavoidable, expected, and “somehow intrinsic to life in certain regions” (Szorenyi, 2009, p.98). Or, as Sontag (2003) would claim, this type of photography sends a rhetorical message about the inevitability of “tragedy in the benighted or backward—that is, poor—parts of the world” (Sontag, 2003, p. 71). Thus, the content can be feared, but a Western person does not have to fear the reality.
It is important to address an alternative argument, however. By publicizing photographs of tragedies, the world becomes aware of the toll victims experience. Publication of these photographs creates a level of consciousness that may not be fully realized without imagery accompanying stories. However, the negative impact of looking still sets in.

Regardless, there is an ethical paradox here: is looking just as bad as not looking? This is a double-edged sword, a moral dilemma. In a photograph, the subject’s identities are commodified and consumed by the mainstream, which, as many argue, forces them to endure a second suffering. Most people who view images such as these bear their witness and carry on with their lives, so what is the point of looking? But, does not looking provide a better outcome than looking? These questions represent the confusion revolving around responsibilities of being a witness, albeit second hand (by viewing images), to tragedies. There is confusion because; though looking does not provide a clear method of ethical response, neither does not looking. Not looking causes invisibility. We saw this with China’s mass starvations. In the late 1950s, Mao forced immediate industrialization on Chinese rural peasants. In effect, this caused an extreme famine, leaving 30 million dead. During the time of this famine, no news was reported – no pictures of the starving or dead were published. By not showing images, “official silence […] prevents public witnessing. It forges a secret history, an act of political resistance through keeping alive the memory of things denied” (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1996, p.17). Under Mao’s rule, the entire world was ignorant to the catastrophe in China because nothing was reported on the situation. Had pictures of the starving or dead been circulated through the mass media, there would have been awareness of the situation at the time it was happening. This is not to say that awareness is the same as action, but awareness is at least better than passivity. It’s a catch-22, or, to borrow from an old cliché, you’re damned if you look and you’re damned if
you don’t. With this sentiment, Moeller (1999) presents her opinion on the dilemma of viewing photographs of crisis:

crisis coverage demands pictures. Arresting images may not prevent compassion fatigue – they may in fact promote it by causing viewers to turn away from the trauma – but no pictures of a crisis is even worse. If a story doesn’t have a visual hook, an audience will often ignore it. Better to have their interest for a time, than to not have their interest at all. (p. 37)

Perhaps Moeller (1999) presents the most ethical conclusion: looking at such images isn’t the best solution to the problems they present, but not looking is even worse. Moeller’s (1999) conclusion is adequate, but there is a limitation: what needs to be considered is who is looking and for what purpose, as well as the subject position of the photographer. The photographer, or rhetor, is the creator of the rhetorical messages of a photograph. Inevitably, the rhetor’s identity influences the way he or she interprets situations and ultimately captures events via photographs. Therefore, it is important that we, as consumers of visual rhetoric, understand how these rhetorical messages are created based on the identity of the rhetor.

In the past, in most cases, outsiders photographed major events. For instance, some well known photographers such as Robert Capa (Hungarian, though lived most his life in Western Europe) photographed World War II; Horst Faas (German), Philip Jones Griffith (Welsh), and Eddie Adams (American) photographed Vietnam; James Nachtwey (American) photographed Bosnia and Kosovo, among others; Jonathan Torgovnik (Israeli, though studied in New York) photographed Rwanda; Ryan Spencer Reed (American) and Kevin Carter (South African) photographed Sudan; and João Silva (Portuguese) photographed Afghanistan. But now, something else is happening. With the advent of new technologies, the availability of Internet access, and the low cost of digital photography equipment, more of the world is able to document their own experiences and participate in the rhetorical construction of their own identity. For
example, Flickr hosted some of the first photos of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2005 bombings of London Transport, and the 2006 military coup in Thailand (Shirky, 2008, p. 34-36). These were instances of local citizens capturing their experiences via digital photography and posting them to the Internet: telling their own stories; constructing their own identity before anyone else could.

**Research questions.**

Though ample research has been done on citizen journalism, including photojournalism (Allan, 2006; Busari, 2008; Castells, 2000; Kyriakdou, 2008; Lasica, 2005, Matheson & Allan, 2009), research on how this change from representation by an Other to self-representation affects viewer’s perceptions of the social identity of the subject group is lacking. Therefore, this study will contribute to current research by exploring how photographs, as rhetorical artifacts, renegotiate self-representation as contested with Other representation. This study will look at how locally authored photographs and their signified meaning provide, reconstruct, and negotiate discourse about the photographer’s cultural group in terms of avowed identity. Thus, the following research questions are proposed:

**RQ1:** How do photographs of Kosovars, taken during the Kosovo war in 1999 by James Nachtwey, an American photographer, construct meaning regarding identity, experiences, and perspectives of those involved?

**RQ2:** How do photographs of Kosovars, taken today (specifically 2006-2007) by Djordje Jovanovic, a Kosovar photographer, construct meaning regarding identity, experiences, and perspectives of those involved?

**RQ3:** Will the change from “representation” by an outsider to “re-presentation”

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5 Jovanovic is qualified as an insider because he was born and raised in Kosovo. As an adult during the Kosovo War, he experienced the conflict first hand. He is a photjournalist that has worked for many newspapers and magazines (which will be explained in Chapter 4) and has come to intimately know the Kosovar Roma. Being Kosovar himself, he is able to have an irreplaceable common ground with the Roma and understands their struggles from a different perspective than an outsider.
from an insider have an effect on the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars?

**Theoretical Frameworks**

Four theoretical frameworks will be used in the analysis of these images: Stuart Hall’s theory on representation, Stuart Hall’s theory on identity, Roland Barthes’ theory on the rhetoric of the image, and Ferdinand de Saussure’s theory on semiotics.

**Representation.**

Hall (1997) defines representation as how meaning is constructed, produced, and exchanged via symbols, in this case, visual symbols in photographic images, which depict meanings or multitudes of meanings. Essentially, “representation seeks to measure the gap between what may be perceived as the true meaning of [a photograph] and how it is presented by the media” (Hall, 2005, p. 6). Embedded within this claim is the fact that there is always more than one interpretation of the meaning of a rhetorical artifact, and it is our job as media consumers to decode those interpretations.

According to Hall (1997), there are two systems of representation: meaning and language. Meaning depends on the concepts we have to describe elements of human experience, such as war, death, friendship, or love. Since these are not tangible, our understanding of them is contingent on our mental representation of relationships between those and other aspects of human experience: their meaning is derived out of conceptual relationships we have for other things as well (p. 17-18). The second system is language. Hall (1997) refers to language as anything “capable of carrying and expressing meaning,” so in this case, photographs serve as scripts in a visual language because they are signs that carry meanings in need of interpretation: “in order to interpret them, we must have access to […] a conceptual map […] and a language system” (p. 19). Thus, a photographic image systematically serves as an artifact that uses a
specific language (aesthetics) to convey meaning. To elaborate, “the meaning is constructed by the system of representation. It is constructed and fixed by the code” (Hall, 1997, p. 21, emphasis in original). The code is cultural; the code tells us about the relationship between the concept and how we describe it. In other words, an image of a burning building may have a rhetorical meaning in one culture that is totally different from another because the cultural code shapes thought differently—meaning is not fixed.

Even though meaning is not fixed, Hall (1997) asserts that there is always a preferred meaning to an image. Despite multiple meanings to an image that may conflict or contest each other, a preferred meaning always exists. In terms of rhetoric, the preferred meaning comes from the rhetor. The preferred meaning is not necessarily what the viewer thinks, but what the rhetor (and who the rhetor represents) prefers the audience would think. For example, an image that shows a Sudanese refugee eating a bowl of rice within a United Nations internally displaced persons camp could have multiple meanings depending on the interpretation of the viewer. If the image was made by an American photographer for an American newspaper, the preferred meaning could be “look at what we are doing to help the refugees of Sudan.” However, if the image was made by a Sudanese photographer for a Sudanese newspaper, the preferred meaning could be “look at what has become of our people.” The preferred meaning is the privileged meaning; the interpretation of the image that is anchored with the motives of the rhetor and/or who or what the rhetor represents.

There are three approaches to interpretation: reflective, intentional, and constructionist. According to the reflective approach, language directly reflects the true meaning of the object, photograph, event, etc. (Hall, 1997, p. 24). The reflective approach means, then, that the true meaning of Kevin Carter’s photograph of a dying Sudanese child is exactly that. This approach
ignores the other meta-meanings, such as starvation, disease, human rights violations, and more. The intentional approach is the opposite; here, it is the author, speaker, or photographer, for instance, that constructs and produces meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 25). To use the above example, this approach would have been taken if Carter intended to frame his image so that the meaning would include concepts beyond the obvious. And finally, there is the constructionist approach, in which meaning doesn’t exist until it is constructed by humans, or media consumers (Hall, 1997, p. 25). This is the approach adopted by this study; meaning doesn’t exist until we make it. What is salient here is that the constructionist approach is dynamic because meanings can change over time, thus interpretation is always in flux and never represents an absolute truth. Responsible media consumers need to be aware of this: a photograph can depict an event, a culture – but that depiction is not necessarily an absolute truth.

It is beneficial to mention Michel Foucault here. According to him, interpretation is dependent on knowledge and power. Essentially, Foucault is concerned with how knowledge (more than just meaning) is produced through discourse. Foucault’s discursive approach explains that how we talk about what we interpret from symbols is dependent on social identity positions of knowledge and power (Hall, 1997, pp. 42-44). For example, someone who has more cultural capital (a high socio-economic status, post-secondary education, white collar employment, for instance) will have a different interpretation of an image than someone who comes from a background with less privilege. Foucault also brought in to focus the subject position within representation, and how the subject (a viewer of a photograph, an actor within an image) is tied into knowledge and power as well (Hall, 1997, pp. 55-56). Essentially, since the viewer of a photograph or a media consumer uses their knowledge and power to make an interpretation of an image, their amount of knowledge and power, and what it allows them to
think, gets reflected on the subject of the image.

**Identity construction and contestation.**

According to Hall (1996), ample research has been conducted in the area of identity studies, via a deconstructionist approach, looking at the self-sustaining subject/subjectivity, psychoanalysis, performance, anti-essentialist critiques, and from the politics of location (p. 1). However, despite all this research, identity theory is irreducible – it is a concept that transcends research paradigms and must be understood from a multitude of approaches. Hall (1996) defines identity as “points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us” (p. 6). In other words, identity is the meeting point, or suture, in which self-constructed and represented attributes converge. In order to explore this further, identity is approached through many theoretical lenses.

One approach is to look at identity as group membership. Here, a person’s identification is based on common origins or shared characteristics and values with other people and groups (Hall, 1996, p. 2). Embedded within this approach is that identity is defined by differences and exclusions, for example, “I am me because I am not you.” There is also the discursive approach, which sees identification as a never-ending process in which the construction of identity is always subject to power, often held by others. Identity can also be seen as a process of articulation. In this sense, one’s identity serves as a suture that binds intersecting symbolic parts; it is a meeting point of subjectification (the process of constructing the self) and discursive practice (p. 3). And, from the psychoanalysis point of view, we must look at the Oedipus complex and the id, ego, and super-ego. According to Freud, the Oedipus complex is “the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person” as evident in a child’s relationship with parental figures; there is ambivalence in a child’s love and rivalry with their parental
figures, in which their identity develops by growing out of their comfort zone (Hall, 1996, p. 3). Also, identity is constructed through psychoanalysis via a balance and coexistence of the id, ego, and super-ego. Clearly, with all these different approaches to identity, it is evident that the concept is dynamic and even at the core of one’s self is not stable.

In terms of this study, which will look at identity construction of the other and self in photographic images, Hall (1996) clearly articulates many of the factors involved in construction:

Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices, and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation. We need to situate the debates about identity within all those historically specific developments and practices which have disturbed the relatively ‘settled’ character of many populations and cultures, above all in relation to the processes of globalization. (p. 4)

The change and transformation as a result of globalization is exactly what I will look at in this analysis: rhetorical construction of identity in images is worthy of analysis because discursive formation is significant to global culture—who is able to speak about their identity (via photographs) and who listens (by looking at photographs) is essential to our understanding of culture as a whole. Further, since identity is always in flux, it is important to realize the salience of visual rhetoric and representation because it doesn’t tell who people are or where they came from, it tells who they may become, and who they will become if their power is strong enough. Representation, then, influences how cultures will represent themselves. Thus, “identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation” (p. 4). Here, it seems implied that “representation” refers to Other representation, but it is in fact a suturing, or an articulation, of the self, through discourse and exclusion, and subject positions (ascription and interpellation). Interpellation is the ‘summoning into place’ of the subject; a person so deeply internalizes the
stereotypes, prejudices, and assumptions about their identity that they begin to believe them themselves. They are ‘summoned into place’ as a criminal, for example, not because they are one, but because their physical identifying characteristics match society’s description of such an identity. In terms of interpellation, there is a counter argument proposed by Hirst in which subjects have the capacity to recognize their identities, through the Oedipal crisis, before being constructed through discourse (Hall, 1996, p. 7). Thus, within identity construction, there is also contestation and resistance.

There needs to be a move away from the essentialization of identity and a critique of the power (in representation) that creates it. Discourse should always be questioned with a goal to uncover the truths and falsities of Other and self-represented identity in terms of what is being shown and what isn’t, or, which issues are given attention and which ones aren’t. Media consumers need to be aware of the role that visual rhetoric plays in the construction of identity and how it effects “not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-terms-with our ‘routes’” (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

**Rhetoric of the image.**

Barthes (1977) writes about the photographic message (specifically referring to press photographs) and its denoted and connoted elements. What is essential for analysis though, is that what one viewer of an image thinks is denoted, another viewer many think is connoted, and vice versa. The connoted meaning changes based on social identity, which is why, as Hall (1997) claims, representation and interpretation are never absolute. This is what Barthes (1977) refers to as the paradox of the photograph: there is a co-existence of multiple messages, the denoted meaning and connoted meaning. The connoted meaning is also bound in an ethical paradox, when referring to photojournalism, because a photographer is trying to capture reality,
yet images are always imbued with values and cultural scripts (p. 19-20). The reading of such, as Foucault asserts, depends on the viewer’s knowledge, power, and privilege.

Barthes (1977) asks, “How does meaning get into the image? Where does it end? And if it ends, what is beyond?” (p. 32, emphasis in original). In order to determine answers to these questions, we must examine the rhetoric of the image. Since a photograph is a visual record that is captured mechanically (though this is debatable), there is a philosophy that the photograph is objective. However, what that idea ignores is the subject position of the photographer, mentioned earlier in the brief discussion of Foucault. It is important to note that photographs are not objective: “the image is re-representation, which is to say ultimately resurrection, and, as we know, the intelligible is reputed antipathetic to lived experience” (Barthes, 1977, p. 32). This “lived experience” is subjective, it is meaningful, and it represents or “re-presents” ideologies, which is exactly why the rhetoric of the image must be viewed critically, much like the way linguistics is studied. This is because, as Barthes (1977) claims, “the image is penetrated through and through by the system of meaning, in exactly the same way a man is articulated to the very depths of his being in distinct languages” (p. 47). Here, he is making a comparison between the study of linguistic rhetoric and that of the visual kind: they are closely related and tied to cultural systems of meanings.

Within the rhetoric of the image, there are three levels of meaning. The first is the informational level. This level of meaning tells the viewer who is in the photograph, what the setting is, what actors are doing in the image, etc—it is very denoted. The second is the symbolic level, which has three types: referential, diegetic, and historical. Referential symbolism refers to a type of metaphorical connection, such as a white dove referring to peace. Diegetic symbolism is more related to a set of images as a whole, such as how a photographer
may use darkness to infer loneliness. In this level, even symbolic meanings are still obvious. Historic symbolism is evident when artifacts or practices from the past are appropriated in an image. For example, an image of university-aged adults sitting outside of a building in protest has historical symbolism of the Civil Rights Movement. The third level is what Barthes (1977) calls the “third meaning.” The third meaning “compels an interrogative reading;” it requires a critical look at the visual rhetoric of the photograph. This third meaning must be uncovered because it may or may not have been intentional by the photographer; it is disguised, supplementary (Barthes, 1977, p. 53-64). Barthes (1977) refers to the third meaning as the “obtuse” meaning: “theoretically locatable but not describable […] seen as the passage from language to significance and the founding act of the filmic itself” (p. 65, emphasis in original).

In other words, the obtuse meaning is impartial to the story/situation/event but emerges out of it in the form of a photograph. For example, to reference Rosenthal’s “Raising the Flag on Mount Suribachi” again, critics have found “Christian sacrifice” to be an obtuse meaning in this photograph, citing that Jesus had said “we may not be called upon to die for others, but we are called to commit ourselves to protecting the preborn, the infirm, and the elderly” (Lucaites & Hariman, 2007, p. 109). The stretch from the denoted “men raising a flag on a mountain” to the connoted “Christian sacrifice” is the obtuse meaning.

**Semiotics.**

The denoted, connoted, and obtuse meaning are closely related to the theory of semiotics. Semiotics was initially proposed by the French linguist Saussure, elaborated on by Barthes (1977), and contextualized into modern visual studies by Hall (1997). According to this theory, language is a system of signs, thus photographs serve as signs in a visual language. Visual signs are considered *iconic* signs because they resemble the object to which they refer.
Within a sign there is a signifier and the signified. The signifier is the form, the actual photo, image, word, etc., or the denoted image according to Barthes. The signified is the concept that comes from the signifier – the connoted meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 31). The signified meanings can change – culturally, historically. Thus, there is no static meaning for any one signifier; the signifier is subject to interpretation. What is important to note about interpretation is that it is never the exact intended meaning (Barthes, 1977, p. 32). This is why Barthes (1977) has referred to the signified as “myth,” because it is an ideology that exists for only those who can recognize it, and the ability to do so is contingent on many factors, including knowledge and power, and changes for many reasons, including history, geographical location of viewers, and manner of presentation, to name just a few.

These theoretical frameworks will help to answer the proposed research questions because they offer a lens to view the construction of meaning in a visual language. The theory of representation looks at visual symbols and how meaning doesn’t exist until the viewer creates it. Because of different subject positions of media consumers, there is often a rift between the true meanings of photographs and the meaning presented by the media. Because representation is constrained by the viewer and each perceives images according to a cultural code tied to knowledge and power, the theory of representation will aid greatly in comparing photojournalistic representation of a minority group by an Other and by an insider. Theories of identity construction and contestation take in to account that identity is constructed by subjects, but also for subjects. Since this process is never ending, identities are constructed within representation, which is something media consumers need to be aware of. Also, because identity is constructed across various discourses, which is especially relevant in terms of globalization, identity construction and contestation theories will aid this research in taking a critical look at
how photojournalism participates in this process. Because photojournalism is a visual language, rhetoric is a quality of such a medium with denoted and connoted meanings. By analyzing the rhetorical appeals of photojournalism, this analysis will provide a better understanding of the “third meaning” in imagery of minority representation and self-representation. Finally, the theory of semiotics is essential in this analysis because such an interrogation into the signified meanings of photojournalism will reveal ideologies that shape the perception of meaning regarding identity, experience, and perspectives of those involved.

Methodology

This study will critique visual rhetoric by taking a pentadic approach to analysis. A pentadic criticism is a rhetorical method that seeks to answer what people are doing and why they are doing it. It was developed by Kenneth Burke and is grounded in dramatism. In this particular research, a pentadic criticism is applied to the visual rhetoric in photographs: images are rhetorical (and dramatic) in that they present a particular view of a human situation.

In this thesis, I will identify and analyze agent, act, agency, scene and purpose in the two sets of photos taken by James Nachtwey and Djordje Jovanovic respectively. When applying a dramatistic lens to photojournalism, a critic looks for the motive of the photographer, or rhetor. Through this analysis of motive, a critic can discover the purpose for such rhetoric as well as have a fuller understanding of the circumference of the situation. I will analyze the motivation of each photographer, which will help in gaining an understanding of how their images represent the identity of Kosovars. Further, by using the pentad to critique the rhetorical appeals of an image, we can gain a better understanding of the photographer’s subject position, which

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6 See Chapter 3 for further explanation.
influences the way they understand, experience, and tell a story, albeit visually. This in turn affects the way viewers understand cultural groups and their experiences.

Within the pentad, there are five basic elements to drama. The first is the act (what), which is the rhetor’s, in this case, photographer’s, presentation of the main action enacted by the protagonist or agent. The second is the agent (who), which is the main character(s) that performs the act in the artifact presented by the rhetor/photographer. When there is not a person in an artifact, which occurs only once in my research, the agent can also be “any personal properties that are assigned a motivational value” such as “fear, malice, or intuition” (Burke, 1969a, p. xx). The third is the agency (how), which is the means used to carry out the act presented by the rhetor/photographer. The fourth is the scene (when and where), which is, essentially, the stage set by the rhetor, or, the framing of the image by the photographer, which includes the setting or physical background for the act, but also the social, cultural, or historical situation in which it took place. Fifth is the purpose (why), which is what the rhetor/photographer intends to do with the artifact. Each of these elements are analyzed to interpret the rhetorical meaning of a photograph.

Burke’s pentadic criticism is relevant to this study because it is a method of criticism that seeks to find the motive of the rhetor. Because pentadic criticism is grounded in the theory of dramatism and operates under the philosophy that human interaction, like a play, presents particular views of the human situation, it is an effective way to analyze the visual rhetorical presentation of the experiences and identities of Kosovars by two different rhetors.

Artifacts

In order to come to a better understanding of these issues, this study will examine photojournalistic images taken in Kosovo, a region in Serbia, at two points in time and by two
photographers: James Nachtwey, a photojournalist sent in on assignment from the United States that photographed the ethnic war and genocide in 1999, and Djordje Jovanovic, a Kosovar photojournalist who has documented the life of Kosovars from 2006-2007. These photographs are from different time periods; though this is a limitation in my analysis, it is simultaneously a quality in the nature of self-representation. A breadth of photojournalistic artifacts of self-representation of Kosovars in 1999 was simply not available at that time. Not until almost a decade later, when digital technology had become more affordable, and the Internet had gained wider access, were these artifacts available for research by providing enough information on the social identities of the subjects, their situations, and the social identity of the photographer. Jovanovic’s images were then circulated in newspapers and magazines throughout Europe, as well as online through his website and other photo sharing websites. Though these two sets transcend time, they both feature groups that are victims of Serbian politics: Kosovo’s ethnic Muslims in the former and Kosovo’s Roma and displaced persons in the latter. Thus, this comparison is justified because in each set, the viewer is looking at the representation of a group from Kosovo that has suffered greatly at the hands of corrupt government and institutions. This specific area was chosen because its conflict has rhetorical significance: during the crisis in 1999, the media showcased countless images of the civil war taking place in Kosovo, which resulted in the genocide of Kosovan Albanian Muslims. Serbia’s “ethnofascist aggressor,” Sloban Milosevic, initiated bloody guerilla warfare against Kosovars that resurfaced after communism. The relentless attack against Kosovars was brutal and widespread. This bloodshed was deeply rooted in historical ethnic hatred, nationalist narratives, pathological fear and resentment towards other ethnic groups, and power struggles over resources (Finney, 2002; Zunes, 1999). Different ethnic groups that made up the region of Kosovo were pitted against
each other on the foundation of “symbolic excess: narratives of past victimization, unsettled scores and historical destiny [were used] to stitch together new national communities, ground territorial claims and marshal people for war” (Finney, 2002, p. 3). The war that broke out in spring of 1999 did not erupt overnight; it had been incubating for decades because of socio-economic changes, modernization, urbanization, and changing politics and state structures, for example. In the autumn of the same year, the conflict officially ended, but not after thousands of lives were lost.

