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## **Abstract**

In this dissertation I will explore the ways in which Amnesty International affectively mobilizes the readers of their anti female genital cutting print campaign: The Rose Campaign. I intend to interrogate the incentives behind the operationalisation of the Rose Campaign images and, in submitting the images to careful critique, analyze the utilization of repetition and citation as well as the adoption of symbols which connote certain stereotypes and affective responses. In doing so I hope to highlight the construction of meanings which are often left hidden. The Rose Campaign images are created to respond to ‘female genital mutilation’, which is understood by Amnesty International as a form of ‘violence against women’. By attempting a critical ‘reading of the rose’ which unpacks assumptions and knowledges I move toward a more nuanced investigation of NGO print imagery, submitting it to the type of dialogue increasingly advocated by feminists analyzing written text.

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**Reading the Rose:**

**A Critical Engagement with the Amnesty International Rose Campaign Images**

**“Of all the sweethearts a guy could meet well, I finally chose an American beauty, Rose” (Frank Sinatra 1950).**

In this dissertation I will both investigate the ways in which Amnesty International affectively mobilizes the readers of their anti female genital cutting print campaign and interrogate the effects and use of these advertisement images. In submitting my chosen set of images (see Appendix A and B) to rigorous critique and exploring the utilization of reiteration, and the adoption of symbolic tropes which connote certain stereotypes and emotional responses, I highlight the meanings which are often left implicit. I intend to examine these images as an event site and ask when the reader looks at the image what happens, who is fixed, who is interpellated and how? Amnesty International created these ads in response to ‘female genital mutilation’, which is understood by Amnesty International as a form of ‘violence against women’ (Appendix A and B). The series comprises three individual images, each a rose with its central petals sewn together to evoke the practices which are being fought against. I do not want to suggest that my analysis of Amnesty’s International’s Rose campaign can be generalized and applied to other NGO print imagery. However, by advocating a critical ‘reading of the rose’ which unpacks assumptions and knowledge I hope to suggest more of this type of analysis can be done, and hopefully more nuanced analysis of NGO print imagery can develop.

Amnesty International began as the “Appeal for Amnesty 1961” when British Lawyer Peter Benenson’s article ‘The Forgotten Prisoners’ was published in *The*

*Observer*. Benenson was protesting the imprisonment of two Portuguese students who had raised their glasses in a toast to freedom, but he went on to develop the prominent organization which is today known as ‘Amnesty International’ (AI herein). The first international meeting was in July 1961 where Benenson and his team pledged to build “ a permanent international movement in defense of freedom of opinion and religion.”<sup>1</sup> The organization established the ‘Threes Network’ through which each group ‘adopted’ three prisoners from different parts of the world to support. The history of how AI has grown and developed into one of the biggest international NGOs is documented in the clear and easy to find ‘history’<sup>2</sup> section of the website. However in the long list of events and achievements there is no mention of their campaigns against specific issues including Female Genital Mutilation (FGM herein). In fact, the only references to women are the 1994 campaign on ‘women’s rights, disappearances and political killings’, and the 2004 launch of the ‘Stop Violence Against Women’ campaign.

There is an Amnesty International main website<sup>3</sup> and numerous country specific web sites all with a similar ‘URL’ that concludes with the country of location. The Rose Campaign posters have the Swedish amnesty address on them as that is where they were originally published and from this site one can click on a number of language options. This seems to increase access to the website information, widening it to different audiences, however, clicking on ‘English’ or ‘en’ will actually take you back to the main AI website opening page and not to a translation of the Swedish page. The information and focus on the main page is very different from individual country pages. Amnesty does not provide a way for non-Swedish readers to access information on the Swedish

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/history>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/history>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.amnesty.org/>

page, this limits the access for audiences who do not read the language. On the main site one can enter the search terms ‘female genital mutilation’ or ‘FGM’ and this produces a list of AI bulletins. The bulletins have to be downloaded then one can scroll down through approximately ten categories such as ‘prisons, mental health, death penalty, violence against women’, each with between 2-6 short abstracts about different situations around the world concerning these topics and a link to an outside site where one can learn more. However AI claims no responsibility for or to these outside sites, this is marked by the disclaimer “Contents of external sites are not the responsibility of Amnesty International”<sup>4</sup>. Links are provided for readers yet most of the suggested sites are somewhat inaccessible since they are only available to paying subscribers. Information on the Rose advertisement campaign is also disseminated throughout the internet on both informal feminist blog sites<sup>5</sup> as well as advertising archives.<sup>6</sup> Since it was difficult to access information about the campaign directly from Amnesty International, I gained most insight into the logistical details and public response to the campaign images from either the advertising archives or blog sites mentioned above (see footnote 5 and 6).

When it comes to the politics of Female Genital Mutilation /Cutting (FGM/C) the choice of acronym is not a haphazard selection and as such I think it is necessary to account for my selection here. I will use a mixture of the terms which are available: ‘Female Genital Mutilation’ is more commonly used but is problematic due to the moralistic undertones attached to the word ‘mutilation’; ‘Female Genital Cutting’ (FGC herein), is conversely criticized for its possible desensitization and refusal to recognize the violence of (some

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ACT84/014/2010/en>

<sup>5</sup> for examples see: <http://pandagon.blogspot.com/2007/12/02/amnesty-internationals-ad-campaign-against-fgm/>. <http://www.shamelessmag.com/blog/2007/11/amnesty-international-awareness-campaign/>

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.coloribus.com/focus/collection\\_of\\_women\\_anti\\_abuse\\_ads/11274355/](http://www.coloribus.com/focus/collection_of_women_anti_abuse_ads/11274355/)

of) the practices. As well as employing these two acronyms I will often use 'FGM/C' as it accounts for both strands of thought and thus rejects locating 'absolute' knowledge in either opinion. The use of the combined term 'Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting' is partially necessary as, although I am more inclined towards use of FGC, the Amnesty International literature as well as much of the broader Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) work predominantly uses the term 'FGM'.<sup>7</sup>

In this paper I am seeking to contribute to the continuing questioning of the representational practices engaged in by NGO's addressing issues pertaining to women's sexualities. I also intend to examine how these representations are produced, what they 'do,' and what effects or affects they have. I feel that the deliberations around FGC/M are unsolvable at this time and as such, although I will be engaging with some of the themes involved in the debates such as the orientalist binaries constructed around these practices, I will not be trying to conclude or even add to the search for a resolution to FGC.

In the initial stages of my research I found myself doubting my choice of the Rose Campaign. When I began my research of these images I found myself conflicted as to whether they were in fact problematic. I wondered if perhaps this was the best way to represent a practice that is otherwise un-representable. I am neither advocating for FGC nor am I *against* this awareness campaign per se, I am however initiating a deconstruction of the assumed truths apparent in the ad's imagery. I began to consider what the implications were of using an explicitly 'neutral' choice of the rose image that implicitly refers to a history of othering. The representational norm in anti- female genital mutilation/cutting campaigns has predominantly included photographs, explicit images of

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.amnestyusa.org/violence-against-women/female-genital-mutilation--fgm/page.do?id=1108439>; <http://www.now.org>.



girls and women experiencing FGM, or women symbolized as plastic dolls or stone figures. Compared to images used in other anti-female genital cutting campaigns the rose image is, at first glance, simply a flower and therefore more neutral than using, for example, a person. However, as I discuss later using a flower to represent a person is also problematic. In some ways this advertisement campaign series is a break from the representational norm used in reference to Female Genital Cutting and of the ‘othering’ portrayed in some of the existing anti-FGC/M campaigns<sup>8</sup>. The Amnesty International Campaign’s innovative use of the rose means that the primary image is a flower rather than a person and that leads to a decrease in the objectification and negative imagery that have been historically used. There is also an absence of the newer, yet similarly problematic, ‘positive’ images that Wilson (2010) and Lidchi (1999) critique in their work (I will discuss this further in the literature review). In spite of these concerns, or perhaps because of them, the ultimate decision to use this particular series as the material for my critical discussion was purposeful. The representation of Female Genital Cutting in the Rose Campaign is specifically not the ‘worst’ of its kind. I found that the initial feeling of aesthetic attraction and relative harmlessness was exactly what drew me to it.

In selecting my terminology, I have chosen not to exclusively use the term ‘mutilation’ and therefore have taken some sort of stance on the politics of FGM/C. I am, however, in no way suggesting that an attempt to seek balance, by using ‘mutilation’ and ‘cutting’ when discussing female genital cutting/mutilation, should legitimate a retreat from any analysis or critique of these practices . The answer is never to retreat since “even a complete retreat from speech is of course not neutral since it allows the continued

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/outdoor/against-female-genital-mutilation-plastic-doll-11802655/>

dominance of current discourses and acts by omission to re-enforce their dominance” (Alcoff 1995:100). What I am trying to do instead is emphasize the fundamental importance of recognizing the power structures that shape our ‘knowledge’ and which we invest in as consumers of the Amnesty ad campaigns. What is lost or gained, and by whom, when young women are represented as ‘wounded flowers’ by groups such as Amnesty International? While I am not endorsing female genital cutting here, I do hope that by submitting the Amnesty International Rose Campaign to an intersectional and critical study, I can deconstruct the paths of knowledge construction and unpack the assumptions surrounding this knowledge.

More specifically, in the body of this dissertation I hope to investigate the Amnesty International Rose Campaign in an attempt to “demystify or ‘unmask’ [a] process of naturalization by drawing attention to the constructed nature of the image, for example, by identifying the cultural knowledges that are implicitly referred to by the image” (Penn 2000:232). The AI campaign naturalizes the comparison of women’s genitals to flowers as well as the assumptions and implications that are tied to that comparison. To expose the process by which these images are constructed and the cultural knowledges that they refer to I will focus on what I see as the crucial moment when the Rose Campaign image is seen. The viewer, sign and signifier become affectively intertwined and the potential exists for them to be positioned, moved or fixed; the viewer and signified are then potentially interpellated (Fanon 1952) or ‘called into being’. I will discuss ways that the viewer could be called into being, as a specific type of subject that is looking at the image and therefore at the signified. In the moment that the viewer looks at the image something happens not only in the interpellation of the viewer

as a particular type of subject, but also to the subject signified in the image. This moment relies on multiple layers of meanings and histories that need unpacking to understand how, why, and what happens when the viewer looks at the Rose Campaign. To give my analysis clarity I first discuss the construction of the signified before moving on to the viewer and the interaction with the FGM/C Rose Campaign. Before conducting my analysis of the images, however, it is important to account for some of the existing literature that informs my critique, in particular those that discuss how ambiguous and multiple interpretations of any image are possible.

### **Literature Review: The Best Rose is a Read Rose**

Although it is not uncommon to find anthropological research on Female Genital Cutting and, separately, explorations of the images used for fundraising campaigns, little research to date considers how the responses generated by reiterations of certain symbols used in a NGO awareness advertisement campaigns, such as the rose, collect over time to elicit an overall affective response to an image. I intend to theorise the Amnesty International Rose Campaign advertisements through a specifically intersectional postcolonial feminist lens. I would like to understand if and how these types of images are instrumentalised, or used as a tool to position and construct the identity of an organization or group of people and, in the process, align it with certain ‘common sense’ beliefs or notions which may give it greater ‘common’ appeal. This meeting place of ‘image analysis’ and ‘instrumentalisation’ represents a gap in the existing research and it is this crossroad that I hope to investigate within my dissertation thus necessitating a short introduction to the relevant debates before I progress to looking at the images themselves (Appendix A, B).

In my attempt to rigorously critique the symbolic imagery used in this campaign, imagery which relies on a palimpsest of signification as well as the repetition of certain stereotypes, I have identified four main bodies of literature that are essential to my analysis. I list these four main bodies here, then expand on each in this literature review. The first body of literature contains texts that explore the social construction of race, gender, sexuality and the body; the second body of literature concerns the analysis of imagery; the third takes up affect and its applications; and the fourth body of literature examines discussions of the issue of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting.

The first body of literature explores the work of authors who discuss the social construction of race, gender, sexuality and the body. These authors examine the process of social construction and the ways in which ‘knowledge’ is created and sustained. There is often a context of cultural ‘knowledge’ that needs to be apparent for a viewer to read the connotative levels of meaning expressed by an image that he/she is looking at (Penn 2000:230). This backdrop of ‘knowledges’ can be “practical, national, cultural or aesthetic” (Penn 2000:231) and are labelled the ‘lexicons’ by Barthes (1964:46). My aim here was to discover and understand the specific ‘lexicons,’ or knowledges, needed for the viewer to see and understand what the image of the sewn up rose is implicitly and explicitly referring to in AI’s Rose Campaign. I see this ‘backdrop’ of knowledges as a matrix of concepts, ideas and signs which are built up over time. They are already familiar to the viewer and so when the Rose Campaign images refer to these lexicons it signals certain implicit meanings.

My initial interest stemmed from research done on the ethics of representation and a postcolonial critique of monolithic understandings of the ‘third world woman.’ Work of

authors such as Gayatri Spivak (1988), Chandra Mohanty (1991), and Rey Chow (1994) were particularly influential in the ways that I have approached not only my research methods but also my understanding of ‘knowledge’ as explicitly produced. While reading work by those authors, I became highly aware of the particular set of ‘truths’ potentially at work in the Rose advertisement images. This ‘set of truths’ seems to form a backdrop to the images allowing the viewer to gain a particular understanding of the images. However, if this understanding is constrained and in some ways created, that process of constraining and creating is hidden since the viewer feels as though they came to this understanding or truth ‘naturally’ without influence. With this process in mind I found it necessary to examine discussions of the formation of female sexuality and racialised identities (Gilman 1992, Padgug 1979, Levine 2000, Ahmed 2002). In ‘Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature’ Gilman (1992) traces the ways that science and medicine established criteria with which to distinguish and assign meaning to black female bodies. Gilman uses the icon of the Hottentot female and the icon of the prostitute, as examples of the process by which each became a representative of a whole group. Even though the two were originally unrelated “both concepts fulfilled an iconographic function in the perception and the representation of the world”(206). Gilman begins by unpacking eighteenth century art showing how, through placement and implicit signs in the paintings, the black servant girl is often associated with deviant sexuality. Writers and painters at the time made connections between civility and purity, labelling the black female as primitive and therefore sexually deviant. However, Gilman writes that these labels would have been dismissed as “unscientific by the radical empiricists of late

eighteenth- and early nineteenth century Europe” (211) if there was no way to scientifically ‘prove’ difference. In order to meet their scientific standards and be able to substantiate a scientifically proven difference between the ‘normal’ (white) and ‘pathological’ (black or prostitute) a medical model was needed that assumed the difference between the races as well as cemented ideas of deviance in the body of the prostitute, placing “both the sexuality and the beauty of the black in an antithetical position to that of the white” (Gilman:211). Science and medicine is still used to cement ideas of what is ‘normal’ and what is ‘deviant’ as well as what bodies must be controlled and policed. This is apparent when looking at the understandings of, and reasons given for, genital cutting. While Gilman addresses eighteenth to nineteenth century Europe, Philippa Levine (1994) writes about British India during the Victorian period. She explores the ways in which “an orientaling sociology sought to distinguish, and indeed to fix, differences between metropolitan and indigenous women as a rhetoric of hierarchy which secured proper western femininity to white women”(Levine:5). Levine discusses the close relationship between sociology and the making of imperial policy and the ways this affected women (both white and native, prostitute or not). The urge to count and detail knowledge that colonial officials used to record ‘facts’ about the population in British India in effect created classes of people recognisable by certain attributes. Levine writes that the recording and more specifically defining of these classes produced a set of beliefs, knowledges, about native women and prostitutes. This is significant to my project because the ways in which certain groups of people have been defined and ascribed certain attributes allows for stereotypes and general ‘truths’ about them to be recalled. The set of beliefs about women, their genitalia and third world women is recalled in the

Rose Campaign along with the FGM content. In “Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History” (1979), Robert Padgug writes that while the production of discourses of sexuality are important and prolific, when they are applied to history problems occur. One of the main problems he highlights is the ways in which not only categories but also their definitions change over time. The meaning or boundary (what is included or not) of a category can shift so that what is considered ‘normal’ or ‘peculiar’ changes. Gilman 1992, Padgug 1979, Levine 2000, Ahmed 2002 embed their analysis of the production of raced, gendered, classed and sexualized bodies within the histories of colonization and imperial expansion. They significantly broadened my awareness of how knowledge is produced, increasing my understanding of systems of power and regulation. Because Female Genital Cutting is the subject matter in the Rose ads, I found the mapping of difference and the colonial obsession with a sexual topography extremely relevant (Levine 1994, 2003, McClintock 1995).

Burton (1994) discusses the ways Victorian era feminists constructed and consolidated the ‘primitive’ vs. ‘civilised’ binary in their endeavour to further their own cause of political inclusion. During this process of re-inventing themselves as viable citizens in the eyes of the British patriarchal elite, they positioned themselves as progressive and civilised in opposition to Indian women whom they portrayed as helpless victims of culture and tradition. These constructions of ‘primitive’ vs. ‘civilised’ are still relevant when looking at the Rose Campaign images. The campaign places FGM/C and those involved in the practices squarely on the ‘primitive’ side of this binary. The possibility of the ads utilizing the concept of the ‘injured body’ or ‘wounded attachment’ (Brown 1995; Doezema 2000) led me to investigate further the role of this type of

instrumentalisation of the ‘wounded other’. Wendy Brown argues in *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (1995), that identity politics are formed from a feeling of exclusion from the presumed ‘goods’ or rights of the modern liberal state. In other words, it is through desiring inclusion in to the privileges held by middle-class, white straight men that identity politics is formed, she focuses on feminist, gay rights and anti-racism. Brown writes that this exclusion from is felt as an ‘injury’ and identities are formed in the attachment to this injury or wound (Brown: 398). In “Ouch! Western Feminists’ ‘Wounded Attachment’ to the ‘Third World Prostitute’” (2000) Doezema simultaneously furthers and critiques Burton’s (1994) and Brown’s (1995) work by theorising that Western feminists rely on an attachment to the ‘injured body’ of the prostitute “as main justification for [certain feminists’] own interventionist impulses” (2000:17). Doezema is arguing that the ‘third world prostitute’ serves as a symbolic wound, a site, that western feminists can use to rally against the issues they see as pertinent. She argues that the injured body of the prostitute can be used as a reason to become involved in international debates or policy. Saving the ‘third world prostitute’ relies on colonial constructions of what ‘prostitution’ is, and who a ‘prostitute’ might be. The labelling and definition of a ‘prostitute’ depended on who or what the colonists in India needed that definition to include at the time. These definitions were constructed because who was included in the category of ‘prostitute’ was decided by those in power. These constructions do not consider the agency or context of women’s lives. Doezema is claiming that it is also the desire to save the ‘injured body’, the attachment to a ‘wounded other,’ that is used by feminists as an entry point to discussions and lobbying efforts concerning intervention into international trafficking and sex work. In this paper I argue



that the work that the Rose campaign images do (in terms of creating and/ or affecting subjects) is reliant on the viewer of the image already thinking in terms of, or being aware of, concepts such as the ‘west vs. nonwest’ binary. The campaign also relies on the viewer having a certain fixation on or familiarity with the ‘wounded’ body. This wounded body in Doezema’s work is the body of the prostitute however in the rose images it is the body of the ‘non-west’, the foreign body of the other.

Stuart Hall’s (1997) mode of unpacking images into levels of signification and meaning allowed me to deconstruct the latent signification and meaning in the Rose Campaign images. Each rose seems, at first glance, to be a simple reference to female genital mutilation that Amnesty International is campaigning against. However with Hall’s work on representation in relation to racialisation, stereotyping and the marking of difference specifically added to my analysis I was able to understand that these images had more than just a ‘surface’ meaning. By unpacking the levels of signification and meaning in the images and examining how these meanings are conveyed I was able to examine themes of racialisation and the marking of difference within the Rose Campaign (Hall 1997). The manner in which “people who are in any way significantly different from the majority—‘them’ rather than ‘us’—are frequently exposed to ...binary form[s] of representation” (Hall 1997:229) parallels Mohanty’s work on the creation of the monolithic ‘third world woman’ (which I elaborate on below) (1991). To analyse the Roses in the AI campaign, an understanding of the stereotypes and constructed notions of the ‘other’ or ‘them’ in relation to an opposing ‘we’ or ‘us’ was imperative to understanding what effect the images may have intentionally or not on both sides of this binary.

When representing others, a number of formulations of power and power relations can be mobilized, however Hall's trinity of the "power to mark, assign and classify"(Hall 1997: 259), is particularly pertinent in an exploration of emotive political imagery because it speaks to the invisibility of power and the privilege of knowledge production. Without a thorough investigation of where and who has the power to mark, assign and classify these classifications may be understood as 'natural'. Mohanty and Hall have suggested that the power to mark is often 'naturally' located in the 'West'. Mohanty (1991) explores the role of discourse in explaining and identifying power structures and identifies the intellectual and political construction of the 'third world woman' as a "singular monolithic subject in some recent (Western texts)." She also exposes the use of the idea of the 'third world woman' "which appears arbitrarily constructed, but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of Western humanist discourse"(1991:51) by writers to "colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world" (Mohanty 1991: 51). I build upon her discussion to suggest that the Amnesty International Rose Campaign exercises power, which Mohanty discusses in reference to discourse, by using imagery. The ways in which the images are constructed, and the meaning that is signified within the images, relies on much of the same history and power to mark and signify that both Stuart Hall and Chandra Mohanty theorise (1997, 1991).