Across the globe, those with access to media were bombarded with images depicting the horrors of this conflict. However, thirteen years later, conflict subsided, this once “represented” culture now has access to the technology and means to “re-present” themselves and power to perform this re-presentation to an unlimited audience. Though the context is different without the conflict, the opportunity to visually construct a rhetorical meaning of identity is salient to research on visual communication, especially when compared to the meaning and interpretations that were made during the war. The photographs seen by the world during the war were significant representations of the culture at that time, and now, even though the war is over, there are still influential photographs of the culture available to anyone with Internet access.

This study will analyze eighteen photographs: nine of them taken by James Nachtwey, an American photographer, in 1999, and nine of them taken by Djordje Jovanovic, a Kosovar photographer, between 2006-2007. The photographs by Nachtwey come from his 1999 book *Inferno*. He photographed the Kosovo conflict while under contract with *Time Magazine* and Magnum. The photos were used with news stories, showcased in exhibitions around the world, and promoted on the Internet. The photographs by Jovanovic come from his website, which is dedicated to raising awareness of the victims of Serbian politics. The website uses seventy-three
photographs of present day Kosovars in order to showcase the extreme poverty in the region. These images are on Jovanovic’s website and Flickr account.

**Preview of Remaining Chapters**

This thesis will have 6 chapters. Following the Introduction Chapter, in Chapter 2, I will review literature on visual communication, representation, identity, and the photographic message. In Chapter 3, I will explain the pentadic criticism methodology in more detail. In Chapter 4, I will describe the artifacts (selected photographs) by applying Burke’s pentad. In Chapter 5, I will explain the findings from my pentadic analysis on Other and self-representation in photographs. In Chapter 6, I will conclude the thesis by discussing the significance of these findings and implications of this study.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

This is an interdisciplinary study that pulls from the fields of visual rhetoric, media representation, and identity construction. This literature review will explore topics from each of these areas as they relate to identity representation in the visual rhetoric of documentary photographs of Kosovar Muslims and Roma.

Characteristics of Visual Rhetoric

Though photographs are a two-dimensional medium, their analysis requires a multidimensional approach. This section will review literature on documentary photography with connections to visual rhetoric. First, I will examine the persuasive power and impact of photography as visual rhetoric. Once an understanding of the rhetorical significance of documentary photography is made, I will review themes of objectivity and subjectivity. Then, I will explore the relationship amongst documentary photography, identity, and representation.

Persuasive power and impact of photography.

Photography is a unique medium. It is used as a form of fine art as well as a means to document history. When photographs are used for documentational purposes, such as photojournalism, they carry with them ideologies and political depth. Bourdieu (1999) explores these differences by qualifying some forms of art as legitimate and others as not legitimate. For him, photojournalism (a term that conflates with documentary photography) is between high and low culture; it is in the “sphere of the legitimizable” (p. 177). This is unlike music, painting, sculpture, literature, or theater, which are in the sphere of legitimacy because they are given authority by legitimate institutions, such as universities. As such, developing taste for art in the sphere of legitimacy is closely linked to educational levels (which is consequently linked to privilege and power, for example). There is also the sphere of the arbitrary, which lacks
authority from legitimate institutions, but still carries influence through advertising, media, and the like. These types of art would be clothing, decoration, furniture, etc. Essentially, for consumers, photojournalism is experienced critically, but not as much so as painting, sculpture, and theater, for example. Thus, the level to which photojournalism can be deemed legitimate depends on the viewers’ knowledge and power. For example, Kevin Carter’s photograph of a starving Sudanese girl may represent starvation and death to some viewers – this would be an illegitimate way to assess this photograph. To others, this photograph could have larger, systemic meanings, such as unequal resource distribution, global conflict management, and human rights violations, for instance. Someone who views the photograph from this perspective has more knowledge about the broader situation depicted in the image. This knowledge is gained from (perhaps), the ability to read, an education, peers with global consciousness, or access to the Internet or television, for example. Further, all of these privileges translate into the viewer’s power. Bourdieu (1999) would refer to this assessment of the photograph as legitimate. Thus, photojournalism is in the sphere of the legitimizable, a place where each viewer’s interpretation of the message of an event depicted in a documentary photograph will vary based on their knowledge and power, where less knowledge and power interprets messages as less legitimate and more knowledge and power results in more legitimate interpretations.

When photojournalism portrays historical events, such as the crisis in Sudan, it reproduces dominant patterns of thought and ideologies. Essentially, pictorial histories are hegemonic, so calling them relics of a universal language is condescending and ignorant (Sekula, 1999). In this sense, we can even look at history as a spectacle, by taking it in through a series of images; “when photographs are uncritically presented as historical documents, they are transformed into aesthetic objects. Accordingly, the pretense to historical understanding
remains, although that understanding has been replaced by aesthetic experience” (Sekula, 1999, p. 189). Thus, there are debates about whether documentary photography should be considered scientific/realistic (as in historical documents) or artistic/imaginary (as in aesthetic experience).

Documentary photographs need to be understood as rhetorical artifacts. Though they serve other purposes as well (to convey news, to represent events), they were created for a purpose. Each viewer’s reading of a documentary photograph depends on his or her social position, which can give an image a more or less legitimate quality. When looking at images of Kosovo, for instance, viewers must understand that the representation they are witnessing is influenced by the identity of the photographer. Viewers must be critical about the extent of objectivity and subjectivity of every documentary photograph.

**Objective truth versus symbolic experience.**

In general, two approaches can be taken when looking at photojournalism. The first is viewing a photograph as a scientific artifact; one that mechanically represents reality with “objective truth”. The other is as an art (even in terms of war photographs) embedded with “subjective experience” (Sekula, 1999, p. 190). The best approach to take is to consider both when looking at a photograph, though depending on a viewer’s knowledge and power, they may see a photograph as either/or. So much of a photograph’s meaning depends on interpretation, and this meaning lies between art and science – it is situated in the middle of the binary, and perhaps more so on either side depending on the viewer of any particular image. There have been many scholarly inquiries into the artistic or scientific value of photography. The scientific value of photography is most easily explained by the fact that a camera is a mechanized piece of equipment that is sometimes used for purposes of documenting such situations as evidence and criminals, for example (Shapiro, 1988; Tagg, 1999). However, looking at photography,
especially photojournalism, from an artistic standpoint allows for a much deeper analysis. The artistic elements of photojournalism carry symbolic meanings, for example, the position of subjects in the foreground or background of an image may represent hierarchy, but it is the critic’s responsibility to explore the objectivity or subjectivity of this artistic decision.

Artistic elements are very often symbolic. The use of color, for example, carries different meanings for different cultures. For instance, in American culture, the color red carries meanings of love and passion, but also danger and warning. In Chinese culture, the color red carries meanings of luck, happiness, and joyous energy. Therefore, it is wise to have an understanding of a photographer’s cultural identity when conducting an accurate analysis of the rhetorical impact of their images – symbols will emerge and their context must be considered. However, there are differing opinions on this argument. For example, Ivins (1969) refers to photography as “symbolic communication without syntax” (p. 128). In that sense, it is argued that photographs are subjective representations of reality in which interpretation is based on each viewer’s identity. Similarly, Barthes (1977) claims that a photograph is a “message without a code” (p. 19), in other words, the message is created by the viewer. But what is this message? For Bourdieu (1999) the message is a “perfectly faithful reproduction of the real” (p. 164). However, there is a dilemma: whose real is reproduced? To paraphrase Bourdieu (1999), realistic representations in documentary photographs are only available to the naïve. Because we are socially constructed to perceive images in different ways (based on differing subject positions and social identities), the “reality” in photographs is guaranteed to make an objective representation only if we realize that tautological objectivity (p. 164). Thus, there is a sort of double naïvety because, as viewers of photographs, we need to recognize that objectivity is never absolutely objective.
Objectivity (and consequently subjectivity) is a crucial concern for a critical viewer of the visual rhetoric in images because documentary photographs are used on a large scale by powerful institutions to provide information. Shapiro (1988) argues that there is a political rhetoric to photography; a medium that has the potential to incite radical questions and discursive practices when analyzed critically by problematizing existing forms of power and authority present in the image. However, the two conflicting arguments about what is actually in an image (reality or imagination) still stand. On the one hand, Shapiro (1988) would say an image is created by reality and reflects reality, but this ‘real’ isn’t created by viewers, “the ‘real’ is forged over a period of time by the social, administrative, political, and other processes through which various interpretive practices become canonical, customary, and so thoroughly entangled with the very act of viewing they cease to be recognized as practices” (p. 135). On the other hand, Sekula (1999) argues “photography constructs an imaginary world and passes it off as reality” (p. 181). Evidently, there are many positions in this debate; some scholars argue photographs are nothing more than mechanical reproduction of reality (Benjamin, 1999), and some argue that photographs portray a skewed interpretation of a limited reality (Fanon, 1999; Gaines, 1999; Mulvey, 1999). My thesis is concerned with the rhetorical power of images, in a sense, their communicative and persuasive influence in terms of identity, and takes the approach that biased and ideological realities are reflected in photographs because of their interpretive nature. This is exactly why the rhetorical power of images needs to be analyzed: documentary photographs are not always used to tell an unbiased story, but instead they reflect differing realities and interpretations (which includes representations of identity).

In reference to iconic documentary photographs, Lucaites and Hariman (2001) argue that an analysis of documentary photography is important because “photographs reflect social
knowledge and dominant ideologies, shape and mediate understanding of specific events and periods [...], influence political behavior and identity, and provide inventional (figurative) resources for subsequent communication action” (p. 37-38). Thus, photographs need to be studied as powerful pieces of visual rhetoric, which, as the authors contend, underwrite “liberal-democratic public culture” (p. 38). Iconic photographs, from the medium of photojournalism, communicate social knowledge in terms of ideology, memory, and action (Lucaites and Hariman, 2007). This is significant because, as artifacts of visual rhetoric, iconic photographs make certain beliefs, values, and worldviews more appealing and attainable than others, which is salient in its power to influence social thought and movement. For example, there is a stance that photojournalism hinders rational decision-making (think of reactions to photos of burning World Trade Centers, for example). However, Lucaites and Hariman (2001, 2007) view photographs as valid resources for analyzing politics and collective identity because they “document much larger and more powerful social facts—poverty’s erosion of the soul, war’s repression of happiness—and they present those conditions within the interaction rituals of everyday life” (2007, p. 11). As viewers, we look at images of poverty and war, for example, in the setting of our safe places – most likely from thousands of miles away or in a different time period. However, what we are learning is a model for civic identity. Viewers are absorbing performative guidelines. If we don’t allow ourselves the opportunity to think otherwise, which we are allowed in a democratic culture, we begin to assume that certain identities or cultural groups are bound for certain fates as the images tell us. Rosler (2003) would agree with these claims, as she sees documentary photography as a contemporary representation of liberal sensibility and social discourse. As representations of identity, which we will see in my study, photographs are justifiable artifacts for insight into the rhetorical construction of identity.
Photography, identity and visual representation.

The representation of identity is the main focus of this study; therefore this section will review literature on theories of identity, mainly the communication theory of identity, including the theories it emerged from. I will then explore how identity and photography relate to each other. Finally, literature on the visual representation of identity through the medium of photojournalism will be reviewed.

The communication theory of identity (CTI) expands from social identity theory (STI) and identity theory (IT). In STI, a person’s identity is formed by relating to groups and creating social categories; STI emphasizes the social rather than the individual. IT looks at how the individual develops based on roles (such as gender roles, for example). IT “sees the self as communicated but not as communication” (Hecht et al, 2005, p. 260). CTI built on these theories and emerged from concepts that identity can be interpreted from the lenses of culture and society, more specifically, classic influences such as the “individual, polis, and collectivity,” as well as the interaction between the three (Hecht et al, 2005, p. 258-259). This theory considers how all these elements work together in order to shape individual identity because the self is multilayered and dynamic, with different aspects of identity influencing each other.

Hecht et al (2005) claim, “an individual’s social environments can be internalized as the individual’s identity” (p. 260). This is especially relevant for Kosovars; a social environment of strong nationalism, ethnic hatred, religious segregation, and extreme violence, for example, no doubt shapes a person’s identity. In this way, communication becomes an enactment of identity, whether is has to do with empowerment on the one hand, or stereotypes on the other. The point is, for better or worse, social environment influences identity and communication.
According to CTI, there are four interrelated levels of identity: personal, enacted, relational, and communal (Hecht et al, 2005). For the purpose of this research, the enacted level is most salient. In this level, “identity is enacted in communication through messages (social behavior, symbols). The self is seen as a performance, as expressed” (Hecht et al, 2005, p. 263-264). For the context of this paper, then, when documentary photographs are analyzed, the enacted identity will become apparent. It is important to remember that the enacted identity does not operate freely; it is in fact influenced by many factors. Thus, the analysis of enacted identity in photojournalism is important because it sheds light on the other levels of identity as well as communication.

To have a complete understanding of enacted identity, it is essential to understand the critical perspective of identity. According to this perspective, identity is formed in relation to social and cultural institutions, often as a site of struggle and injustice (Collier, 2005). This view focuses on context, especially how history, economy, and policy or politics effect the development of identity. For example, the history of slavery in the United States (mainly the covert racism and institutional injustices left over from ideologies of domination and subordination) plays a large role in the identity development of African Americans today. In the context of my thesis, for instance, the political injustices (such as the deportation of Kosovar Roma and their ensuing placement in refugee camps, which eventually became ghettos and slums) negatively effects the identity development of this group, especially in relation to their ascribed identities and interpellation. Because the critical approach considers the meta factors of society – such as history, economics, and politics – one of the main methods is to analyze media artifacts. By critiquing cultural media artifacts that are already in the public sphere, a critic is able to bring into question the other factors that play a role in the identity development and
contestation of those involved. Next, we will see current examples of how the critical perspective has been used in the analysis of identity through photojournalism.

There have been many studies on how photojournalism – whether personal or professional – effects the creation and understanding of identity, as well as the distribution of knowledge and power for certain cultural groups. For example, in Willis’ (1994) anthology *Picturing Us*, 17 contributors provide personal essays on African American identity in photography. Each piece takes a critical look at how imagery of the African American identity has been constructed and/or co-constructed as a result of the photograph. For example, Jones (1994) explores how the exposure to repeated imagery of lynching provided new sociohistorical meanings for her identity throughout her life. Sandler (1994) reflects on a part of the process of completing her documentary film, which included looking at images of newly freed slaves. By considering the images’ meanings in contemporary times, Sandler is able to draw parallels from “attitudes about skin color, hair texture, and facial features in the African American community” (p. 105) to “how oppressed people adopt and internalize the very views that their oppressors have used to oppress them” (p. 109). Hamilton (1994) uses an image of herself as a newborn with her white mother as a starting point to express the challenges of growing up interracial. There is an interesting symmetry between the two-dimensional artifact, a black and white image, and the anecdotes – a heavy weight placed on what is available to the eye leaves so much unrecognized. Through a casual and humorous, yet serious portrayal of her family’s history, Smart-Grosvenor (1994) demonstrates the significance of just having family photographs for the African American community.

Studies of photography and African American identity are prolific. A popular scholar in this field is Stuart Hall. In his 2003 piece with David A. Bailey, they analyzed images created by
black photographers in the 1970s and 1980s, specifically in the ways they attempted to contest negative imagery with positive imagery. Without specifying a clear methodology (it appears that their analysis takes into consideration the racial identity of the photographer as well as the technical and artistic elements of the image), the authors perform their criticism under the agenda that “a white photographer photographing a black subject is photographing across the line of domination and subordination and that this determines the nature of the image” (Bailey & Hall, 2003, p. 384). Thus, visual representation also carries with it effects of domination, subordination, and the ideologies tied up within those structures.

Another minority group given a copious amount of photojournalistic coverage are Native Americans. Hoelscher (2008) critiqued H. H. Bennett’s black and white photographs of Native Americans, specifically, the Ho-Chunk people of Wisconsin. His methodology included three primary sets of information: museums and historical institutions with large collections of H. H. Bennett’s “personal and professional correspondence, diaries, financial records, and guidebook publications”; interviews with modern Ho-Chunk elders in which their interpretations of Bennett’s photographs were examined, as well as conversations with “language experts, archaeologists, journalists, artists, and historians”; and finally, Smith’s (2004) “critically comparative interpretive visual methodology” in which visual archives are read “against one another to find photographic meaning in the interstices between them, in the challenges they pose to one another, and in the competing claims they make on cultural import” (Hoeschler, 2008, p. 15). However, the precise method in which visual archives are “read” is never explained. Nonetheless, Hoeschler (2008) comes to the conclusion that regardless of when they are viewed, these documentary photographs taken in the mid 1800s, confirm myths and fantastical ideas about Native Americans - they were depicted as savages and also romanticized,
which helped to affirm the viewers’ interpretations of them as threatening or magical. The images also shape the way viewers remember Wisconsin at a time when the indigenous encountered new settlers. Most importantly, though, Hoelscher’s (2008) analysis of these photographs demonstrates how Ho-Chunk individuals used their subject position to display their authentic identities. However, it is difficult to know if authentic identity was captured, or if performance was captured. It is a valid critique to wonder if Native Americans felt comfortable to be their authentic selves in front of the camera of the oppressor.

Though this present study will be looking at the representation of identity through documentary photographs of Kosovar Muslims and Roma, Calafell and Delgado’s (2004) study on Latina/o identity in a photographic set Americanos: Latino Life in the United States/La Vida Latina en Los Estados Unidos sheds light on some of the issues that will be addressed. First, a connection can be drawn between the Latina/o identity in America and the Kosovar Roma identity in Serbia. Calafell and Delgado (2004) describe the Latina/o identity as one in which a unified cultural community is difficult to find because there is no singular Latina/o country of origin, ideology, or aesthetic (p. 1). This is the case for the Kosovar Roma as well. To apply a term to this, Calafell and Delgado (2004) cite García-Canclini’s (1990) concept of a cultural hybrid, in which “cultural purity, safety, and precision are illusions” (p. 2). This directly relates to Kosovars, Romani or not, especially based on their history of transnationalism (“economic, social, political, and cultural forces that transgress and exceed the formal apparatus of the nation-state” (Rantanen, 2006, p. 144)), border changes, and ethnic conflict.

In their analysis of the photographs, Calafell and Delgado (2004) found three themes, but in this context only the theme of “the third space” will be given attention due to relevance towards the present study. Within this third space is the well-theorized concept of the
border/borderlands. Gloria Anzaldua (1987) defined the borderland as “a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary, that is in a constant state of transition” (p. 8). The “undetermined place” is not a physical one; it lies within each individual, thus making it the third space. We can see how this applies to Latina/os in America, but also those living in Kosovo as well, based on the region’s political, economic, and religious history. These concepts relate to both groups because “identities are constantly in process and, within a transcultural or transborder frame, are constructed, deconstructed and, quite possibly, reconstructed. The impact of the third space is a simultaneous process of blending and reblending, an intoxicating cocktail of cultural syncreticism and pastiche” (Calafell & Delgado, 2004, p. 9). The third space, then, is a space where identity is still coming to terms, shaped by the constant transition of existential borders. When viewers of documentary photographs of Kosovars look at the enacted identity of subjects, the heavy cultural implications of represented identity need to be understood within the context of identity – even if that identity is one that lies within a borderland, an undetermined place, or a third space.

Much of the available research, and what has been covered in this literature review, focuses on the representation of minority groups. However, the Kosovar Muslims and Roma are doubly minority groups and war refugees. Many connections can be drawn between the treatment and understanding of minority groups and war refugees: their histories are largely hidden from the mainstream, they are treated as “unpeople” (Pilger, 1998), there is a lack of interest in their success, they are harassed, stereotyped, and stigmatized, and they are unfairly accused of draining government aid and taking jobs (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2003). At this point it is appropriate to explain what a war refugee is. The term “refugee” “connotes a bureaucratic and international humanitarian realm” (Malkki, 1995a, p. 513). With that connotation, Malkki
(1995a) claims, there is a lack of empathy or call to action from an audience witnessing the visual rhetoric of the refugee experience because, within the name, there are signified connections to a higher order of organization that controls a refugee’s fate. Through visual representation, refugees become generic figures. In her seminal piece on the representation of war refugees, Malkki (1995b) explains how the media shapes refugees as “problems.” They are “problems” because their on-the-move nature shows how the nation-state could not contain them; media consumers see them as unclean, sick, tired, and diseased – the opposite of western norms, and they have been, for the most part, located on a continent that has been historically disorderly and war-ravaged. Malkki’s (1995b) research focuses on African refugees, which has, for the majority of visual studies research, been the trend when addressing refugees. In popular media, the visual rhetoric of African war refugees has been rampant. However, not all research on refugees has focused on Africa, especially because of more recent crises. Wright (2002, 2004) has analyzed the visual representation of refugees across many mediums. In 2002, he wrote about the parallels between paintings and photographs of refugees as compared to familiar biblical archetypes and stories. For example, refugees during migration represent “Exodus” and refugee mothers with children represent the “Madonna and child” (Wright, 2002). In 2004, he analyzed the representation of Afghan refugees on television, finding that American audiences began their understanding of the Afghan refugee experience in the “middle of the narrative” after September 11 occurred (Wright, 2004, p. 97). Though the study of the visual representation of refugees is gaining speed, there is only little research on the experience of Kosovar refugees, both Muslim and Roma. Gibney (1999) studied the positive correlation between Kosovar

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7 Fair and Parks (2001) argue that this is because audiences are more likely to watch, pay attention to, and care about refugees instead of genocide, because genocide is more gruesome and difficult to understand. Further, coverage of refugees often includes stories of US benevolence.
refugees’ visual representation, mainly through television news but also photographs in newspapers, and the general public’s monetary donations to their aid. He argued that, because of Kosovar refugees’ “relatedness” to Western audiences – unlike African refugees, Kosovar refugees look similar, dress similar, and had similar material belongings – there were stronger connections to the refugees’ situation, which influenced the public to respond with donations.

This is extremely telling because it demonstrates how visual rhetoric creates identification and, consequently, persuasion. However, since refugee imagery has traditionally been used to tell familiar stories, as in biblical tales of exodus or suffering; or to uphold stereotypes, such as “the man with the bundle of possessions heading along the road, passing ruined buildings (to an uncertain future)” (Wright, 2004, p. 102); or to reinforce the refugee as a generic “unperson”, it is evident that the visual representation of refugees constitutes their identity and experience for all who consume it. What is of concern here is that “media representations predominate in determining how we see refugees. While there is a marked tendency to categorize migrants as human types, the selective nature of the visual image frequently objectifies them, dismissing their historical, cultural and political circumstances” (Wright, 2002, p. 64). Thus, this study will contribute to current research by seeking to gain a better understanding of how Kosovar Muslims and Roma, doubly minority groups and war refugees, have their identities, perceptions, and experiences understood when photographed by an American or a Kosovar.

In order for this analysis on the photojournalistic representation of identity from the in-group and Other perspective to be effective, photographers and viewers must understand the responsibility attached to looking at documentary photographs and be aware that audiences use documentary photographs for certain, specific purposes – just the same as photographers.
photograph for certain purposes. If a photographer captures an image with the potential for universal appeal, the demand for the photograph is higher. Therefore, photographs of deep human emotions, such as those connected to war, can be related to by anyone who has felt tragedy, despair, and/or loss. Those photographs can form emotional attachments. However, what needs to be pointed out here, again, is the effect of interpretation. All photographs have different meanings and interpretations based on who is looking. In the context of the critical perspective, our understanding of language (even visual language) is shaped by our identity (and the social and institutional factors contributing to it). Therefore, our interpretations of images are structured around a code, which we have learned through our identity development, and depending on which social and institutional factors have played roles in that process, the way we view and understand images will differ. For example, Lacan (1977) presents the hypothetical situation of two children on the same train. When asked where they are, one child says they are in front of the men’s bathroom, the other says they are in front of the women’s bathroom. Though they are on the same train, they describe their locations differently. This represents how our social positions influences how we see, what we see, and what our interpretations mean. For instance, a photograph of a woman crying over a burning flag may represent the loss of home, ethnic conflict, and civil war to one person, while it could mean nothing more than sympathy to another. It all depends on who is looking and what social identity they are making sense of an image with, which is intricately tied back with knowledge and power.

**Media Representation**

Our visual culture demands an understanding of media representation. In media representation, such as the presence of images in the news and online, there are responsibilities to consider. In this section, I will first review current literature that critiques the responsibility
tied to voyeuristically looking at documentary photographs of others. Second, I will explore the effects of compassion fatigue. Third, I will discuss the presence of ideology and hegemony in representation.

**Looking and voyeurism.**

The act of looking, though simply physical, is tied to many deeper responsibilities. According to Sontag (2003), those with the right to look at documentary photographs of suffering and tragedy are those who can do something about it, such as surgeons, for example. Everyone else, though, is a voyeur, whether or not they mean to be. bell hooks (2009) expands on this idea in her critique on the documentary *Hoop Dreams*. She writes about the importance of vision and perspective in documentation, especially when a dominant group depicts a nondominant group. In her piece, she critiques the messages white audiences receive because their desire to “see and ‘enjoy’ images of black folks on the screen is often in no way related to a desire to know real black people (hooks, 2009, p. 77). “Real” is the key word here; by watching passively from a movie theater or at home, the audience has the privilege of observing from a distance – they don’t have to go out and talk to real black people, they can just gawk at them from their safe zones. But, because this insight into inner city black life is coming from a media source (created by outsiders of the group, nonetheless), a viewer must be media literate and question the messages that are being communicated and how accurate they are. hooks (2009) argues that *Hoop Dreams* does little to contest stereotypes about black urban life while reaffirming ideas relating to slavery imagery, dysfunctional family relationships, and athleticism as all-encompassing desires for young black men. Clearly, this portrayal provides a hegemonic, limited perspective. This exact type of representation is a key issue in this study, the extent to which representation is biased, inadequate, and subject to dominant ideologies when a minority
Other and self-representation: a pentadic criticism

Group is represented by someone that is socially disconnected to that group. Though hooks (2009) is specifically referring to filmmaking, her claims can apply to photojournalism as well. Bourdieu (1999) argues that looking at documentary photographs of others is a theft, because it can be done in private and without consequence. However, he also presents an interesting counterargument, stating that subjects can present their own image by comporting themselves in a certain way to be photographed. Though this doesn’t always happen in photojournalism, especially in contexts of war and trauma, it is an interesting debate to consider, seeing as how there is the potential for an attitude of resistance by the photographer’s subject. Regardless, hooks (2009) argues that the “politics of location” matter (p. 96). Essentially, as those who look at the experiences of others, we need to be aware of the “voyeuristic pleasure at being able to observe from a distance” (p. 97). From a distance, voyeurs are safe – untouched by the actual content of an image. What hooks (2009) refers to as the “politics of location,” many others have referred to as the “distance rule” (Kleinman & Kleinman, 1996; Sontag, 2003; Szorenyi, 2009). According to the “distance rule,” the farther away from the viewer a subject is in a photograph, the less urgent the message seems. Essentially, “sensitivity in representing the plight of others diminishes as geographical and cultural distance increases” (Szorenyi, 2009, p.97). Therefore, viewing the experiences/suffering/tragedy of others is “distant not only because of its geographical location but because of its experiential remoteness from the feeling of comfort” (Szorenyi, 2009, p.103). In this case, (white) viewers can pack a movie theater and voyeuristically gaze at the struggles of black youth; a privilege for the viewer that commodifies and exploits the subject, even if that was not the intention of the filmmaker (hooks, 2009, p. 97). Sontag (2003) explains the distant voyeuristic gaze well in this excerpt:

this journalistic custom inherits the centuries-old practice of exhibiting exotic—that is, colonized—human beings: Africans and denizens of remote Asian
countries were displayed like zoo animals in ethnological exhibitions mounted in London, Paris, and other European capitals from the sixteenth until the early twentieth century [...] The exhibition in photographs of cruelties inflicted on those with darker complexions in exotic countries continues this offering, oblivious to the considerations that deter such displays of our own victims of violence; for the other, even when not an enemy, is regarded only as someone to be seen, not someone (like us) who also sees. (p. 72)

Essentially, people’s identities, their struggles, tragedies, and personal accounts can become “cheap entertainment” because they are looked upon by others who are uninvolved in the situation at hand (hooks p. 97). Hence, this geographical/cultural distance creates a divide:

Those who are subjects in photographs of suffering are not people like us (to use Sliwinski’s term) who have identities. The rhetorical messages in images such as these tell viewers that they are, instead, unfortunate people who are subjected to tragedy, who are supposed to suffer, who should be pitied.

Because photographs are so widely available, they are looked upon by countless amounts of people. However, implicated in the privilege of looking at a documentary photograph is that, in fact, one is simply looking. The right to look, to be voyeuristic, is allowed to those who weren’t “there.” When viewing photographs of Kosovars, viewers are granted with a unique opportunity to experience a visual depiction of far away disheartening situations.

Voyeuristically consuming the representation of others, especially non-dominant groups, is delicately tied to the politics of location, not only geographically but in terms of identity as well. Perhaps there is a more appropriate channel from which to view minority groups through – that of the perspective of an outside or an insider. Perhaps these perspectives enhance or limit the amount of voyeurism, for example, if the photographer is a Kosovar, does that make viewing photographs of Kosovars less voyeuristic? Further, looking and voyeurism play key roles in pity. By looking from a great distance, geographically and in terms of social identity, one has to
do nothing more than pity the subjects in a documentary photograph.

**Compassion fatigue.**

Pity is a tricky emotion – it wears off. Photojournalistic images of war, starvation, disaster, plight, etc. are drastically widespread. Hall (2005) argues that the image is a symbol of late-modern culture; it is “the saturating medium, the saturating idiom, of communication worldwide” (p. 5). Images are on the television, accompanying most news stories, and in advertisements, for example. Because of this oversaturation of images, a viewer’s capacity to pity the subjects wears off over time. We are in an era of information overload; Sontag (2003) claims we are subjected to an “assault by images” (p. 117). For people of the Western world, the very “reporting of images of starving, suffering, bodies is in itself a tradition. The suffering and deaths of particular people, each a singular event, rapidly become multiplied into a multitude – repeated suffering, repeated disaster, repeated news reports” (Szórenyi, 2009, p.93). This repetition is what causes compassion fatigue, or a loss of one’s feeling of sympathy or pity for others. Essentially, this “overdose of misery […] renders suffering banal, unimportant, and irrelevant to the spectator’s lifeworld” (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 373). We can think about this effect in different ways: the more you eat spicy food, the less spicy it is over time. The more times you lift weights, the easier it is to do so over time. The same principle is present when looking at images of suffering. The more you see documentary photographs of suffering and miserable people, the less important their meaning becomes. When witnessing the tragedy of others through photojournalism, suffering becomes so common that we don’t conceptualize its importance anymore; compassion fatigue inhibits our desires to feel sympathy for those in need. Over time, people become desensitized to suffering and the consequences of not taking action via repeated witnessing.
The mass production of images of suffering has created witnesses out of us all. Though most Westernized people were not in Rwanda when the Hutus were fighting the Tutsis, most people know what the massacre looked like. Though most people have not experienced the mass starvations in Sudan in the nineties, most people know what it looked like. Developments in technology have created what Möller (2010) has called the “era of witness.” Photographers can take digital images, upload them immediately to a server anywhere on the planet and send it to any news agency or upload it to a blog or social networking site. A photo of a grieving mother in a refugee camp in Kosovo can be published in New York within the hour it is taken. We have become distant spectators of the lives of the unfortunate. We get to watch them suffer from thousands of miles away in, as it would seem, a different world.

Morozov (2011) claims that Rwanda (and other major wars and human-made disasters) wouldn’t have happened if the Internet was as mainstream as it is now. According to him, people would have blogged about the event, taken digital photographs of the atrocities, raised awareness on their Facebook pages – all of these tactics, which would utilize the rhetorical impact of images, rely on technology that we didn’t have before. Essentially, if the mainstream saw the extent of suffering, via constant bombardment of images, intervention would have occurred. How could an entire globe of humans ignore those atrocities, especially if it were so easy for them to see photographic evidence of these events? However, what Morozov forgets about is compassion fatigue and the politics of location. He doesn’t consider the fact that today, in 2012, there are genocides, wars, and mass human rights violations occurring as this is written. People do see these events on the Internet, in the newspaper, and on the television. People are more aware of these atrocities, but they still occur. Though the Internet connects roughly 2.5 billion people, a different world does still exist. This increased awareness not only
introduces us to what is going on in the world, it also functions to uphold dominant ideologies, or perspectives, assumptions, and experiences of the majority groups. This is essential to the research of this study on the photographic representation of groups from in-group and out-group individuals: billions of people are being socialized to conceptualize the globe’s cultural groups based on the perspectives of photographers who are so far removed from those groups. Because of the over-saturation of images in our media-obsessed global culture, the shocking effect of images of tragedy wears off and viewers are left with latent messages about the social identity of those depicted in documentary photographs. When access to digital technology, especially Internet access, is becoming more available, critical media consumers need to question why struggling minority groups aren’t photographed, or represented through visual rhetoric, by photographers who can understand their culture, speak their language, and relate to them on levels a foreigner may not be able to. I will further explore how many critical scholars argue that representation of a minority group by a dominant group perpetuates and enforces dominant ideologies. For example, as I explained before, coverage of refugees in mass media presents the United States as benevolent. Also, imagery of refugees tends to emulate Christian stories and values. The section below will explore these fundamental issues of representation and ideology further.

**Ideology and hegemonic representation.**

Visual rhetoric shapes how we feel (or don’t feel) about subjects in photographs. Many factors, such as oversaturation and distance, affect our reactions to documentary photographs. However, regardless of how strictly “documentary” photographs may be, they are always embedded with ideologies. In this section I will explore current literature on the relationship between ideology and representations in photographs. First, I will explain Louis Althusser’s
theories on the subject and interpellation. Next, I will make connections between ideology and hegemony. Then, through example, we will see how dominant ideologies are upheld through photojournalistic representation of different groups.

Embedded within photographs is ideology. In Althusser’s (1999) seminal piece on this topic, he makes powerful claims on the relationship between ideology and the subject (of a photograph, for instance), which directly relates to the critique of subjectivity in images. First, Althusser (1999) presents a thesis: “ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (p. 317, emphasis added). In other words, ideology is the way we are taught to think our experiences operate, even though our real conditions of existence are affected by this imaginary construction of ideas and values, thus compromising the “realness” of our actual experiences. A second thesis is presented, in which “ideology has a material existence” (p. 318). In essence, an ideology is “an imaginary relation to real relations” which is material in nature because in order to participate in the imaginary relation, we acquire real material objects to do so. Thus, we actively participate in ideology, which is also clear in documentary photographs, where subjects play a role that ideology dictates for them. This “role” is not enacted on purpose, though, because ideology operates within and outside itself; “one of the effects of ideology is the practical denegation of the ideological character of ideology by ideology” (Althusser, 1999, p. 321). Thus, ideology itself is an elusive entity; we like to believe we don’t participate in its dominance, but we do. This is especially evident in subjects in photographs, because ideology interpellates individuals as subjects, or, assigns a role to them. This role is recognized by the viewer of a photograph and, Althusser would argue, the subject themselves: such a system is

specular, i.e. a mirror-structure, and doubly specular: this mirror duplication is constitutive of ideology, and ensures its functioning. Which means that all
ideology is centered, that the Absolute Subject occupies the unique place of the Centre, and interpellates around it the infinity of individuals into subjects in a double mirror-connection such that it subjects the subjects to the Subject, which giving them in the Subject in which each subject can contemplate its own image. (Althusser, 1999, p. 233)

Thus, ideology functions as a mirror: subjects see themselves within it, yet are able to separate the two, even though they actually reflect the same reality. The “Absolute Subject” is the individual, which, when we “Centre” ourselves in our unique identities, we are doing so through systems of identification that are already constructed by ideology. According to Lucaites and Hariman (2007), “photojournalism might be the perfect ideological practice: while it seems to present objects as they are in the world, it places those objects within a system of social relationships and constitutes the viewer as a subject within that system” (p, 2). Therefore, it is impossible to create our subjectivity, or our identity, without separating from ideology. In terms of documentary photography, subjects are confined to the role (whether they know it, or want to, or not) of a reproducer of dominant ideology; documentary photography has long been critiqued as a medium with a “tendency to reproduce and reinforce the already-in-place ideological discourses vindicating entrenched systems of power and authority” (Shaprio, 1988, p. 126).

Photography, then, is intricately tied to discourse, representation, and identity embedded in the dominant ideology of a society.

Althusser (1999) also theorizes about hegemony, which is a term that references a person’s willing participation in his or her own subordination. Hegemony reproduces dominant ideologies because “those who support the dominant ideology in a culture are able continually to reproduce that ideology in cultural institutions and products while gaining the tacit approval of those whom the ideology oppresses” (Dow, 1990, p. 262). Hegemony and ideology function in the analysis of photojournalism. For example, Ventsel (2010) takes this ideological approach in
his study of images from Estonia’s Stalinist Era. He looked at the operation of power over “the people” as portrayed through iconic photographs published in Estonian press materials. Venstel (2010) borrows John Tagg’s (1988) conception of power, which is the production of reality and truth, as well as Foucault’s (1976), who claims that power operates so translucently that discourse shapes our willingness to give in to it. Through Ventsel’s (2010) analysis, he found functions of ideology portraying “the people,” characterized by Laclau (2005) as subjects of a divided society that construct a popular identity shaped by dominant ideology. Thus, the analysis of photographs shows a hegemonic relationship of the public in which “the people,” despite their characteristic physical differences, seem to represent one group – a group in support of the Soviet Social Republic. Essentially, all distinctions are rendered meaningless because the photographs depict the subjects as one mass group that all share the same ideas, values, and identity. Thus, this photographic creation of “the people” disregards all uniqueness, personal identity, and resistance to the power of Stalinism. “The people” have become the Absolute Subject operating under the dominant ideology of the Soviet Social Republic. Bourdieu (1999) makes a point that, when photographed, subjects are mimicking “identities” assigned to them by society. For instance, a steel worker will appear as a steel worker perhaps because of the dirt on his face, hands, and apparel. A mother will appear as a mother perhaps because of her nurturing tendencies, evident in her physicality towards children. Thus, Bourdieu (1999) argues that, through photographs, all we see is a “representation of a represented society” (p. 168, emphasis in original).

To elaborate on ideology, representation, meaning, interpretation, and power, Hall (2005) describes a photograph of British Olympian Linford Christie with the Union Jack draped around his body after winning the 100-meter competition. This image is ideal for representation studies,
because what is present here is a black British man symbolizing British identity and achievement, even though popular conceptions of what it means to be British aren’t necessarily to be black. This image serves to present a counter ideology: that the British Olympic team isn’t a team of white people, which is what one likely expects. What is absent in this image is a white British Olympian, but that absence has a stronger, deeper meaning, a meaning that gives a subtle reminder of how misleading assumptions and stereotypes can be when we contextualize them with identity. Thus, this image has a variety of potential meanings (sport documentation, critique on race, identity affirmation), all of which are constructed and construct us through the fantasy-theme relationship we have with them (Hall, 2005, p. 15-17). This is where ideology and power come into play: it is those who hold power that enforce a dominant ideology, and the goal is to “close language, close meaning, to stop the flow” of interpretation (Hall, 2005, p. 19). Though this photograph challenged meanings of “Britishness,” power and ideology are still present because of the absence, because the photo makes one recognize that he is a black man on a British team, he is winning, and we don’t often see blacks in winning situations (Hall, 2005, p. 16). Thus, even though this photo shows a black man winning a medal, it still reminds us that this is not the norm, which is controlled by power and ideology.

Ideology is present in all factions of society, including documentary photography. Subjects in photographs are interpellated, they are “assigned” a role by the viewers. As displayed in the above examples, photographs can enforce or resist ideologies “assigned” identities or interpellation. It is critical to look at documentary photographs of Kosovars, as well as all minority groups, with the intent to explore their representations as hegemonic, or participating in the dominant ideologies, or contesting them. It is critical that as viewers of documentary photographs, as consumers of visual rhetoric, we are aware of the implications
pertaining to what representations and ideologies manifest out of the social identity of the photographer, if any.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will explain the methodology for my analysis. I will use pentadic criticism, developed by Kenneth Burke, to gain a better understanding of identity representation from insider and outsider perspectives. Though it was first developed to analyze linguistic rhetoric, there has since been a widely recognized expanded definition of rhetoric to all symbolic practices; specifically a shift from speeches and written documents to rhetorical artifacts consisting of visual elements. I have posed three research questions: (1) How do photographs of Kosovars, taken during the Kosovo War in 1999 by American photographer James Nachtwey, construct meaning regarding identity, experiences, and perspectives of those involved? (2) How do photographs of Kosovars, taken today, by Kosovar photographer Djordje Jovanovic, construct meaning regarding identity, experiences, and perspectives of those involved? (3) Will the change from “representation” by an outsider to “re-presentation” from an insider have an effect on the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars? Burke’s pentadic criticism will shed light on these questions because the pentad is used to reveal insight on how the identities of the photographers affect the way they use visual rhetoric to construct, via photojournalism, the identity of Kosovars. Since Burke’s pentadic criticism falls under his theory of dramatism, it is a proper application to the analysis of photography in that it treats all human action as symbolic. Through the method of pentadic criticism, I can better understand how, why, and to what extent visual rhetoric is used, and for what purpose, to represent the groups photographed. But first, I will explain Burke’s rhetorical theories.
Kenneth Burke’s Rhetorical Theories

Throughout his career, Burke developed multiple theories in relation to rhetoric. First, I will explore Burke’s ideas on rhetoric. At this time, I will describe the rhetorical qualities of photojournalism. Second, I will describe Burke’s theory of dialectics. Dialectics is important to this research because it is concerned with ideology and the search for truth; this theory contends that for a full understanding of a situation, one must explore all perspectives. Third, I will describe Burke’s theory of identification. Identification is imperative to this study because it deals with the rhetorical appeals to persuade, which are always used to support an agenda. Fourth, I will discuss Burke’s theory of form. This is highly related to any study of imagery, because this theory deals with the repeated effect of witness. In an image-dominated society, form plays a large role in our understanding of the world. Fifth, I will explore Burke’s theory of image and idea. This theory directly relates with tendency for iconic images to create and enforce memory. It also sheds light on the synecdochic qualities of photographs.

Definition of rhetoric.

Burke offers many descriptions of rhetoric, including that it is “the use of words to evoke a specific emotion or state of mind” as well as “something taken for granted” (Burke, 1969a, p. 49). One of the key factors of Burke’s conceptualization of rhetoric is that it involves persuasion, and most importantly, “persuasion involves choice, will; it is directed to a man only insofar as he is free […] You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his” (Burke, 1969a, p. 50-55). Essentially, someone can only be persuaded if they have the choice to agree with a rhetor. If there is no choice involved – no will – persuasion is no longer part of the equation because free will is not a factor. To expand on Burke’s concept of persuasion, Foss,
Foss, and Trapp (1991) claim “while Burke’s definition of rhetoric is centered in persuasion, as are most definitions, the uniqueness of his view lies in his equation of identification with persuasion and the expansion of persuasion to include unconscious intent, the self as audience, and nonverbal elements that have meaning for an audience” (p. 180). Identification, which will be touched on later, is an important component to rhetoric because everyone identifies with a group – it is this connection that persuasion is based on, regardless if that connection is conscious or unconscious, directed toward the self or others, or based on verbal or nonverbal elements. Thus, persuasion and identification are tied, through rhetoric, to all elements of symbol usage, including science, poetry, and visual arts. For example, a photojournalist could create identification with her audience by photographing the opposite party from a long distance (which suggests psychological distance) or at an angle (which suggests distortion and discomfort). By using these techniques, the photojournalist can create identification with the audience by visually reinforcing the negative aspects of the opposing group.