Anne McClintock's work on commodity racism (1995) explores the ways in which images can perpetuate the construction of race and gender as well as re-inscribe inequalities along those axes. She discusses the manner in which images can move, and in that movement, carry and transfer meaning. The racialised advertisements she analyses

recalled and thus reinvented race and the colonies. McClintock writes that commodity racism was pervasive in Victorian society where commercial products often advocated white supremacy and endorsed imperial expansion through the advertisement campaigns. Products such as soap (first sold in Britain in 1884) came to signify the ‘cleanliness’ of white civilization. An example of this is a Pear soap advertisement that shows a child with dark skin becoming white after a bath with Pears Soap. As merchandise with these images, on them or promoting them, moved between Great Britain and the colonial empire, an image of ‘proper English society’ was sold to Africa and an image of ‘darkest Africa and the civilizing mission’ sold to Britain (Hall 1997:240). Images, then, are powerful and can be an extremely effective tool for education and the dissemination of ideas (Jasper 1967, Gibson 1971, Reid 1990).

Starting in the 1980s, images of children and women in the Ethiopian famine were used overwhelmingly by charity groups in their media campaigns. “The debate within development institutions especially NGOs concerning the use of images started with the Ethiopian famine in 1984-5” (Wilson 2010:302)<sup>9</sup>. The debates involved concerns around the ethical use of photographs or other images of starving women and children pictured in horrific conditions (deemed negative imagery). The ways in which the images were used in campaigns to elicit an emotional response from the viewer in order to gain donations for a particular charity were also of ethical concern, as was the representation of the people in the images. In her piece “Picturing Gender and Poverty: from ‘victimhood’ to ‘agency’?” Wilson discusses the shift from ‘negative’ to ‘positive’ images and the simultaneous way “neoliberal notions of empowerment and agency have shaped

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<sup>9</sup> For critique of specific campaigns, and the images used by NGOs, see Nandita Dogra (2007), Richie (2010) and Clark (2004).

representations of poor women in development” (2010:301). Images considered ‘negative’ include those portraying people as passive, helpless, suffering victims<sup>10</sup>. The captions or information accompanying ‘negative’ images often encouraged the idea that the people represented had no hope, except from those who may be viewing the ad. ‘Positive’ images that were promoted often showed people as active, directly looking at the camera, working, smiling and overall promoted scenes of production<sup>11</sup>. Instead of showing a passive woman sitting with a child, the ‘positive’ images might show a woman ploughing with a child on her back, including a caption asking for just a little support to make her effort more effective. The shift from ‘negative’ to ‘positive’ images was promoted partly in response to the earlier debates around the images of the Ethiopian famine, as well as in response to the construction of ‘Third World women’ as ‘passive victims’. Mohanty’s discussion of this process and the ‘othering’ that it implies (Mohanty 1991) brought awareness to the effect of ‘negative’ representations of women in development. However, as Wilson discusses, the shift to ‘positive’ images was not without problematic assumptions. The representations of third world women may have moved from being centred on victim -hood to a focus on agency, but Wilson argues that this shift supports a neo-liberal model for development “in which a further intensification of poor women’s labour is expected to provide a buffer for their households against the ravages of neoliberal economic restructuring” (Wilson, 2007). In “Reading NGOs visually” (2007), Dogra reviews existing literature on images used by NGOs, including historical changes. She begins with a discussion of the ‘negative’ imagery prevalent before the 1980s that pictured ‘passive, helpless victims’ often from Africa, as being

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19871221,00.html>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/getinvolved/harvest/index.aspx>

‘saved’ by the heroic westerner. Dogra writes that “such images of ‘starving babies’ trivialised the complex issue of famine by equating it with money and good and also reinforced Africa’s images as the ‘dark continent’”(Dogra, 162). She notes the internal conflict between fundraising and education or awareness within NGOs by explaining that while emotional imagery is effective in raising funds (as seen in the Ethiopian Famine 1984-5) the organisation also came to believe there was also a responsibility to educate children in the west/north about global issues and policies. Dogra’s overview of literature combined with her detailed analytical focus on the Christian Aid images over three decades was incredibly informative. She looked at the impact of discourse and changing debates on the images Christian Aid used, as well as practically implementing Barthes’ method of deconstructing meaning within images. The practical use of semiotics as a method of analysis was helpful in analysing the different levels of meaning in the Rose Campaign images. Dogra’s analysis allowed me to analyse within the Rose campaign the types of constructions that can be implicit and naturalized within images. As discussed by Roland Barthes (1964) and Stuart Hall (1992), there are multiple layers of meaning within one image. The ‘literal’ or denotative level is the surface level meaning under which hides the connotative level of sub-themes or meanings. Even though every image has multiple meanings that are not static, there is a ‘dominant or preferred meaning’ (Hall 1992:134) that the publisher or creator of an image is aiming for. With the rose campaign images, I will attempt to engage with both the denotative and the connotative levels of meanings; and in doing so track the subtle, and obvious, patterns that may lie within.

The Amnesty International Rose Campaign is in essence an advertisement since it is ‘selling’ or ‘promoting’ an idea and an organisation. To explore this idea further I did

some general research on literature dealing with the ethics and politics of advertising (Gould 1994, Cohan 2001). Stephan Gould's research focuses on sexuality and ethics in advertising, he discusses the uses, targets and effects of sexual appeals and ethical concerns that may occur. Although Gould writes that the use of sexuality in advertising has negative and harmful effects, he also states that this process is complicated. Simply regulating or changing the amount of sexual appeals used/allowed in advertisements will not change the negative effects, instead managerial and governmental policies must be addressed. He supports actively changing the types of ads and images used and allowed through company and government policy. John Alan Cohan's article "Toward a New Paradigm in the Ethics of Women's Advertising"(2001) argues that ads can succeed without propagating and repeating 'weakness stereotypes'. He writes that in a changing market it makes sense to change from representing women as sex objects, weak or in need of alteration, to showing confident and more natural women (less re-touched). Cohan makes specific content suggestions for change in the advertisement industry such as increased diversity of age, size and weight in print advertisement, as well as 'imperfect' models shown as leaders and decision makers. This research was important to understand some of the ethics and politics of advertising. As I questioned the use of the rose, and the production of the rose campaign, I wanted to have some familiarity with what ethical questions are raised about images and concepts used in advertisements.

While focusing more specifically on print advertising I came across Richard Pollay's "The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising, 19000-1980" (Pollay 1985) as well as his comprehensive review of scholars that see "advertising as intrusive and environmental and its effects as inescapable and profound" (Pollay 1986).

Pollay examines 2,000 print ads drawn from the ten largest magazines for each of the first eight decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Using content analysis he identifies trends, styles and tactics of the print ads. His results show a shift, within advertising text/imagery, away from focusing on the product toward focusing on the consumer. This shift is seen clearly when images used by advertising companies change from centering the product to showing a person using or needed the product. This is to help the viewer of a particular advert project themselves into the role of consumer. The imagery or text is used to engender a feeling of need or desire in the consumer for a particular product because they see themselves in the advert. The results of Pollay's research are useful as a base for understanding macro-marketing concerns since it tracks changes in advertising by focusing on print ads that the public is most exposed to. However, Pollay acknowledges that the results may not replicate on a micro level, for example the same results may not show if he had looked at a single brand. Though Amnesty International is not trying to sell the rose pictured in their campaign, they are selling an idea or concept. In the process of selling the idea that people should be against FGC and support Amnesty International perhaps they employ the tactics that Pollay found in these magazines. The shift that Pollay describes, the move away from advertisements centering images of the product, to those centering the use of the product and/or a situation where there was a need for that product is useful when deconstructing the Rose Campaign. The shift produced ads that were effective because they allowed the viewers to see themselves in the ad. The viewer is transported or projected into the content of the image and as they relate more closely to the the message of the ad they become the consumer. This process is important for

understanding how and in what ways viewers of the Rose Campaign may also be compelled by the images in the ad and feel transported or projected by them.

My research questions regarding the mobilisation of affect within the Campaign necessitated an examination of the explicit use of affect in advertisements and the affective responses of the consumer and viewer.<sup>12</sup> This literature was highly statistical and used mainly quantitative methods and randomised control trials. The literature included here is important in understanding the ways in which affect is understood differently within advertising research and the types of research and experiments that have been done in advertising in regards to affect as well as the predominant methods used. Sojka and Giese's (2006) research explores the relationship of affect and cognition to the processing of visual and verbal advertising stimuli. In this article they define cognition as "a processing style or mechanism involving thoughts" and they describe affect as "a processing style or mechanism that uses feelings"(997). These researchers studied the way people with certain levels of cognitive or affective receptors responded to verbal and visual cues. Sojka and Giese found that "high-affect individuals (affective processors) respond more favorably to a visual ad than the other groups, and individuals high in both affect and cognition (combined processors) respond more favorably to a combination visual/verbal ad"(1010:2006). When thinking about print ad campaigns and whether the producers use only images or a combination of imagery and text I think this study shows that if there are different types of individuals then a combination ad would

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<sup>12</sup> Mehta 2000 on advertising attitudes and effectiveness; Sojka and Giese 2006 on affect and cognition in processing the visual and verbal; Hibbert, Smith, Davies and Ireland 2007 on the use of guilt in advertising; Chowdhury, Olsen and Pracejus 2008 for a comprehensive analysis of the integration of affective stimuli.



reach the widest audience. It is useful to understand the intentionality and specificity used when designing a print advertisement and why different choices may or may not work. In the case of the Rose Campaign they chose to use small text near the bottom of the page and center a large image. This suggests they were perhaps trying to appeal to both affective and cognitive processing individuals (giving a wider audience to the ad) but perhaps since the image was larger than the text more so to the 'high- affect' individuals. Hibbert, Smith, Davies and Ireland (2007) examine the use of guilt in advertising. Their research examines relationships between the levels of guilt that a person experiences in response to an advertisement and the subsequent donation intentions of that person. The findings of this research show that as the feelings of guilt rise so does the intention of donating to a particular charity. Other questions involved in this research asked how consumers/respondents responded to feelings of guilt and whether their opinions about the particular advertisement or charity effected how they dealt with the feelings. They found that when the respondent thought the advertisement had 'manipulative intent' their skepticism toward the advertising tactics increases and feelings of guilt decrease. In addition, if the respondent had positive views of the charity, trusted them, then the feelings of guilt increased. Chowdhury, Olsen and Pracejus (2008) deliver a comprehensive analysis of the integration of affective stimuli. They explore the different responses to multiple images within an advertisement and find that the affective response is relational to the positive or negative images in the ad. For advertisements using only positive or only negative images, "there is no additional affective impact from using multiple images compared to a single image of high intensity"( Chowdhury, Olsen and Pracejus:16) so one dominant image is sufficient. In this work 'positive' images are those

that might promote emotions such as happiness and love, ‘negative’ images are those that might generate fear or disgust (Chowdhury, Olsen and Pracejus:16). However, for advertisements that use both positive and negative images the overall affective response will be in relation to the number of images (for a positive affective response there must be more positive images). This research is relevant to the Rose Campaign specifically since the producers chose to use negative imagery perhaps to intentionally increase the guilt response and in turn increase donation size to the charity. I find this ads to my suggestion that while Amnesty International is claiming to campaign against female genital cutting they are also, in many ways, using the idea of FGM to elicit feelings of guilt in order to garner support for the organization.