According to Burke (1969a), rhetoric is “rooted in an essential function of language itself, […] the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (p. 41-43). Evidently, rhetoric applies to language, and as we learned earlier (and see here), rhetoric applies to symbols as well; a visual text is now comprehended as a form of symbolic language. Barthes (1977) makes many analogies between “natural” language (speech and writing) and “visual language,” which has encouraged an approach to visual communication with a linguistic lens: there is just as much meaning, representation, and interpretation in natural language as there is in the visual. For instance, similar to natural language, visual language also uses metaphor. In visual language, color metaphors exist, in which things that are dark are bad and things that are bright are good
Semiotics is also present in visual language – an image of a white dove flying over rubble can symbolize a turn towards peace. Like natural language, visual language also uses metonymy and synecdoche. For example, an image of burning World Trade Centers stands in for the entire War on Terror, and an image of a starving child represents all world hunger problems. In natural language, a rhetor may use simile, hyperbole, or personification to create identification. Likewise, in visual language, a rhetor may use angle, distance, framing, lighting, and color to create identification. This is exactly why photographs, especially photojournalism, fall under Burke’s classification of rhetoric.

Burke wanted to convince his readers that everyone is a rhetorician participating in a “final oneness” (Brown, 1969, p. 7). Oneness, which is tied with identification, refers to a sense of unity and group identity, regardless of how diverse the audience actually is. Though his writings are decades old, how could this be any less true today, living in a social climate in which access to the Internet and digital technology is more prevalent than ever? We can all be linguistic and visual rhetoricians with our online newspapers and magazines, blog posts, status updates, and phone cameras. An endless supply of digital technology (albeit only for parts of the world) allows for a massive participation in linguistic and visual rhetoric – in a sense, the digitally mediated world is our “final oneness.” In this communicative arena, there are countless points of view presented. There is a mixture between linguistic and visual rhetoric, yet there is still persuasion and identification. In order to get a full understanding of the purpose, or motive, for any rhetorical artifact, Burke’s theory of dialectics must be applied.

**Theory of dialectics.**

The theory of dialectics has been around long before Burke. In 560 BC, Plato began theorizing on the topic. According to him, a person attempting to find dialectical knowledge
must grasp the truth of all influences involved (Republic VIII). Meaning, to fully understand an event, one must understand its history, political and economic influences, the context of personal identities involved, and so on. Later, in Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, he explained how rhetoric is not necessarily truth. Rhetoric needs to be questioned, because it may represent a biased perspective. For this reason, one needs to think of discourse from different perspectives to have a real understanding of it. Similarly, Burke (1969a) contends that dialectics is concerned with ideology and a search for truth; it is “the study of ideas and of their relation to one another” (p. 53). A critic must recognize the dualisms, contestations, and conflicting meanings in a rhetorical artifact, or, characterize its “disposition and transposition” (Burke, 1969a, p. 402, emphasis in original). Having a dialectical understanding of rhetoric means understanding the possibilities of meaning. As Burke (1969a) says, this understanding is “a progressive development from homogeneity to heterogeneity” (p. 404). In other words, a successful critic would give attention to the variety of represented ideas of a rhetorical artifact, but these “varieties must not be reduced without due caution” (Burke, 1969a, p. 404). Because there may be multiple meanings and interpretations of a rhetorical artifact, like Hall (1997) asserts, Burke similarly argues that these various ideas need to be considered in order to find the dominant term that reveals the motive of the rhetor, but in performing this analysis, a critic must be careful to question and re-encounter the most essential elements of the rhetorical artifact.

In a dramatistic analysis, one would analyze a rhetorical artifact for dialectics of terms (act-scene, agent-purpose, etc.). By doing so, a critic can gain “perspective by incongruity”. “Perspective by incongruity” is the ironic application of words to other concepts outside their category (Burke, 1965). For example, in psychological studies, perspective by incongruity exists when deviants’ criminal acts are touted as their career or profession (Overington, 1977). This
applies in a visual sense as well, in which high contrast or darkness in an image can be used to symbolize innocence. In this way, symbolism and human interaction is “dialectical in the sense that we see something in terms of some other” (Burke, 1969a, p. 33). This is especially important when critiquing rhetoric, because exploring a topic in terms of its negation may reveal symbolic messages and motives.

In her critique of Burke’s writings, Brown (1969) expands on his conceptualization of dialectics: “the primary concern of dialectics […] is to synthesize the universal and the individual in what is called a concrete universal. Dialectics is not abstractive; it works toward the individualization of a normative universal like rational activity or rhetorical activity. It attempts to show that an individual action, in all the richness of its individuality, is a realization of a universal form” (p. 33). In other words, dialectics would like to demonstrate that in all concerns, no one identity or idea or situation (for example) is completely different from any other; all of these possibilities fall onto a continuum, which unites all individual actions with others, at least in some small way. This way of thinking does require a degree of epistemological perspectivism; one must be aware that there is no knowledge of anyone or anything that is unaffected by social position and language. Therefore, taken with a grain of salt, dialectics goes to show that there is a relationship amongst all symbol-using animals (humans) because of the actions we choose to make.

The theory of dialectics is essential to this research because, in a media dominated society with visual oversaturation, it is imperative that media consumers look at discourse from different perspectives in order to gain a holistic and realistic understanding of what is presented. I will apply the theory of dialectics to this analysis by taking into consideration the factors that affect each photographer’s perspective, such as their social identity, their audience, and the
values of their culture and the cultures they represent, as well as the oppositions and contestations within each set of images. Doing so will shed light on how both Nachtwey and Jovanovic’s interpretations of the situations they photograph are influenced by multiple social factors. Dialectics sheds light on the search for truth; in this research, I will seek to understand which truth each photographer represents, and how their identity effects the representation of that truth.

**Theory of identification.**

Because visual rhetoric is used to persuade, to make a viewer believe and understand a situation, identification, or a common ground, must be established between the rhetor and viewer. Identification (Burke’s term for persuasion) is essential for a rhetor because of its appeals toward shared beliefs and values that may occur unintentionally. Rhetors, with intention or not, create identification with their audience by emphasizing shared worldviews and perceptions. Identification is necessary in rhetoric as it is what allows for persuasion between rhetor and audience. Burke’s (1984) theory contends that identification is “one’s material and mental ways of placing oneself as a person in the groups and movements; one’s ways of sharing vicariously in the role of leader or spokesman; formation and change of allegiance; […] the part necessarily played by groups in the expectancies of the individual” (p. 227). Through rhetoric, individuals can identify with groups, which mirrors human interaction. This is essential because, when an audience (or individual) shares identification with the rhetor, they are more easily persuaded. For example, identification can be thought of as an especially clever persuasion; Burke even once advised “his pro-Communist audience that the use of the term *the people* rather than *the worker* would more clearly tap into the lower middle-class values of the audience the movement was trying to reach” (Jordan, 2005, p. 266). Clearly, specific word choices affect our
understanding of a situation, ability to identify with the rhetor, and willingness to be persuaded. The same holds true in visual rhetorical appeals; the clever use of foreground, size, angle, and lighting has the potential to create identification.

Throughout *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969) and *Language as Symbolic Action* (1966), Burke outlines three types of identification: symbolic, chart, and communication. Symbolic identification refers to the author/rhetor identifying with the thought or images of her work. For example, symbolic identification would take place if the author/rhetor was speaking of or taking photographs of her hometown. Chart identification refers to the association of words and images together. For example, chart identification would occur when a speaker presents a pictograph accompanying a speech; thus, speaker and audience would be able to identify with information. Communication identifications refer to an audience’s ability to relate with a rhetor. For example, this would occur if a speaker was addressing a group of students and recalled her time as a student in order to create a common ground.

Identification can also be used to support an agenda; “a speaker might persuade the audience by using ideas and images that identify his cause” (Burke, 1969a, p. 55). This is a very powerful component of Burke’s use of identification because of how influential it can be, especially because identification often occurs at the unconscious level. Since we know that Burke originally conceptualized rhetoric as written and linguistic, but then expanded his theory to other mediums, we can look at identification through a visual lens. For example, recall the role propaganda images played during Communist rule in Soviet Russia and the Eastern Bloc. Communist leaders used images of industrial labor in order to create identification with political goals. Or, more recently, think of the portrayal of Middle Easterners in Western media. Their
depiction as terrorists influences stereotypes against them, while also unconsciously supporting identification with the “war on terror.”

The concept of identification is integral to this analysis because it will shed light on the way rhetors (photographers) with different identities use their rhetorical artifacts (photographs) to persuade viewers to identify with a certain interpretation of the experience of a social group. The theory of identification relates to this study because I will analyze rhetorical artifacts of photojournalism in terms of their rhetorical appeals to represent Kosovar identity. Identification exposes ways in which persuasion is used, through the use of visual rhetorical appeals such as angle and perspective, to consciously (or not) support or contest ideologies and agendas. Because these images are influential, it is important to see what methods of identification the rhetors use, and to whose benefit.

Theory of form.

Blended with dramatism is Burke’s theory of form, which is “the creation of an appetite in the mind of the auditor, and the adequate satisfying of that appetite” (Burke, 1968, p. 31). In other words, form is what unites audience and artist through means of identification; “form thus can be seen as the vehicle by which patterns of experience are symbolized and transmitted from artist to audience […] the symbol is easiest to transmit when the artist’s pattern of experience is close to the audience’s” (Kimberling, 1982, p. 49). Thus, form can be a speech, a film, or a photograph, for instance. But, in order for the symbol to transmit in the most effective fashion, there needs to be grounds for relationship. For example, a speaker wouldn’t be effective in persuading a group of farmers by talking about her experiences in upper-echelon sports.

There are five aspects of form: syllogistic progression, qualitative progression, repetitive form, conventional form, and minor/incidental forms. For the purpose of this research, I will
focus on repetitive and minor/incidental forms. In repetitive form, there is “consistent maintaining of a principle under new guises” (Burke, 1968, p. 125). Basically, a main theme is reinforced throughout a rhetorical artifact. For example, a politician running for office may have a set of words that are often used to reflect her platform (e.g. inspired, egalitarian, visionary). In works of art, repetitive form can be seen in the clustering of consistent imagery. For example, a set of photos might all feature multiple people or might all be shot at a certain time of day.

Minor/incidental forms refer to elements of style; metaphor, hyperbole, or simile in linguistics, or even line, texture, and contrast in photography. These are important in terms of form, because they contribute to the work as a whole.

Minor, incidental, and repetitive form is salient to this research because I will be analyzing sets of images by each photographer. Within each set, I will look at the main theme reinforced by rhetorical appeals in regards to form. Further, on a meta level, these images are only a small representation of the vast amounts of photojournalism that covers minorities, war victims, and refugees, for example. Perhaps the form in these images will shed light on patterns and reinforced themes in crisis photojournalism as a whole.

**Image and idea.**

In Burke’s *A Rhetoric of Motives*, he briefly writes about his concerns regarding “image and idea.” Specifically, he says, “the ‘poetic’ image of a house is also an ‘idea’ of a house, insofar as it has purely dialectical significance, allowing for verbal manipulations that transcend the empirical or positive” (1969a, p. 84). Basically what this means is that, rhetorically, any symbolic representation of a house can stand for a house, which allows for identification with the audience. For example, in terms of this specific study, think about looking at an image of someone standing before his or her destroyed home. Though this home is not ours, we can
identify with the “poetic idea” of the home, and thus persuasion may ensue. Burke goes on to say that “images may anticipate clear ideas in history” (1969a, p. 87). Here, he is claiming that an image may reveal motive and action when considered symbolically. Refer to earlier sections, in which iconic photos were discussed in terms of how they came to stand in for certain events in the minds of many. This is what Burke means; “images are so related to ideas that an idea can be treated as the *principle* behind the systematic development of an image” (Burke, 1969a, p. 88). Thus, Burke is giving images (and their ensuing ideas) a place within dramatism and rhetoric.

In the context of this study, the theory of image and idea will be instrumental. Photojournalism tends to tokenize identities in the representation of events; there may be an image of a starving child that stands in for the idea of all starving children. When this happens (and it does frequently – think of Steve McCurry’s photograph of an Afghan girl that was featured on the cover of *National Geographic*, 1985, which came to represent the struggle and pain of Afghan women), it is necessary that consumers of media understand the effect of rhetorical appeals in representation. When an image stands in for a whole idea, we must consider the agency and accuracy of representation, and if the cultural identity of the photographer has anything to do with such matters.

**Mode of Pentadic Criticism**

The core of Burke’s writing revolves around his theory of dramatism, which seeks to analyze humans’ symbolic interaction and social exchanges. Dramatism is the root of pentadic criticism; therefore, I will first explain dramatism. I will use this theory to expand on photojournalism’s rhetorically significant space in society. Second, I will explain Burke’s
pentad and the method for performing a pentadic criticism. Third, I will describe the rhetorical artifacts used in this analysis.

**Theory of dramatism.**

According to Burke, all rhetoric takes place under the umbrella of dramatism. Unsurprisingly, the term dramatism is derived from drama (think of theater), in which various actors perform acts in a designed stage to communicate messages or reveal motives, which may or may not have been intended by the rhetor. Therefore, to get a better understanding of the message or motive, a critic will perform a dramatistic analysis in the form of pentadic criticism. Dramatism is the analysis of human action; it is

the logical alternative to the treatment of human acts and relations in terms of the mechanistic metaphor (stimulus, response, and the conditioned reflex) […] along with the contention that mechanistic considerations need not be excluded from such a perspective, but take their part in it, as a statement about the predisposing structure of the ground or scene upon which the drama is enacted. (Burke, 1984, p. 90)

In other words, dramatism aims to understand the root of human action as opposed to simply the motions humans utilize to function. Though motions are imperative to action, it is the choice involved in action that reveals messages and motives (intended or not). Within dramatism, there is a major distinction between “motion” and “action.” Dramatism is more concerned with action, because motion occurs without will, and action occurs with free will. For example, tripping over a stump is a motion, but if the tripper were to will the fall to occur, it would then be an action. Motion can occur with action, but action cannot take place alone. To contextualize for this study, the mechanistic qualities of photography require motion: seeing something to photograph (stimulus), the desire to capture it (response), and pressing the shutter (conditioned reflex). However, it is the action – in this case, the techniques used, such as angle, contrast, distance, etc., that allow for interpretation of motive. Foss et al (1991) put it well when they claim “the
major distinction between action and motion lies in the difference between animality—the biological aspect of the human being that corresponds to motion, and symbolicity—the neurological aspect of the human being that corresponds to action” (p. 191). In other words, motion and action can be seen as arbitrary and symbolic; Burke is concerned with the symbolic.

By applying the theory of dramatism as a way to look at the social world and its cultural expectations, a critic can get a closer understanding of reality in terms of symbolic interaction and social exchange. Taking a deeper look at dramatism, we see that human relationships and human existence are a compilation of abstractions. For this reason, Burke approaches dramatism through a set of five terms, or a pentad, as a means to provide insight on “how persons explain their actions to themselves and others, what the cultural and social structural influences on these explanations might be, and what effect connotational links among the explanatory (motivational) terms might have on these explanations, and hence, on action itself” (Overington, 1977, p. 133). These five terms are act, agent, agency, scene, and purpose. Essentially, all symbolic functions of humans can be compounded into a group of distinctions similar to that of a play, in terms of setting, characters, plot, etc. Each of these dimensions of rhetoric has connotative possibilities, and it is these possibilities that lead a critique to the better understanding of a rhetor’s motive.

Dramatism was first applied to the study of language, but here it will be applied to images, or, the study of visual language. Visual language has characteristics of linguistics, such as the use of metaphor, connoted meanings, and symbolism. Therefore, a dramatistic analysis is suited for this study because, through the pentad, I can carefully analyze the symbolic and connoted messages of visual rhetoric. Because dramatism is concerned with human acts and relationships, it is especially appropriate for this study in which I am seeking a better
understanding of the representation of a cultural group when it is presented by an outsider as compared to someone who shares the racial and national identity of the subject.

**Explanation of pentad.**

Through an application of the pentad, a critic will find “what is involved when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it” (Burke, 1969a, p. xv). Burke’s rhetorical theories mentioned above (dramatism, dialectics, form, identification, and image and idea) work together in the creation and analysis of the pentad. The pentad is created through the dramatistic approach and then the means of identification are analyzed by applying the theory of dialectics to ratios. A critic will then explore the rhetorical artifact through other avenues, including Burke’s concepts of form and image and idea.

The pentad, made up of the “grammar” or, the words “scene (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred),” “act (what took place, in thought or deed),” “agent (what person or kind of person),” “agency (means or instruments used),” and “purpose” function together under dramatism to reveal motive (Burke, 1969a, p. xv). Though Burke has been critiqued for reducing “all philosophy to the manipulation of terms” (Brown, 1969, p. 27), his pentad is an effective way to find the underlying motive of the rhetor.

Here, I will explain each of the five terms of the pentad. Act refers to “any verb, no matter how specific or how general, that has connotations of consciousness or purpose” (Burke, 1969b, p. 14). Thus, the act could be the photographer taking a picture or a subject in a photograph protesting the government. The Agent is “the group or individual who performs the act” (Foss et al, 1991, p. 185). Thus, the Agent could be the speaker or the photographer, but it could also potentially refer to the ego, the self, the super ego, consciousness, will, the generalized I, the subjective, mind, spirit, oversoul, church, nation, or race, for example (Burke, 1969b, p.
The Scene contains the Act and Agent(s) and can refer to the specific location in which the situation takes place, such as school, street, or office building, but can also refer to larger entities, such as society and environment, for example. The Scene can be specific or broad. However, it is important to note, “the scene selected has an impact on the selection of the other terms in the pentad and establishes the circumference of the analysis. No particular description of setting is the correct one; Burke simply points out that how scene is labeled affects the scope of the critic’s interpretation of motivation” (Foss et al, 1991, p. 185). The Agency refers to “the means used to perform the act and the instruments used to accomplish it” (Foss et al, 1991, p. 185). In reference to the example used for Act, the Agency could then refer to using a camera (inserting film, pressing the shutter, exposing the film) or it could refer to participation in the protest through group organization, creation of signs and banners, and yelling of demands, for example. And finally, the Purpose refers to “the agent’s private purpose for performing the act” (Foss et al, 1991, p. 185). This doesn’t necessarily mean “motive,” because the motive isn’t necessarily the same as revealed through the pentad as it is from the Agent’s perspective.

On occasion, a sixth term is used: “Attitude.” Attitude indicates the manner of performing the act, which could be such adjectives as diligently or nonchalantly, for example. Another term that is not part of the pentad but used to describe the pentad is “circumference.” Burke uses circumference to describe the “bigger picture” of the pentad. For example, to look at the circumference of an example of rhetoric, via the pentad, would be to look at all the terms as a whole in as many interpretations as possible.

Of the five terms, Kimberling (1982) says they each “stand in contrastive relationship to the other terms, yoked by a common ground or substance” (Kimberling, 1982, p. 15). Thus, all the terms aren’t entirely independent of each other; they each relate based on the rhetorical
artifact from which they emerge. The terms are meant to be ambiguous and open ended, thus allowing for interpretation from the critic, which we know from earlier sections in this paper is especially important in a visual culture. Each term is viewed in its relationship to other terms, which are called the “ratios” of the pentad; “the dialectical method assumes that one of the five terms will be ancestral in a given situation, functioning heuristically to reveal the central motive” (Kimberling, 1982, p. 18). In this way, all five terms have a synecdochic relationship to each other, meaning, once the analysis is complete, one term will prevail and come to represent the piece of rhetoric as a whole. The term that prevails is the dominant term, which has the strongest effect on all other terms. The dominant term reveals the conscious or unconscious motive of the rhetor.

A pentadic analysis requires the critic to look at the ratios of the terms. This means that the critic will combine all the terms into pairs in order to find the strongest connection to motive by analyzing the relationship between the terms. Essentially, the pentad “enables the critic first to name the elements involved in the act and then to investigate the relationships among those elements. As a result, an interpretation of the motivation of the rhetor whose act is the object of study can be formulated” (Foss et al, 1991, p. 187). There are twenty ratios; analyzing each of them will reveal the most prevalent motive. For example, the scene-act ratio gives most insight into the type of acts the scene requires. The act-agent ratio exams “how acts can remake individuals in accordance with nature” but also how a person’s identity (even if just at that time) requires specific acts (Foss et al, 1991, p. 186). These are just two examples, but they demonstrate how a closer look at the ratios divulges more information about the presented rhetoric. Looking at the pentad in this sense allows discovery of motivation.
Burke asserts that dominant terms do tend to overlap. As evident in this research, dominant pentadic terms did overlap each other. For each set of images, as well as the comparison between both sets, multiple dominant terms were apparent. According to Burke (1969a), “because of this overlap, it is possible for a thinker to make his way continuously from any one of them [terms of the pentad] to any of the others. Or he may use terms in which several of the areas are merged. For any of the terms may be seen in terms of any of the others” (p. 127). Clearly, this “merger” is apparent here. In many instances, terms of the pentad blend together to reveal the motive of the rhetor. Interestingly, when speaking of art, Burke (1969a) asserts that all possible dominant terms relate to purpose. In this analysis, the majority of dominant terms were purpose, though many images also had multiple dominant terms.

Once the dominant term is identified, the motive of the rhetor is then aligned with a corresponding philosophy. When act is the dominant term, the corresponding philosophy is realism. When scene is the dominant term, the corresponding philosophy is materialism. When agent is the dominant term, the corresponding philosophy is idealism. When agency is the dominant term, pragmatism is the corresponding philosophy. And, when purpose is featured, mysticism is the corresponding philosophy.

Though pentadic criticisms have traditionally been used to analyze verbal rhetoric, it serves as a useful analytical tool for visual rhetoric as well. By taking into account the dimensions of the pentad, it becomes clear that there are multiple interpretations of an image that may originally appear to be quite denotative. Using the pentad to critique the rhetorical appeals of an image, we can gain a better understanding of the photographer’s subject position, which influences the way they understand, experience, and tell a story, albeit visually, which in turn affects the way viewers understand cultural groups and their experiences.
Burke’s pentadic criticism is an especially relevant methodology for the analysis of photojournalism because it provides a framework to understand the motivation of rhetors. When first settling down to analyze a piece of visual rhetoric, it is easy to be overcome with emotion, overwhelmed by stylistic devices, and biased based on personal experience or codes of thought. The pentad allows a critic to explore a visual artifact through five terms, which systematically aids in the analysis of motivation by providing philosophical lenses for further insight. I chose the pentad for this study because it is a fitting methodology for analyzing the representation of Kosovars from an insider and outsider perspective by allowing for insight on how the identities of the photographers affect the way they use visual rhetoric to construct, via photojournalism, the identity of Kosovars. Because Burke’s pentadic criticism falls under his theory of dramatism, it is a proper application to the analysis of photography in that it treats all human action as symbolic. Through the method of pentadic criticism, I can better understand how, why, and to what extent visual rhetoric is used, and for what purpose, to represent the groups photographed.

Rhetorical Artifacts and Application of the Pentad

This body of research consists of two different sets of photographs (all of them are black and white). The first set of nine photographs was created by James Nachtwey, an American, in Kosovo in 1999, found in his book *Inferno* (1999). Kosovar photographer Djordje Jovanovic created the second set of nine photographs; he photographed Roma Kosovar refugees from 2006-2007. His photographs were originally found online, but larger files were acquired via email communication. Each of these photographers were chosen because of their social identity, level of experience, and photographic record of Kosovo. Though these two sets transcend time, they both feature groups that are victims of the same Serbian political conflict: Kosovo’s ethnic Muslims in the former, who endured a decade of ethnic cleansing, a bombing raid, and
deportation, and Kosovo’s Roma and displaced persons in the latter, who have been historically ostracized by the mainstream, forced into refugee camps for temporary safety during the Kosovar War, but were then ignored by institutions and bureaucracy, turning the camps into permanent ghettos and slums. Both groups were deported during the war, and both still suffer recurring consequences because of such actions.

In my analysis, I use Burke’s pentad to identify dominant terms and corresponding philosophies. I use the corresponding philosophies to gain insight on the worldview of the rhetor. Burke explains each of these in *A Grammar of Motives* (1969a). When mysticism is the corresponding philosophy, the rhetor is describing a situation by emphasizing unity with a larger, more universal purpose. Realism is the corresponding philosophy when the rhetor focuses on ideas that universal principals are more real than physical objects. Essentially, what is symbolically occurring is more real than the physical objects that allow such an act to occur. Materialism is the corresponding philosophy when the rhetor describes the physical and material qualities of a situation. Pragmatism is the corresponding philosophy when the rhetor seeks to describe a situation by focusing on means and consequences of it. Idealism is the corresponding philosophy when the rhetor defines a situation through the lens that the mind and spirit are more influential than anything else. Each of these philosophies sheds light on the motivation and worldview of the rhetor. By applying these theories to my analysis, I can better understand how each photographer represents Kosovars.

James Nachtwey’s book *Inferno* (1999) includes 39 photos from Kosovo. In order to analyze a random sample, I chose every third image from the set, however I did have to skip two of them because they were photographs of Serbs instead of the minority group, ethnic Albanian Muslims. The other set of photos is by Djordje Jovanovic, taken between 2006-2007. Like
Nachtwey, Jovanovic photographed a group in Kosovo affected by the war. Jovanovic’s photos were originally found online in April 2012, but larger files were acquired from the rhetor via email communication. I received nine files, each of which I printed on an 8x10 sheet to analyze. In the next chapter, I will describe the background of each photographer and all images according to the terms in Burke’s pentad.
Chapter 4: Description of Artifacts

Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe James Nachtwey’s background and selected works. I will then introduce Djordje Jovanovic’s background and selected works. Each image will be described according to the pentad. The pentad, as a methodology of dramatistic analysis, will help me to gain a better understanding of how each rhetor’s motive effects their rhetorical construction of the representation of Kosovars’ identity, experience, and perception.

James Nachtwey’s Background and Photographs

James Nachtwey, an American male, started his professional photojournalism career in 1976 at the Albuquerque Journal in New Mexico. In 1980, he moved to New York to freelance for magazines. Nachtwey has been a contract photographer for Time magazine since 1984 and was a member photographer of multiple photo agencies, including Black Star, Magnum, and founding member of VIII. Major news outlets, such as the Associated Press, CNN, MSNBC, FOX, etc. license their images from the aforementioned photo agencies. Throughout his career, Nachtwey has traveled to El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza, Israel, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, South Africa, Russia, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo, Romania, and Brazil, as well as throughout the United States. He has had solo exhibitions of his work throughout the world, including at the International Center of Photography in New York, the Hasselblad Center in Sweeden, and the El Circulo de Ballas Artes in Madrid, among others. Throughout his career, Nachtwey has received numerous awards, including the Bayeaux Award for War Correspondents (twice), the W. Eugene Smith Memorial Grant in Humanistic
Photography, and the Magazine Photographer of the Year (seven times), among others. He hasn’t produced new work since 2011.

The following is a description of the nine photos I analyzed from Nachtwey’s book *Inferno* (1999). This description gives context to the situation and identity of the Kosovar Muslims in Nachtwey’s photos. The images are not titled, so I will number them chronologically for organizational purposes. In the back of the book there is a description of each image, so I will include that as well. Also, Nachtwey (1999) describes what Burke may have referred to as the “circumference” of the entire set of images; from this point onward, the following should also be referenced when considering the “scene”:

Ethnic Albanian Kosovars were forced to flee their homes during a violent campaign of deportation, pillage and genocide carried out by Serbian armed forces, police, and irregulars. The deportees fled on foot, by horse-cart, tractor, car and truck. Hundreds of thousands crossed into neighboring Albania at the Morini border post. Often the influx of Kosovars was made up of women, children and old people, the men having been taken captive, forced into hiding, or killed (p. 479).

This account provides context of the situation from the rhetor’s perspective. Below are the descriptions of the selected images.
From the Rhetor: “Upon crossing the border at Morini, the deportees were transferred to local vehicles and transported to the camps in Kukës” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: At least two people (a man and a woman) are helping a person (gender unclear) onto the bed of a large vehicle. There are about four people helping push the person up to the bed of the large vehicle. The face of the people pushing from below are not seen, but their hands are all facing upwards as they are helping to raise someone up.

Agent: The deportee being pulled and pushed upward is the agent in this photograph. Without his or her presence, the act would not need to be occurring.

Scene: The border at Morini in Kosovo, 1999. They are outdoors; mountains and power lines can be seen in the distance under a day lit sky with two clouds.

Agency: The “rule of thirds” has been applied, seeing as how the main points of the image do not occur in the center of the frame. There is a heavy amount of contrast used. The six hands reaching up from the bottom of the frame set an unnerving tone, as if they are in fact pleading for help and salvation, however, there is only one hand seen reaching toward their direction.

Purpose: To show the deportation experience of Kosovars during the conflict in 1999.

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8 The rule of thirds is an artistic guideline that suggests a photographer (or painter, illustrator, etc) compose her art with the main subject falling upon the intersection of lines that would figuratively divide the frame into nine equal squares. Doing so makes the piece more compelling than using a center focal point.
From the Rhetor: “The camp established by the United Arab Emirates was surrounded by a fence and guarded by UAE soldiers. Kosovars who had already arrived in Kukës would go to the fence to seek out friends and family who might have been among the daily influx of new deportees” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Five males are gazing into the distance, behind a wire fence, with the hopes of finding loved ones arriving at the deportation camp run by the United Arab Emirates.

Agent: In this case, the agent refers to all five men, as they each have the same longing look in their eyes while being held captive in a deportation camp.

Scene: Outdoors in the deportation camp in Kukës, which is in Albania just south of Kosovo. However, the scene also extends to the situation of the 1999 Kosovo conflict altogether, as this scene is a direct result of the ethnic conflicts in the region.

Agency: This photograph has a heavy amount of contrast. There are two components to the fence; one wood and the other wire. The wire portion is at the bottom, and the wooden emerges from the top with a cross-like structure. This bears biblical undertones. On the left of the frame, there is one man whose eye is glistening in the sunlight, caught between both halves of the fence. On the right side of the frame, there is a man whose arms are wrapped around the wooden part of the fence – he is intertwined between the two parts of the fence.

Purpose: To demonstrate the lack of information, organization, and communication that was provided to Kosovar refugees. This photograph demonstrates that the refugees were given no information on the status of their loved ones, and they had only their own eyes to rely on for the relief of once again being united with those closest to them.
From the Rhetor: “New arrivals waited outside the fence of the UAE camps to be admitted” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Refugees (men, women, and children) are despairingly queued behind a barbed wire fence.

Agent: The refugees are the agent in this photo; though they are of differing ages and genders, they each seem to be a replica of the next: worrisome facial expressions and gazes into the distance for hope or answers.

Scene: Outside the UAE camp; an establishment which was one of the results of the Kosovo conflict.

Agency: There is a unique use of line in this photograph, as created by the barbed wire fence. The barbed wire hovers directly over the agents’ heads, almost as if to show that they are ultimately trapped. Also, each subject has a face in this photograph, though each expression is remarkably similar.

Purpose: To demonstrate the “cattle”-like treatment of Kosovars. They were essentially herded into lines and barricaded by barbed wire fences; which is used to control those that are untrustworthy.
From the Rhetor: “As the Kosovars found their friends and relatives, they exchanged stories of their experiences at the hands of the Serbs” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Refugees are reuniting with loved ones, while demonstrating camaraderie by shaking hands and maintaining eye contact.

Agent: In this photograph, the main focus in the hands, thus, I would claim the refugees’ hands are the agent. It is the hands that are carrying out the recognition of family bond and showing concern.

Scene: A group of five men standing in an open circle at a UAE refugee camp, a result of the Kosovo conflict in 1999.

Agency: This photograph was taken from a low angle; the main points of focus are around the waist area where the agents’ hands are. Out of the five bodies in the frame, only one and a half faces are visible in the top left corner, however, four out of five sets of hands are visible, all of which seem to be aged and endured a lifetime of labor. In the bottom left corner, a man clasps his hands behind his back. In the middle, a man clasps his hands in front of his stomach. On the right side, two men shake hands, while one man’s left hand is facing the camera.

Purpose: To show that despite the circumstances, the values of loyalty and trust towards loved ones remains for Kosovars.
From the Rhetor: “The old city of Djakovica was thoroughly sacked and burned by the Serbs. As they began to return to Kosovo, the residents of the city toured the ruins and often met those from whom they had been separated” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Returning home to assess the condition of ruins and to look for loved ones.

Agent: Kosovars (represented by the two men in this photo) who have been forced to flee their homes and return to nothing but their remains.

Scene: A rubble strewn, dilapidated street corner adorned with litter, power wires, and bricks; all of which are there because of Serbian violence and hatred.

Agency: There is a stark use of contrast and shadow in this photo. In the background, we see a building that looks as if it had been burned and demolished; bricks strewn everywhere. In the top right corner, there is a large building, resembling a home, which seems to be in good condition. In the middle ground, there is a man walking with a bicycle, looking ahead. There are also downed power lines and a shadow from the pole. In the foreground, there is a silhouette of a man’s profile that seems to be grimacing.

Purpose: The agents are trying to make a judgment on the state of their lives; by assessing their city, they are coming to terms with where their lives will go from here; without homes to return to, their purpose is to band together with loved ones and make a plan for starting over.
From the Rhetor: “Men just returned to their homes in Bellanica told stories about what had happened” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Recalling recent events of the attacks on Kosovo and sharing those memories with others.

Agent: Three Kosovar men (two visible and one whose right hand is outstretched in the frame).

Scene: Directly in front of a demolished building in Bellanica, of the Kosovo region; a destruction resulting from the ethnic conflict.

Agency: The angle from this photograph is tilted upward from eye level of the photographer. In the background there is a destroyed building; in the middle ground there are two elderly men, both wearing hats, facing each other as if in conversation; in the foreground there is an outstretched hand pointing towards the left side of the frame. It’s midday and the lighting is harsh; the men are squinting. It is clear that the three of them are engaged in conversation.

Purpose: To show the extent of damaging effects from the air strike.
From the Rhetor: “Throughout Kosovo the ethnic Albanians returned to their destroyed homesteads” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: A man and a young girl stand inside a destroyed building while looking outward, both with solemn expressions.

Agent: The man and young girl (around 2-3), though only two individual people, represent the “family unit” that has been affected by the conflict. Unlike other photos in this set, this image demonstrates that it was not only adults who had to deal with the consequences of the conflict, but children as well.

Scene: A destroyed, cavernous building (likely a home, based on the rhetor’s comment) in post-conflict Kosovo.

Agency: This image is a wide shot of a building. There is no sky; no nature. All the viewer sees is concrete and brick, with two people inside. The people are small in comparison; as if to an overwhelming amount of trauma. The two people are standing calmly, looking head, like they can’t do anything else but visually consume their surroundings.

Purpose: By going inside the home, the agents are reminiscing on the memories that took place within the home. By looking outwards with solemn expressions, the agents are expressing their fear and apprehension towards the efforts it will take to rebuild, let alone the uncertainty of what their future holds.
From the Rhetor: “The remains of the dead were scattered throughout Kosovo. The Serbs killed livestock as well as people, and the bodies of horses were found by the side of a country road in Studime and in the yard of a burned farmhouse in Novo Selo” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: The complete destruction of everything in the enemy’s path, including homes and innocent animals.

Agent: Serbian Nationalists.

Scene: The interior and exterior of a burned farmhouse in Novo Selo.

Agency: This is a wide shot in which both the interior and exterior of a home are visible. The home is completely destroyed; there is absolutely nothing left inside. Everything has been burned to the ground. The only remains are hundreds of very small pieces of the house’s roof that have fallen to the ground. Through the space where a window used to be, there is a body of a dead horse. It is not clear how the horse has died, but its body has begun to decay.

Purpose: To cleanse Serbia of ethnic impurity by destroying lives, livelihoods, and homes of Albanian Muslims in Kosovo.
From the Rhetor: “The Serbian retreat coincided with the ripening of the hayfields. The returning deportees set about reaping their crops without delay. A farmer carried scythes for his family in the town of Kijevo” (Nachtwey, 1999, p. 479).

Act: Carrying farming tools to the hayfields.
Agent: An adult male farmer who recently returned to Kosovo after deportation.
Scene: In the town of Kijevo, the agent walks down a road past a large destroyed home which seems to be missing a roof. There are overgrown bushes in his path, but he diligently carries on beneath a cloudy sky.
Agency: This is a dark image. They sky is ominous and takes up much of the frame. On the left of the frame, there is a large house that seems to have been burned and is missing a roof. On the right, the scythes are large as well, appearing to be larger than the house. The agent is the smallest object in this photo, as if to show his powerlessness in the situation. The scythe has strong connotations of the Communist sickle motif.
Purpose: By taking advantage of the farming season, the agent is making an attempt to return life to normal. After the terrible conflict, the agent finds a way to cope by returning to the fields.

Djordje Jovanovic’s Background and Photographs

Djordje Jovanovic attended the High School for Design and went to college at the Academy of Art, both in Belgrade, Serbia. Throughout his professional career, he has worked as a photojournalist for multiple Serbian newspapers, including *Tanjug*, *Kurir*, and *Gazeta*. In 2007, Jovanovic co-founded an art, mainly photography, magazine called *Xaoc*, which means ‘chaos’ in Serbian. The digital magazine, though no longer in existence, gained popularity
throughout Europe because of its Serbian and English segments. The goal of this magazine was to feature up and coming local photographers to showcase new viewpoints in an “internationally oriented media scene” (Lutton, 2008). Also in 2007, Jovanovic began working as a photographer for the Color Press Group, which is the largest magazine publisher in Southeastern Europe. It was while working for the Color Press Group that Jovanovic began photographing Roma refugees in his native Kosovo. His experience photographing this group inspired him to start the Victims of Serbian Politics project. This project raises awareness of the treatment, living conditions, and hardships of Kosovo’s Roma population, while also encouraging the public to work with aid organizations to ameliorate the situation. Though Jovanovic is still in the beginning of his career, he has done projects throughout Europe and will continue to do so. He has a distinct online presence, with frequent updates to his blog, Vimeo page, Flickr, and Facebook. He has also been featured on numerous art blogs, such as DVA Foto and You’ve Been Seen. Through his Internet presence, he has been able to curate a following of fans all over the world.

Jovanovic photographed Kosovo’s poorest citizens, the Roma and refugees from the conflict, groups that have been experiencing increases in the income gap. The main reason for this disparity is attributed to “the great reduction of economic activity that was the result of a ten-year general political and economic crisis, war in the surroundings, international isolation of the country and NATO aggression” (www.djordjejovanovic.com/victims). Clearly, the groups photographed by Jovanovic are similar to Nachtwey’s subjects; they are all suffering the consequences of the same conflict. These photos are not numbered, so I have numbered them chronologically.
Act: Caring for children.
Agent: The family unit, especially the mother.
Scene: Inside a home, specifically the bedroom. A mother and her two children are sitting on a bed. The mother is breast-feeding a young, nude child. There is an older child sitting on the bed next to them, looking towards the left of the frame.
Agency: There is low light in this scene, making it a dark photo. However, daylight is coming through the bedroom window, leaving a glowing rim light around each subject’s head. The bedroom is cluttered, but each subject seems to be sitting comfortably on the couch. The mother and older child both have blank expressions on their face; they don’t seem to be engaged with each other at all. The younger child appears to be perfectly content on his/her mother’s lap.
Purpose: To show family relationships and the living conditions of Roma.
Act: Holding a worn soccer ball.
Agent: A young Kosovar boy, perhaps around twelve 1999s old.
Scene: Outside a home in Kosovo. In the yard there is laundry hanging to dry. There are barren trees. There are appliances outside the home, such as a stove and perhaps a small refrigerator. It appears to be around sunset, as shadows are stark and long.
Agency: This photo looks like it has been divided in half horizontally; the top half is mostly sky and the bottom half is the home and yard. Transgressing into the top half of the photo are barren trees, including one large one that moves diagonally across the frame. The agent is in the center of frame looking directly into the camera. Half of his face is illuminated by sunlight; the other half is hidden in shadow. There is contrast between the darkness of the home and yard and the white clothing hanging to dry.
Purpose: To show how time is occupied, as well as demonstrate the living conditions of the Roma.
Act: Playing basketball.
Agent: Two male teenage Kosovars.
Scene: An outdoor basketball court. The trees in the background are barren, and there is a wooden building to the right.
Agency: This shot is from a low angle; the rhetor must have been on the ground and shooting upwards. The basketball hoop is in the top center of the frame, the basketball players are in the bottom left corner, and just the top of a wooden building is seen in the bottom right. One of the basketball players is jumping upwards and throwing the ball into the hoop; the other player is walking away from the hoop but looking backwards. The contrast in this photo is strong, as the players are mostly dark with only faces and hands light by sunlight – otherwise they appear as silhouettes.
Purpose: To show how time is occupied.
**Act:** Spending time together with family.

**Agent:** The family unit; a father and four children.

**Scene:** Inside the home in a living room. In this room there is no empty space; every spot on the floor and walls is covered in something, whether that be a rug, furniture, tapestry, or other decorations. There is a lot of clutter. On the left of the frame, there is a young boy sitting on the floor. Behind him on the couch, there are three children. The two on the left appear to be boys (one of them is completely nude). The child on the left is a girl who is writing in a notebook. There is an ashtray on the floor in front of them. The father is sitting on a chair in the right side of the frame. There is an Elvis tapestry above his head.

**Agency:** This photo is taken inside a home during daylight hours, thus there is sunlight coming through the window behind the couch. This sunlight casts a glow around the agents’ heads, making them appear almost angelic. The photograph was taken at an angle, with the right side of the frame facing downward.

**Purpose:** To show familial relationships, home life, and living conditions.
Act: Peering through a window.
Agent: A young Kosovar boy, perhaps 5-6 years old.
Scene: The rhetor seems to be inside a house, shooting this photo through a window. In the center of the frame, a young boy looks into the window. On each side of the frame are lace curtains, leaving only a small portion open to view the boy.
Agency: This photo is very symmetrical. On both sides of the frame, lace curtains hang. Directly in the middle there is an opening between the curtains where the agent stands. There is also a significant contrast between dark and light; the lace curtains on the inside are light and the background outside is dark. The boy is in perfect focus and appears intrigued by whatever is going on inside.
Purpose: To show childhood experience and curiosity.
Act: Standing in a room while smiling at the camera.
Agent: The family unit; a father and two children (a girl and a boy).
Scene: Inside the room of a house. Like other homes in this photo set, the room is cluttered with coverage of most available spaces. A window takes up most of the frame, with the family on the far right side.
Agency: This photo seems to have been shot through a mirror’s reflection, because there is a sign on the door that is a logo for “Lucky Strike,” which is backwards. About two-thirds of the frame is taken up by the reflection of a window, which appears as a large white rectangle. The agents are in the right one-third of the photo. The two children are smiling at the camera while the father is blankly looking at the camera. It looks like he walked into the photo as it was being taken.
Purpose: To show comfort with the rhetor’s presence and the living conditions of the Roma.
Jovanovic, Image 7

Act: Smoking a cigarette.
Agent: An adult male.
Scene: Inside the living room of a home. In the foreground there is an out of focus bouquet of flowers on a doily. The agent is in the middle ground, stoically smoking a cigarette while sitting on the couch. In the background there is a wall that is covered in a tapestry with various framed images (including religious iconography) on top of it.
Agency: This photograph is shot from a low angle. It seems that the rhetor placed the camera on the coffee table and took the picture from there. In this photograph, the agent appears as the smallest object. All of his belongings out-size him. The lighting is coming through in such a way that half of his face is lit.
Purpose: To show comfort with the rhetor’s presence and the living conditions of the Agent.
Act: Catching oneself while falling to the ground.
Agent: A young child, gender unclear.
Scene: Outdoors on pavement. This could be the street or some sort of pavement. The child is the only person and only object in the scene.
Agency: This photograph was taken from the rhetor’s perspective looking downwards at the agent the second before his/her hands hit the pavement. There are stark shadows in this photo. The lack of a visible face on the agent makes the viewer think the subject could be anybody. The agent is completely centered in the frame, in which he/she is falling on a lighter piece of pavement. There is a dark shadow in the bottom right corner of the image.
Purpose: To show struggle and pain.
Act: Looking at the camera.
Agent: Children; a young boy and an older girl.
Scene: Inside of a home, in front of a window.
Agency: This is a wide shot from a low angle; the viewer looks up to the children. There is a lot of negative space in this photo, which is taken up mostly by the window in the background. Because the agents are backlit, there is a glow around the top of their heads. Though their features are visible, their bodies are mostly silhouettes.
Purpose: To show comfort with the rhetor and intimate living space of the Roma.

Summary

It is interesting to note the generational differences between Nachtwey and Jovanovic. Nachtwey was a 35mm film photographer who printed his negatives himself. Currently, he has a website and a Facebook profile, but no other online presence. He gained his recognition during the print age. Jovanovic, however, is a digital photographer. His recognition has come from a combination of his photojournalism in print media and his diverse online presence on social networking sites, blogs, and magazine. These differences represent the potential change occurring in regards to representation and re-presentation: with more widespread access to the Internet and self-publishing resources, more photojournalists have the opportunity to gain recognition for their visual rhetoric. When photojournalists focus on events or situations that effect members of their own community, they have the opportunity to re-present a group to a
global audience, perhaps with a different set of persuasive elements used previously by outsiders. By doing so, there is the potential to present the groups photographed in a different light, perhaps with more justice attributed to their social identity.