Simone O’Sullivan discusses affects as “moments of intensity, a reaction in/on the body at the level of matter...as the effect another body, for example an art object, had upon my own body” (2001:126). Her work is important to this project because I am attempting to understand the possibility of affective movements from and within images, O’Sullivan investigates the way images seem to gather and hold affect and states that “the existence of affects, and their central role in art, needs asserting. For...affect is...a bloc of sensations, waiting to be reactivated by a spectator” (O’Sullivan 2001:12). If affect is a bloc of sensations and this bloc can be housed or held in an image then I am interested in how this bloc is formed and what is needed to ‘reactivate’ it. Viewing a piece of art for O’Sullivan is an active and dynamic process, an event site. Something happens, something is exchanged between the view and the art, though what that ‘something’ is changes depending on the specific interaction. O’Sullivan’s discussion of art as an event site also influenced the ways in which I investigate the Rose images as an encounter

because if images are able to hold and convey affect then there is a tangible exchange, an encounter between the viewer and the image itself. I want to understand what that exchange is and not only how it happens but also what are the possibilities.

The third body of literature I will discuss is affect. Some of the first influential theorists to engage with affect were Tomkins (1963), Deleuze (1997) and Sedgwick (2003) and so I have tried to engage with and apply their theories to my analysis. I use these theorists as well as authors such as Audre Lorde (1984), Sarah Ahmed (2002, 2004), Lauren Berlant (2000) and Ann Cvetkovich (2003) who discuss affect in relation to political movements, interpersonal, public encounters and ways of applying this the theory of affect directly to my analysis of the Rose images. Sedgwick (2003) and Massumi (1996) seem to focus mostly on the affective freedom and the transformative power of affect. Sedgwick writes about how affect is a ‘free radical’ (Sedgwick 2003:62), similar to Massumi (1996) who sees affect as important because he sees it as autonomous and disconnected from social signification. Sedgwick and Massumi’s concepts of affect as, respectively, unpredictable and autonomous, although invaluable in affect theory, are less significant to my analysis than the ‘negative’ uses of affect invoked in critical race theory. According to Audre Lorde and Sara Ahmed affect actually attaches in quite predictable and repetitive ways, sticking to some bodies and not others. Both of these critical race theorists use affect to trace the ways racism and discrimination attach to certain bodies because of particular histories of racialisation and racism. Audre Lord recounts an example of a white woman on a train moving away from a young black child, there is a look of disgust and fear on the woman’s face and the child wonders if she too should move away from whatever is down there between them. The woman is moving

away from the black child, not from some object between them, the affective response she has is because of a specific history of race in America where black bodies are more easily seen as frightening or disgusting.

Even though I am not discussing the practices of FGM/C directly I feel it is important to cover some of the literature that engages with the debates around, and practices of, female genital cutting. Since the topic of the Campaign is female genital mutilation/cutting the campaign and its images are also embedded in this literature and in certain ways references it. Much of the literature documenting or discussing FGM/C and its impacts rely on descriptive and essentialising language even “culturally perceptive publications include prurient photographs of disembodied female genitals, alternatively, terror-struck little girls are shown undergoing circumcision or in anguish from resulting pain. Scarcely less problematic are the ubiquitous sketches of ‘normal versus circumcised’ genitalia” (Boddy 2007:54). I acknowledge and believe that case studies and autobiographical sources are important, some might say essential (see Njambi 2004a; 2004b; Davis 2004; Castenada 2004; Henry-Waring 2004 for discussion on this topic), to the FGC debates and the literature. However, I concur with Boddy (2007) that images, photographs or diagrams of close-up, disembodied genitalia (typified by Dorkenoo 1994: 6,7,11, 18-19) or comparisons between ‘mutilated’ and ‘normal’ genitals are problematic, and I do not want to re-inscribe the violence of these representations unnecessarily. While resisting the compulsion to document or represent female genital cutting/mutilation practices by describing or picturing them in this manner, I feel it is necessary to define the terms of FGC the Amnesty International Rose image is referring to.

Female genital cutting is an umbrella term which covers a broad range of practices “from sunna – that is, removing the clitoral prepuce – to infibulation – that is, excising the clitoris, the labia minora, and the labia majora and suturing the remaining tissue together to create a minuscule orifice” (Meyers 2000:473). As Moira Dustin succinctly describes the practices of FGC “[take] place in different countries... [and are] carried out on girls and women at ages ranging from a few days old to full adulthood” (Dustin 2010:8). Conventionally, however, this plurality is ignored and lobbying campaigns against FGC present the practices that are most extreme as the ‘definitional norm’ of a cultural and traditional practice that harms and subordinates women and occurs in ‘non-western’ locations. Therefore I will try to build upon the literature that tries to avoid this homogenizing move.

Even though there is a long history of activism against FGC in the countries where it occurs, and often by women who have been involved or effected by these practices in some way, this is rarely mentioned in the academic or popular literature written about FGC/M. In some of the more contemporary feminist work (Dustin 2010, Meyers 2000), the social norms and access to choices that women have are examined, the women are represented as having made autonomous choices from the limited choices available. Instead of representing women as helpless victims with no agency Dustin and Meyers examine how these women may have some active involvement in deciding what they deem as the best choice even if it is ‘the lesser of two evils’. Atoki and Meyers emphasise that women gain benefits or opportunities through the practice of FGC such as marriage, acceptance and/or social mobility (Atoki1995, Meyers 2000). This limited recognition, however, is often undermined by an undertone of cynicism that these women

actually have the ability to make autonomous choices. Volpp writes that “such a construction mistakenly presumes the “western” domestic scene to be egalitarian and empowering and depicts minorities as abject “subjects” of their cultures of origin” (2000:9) perpetuating the idea that there is no autonomy within ‘non-western’ locations as well as the idea that within the ‘west’ women are not affected by social norms.

### **Methodology**

I combined my academic interests in development discourses and NGO work with my extra curricular participation in political art. From this I formulated research questions around imagery used by NGOs and after extensive online research, I came across the Amnesty International Rose Campaign which seemed particularly interesting for the reasons discussed above. My primary route of analysis was an application of the concepts discussed by Barthes (1977) and Hall (1992,1997) of connotative and denotative levels of signification within imagery although my methodology also incorporated a greater emphasis on the affective turn. As this type of interdisciplinary reading of imagery is relatively new in general, as well as to me, it was sometimes difficult to know which approach would be most fruitful and the challenges around representing others, which I expand upon within my main body of my text, contributed to this. Although I considered a methodology which included multiple case studies for practical reasons of space in this paper I decided to focus on one case study. Since my methodology focuses on a close reading of one campaign’s imagery I am aware that sometimes the broader context was not investigated in as much detail.

Linda Alcoff (1995) sees location, the position one is speaking from, as one of the most important elements any writer, theorist or academic can investigate when dealing with representing others. In line with this I hope to address the potential problems that I may encounter with representation and interpretation by using a specifically anti-racist and feminist methodology for my analysis. I situate myself firmly in a feminist framework drawing on the theories of feminists including, but not limited to, Judith Butler (1993, 2009), Sara Ahmed (2002, 2004), Gloria Anzaldua (1981) and Audre Lorde (1995). As a western scholar and member of the academic institution of LSE, and UCSC, I am aware of the privileges this affords me. I believe that I must consider and interrogate not only my own location and positionality but also be aware of the notion of ‘truth’ being unwillingly attached to my location as the author. There can be no location from which ‘the truth’ is viewable (Hartsock 1983). Therefore I reject not only any claim to authenticity of my own, I do not claim to have any innate right to write about my topic, but also attempted to be mindful of this during my engagement with the work of authors and theorists writing from a self proclaimed or implicit claim to authenticity. Some theorists argue that only those within certain groups can authentically speak about that group’s identity (Nnaemeka 2005; Kirby 2005). I reject this notion not because these authors do not have interesting, insightful and critical analysis to add to the body of writing on this topic, but rather because there can be no entirely ‘authentic’ birthplace of knowledge. Even speaking only for oneself is an illusion because there is no neutral place in which the unfettered individual exists, the public image presented has an effect on the internal discourses, and vice versa. Therefore even when speaking for oneself it is important to investigate the subject position and location spoken from as well as claim

responsibility and accountability for what is said because all representations are “always mediated in complex ways by discourse, power and location” (Alcoff 1995: 101). Rey Chow (1994) identifies the dangers in looking for the pure, authentic, native because she sees that this is a fallacy and there is no such thing. The ‘pure’ native does not exist because not only is the native not the non-duped; in fact the researcher who sees themselves as able to find the authentic native must see themselves as the non-duped and therefore, according to Zizek (1992), are actually the duped themselves. In this dissertation I do not want to continue or add to this hunt for an ‘authentic native’ voice. For a pragmatic feminist politics that desires to effect positive social change, some “speaking for” seems unavoidable. However, I hope to unlearn the “female privilege”, as Spivak suggests, by “seeking to learn to speak to (rather than listen to or speak for) the historically muted subject of the subaltern woman” (1988:295). To this end I emphatically recognize the importance of being present in, and accountable for, my work.