After analyzing each of these photos according to their pentadic elements, I have used ratios to determine the dominant term for each photo. Based on this conclusion, I have organized my findings into themes. A detailed description of these findings will help to gain a better understanding of insider and outsider, or self and other, representation, which will be described in detail in the next chapter.
Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the pictures I described in the previous chapter to address my research questions for this thesis. I am seeking to gain a better understanding of how meaning is constructed regarding identity, experience, and perspective of Kosovars when photographically represented by an insider and outsider, and what effect such Other representation and self-representation has on the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars. Therefore, in this chapter, I will first discuss the themes of my findings. Second, I will discuss how my findings relate to identity contestation and construction of Kosovars and the extent to which Other representation and self-representation play a role in the construction of Kosovar identity.

Themes of Findings

Because this is a study comparing the impact of Other-representation and self-representation, the themes of my findings will be discussed in two sections. The first section contains themes from each photographer separately. The second section compares the differences between the two photographers in their approaches and impact of representation. I will apply Burke’s notion of corresponding philosophical terms in the analysis of the themes. I will begin with the analysis of the themes in Nachtwey’s photographs.  

Analysis of Nachtwey’s photographs of Kosovo.

Here, I will identify and analyze the four themes from Nachtwey’s photographs. They are (1) deportation experience; (2) reaction to bombings; (3) coping with circumstances; (4) destruction of homes.
In this image, the key term is purpose. The rhetor’s purpose is to demonstrate the treatment of Kosovars at the border of Morini as they were being deported. Nachtwey’s purpose is to show his audience the circumstances and experiences of Kosovars as they were forced to leave their homes; they were not filed onto a bus, but instead loaded onto the back of a truck like sandbags. By showing a group of people all performing the same act, Nachtwey demonstrates that this treatment was not an isolated incident. In this sense, mysticism, the corresponding philosophy when purpose is the dominant term, is apparent in the identity of each individual morphing into a synechdochic representation of all Kosovar deportees. In Burke’s (1969a) words, “unity of the individual with some cosmic or universal purpose is the mark of mysticism” (p. 287). Mysticism encompasses “those forms of speculative and religious thought which profess to attain an immediate apprehension of the divine essence or the ultimate ground of existence” (Burke, 1969a, p. 287). Essentially, human experience becomes so strongly tied to an artifact that one instance of identification can have widespread generalizability. Thus, there is a characteristic of synecdoche tied with mysticism because “the particulars of the world are
generalized in terms of a universal purpose” (Burke, 1969a, p. 294-295). Mysticism asserts that one particular rhetorical artifact can represent a part for the whole or a whole for the part. Here, in *Image 1*, Nachtwey is appropriating mystic philosophy by using this particular group of deportees to represent deportees as a whole; the purpose of this image is to explain the magnitude of deportees, which Nachtwey does by showing multiple bodies and hands, and the experience of deportees. Nachtwey shows the audience that the deportation of Kosovars appears as an afterthought; his purpose is to demonstrate the lack of organization and planning that went into this movement, evident in the uncomfortable piling of Kosovars onto a truck bed.

There is also the implication of visual metaphor in this image – a rhetorical appeal Nachtwey uses to demonstrate the positive aspects (safety) of being taken away to a refugee camp. For example, in this image there are numerous hands facing upward. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that metaphors relate to humans’ spatial orientations and are based in physical experience. With that said, visual metaphors for happy, good, and health/life have upward spatial orientations, while metaphors for sadness, bad, and disease/death have downward spatial orientations. For example, in natural language, a person may say “cheer up” to encourage another to be more happy, or someone may say “I came down with the flu” to express that they are sick. Contextualized into visual studies, the same metaphors remain constant (Marshall, 2006). When we see an image of a person standing, we assume they are able bodied and healthy. When we see an image of someone reaching up, we can infer that they are praising a higher power or grabbing for a physical or psychological gift from another (such as spiritual salvation). In this image, the hands reaching upward are symbolizing the refugees’ turn toward the better; it is good that they’re being helped, avoiding the bombings will save their lives, and this is something to be happy about.
Further, it is important to note the religious connotation of hands reaching upward. In a Christian church, hands reaching upward are seeking salvation, receiving love from god, and are used as a vessel to send prayer to others, among other things. All of these things are “good,” “happy,” or indicate the gift of “life” – in the material world or afterlife. This is an example of an agency Nachtwey uses to identify with his American audience. By including this visual metaphor, Nachtwey’s audience can be persuaded that what is occurring to the Kosovar Muslims is good. This relates to Burke’s theory of identification. According to Burke’s theory, rhetors, with intention or not, create identification with their audience by emphasizing shared worldviews and perceptions with their audience. Here, Nachtwey is doing exactly that with his American audience, which is mostly Christian. His purpose is then achieved. With the support of these agencies, the viewer understands the deportation experience, but can still believe that the refugees are being deported because its what’s best for them.

Additionally, the hands are also being used to represent all the people that aren’t photographed. In this image, purpose is also tied closely with agent and scene, which Burke mentions as common when purpose is the dominant term. Here, the agent (Kosovar deportees) and scene (the border at Morini) are necessary to make these rhetorical appeals, such as using an upward visual metaphor to focus on the positive aspects of deportation, and represent the group in a way that highlights efforts to keep Kosovars safe and alive. The purpose of this image is not only to show the audience the deportation experience, but to make the audience feel comfortable with it – the subjects seem calm and unemotional, they are complying with their destiny at this moment – thus, the audience witnesses their deportation and thinks, “Well, good. They are being deported, but it’s for their own good.” When the audience feels comfortable with what this image displays, Nachtwey has achieved his purpose.
In Nachtwey *Image 2*, we see a group of men standing behind the fence of a deportation camp. According to the rhetor, these men are looking for friends and family who may be arriving at the camp. In this image, Nachtwey’s purpose is to demonstrate the lack of information, organization, and communication that was provided to Kosovar refugees. This photograph demonstrates that the refugees were given no information on the status of their loved ones, and they had only their own eyes to rely on for the relief of once again being united with those closest to them. All of the subjects in this photo are looking for something or someone. The purpose, then, exposes the experience of uncertainty and lack of freedom and liberty; while trapped behind a flimsy wire fence with wooden boards, Kosovar deportees are left helpless.

In this photograph, there is also a strong influence of agency, or rhetorical appeals, to shape purpose, which represents mysticism. We see an emphasis on end goals here (as opposed to the means to achieve them). The end goal is to get as many Kosovar refugees as possible into the deportation camps, so that NATO can carry through with bombing Kosovo, but the means, which based on the expressions of the agents, seem to lack the communication of pertinent information and organization. The goal is ironic; because the United States, from which
Nachtweg originates, agreed to deport Kosovars knowing that their villages would be destroyed. Deportation then paints the United States as benevolent and concerned with Kosovars’ well-being, but the purpose was still to bomb their homes. This image demonstrates how “one’s own war tends to be depicted as clean, heroic, and just, with images limited to those that are consonant with prevailing sentiments about the war. When such sentiments involve securing and maintaining support for the war, images tend to reflect themes of patriotism, civic responsibility, and the good of the nation-state” (Zelizer, 2010, p. 16). In this photograph, we may not necessarily see patriotism, but we do see civic responsibility, deporting Kosovar residents to keep them safe from the bombings, which also go hand in hand with maintaining the good of the nation-state. This relates to Burke’s concept of perspective by incongruity: we see the benevolence of the United States, but it is through the image of Kosovars in a refugee camp. It is ironic because Kosovars were deported to avoid civilian casualties, yet they returned to hometowns that were annihilated without the resources to carry on. The purpose of this image, which shows men waiting in the deportation camps, tells the audience of a double mystic principal of unification: the Kosovars’ individuality is lost in the unification with Kosovars as a whole, but also, their expressions demonstrate unification with all that realize the paradoxical situation and feel confused or helpless regarding the outcome.

The gaze of the agents is particularly rhetorical in this image. Photographs that feature subjects who are gazing outside of the frame are referred to as “offer” pictures (Verschueren, 2012, p. 29). The use of this agency works to solidify Nachtweg’s purpose. These images are less emotional to viewers, as they aren’t forced to make eye contact with the subjects – the subjects don’t demand anything from the viewer in “offer” pictures, unlike other images of war or traumatic experience in which the subject is gazing directly into the lens of a camera,
demanding a reason, an explanation, and/or an emotional response from the viewer. The lack of emotional involvement on the viewer’s end of the spectrum allows for a psychological disconnection between the viewer and the actual reality of the event depicted. Therefore, Nachtwey’s purpose remains strong; the “offer” picture supports his purpose of showcasing the lack of organization and communication in the deportation experience. The subjects are too concerned with looking for answers elsewhere, outside the frame, which implies that information and communication about the deportation process was not given to them. Kosovars are looking outside of the frame for answers; they are seeking an explanation, and trying to find loved ones.

Another rhetorical appeal, or agency, Nachtwey uses to create identification with his mainly American audience is the framing of a cross-like structure. In the top left of the frame, we see a portion of the fence that quite clearly resembles a Christian cross. Burke’s theory of identification claims that persuasion comes from clever identifying tactics, and this would be one of them. The Kosovar deportees were Albanian Muslims, a religion that is highly misunderstood, stigmatized, and negatively stereotyped. The subliminal insertion of the cross in this image serves as a common ground between viewer and subject; the familiarity of the cross reduces the psychological distance between the two groups. Further, the subject in the far left of the frame appears to be carrying the cross. This is a reference to a familiar Christ-like image that represents a certain type of persecution to which Christians can relate. In accordance with previous research on the visual representation of refugees, it appears that in Nachtwey’s images, biblical undertones are used to create identification with well-known stories that reflect the worldview of his audience.

Also, the philosophy of mysticism elaborates on the loss of individuality. Shaprio (1988) elaborates on the blending of identity, or the loss of individuality, in visual rhetoric:
The rhetoric of the camera, which represents persons on the basis of their appearance, has the effect of tying human classifactory practices to something physically based and visually obvious. The systematic aspects of the camera work—angle of vision, degree of close up, pose, and facial expressions—produce the impression that the subjects themselves are responsible for all of the appearance of sameness within classification. (p. 153)

In this image, we see that the agents are represented as not individually human, but instead generally human. Because the men have similar gazes, their situations are identical behind the fence. In sum, these five men represent not their individual selves, but Kosovar deportees as a whole.

*Reaction to bombings.*

*Nachtwey, Image 5*
This theme demonstrates Kosovars’ reaction to the bombings. Scene is the dominant term in these images. When scene is the dominant term, the corresponding philosophy is materialism. According to this philosophy, facts and experiences of reality are explainable by physical laws. There is nothing that occurs without explanation or reason, because under this philosophy, all matters of the universe have physical causes and effects. In Burke’s (1969a) own words, “with materialism, the circumference of scene is so narrowed as to involve reduction of
action to motion” (p. 131). In these images, the physical motions, the materialistic effects, are most prominent in revealing the rhetor’s worldview.

At this point, Kosovar deportees have been allowed back to their hometowns, which as we can see, have been mostly destroyed. Being in this position – a citizen forced to leave home, only to return to a pile of rubble – is an experience that is not familiar to many. The widely displayed scenes not only showcase the destruction, but encourage voyeurism. Through these images, viewers can be voyeurs and “see” the experience of Kosovars. Like the viewers of Hoop Dreams, the viewers of these photographs can see the “real” Kosovar experience, without ever having to set foot in Kosovo or speak with Kosovars. This audience-subject relationship is hegemonic; there is a selection of information, exemplified by the scene of these photographs, available to the consumer, which serves to reinforce social hierarchies and control. The voyeur, then, has more power and control over their situation than the agents depicted in the artifact.

Nachtwey Image 5 and 6 demonstrate a coming-to-terms with the current situation at hand. In these images, we see Kosovars exploring their destroyed villages and assessing the damage. In these images, the subjects are physically well. Nachtwey Image 5 shows two men walking down a street, separately, while they look around. Though there is a man in the right side of the frame, he is mostly a silhouette. The other man is in the middle ground of the frame. The wide shot and placement of agents in this image was a rhetorical appeal to increase psychological distance between the viewer and the situation represented. The scene is essential; by witnessing the dramatic material effects of the bombings, the viewer has a more thorough understanding of what occurred in Kosovo. The scene gives more information than a portrait; it sets the backdrop for the war. The audience can feel the damage by looking into a person’s eyes in a portrait, but in these images, the audience can see the damage. Viewers see the agents, but
they appear to be all right, therefore the viewer feels at ease. *Nachtweg Image 6* shows at least three men, who according to the rhetor, told stories to each other about their experiences in refugee camps. Unlike the aforementioned image, in this photo we see close-ups of Kosovar men’s faces. However, they are looking at each other, not toward the camera – this is an “offer” image instead of a “demand” image. Though there are humans in this image, the scene takes on a persona as well. The attitude of this image would have been completely different if there was a standing building in the background. The men are not demanding anything from the viewer; they are there, in their village, coming to terms, or coping, with the card they have been dealt. The scene is symbolic and carries an obtuse meaning. As Barthes (1977) would claim, these images carry much more than just a denoted meaning. They symbolize resilience and facing adversity. *Image 9* carries the obtuse meaning of mirroring American values of “pulling oneself up by their bootstraps.”

Though scene is a dominant term in these images, so is purpose. Nachtwey framed the dramatic scenes in such a way with a purpose: to show how Kosovars reacted to the bombings. The reactions to the situation and the coping methods used by those affected are wildly diverse, but generally, society has expectations of how to move forward after a tragedy. According to Burke (1969a), “mystical philosophies appear as a general social manifestation in times of great skepticism or confusion about the nature of human purpose” (p. 288). When used effectively, rhetoric can create identification with a cosmic order, a larger purpose. In these images, the viewers are made to think that Kosovars are a resilient group of people, faced by adversity but willing to mimic American values by “pulling themselves up by their bootstraps” and carrying on with life and work.
Coping with circumstances.

All of these images feature deportees in a refugee camp, seemingly accepting their circumstances. The dominant term for these images is agent. In Nachtwey Image 3 we see deportees lining the fence to await their admittance into the camp. In Nachtwey Image 4, we see a group of men greeting each other and conversing about their experiences inside the camp. Because agent is the dominant term, these images share idealistic philosophies. Idealism affirms that what exists in the minds of humans is fundamentally real; not necessarily their experiences or objects surrounding them that are tangible. According to Burke (1969a) “because of its stress
upon agent, idealism leads readily into both individual and group psychology. Its close connection with epistemology, or the problem of knowledge, is due to this same bias. For to approach the universe by asking ourselves how knowledge is possible is to ground our speculations psychologically, in the nature of the *knower*” (p. 172, emphasis in original). In a broader sense, the universe serves as the “mind” or the “knower” for all people, thus all human experiences are as real and valid as the next. This philosophy contends that each individual chooses his or her outlook; it is an option to become bogged down by negative experiences or to perpetually think positively. In this section, we see the agents idealistically accepting their circumstances.

In each of these images, the viewer is watching agents interact and experience a particular reality; one that is deeply tied to institutional and political forces. Under the philosophy of idealism, reality, no matter whose it is, takes place solely in the mind of those experiencing it – it has nothing to do with anything tangible or material. With that, we see that idealism is a choice – a choice to make your reality a positive or negative experience. Despite the harsh circumstances of this particular reality, in this set of images, we see agents that are not putting up a struggle, but instead amicably coping with their situation. Therefore, agent is the dominant term because it is the subjects in these images that show us their matter-of-fact response to deportation; they are accepting of their circumstances. I speculate that Nachtwey has decided to present agents in this way because, unlike violent war photography, these images show war victims in relatively safe settings. When these images are viewed by outsiders to the Kosovo War, they appear to tell a story of compliance and security. The role of agent in these images is essential because their reaction is very telling; had agents rejected their circumstances,
shown by screaming or crying faces, the audience would have a different understanding of deportation camps in the Kosovo War.

Ironically enough, life at the deportation camp may have been safer than life outside, given the extent of violence that, for decades, led up to the Kosovo War. The reality of living in Yugoslavia throughout the 1990s undoubtedly changed survivors’ outlooks on what matters in life. Burke believes that the meanings we create about reality “are corrected by a real world that tests them sooner or later, forcing us to rethink them and to discard those that do not work” (Carter, 2000, p. 233). Perhaps, then, the idealist refugees represented in these photographs have accepted their circumstances, through trial and error, finding a philosophy that supports their unique reality. The agents in these images give emotion and depth to the deportees and, in a way, depict the situation from their point of view. For example, Image 3, which interestingly contains men, women, and children, demonstrates hopelessness and longing. The Kosovars are longing for this experience to be over; likely not just the deportation, but the Kosovo War as a whole. Their expressions demonstrate collective exhaustion with the situation at hand. They are hopeless because their problems have become so large that a power imbalance has occurred: their problems are now controlling them. It appears that the wire fence in this image symbolizes the power and control over the deportees: it consumes most of the frame by stretches across both sides and is taller than all the people photographed. The fence, an extension of the deportation camp, is in control. Image 4 demonstrates camaraderie and motivation. The men in this image are showing familiarity and acquaintance with each other through the nonverbal behaviors of their hands. They are motivated to maintain relationships or start new ones despite the circumstances.
Destruction of homes.

These two images showcase the material consequences of the Kosovo War. Nachtwey’s Image 7 and 8 both show the destruction of homes. The interior and exterior of these homes are an example of the material consequences of the NATO air strike. Both of these images share scene as the dominant term. As stated above, when scene is the dominant term, materialism is the corresponding philosophy. These images tell a story specific to the NATO air strike; based on the damage, it is clear that the scenes Nachtwey has photographed were subjected to bombings, which implies that the Kosovars were, at this point, not fighting a war on the ground
against each other, but incapable of solving their own conflicts, bringing the situation to the extent that an air campaign was organized to take control. *Image 8* in particular uses scene to show devastation inside and out, affecting nature and the man made.

*Nachtwey, Image 7* also shares agency as the dominant term. In this image, the viewer sees a representation of a specific reality: a father and child stand in their destroyed home, looking outward from the space where a wall used to be. By using such agencies as framing, perspective, and distance, the viewer must comprehend the entire scene before assessing the impact such an event would have on the family. The distance in this shot is significant because it allows the viewer to take in the entire building. By using a wide shot, the rhetor frames a lot of information. The wide shot allows for the story of the bombings to expand beyond the people that were affected. The family is so small in size compared to the hollow destroyed building, yet each member is still standing. Thus, the pragmatic view shows the consequences of the Kosovo War: destroyed village, destroyed home, destroyed innocence. However, the viewers of this image see a reality in which destruction and devastation has occurred, but there are still foundations, literal, in the building, and figurative, in the family unit, left behind.

When agency is the dominant term, the corresponding philosophy is pragmatism. When discussing pragmatism, Burke (1930) writes,

> the pragmatist says simply: "The universe is." And, the universe being, it does-so the pragmatist will situate his knowledge, not in what the universe is, but in how it works. He will seek to understand operations, to find in what order things generally precede and follow one another. He will also consider himself as involved in the process, will recognize that one discovers "reality" in accordance with one's terminology, that a shift in the vocabulary of approach will entail new classifications for the same events. (Intelligence as a good)

Therefore, the philosophy of pragmatism, according to Burke, contends that reality “is,” but the way we describe or demonstrate it can change. Reality is the same, but our methods of
describing it are different based on our cultural backgrounds. Within Burke’s (1969a) conceptualization of pragmatism, there is “major stress upon the medium itself” (p. 282). Thus, in traditional rhetoric, the medium would be the written or spoken word, but in new applications of rhetoric, visual language is the medium. Pragmatism is very concerned with the means to accomplish something and the consequences of doing so. In that sense, pragmatism sheds light on how the social identity of a rhetor (photographer) shapes the way they use their medium (visual language) to represent the reality they experience, and what that representation means for both subject and audience. Furthermore, since each people experience their own personal reality, their descriptions of it, or their rhetorical representations of it, will naturally be influenced by their background.

Shapiro (1988) says, “when we interrogate photographs from the point of view of how they speak/think politically, it is necessary to think of them as discursive practices situated within the general economy of societal practices” (p. 129). Whether or not Nachtwey intended, his photographs make a political statement. They comment on the reality and consequences of the Kosovo War while functioning to show the devastation, but also contest the bombings’ complete demolition of a culture. In the past, bombings that the United States participated in immediately killed tens of thousands of people. However, in this instance, the Kosovars were not killed. All infrastructure may have been destroyed, but resilient Kosovars will pull through. The material devastation is a setback, one that will require decades (if not an eternity) to rebuild. However, what matters is that the potential is there: Kosovars survived, even though their belongings didn’t. Analyzing this image from a pragmatic framework allows for exploration into the reality of the rhetor, which is, in a sense, is a filter for the depiction of the Kosovars’ reality.
Analysis of Jovanovic’s photographs of Kosovo.

In this section, I will analyze Jovanovic’s photographs of Kosovo according to the themes that emerged. Four themes are identified and analyzed: (1) invitation to view home life; (2) occupying time; (3) family and living conditions; and (4) marginalization.

**Invitation to view home life.**

In *Image 6*, Jovanovic’s purpose is to show his rapport with his subjects. He is demonstrating the high level of comfortability the Kosovar Roma have with him, so much so that he has been warmly invited to witness their home life. A dual purpose of this image is to expose the living conditions of the Roma. In this image, the viewer sees a window with makeshift drapes, a ceiling that appears to be falling to pieces, and wiring that is hanging from above. This image is unique, because it seems to have been shot through a mirror. On the right side of the frame, we see a family in a room, which based on the stark borders of the frame within the frame, as well as the backwards “Lucky Strike” logo, gives the impression that this side of the frame is a reflection. On the left two thirds of the image there is a window, creating a glowing effect on the whole image. Using the mirror to shoot this photograph demonstrates the similarity
between both rhetor and subject – they essentially become reflections of each other. Both children in the image have a smile on their faces, and, since the adult must have allowed the photographer into his home, there is an air of comfortability throughout the image. The individuality, amongst family members and between family and photographer, has begun to fade. Instead, they have become so at ease that there is little difference between the photographed and photographer. When viewing this image, one must consider the role of objectivity and subjectivity; did this reflection occur as a result of objective representation or the intention to tell a subjective story? Because a rhetor expresses their point of view, based on their subject identity, it is clear that subjective elements do shine through; even Barthes (1977) asserts that all artistic elements are symbolic. Each has a camera pointed at them; either physically or through reflection. Via this agency, Jovanovic has achieved his purpose of showing the similarity and level of comfort between both rhetor and subject.

In writing on the physiology of mysticism, Burke (1969a) states that the “pronounced sense of unity to which mystics habitually testify involves in the neurological plane some such condition of ‘pure action,’ wherein a kind of dissociation between impulse and movement is established, and all the conflicting kinds of nervous impulse may ‘glow’ at once since they do not lead to overt muscular response” (p. 294). This physiology is clearly evident in this image. The condition of pure action deals with the mechanics of Jovanovic using the camera to take this photograph. There is also cognitive, neurological impulses at work here as well, portrayed through the precise framing and use of reflection in this image, which as a result displays the comfortable, familiar relationship between photographer and subjective. Serendipitously, there is also a “glow” in this image – coming from the window and hovering around the children’s heads.
This glow, which makes the children appear angelic and innocent, is indicative of how “images may lead to mystical transcendence of the person in generalizing the concept of role to the point where the realistic or dramatistic notion of people in situations retreats behind the pure lyric of imagistic succession” (Burke, 1969, p. 300). Imagistic succession refers to the overall cultural repetition of images and representation, according to Burke. Religious iconography uses semiotics in this way; a halo signifies holiness or being sacred. This image – the glowing halo – has maintained its symbolism throughout centuries. Thus, the imagistic succession still holds that a glow around the head represents an innocent superiority. This image suggests, then, that the Kosovar Roma children transcend their personhood and instead reflect angelic characteristics. I will expand on this claim in the analysis of the next image.

This same glow is present in Jovanovic, Image 9. The two children in the frame are looking into the camera while smiling. They are sitting and standing in front of a window. Because they are backlit, there is a glow of light permeating around their heads. Similar to the previous photo, this image demonstrate the agents’ comfortability with the rhetor, their smiling faces indicative of a warm welcome into their home.
The glow also represents what Barthes (1981) refers to as “punctum.” The punctum creates a “blind field” that encourages the viewer to think outside the physical frame of the image (p. 57). It encourages a viewer to think of the symbolized, signified meanings of an image. The punctum “is an accidental detail that somehow slips into a photograph against the photographer’s will. [It] is a surprising, accidental, and unconscious element” (Eileraas, 2007, p. 23). This rhetorical appeal relates directly to semiotics. The glow, the punctum, is the connoted meaning of the angelic innocence of a child. Thus, the rhetoric of the image persuades the viewer to see the agents as people who have yet to examine their identity or their place in the social hierarchy – they are unaware of the brevity of their situation and thus are undeserving of the stigmas assigned to the rest of the Roma population.

Despite all of this, the Roma children are still smiling. Their expressions reveal an upbeat outlook. The children are not stoic or grimacing; their eyes and their mouths nonverbally communicate an attitude of welcoming and inviting the rhetor, and the viewers of his images, to look and be voyeuristic. These images are particularly voyeuristic because the scene is inside the home, or, a set of walls that confine the Roma children. There is an interesting parallel between the literal walls the Roma children are behind and the figurative “walls” that will continue to confine them. Roma poverty is systemic and, in general, passed on from one generation to the next. It is safe to assume that these children, though angelic, upbeat, and enjoying having a visitor in their home, will likely never experience much beyond the “walls” of Kosovar Roma identity.
Occupying time.

Jovanovic, Image 2

Jovanovic, Image 3

Jovanovic, Image 7
Three of Jovanovic’s photographs have the purpose of showing Kosovar Roma occupying their time. In *Jovanovic Image 2*, a young Kosovar Roma boy is holding a worn ball outside of a home in the refugee camp. In *Jovanovic Image 3*, two young Kosovar Roma boys are playing basketball outside. In *Jovanovic Image 7*, a Kosovar Roma adult male is sitting on a couch indoors while smoking a cigarette. These images display a “life as usual” outlook on the Roma experience: the Roma play and relax. We see the agents occupying their time in different ways, all of which can be attributed to their attitudes for coping with the circumstances. Instead of portraying the Kosovar Roma as victims, the rhetor shows them engaging in widely familiar activities.

The rhetor uses agency to deliver on these ideas. He utilized angle, perspective, and distance as means to demonstrate his purpose of showcasing Kosovar Roma occupying their time. In his book on the photography of foreign conflict, especially Afghanistan, Verschueren (2012) explains that the angle from which a photo is taken displays social power and influence. For example, “high vertical angles typically [cast] the viewer in a powerful role above the depicted participants and low angles [demonstrate] the reverse; horizontal angles regulate the degree of involvement, with frontality evoking engagement and oblique angles suggesting detachment” (Verschueren, 2012, p. 29). The distance between photographer and subject is also an example of agency – greater distance between photographer and subject suggests greater psychological distance.

For instance, in *Jovanovic Image 2*, the camera is at a low angle. The agent is still very small in this frame; his home, laundry lines, and barren trees starkly outsize him. It is as if his environment has trapped him in – he is but a small, helpless pawn at the whims of what opportunities his conditions, mentioned above, will allow (or not allow) him. In *Jovanovic
Image 3, a similar sentiment is present. The low vertical angle places the agent in a powerful position, yet the obliqueness of the angle suggests disorientation. Jovanovic Image 7 is the only photograph in this theme with a frontal angle. This is a “demand” image that looks the viewer in the eye, almost as if to ask: What are you doing here? This image is also at an oblique angle, and the agent isn’t in the foreground. Though he harnesses power by looking right into the camera, he is still a small part of the image when the rest of the scene is considered.

Because agency and pragmatism correspond, pragmatic ideals are evident in the display of consequences. In these images, it can be argued, we see the consequences of living as a Roma. The subjects are occupying their time, but the rhetor demonstrates so through the use of very dark photos. The subjects are engaging in leisure or “free time” activities, but none seems to be fully enjoying themselves. The man in Image 7 seems to be thinking: “Is this all that’s left?” It appears that in the Roma refugee camps, kids can run rampant and adults can become isolated. When considering the bleak educational and employment opportunities for the Roma, these representations make sense. Thus, “occupying time” becomes a consequence of the Roma experience.

*Family and living conditions.*
One of the key notions of mysticism is that the unity of the collective is more important than the individual. When one person, or one small group, can represent the collective, mysticism is revealed because individuality disappears. This idea shares many characteristics with synecdoche. According to this figure of speech, a part stands in for a whole or a whole stands in for a part. For example, knowing your ABC’s refers to knowing the whole alphabet, and when the United States wins a gold medal at the Olympics, it actually means that a team from the United States won a medal. As a visual language, photography borrows this trope. Through the rhetorical appeal of visual metaphor, we perceive a person’s face to represent their entire being, which directly relates to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) concept of the face for the person (p. 356). For example, when viewing a photograph of a person’s face, we don’t think, “This is a portrait of a Roma child’s face,” we think, “This is a portrait of a Roma child.” There is an expansion of this idea evident in many of Jovanovic’s photos, where synecdochic representation of the collective becomes unified with the whole group of Kosovar Roma.

In Jovanovic 1 and 4 we see depictions of familial relationships. Each of these images displays the responsibility that goes hand in hand with taking care of a family, such as feeding and supervising children. The representation of family in these images indicates that this is what
Kosovar Roma family life is like, these are Kosovar Roma families, so these are all Kosovar Roma families. When looking at these images, the social class and living conditions of the Roma families becomes evident. For example, in Image 1 there is an immense amount of clutter and the living conditions appear to be extremely cramped. Image 4 demonstrates similar circumstances; there is clutter throughout the room and there are multiple family members occupying one room. This is typical of the Roma experience because families are large and they tend to live in homes that have only a couple of rooms. It is clear that the agents come from a very low social standing. As a person who has visited Roma slums and ghettos in Hungary, I can attest to this claim. The living conditions were unhygienic, unregulated, and dangerous. In fact, it is worth noting that there is an ongoing research project, funded by the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, that is investigating claims about lead poisoning due to the camps being placed near closed mining and smelting complexes (Garcia, 2011).

Pragmatically, Jovanovic shows that strong family bonds are a consequence of the Roma experience. In Image 1 and 4, by using agency to represent collective families in intimate settings, he visually depicts that codes of familial relationships are a large factor in the reality of Roma. In the Roma community, familial identity is very highly valued and serves as a foundation for the culture, which throughout the past has been socially ostracized. There are stark amounts of prejudice and stereotypes against them, not to mention the institutional discrimination they face. With such negative perceptions by outsiders, it is no wonder family relationships shape such a large part of the Roma identity. When family serves as the agent, viewers see the idealistic appropriation of Roma experience. It is the family that creates reality, and what Jovanovic represents here is a reality of nurturing, care, and responsibility. Image 1 shows a mother breastfeeding a child while another sits next to her. Judging by the living
conditions and amount of opportunity for the Roma, especially Roma women, it seems appropriate to assume that the mother in this image is providing her child in the best way she can. She has given her child life, nourishment, and somewhere to live, which though basic, may be all she can provide. Image 4 shows a group of children spending time together with their father. The children appear to be enjoying themselves. The father is gazing into the camera as if to show off his legacy. In these images, the agents aren’t blatantly expressing positivity or optimism, but Jovanovic still constructs an identity of the Kosovar Roma as a group with a unique refugee experience. Viewers are accustomed to seeing images of refugees in tents, bearing the elements, and surrounded by armed militias (as was the case with most refugee imagery in the 1990s). However, these refugees are different; though they are struggling, they are not victims. They are relying on family, for example, to cope with their situation.

Roma are collective; their concerns revolve that around their familial network. Extended families are very close and dependent on each other. Despite the negative circumstances surrounding Roma identity, Jovanovic’s images showcase Roma family life as working to regain or maintain a sense of normalcy; perhaps something that, in different ways, all families strive for. Therefore, the images in this set that showcase the perspective of realism by representing the family as what is more “real” that living conditions and opportunities.

The images from this set connect to Burke’s (1969b) notion of image and idea. Closely related to synecdoche, the image of something is also the idea of that thing. Therefore, these images of family are the “poetic” ideas of family – family as a measurement of success, a support system, and a responsibility. For instance, in Image 1 the rhetor represents the poetic idea of family by showing that a family should provide, nurture, and care. In Image 4, the rhetor shows that a family should engage and participate. Burke (1969b) says, “images are so related to
ideas that an idea can be treated as the *principle* behind the systematic development of an image” (p. 88). In other words, images of family strongly reflect ideas of family, which, within the Roma community, is a pillar stronger than the individual. Thus, the decision for the rhetor to take these images and frame the family in such ways reflects the definition of what family means for Kosovar Roma.

It is also critical to note that these images are particularly voyeuristic. Though scene is not a dominant term in these images, scene still functions to showcase a materialistic philosophy. It is worth noticing that in Image 4 there is an Elvis Presley tapestry on the wall. The presence of this iconic figure represents idealism and aspiration. Though the Kosovar Roma are marginalized in their refugee camps, they still enjoy American pop culture and all that it symbolizes, including success. What we see as the scene in these images is the homes and neighborhoods of Kosovar Roma. The viewer looks at these images, most likely on the Internet, from anywhere in the world and peers into a home or witnesses someone’s struggle. If it were not for these backdrops in the images, our intimate understanding of Kosovar Roma family identity and experience would be less complete. Voyeuristically consuming the representation of others, especially non-dominant groups, is delicately tied to the politics of location, not only geographically but in terms of identity as well. This geographical and social distance increases the likelihood of compassion fatigue. Because of the probable large geographic distance between viewer and subject, the viewer gets to become witness to the home life of Kosovar Roma, but if they aren’t called to action to improve their plight, no one has to know. The viewer can see these images, like other images of struggling, marginalized groups, and take in their representations without being required to feel compassionate.
Marginalization.

These images share agent as the dominant term. The agents in these images showcase distinct emotionality to show social and psychological distance between the Roma and Kosovar society, as well as between the Roma and the viewers of these images. Jovanovic’s display of curiosity in the former and humiliation in the latter image rhetorically function to demonstrate the figurative distance between the Roma identity and the mainstream.

For instance, Image 5 showcases a young boy who, judging by his facial expressions, seems to be curious about the rhetor’s presence. Jovanovic has framed the boy in the center of the image, photographing him from an upward angle. From earlier discussions, we know that
this type of angle is an agency to project power onto the subject. In this sense, the viewer doesn’t think of the child as “less than” her, but instead, similar to or more compelling than her. The upward angle suggests that this child has something to say and the viewer should listen. This is further supported through the use of “demand”: the child is looking directly into the camera, making a visual statement to the viewer. The visual statement seems to be his curiosity, but not his curiosity regarding what is “out there,” instead it is about what is “in there.” The boy is quite literally on the outside looking in. Not only is he outside the home that Jovanovic is inside, the boy, as well as all Kosovo Roma, are outside the social radar. They been forgotten in their “temporary” refugee camps, which after more than ten years they still inhabit; their health is ignored by officials who disregard the pollution and sanitary concerns of the camps; and their educational and employment potential has been brushed off by the government.

The next image in this set also shows distance through an emotional appeal, but here we see humiliation instead of curiosity. Jovanovic Image 9 is a unique image because it showcases a physical struggle. In this image, we see a child that has fallen to the ground. The distance between rhetor and agent in this photograph demonstrates a significant psychological distance, and the downward angle used suggests a great power distance between the viewer and agent. Through this single instance of physical struggle and pain, we can see a synecdochic relationship between the hardships of this agent and the hardships of all Kosovar Roma. Because of their history and circumstances, they have symbolically fallen.

As a whole, these images represent the social and psychological distance between Kosovar Roma and the viewers of these images. Social distance is evident in the depiction of Kosovar Roma on the outside looking in; their social standing is literally and figuratively on the outskirts of society. Their slum is on the edge of town, and their livelihoods are on the edge of
peoples’ thoughts. Psychological distance is evident through the depiction of Kosovar Rom as a struggling, fallen culture, from which it is safe to remain psychologically distant. Their identity and experience is far from that of the viewers of these photographs; like the subject in Image 9, it is easy to look down upon the Roma. With the influence of voyeurism and the effect of politics of location, the Roma can easily remain on the outside, marginalized by society. However, because these images feature children instead of adults, perhaps it will make viewers more concerned for their futures – more willing to decrease the social and psychological distance between viewer and subject.

Identity Construction and Contestation: Differences Between the Two Photographers

In this section, I will discuss my interpretations of the results of this analysis in terms of the research questions. First, I will discuss how Nachtwey rhetorically constructed Kosovar identity, experience and perspective. Second, I will discuss how Jovanovic rhetorically constructed Kosovar identity, experience, and perspective. Third, I will discuss how Other-representation and self-representation affects the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars.

Nachtwey’s rhetorical construction of Kosovar identity, experience, and perspective.

As an American photojournalist, Nachtwey enters the scene of the Kosovo War carrying his Westernized cultural baggage. Though Nachtwey, throughout his career, has photographed multiple wars abroad, it is impossible to do so without the subconscious impression of his native culture. He is inevitably affected by American cultural values, power, and hegemonic practices. Therefore, his identity and personal/cultural experience sheds through when documenting Kosovars.
In terms of constructing the identity of Kosovars, Nachtwey heavily relies on the rhetorical appeal of sameness within classification. He tends to photograph large groups of Kosovars at once, which functions to make the audience feel less responsible for looking. He constructs a representation of the Kosovar experience as one that reflects the West’s civic responsibility. Though ironic, his images represent deportation as a good-natured act on behalf of the West; Kosovars were deported so that they didn’t die while NATO was performing the “absolute necessity”: bombing their hometowns and destroying their livelihoods. Specifically, his images of the experience of deportation use the rhetorical appeal of visual metaphor to place a “positive spin” on deportation as it implies a degree of safety. The deportation camps, erected by officials from the United Nations, with which the United States is involved, are a physical manifestation of America’s civic responsibility towards the Kosovars. Conveniently, this ignores the fact that the United States played such a major role in deciding to conduct the NATO air strikes in the first place and portrays the United States as a savior of humanity. His images place an emphasis on end goals and justify the United States’ involvement in the NATO air strikes by emphasizing positive outcomes: Kosovars get deported for their own safety, they return to their destroyed hometowns in relative physical stability, and begin assessing and picking up the pieces to their lives right away – even so much so as going back to work despite all the rubble. The identity of Kosovar Muslims is homogenous and resilient in Nachtwey’s photos.

Regarding perspective, Nachtwey tends to use more “offer” pictures, which don’t demand anything from the viewer. These images allow the viewer to remain voyeuristic; the lack of eye contact in the rhetoric of the image means that the viewer does not have to deeply consider the perspective of the subject. Nachtwey’s images also give an idealist version of the
Kosovar perspective. His images do showcase the harsh circumstances of their reality, but we see agents that are passively waiting in queues at the refugee camps, that are engaging in conversations with comrades, and coping with their situation by returning to hometowns and maintaining community via socialization. In a word, they are resilient. He represents the Kosovar experience as difficult, but his images still perpetuate stereotypes about Southeastern Europe and former communist nations: that people are can’t manage their own problems, less civilized than Western Europe or other developed nations, and are stalwart.

When viewing Nachtwey’s images as a whole, dialectical tensions become evident. There are conflicting interpretations in his images that may provide differing insights on the meanings of his rhetorical artifacts. His photographs show Kosovars that are resigned to their plight, but still coping with their circumstances. Though there are potential contradictions in these meanings, Nachtwey still privileges a preferred meaning. Based on his rhetorical appeals, I interpret that despite dialectical incongruities, Nachtwey’s preferred meaning promotes the ideology of Western dominance by displaying Kosovars and the Kosovo War in such a way that the audience can identify with the conflict, comprehend the importance of end goals, and feel comfortable in performing the responsibility of keeping Kosovars safe.

**Jovanovic’s rhetorical construction of Kosovar identity, experience, and perspective.**

Jovanovic, a native Kosovar, has spent many years documenting the lives of Kosovar Roma. Jovanovic has first hand experience in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. He has witnessed the deportation of Kosovar Roma, their return to Kosovo, and their placement in refugee camps, which ultimately have become ghettos and slums. Because of this, he has a highly developed understanding of this particular Kosovar experience – just short of being Roma.
himself. Like Nachtwey, it is inevitable that Jovanovic’s social identity is shaped by Kosovar culture and experience. Thus, his identity and cultural background also sheds through when documenting Kosovars.

Jovanovic rhetorically constructs Kosovar identity as on a level playing field to his own. By shooting through a mirror in one of his photos, Jovanovic is making a powerful statement about the similarity and reflective nature of his identity to the Kosovar Roma identity. This connection reduces the impression and influence of power and ideology by creating a signified common frame of reference for both subject and rhetor. He also uses the rhetorical appeal of angle and distance to reduce power. In the majority of his photos, he used low angles and close distances. By doing so, he is placing the subject in a powerful position (because the viewer must “look up” to them) and decreasing psychological distance by using a short focal length. When he didn’t do this, such as in Image 2, he used longer distances that encompass the scene to demonstrate the living conditions of Roma. In Image 9, he used a downward angle for a specific communicative purpose: to demonstrate Roma marginality from the mainstream. Jovanovic also tends to use the backlit “punctum” glow in his images, which is an interesting way to appeal to connoted meanings of holiness and innocence. The rhetorical functions of these photos represent to Kosovar Roma identity in a positive light.

Jovanovic rhetorically constructs the experience of Kosovar Roma in an interesting way; he shows the hardships and struggles in a subtle fashion as opposed to blatantly pointing them out. For example, he shows the poor living conditions of the Roma, but juxtaposes those representations with the depiction of family time or relaxation. Visually, he aptly represents the effects of institutional and organizational factors that have negatively impacted the success and social mobility of Kosovar Roma, but does so in a manner that does not point out their “tragedy”.
Thus, he does not hide their plights, but he does not give the viewer something to gawk at. The deeper understanding of Kosovar Roma struggles comes only after a critical reading of his images. He also highlights the salience of familial identity, which Kosovar Roma use as a means to manage their experience.

Jovanovic has the tendency to use “demand” images. The rhetorical function of these images forces the viewer to confront the subject and requires an emotional response. This is interesting because, as the statistics stated above, Kosovo Roma are ignored, hidden, and forgotten from the mainstream. Jovanovic’s images demand that their identity be recognized.

Further, by using the home, yard, and neighborhood as the scene from which to frame his images, Jovanovic allows the viewers to be extremely voyeuristic at the personal level. Like Nachtwey, Jovanovic’s images demonstrate dialectical oppositions when viewed as a whole. By critiquing the representations in his images from multiple angles, it becomes clear that there are some dualisms regarding the Kosovar Roma experience. Jovanovic positively represents the Roma by showing their support systems and mechanisms (such as relying on family and occupying time), but also shows their grim facial expressions that symbolize despair. Though these conflicting meanings exist, there is still a preferred meaning. Jovanovic’s preferred meaning privileges the representation of marginalization and poor living conditions of the Kosovar Roma.

Other representation and self-representation: Rhetorical meanings and perceived social identity.

As a result of the analysis performed throughout this study, it seems as though there are both similarities and differences in the way Kosovars were represented by each photographer. In terms of similarities, both photographers represented each group’s struggles, hardships, and pain.
From Nachtwey, we saw the complete destruction of villages as a result of NATO air strikes. From Jovanovic, we saw the extremely poor living conditions of Kosovar Roma. These images, because of their widespread presence in the media, in combination with other images that demonstrate similar situations, and the tragic nature of their rhetorical messages, reduce audience’s ability to be aroused to action – they perpetuate compassion fatigue. Though similarities do exist, the differences are starker. There are four main differences between the two photographs.

First, as mentioned above, Nachtwey frames his photographs in such a way that many Kosovars are present; the rhetorical meaning of this creates an identity of Kosovars as a homogenous group. In order to frame photographs this way he uses medium-wide to wide shots, which increase psychological distance between viewer and subject (instead of remove the distance, which is what a close up would do). This rhetorical appeal perpetuates ideologies of domination and enforces compassion fatigue; the audience views the image and sees a minority group struggling, which fits in with what dominant groups are taught to think, and because images with similar motifs have been oversaturated in the media, the audience’s ability to feel compassion is reduced.

In contrast, Jovanovic tends to showcase much smaller amounts of people. He photographs individuals or family units. There was no more than five subjects in the photographs of his that I analyzed, whereas Nachtwey had many more. By focusing on a smaller amount of people, Jovanovic creates a more personal experience between viewer and subject. Granted, this can mostly be attributed to the situations in which each photographer was working. Nachtwey was photographing the deportation and return of Kosovar Muslims, while Jovanovic
was examining post-Refugee life. However, it is still stimulating to consider the implications of how intimate and voyeuristic Jovanovic was able to get, perhaps because of his Kosovar identity. Interestingly, Jovanovic uses a rhetorical appeal that demonstrates his similarity and identification with the Kosovars he photographed. For Jovanovic, using the mirror’s reflection to frame a photograph signifies his similarity and common bond with his subjects. The mirror is significant, because we first consider our own identity through the reflection of a mirror. By seeing Kosovar Roma depicted this way, it creates an extremely personal bond between viewer and subject.