### **Body of the Rose**

In the body of this paper I will discuss the interaction between the viewer and the image, but first I will begin with an analysis of what the viewer ‘must’ see or recognize as the signified within the image: the palimpsest of significations that constitutes and fixes the represented in opposition to the viewer. I will discuss three main ways that the signified is fixed and how this works in the images. I interrogate the implicit representations in this seemingly altruistic campaign where young women’s genitals are represented by roses and am interested in the interaction that occurs at the interface moment of viewing the Campaign image. In terms of the desire to identify, the viewer does not want to be ‘the



represented' because it is grotesque, mutilated and 'not right.' The image is a beautiful rose that has been damaged and so there comes the 'pull' away from this, and pull toward aligning with the 'normal' the 'right' civilized bodies of the west.

**“Pink, pale flowers that are like her so pure so sweet so shy” (Stedman 1908).**

This is one example of the well known pattern of poets, from the 1800s forward, who used flower imagery to describe women and their sexual appeal or sexuality. The language of flowers and its use as erotic imagery in literature is discussed by authors such as Bennett (1993) and Goody (1992). These authors describe the ways in which sexual imagery in literature was coded in poems and prose by the use of flower and nature imagery. Bennett writes specifically about American women of the nineteenth century who used buds, berries and seeds as clitoral symbols in their writing. Using Emily Dickinson as an example Bennett elucidates the ways her poems can be understood to have “a highly elaborated vocabulary of images with erotic suggestion...a highly nuanced discourse of female erotic desire”(Bennett:241). Bennett references poems such as T.S. Eliot's “The Waste Land” featuring “hyacinth girl”, and poets such as T.E. Hulme as an example of male poets who denigrated women poets as sentimental but also exploited flower imagery for its potential as sexual imagery. She predominantly seeks to re-claim women's flower poems as powerful statements of female erotic desire. She writes that the Language of Flowers “has been the language through which woman's body and... women's genitals have been represented and inscribed”(Bennett:242). Goody's *The Culture of Flowers* (1992) discusses the cultural meanings and uses of flowers, the importance of written texts in building up a culture of flowers, the artistic

representation and meanings of flowers as well as the multiple ways that trade and communication transferred and transformed attitudes to flowers as well as the symbolic and historical uses. He traces historical patterns showing from the 1800's to the present it has been quite routine to compare women to delicate and lovely flowers. Additionally, it is a common practice to give gifts of flowers as “the rose stands for ardent love or martyrdom. In urban Europe as well as among the dominant populations of South and North America... the rose is the gift *par excellence* from a man to a woman he is courting” (Goody 1992:293). I will argue that the symbolism of flowers has built up through history automatically and ‘naturally’ draws us to think and imagine women and their genitals as petals, flowers and leaves. It is this palimpsest of symbolization that allows the ‘rose campaign’ ads to equate women and their genitalia to the salient features of flowers such as delicate, beautiful and vulnerable. Since “words such as ... rose... possess erotic connotations” (Bennett 1993:239) these connotations slide and move through generations of text and poetry and I argue become so well known that they appear entirely non-constructed (Hall 1992:132). The choice of a rose as the flower is significant since with “the unique significance of the red rose, the meaning depends on the domain of discourse” (Goody 1992:295) therefore, depending on the contextual positioning of the viewer, the layers of meaning may be differently understood or ordered, but nonetheless there *is* a response<sup>13</sup>. There are a number of common understandings of roses that are mobilized in these ads; red roses may symbolize love and romance as well as blood and martyrdom, and white roses are often taken to symbolize purity and virginity (Goody 1992). The discursively constructed link between the ‘natural

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<sup>13</sup> The language of flowers and its use as erotic imagery in literature is discussed further by authors such as Bennett (1993), Spivak (1981) and Goody (1992).

world' and women has been clearly documented as has the erotic symbolism, the 'natural' representation of women's genitalia and/ or sexuality as a flower (Bennett 1993:242). This makes the Rose Campaign both particularly potent and open to translation and movement across international borders. I see this symbolization as performative in that the words build up meaning and form images in our minds. These images hold and transfer meaning through everyday language and folk knowledge which combines to form a language that tangibly effects real bodies through a gendering and affective interaction over time.

### **A(lone), individual**

One of the ways the rose pictured in the image can be interpreted is as a representation of one of the "two million girls" that the text at the base refers to as suffering the "pain of genital mutilation"(Appendix A, B). It is important that even though the text refers to a large group, the rose is a single, lone flower. The rose's representation signals a body, alone and perhaps trapped, literally within the frame of the image but figuratively within the frame of 'not here' (Butler 2009). The frame of the image holds the rose separate from the viewer, the 'here' is the place where the viewer is, and the 'not here' is figuratively represented by the frame as the place where the pain and suffering of the genital mutilation is taking place. Importantly the viewer is close to the 'not here' but separated from it. The represented is located as a victim that needs saving and predicates that victim-hood on an isolation which refuses the possibility for grass-roots and community based challenges and necessitates outside help. The focus is placed on outside help simply by targeting this campaign toward people who have not experienced this

practice, in countries where it seen as ‘other’ and perhaps ‘barbaric’. The women of the ‘other’ place where FGM/C happens are all implicated in this campaign, therefore making local activism seem unlikely.

Although many feminist have challenged the ‘victim’ and ‘saving’ discourses, both Wilson (2010) and Ramamurthy (2003) have specifically explored the ways development discourse uses this idea of women as victims to support certain types of policies. I would argue that AI also evokes this idea of the represented in the campaign image as a lone victim who needs the help of a savior. The ‘victimhood’ of the signified relies on the history and prior construction of the ‘third world woman’ (for examples of this critique see Mohanty 1991; Chow 1994; Doezema 2001). Mohanty critiques the use of the category of ‘women’ and expands this critique to the use of the category of ‘third world woman’ in feminist scholarship. The use of a category such as ‘woman’ that presents a coherent grouping able to be applied universally and cross culturally, elides the multitudes of differences between women. Using this category for analysis further objectifies women and universalizes labels such as ‘powerless’, ‘exploited’ and ‘victims’. “The homogeneity of women as a group is produced not on the basis of biological essentials but rather on the basis of secondary sociological and anthropological universals. Thus, for instance, in any given piece of feminist analysis, women are characterized as a singular group on the basis of a shared oppression”(Mohanty 1991: 56). The problem here is the specific histories and context of groups of women in the global south gets lost and allows for general assumptions in discourse and in policy to be made about these specific women. In “Where have all the Natives Gone?” (1994) Rey Chow proposes ways to re-think the post colonial native. She is addressing those who

seek to find the ‘authentic native’ or define the native. “The ‘authentic’ native, like the aura in a kind of *mise en abime*, keeps receding from our grasp”(Chow 1994:136). She insists that we must see the native as an indifferent defiled image and to write about the native one must realize that it is impossible to go back or to recover the image. Chow identifies the dangers in looking for the pure, authentic, native because she sees that this is a fallacy and there is no such thing. The Campaign also relies on certain stereotypes that, like sticky signs (Ahmed 2004), ride on the back of this construction. The ‘third world woman’ must come from somewhere that is ‘not here’ or ‘not us’. The Rose campaign image does not have to visually represent the ‘over there’ because it is called up by association. The ‘over there’ that lays in the folk knowledge of the West is often mixed from common ‘knowledges’ about Africa, the Middle East or generally the ‘third world.’ In the same way that “Americans ‘know’, and know without even having to think about it, that the Islamic peoples...are backward, uncivilized peoples”(Ahmed 1982:522), the West ‘knows’ that Africa is vast, primitive and dangerous. Even though within the frame of the Rose image there is no visual location for this lone victim, there is a broad and vague suggestion of an ‘over there’ that exists in the imaginary of the viewer. A particular type of ‘knowing’ is assumed about the ‘non-west’ and utilized in certain academic writing as well as in the general media in the ‘West’ . This knowledge has been constructed and compiled by a history of western knowledge production (Said 1978). The ‘Africa’ that is potentially called up in these Rose images is epitomized by Piot’s analysis of the Kasinga [FGM] asylum case (Piot 2007). Piot notes that the media evoked a “genealogy of racist stereotypes about Africa that have long mediated the West’s relationship to the continent” (Piot 2007:157). Africa was repeatedly fictionalized and

fetishized as the West's Other by the media representation during this case (Piot 2007:157).

The isolation of the 'victim' is shown through the aesthetic design of the image. Each image comprises a single rose head, big enough to fill the majority of the space on the page with the petals beginning to be sewn together with bits of thread tied into knots (Appendix B). The visually isolating effect of the single 'mutilated' rose evokes a single body, alone and vulnerable. There is a lack of context within the frame of the image that leaves the viewer in the role of 'savior' to this one body. AI's handbook and website repeatedly affirm their commitment to *individuals* (AI 1992). The campaigns they are best known for, letter writing initiatives, invite individual communication and empathy building on the basis of unique and personal narratives. Therefore we can presume that this singular 'one to one' dialogue of the Rose campaign is not accidental and instead fits into the broader ideology of Amnesty International. The focus on an individual effaces the cultural, social and transnational reasons for FGC and pinpoints the viewer as an omnipotent agent made omniscient by the ad campaign. You, a westerner, are enabled by Amnesty International to save the 'other' merely by donating to Amnesty International and supporting their moral crusade.

The third line in the text reads "Help us to stop violence against women" (Appendix A,B) but in the context of the image this can be understood to mean 'Help us stop Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting, it is violence against women'. In a way the image and text together position the image, and therefore Amnesty International, as saying "I am against this, you should be too". When the view looks at the image they are drawn in to the conversation, deciding whether they agree with Amnesty International or

not. In this moment of viewing the ad and becoming part of an active interaction the viewer is drawn figuratively closer to the issue (of FGM/C) and therefore also closer to the body represented in the image. This proximity to the ‘other’ causes an affective response to the ‘pain’ of the represented other. The viewer feels a false-intimacy or imaginary closeness to the ‘individual’ in the advertisement campaign similar to the ‘tele-intimacy’ discussed by Libby Saxton (2010:66) where television viewers felt an understanding of, or interaction with, the suffering of others after watching it on the news or other programs.

### **Objectifying the Rose**

The rose’s intended signification is that of female genitalia. The sewn up rose is metaphorically the sewn up genitals which have undergone some form of FGM/C. Fanon has discussed white people’s apparent fixation with the sexuality of black people. This obsession results, for Fanon, in a reduction of the black man to his genitalia: “one is no longer aware of the Negro...the Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis” (1952:170). Even though Fanon mainly writes about the black man in relation to the white population, his analysis is still applicable here where the image developed for this campaign also focuses and fixes the gaze onto sexuality and women’s genitalia. Ahmadu writes that this focusing and fixing of the gaze is typical of Western anti-FGM work where “white (and black) educated middle-class ‘Western’ women who gaze between the legs of circumcised African women, [render] them ‘invisible’ as individuals with their own dynamic histories, cultures, and traditions” (Ahmadu 2007:279). This discourse makes the ‘isolation’ of the Rose images even more complex. Although each single rose does

indicate an individuality which seems to be contradictory to the effacement of the African woman, the image retains an absolute, and literal, facelessness. To further illustrate the multifarious ways in which a single image can be read when enabled through a discursive context, the addition of the text at the bottom of the advertisement image (Appendix A) provides yet another insight into the projection of an individual without individuality. The text references a very large number, a number which is actually meaningless to us in that we cannot imagine such a volume of humans. We are left, therefore, with the understanding that there is a sea of mutilated women, none of whom have agency or individuality, but the mass of which creates an imperative to act. The mixture of the broad statement in the text at the base of the frame, paired with the individual rose gives the impression that Amnesty International is addressing both an individual who is alone as well as a rampant problem.