Second, Nachtwey tends to place a positive spin on his depictions of the deportation experience. By using visual metaphor, he presents the Kosovar Muslims’ deportation as for their own good. Though this may be true, it is important to point out how this serves as an advantage towards the United States’ “public image,” which was questioned heavily when the decision to bomb Kosovo was made. Like Nachtwey, Jovanovic showcases the bright side, if you will, of his subjects’ experience. However, unlike Nachtwey, Jovanovic does this by showing the “life as usual” aspects of Roma life. Instead of blatantly focusing on Kosovar Roma struggles, he subtly suggests their existence. Further, with the use of the “punctum,” in which he photographs children with a backlit glow, he demonstrates that regardless of the actual Roma experience, his young subjects are innocent and still unaware of their reality. In a semiotic sense, this actually pulls at the heartstrings of viewers because Jovanovic is presenting the point of view of the helpless child, one that goes largely unheard.

Third, Nachtwey does not use “demand” images, which makes it easier for the viewer to experience compassion fatigue. Instead, he focuses on “offer” images. This rhetorical appeal allows the viewer to look, but not confront the individual realities of the situation. Viewers can
be voyeuristic to an extent; they can bear witness to the conflict in Kosovo without having been there. However, this voyeurism is limited; viewers don’t have to get too personal with Nachtwey’s subjects. Nachtwey depicts his subjects as accepting of their circumstances and amicably coping with their situation. This is interesting because it is a rhetorical appeal to make the audience feel as if they don’t have to be too concerned with the Kosovo War; the people seem to be all right. Not only does this play heavily into ideology, hegemony, and compassion fatigue, it also upholds stereotypes about that part of the world by representing Kosovars as steadfast and apathetic.

Conversely, Jovanovic does use “demand” images. Because most of his subjects are looking directly into the camera, they are demanding an emotional response from the viewer. Rhetorically, this functions to inspire a response. Jovanovic also uses specific agencies, such as angle and distance, to reduce power between audience and subject. Shorter focal lengths and low or direct angles are rhetorical appeals to decrease psychological distance and place the subject of the photograph in a powerful position; when we are looking up to a subject in a photograph, we conceptualize them as important and having great influence. Like Nachtwey, Jovanovic’s images are voyeuristic. But, because they take place within the scene of people’s homes, they are more intimate and focus on more personalized identities. Jovanovic represents his subjects in intimate situations. Because he is a Kosovar himself, he is able to get physically and psychologically closer with his subjects, which results in a more personal and realistic depiction of their experience. He is able to create identification by representing the universalisms that are shared by most, if not all, cultures: familial identity, responsibility, curiosity, embarrassment, nurture, and leisure, to name a few.
Last, embedded within Nachtwey’s images are specific rhetorical appeals to create identification with his mostly American audience. He encourages viewers to identify with the American value of “pulling yourself up by your bootstraps,” which he represents in images of Kosovar Muslims returning to their villages, assessing the damages, and getting back to work. He also incorporates an homage to the Christian cross in one of his images, which serves as a means to form a common ground between audience and subject – generally speaking, as Americans, his audience may not have many similarities with the religious identity and experience of Kosovar Muslims, but the incorporation of this familiar icon promotes identification.

Jovanovic also uses religious connotations in his images, but he does so for symbolic meaning on the grounds of imagistic succession instead of to create identification with his audience. Though this may create identification with some people, the purpose is to demonstrate an innocent identity of Roma children. Jovanovic uses more universal themes to ground identification, such as family, love, hobby, or embarrassment. These themes are much more applicable to many more people; though an audience may not relate to the experience of Kosovar Roma, they can likely relate to Jovanovic’s other subject matters, such as curiosity, playfulness, relaxation, or family time.

Conclusion

This chapter has served to analyze and discuss my findings from performing a pentadic criticism on images of Kosovar identity. Many themes emerged that revealed differences in the way Kosovar identity, experience, and perspectives were represented by each photographer. It appears that a general claim to be made from this research is that the closer the photographer’s social identity is to the subjects, the more aptly they will be represented. In the final chapter of
my thesis, I will conclude my study and discuss the implications and limitations of my analysis. I will also suggest areas where further research can be done in this area.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

Introduction

The purpose of my thesis is to reach an understanding on the differences between self-representation and other-representation in photojournalistic images on the construction of identity. I have engaged the study by employing Kenneth Burke’s Pentadic criticism and by analyzing the persuasive impact of visual rhetoric. Specifically, this study contributes to current research on photojournalism as the medium of rhetorical messages and communicative power by analyzing photographic representation of the Other and self-representation of Kosovar identity. I argue that, because of consistent increases in the access to digital technology and Internet, it will be of growing important to focus on the potential growth of citizen journalism and self-representation in broader contexts. Because of this, it is imperative that when reading photojournalistic rhetorical messages, the local or global audience learns to read responsibly, using a critical mind to contest meanings as portrayed by the visual rhetoric in images. It is important for viewers to ask themselves what bias they are receiving when viewing photographs of Kosovo that were taken by an American versus by a Kosovar. Understanding the implications of Other representation and self-representation in this context will shed light on the magnitude of the rhetorical construction of identity through images in other contexts as well. Thus, the research in this thesis has made an attempt to gain a better understanding of how meaning is constructed regarding identity, experience, and perspective of Kosovars when photographically represented by an insider and outsider, and what effect Other representation and self-representation has on the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars. In this chapter, I will first summarize the study and then discuss the implications of the findings. I will
conclude the thesis by discussing its limitations and suggestions for future studies on visual rhetoric.

Summary of Thesis

In this section, I will first give a brief review of the theoretical frameworks used in this research. The frameworks I used for this thesis are Barthes’ (1977) theory of the rhetoric of the image; semiotics, which as developed by Saussure but contextualized into visual rhetoric by Barthes (1977) and Hall (1997); and Hall’s (1996, 1997) theories of representation and identity construction and contestation. Second, I will touch on the conceptual threads present in my research, including the critical perspective of identity, objective truth and symbolic experience, looking and voyeurism, and compassion fatigue. Third, I will review the method of this research in terms of my decision of artifacts and Burke’s pentadic criticism. And lastly, I will review the findings of my analysis in addressing my research questions.

Theoretical frameworks.

The photojournalistic artifacts of Kosovar Muslims and Roma serve as visual rhetoric. Like linguistic rhetoric, visual rhetoric performs many functions. Barthes’ (1977) theory on the rhetoric of the image operates as a foundation for this research, largely because of what he claims regarding the obtuse, or third, meaning of images, which applies to how the representation of social identities in visual rhetoric can reproduce dominant ideologies and uphold the hegemonic process. This directly relates to the application of Saussure’s concept of semiotics, which was contextualized into visual studies by Barthes (1977) and Hall (1997). Semiotics contends that visual rhetoric has various denoted, connoted, and dynamic meanings that are shaped by interpretation. Therefore, because an audience is made up of individuals with various identities and experiences, their interpretation of visual rhetoric may be different.
depending on variables such as their knowledge and power, historical background, or geographical location. Essentially, by viewing visual rhetoric, the audience may have their judgment of a certain identity, situation, or geographical location effected positively or negatively.

Likewise, because visual rhetoric, in the context of this study, demonstrates the photographer’s point of view, it can generalize and essentialize identities, situations, and different areas of the world. This also relates to Hall’s (1996) theory of representation, which asserts that viewers of a photograph use their knowledge and power to interpret an image, even though the image has a preferred meaning. Viewers’ understanding of the contexts surrounding an image is then reflected on the subject of the image. With that said, there are moral and ethical dilemmas attached to viewing photojournalistic rhetorical artifacts, especially in terms of war contexts. Hall’s (1997) theory of identity construction and contestation applies here because representation influences how cultures view and represent themselves. In other words, the way a culture sees themselves depicted in visual artifacts plays a role in shaping how they construct or contest their own identities.

**Conceptual threads.**

This research appropriates the critical perspective of identity, which argues that struggles and inequalities associated with social and cultural institutions shape identity. In terms of Kosovar Muslims, this research considers the impact of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the ethnic genocide that occurred within Serbia, and the international interventions that resulted in the NATO strike that leveled Muslim towns. In terms of Kosovar Roma, this research considers the effect of marginalization associated with the Roma identity, as well as the forgotten nature of refugee camps, which have been largely ignored by the mainstream. Because the experiences of
Kosovars have been told to the world via the news media, which relies heavily on visual rhetoric, it is important for media consumers to question the photojournalistic representation of such identities as objective truth or symbolic experience. Further, media consumers need to consider if a difference of such representation exists when an outsider or an insider authors visual rhetoric. If so, it is necessary to be critical of how those representations shape the identity and experience of those involved, and to whose benefit.

Likewise, the mere act of looking and voyeurism needs to be called into question as well. The implications of looking, and looking at what type of representation – objective, subjective, Other, self – are important to consider. Voyeurism, in a similar sense, is an increasingly salient concept because the technological innovations our global village experiences every year contributes to less privacy and more avenues to document and display personal life. Because of technological advances mentioned above, minority groups can more easily than ever represent themselves. Inasmuch, voyeurism needs to be reconsidered. As we saw in Jovanovic’s images, which showcased vulnerable subjects in voyeuristic settings, there may be an advantage to gaining voyeuristic insights from an insider. Such advantages could be a more realistic depiction of the event or identity represented, or the voicing of a point of view that has been hidden or ignored.

As an effect of the oversaturation of imagery in media, compassion fatigue, or the reduction of sympathy because of repeated exposure, can overtake viewers. The role of looking and voyeurism in compassion fatigue is critical because people are conceptualizing the world’s minority groups based on, for the most part, Other representations. This leaves media consumers with latent messages about the social identity of those depicted in visual rhetoric. Because these images reinforce dominant ideologies and hegemony, compassion fatigue ensues. However,
when groups, such as Kosovars, can be represented by insiders, visual rhetoric has the potential to contest dominant ideologies and hegemonic practices, which can inspire action and critical thought as opposed to support compassion fatigue.

**Methodology.**

The content of my thesis focuses on the photojournalistic representation of the Kosovar Muslim and Roma experience. Kosovo is an appropriate area for a focus on identity issues because of the region’s history as a former territory in Yugoslavia and a part of Serbia. Kosovar Muslims and Roma, though two different groups photographed at different times, were both photographed while experiencing the effects of the Kosovo War. Kosovar Muslims were photographed by American photographer James Nachtwey during deportation and subsequent return to their villages after the NATO air strikes of 1999. Kosovar Roma were photographed by Serbian photographer Djordje Jovanovic; their living conditions in refugee camps, erected during the Kosovo War, have since turned into ghettos and slums. Though many years later, the Roma are still experiencing effects of the Kosovo War. Another reason that made Kosovo an appropriate area to focus on is that it has enough infrastructure and development to include widespread access to Internet (albeit only for the privileged), which allowed me to successfully search for and communicate with a local photojournalist documenting his own cultural group.

I conducted my analysis using Kenneth Burke’s pentadic criticism, which emerges out of his theory of dramatism. By analyzing the five terms of the pentad, I was able to determine which term dominated each image. Doing so allowed me to find themes across the artifacts, with which I could further analyze the representations of each group by both photographers. In this analysis, I applied Burke’s theories of rhetoric, dialectics, identification, form, and image and idea. I also utilized the corresponding philosophies to each term: mysticism, pragmatism,
realism, idealism, and materialism. These philosophies shed light on how each rhetor
crafted the situations they present in their images.

**Research findings.**

The pentadic criticism used in this analysis revealed much insight on the motives of each
photographer. Nachtwey’s images revealed four themes: deportation experience, reaction to
bombings, coping with circumstances, and destruction of homes. Jovanovic’s images revealed
four themes: invitation to view home life, occupying time, family and living conditions, and
marginalization.

My first research question asked how Nachtwey, an American photographer, constructed
meaning regarding identity, experience, and perspectives of Kosovars during the Kosovo War in
1999. Nachtwey constructed the identity of Kosovars as a homogenous identity. In terms of
agent, he uses rhetorical appeals such as photographing many Kosovars at once and using a
wide angle, such as in Image 1, 2, and 3. This portrays Kosovars as a homogenous group; by
viewing a multitude of people instead of each individual at once, the viewer assumes less
responsibility in looking and feeling drawn to action. For the viewer, this creates a Genovese
syndrome. Viewers think that since there’s so many of “them” (Kosovars), someone else will do
something, some organization must be working to help them, they’re going to be all right even if
I just sit here, view these photographs, and move on with my life. In Nachtwey’s images, the
experience of Kosovars reflects western values or a western agenda, such as Christianity and
American military superiority. In Nachtwey’s Image 2, there were biblical undertones that
created identification with American audiences. Further, his Image 1, 2, 3, and 4 portrayed the
deporation experience as one that Kosovars willingly accepted. Using visual metaphor, he
places a positive spin on deportation. Nachtwey’s Image 1 features many hands reaching
upward, symbolizing life and salvation. He focuses on the end goals of the NATO strike by presenting it as something for the Kosovars’ own good. His images that focus on scene, such as Image 7 and 8, which display the damaging effects of NATO, an organization of which the United States is a part. This demonstrates their hand in military strength, but also their benevolence for keeping Kosovars out of the way during the air strike. Nachtwey’s images also depict the experience of Kosovars with an emphasis on coming to terms with catastrophe and getting back to work. For example, Nachtwey’s Image 5 and 6 depicted Kosovars calmly assessing the damage to their village. In Nachtwey’s Image 9, a Kosovar man returns to what is left of his crops immediate after his return home. Nachtwey’s images represent the perspective of Kosovars as idealistic. Though Nachtwey’s images show conflicting meanings in terms of the emotional response to the air strike by Kosovars, such as coping with circumstances and resigning to plight, his preferred meaning of the West’s benevolent nature is still evident. By using “offer” pictures instead of “demand” pictures, he reduces the audience’s emotional connection with the subjects, which portrays their perspective as less intense or emotional.

Though Nachtwey depicts Kosovars’ harsh reality and dramatic circumstances, he still manages to support stereotypes of Southeastern Europeans. Their grim expressions in Image 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 feature the stereotypes of stalwart and apathetic personality traits. The entire set of images, because each photograph shows Kosovars during and after the NATO air strike, also perpetuates the stereotype that third world nations need assistance and intervention in solving their problems.

My second research question asked how Jovanovic, a Kosovar photographer, constructed meaning regarding identity, experience, and perspectives of Kosovars who are still experiencing the effects of the Kosovo War. Jovanovic constructed Kosovar identity as very familial,
collective, and inviting. Jovanovic’s *Image 1, 4, 6, and 9* show multiple family members at home. This is a representation of the familial identity and collectivity of the culture. He also depicts the Kosovar Roma as inviting; he is able to photograph them in intimate and voyeuristic settings. Many of his photos, such as *Image 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9*, depict the Roma looking directly into the camera with warm expression, inviting Jovanovic’s presence. By photographing Kosovars in their home and representing his subjects in smiling, comfortable fashions, he showcases how deeply he was able to build a familiar relationship with his subjects.

Photographing Kosovars through a mirror, in *Image 6*, is a rhetorical appeal to build a common frame of reference, and to show how identity of both rhetor and subject blend into one. Jovanovic does not ignore the difficult experience of Kosovars who are still experiencing the effects of the Kosovo War. He does so by photographing their squalid living conditions in *Image 1, 2, 4, and 6*. He shows coping strategies instead of direct struggle and the experience of living in refugee camps/slums/ghettos, such as relying on family or occupying free time with sport or relaxation, as in *Image 2, 3, and 7*. Also, Jovanovic shows that the Roma are marginalized by the mainstream. They are literally and figuratively distant from the mindset of most who would view these images. He represents this through *Image 5*, which symbolically represents the Roma “on the outside looking in,” and in *Image 8*, which symbolically represents how outsiders look down upon Roma. Because his subjects are comfortable with his presence, Jovanovic represents a very voyeuristic perspective of Kosovars. Jovanovic uses demand images, which confront the viewer and require an emotional response and consideration of the Kosovar perspective. As a whole, his images have dialectical dualisms because they simultaneously represent the Kosovar Roma in warm and friendly scenarios juxtaposed with stern facial
expressions. Regardless of this conflicting meaning, Jovanovic’s preferred meaning of showing the Roma’s marginality and living conditions still prevails.

My third research question asked how the change from Other representation (Nachtwey) to self-representation (Jovanovic) will affect the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars. Based on the analysis above, it appears that the change from Other representation to self-representation does affect the rhetorical meanings of perceived social identities of Kosovars. When consuming Other representations, the viewer perceives Kosovars as physically and psychologically distant from them. Other representation perpetuates the ideology of domination, which places Kosovars at a low standing in the hierarchy of identity, thus creating perceptions of them as social actors with less power and influence than the viewer. Other representation supports the public image of the rhetor’s nationality and creates identification with American values and audiences. By doing this, the identity of Kosovars is perceived as complying with standards of American behavior by placing trust in military action and decisions of the powerful while still maintaining individualistic goals and motivations. Conversely, when consuming self-representations, the viewer perceives Kosovars as more personally and emotionally connected. This, coupled with the voyeuristic nature of self-representation, gives way to a more individualized and firsthand look at the experience of Kosovars, which allows viewers to perceive the Kosovar identity as more similar to their own. Self-representation, because of its intimate connections between rhetor and subject, creates such a strong identification that it can be applied to a broader audience. In other words, instead of creating identification with a set of values shared by one population, self-representation displays more universal values and experiences that apply to a more diverse audience. This creates the
perception that Kosovars, though their experiences are challenging, still share deep similarities with more people— not just Americans.

**Implications**

There are many implications to this research. Most prominently, it is important to consider what this research suggests about our understanding of visual rhetoric in the realm of identity construction and conflict situations. Generally, media consumers assume visual representation to be true and just, and thus assume the accuracy in representations of identity. With that said, this research implies that there needs to be a shift in the way visual rhetoric, and photojournalism, is understood. Viewers need to be taught, from an early age, visual education and media literacy. It is important to be aware of the construction of messages and hidden meanings in visual rhetoric, especially when considering the oversaturation of imagery in society. Similarly, it is crucial to remember that individuals perceive visual stimuli in different ways; cultural differences shape interpretation, which is remarkably true when considering changes in the roles of institutions, economics, politics, history, and power across cultures.

Consumers of visual rhetoric must also question representation and looking. Questions such as, “does an insider have the obligation to represent their group in a positive light?” and “must an outsider represent a group according to their own values and experiences?” may be asked. Further, “does an outsider necessarily have a different perspective than the group they are photographing?” For photojournalists who have built a career on traveling the world and visually representing different situations and cultural groups, there may be a deeper identification between rhetor and subject.

In that same thread, it is essential to consider the role of voyeurism. Voyeurism is an increasingly salient concept because the technological innovations that our global village
experiences every year contributes to less privacy and more avenues to document and display personal life. As media consumers, we must consider the extent that voyeurism is acceptable, and what difference is made when we consume voyeuristic visual rhetorical artifacts that were created by an insider or an outsider.

Also, there are the implications to consider in regards to the future potential of representation and visual rhetoric. Though this study concerns itself with visual representation in photojournalistic images regarding minority identity in a conflict zone, there is also merit in considering representation when translated to other issues, such as human rights violations, natural disasters, and traditional celebrations, as well as different mediums, such as television, film, and new media. These all need to be given the same critical look and thorough critique.

Lastly, with increasing advances in digital technology, the implications of this research should be applied to the growing potential for citizen journalism and self-representation. Because the results from this study demonstrate a difference in the representation of identity of Kosovars, what it implies is that there may be an advantage for insiders to tell the stories of their own groups. As more of the world gains access to Internet and the tools to document their experience, we may see a shift in the way global issues are reported and visually represented. It may be advantageous to have an insider, someone who has grown up experiencing a culture and all the nuances that go along with life in a certain area, provide the visual rhetoric regarding news events that sometimes an outsider fails to recognize.

**Limitations and Suggestions**

The main limitation to this study is that Jovanovic, the Kosovar photojournalist, is not Roma. Though Jovanovic is not Roma, it was impossible to find a Roma photographer with which communication and access to images would be possible, which is not a surprise once the
Roma’s economic and social conditions are understood. Though this is a limitation, it also serves to support my research because it demonstrates the potential for growth in self-representation. What my thesis shows is that the closer the social identity of the photographer to the group photographed, the more personally they are represented. As a Kosovar, who has lived and grown up mere miles from the Roma, Jovanovic’s images demonstrate a stark difference from Other-representation, and suggest that when the time comes that our planet has widespread digital technology and internet, media consumers may see even more realistic and appropriate depictions of the world’s minority groups as they have the means to visually rhetorically construct themselves. As time progresses and technology advances, this study could be done using a person performing self-representation that is even more closely tied to the group they are representing. Another limitation to this study is the time difference between each set of photos. This time difference exists because I could not find an archive of self-representation in 1999, with which I could access online and communicate with the photographer. Not until the mid-2000s were the photos I used taken and displayed online by a Kosovar photographer working in Kosovo. With this gap in time, there were changes in technology and context. Conducting a study in which inside and outside representation occurred in the same time frame would give even more insight into the questions of this analysis. The fact that I only analyzed eighteen images is another limitation. Had this study analyzed a larger breadth of images, my findings and analysis may have revealed different themes and/or results.

With that said, I have suggestions for further research in the area of representation and visual rhetoric. My first suggestion is to do a closer study; for example, analyze a Roma’s photographs of Roma, a Native American’s photographs of Native Americans, a Muslim woman’s photographs of Muslim women. This would give an even better understanding of self-
representation and perception of identity. My second suggestion is to analyze more images. By doing this, more themes and rhetorical agencies may be revealed that shed light on how, and if, Other and self-representation demonstrate identity and experience differently. This goes hand-in-hand with my third suggestion, which is to do a large-scale study that looks at Other and self-representation across different contexts and different mediums. Other and self-representation may demonstrate different results when minorities and conflict zones aren’t the subject matter. For example, if a human rights issue, a natural disaster, a religious event, a rite of passage, or a celebration were the context of the images studied, the results may be different. It would be interesting to see if the context or issue at hand has an effect on Other and self-representation.

As a species, humans will not stop telling their stories. We will continue to do so via natural language and visual language. However, with shorter attention spans and preferences for instant gratification, our culture as a whole is more heavily relying on visual images. Our images, which were once mud paintings on cave walls, are now digital images with color, pixels, and countless possibilities for sharing and manipulating. Every time we see the representation of a cultural group, we need to consider the root of the image. Whether someone is a professional photojournalist, a college student with an iPhone, or a refugee with a donated camera, their point of view matters.
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