The obsession with the genitals of black people is apparent in much of the FGM/C discourse. Janice Boddy (2007) discusses the continual use of images of ‘African barbarity’ perpetuated in literature describing or analyzing Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting. She writes that these images provide a service in affirming Western ideas of normalcy and ‘civility’, at the same time cementing the erasure of African women themselves from this discourse: “[although] African women’s voices and experiences may be muted in FGM texts, their bodies and body parts are omnipresent...[through] prurient photographs of disembodied female genitals” (Boddy 2007:54). It is apparent from these contemporary authors, the writing of Fanon (1952) and the infamous case of Sarah Baartman (Hall 1997) that this reductive move is not



uncommon. It reiterates that the discursive backdrop allows for ‘intrinsic’ signs to be easily consumed.

The reduction of subject to object typified here by the reduction of person to genitalia evokes and re-inscribes a colonial history of sexual regulation. In the same moment that there is an iteration of the violence of colonization there is a performative move which enables the continuation of these power structures. The violence and control of colonization is continued because the regulation of bodies and sexuality within post-colonial environments is also continued by the reduction of people to objects. The person is reduced to being represented simply by their genitalia causing an objectification of the subject as well as control over who and what can define this object. This reductionist move allows the reader of the image to see the genitals as an object that requires saving—an object devoid of context such as family, social environment and agency.

### **Disgusting the Rose**

The reader is encouraged to feel outrage at Female Genital Mutilation /Cutting, however, this emotion is simultaneously ‘managed’ through the provision of controlled solutions such as donating or becoming members of AI. In this way the viewer can feel reassured that they count as one of the ‘community against,’ in a way that evokes Ahmed’s discussion of a ‘community of witnesses, where belonging to the ‘good guys’, the group that sees but is not involved in the suffering, is important’ (Ahmed 2004:98). The interaction with this image is complicated as there are multiple directional forces at work in the sense that the viewer is pulled both toward and away from the signified. As the

viewer engages with the campaign image in these ways they can not leave un-affected. As I have discussed so far, desire affects the viewer, but so does its opposite, disgust.

There are two parts that interact when one experiences feelings of disgust: the person experiencing the feeling and the subject, or better, object, which they feel is disgusting. The image is somehow ‘disgusting’ to the viewer but “disgust is deeply ambivalent, involving desire for, or an attraction towards, the very objects that are felt to be repel[ling]” (Ahmed 2004:84). So as the viewer looks at the image desire plays a part too, there is an attraction toward the image before the repulsion. Disgust is not inherently tied to particular bodies or objects and is in some way latently produced or signaled in the Campaign image. Let us assume, in line with Ahmed’s concept of the performativity of disgust (2004), that disgust is not a ‘naturally’ occurring feeling but a process of ‘moving’ or ‘turning’ to align oneself with a certain social or bodily space. To interrogate the potential of affective mobilization and interpellation in the Rose Campaign images it is necessary to understand how this image is signaled as ‘disgusting.’

One of the first ways this is done is through the use of the beauty/non-beauty binary and concept of ‘category violation’. I am referring here to one “concept of beauty [as] applied to perfect or near-perfect examples of a kind. A perfect instance of an American Beauty Rose is called beautiful because it realizes the essential characteristics of its kind”(Carroll 2000:38). Marking the literal rose as damaged translates to marking the represented genitalia as damaged. Since it has been altered, by the visually apparent stitches, the rose is a non-beautiful version of its former near-perfect category and by extension the genitalia represented is a non-perfect version: it is no longer beautiful, it no longer ‘realizes the essential characteristics of its kind’. The reader is informed by the

first line of text at the base of the stitched rose image that “Every year two million girls suffer the pain of genital mutilation”(Appendix A, B). The image paired with this line communicates that the genitals are ‘mutilated’ defined as “a thing (material or immaterial): having some part cut out, destroyed, or severely curtailed; deprived of some part essential to completeness”(OED). Missing this mysterious part, essential to completeness, the genitalia are non-beautiful in that they are now a category violation. The ‘category violation’ in some way breaks the rules of inclusion into a category, the mutilated rose cannot belong, it can not be included in the category of ‘perfect rose’ because it is ‘mutilated’. Marking the damaged Rose and the represented mutilated genitalia as non-beautiful becomes a way of marking the body as non-human, abject and abnormal. Since I am using the definition of beauty here to mean something is “beautiful because it realizes the essential characteristics of its kind”(Carroll 2000:38), anything can be labeled as beautiful in this way as long as it includes these essential characteristics. This fixes the body represented as part of the ‘primitive and backward them’ and in opposition to ‘Western female bodies’. ‘Beauty’ here is directly linked to being within the ‘norm’, “where beauty is... the realization of the concept of human being then non beauty is the imperfect or defective realization of the concept” (Carroll 2000:37). These bodies are marked as non-human since they are imperfect in the achievement of being human. The rose images as representations of ‘mutilated genitals’ dissect and classify African women’s bodies into sexualized body parts and “by the same token, uncircumcised Western women ...implicitly have their bodies, and their sexuality reconfirmed as normal and ideal” (Boddy 2007:54). The genitals in the Rose image are signified as outside the ‘natural’ boundaries of what is ‘normal’ in the West where the

Campaign was published and arguably targeted. In fact this ‘reconfirmation’ of what is ‘natural and normal’ in the West is especially necessary since understandings of what is ‘normal’ genitalia are precarious and unfixed, therefore these understandings must be maintained and reproduced.

Female Genital Cutting is often portrayed as a barbaric procedure that only happens in a mythical, primitive place that is ‘over there’, in other words, in the Non-West, however, it is actually quite prevalent around the world. In the UK and USA cutting can occur amongst both dominant and minority populations in the form of ‘cosmetic’ or ‘medical’ genital surgeries for a number of cultural reasons (Braun 2005:408; Tiefer 2008:473). “Breast enhancement, labial reduction and ‘trimming’ are all reported as on the increase in the UK...Like FGM/C, these are therapeutically unnecessary surgeries carried out with the intention of making women fit a cultural norm” (Dustin 2010:12). Cheryl Chase’s essay that “describes how Americans participate in the production of normatively sexed bodies from those born intersex...and the double standard regarding representations of genital cutting depending upon who is cutting and where in the world the cutting is done”(2002:126) supports this analysis. Let me be clear I am not condoning these practices in any way, in fact in all these contexts I find that the concept of ‘normal’ genitalia can be seen as similarly violent and oppressive in the West as in the Non-West. Nor am I advocating an ‘if it’s ok for us it’s ok for them’ attitude. I am arguing that these regulating norms exist in the West as well and are not confined to the ‘barbaric’ non-west. I am also suggesting the mythical ‘normal’ genitalia used to position the body represented in the Rose Campaign is actually a fallacy.

### **Rejecting the Rose**

In a similar move to the Victorian era feminists that Burton (1994) writes about, the viewer here is positioned in opposition to the ‘other.’ In the affective circuitry of the event site it is in the same moment that the viewer recognizes the signified as ‘them’ and recognizes their ‘self’ as ‘us’. The effect on the viewer is two pronged; the viewer is interpellated or called into being (Fanon 1952) and affected, almost against their will, due to the communicability of affect (Butler 2009:67). But the viewer also *already* has a propensity to be moved since they must in some way already see themselves as part of, or in search of, citizenship in the ‘normal’. The Campaign image posits a dichotomous choice between being positioned as either the represented or those mobilized against what is represented. Of course this binary is constructed by the forms and meanings in the advertisement image but it is also, in some ways, fluid and holds numerous possible meanings and understandings. These positions of ‘viewed’ or ‘viewer’ are not the only two choices or reactions to the Campaign image; however, due to a contextual reading, I see them as the most prominent. The viewer wants to be part of the norm, part of the ‘us’ and so must reject the rose as ‘not me’ (and therefore other) in order to be accepted into the desired category of ‘us’.

The desire to be part of the ‘us’ is predicated on a colonial history of ‘helping’ and ‘saving’ as a way to civilize and moralize the primitive ‘them’. One way to legitimize the colonial project was to re-define it as a “mission, as a moral project of ‘cleaning’ or ‘civilizing’ the (dirty/impure) other”(Bhabha 1994), this transformed the violent appropriation of colonization into a natural progression and moral imperative. The ‘responsibility’ of instilling morality and saving the natives from themselves fell to the

‘good citizen’ whose duty it was to support this mission. The problem was that no one knew exactly where the boundary between ‘good citizen’ and ‘deviant citizen’ lay. It was unclear how one knew who was deviant and who wasn’t because, not only was ‘deviance’ undefined but the categories for ‘normal’ were also unsettled. Moral paranoia ensues when the population is unsure who or what ‘the norm’ actually *is* and consequently an anxiety becomes attached to who or what is inside or outside of the precarious boundaries of the ‘norm’. People became obsessed with routing out the causes and signs of deviance. Morality as a regulating discourse was used to legitimize colonization, but also to regulate and control the populations of colonizers (Gilman 1992; Ahmed 2002).

Gilman and Levine discuss how sexuality is formed historically through colonial encounters and patterns of moral sexual regulation (Gilman 1992, Levine 2000, 2003). A taxonomy of deviance was created where every difference found linked to a colonial topography that defined bodies as either normal or pathological through their relation to each other. Particular ‘deviances’ were ‘found’ to be linked to specific bodies, an example of this is the link made between prostitutes being women with a specific type of earlobe. The application of morality then establishes a hierarchy within this topography of norms and deviant bodies. It is a persuasive discourse that leads to the conclusion that not undertaking the colonial project would be immoral. This process of civilizing that was central to the legitimacy of imperial discourse gives individuals within the ‘deviant’ population the possibility of mobility: people are able to be saved if given the right tutelage and example.

## **Desire and the Wound**

Surely it is not just the desire to save, and look at, the other that is mobilized in these campaign images. The critique of the ‘wounded attachment’ that Doezema eloquently develops has been influential in my understanding of the desire to ‘save’ the other, but is there something else happening here too? Is it as Saxton writes just that “modern technologies of visual representation expose us to others’ pain from a spatial and [often] temporal distance”(Saxton 2010:64) and so by participating in this distanced viewing the reader is included in the ‘we’ who are expectant of, and accustomed to, looking from a distance? I think maybe there is another element.

It is an interesting element to me because it speaks to the underbelly, the side of desire people do not want to admit to; somehow there is a uncontrollable curiosity in wounds and trauma typified by the saying “... but I couldn’t stop looking like it was a car crash.” This saying is usually in reference to something one wants to stop looking at, one knows one should but one just can’t help looking, looking again, and being curious about what happened. It is this ‘secret’ desire or fascination that intrigues me.

The Campaign image incorporates this element of desire and the strange attraction to the wound to solidify its grasp on the viewer. It is somehow more than just a desire to look at the other and to ‘know’ it as a spectator. Instead, it feeds upon a fascination with the internal composition of the horrifying or gory details of the trauma that is awakened or motivated through the viewers investigative gaze. The image provokes a terrified curiosity about how a body could function after such a trauma, prompting the viewer to wonder what bodily necessities or actions would be possible or impossible. Barbara Creed writes that “the image of the ‘bleeding wound’ as a symbolic form is, of course,

not new to the twentieth century... Christ's bleeding wounds have for centuries been the subject of prayer, iconography, narrative, painting" (Creed 1998:177). A similar process is invoked by the Rose images where they draw upon the palimpsest of significations. The rose represents a wound and this wound entices the viewer to take a second look because of the desire to look at and know about the gruesome, bloody details.

This complexity of signification initiates and sustains fascination in the viewer causing them to move closer, to want to know more and, more than just 'know', to feel that they understand. This occurs despite the desire to look away and avert their eyes from the gory details, which are induced by the rose that in turn signifies the sewn up genitalia of the Female Genital Mutilation 'victim'. The holder of the gaze finds that they cannot control their urge to know and so they must have another look, compelled 'as though it was a car crash'. Mark Seltzer locates 'wound culture' in the "public fascination with torn and open bodies... collectively gathering around shock, trauma and the wound" (Seltzer 1997:23) and other forms of violence as a form of spectacle. In a somewhat unusual understanding of Deleuzian modes of spectatorship, the viewer is not exactly a passive member in this process (Rushton 2009:47). Richard Rushton builds a convincing argument for a new understanding of the Deleuzian spectator that he finds is implicit in the *Cinema* books<sup>14</sup>. Rushton begins by commenting that although some see Deleuze's writing as suggesting the possibility of an active spectator who engages their body and senses, unlike the passive spectator, "Passive spectators were the products of mainstream, orthodox, Hollywood cinema, while active spectators were the hoped-for products of an avant-garde cinema" that actually the Deleuzian subject is passive. Rushton argues that

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<sup>14</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: the Movement-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Athlone Press, 1986);



the spectator is passive *and* in favor of 'bodily' modes of engagement. For Deleuze the subject does not come before the film, it is the film that creates the subject during the watching. The forming of the subject is a kind of interaction between the film and the body of the subject. The Deleuzian spectator is a being that engages with his/her body and senses and so it is the body itself that interacts with the film images. Although I can see that for Deleuze the subject is formed by the film and does not exist before it, I am taking this idea of subject and extending it. While in the case of the Rose Campaign I do see a particular type of subject as being 'created' or 'called into being' by the image, I have also shown there are specific constructions and tropes being employed in this image in order to elicit a certain type of subject response. If the Deleuzian subject is formed by the image but through a bodily interaction with the image then perhaps this bodily interaction is the affect of the body, and that of the film or image, interacting. The body moves into the image and the affect of that image is absorbed by the body. If we think of this absorbing as an affective interaction then as Rushton suggests, "one can be looking in on another world, but also that one can have the sensation of bodily occupying that space in another world, the sensation of occupying the space of another being"(Rushton:50). This promotes a sensation in the viewer that one's 'self' is slipping away in order for one to become something other, one is no longer oneself. For Deleuze cinema is a matter of placing oneself where one is not, of becoming someone or something one is not. Only by losing themselves in the film can the spectator experience other subjectivities and experiences. Deleuze's spectator is passive only in that it is not the spectator who actively engages, but the body and affect that move actively to interact and create a subject. As the viewer of the Rose Campaign looks at the image there is a

bodily and sensory engagement with the image, by looking the viewer participates in an event. It is within this moment that the spectator is positioned as the viewer through both a bodily engagement with the representation of the FGM/C 'victim'. This brings the 'others' pain or experience closer for the viewer, possibly too close, close enough to cause a fear of slipping into the other and discomfort at the proximity of this damaged other body.

The Campaign images satisfy two desires, the desire to look and know, and the desire to be interpellated or recognized as part of 'us' and owner of the gaze. The rose gives the viewer a site, a substitute place, so that they can gaze upon the 'mutilated' genitals without actually looking at them. The viewer can own the gaze of the 'looker' and participate in 'the looking' without being looked at. The desire to look and know about the mutilated genitals is in some ways satisfied in a safe, distancing way by looking at the substitute, the sewn rose. The signified becomes an object to be looked at and known about, but only comfortably from a distance. Here I would like to draw on theories of the 'spectatorship of distant-suffering' (Saxton 2010, Chouliaraki 2006, Sontag 2003, Butler 2009). I argue that it is this 'quintessential modern experience' (Saxton 2010:63), which forms the background for the reception of these ads. The spectatorship of distant suffering is quintessentially modern because it is through the advancement of 'modern' technology such as television and internet that has allowed people to watch images of other's suffering from great distances. An example of this is television footage of famine or war in a country thousands of miles away that one watches on a screen at home. The viewer of the rose campaign is most likely already used

to looking at the pain of others or distant catastrophes and consequently feels entitled to know more about that pain or suffering.

The gaze is located in this privileged body doing the 'looking'. However, to participate in this looking, this knowing, the reader must engage with the Campaign image. So ironically "desire pulls us toward the object, and opens us up to the bodies of others" (Ahmed 2004:84) and in this 'opening' moment it is both the fear of slippage, between 'us' and 'them,' and the solidifying of this binary that takes place. The boundary between 'us' and 'them' is created during the process described in this paper and in the moment of viewing of the ad. The separation of an 'us' from 'other' is necessary to the construction of the viewer as able to be 'us' and support or donate to Amnesty International, the ad relies on the viewer feeling capable of saving the represented. Because they are constructed the categories of 'us' and 'them' are not so solid that it seems impossible that the feelings the image provokes could seep into the 'us' of the viewer. They are becoming open because the desire to know and look draws the viewer closer to the object and the viewer may feel they are slipping toward being part of the 'other'. The precariousness of the 'self' as part of 'us' is seen and felt. This jarring proximity to the 'damaged other' in the image subsequently results in a 'push away' or a frantic re-delineation of the viewer-'self' against the object, in this case the signified, the damaged body of the 'mutilated' genitalia. "What makes 'the not' insecure is the possibility that what is 'not not' (what is 'me' or 'us') can slide into 'the not', a slippage which would threaten the ontology of 'being apart' from others"(Ahmed 2004:87).

On many of the internet forums or blogs discussing the Rose Campaign, a common response voiced was that the FGM/C pictured in these ads "makes me sick to

my stomach”<sup>15</sup>. One way to understand this response is through Ahmed’s theories of disgust’s effect on the body of the one experiencing it (Ahmed 2004:83). The red rose image is not an original photograph and yet it has a realistic quality to it. The realistic look of the image effaces the material production rendering it ‘natural’ and perhaps (especially with the red rose) increasing the likelihood of a visceral reaction. The feeling of sickness that seems to originate in the ‘pit of ones stomach’ then becomes tied to a constructed idea about what is happening to the ‘real’ body in the image. “Photographs are transitive. They do not merely portray or represent –they relay affect”(Butler 2009:68). The reader experiences this affect bodily. As the reader looks at the image there is transfer of affect from the image to the viewer, in a way, the viewer feels physically what they view in the image. The image signifies certain practices and events and as the reader views the image the events signified are brought closer to the actual body, challenging the body’s ‘separateness.’ The ‘sick’ feeling seems like a ‘natural gut reaction’ however “if disgust is about gut feelings, then our relation to our guts is not direct, but is mediated by ideas that are already implicated in the very impressions we make of others and the way those impressions surface as bodies” (Ahmed 2004:83). The feeling of ‘sickness’ seemingly brought on by viewing the image is actually a reaction to the proximity of the ‘damaged body’ in the image. Disgust works to pull the viewer away from the body that has, in its ‘not us’-ness and nearness, become threatening and offensive. The proximity of the damaged body is threatening to the reader for a number of reasons in this case as I have discussed.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://pandagon.blogspot.com/2007/12/02/amnesty-international-ad-campaign-against-fgm/>.  
<http://www.shamelessmag.com/blog/2007/11/amnesty-international-awareness-campaign/>  
Accessed May 30, 2010. I chose these site from numerous in an attempt to read specifically self-claimed ‘feminist’ blogs.

These images function as event sites where the coalescing of affective meaning and movement happens. As an event site I see the images as performative (Butler 1993) in that they create identities as well as represent them. If interpellation and fixing are affectively motivated, the event site of the Rose is significant. It is O'Sullivan's unpacking of art as an event and specifically the move toward the virtual that interests me. O'Sullivan argues that viewing art can be seen as an event where there is an active moment at which the affect 'stored' in the art pours toward, onto and into, the viewer. Since the Amnesty International website does not have an image archive, the dissemination of these images was enabled through the internet, virally transmitted through blogs and other 'new technologies' of discourse. My encounters with the Rose Campaign images (Appendix A and B) as well as the responses and discussions around these images were primarily through internet websites<sup>16</sup>. O'Sullivan writes that virtual art "is no longer an object as such, or not only an object but...a zone" (O'Sullivan 2001:127). If we see art as an event or more specifically as an 'event site' (2002:127), then an art piece or image could also be seen as the 'site' or encounter between affect and the body that Ahmed locates as the site where power is manifested in everyday life through affect (Ahmed 2002). If indeed as "beings in the world we are caught on a certain spatio-temporal register: we only see what we have already seen" (O'Sullivan 2001:127) this could be understood to mean that we recognize the implicit meanings in the sign or image because we have already seen them. 'We' project certain affects on to the bodies of others in these images because the truths about 'them' seem natural, 'they' and the 'truths' are recognizable to 'us' since we have already seen, heard and become used to them. "Certain codes may, of course, be so widely distributed in a specific

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<sup>16</sup> Example: <http://pandagon.blogspot.com/2007/12/02/amnesty-internationals-ad-campaign-against-fgm/>

language community or culture, and be learned at so early an age, that they appear not to be constructed—the effect of an articulation between sign and referent—but to be naturally given.” (Hall 1992 132)

## **Conclusion**

In this dissertation, I have attempted a critical reading of the Amnesty International Rose Campaign in an endeavor to discover the ways in which the Campaign ads affectively motivate the viewer. I have investigated the ways in which the Campaign makes use of the repetition and signaling of stereotypes and tropes, and the implicit symbols and meanings that affectively transfer meaning in the rose images. By submitting the ads to a more nuanced reading, I hope to have unpacked the assumptions and knowledges that form the ‘naturalised’ representations in the image and in the campaign. The representational use of the Rose as mutilated female genitals and its reliance on a palimpsest of signification mobilizes and positions the viewer and, as an extension, Amnesty International. In this dissertation I have theorized and exposed these mobilizations.

I have done this by first examining the existing literature and situating my research within it. By investigating the current debates around Female Genital Cutting/Mutilation, the historical back drop to the Campaign and the literature concerning advertising images and affective usage I have been able to apply an intersectional analysis. I then subjected the Rose Campaign images to a close reading through a postcolonial, antiracist feminist lens which has added a political and politicized dimension to my work. This dissertation is an endeavor to understand the subliminally

suggestive and affective meanings that mobilize viewers of the Rose image and what this means for both the viewer and the signified. I add to the existing literature by applying a feminist and intersectional analysis of images and representations within them. The analysis in this dissertation fills the gap between the existing literature on imagery analysis and instrumentalisation of affective imagery in relation to Amnesty International. This dissertation treats the FGC imagery in the Rose Campaign as a textual series, meaning I consider the three images as a linked series and analyze them as one might a written text (Mercer 1994). I examine the textual series of the rose campaign here for its role in the discourse of othering and for its effects and impacts. I am adding to the literature discussing the affective use of imagery as well as the use of Female Genital Cutting as a 'disgusting' thing to rally against.

In this dissertation I engage with the theories of affect and discuss the ways different affects are communicated by the ad. While I have accounted, in some ways, for my own positionality and subjectivity as a western scholar currently enrolled in an academic institution and the privileges this affords me, I did not have space to thoroughly investigate my own affective encounter or response to the Campaign images. On the one hand, if given more space, the analysis would possibly have benefited from a discussion of my own affective interpellation process, but on the other hand I did not want to make the mistake of focusing too much on myself as the author and privileging my own experience as truth or authority.

I would have liked to engage more with authors such as Barthes, Hall and Deleuze in order to have had a better understanding of their concepts in relation to meanings, signs and signifiers and specifically being able to relate those theories to still

images as motivating or affective. My analysis would have also been enriched by a deeper understanding of the controversies and political debates that Amnesty International has been involved with in the five years prior and since the Rose Campaign. A comprehensive discussion of the possible effects or motivation these debates may have had on the production of this Campaign would have greatly enhanced this analysis. Examining the pre- and post- production environments of this campaign in a systematic and in depth manner would have allowed not only a more embedded analysis of the Rose Campaign but also an interrogation of, for example, potential institutional positioning in a more candid and informed manner.

If I had more time and space in this dissertation I would have liked to take this analysis and replicate the process for other gendered AI advertisement campaign images then compare the results. I would also have found it productive to perhaps focus specifically on the representations of FGC within charity campaign images across different NGOs. Either of these would broaden and therefore compliment the deep analysis that I have produced here.



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## Appendix A

### The Rose Campaign Publishing Details

#### **Red Rose Image Details:**

Accessed on May 30, 2010

<http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/amnesty-international-red-rose-10815505/>

Released: November 2007

Advertiser: Amnesty International

Agency: Publicis Stockholm

Country First Published: Sweden

Category: Public health & safety

#### **Pink Rose Image Details:**

Accessed on May 30, 2010

At: <http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/amnesty-international-apricot-rose-10815455/>

Released: November 2007

Advertiser: Amnesty International

Agency: Publicis Stockholm

Country First Published: Sweden

Category: Public health & Safety

#### **White Rose Image Details:**

Accessed on May 30, 2010

At: <http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/amnesty-international-white-rose-11274355/>

Released: February 2008

Advertiser: Amnesty International

Agency: Publicis Stockholm

Country First Published: Sweden

Category: Public health & safety

## **Inventory:**

Image Description:

The Ads were released individually however there are three in the series. Each image contains a single rose head with the central petals tied or sewn together. There are a few petals strewn to the side and either soil or gravel background. The rose campaign series is comprised of three roses one red, one white and one pale pink. The roses are vibrant in

color and visually beautiful at first glance drawing the viewer closer to see the tears and to the small print and the AI logo and the base of the image.

Text:

Every year, two million girls suffer the pain of genital mutilation – a clear violation of their human rights. No government should continue to ignore this crime. Help us to stop violence against women. Give your support at [www.amnesty.se](http://www.amnesty.se)

## Credits

Advertising Agency: [Publicis Stockholm, Sweden](#)

Copywriter: Malin Åkersten Triumf

Art Director: Yasin Lektorchi

Account Director: Magnus Svensson

Account Manager: Maria Florell

Production Manager: Margit Blom

Final Art: Anders Modén

Photographers: Niklas Alm, Mattias Nilsson, Vostro Retouch

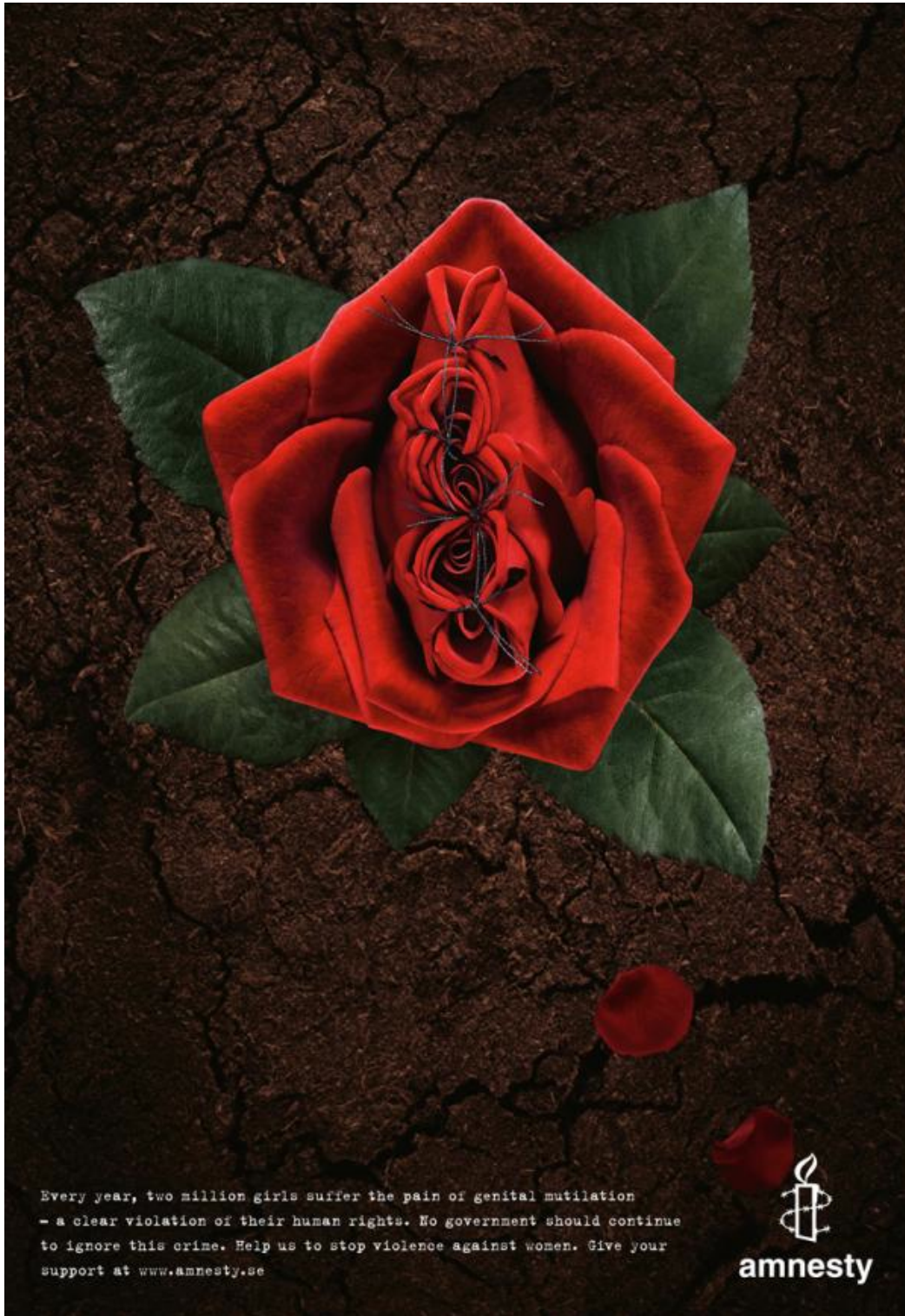
Artist: Sofia Cederström, Vostro

Media: Jeanette Asteborg, Zenithmedia

The commercial titled Red Rose was done by PUBLICIS STOCKHOLM advertising agency for AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL company in Sweden. It was released in the November 2007. Business sector is Public health & safety.

Information from COLORIBUS Global Advertising Archive accessed on May 30, 2010 at [http://www.coloribus.com/focus/collection\\_of\\_women\\_anti\\_abuse\\_ads/11274355/](http://www.coloribus.com/focus/collection_of_women_anti_abuse_ads/11274355/)

Appendix B  
Red Rose



Appendix B  
Pink Rose



Every year, two million girls suffer the pain of genital mutilation  
- a clear violation of their human rights. No government should continue  
to ignore this crime. Help us to stop violence against women. Give your  
support at [www.amnesty.se](http://www.amnesty.se)



## Appendix B White Rose



Kvinnlig könsstympning är ett brott mot de mänskliga rättigheterna. Trots det utsätts två miljoner flickor för övergreppet varje år. SMSa AMNESTY till 72900 så bidrar du med 50 kronor\* till vårt arbete för mänskliga rättigheter. Stoppa våldet mot kvinnor.



\*Operatörsavgiften är inräknad. När du SMSa eller Text2 går ca 42 kronor till Amnesty, när du Text2 ca 33 kronor till Amnesty. Du kan inte använda SMS-tjänsten om du har NetNet.